



# BIBLIA AMERICANA

## Cotton Mather

### **Volume 10: HEBREWS – REVELATION**

*Edited, with an Introduction and Annotations, by Jan Stievertmann*

*Cotton Mather.*

# BIBLIA AMERICANA

General Editor  
Reiner Smolinski (Atlanta)

Executive Editor  
Jan Stievermann (Heidelberg)

Volume 10



Editorial Committee for Cotton Mather's *Biblia Americana*

Reiner Smolinski, *General Editor, Georgia State University*  
Jan Stieversmann, *Executive Editor, Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg*  
Robert E. Brown, *James Madison University*  
Mary Ava Chamberlain, *Wright State University*  
Ryan P. Hoselton, *Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg*  
Rick Kennedy, *Point Loma Nazarene University*  
Harry Clark Maddux, *Appalachian State University*  
Kenneth P. Minkema, *Yale University*  
Douglas A. Sweeney, *Beeson Divinity School*

Cotton Mather

# BIBLIA AMERICANA

America's First Bible Commentary

A Synoptic Commentary on the  
Old and New Testaments

## Volume 10 HEBREWS – REVELATION

Edited, with an Introduction and Annotations,

by

Jan Stievermann

Editorial Assistants:

Michael Dopffel

Ryan P. Hoselton

Benjamin Pietrenka

Mohr Siebeck



JAN STIEVERMANN, born 1975, Ph.D in American Studies from the University of Tübingen (2005); since 2011 Professor for the History of Christianity in the USA at the University of Heidelberg.

ISBN 978-3-16-161686-0 / eISBN 978-3-16-163504-5 unchanged ebook edition 2024

Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliographie; detailed bibliographic data is available on the Internet at <http://dnb.dnb.de>.

Published by Mohr Siebeck Tübingen 2023.

© Jan Stievermann.

This publication is licensed since 05/2026 under the license “Creative Commons Attribution – ShareAlike 4.0 International” (CC BY-SA 4.0). A complete Version of the license text can be found at: <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/>.

Any use not covered by the above license is prohibited and illegal without the permission of the author. The right to use the content of this volume for the purpose of text and data mining within the meaning of Section 44b UrhG (Urheberrechtsgesetz) is expressly reserved.

The book was typeset by Martin Fischer in Tübingen, printed by Gulde-Druck in Tübingen on non-aging paper and bound by Buchbinderei Spinner in Ottersweier.

Printed in Germany.

*To my family*



## Acknowledgments

Over the years it took to complete this volume, a number of people have helped me with various tasks. In addition to my editorial assistants, Michael Dopffel, Ryan Hoselton, and Benjamin Pietrenka, I want to thank Christoph Hammann, In Jung, and David Bindrim for their aid with the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin citations. I'm also grateful to Layla Koch, Everett Messamore, and Caitlin Smith for proofreading the annotations and introduction, and to Jonathan Fischer-Woudstra and Virginia Zentgraf for preparing the index. The University of Heidelberg's financial support is very much appreciated. While working on the manuscript, the staff of the MHS offered much welcomed hospitality and guidance.

The publication of this volume was made possible by a generous subvention from the Henry Luce Foundation. I wish to thank the Foundation and Jonathan VanAntwerpen, the Program Director for Theology, for their support of the project.

The *Biblia Americana* edition is very much a team effort, and I feel privileged to be part of such an exceptional group of scholars. I wish to thank my fellow editors Reiner Smolinski, Kenneth Minkema, Harry Clark Maddux, Ava Chamberlain, Rick Kennedy, Robert E. Brown, Douglas Sweeney, and Ryan Hoselton for their friendship as well as their insights and hard work on which I was able to build. Reiner in particular is owed great gratitude for sharing his earlier transcripts of Mather's commentaries on Revelation and the Essays, but also for his general leadership of the project.

I dedicate this volume to my long-suffering wife Juliane and our children, who will be glad to have this monster out of the house. Taken together, my work on volumes 5 and 10 has spanned a decade and a half, during which Ellen and Theodor have grown into wonderful young people. *Tempora labuntur tacitisque senescimus annis.*





## Table of Contents

|                                 |      |
|---------------------------------|------|
| Acknowledgments . . . . .       | VII  |
| List of Illustrations . . . . . | XIII |
| List of Abbreviations . . . . . | XV   |

### PART 1: EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

|                                                                                                                     |     |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Preface . . . . .                                                                                                   | 3   |
| Section 1: Composition and Main Sources . . . . .                                                                   | 11  |
| 1.1. Composition and Sources of Mather's Commentaries on Hebrews,<br>James, 1–2 Peter, 1–3 John, and Jude . . . . . | 16  |
| 1.2. Composition and Sources of Mather's Commentaries on Revelation<br>and the Appended Essays . . . . .            | 32  |
| Section 2: Main Themes and Issues . . . . .                                                                         | 55  |
| 2.1. Textual Issues and Questions of Translation . . . . .                                                          | 65  |
| 2.2. Issues of Authorship, Canonicity, and Historical Context . . . . .                                             | 82  |
| 2.3. Mather and the Debates over Primitive Christianity<br>and the Doctrine of the Trinity . . . . .                | 104 |
| 2.4. Mather on the History of Religion and Religions . . . . .                                                      | 128 |
| 2.5. Mather's Millennialism in Context . . . . .                                                                    | 143 |
| 2.6. Responding to the Preterist Challenge . . . . .                                                                | 154 |
| 2.7. Mather's Interpretation of Revelation<br>as Prophetic Church History . . . . .                                 | 157 |
| 2.8. Major Changes in Mather's Later Eschatology . . . . .                                                          | 178 |
| Works Cited in Section 1–2 . . . . .                                                                                | 197 |
| Secondary Works . . . . .                                                                                           | 203 |
| Section 3: Notes on the Manuscript . . . . .                                                                        | 214 |

### PART 1: THE TEXT

|                                     |     |
|-------------------------------------|-----|
| The Epistle to the Hebrews. . . . . | 227 |
| Hebrews. Chap. 1. . . . .           | 231 |

|                                      |         |
|--------------------------------------|---------|
| Hebrews. Chap. 2. ....               | 237     |
| Hebrews. Chap. 3. ....               | 243     |
| Hebrews. Chap. 4. ....               | 245     |
| Hebrews. Chap. 5. ....               | 251     |
| Hebrews. Chap. 6. ....               | 253     |
| Hebrews. Chap. 7. ....               | 255     |
| Hebrews. Chap. 8. ....               | 263     |
| Hebrews. Chap. 9. ....               | 264     |
| Hebrews. Chap. 10. ....              | 272     |
| Hebrews. Chap. 11. ....              | 279     |
| Hebrews. Chap. 12. ....              | 292     |
| Hebrews. Chap. 13. ....              | 298     |
| <br>James. Chap. 1. ....             | <br>303 |
| James. Chap. 2. ....                 | 311     |
| James. Chap. 3. ....                 | 316     |
| James. Chap. 4. ....                 | 323     |
| James. Chap. 5. ....                 | 330     |
| <br>1. Peter. Chap. 1. ....          | <br>335 |
| 1. Peter. Chap. 2. ....              | 341     |
| 1. Peter. Chap. 3. ....              | 345     |
| 1. Peter. Chap. 4. ....              | 351     |
| 1. Peter. Chap. 5. ....              | 355     |
| 2. Peter. Chap. 1. ....              | 360     |
| 2. Peter. Chap. 2. ....              | 376     |
| 2. Peter. Chap. 3. ....              | 386     |
| <br>1. John. Chap. 1. ....           | <br>397 |
| 1. John. Chap. 2. ....               | 399     |
| 1. John. Chap. 3. ....               | 401     |
| 1. John. Chap. 4. ....               | 403     |
| 1. John. Chap. 5. ....               | 409     |
| 2. John. ....                        | 423     |
| 3. John. ....                        | 425     |
| <br>Jude. ....                       | <br>427 |
| <br>The Book of the REVELATION. .... | <br>442 |
| Revelation. Chap. 1. ....            | 445     |
| Revelation. Chap. 2. & 3. ....       | 460     |
| Revelation. Chap. 2. ....            | 471     |

|                                                                                                                                                              |     |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Revelation. Chap. 3. ....                                                                                                                                    | 479 |
| Revelation. Chap. 4. ....                                                                                                                                    | 482 |
| Revelation. Chap. 5. ....                                                                                                                                    | 488 |
| Revelation. Chap. 6. ....                                                                                                                                    | 495 |
| Revelation. Chap. 7. ....                                                                                                                                    | 510 |
| Revelation. Chap. 8. ....                                                                                                                                    | 519 |
| Revelation. Chap. 9. ....                                                                                                                                    | 526 |
| Revelation. Chap. 10. ....                                                                                                                                   | 550 |
| Revelation. Chap. 11. ....                                                                                                                                   | 552 |
| Revelation. Chap. 12. ....                                                                                                                                   | 581 |
| Revelation. Chap. 13. ....                                                                                                                                   | 594 |
| Revelation. Chap. 14. ....                                                                                                                                   | 613 |
| Revelation. Chap. 15. ....                                                                                                                                   | 622 |
| Revelation. Chap. 16. ....                                                                                                                                   | 624 |
| Revelation. Chap. 17. ....                                                                                                                                   | 641 |
| An Appendix. ....                                                                                                                                            | 690 |
| Revelation. Chap. 18. ....                                                                                                                                   | 702 |
| Revelation. Chap. 19. ....                                                                                                                                   | 707 |
| Revelation. Chap. 20. ....                                                                                                                                   | 712 |
| Revelation. Chap. 21. ....                                                                                                                                   | 728 |
| Revelation. Chap. 22. ....                                                                                                                                   | 732 |
| Postscript. ....                                                                                                                                             | 759 |
| Coronis. ....                                                                                                                                                | 767 |
| <br>An Eſſay, for a further COMMENTARY, on the Sacred Scriptures. ...                                                                                        | 797 |
| A Remark, upon the famous Philoſophers, their Eye towards <i>Christianity</i> .                                                                              | 811 |
| Some Remarks, relating to the <i>Inſpiration</i> , and the <i>Obſignation</i> ,<br>of the CANON. ....                                                        | 813 |
| <br>An Appendix. Containing Some GENERAL STORES, of Illuſtration;<br>and a Furniture which will richly Qualify a Perſon to be a READER<br>of the BIBLE. .... | 818 |
| I. VATES. Or, ſome Remarks upon the SPIRIT of PROPHECY. ....                                                                                                 | 818 |
| II. The SPIRIT, and PURPOSE, of the <i>Sacred Scriptures</i> . ....                                                                                          | 850 |
| III. Tables ....                                                                                                                                             | 878 |
| IV. <i>Ezra</i> , or, The Things done by <i>Ezra</i> , for the Reſtoring & Preſerving<br>of the SACRED SCRIPTURES. ....                                      | 881 |
| V. <i>Antiqua</i> . or, Our Sacred Scriptures illuſtrated, with ſome Accounts<br>of the <i>Sabians</i> and the <i>Magians</i> . ....                         | 889 |
| VI. <i>Patriarcha</i> , or, The Religion of NOAH, conſidered for the Illuſtration<br>of many Paſſages in the Bible. ....                                     | 901 |

|                                                                                                                                                                              |      |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|
| VII. <i>Scripturæ Nucleus</i> , or, The <i>Marrow</i> of the whole Bible; very much of it found in the FIRST PROMISE, which is in the<br><i>Head of the Volumn</i> . . . . . | 908  |
| VIII. <i>Synagoga</i> . Or, The Original of SYNAGOGUES. . . . .                                                                                                              | 922  |
| IX. <i>Sibyllina</i> . Or, A brief & plain Account of the <i>Sibylline</i> Oracles, which have made so much Noise in the World. . . . .                                      | 929  |
| X. <i>Chaldeans</i> . Or, some Account of the Jewish <i>Targums</i> . . . . .                                                                                                | 938  |
| XI. <i>Psalmes</i> . Or, The Ancient Music and Poetry of the Hebrews. . . . .                                                                                                | 943  |
| XII. <i>Kiriath-Sepher</i> . Or, The Manner of <i>Writing</i> , among the <i>Ancients</i> ; more particularly among the <i>Hebrews</i> . . . . .                             | 955  |
| XIII. EXPECTANDA. Or, The State of Things in the KINGDOM of our SAVIOUR, to be look'd for. . . . .                                                                           | 962  |
| Appendix A: Cancellations . . . . .                                                                                                                                          | 965  |
| Appendix B: Silent Deletions . . . . .                                                                                                                                       | 977  |
| Bibliography . . . . .                                                                                                                                                       | 987  |
| Primary Works . . . . .                                                                                                                                                      | 987  |
| Secondary Sources . . . . .                                                                                                                                                  | 1035 |
| Index of Biblical Passages . . . . .                                                                                                                                         | 1039 |
| General Index . . . . .                                                                                                                                                      | 1056 |

## List of Illustrations

|                                                                                                                             |     |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Manuscript page [13r] of “An Appendix” with the uncut print sheets<br>of <i>The Stone Cut out of the Mountain</i> . . . . . | 103 |
| Manuscript page [11r] on 2 Pet. 3, featuring the different, more<br>ornamental, handwriting . . . . .                       | 213 |
| Illustration from Calmet’s <i>Antiquities sacred and profane</i> (1724) . . . . .                                           | 949 |



## List of Abbreviations

|        |                                                                                  |
|--------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ACW    | <i>Ancient Christian Writers</i>                                                 |
| ADB    | <i>Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie</i>                                            |
| ANB    | <i>American National Biography</i>                                               |
| ANF    | <i>Ante-Nicene Fathers</i>                                                       |
| BA     | <i>Biblia Americana</i>                                                          |
| BBK    | <i>Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon</i>                             |
| BDAG   | <i>A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament</i>                              |
| BDB    | <i>Brown, Driver, and Briggs Hebrew Lexicon</i>                                  |
| BHS    | <i>Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia</i> (Fourth edition)                           |
| CCCM   | <i>Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Medievalis</i>                              |
| CCSG   | <i>Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca</i>                                       |
| CCSL   | <i>Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina</i>                                       |
| CE     | <i>Catholic Encyclopedia</i>                                                     |
| CSEL   | <i>Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum</i>                              |
| EB     | <i>Encyclopedia Britannica</i>                                                   |
| EDNT   | <i>Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament</i>                                |
| ESV    | <i>English Standard Version</i>                                                  |
| FC     | <i>The Fathers of the Church</i>                                                 |
| GCS    | <i>Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte</i> |
| HCBD   | <i>HarperCollins Bible Dictionary</i>                                            |
| JE     | <i>Jewish Encyclopedia</i>                                                       |
| KJV    | <i>King James Version of the English Bible</i> (1611; 1769)                      |
| LCL    | <i>Loeb Classical Library</i>                                                    |
| LSJ    | <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> (Liddell & Scott, Ninth edition)                  |
| LUT    | <i>Die Bibel nach der Übersetzung Martin Luthers</i> (1984)                      |
| LXX    | <i>Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graece</i> (1935)                              |
| MHS    | <i>Massachusetts Historical Society</i>                                          |
| NBL    | <i>Neues Bibel-Lexikon.</i>                                                      |
| NETS   | <i>A New English Translation of the Septuagint</i>                               |
| NP     | <i>Der Neue Pauly</i>                                                            |
| NPNFi  | <i>Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, First Series</i>                              |
| NPNFii | <i>Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Second Series</i>                             |
| NT     | <i>New Testament</i>                                                             |
| ODNB   | <i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i>                                   |
| OT     | <i>Old Testament</i>                                                             |
| PG     | <i>Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Graeca</i>                               |
| PL     | <i>Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Latina</i>                               |
| RGG    | <i>Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart</i> (Fourth edition)                     |
| SC     | <i>Sources chrétiennes</i>                                                       |



|              |                                                                                            |
|--------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>TDNT</i>  | <i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament.</i>                                        |
| <i>TRE</i>   | <i>Theologische Realenzyklopädie</i>                                                       |
| <i>VUL</i>   | <i>Biblia Sacra Iuxta Vulgatam Versionem</i>                                               |
| <i>WA</i>    | <i>Weimarer Ausgabe/Weimar Edition of Martin Luther's Works.</i><br><i>Schriften/Werke</i> |
| <i>WA DB</i> | <i>Weimarer Ausgabe/Weimar Edition of Martin Luther's Works.</i><br><i>Deutsche Bibel</i>  |

## PART 1

### EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION



## Preface

This volume completes the scholarly edition of America's first Bible commentary, the *Biblia Americana*, written by the prominent New England theologian and scholar Cotton Mather (1663–1728).<sup>1</sup> It contains his annotations on the final books of the New Testament, Hebrews, James, 1–2 Peter, 1–3 John, Jude, and Revelation, as well as two series of essays on various matters of biblical interpretation that Mather appended to his already bulging manuscript of more than 400 folio pages. The first series comprises “An Essay, for a further COMMENTARY, on the Sacred Scriptures”; “A Remark, upon the famous Philosophers, their Eye towards *Christianity*,” and “Some Remarks, relating to the *Inspiration*, and the *Obsignation*, of the CANON.” A second series titled “An Appendix. Containing Some GENERAL STORES, of Illustration; and a Furniture which will richly Qualify a Person to be a READER of the BIBLE” offers thirteen more essays that differ considerably in length and topic. They range from extensive ruminations on subjects such as the gifts of the Holy Spirit during the early church period (I.), the history and spiritual essence of the Bible (IV. and VII.), and the development of human religion from Noah to the rise of polytheism in ancient Persia (V.), to some rather short remarks on measures, weights, and coins, as well as musical instruments and writing utensils mentioned in the Scriptures (II., XI.). The essays conclude with a statement of Mather's faith concerning the things to be expected at the imminent and personal return of Jesus Christ, apparently penned very shortly before the end of Mather's life (XIII.).

But even there, with a final statement on the final things, Mather added one more “Coronis,” or finishing stroke, to his unpublished *magnum opus* before death took the quill from his hand in 1728, stopping him after the second paragraph. One cannot read without a certain sense of melancholy the admonition the old divine gave to himself at the end of the penultimate essay on ancient scribes: “And now – *Manum de TABULA*.”<sup>2</sup> Apparently, he was unable

---

1 The two standard scholarly treatments of Mather's life and work are Kenneth Silverman, *The Life and Times of Cotton Mather* (1984) and David Levin, *Cotton Mather: The Young Life of the Lord's Remembrancer 1663–1703* (1978). More recent and more focused on Mather's evangelical piety is Rick Kennedy, *The First American Evangelical: A Short Life of Cotton Mather* (2015).

2 “Hand off the picture,” or, as Mather's pun suggests, “Hands off the writing table”; an idiomatic Latin phrase meaning “Enough,” “hold it.” For an explanation, see Pliny, *Natural History*, 35–36.

to. Even as his body was giving out, Mather was driven forward by his voracious appetite for knowledge and his even greater love for God and His Word. This uncontainable intellectual curiosity and spiritual energy was not always matched by an equally great power to discriminate and critically scrutinize the things he gathered. Mather's wide-ranging interests are reflected in the appended essays and in the encyclopedic and ever-growing nature of the "Biblia Americana"-project as a whole, which he began at the age of thirty in 1693.<sup>3</sup> In the "General Introduction" of his *Magnalia Christi Americana* (1702), Mather first publicly outlined and advertised the ambitious scheme of his "Biblia Americana." He aimed at nothing short of a comprehensive compilation of ancient and contemporary knowledge on the Bible "dispersed in many hundred volumes . . . fetched all together by a labour that would resolve to *conquer all things*" and bring in "all the *improvements* which the later-ages have made in sciences" for "the *illustration* of the holy oracles . . ." Although not for a lack of trying, Mather could never muster the necessary support to get the manuscript published after he first deemed it ready for print in 1706. In subsequent years, he also found himself unable to really finish the project to his full satisfaction, continuously reading more "*scattered* books of learned men" and accumulating more "*treasures of illustration*."<sup>4</sup> And thus Mather's great work followed the same cycle of repeated disappointments and indefinite deferral as his speculations on the Parousia. As will be explained below, he first set the date for Christ's return to 1697, then 1716 or maybe 1736, before, in old age, Mather finally contented himself with the conviction that the days until Christ's return "were not likely to extend beyond the present Century" (BA 10:963).

In more than one way, Mather's desire to illuminate Scripture's deepest meanings by the light of the age's rapidly advancing knowledge is, therefore, connected to the fervent eschatological beliefs that animated all of his life and work. These beliefs and Mather's continuously revised speculations on the end times are laid out at great length in the sprawling commentary on Revelation in this volume. Convinced that he was living at, or close to, the consumation of history, Mather expected God's ultimate secrets, all encoded in the Bible, to be made manifest during his lifetime. He aspired to an intellectual labor that – imbued with the necessary personal piety – would, as he put it, manage to "*conquer all things*" and uncover their hidden meanings. Such a hope was not as idiosyncratic or quixotic as it may appear at first glance. Similar ambitions energized the encyclopedic projects of various pansophic and millenarian circles in the seventeenth century, notably that of the Herborn school, including Johann Heinrich Alsted (1588–1638) and John Amos Comenius (1592–1670),

<sup>3</sup> Please note that I will italicize *Biblia Americana* when referring to the edition and use quotation marks when referring to the manuscript.

<sup>4</sup> *Magnalia*, "General Introduction," vol. 1, p. 105.

as well as the circle around Samuel Hartlib (1600–1662) and John Dury (1596–1680). The latter group greatly influenced the founding members of the Royal Society (of which Mather became a corresponding member), such as Robert Boyle (1627–1691) and Henry Oldenburg (1619–1677).<sup>5</sup>

Indeed, the “*Biblia Americana*” should be seen in direct relation with the undertakings of these authors, some of whom Mather frequently cites. Like him, they stood at the cross-roads of what was later called the early Enlightenment, the scientific revolution, the age of Pietism, the surge of millenarianism and the occult during the late seventeenth century. All of the above-named scholars hoped to collect and organize knowledge, natural and supernatural, for the purpose of scientific, educational and religious reforms, which would come to completion with the onset of the millennial kingdom. And all of them used the framework of the Bible to organize the rapid growth of human knowledge. To their minds, that book of books not only contained the fullness of divine wisdom but also the whole of history including the great latter-day revolutions yet to happen. Far from displacing inherited “superstitions” about the end-times, the new sciences of the Enlightenment were in crucial ways animated by a new interpretation of the eschaton. As Richard Popkin argued almost four decades ago, the early British Enlightenment was in no small part the undertaking of “millennium-oriented scientists.” So, too, Sir Isaac Newton (1643–1727) and his controversial student William Whiston (1667–1752), whose complex relation with Mather will figure prominently in this volume, stood in this tradition. They all saw “the growth of scientific knowledge as part of the fulfilment of the prophecies about the events leading up to the actual reign of Jesus Christ on earth for thousand years.”<sup>6</sup>

Like Mather, these men were firmly rooted in the belief in a divinely organized universe of correspondences, and therefore in an ultimate unity of all knowledge. They sought to harmonize the different branches of learning – including mathematics and the empirical sciences but also the fruits of humanist inquiries into ancient texts and history and various esoteric traditions – with biblical revelation and practical piety.<sup>7</sup> As Mark A. Peterson has demonstrated,

5 For Comenius and Alsted, see Howard Hotson, *Paradise Postponed: Johann Heinrich Alsted and the Birth of Calvinist Millenarianism* (2011); for the Hartlib-Dury circle, see George H. Turnbull, *Hartlib, Dury, and Comenius* (1947), Charles Webster, *The Great Instauration: Science, Medicine and Reform, 1626–1660* (1975), Mark Greengrass, M. P. Leslie and T. J. Raylor, ed., *The Advancement of Learning in the Seventeenth Century: Samuel Hartlib and his World* (1994).

6 Richard H. Popkin, “Foreword,” in James. E. Force, *William Whiston: Honest Newtonian* (1985), xi–xiii. See also Margaret C. Jacob, “Millenarianism and Science in the Late Seventeenth Century” (1976).

7 On the convergence of these pursuits in the thinking of many seventeenth-century intellectuals, see Allison P. Coudert, *Religion, Magic, and Science in Early Modern Europe and America* (2011).

the seven- to eight-thousand-volume Mather family library, from which the commentaries of the “Biblia” were mostly drawn, can be described as “a conglomerate artifact of Atlantic culture from the fifteenth through the eighteenth centuries,” combining “works on science, medicine, and natural history and philosophy; works on controversial theology and church history; and works on politics and government ... .”<sup>8</sup> It was Cotton Mather’s ambition, however, to transmute this conglomerate into a synthesis through a process of intellectual and spiritual alchemy in which the Scriptures provided both the means and the end.

Undoubtedly, Mather lived in an age of great intellectual turmoil that Paul Hazard famously characterized as *La Crise de la conscience européenne*,<sup>9</sup> which also extended to the American colonies. However, this crisis of the European mind, which manifested itself between the 1680s and 1710s, did not inevitably lead to a simple decline of the Bible’s authority, let alone of religion as such. In recent years, a host of scholars have further advanced this revisionist view of the age of Enlightenment, arguing against simplistic secularization narratives. Instead, they have asserted, as Lionel Laborie puts it, “that religion influenced early Enlightenment science to a greater extent than the other way around. Both should in fact be regarded as complementary rather than opposites.” New studies have especially emphasized that much of the culture of the British Enlightenment remained “intrinsically religious.”<sup>10</sup> While this also implies an increasing rationalization and historicization of religion, most historical representatives of the British Enlightenment continued to be open to beliefs in the supernatural and miraculous. Many were steeped in spiritualist, esoteric, occult, and apocalyptic ideas as well as “enthusiastic” practices.<sup>11</sup> It is against this complex background of a mystical, millenarian, and intensely Spirit-centered Enlightenment that we must view the “Biblia Americana” project.

Much has already been written on the general nature, intellectual contexts, theological aims, rhetorical strategies, and apologetic orientation of Mather’s biblical criticism, as well as on the genesis and history of the “Biblia”-manuscript. Readers new to the “Biblia Americana” are referred to Reiner Smolinski’s extensive “Editor’s Introduction” to volume one of the edition, the

<sup>8</sup> Mark A. Peterson, *The City State of Boston: The Rise and Fall of an Atlantic Power, 1630–1865* (2019), pp. 220–22.

<sup>9</sup> Paul Hazard, *The Crisis of the European Mind, 1680–1715* ([1935] 2013).

<sup>10</sup> Lionel Laborie, *Enlightening Enthusiasm: Prophecy and Religious Experience in Eighteenth-Century England* (2015), p. 2.

<sup>11</sup> See, for instance, Clarke Garrett, *Spirit Possession and Popular Religion, From the Camisards to the Shakers* (1987); Susan Juster, *Doomsayers: Anglo-American Prophecy in the Age of Revolution* (2003); Jane Shaw, *Miracles in Enlightenment England* (2006); Paul Kléber Monod, *Solomon’s Secret Arts: The Occult in the Age of Enlightenment* (2013); and John V. Fleming, *The Dark Side of the Enlightenment: Wizards, Alchemists, and Spiritual Seekers in the Age of Enlightenment* (2013).

introductions to the subsequent volumes, and a number of recent studies.<sup>12</sup> The following introductory remarks will focus on key themes and issues specific to the annotations and essays in this volume after discussing their composition process and main sources. This should be prefaced, perhaps, by pointing out that the manuscript sections contained in this volume do not form a “natural” unit, but came to be grouped together for organizational and editorial reasons. Its contents should therefore be situated in the larger context of the “Biblia”-project.

In Mather's day, Hebrews was widely considered the last of the Pauline epistles (despite some dissenting opinions), and thus ought to be read in dialogue with Mather's lengthy commentaries on Romans to Philemon (vol. 9).<sup>13</sup> Not least because of the book's importance to Christology and soteriology, Mather gave considerable room to his commentary on Hebrews. James, 1–2 Peter, 1–3 John, and Jude belong to the so-called Catholic Letters. These seven letters came with their own set of historical, textual, and theological questions, but also debates concerning authorship and canonicity, to which Mather devoted varying degrees of attention. Overall, this section of the New Testament was of slightly lesser concern for him, except for a few crucial topics, such as the relation between faith and works as discussed in James, the Petrine conflagration of 2 Peter, or the *comma Johanneum* in 1 John 5:7–8. This latter issue connected with his concern for defending Nicean Trinitarianism, which is also prominently on display in various other parts of the “Biblia,” including his commentary on Matthew (vol. 7) and the Gospel of John (vol. 8).

---

<sup>12</sup> The introduction to volume one gives a detailed account of the “Biblia Americana” project in the context of Mather's life. It also presents the manuscript's development through several phases of composition and explains the reasons for Mather's ultimate failure to have it published. Besides examining a number of topics specific to the Genesis commentary, Smolinski also offers an excellent discussion of the main characteristics and sources of the “Biblia” against the backdrop of the history of biblical interpretation during the early Enlightenment and the contemporary market for scriptural commentaries. To this broader picture painted by Smolinski, Minkema, Maddux, Stievermann, and Brown have added many details and new facets specific to their sections of the manuscript, which have additionally enriched our understanding of the “Biblia” as a whole. See Reiner Smolinski, “Editor's Introduction” (*BA* 1:1–210), and (*BA* 2:1–112); Kenneth P. Minkema, “Editor's Introduction” (*BA* 3:1–80); Harry Clark Maddux, “Editor's Introduction” (*BA* 4:1–80); Jan Stievermann, “Editor's Introduction” (*BA* 5:3–136); Robert E. Brown, “Editor's Introduction” (*BA* 9:3–75). So has the collection of essays on Cotton Mather and the “Biblia America” (2010), in which I also offer an overview of the “Biblia” project and its significance: Reiner Smolinski and Jan Stievermann, eds., *Cotton Mather and Biblia Americana – America's First Bible Commentary: Essays in Reappraisal* (2010). On Mather's engagement with the Hebrew Bible, see Jan Stievermann, *Prophecy, Piety, and the Problem of Historicity: Interpreting the Hebrew Scriptures in Cotton Mather's Biblia Americana* (2016).

<sup>13</sup> In the table of contents for his further annotations on the New Testament letters, located just before his commentary on Ephesians, Mather groups Hebrews with the Pauline epistles and sets it apart from the Catholic Letters of James, Peter, John, and Jude (*BA* 9:451).



Because of his millenarianism, Revelation was of the utmost significance to Mather. Except for Genesis, the first book of the Bible, no other part of the Bible commanded Mather's attention more than the last book. Over the course of three decades, Mather devoted almost 100 manuscript pages to Revelation, excerpting many dozens of sources to defend and explicate this most difficult of the Scriptures. He was keenly aware that, since the earliest days of the church, controversy had surrounded not only the belief in a future millennium (based on Rev. 20) but the visions of John more generally. Also, as he readily admitted, "Interpreters have generally confessed the Book of *Revelation* to be full of Difficulties and Obscurities." However, he firmly stood against those who, in the tradition of Dionysius of Alexandria, saw the Book as an incomprehensible jumble of riddles and even questioned its status as divine revelation. Yes, Jerome was in the right when he said regarding Revelation, "*Tot Secreta quot Verba*,"<sup>14</sup> but that did not mean that these secrets could not be unlocked or were not worth studying – on the contrary. Generally speaking, Mather argued, "It will be a fault in us, to count all Study on this Part of the *Holy Scripture*, *unprofitable*. There is a *Blessedness* promised unto them who duly study it." As Chrysostom has put it so well, "The *Truth* in the Scriptures may ly *Obscure*, but not altogether *Hidden*; it so lies, not that they who *Seek it*, but that they who *Seek it not*, should not *Find it*" (BA 10:460).<sup>15</sup> And this was especially true for Revelation, in which pious and diligent minds could find the deepest mysteries of redemption history.

Following a very long theological tradition, Mather was convinced that John's visions held the keys to secret knowledge about the date of Christ's return and the nature of his glorious thousand-year reign on earth. For that, however, they needed to be interpreted in conjunction with the eschatological predictions of the Hebrew prophets, especially those of Isaiah, Daniel, and Ezekiel. To fully appreciate how Mather linked Revelation with the Old Testament, readers ought to consult Mather's annotations on these prophetic books in vols. 5 and 6 of the edition, but further apocalyptic speculations can be found across the entire commentary. Mather's discussion of the end of the world in quasi-scientific terms also connects to his similarly-oriented discussion of the beginning of the world in the Genesis commentary (vol. 1).

The appended essays were all written during the last phase of Mather's life. In addition to reflecting larger religious and intellectual trends of the age, these essays evince the culmination of two – partly intersecting, partly conflicting – tendencies that run through the entire "Biblia." First, the earlier series of essays articulate a deepening investment in what Mather called "experimental"

14 "As many secrets as words." Mather cites Jerome, *Epistolae*, epist. 53, cap. 8 [PL 22. 548–9]; transl adapted from *NPNF* (2–06: 269).

15 A reference to Chrysostom, *Homiliae LXXXVIII in Joannem*, hom. 11 [PG 59.79].

religion and biblical interpretation in the light of personal spiritual experience and practical piety. This investment appears across Mather's commentaries, but is perhaps most notable in his annotations on the Psalms (vol. 4). While deeply rooted in a long tradition of ascetic and mystical spirituality, it reflects, more specifically, the rise of early evangelicalism and of Pietism. Not coincidentally, Mather's essay quotes at length from August Hermann Francke and Philipp Jacob Spener.<sup>16</sup> The turn to "experimental" religion went along with the aim of propagating a radically simplified, transconfessional Protestantism based on a "nucleus" or "marrow" of Scripture-maxims, which Mather attempted to lay down in the "Biblia"-essays as well as numerous published tracts. Drawn from John Lacy, a lay theologian associated with the so-called French Prophets, the essay with Mather's "Remarks upon the SPIRIT of PROPHECY" evinces how the heightened spiritualism and supernaturalism of such a piety sometimes crossed the blurry boundary into "enthusiasm," earning the condemnation of many of Mather's contemporaries. This tension between experimental religious piety and suspicion of excessive enthusiasm is also detectable across the Mather corpus.

The second, seemingly contradictory, tendency visible in the appended essays is that of a deepening historicization of the Scriptures. With their diverse antiquarian pursuits, the essays epitomize Mather's seemingly boundless fascination with biblical and extra-biblical histories and his overriding goal to reconcile the two. Almost every page of the "Biblia" is laden with Mather's *florilegia* on Hebrew and early Christian culture as well as the religions, customs, literatures, and traditions of surrounding ancient civilizations. His historical excursions sometimes concentrate on rather minute details. Thus, one of the appended essays describes the different musical instruments mentioned in the Hebrew Bible, complete with a table of illustrations. But behind such seemingly trivial concerns was an overarching interest in the biblical life worlds, informed by the desire to verify the veracity of the Bible but also to restore the purity of "primitive Christianity." At the same time, Mather was responding to profoundly challenging debates about the histories of Judaism and Christianity as religions among other religions. Explanations of pagan religions in the mode of euhemerism and the *prisca theologia*-tradition are offered across the "Biblia." By extension of such methods, the essays offer a full-fledged account of how all religions, either by corruption or progressive fulfilment culminating in Christianity, developed from a primitive Noahic religion, which could be reconstructed from the oldest documents of the Bible.

Overall, then, this volume comprises annotations on nine biblical books that are very different from each other in terms of genre, subject matter, and

<sup>16</sup> For more on this, see Jan Stievermann and Ryan Hoselton, "Spiritual Meaning and Experimental Piety in the Exegesis of Cotton Mather and Jonathan Edwards" (2018).

historical contexts, plus sixteen miscellaneous essays. Still one can identify certain intersecting themes and underlying issues that will be discussed in Section Two of this Introduction. A first theme is Mather's apologetic defense of the textual integrity, historicity, and overall authority of the Bible in the face of philological and contextual issues as well as questions about authorship and canonization with regard to the nine books. Secondly, in his annotations on Hebrews and 1 John, but also other parts of the volume, Mather intervened in the renewed debates over Arianism and the scriptural nature of Nicean Trinitarianism that preoccupied British theologians on both sides of the Atlantic during the early eighteenth century. A third theme was closely related: interpreting the history of Christianity, and specifically the pristine faith of the primitive church, which, in Mather's view, had both embraced a high Trinitarianism and the expectation of a literal, future millennial kingdom. Mather's millennialism, which has to be understood in the context of the apocalyptic revival of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, will be a fourth theme. His interpretation of the emergence of the early church was embedded in a larger history-of-religion perspective – my fifth theme – that presented Christianity as a restoration and fulfillment of the true nature of Judaism and indeed of the original religion of mankind. But first, Section One will outline the composition process of this section of the manuscript and introduce Mather's most important sources.

## Section 1

### Composition and Main Sources

Before going into more depth with the specifics of the composition process and the main sources for volume ten, readers should be reminded of the conglomerate character of the “Biblia” as a whole. The “Biblia” grew over a long time by virtue of Mather’s accumulative labor. It came to be a *florilegium* or “best-of collection” of all the texts across the different fields of contemporary learning that Mather found useful for the purpose of elucidating the Scriptures and defending their authority. And Mather was a true intellectual omnivore, who read an incredible amount of literature well into old age and was always on the lookout for new titles. “There was scarcely any book written but he had somehow or other got sight of them,” as Charles Chauncy (1705–1787) wrote about him in retrospect. “He was the greatest redeemer of time I ever knew.”<sup>1</sup> A great deal of what Mather perused went into the “Biblia,” sometimes in the form of a short reference, sometimes as essay-length excerpts, or a whole series of fresh annotations. For the most part, therefore, the entries in this and all other sections of the “Biblia” are compiled from different commentaries and a multiplicity of other sources, to which Mather here and there added a few original glosses.

The historical background and intellectual contexts for this accumulative type of biblical exegesis, which was still very common among exegetes of Mather’s period, has been discussed in more detail by Smolinski and in my monograph.<sup>2</sup> There, the “Biblia” is also compared to some of the standard works on the market for Bible commentaries at the time, especially the two widespread anthologies of biblical scholarship, John Pearson’s *Critici Sacri* (1660–1669) and *Synopsis criticorum* (1669–1676) by the English Nonconformist theologian Matthew Poole (1624–1679), as well as some of the more popular, English-language annotations, including Poole’s *Annotations upon the Holy Bible* (1683–1685), *An Exposition of all the Books of the Old and New Testaments* (1708–1710) by the Welsh Presbyterian minister Matthew Henry (1662–1714), or the commentaries

---

<sup>1</sup> Quotd. From John Erwin, *The Millennialism of Cotton Mather: An Historical and Theological Analysis* (1990), p. 34.

<sup>2</sup> Smolinski, “Editor’s Introduction” (*BA* 1:1–66); Stievermann, *Prophecy, Piety, and the Problem of Historicity*, chs. 1.2 and 1.3.

on the Old Testament (1679–1706) by the Bishop of Ely Simon Patrick (1625–1707), and those of his Anglican colleague Daniel Whitby (1638–1726) on the New Testament (1703).

While the details need not concern us here, a few general points are worth noting to better understand what can be found in this volume. None of these works are “original” in a post-Romantic sense, but, to a large extent, they offer a synopsis (i. e. a “viewing together”) of different interpretative traditions and opinions. Pearson’s *Critici Sacri* simply juxtaposes the annotations of a few select scholars, chapter by chapter, while Poole attempted something like a digest of many more sources. Patrick and Whitby aimed for a more coherent synthesis of the best interpreters and also added a good deal of their own material. Mather’s “Biblia” comes down somewhere in-between these. The principal differences among these works are in their range, command, and choice of sources, as well as in their ambitions – and abilities – for critical discernment and creative amalgamation. Broadly speaking, the different theological opinions, exegetical positions, and religious sensibilities of these synoptic commentaries only become visible indirectly as they are reflected in selective choices of the compilers and in the ways they treat and represent their materials. For the most part, these works do not cite texts in the manner of modern scholarship, although Patrick and Whitby have annotations and Poole marginal short hands identifying main sources.

To the frustration of his modern editors, Mather does not record all his sources in the manuscript (far from it!), and he is especially lax about second or third-hand citations. However, at some point he almost always identifies his major interlocutors. His method of handling sources is consistently selective: he picks out and synthesizes what is appealing to him from a scholarly or theological point of view while simply ignoring or dismissing the rest. Mather had little, if any, concern about either plagiarizing or misrepresenting authors by making them his own in this way. In fact, he was convinced that he generally improved rather than diminished what others had written. He would let his readers know, for instance, that he was about to offer them the thoughts of Paganus (aka Christian Knorr von Rosenroth), “but I shall not alwayes keep to his *Words*; nor will I deny myself the Liberty of bestowing some Cultivation upon his Notion.” Still, “because I am obliged unto him, for the foundation of the *Essay* upon it, I am content that the *Essay* itself be ascribed unto him as the Author of it” (BA 10:696).<sup>3</sup> In so doing, Mather thought that he was being more generous than most scholars of his age, who similarly availed themselves of their sources. “It may be some Writers improving so much of their own Style and Way in a Matter, as we generally do in our *Illustrations*, would be so Assuming as to

---

3 On Mather’s engagement with Christian Knorr von Rosenroth, see the section on the post-1706 sources for Mather’s commentary on Revelation.

entitle themselves unto a Character of *Authorism* in what they write,” Mather remarked at the beginning of an essay derived from the Anglican theologian Walter Garrett. Indeed, many might “be so ungrateful, as to leave the Name of their *Authors* unmentioned.” Not so Mather, who chose for himself, as he saw it, this “more Ingenuous Proceeding” (BA 10:659).

The opinions and positions represented in the “Biblia” thus took shape in a complex multilateral process of intertextual composition between Mather and his very diverse sources. Indeed, the breadth of Mather’s reading from which he draws his annotations is astounding, in this volume and the “Biblia” more generally. His references are international, interdenominational, multilingual, historically encompassing, and, as we would say today, transdisciplinary. He not only cites the Church Fathers and medieval commentaries, rabbinic literature, ancient history, classical and modern philosophy, philology, and the natural sciences of his day, but also Reformation and post-Reformation theologians of all denominations, including Roman Catholics and Jesuits. Indeed, an ecumenical impulse to transcend old party lines is one of the most conspicuous features of the “Biblia.”

Volume ten offers us more fascinating insights into Mather’s theological leanings and intellectual interests, the complex genesis of the “Biblia Americana,” as well as the shifting intentions behind the project. To appreciate these findings specific to volume ten, readers should be aware that overall the “Biblia” manuscript reveals four recognizable stages or phases of Mather’s composition and revision process, which Smolinski reconstructed through close scrutiny of all available textual evidence.<sup>4</sup> It should be emphasized, though, that these four hypothetical stages cannot always be clearly separated:

Stage I: Aug. 1693 to May 1706

Stage II: May 1706 to the end of 1711

Stage III: 1711 to Feb. 1713/14, 1716

Stage IV: Feb. 1713/14, 1716 to the end of 1728

*Stage I:* During this initial phase, Mather created fascicles of blank folio leaves, organized by Scripture books and chapters. On these he copied extracts from hundreds of publications. He also assigned Arabic numbers to each new entry in the left- or right-hand margins of the leaves. These numerals are important in determining the dating of entries, since he seems to have discontinued the practice in the spring of 1706. Since only about a third of the entries in the “Biblia” have a number, we can state with some certainty that they were made during this stage, which ends with Mather’s first effort to have the whole work published.

---

<sup>4</sup> Smolinski, “Editor’s Introduction” (BA 1:50–62).

*Stage II:* After May 1706, Mather seems to have added entries only very intermittently for about five years. Then, beginning in early 1711, he started to add great numbers of illustrations on a daily or near daily basis for several months. He discontinued numbering entries, crossing out in many instances the existing numerals where they could still be seen after stitching. He also excised portions of old entries and even removed entire pages at points to allow for new thoughts and more expansive entries on particular passages. Moreover, he interleaved additional sheets or half-sheets as needed to accommodate longer supplementary entries for which no room was left on the original leaf.

*Stage III:* This phase, more difficult to determine, probably commenced sometime in late 1711 and ended in 1716, when Mather realized that the “Biblia” would probably not be published. During these years, he made some major changes, mainly having to do with his eschatology and his millennial views, changes that affected his thoughts on the major prophets and on some New Testament texts, and culminated in the development of his *Triparadisus* out of the “Biblia.”

*Stage IV:* This final phase comprehends the last dozen or so years of Mather’s life. During this time, he added significant new content regarding chronologies of both the Old and New Testaments, as well as philological and textual issues. The most intense revisions during these years had to do with his changing views on the national restoration and conversion of the Jews in the latter-days. He also apparently culled from a “considerable Article” in the “Biblia” what would become *The Christian Philosopher* (publ. 1721) and mined several sections of the “Biblia” manuscript, especially the commentaries on the major prophets, for his final work, the *Triparadisus*. Of course, throughout the entire process, he would have regularly used the notes in the “Biblia” for his sermon preparations.

Although with considerable variations (to be discussed in detail below), all four stages of composition identified by Smolinski are represented in the annotations on Hebrews, James, 1–2 Peter, 1–3 John, Jude, and Revelation. The appended essays were all composed during either stage three or four. During all four stages there was a constant influx of information from extremely variegated sources. Mather sometimes extracted from new sources material for just a few particular entries (or made additions to existing ones) across the Bible. Sometimes he would take a source that he deemed central and excerpt it at great length, writing an essay or creating a whole layer of annotations from a particular author on a given book or section. Consequently, we find entries in this volume on one particular scripture verse that grew over years or decades and that frequently evolve considerably in their interpretative perspectives from one paragraph composed at an early stage to the next one, which was penned much later.

Generally, it was not Mather's habit to go back and attempt to integrate the different perspectives. Rather he left them standing next to each other, usually without clearly indicating which one he wished to privilege. The intellectual debates Mather engaged in and his own opinion also underwent considerable transformations. As entries were added, layers of annotations accrued, and Mather's thinking on certain issues evolved, he would sometimes undertake some revisions on parts of the manuscript written earlier that contradicted his more mature insights. As will be discussed below, the most dramatic example of such a change of view had to do with his millennialist eschatology, causing multiple strike-throughs and rewritings in many parts of the manuscript. But this editorial policy was by no means consistent. Sometimes older entries were left intact that did not fully harmonize with subsequent additions, or even contradicted Mather's later views. Very likely Mather planned for a complete and thorough revision of the manuscript once he found the proper support for publication. He would clean up these issues while doing all the other necessary editorial corrections. But this never happened. The "Biblia," as a result, has retained a certain polyphonous character, in some places more than others.

This poses many challenges to the interpreter. One is that the stages of composition for the evolving commentaries on a given biblical book, or even for a single entry, often cannot be clearly identified. Frequently, we do not know when exactly Mather composed a particular entry or layer of annotation, which makes it harder to reconstruct the development of Mather's thoughts and opinions and to assess which (if any) interpretative perspective he might have wished to privilege in the end. There is only one fairly reliable indicator throughout the manuscript: the above-mentioned index numbers, which are a very important help for dating entries to either the pre- or post-1706 phase of composition. Beyond that, determining the composition date for single entries or entire layers of annotations is often tricky, if not impossible. Sometimes we can draw conclusions from the publication date of some of the recent works that Mather used, his occasional dating of entries through biographical references, or the manuscript itself. For instance, when there are insertions in different inks squeezed between other annotations or onto the margins, or when there are extra leaves attached to crowded folio pages, it can be assumed that these are later additions. But much about the composition process remains shrouded in mystery.

Below, I subdivide discussion of the composition process and the main sources into two sections: one section on Hebrews, James, 1–2 Peter, 1–3 John, and Jude, the other on Revelation and the appended Essays. This division is somewhat arbitrary, because Mather employed some sources for all sections, or even across the "Biblia." Ultimately, however, the division seems helpful given that there are a number of major interlocutors specific to his annotations on Hebrews and the Catholic Letters, as well as to his commentary on Revelation



and the essays. Readers interested in Mather's sources for this and other sections of the "Biblia" should be apprised of the fact that these had to be reconstructed from the text itself and the sparse references that it contains. If anything is mentioned at all, it is usually the bare names of authors. Citations of titles, let alone of chapters and page numbers, are rare. Unfortunately, Mather did not leave us a bibliography or catalogue of the works he employed for his annotations either; or maybe they did not survive. This means that, for all the effort put into reconstructing the process of composition, there remain a few gaps in the documentation, where the source of a citation could not be identified.

In order to close as many gaps as possible, I also consulted the relevant sections in Mather's manuscript "Note Book of Authors and Texts Throughout the Bible," held by the American Antiquarian Society. Unfortunately, we do not know when Mather made the lists of titles contained in this notebook.<sup>5</sup> Nor is it clear what they signify exactly. As many of the works listed Hebrews to Revelation definitely do not show up with direct references in the respective "Biblia" annotations, it seems to be a list of titles Mather was either still planning to look at or which he consulted for general background information but did not excerpt. Inversely, the vast majority of titles that Mather actually did cite in his commentaries are not listed in the notebook. So, overall the "Note Book of Authors and Texts Throughout the Bible" remains a rather enigmatic and unhelpful source. One may speculate that Mather initially intended to follow a plan contained therein but later adopted another mode of operation.

### 1.1. Composition and Sources of Mather's Commentaries on Hebrews, James, 1–2 Peter, 1–3 John, and Jude

The surviving index numbers for annotations in this section of the manuscript reveal that Mather gave these books of the New Testament some attention during Stage I, but not as much as others. In his commentary on Hebrews, we find 30 index numbers, 32 for James, 38 for 1–2 Peter, 15 for 1–3 John, and 12 for Jude. Of course, a few index numbers might have disappeared in the gutter of the manuscript. The still legible numbers indicate that these commentaries were written throughout the first stage of composition from 1693 to 1706. The numbers range from 226 (James), 336 (Hebrews), or 436 (Jude) to 1062 (3 John), 2407 (Hebrews), and as high as 4574 (Jude). The lowest numbers are scattered across the entire section of the manuscript, suggesting that Mather wrote these early entries intermittently, as he chanced upon an interesting source, reflected on a specific Bible verse, or thought about a new textual

---

<sup>5</sup> Smolinski assumes that it was written around 1720. See his "Editor's Introduction" (BA 1:316–17).

problem. This shows that Mather did not start out in the mid-1690s with the aim of producing a comprehensive commentary on this section of the Bible. He rather intended to offer observations on very select verses. But then sometime between 1703 and c. 1706, Mather composed a lot of new entries on Hebrews and the Catholic Letters, seemingly in one concentrated period of work. This period is reflected in the index numbers above 4000, many of which are consecutive. There is a whole stretch of consecutive numbers ranging from 4502 to 4574. Most of the respective entries come from Daniel Whitby's *A Paraphrase and Commentary on the New Testament* (1703), one of Mather's master sources throughout his annotations on that part of the Bible. The index numbers of the Whitby entries on Hebrews and the Catholic Letters are continuous with those on the Pauline letters in vol. 9, suggesting that Mather did these annotations in one go.

After 1706, Mather kept adding further entries, especially on Hebrews but also 1 John and 2 Peter (which were all of particular importance to theological controversies that Mather was invested in), so that eventually his annotations on these books approached complete commentaries. In its final form, the manuscript of this section of the "Biblia" is comprised of 70 pages – Hebrews (26), James (9), 1 Peter (7), 2 Peter (12), 1 John (10), 2 and 3 John (1 each), and Jude (4) pages. Even if we take into account the few blank pages and the fact that many of these pages are not folio size but quarto size or smaller, this certainly is a dramatic expansion that reflects the protracted history of composition and the expansion of Mather's ambition for the "Biblia" project as he continued to hope for its publication.

### *Main Sources during Stage I*

Looking at the sources for earlier individual entries (i.e. entries with lower index numbers that do not belong to a sequence of annotations), one can identify different groups of authors and texts.<sup>6</sup> The first group includes Continental Reformers and post-Reformation theologians, especially those from the great Reformed universities in the Holy Roman Empire, France, Switzerland, and the Netherlands. Martin Luther (1483–1546) makes several appearances with his *Tischreden* (first ed. 1566), as cited from *Doctoris Martini Lutheri Colloquia Mensalia: Or, Dr Martin Luther's Divine Discourses at His Table*

<sup>6</sup> Two notes on references: A) For those of Mather's sources that are merely mentioned but not cited in this introduction, full bibliographic information can be found in the bibliography at the end of the volume. B) Unless otherwise noted, basic biographical information for figures from the English-speaking world is derived from the online versions of the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (ODNB) or *American National Biography Online* (ANB); for Continental figures the source is the online version of the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* (ADB), *Neue Deutsche Biographie* (NDB), or the *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon* (BBK). Entries and authors from these sources are only cited in full in cases of more detailed discussion.

(1659), as does the French Reformed Protestant Reformer and disciple of John Calvin, Theodore Beza (1519–1605), with his *Annotationes majores in Novum Dn. Nostri Jesu Christi Testamentum* (1594). Mather also makes references to the commentaries on Hebrews (found in the 1612 *Opera theologica*) by the famous German Reformed theologian and principal author of the Heidelberg Catechism, Zacharias Ursinus (1534–1584), as well as those (contained in the *Opera omnia* of 1685–1687) by Jacob Alting (1618–1679), professor of Oriental languages and theology at the University of Groningen. A favorite of Mather, the Swiss Reformed theologian Johann Heinrich Heidegger (1633–1698) found his way into an early entry on the prophecy of Enoch (*BA* 10:436–37) with his *Rashe'avot, sive de historia sacra patriarcharum exercitationes selectae* (1667–1671).

Even more central is Hermann Witsius (Herman Wits, 1636–1708), a man Mather greatly admired and whom he also counted among his correspondents.<sup>7</sup> The “judicious *Witsius*” (*BA* 10:324) was a renowned Reformed intellectual and Pietist theologian of the period, who successively held positions at the universities of Franeker, Utrecht, and Leyden. Witsius was best known for his massive work of covenant theology, *De oeconomia foederum Dei cum hominibus* (1677), in which he attempted to reconcile the pietistic federalism of his teacher Johannes Cocceius (1603–1669) with the reigning Reformed Orthodoxy represented by Gisbertus Voetius (1589–1676). However, in his annotations on Hebrews and the Catholic Letters, as in other parts of the “Biblia,” Mather mostly draws on Witsius’s exegetical lectures collected in *Miscellanea sacra* (1692–1700) and *Meletemata Leidensia* (1703). In his commentary on Revelation, Mather derives a lengthy essay from “the excellent *Witsius*, (one of the greatest Men in this Age),” in which he historicized John’s letters to the seven churches of Asia (*BA* 10:462).

Very prominently represented is a second group of theological works and commentaries by British Puritan or Dissenting authors. For example, Mather cites the great Puritan divine and Cambridge scholar William Perkins (1558–1602), author of *A Cloud of Faithfull Witnesses, Leading to the Heavenly Canaan: Or A Commentarie Upon the 11. Chapter to the Hebrewes* (1607). Thomas Goodwin’s (1600–1680) posthumously published *A Discourse of Election* (1683) and *Christ the Mediator* (1692) also appear multiple times. Goodwin is a very important interlocutor for Mather in other parts of the “Biblia” as well, notably the commentary on Revelation.

Educated at Christ’s College and Catharine’s Hall, Cambridge, Goodwin experienced conversion in 1620 and became increasingly involved with the cause of the “godly” as the Caroline church moved toward Arminianism. In 1638, he fled to Arnhem in the Netherlands to escape the mounting pressure of Laudianism. Here he served as teacher to an English “foreigner church” that

<sup>7</sup> See *Diary of Cotton Mather* (1:225, 249).

had become home to other Puritan refugees and swiftly became Goodwin's model for what he considered the most scriptural form of polity: each congregation should be an independent, "covenanted" church, with full membership restricted to visible saints, and lay elders and members overseeing discipline together. As one of the pioneers of the Independent or Congregational party in the Puritan movement, which rejected not only the episcopal hierarchy but also the binding authority of synods (preferring the use of voluntary associations for advice in doctrine and for the mediation of disputes), Goodwin became an important, if controversial, voice in the Westminster Assembly after his return to England in 1641.<sup>8</sup> Together with Philip Nye, Sidrach Simpson, William Bridge, and Jeremiah Burroughs, known as the "Dissenting Brethren," he presented the cause of Independency in the *Apologetic Narration* (1644). Later on, Goodwin was one of the authors of the *Savoy Declaration* (1658), which would then also be adopted in New England during the Reforming Synod of 1679–80. During the Interregnum, Goodwin exerted considerable influence as a close advisor to Cromwell, and in 1650 he was appointed president of Magdalen College, Oxford. After the Restoration, Goodwin managed to avoid ejection and lived out his years as an Independent minister in London. Goodwin was a prolific author of sermons and works of practical divinity that reflected his experimental Calvinism. While he published some fifteen popular titles during his lifetime, much of Goodwin's writings only reached a larger public through the posthumous collection of his works in four volumes (1681–1704).<sup>9</sup> These works, which also included his commentary on Revelation, were widely read among Dissenters in Britain and the New England colonies, where they had a special place of honor in the Mather family library, but also among Dutch and German Pietists.

A close contemporary of Goodwin was the Dissenting cleric, Lecturer of Christ Church, and Rector of Blackfriars William Jenkyn (1612–1685), whose *Exposition Upon the Epistle of Jude: Delivered in Christ-Church* (1653) is consulted by Mather in his commentary on Jude. Other, more contemporary, Dissenting authors whom Mather cites on Hebrews and the Catholic Letters but also elsewhere in the "Biblia" include the Congregationalist minister at Moorfield (London) Walter Cross (d. 1701), who wrote *An Exposition of the second verse of the fourth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans* (1694), and the Scottish Presbyterian minister Robert Fleming the Younger (c. 1660–1716). Born at Cambuslang and educated in Leiden and Utrecht, Fleming served in various ministerial positions in Scotland and Holland. Greatly appreciated by Mather, he was an influential ecclesial politician and noted both for his kabbalistic interests, his

<sup>8</sup> On this, see David John Walker, "Thomas Goodwin and the Debate on Church Government" (1983).

<sup>9</sup> See T. M. Lawrence, "Goodwin, Thomas" (*ODNB*).

millennialism, and his liberal view on conformity. In this section of the "Biblia," Mather draws on Fleming's massive *Christology: A Discourse Concerning Christ Consider'd* (1705) but also his *Discourses on several Subjects* (1701). In his post-1706 additions to the commentary on Revelation, Mather, furthermore, gleans an entry from Fleming's *Apocalpytical Key: An Extraordinary Discourse on the Rise and Fall of the Papacy*, contained in the same collection.

Of course, Mather did not forgo the opportunity to cite several members of his extended family as well. Besides his father Increase Mather (1639–1723), the Boston minister and president of Harvard college for twenty years, whose *Some Important Truths concerning Conversion, delivered in Several Sermons* (1674) is referenced, Cotton Mather also draws on the work of his uncle, the English Independent minister and lecturer at Pinner's Hall, Nathanael (or Nathaniel) Mather (1631–1697), *The Righteousness of God Through Faith Upon All Without Difference who Believe* (1694).

Among the many Church of England theologians Mather drew on, he held one in especially high regard: John Edwards (1637–1716), whom he also listed among his correspondents. Educated at Cambridge (MA, 1661), Edwards held several ecclesial positions, including the ministry of St Sepulchre's, Cambridge, and the vicarage of St Peter's, Colchester, but retired early from active duty. Through a series of publications, he instead made a name for himself as a prominent exegete and defender of Reformed orthodoxy (as he understood it) against Arminian and Arian tendencies. Among Edwards's controversialist titles are *Some Thoughts Concerning the Several Causes and Occasions of Atheism* (1695) and *Socinianism Unmasked* (1696). Here and elsewhere in the "Biblia," however, Mather turned to Edwards's *A Discourse concerning the Authority, Stile, and Perfection of the Books of the Old and New Testament* (1693–1695) and *Exercitations critical, philosophical, historical, theological on several important Places in the Writings of the Old and New Testament* (1702), both before and after 1706. While Mather would have known that Daniel Whitby (1638–1726) was no champion of Calvinism like Edwards, he apparently did not yet suspect Whitby of the "heretical" tendencies for which he later became known. These were hardly, if at all, detectable in his *A Paraphrase and Commentary on the New Testament* (1703), which Mather systematically mined during the first stage of his annotations. Whitby's *Paraphrase and Commentary* is by far the most frequently cited source on Hebrews and the Catholic Letters, as it is on the Pauline epistles (BA 9:32–33).

Whitby had graduated from Trinity College, Oxford, the year of the Stuart Restoration and was later awarded a D. D. from that institution. In 1669 he was appointed perpetual curate of St. Thomas's and rector of St. Edmund's, Salisbury. During these years, Whitby acquired a reputation as a prolific controversialist divine, who in his much-discussed *Protestant reconciler* (1683) favored tolerance for Dissenters in hopes of their eventual comprehension in the Church

of England. In 1688, Whitby started to put his considerable learning to use on a comprehensive commentary on the New Testament, the first complete edition of which appeared in two volumes in 1703. A friend of John Locke (1632–1704), Whitby revealed his Arminian and rationalist leanings in 1710, when his *Discourse on the Five Points* attacked the Calvinism propagated by John Edwards, eliciting a series of rejoinders. That Whitby, under the influence of Samuel Clarke's *Scripture doctrine of the Trinity* (1712) and other subordinationist works, also came to reject the Nicean definition of Trinitarianism, did not become apparent to the larger public before the posthumous publication in April 1727 of his *Last Thoughts*.<sup>10</sup> Some of the learned in England at least would have guessed as much, however, from a Latin dissertation that Whitby had written in 1714, in which he rejected the authority of the Fathers in deciding core doctrinal matters like the Trinity.<sup>11</sup>

Apparently, Mather never learned of any of this, for none of the hundreds of entries based on *A Paraphrase and Commentary* were revised to reflect his disapproval of Whitby's position – something that Mather did, for example, with his essay derived from William Whiston when news of Whiston's coming-out as an Arian reached him (see below). And except for certain rationalistic tendencies (there is an emphasis, for instance, on faith as assent to the factual truth of the Gospel), there was little that Mather would have found out of bounds in Whitby's commentaries on the New Testament. In fact, on issues such as authorship or manuscript variations Whitby was very well-informed but rather conservative in judgment, as we will see below. And so it is perhaps not altogether surprising that *A Paraphrase and Commentary* continued to be widely read across the Anglophone world. This was also because Whitby's annotations were incorporated into the collection *A Critical Commentary and Paraphrase of the Old and New Testament* (1727–1760), comprising the commentaries of Patrick, William Lowth, and Richard Arnauld. This work remained a household title into the nineteenth century.

Mather made little use of other contemporary English-language commentaries, such as Matthew Poole's or Matthew Henry's, because he feared this might diminish the marketability of "Biblia Americana." It is not clear why Mather had no such qualms about harvesting so much material from Whitby's works. What attracted him to Whitby's work, however, seems relatively obvious: *A Paraphrase and Commentary* was a work of high scholarly quality according to the standards of the day, on which Mather could rely when explicating the historical and cultural contexts, or when discussing philological questions and problems of translation. In addition to his expertise in Greek, Whitby was

<sup>10</sup> In 1691, he had still attacked Unitarianism and Arianism with his *Tractatus de vera Christi Deitate adversus Arian et Socini hereses*.

<sup>11</sup> Jean-Louis Quantin, "Whitby, Daniel" (ODNB).

well-versed in Jewish and Greco-Roman literature, and especially patristic writings, which he (somewhat ironically, given his later rejection of the *authoritas patrum*) references at every turn. Mather got countless citations of the Church Fathers but also of sources like Josephus, Philo, or the New Testament apocrypha from Whitby. Moreover, while medieval or early modern mystical interpretations are largely absent, Whitby gave Mather convenient access to critical debates and opinions (many of which he cited at second hand) on controversial topics.

A fourth group of sources can be characterized as works of seventeenth-century biblical criticism. As always in the “Biblia,” the great Cambridge Hebraists and exegete John Lightfoot (1602–1675) is frequently consulted. From Lightfoot’s collected work (1684) Mather cites diverse studies, including *Horae hebraicae et talmudicae* (orig. publ. in 1658), the first systematic attempt to use Talmudic sources to explicate the gospels.<sup>12</sup> Other luminaries of the *ars critica* whom Mather taps for their expertise on various questions about ancient religious history are the famous English polymath John Selden (1584–1654), with his controversial *A History of Tithes* (1618), and John Gregory (1607–1646), with his *Notes and Observations upon some Passages of Scripture* (1646). A chaplain to the Bishop of Chichester, Gregory is considered one of the leading English Orientalists of the day, famed for his command of Hebrew, Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopic, Samaritan, Saxon, and Armenian. Much more complex was Mather’s relation to the famous Dutch humanist scholar and jurist Hugo Grotius (Hugo/Huig de Groot, 1583–1645). Grotius had also contributed significantly to the advancement of the historical-contextualist method in his controversial annotations on all books of the Bible, which were first printed between 1641 and 1650 and subsequently included in Pearson’s anthology of biblical criticism, *Critici Sacri*.<sup>13</sup>

As he does across the “Biblia,” Mather engages with Grotius’s annotations on Hebrews and the Catholic Letters in a highly selective fashion. On the one hand, Mather valued Grotius’s careful and profoundly knowledgeable philological explanations and historical contextualizations. These explanations are often cited approvingly, where they do not disturb Mather’s orthodox

12 On Lightfoot, see Richard A. Muller, “Lightfoot, John” (1998), pp. 208–12.

13 The commentaries on the New Testament Grotius published (Amsterdam 1641, Paris 1646, Paris 1650) after he had to flee the Netherlands, almost immediately caused a stir among theologians and exegetes. Completed shortly before his death, Grotius’s *Annotata ad Vetus Testamentum* (3 vols.; Paris, 1644) were also hotly debated among specialists of the period. By the time Mather began his work on the ‘Biblia’-project, Grotius’s collected commentaries had become also available by their reprinting in the *Opera omnia theologica* (1679), of which Mather apparently owned a personal copy. On Grotius’s life and work, see Henk J. M. Nellen, *Hugo Grotius: A Lifelong Struggle for Peace in Church and State, 1583–1645* (2015); for an introduction to his biblical criticism, see Henning Graf Reventlow, “Humanistic Exegesis: The Famous Hugo Grotius” (1988).

understanding of the authority and organic unity of the Bible. On the other hand, Mather ignores or, on some occasions, criticizes Grotius where he questions the authorship or canonicity of the Catholic Letters. Similarly ambiguous was Mather's use of the exegetical work of Grotius's major English disciple, the Church of England theologian Henry Hammond (1605–1660). Trained at Oxford (MA, 1625; DD, 1639), Hammond was rector of Penshurst, Kent, before the Civil War, then served as chaplain to Charles I, and spent the Interregnum years as a sequestered clergyman supported by patrons. A committed Royalist and defender of the Church of England, Hammond published works of practical religion, notably *A Practical Catechism* (1644/45), apologist writings such as *Of the Reasonableness of the Christian Religion* (1650), and a number of controversialist books that called for subjection and non-resistance to the lawful ruler and defended episcopacy (e.g. his *Dissertationes quatuor* of 1651). Originally published in 1653, Hammond's learned *A Paraphrase and Annotations upon all the Books of the New Testament* was widely read among specialists and lay readers of the day and contributed much to the polarization of historical-contextualist scholarship in the Anglophone world. By 1689 it had gone through a sixth edition. Against critics like John Owen, "Hammond defended his annotations ... in *Deuterai phrontides* (1657)," and "also defended three times between 1654 and 1657 the orthodoxy of Grotius, whose textual analysis he so admired." His interest in manuscript evidence continued with the scholarly and financial help he gave to Brian Walton for his polyglot Bible (1655–7).<sup>14</sup> Tellingly, Mather felt challenged to engage with Grotius and Hammond throughout the years of his work on the "Biblia." In this section, he also continued to make additional annotations from both authors after 1706 that have no index number. Mather's engagement with Grotius and Hammond is treated more fully in Section Two.

### *Main Sources of the Post-1706 Expansions*

Smolinski has pointed out that it is not always possible to tell with certainty whether the entries after 1706 were made during the second, third, or fourth stage of composition. And so it is with the majority of annotations on Hebrews and the Catholic Letters but also on Revelation that Mather added after he abandoned the practice of indexing. As suggested above, the number of these annotations far exceeds the number of early entries. Mather inserted these new annotations into blank spaces on the existing folio leafs or on empty back pages. There are also notes that Mather squeezed into the margins, some of them written sideways. Moreover, he wrote on scrap pieces of paper of various sizes which he then sealed onto the margin of the folio leafs and occasionally even on top of each other, thereby creating inserts within inserts.

<sup>14</sup> Hugh de Quehen, "Hammond, Henry" (ODNB). See also John W. Packer, *The Transformation of Anglicanism, 1643–1660 with Special Reference to Henry Hammond* (1969).



There are a handful of major sources that account for the majority of post-1706 additions. The most significant and, at the same time, suprising one is *The Expiation of a Sinner in a Commentary upon the Epistle to the Hebrewes*, anonymously published in England in 1646. It is the translation of the *Commentarius in Epistolam ad Hebraeos* (1634), co-authored by the two prominent Socinian theologians Jonas Schlichting (Jonasz Szlichtyng, Schlichtingus; 1592–1661) and Johannes Crell (Johannes Krell, Jan Krell, Crellius; 1590–1633). Mather did not know about their authorship, but, of course, he realized that this work was produced by someone with anti-Trinitarian views. As he notes, the book came with a preface carrying “an Attestation signed by *John Downame*, that saies, He ‘has perused it, & finds it Learned, Judicious, Profitable, & allows it to be published.’” Mather, with good reason, suspected this commendation to be fake, since John Downame (Downham; 1571–1652) was an orthodox English clergyman and theologian with Puritan leanings, who came to prominence in the 1640s, when he worked closely with the Westminster Assembly. “When I read the Book over, I could not but wonder at this Attestation, and suspect it a Forgery,” Mather continues, “For the Author was an *Arian*, and *Arianism* in its full System, (indeed a fuller than I have ever yett seen any where else) reigns every where in it, from first to last.” Still, he found many of the “Illustrations in this Composure, very worthy to be considered” where they concerned the *sensus literalis*, or questions of translation (BA 10:251). Indeed, the authors were able Humanist scholars, but as theologians they were even more radical than Mather suspected. Rather than Arians, they were Unitarians or Socinians associated with the Polish Brethren.

Schlichting was born in Bukowiec, Lubusz Voivodeship (modern Poland), as the son of an aristocratic family belonging to the Polish Minor Church. He studied at the academy of Altdorf, near Nuremberg, and then became pastor of a Unitarian congregation at Raków, the center of Polish Unitarianism, where Fausto Sozzini (1573–1612) had helped to found the academy of the Polish Brethren. After the onset of the Counter-Reformation in Poland in 1639, Socinianism was officially banned and Schlichting was convicted by the Warsaw parliament in 1647 for spreading this heresy and went into exile in the Netherlands. He only briefly returned to Poland during the Swedish invasion of 1655. Schlichting penned numerous works of Socinian theology, including an anti-Trinitarian *Confessio fidei Christiane edita nomine ecclesiarum Polonicarum* (1642), which was translated into several European languages, and commentaries on Romans and Galatians that were published posthumously.<sup>15</sup> The commentary on Hebrews, printed at Raków in 1634, was the fruit of a collaboration with the German Johannes Crell.

15 Adolf Link, “Schlichting, Jonas von” (ADB).

Born the son of a Lutheran preacher in Helmitsheim, Franconia, Crell also went to the academy at Altdorf, where he became attracted to Socinianism. Still, he took the office of an inspector in the Lutheran church. Suspected for his anti-Trinitarian leanings, he emigrated to Raków. Here Crell found patronage and became the rector of the academy (1616–1621) and in 1622 also the minister of a local congregation. In the years before his death, Crell wrote several exegetical and theological works and also collaborated on the Raków New Testament with its uniquely Socinian inflections. He established himself as the leading theologian of the Polish Brethren and as the author of, among other writings, *Ad librum Hugonis Grotii quem de satisfactione Christi* (1623), *De Deo et eius attributis* (1630), *De uno Deo Patre libri duo* (1631), and *Vindiciae de religionis libertate* (1639).<sup>16</sup> His works and those of Schlichting exerted considerable influence on German and English anti-Trinitarianism and the debate over religious freedom in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Many of them, including the Latin commentary on Hebrews, were available through the *Bibliotheca Fratrum Polonorum quos Unitarios vocant* or *Library of the Polish Brethren called Unitarians* (1665–92), a nine-volume collection of writings of the Polish Brethren published in Leiden. At least two of Crell's works were also translated into English under his name: *A learned and exceeding well-complied Vindication of Liberty of Religion* (1646), and *The two Books...touching on God the Father. Wherein many things also concerning the Nature of the Son of God, and the Holy Spirit are discoursed of* (1665). However, the commentary on Hebrews Mather cites appeared anonymously. It is assumed that the rather free translation and publication was undertaken by Thomas Lushington (1590–1661), and Anglican cleric who during the Civil War period became known for his anti-Trinitarian views. In 1650, Lushington published *The Justification of a Sinner*, a similarly free translation of Schlichting's commentary on the epistle to the Galatians. In keeping with Socinian theology, both commentaries reject not only Christ's co-equal divinity but also his vicarious atonement for the sins of humanity.<sup>17</sup>

Given how invested Mather was in pushing back against the new anti-Trinitarian tendencies in parts of the Protestant world during his time, it is certainly remarkable that he would derive dozens of entries on Hebrews from *The Expiation*. Of course, he incorporates none of the anti-Trinitarian notions expressed by Schlichting and Crell, but only cherry-picked those parts of *The Expiation* that he found safe and helpful. For instance, at Heb. 1:5, *The Expiation* offers a fully developed Unitarian reading of Christ's generation and sonship, but Mather merely takes over an explanation of how the expression "this day" in "this day have I begotten thee" had to be understood as a Hebraism

16 Adolf Schimmelpfennig, "Crell, Johann" (ADB).

17 See H. John McLachlan, *Socinianism in Seventeenth-Century England* (1951); and Earl Morse Wilbur, *A History of Unitarianism* (1945–52).

(BA 10:234). And by asserting Christ's full divinity in his own annotations, he implicitly refuted the views of the two Socinian theologians. Still, Mather gave considerable room and intellectual credit to a work that he considered decidedly unorthodox.

Similarly, one wonders what exactly Mather knew and thought about the Arianism of the Anglican cleric and scholar Thomas Pyle (1674–1756), whose *A Paraphrase with some Notes on the Acts of the Apostles, and upon all the Epistles of the New Testament* (first ed. 1715) constitutes another main source of the post-1706 additions. Mather used it not only on Hebrews and the Catholic Letters but also the Pauline epistles (BA 9:34). Educated at Cambridge (MA, 1699), Pyle became minister of St. Nicholas's Chapel in King's Lynn in 1701, and subsequently held various ecclesial positions. Politically, Pyle was associated with the low-church Whigs, but even after the Hanoverian succession he did not advance further in the Church, likely on account of his outspoken subordinationist views on the Trinity and his association with Samuel Clarke and William Whiston. Besides some controversial discourses, Pyle's major work was his annotated New Testament paraphrase, which went through a third edition by 1737. It was done, as the subtitle of the second edition puts it, "in the Manner of Dr Clarke" and was supposed to serve as a continuation of Samuel Clarke's *A Paraphrase on the Four Evangelists* (first ed. 1701–2). Like Clarke, Pyle employed his considerable learning and critical acumen to present what he perceived as the literal or natural sense of Scripture, illuminated by the light of reason, in modern English. This could lead him to results that were certainly not agreeable to Mather, as, for instance, when he explains the "these three are one" of the *comma Johanneum* in 1 John 5:7–8 (for more about this, see below) not as evincing equality or consubstantiality of the three divine persons, but simply as "showing the *Father* to have *Sent* Him, and the *Son* to have actually *Come* into the World, for the Salvation of Mankind."<sup>18</sup> But Mather, as he so often did, silently bypassed such offences, and took from Pyle what suited his own purposes.

A third major source of expansion on Hebrews helped Mather emphasize the full divinity and exalted nature of Christ: John Owen's *Exercitations on the Epistle to the Hebrews, Also Concerning the Messiah* with its two continuations, published in four folio volumes between 1668 and 1684.<sup>19</sup> The Oxford scholar, Puritan theologian and Independent minister John Owen (1616–1683) is too famous to require much of an introduction.<sup>20</sup> Suffice it to say here that his

<sup>18</sup> Pyle, *A Paraphrase with some Notes on the Acts of the Apostles* (2:386).

<sup>19</sup> John Owen, *Exercitations on the epistle to the Hebrews, ... with a Continuation of the exposition on the third, fourth, and fifth chapters of said epistle to the Hebrews* (1674), and *A Continuation of the Exposition of the Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Hebrews (viz) on the eleventh, twelfth & thirteenth Chapters* (1684).

<sup>20</sup> For an excellent recent study, see Crawford Gribben, *John Owen and English Puritanism: Experiences of Defeat* (2016).

treatises of Calvinist divinity, such as *The Death of Christ* (1650) or *The Doctrine of Justification by Faith* (1677), were owned and cherished by the Mathers, as were many of his controversialist tracts and writings on Congregationalist ecclesiology. Owen was also a stout defender of Scripture's absolute authority and integrity against overly historicizing critics, as evinced by his *Of the Divine Originall* (1659) and *A Review of the Annotations of Hugo Grotius* (1656). Furthermore, he polemically engaged Socinians and Arians in works such as *Vindiciae evangelicae* (1655), *A Brief Declaration ... of the Doctrine of the Trinity* (1669), or his *Christologia* (1677). These concerns came together in Owen's massive scholarly commentary on Hebrews, which stands in continuity with other great Puritan works on that book of the Bible, such as the posthumous *magnum opus* by the Westminster divine William Gouge (1575–1653), *A Commentary on the Whole Epistle to the Hebrews* (1655), which Mather also seems to have known. Cited at least a dozen times by Mather, Owen's commentary explores in enormous detail the scriptural warrant for his Christology and high view of the Trinity, but also addresses questions of authorship and language. Mather found a fitting supplement to Owen's exposition of Hebrews in Thomas Manton's *A Practical Commentary or an Exposition, with Notes on the Epistle of James* (1653), and *A practical Commentary, or an Exposition with Notes on the Epistle of Jude* (1658). Like Owen, the Presbyterian divine Thomas Manton (1620–1677) was an Oxford graduate and had been at the very heart of the Puritan revolution in England. In his day, Manton was renowned for his expository preaching, combining scholarly exegesis, apologetic concerns, and practical divinity, of which the commentaries are fine examples.

Politically, religiously, but also with regard to his intellectual pursuits, Sir Norton Knatchbull (1602–1685) differed considerably from Owen and Manton. Although no committed Royalist, Knatchbull did not openly embrace the Puritan cause either and was deprived of his seat in Parliament during Pride's Purge in December 1648. During his forced retirement (he resumed his position after the Restoration), Knatchbull focused on his interests in ancient languages and biblical exegesis, which bore fruit in his *Animadversiones in libros novi testamenti* (1659). The work enjoyed some popularity and had gone through a third, amended edition by 1677. It also appeared in translation in 1693 as *Annotations upon some Difficult Texts in All the Books of the New Testament*. Mather appreciated Knatchbull's work for its sophisticated and critical, but never impious, exploration of textual and linguistic issues and its helpful contextualizations. As he does on the Pauline epistles, he inserted entries from the *Animadversiones* in numerous places across his annotations on Hebrews and the Catholic Letters.

Everywhere in his post-1706 expansions, Mather made a special effort to enrich his commentaries with Judaica. This is also the case in this section of the manuscript, where he made numerous additions from the Talmud,

Midrash Rabbah, Mishneh Torah, the glosses of the Rabbinical Bible, but also medieval works of Jewish mysticism, notably the central text of the Kabbalah, the Book of Zohar. The majority of these citations come from a work titled *Mellificium hebraicum, seu, Observationes diversimodae ex Hebraeorum* (1660). It was authored by the Cambridge scholar (MA, 1624) and Church of England minister at St Martin and Gregorie in Micklegate, York, Christopher Cartwright (bap. 1602–d. 1658). Cartwright is remembered now, if at all, for his controversial exchanges with Richard Baxter, but in Mather's time he enjoyed the reputation of an outstanding Hebraist, which he earned by producing three major editions: *Electa Thargumico-rabbinica, sive, Annotationes in Genesin* (1648), *Electa Thargumico-rabbinica, sive, Annotationes in Exodum* (1653), and the posthumously published *Mellificium Hebraicum* ("Hebrew honey-making"). It was included in vol. 9 of the 1660 edition of John Pearson's *Critici Sacri*, and in vol. 8 of the 1698 Amsterdam edition of that work, which Mather seems to have used. *Mellificium hebraicum* was a rich florilegium of Rabbinica that reflected the interests of Christian Hebraists like Cartwright or Mather. Beyond offering linguistic or contextual elucidation of New Testament texts, the primary point of the accumulated material was to draw out hidden parallels between Christian theology (especially with regard to messianic and eschatological expectations) and diverse rabbinical traditions of interpreting the Hebrew Bible, so as to show that Judaism, rightly understood, and Christianity were really one religion.<sup>21</sup>

Looking beyond these major sources, what generalizations can be made about the kinds of works from which Mather derived individual post-1706 entries on Hebrews and the Catholic Letters? As is true for other sections of the "Biblia," one is struck by Mather's persistent efforts to keep abreast of important publications in the international republic of letters. For instance, he references the exegetical studies of the renowned Dutch Reformed theologians Campegius Vitringa the Elder (1659–1722), *Observationes sacrae* ([1683–1708] 1712), and Johannes Marckius (Johannes a Marck, van der Mark, 1656–1731), *Exegeticae exercitationes ad quinquaginta selecta loca Veteris & Novi Testamenti* (1697). Apparently, Mather also felt a special affinity for works by French Huguenot scholars. In this section of the manuscript, we find references to, among others, *Les oeuvres posthumes* of Jean Claude (1619–1687), and the *Dissertations, historical, critical, theological and moral, on the most memorable Events of the Old and New Testament* (1723) by Jacques Saurin (1677–1730), both of whom lived in Dutch exile.

Of course, Mather also continued to derive single entries from sermons and treatises by British clergymen. It seems that Mather was not usually reading such publications specifically for his work on the "Biblia." However, when he

<sup>21</sup> On the Christian Hebraism of the period, see Stephen G. Burnett, *Christian Hebraism in the Reformation Era (1500–1660): Authors, Books, and the Transmission of Jewish Learning* (2012).

happened to find a passage in a sermon or tract which contained a convincing explication or, more frequently, a pious application of a biblical verse, it was turned into an annotation at the respective place in the manuscript. Chronologically, Mather's selection stretches from the great Stuart reformers and Civil War-era Puritan authors to the post-Restoration generation of divines, both Dissenters and Anglicans. In the first group we find, for example, the venerated name of another Westminster divine, John Arrowsmith (1602–1659), whose *Armillæ catechetica, a Chain of Principles* (1659) Mather cites elsewhere in the "Biblia." On the eschatological dimension of Hebrews and James, Mather brings into play the millennialist tracts of three English Dissenting ministers: Robert Maton's (1606/7-in or after 1646) *Christs Personall Reigne on Earth, One Thousand Yeares with his Saints* (1652); William Sherwin's (1607–1690) *Ierometropolis, or, The holy, the great, the beloved new Jerusalem shortly to come down from God out of heaven: being the work of Gods own hands* (1670?); and William Alleine's (1614–1677) *Some Discovery of the new Heavens, and the new Earth*, from, *The Mystery of the Temple and City described in the nine last Chapters of Ezekiel unfolded* (1679). A small sampling of the miscellaneous devotional and controversialist publications that Mather referenced might include *The Mount of Spirits, that glorious & honorable State to which Believers are called by the Gospel* (1691) by the prominent Independent clergyman and leading politician under Cromwell Sir Charles Wolseley (1629/30–1714); and *Salvation by Jesus Christ Alone (As it is expressly laid down in the Scriptures) Agreeable to the Rules of Reason, And to the Laws of Justice* (1700) by the Church of England minister from London Thomas Staynoe, B.D. (d. 1708), who also served as chaplain to Queen Mary II. Mather brings in Staynoe's work again in a post-1706 addition to his commentary on Revelation, where he discusses the identity of Gog and Magog mentioned in Rev. 20:7–10.

As the title of Staynoe's book already suggests, Mather was also widely read in the new kind of rationalistic and evidentialist works of apologetics that became so popular in England during his period. Many of these works were authored by high-ranking Anglican clergymen and scholars but, in the spirit of Latitudinarianism, aimed at a broad Protestant audience. Mather's enthusiasm for this type of apologetic literature, which gets cited all over the "Biblia," is all the more remarkable, because not a few authors in this genre were sympathetic to Arminianism. On Hebrews and the Catholic Letters, Mather consulted among others: *Christian Religion's Appeal from the groundless Prejudices of the Sceptick, to the Bar of common Reason* (1675) by the Rector of St. Mary's, Colchester, John Smith (fl. 1675–1711); *A Demonstration of the Messiah* (1684) by the Bishop of Bath and Wells, Richard Kidder (1633–1703); *A Conference with a Theist* (1696) by the Rector of Selsey, Sussex, William Nicholls (1664–1712); *The Reasonableness and Certainty of the Christian Religion* (1696–1697) by Robert Jenkin (bapt. 1656, d. 1727), Master of St. John's College, Cambridge, and Lady

Margaret's Professor of Divinity; and *An Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England* (1699) by the Bishop of Salisbury, Whig politician, and historian Gilbert Burnet (1643–1715). Also characteristic of Mather's theological taste are the Boyle Lectures *The Wisdom of God in the Redemption of Man* (1708) by the Cambridge doctor John Turner (1660–1720), vicar of Greenwich and chaplain to George I; *The Use and Intent of Prophecy in the several Ages of the World* (1725) by the Bishop of Bangor and Salisbury Thomas Sherlock (1678–1761); and *Some Important Points of Primitive Christianity maintained* (1714) by the Bishop of St. David's George Bull (1634–1710). Finally, Arthur Ashley Sykes's (c. 1684–1756) *An Essay upon the Truth of the Christian Religion: wherein its real Foundation upon the Old Testament is shewn* (1725), is to be mentioned in this category.

Defending the scriptural foundation and reasonableness of Nicean Trinitarianism was a sub-field of this new apologetic literature, which assumed great prominence during the 1690s and early years of the eighteenth century. During the "Trinitarian controversy" of this period, subordinationist, Arian, and Deist positions were debated freely and openly asserted even by church men. Virtually all the above-cited works of general Christian apologetics placed a special emphasis on the Trinity, while numerous publications appeared that focused exclusively on this subject. As will be discussed in Section Two, Mather followed this debate closely and also intervened in it with several publications. It is thus not surprising to find him citing many relevant titles, especially, but not only, in his commentary on 1 John 5:7–8 on the *comma Johanneum*. One lengthy entry is derived from the work of his brother, the Congregational minister in Witney, Oxfordshire, Samuel Mather (1674–1733), *A Discourse concerning the Necessity of Believing the Doctrine of the Holy Trinity* (1719); another from the prominent London Presbyterian divine Edmund Calamy (1671–1732), *Thirteen Sermons concerning the Doctrine of the Trinity: preached at the Merchant's-Lecture, at Salter's-Hall; together with a vindication of that celebrated text, I John v. 7 from being spurious* (1722); and a third from *Jesus Christ God-Man, or, the Constitution of Christ's Person, with the Evidence and Importance of the Doctrine of his true and proper Godhead* (1719) by the Congregationalist minister in Hertford and London, John Guyse (bap. 1677, d. 1761).

Given that Heb. 1 deals with Christ's relation to the angels, 2 Pet. 2 with the evil angels cast into hell, and 1 John 5 with the discernment of spirits, it was perhaps inevitable that Mather would also launch into two of his favorite subjects: angelology and demonology. On these subjects he cites, among other works, *Angelographia, or A discourse concerning the nature and power of the holy angel* (1696) by his father Increase; *A Theological Discourse of Angels: And Their Ministries. Wherein Their Existence, Nature, Number, Order and Offices, are Modestly Treated Of* (1678) by Benjamin Camfield (1638–1693), chaplain to the Earl of Rutland and rector of Aileston (Leicestershire); and *An historical, physiological*

*and theological treatise of spirits: apparitions, witchcrafts, and other magical practices* (1705) by the English physician, geologist, and fellow member of the Royal Society, John Beaumont (1650–1731).

Among Mather's other special-interest subjects was the relation of the Bible to the Greco-Roman classics, historically, intertextually, and stylistically. One of his go-to sources in this regard was *The Sacred Classics Defended and Illustrated* (1725) by the English classicist Anthony Blackwall (1674–1730), which also shows up in this volume. A more unsuspected find is the note on 2 Pet. 2 derived from the annotations on the Iliad by the great neoclassicist poet Alexander Pope (1688–1744), which Mather took from Pope's English adaptation of *The Iliad of Homer* (1715–1720).

This leads us to one more dimension of Mather's intertextual universe that ought to be mentioned before we proceed to the specific sources for Revelation and the appended essays. This feature is common to all the sections of the "Biblia." Throughout the process of composition, Mather enriched his annotations with references to writers from classical antiquity in addition to the ubiquitous Church Fathers. He usually gleaned these classical references from intermediary sources which, in turn, had often taken them from somewhere else, creating the chains of references so typical for early modern writing.<sup>22</sup> Indeed, the accumulation of such references in many of Mather's entries resembles the proverbial snowball: with every turn in the annotation process another layer of intertextual allusions to Greco-Roman sources was added. The sheer multitude and enormous diversity of these sources forbids anything but the most cursory treatment here. Most unusual from a modern perspective is probably how, in the context of biblical criticism, Mather and his peers constantly find occasions to invoke the canonical poets, such as Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, Theocritus, Catullus, Horace, and Ovid. Likewise, they cite popular playwrights, such as Plautus and Terence, together with a host of lesser literary authors. Also, the great philosophers, such as Democritus, Plato, Aristotle, Plutarch, or Seneca, are given their due. More predictable is probably the heavy reliance on ancient historians, ethnographers, and naturalists, both major and minor. Herodotus, Strabo, and especially Flavius Josephus and Pliny the Elder are among the most frequently cited sources throughout.

Characteristically of the "Biblia" and similar works of the period, these references serve a variety of purposes. Classical texts of all genres are often cited simply for embellishment, to entertain the knowledgeable reader with witty allusions or puns, and to demonstrate the author's learning. Next, classical texts of all genres are used as extra-biblical sources of knowledge about various aspects of ancient history and cultures. This could be a matter of supplying additional

<sup>22</sup> For the host of classical authors and titles referenced by Mather, see the complete bibliography at the end of this volume.



information or evidence from particular sources about specific names, places, buildings, everyday items, events, customs, or gods mentioned in Scripture. Or it could be a matter of illustration by more general analogies, after the pattern of "the heroes of old also behaved in this way" or "such and such is also described by many Roman poets and historians." The things that are corroborated or explained in this way range from the trivial to the absolutely essential.

Moreover, specific ideas or concepts from Greco-Roman philosophy are compared to the teachings of the Bible. Sometimes this is done to point out significant differences, which in turn are supposed to highlight the superiority of the Christian religion. Sometimes this is done to show similarities, either in order to shed additional light on some Christian doctrine or to demonstrate that the Christian religion contains but also transcends all the wisdom of the pagans.

If they were more than just decoration, the countless references to classical texts thus ultimately had an apologetical function of some kind, in that they either helped to establish the factuality of the Bible or its superior wisdom. What might seem to us a problematic method of (mis-)appropriation was absolutely common practice in Mather's day. This was true not just among theologians but even among early eighteenth-century classicists such as Blackwall or the celebrated French scholar André Dacier (1655–1722), whose works Mather found a treasure trove for exactly these kinds of apologetic readings.

### 1.2. Composition and Sources of Mather's Commentaries on Revelation and the Appended Essays

For Revelation there are 97 indexed entries, while the essays were all added after Mather ceased his practice of indexing. This high number of pre-1706 entries on Revelation shows that already during Stage I Mather gave a lot of thought to the last book of the Bible. It also suggests that even during this early phase he had the ambition to offer a more substantial commentary on this difficult and highly controversial part of Scripture, seeking, in particular, to substantiate his millenialist views. Only a handful of the indexed entries are below 1000, with 335 being the lowest number. The great majority of these entries are in the upper ranges, with most being above 4000, and they frequently have consecutive numbers, even if they do not all come from the same source. From this we may conclude that during the first stage of his work on the "Biblia," Mather started to work more systematically on Revelation relatively late, probably in the early years of the eighteenth century, when he had already written thousands of entries on other parts of the Bible. And we may infer that when Mather turned to Revelation, he successively annotated its chapters comparing and excerpting several major sources at once, notably Thomas Goodwin, Pierre

Jurieu, Jacques Philipot, and Drue Cressener (see below). From all of these sources, we find entries between 4200 and 4700, the same numerical range in which a lot of entries from Whitby on the Pauline epistles (see vol. 9), Hebrews, and the Catholic Letters figure. Possibly, Mather turned to these entries after he finished another major round of annotations on the great Hebrew Prophets, where there is a conspicuous clustering of indexed entries around the 4000s to 4100 range (see vol. 5).

Mather's notes on Revelation also continued to grow by leaps and bounds after Stage I, as he mined several major commentaries, but also kept adding individual entries from diverse sources. His changing opinions on the dating of the millennium and several latter-day events surrounding it, further contributed to the expansion of this part of the manuscript. Including all the smaller leaves and some blank pages, this section of the manuscript came to 107 pages in the end. Together, the two series of appended essays amount to 42 folio pages.

### *Main Sources during Stage I*

Maybe even more so than on other sections of the "Biblia," it is worth mentioning some of the authors Mather passed over in his commentary on Revelation before discussing his main sources. For obvious reasons, he gave only the most glancing attention (and this by way of dismissal) to the Augustinian tradition that continued to dominate among Catholic and Lutheran exegetes, for it put the millennium in the past. But Mather's engagement with interpreters expecting a future millennium was also highly selective. The most conspicuous absence is that of Daniel Whitby, who is otherwise so omnipresent in Mather's annotations on the New Testament. Mather silently ignored "A Treatise of the True Millennium," which Whitby appended to his *A Paraphrase and Commentary* in lieu of a commentary on Revelation. This had everything to do with the Anglican scholar's postmillennialism and his allegorical-spiritual understanding of the key latter-day events surrounding the thousand-year reign of Christ. The gist of Whitby's reading is indicated by the subtitle of the essay that reads: "Shewing that it [i.e. the millennium] is not a Reign of Persons Raised from the Dead, But of the Church Flourishing Gloriously for a Thousand Years after the Conversion of the Jews and the Flowing in of all nations to them thus Converted." This is exactly what Mather, the premillennialist literalist, considered to be a tragic misreading of John's prophecies, which had ensnared even some of the best Puritan students of the Bible. Among them was his own grandfather, John Cotton (1585–1652), whose *The Churches Resurrection, or the Opening of the Fifth and Sixth Verses of the 20<sup>th</sup> Chapter of Revelation* (1642) and *An Exposition upon the thirteenth chapter of the Revelation* (1655) does not even receive an honorary mention. Probably more for the reason of avoiding overlap, he also does not directly reference Increase Mather's millennialist tracts, such

as *The Mystery of Israel's Salvation* (1669), *Diatriba de Signo Filii Hominis et de Secundo Messiae Adventu* (1682), or *A Dissertation Concerning the Future Conversion of the Jewish Nation* (1709), even though father and son were in broad agreement on most aspects of their eschatology.

As will be discussed in Section Two, Mather was writing his commentary on Revelation in constant dialogue – or rather antilogue – with the preterist interpretations of Hugo Grotius, Henry Hammond, and also John Lightfoot. Still, he rarely does them the honor of a citation. Lightfoot is merely brought into the conversation to elucidate the Old Testament references in the Song of Moses (Rev. 15:3–4). And at Rev. 17:4, Mather inserts an explanation from Grotius on the cultural significance of the whore of Babylon's wearing scarlet with the telling remark, "Tho' *Grotius* would be the last Author, I should chuse to quote, upon the *Apocalypse*; yett I will here mention a Note of his" (BA 10:643). Another prominent proponent of preterism, the leading Presbyterian divine Richard Baxter (1615–1691), is not given a voice at all. Both Increase and Cotton Mather stood in a line of continuity with a particular school of futurist millennialists established in England by Joseph Mede with his *Key to the Revelation* (1650; Lat. original 1627). Mede's foundational text is constantly in the background of Mather's "Biblia"-commentary, but he almost never engages with it directly. For the most part, Mede's opinions are either tacitly assumed or alluded to as a kind of common frame of reference, with which the exegetes explicitly invoked either concur or differ. However, virtually all of the main sources that Mather cites or paraphrases affirmatively are in the tradition of Mede. In availing himself of these sources, Mather aimed for discretion, refinement, and coherence, however. In a programmatic aside on his method at Rev. 13:17, he announced that he would now "throw in Dr. *Goodwins* Thoughts, to our Heap, Not that I would indiscriminately amass together all that every Body saies. The Biggest Part of what I meet withal, in Commentaries on the *Apocalypse*, I throw away as in a Manner useless." As he assured his intended readers, he would offer them "nothing, but what I find likely to be the Meaning of the *Prophecy*; and I am careful ordinarily to offer no Variety, but of such things as will well enough consist, with one another, and it is possible, the Spirit of *Prophecy* might have an Eye to all of them" (BA 10:605).

The abovementioned Dr. Goodwin (for biographical information, see 1.1.) was in fact one of the master sources that Mather combed through for agreeable thoughts during Stage I. During his lifetime, Goodwin published the millennialist tract *A glimpse of Sions glory* (1641), which enjoyed great popularity with Puritans in England and the colonies. It was informed by a sustained commentary on Revelation that Goodwin, in conversation with Mede and other sources, had already worked on in the 1630s but delivered as a series of sermons during his Dutch exile in 1639. However, it was not published until 1683, when it appeared as *An Exposition of the Revelation* together with *A Brief History of the*

*Kingdom of God. Extracted Out of the Book of Revelation* as parts of the *Works of Thomas Goodwin*. What would have made Goodwin so appealing to the Mathers was that his commentary not only interpreted papal Rome as the Antichrist, but also heavily criticized the Laudian state church as part of the court of the gentiles (Rev. 11), while propagating a congregational ecclesiology.

The second master source for Mather's pre-1706 annotation is Pierre Jurieu's *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies, or, The Approaching Deliverance of the Church* (1687). This publication was an English abridgement of Jurieu's extensive French work on the end-time prophecies that first appeared as *L'Accomplissement Des Prophetes Ou La Delivrance Prochaine De L'Eglise* in 1686. It too stands on the shoulders of Mede. Mather also cites *The Accomplishment* and other works by the Huguenot scholar in various sections of the "Biblia." Born in 1637, Jurieu studied theology in the Protestant academies of Saumur and then Sedan, where he also obtained his doctorate. In 1674, he was appointed professor of theology and Hebrew at that institution. However, in 1681, Louis XIV (1638–1715) had the academy of Sedan closed down. Jurieu left his mother country, along with thousands of other exiles, to take refuge in Rotterdam, where he became a pastor in the Flemish Walloon Church and professor at the École Illustre. He died in Rotterdam in 1713. Jurieu was the author of popular devotional and controversialist works, and his fortnightly *Lettres pastorales* (1686–1689) recorded the persecutions of the Huguenots for a broad Protestant audience across Europe. The Book of Revelation served as a work of consolation for Jurieu in that it gave a deeper, eschatological meaning to the suffering of French Protestants, whom he interpreted as the slain witnesses of Rev. 11. He expected their imminent resurrection, which would usher in the end of Antichrist's reign and the dawn of the millennium. Moreover, Jurieu was the author of an influential work of comparative religion titled *A Critical History of the Doctrines and Worship (both good and evil) of the Church from Adam to our Saviour Jesus Christ* (1705). Mather was very fond of this book, too, and, among other things, used it as the foundation for the essay on "The Religion of NOAH" appended to the "Biblia." Jurieu's intellectual disagreements with Pierre Bayle (1647–1706), the famed Huguenot encyclopedist and advocate of religious toleration, ultimately led to the latter's dismissal from the École Illustre in 1693. Parenthetically it might be mentioned here that Mather also cites Bayle's famous *Dictionnaire historique et critique* (first ed. 1697; transl. into English in 1702), in an entry on Rev. 17.

Protestants in many parts of Europe, including British Dissenters, followed the plight of their co-religionists with great sympathy as Louis XIV launched his aggressive Counter-Reformation program in the early 1680s.<sup>23</sup> The king

<sup>23</sup> On the persecution of French Protestants and the Huguenot diaspora, see Owen Stanwood, *The Global Refuge: Huguenots in an Age of Empire* (2020) and the essays in David

pressured his Protestant subjects to abjure their faith, for which he gradually adopted harsher measures, culminating in the use of dragonnades, the stationing of soldiers in the homes of Huguenots to force them to convert. In 1685, he revoked the protections guaranteed under the Edict of Nantes (1598) with the Edict of Fontainebleau, making Catholicism the sole legal religion of France. The revocation forbade Protestant services, required education of children as Catholics, and prohibited emigration. Still, close to 200,000 Huguenots, especially members of the Protestant elite, fled to England, the Netherlands, Prussia, Switzerland, as well as the English and Dutch overseas colonies. About 600,000 remained in France, of which many, at least officially, became “nouveaux catholiques.” Others chose to hold on to their faith, with especially significant communities located in the southern provinces of Languedoc and Dauphiné. The penalties for preaching or attending a Protestant assembly were severe: life terms in the galleys for men, imprisonment for women, and the confiscation of all property. Partly inspired by millenarian lay preachers and prophets, resistance began to arise in the mountainous regions of the Cévennes. Starting in 1702, groups of Camisards actively revolted against the King and the Catholic regime. Royal troops were sent to the seditious regions, and many Camisards lost their lives in the ensuing conflicts. Fighting largely ceased after 1704 with the crushing of the first rebellion, but it continued sporadically for the next decade. The Camisards’ revolt or War of the Cévennes produced another wave of religious refugees, including the group of the enthusiastic French Prophets, who attracted much attention in Germany, England, and even far-away Boston.

As Catharine Randall has shown, Mather felt a deep connection with the French Huguenots.<sup>24</sup> The strictly biblicist, pietistic, and at the same time intensely providentialist and apocalyptic brand of Reformed theology represented by men such as Jurieu or Pierre Allix (1641–1717) very much appealed to him. Mather also read many other Huguenot works on religious freedom and history, including the *Abrégé de l'histoire des Vaudois* (1691), translated into English as *The History of the Vaudois* (1692), by Pierre (Peter) Boyer (1619–c. 1700), which is also cited in a note on Rev. 11. Inspired by Huguenot interpretations of the prophecies, he began to ascribe eschatological significance to the fate of French Protestants. Mather even had the opportunity to directly engage with Huguenot refugees when a group arrived in Boston in 1682. With his father, Cotton Mather supported the community and the creation of a provisional worship house (1687) and then a proper church (1715). He struck up a friendship with a minister named Ezéchiel Carré (b. 1646; formerly pastor at Rochechalais), who ministered to a refugee settlement in Rhode Island but

J. B. Trim, ed., *The Huguenots: History and Memory in Transnational Context* (2011); esp. Robin Gwynn, “Strains of Worship: The Huguenots and Non-conformity” and Paul, McGraw, “The Memory of the Huguenots in North America: Protestant History and Polemic.”

<sup>24</sup> See ch. 6 of her *From a far Country: Camisards and Huguenots in the Atlantic World* (2009).

eventually came to serve the Boston French church. Mather collaborated with Carré on several publications.<sup>25</sup> It may be that Mather received his third major source for the pre-1706 annotations on Revelation from Carré or another French Protestant contact.

This book was the anonymously published *A New System of the Apocalypse; or, Plain and Methodical Illustrations of all the Visions in the Revelation of St. John* (1688). The French original, titled *Eclaircissements sur l'Apocalypse de S. Jean*, appeared in Amsterdam in 1687, also anonymously. Remarkably, in his second essay on the apocalyptic vials, Mather writes about the author of *A New System*, “whose Name, I am told, is, Monsr. *Philipot*.” How exactly Mather learned about the name is unclear. In any case, this agrees with recent scholarship that has identified the author as Jacques Philipot (fl. 1690), a Huguenot minister at Clairac, who fled to the Netherlands in response to the persecutions of Protestants in France.<sup>26</sup> *A New System* is written in dialogue with Jurieu’s *The Accomplishment*, and the two works have much in common (including the identification of the French Protestants with the two witnesses), even though the two theologians disagreed on the effusion or non-effusion of the apocalyptic vials. According to the preface, the author saw his millennialist eschatology in the longer tradition of the French Protestant theologian Pierre De Launay (1573–1661), who published a *Paraphrase et Exposition de l'Apocalypse* (1651) under the name of Jonas le Buy de la Prie.

The combined annotations from Goodwin, Jurieu, and Philipot easily make up more than half of the pre-1706 commentary. Several other authors are brought in for longer, even essay-length, entries. At Rev. 17:11, Mather excerpts the work of Samuel Lee’s *Antichristi Excidium* (first ed. 1659) for a discussion and ultimate affirmation of Mede’s dating of the reign of the Antichrist. The Oxford-trained Samuel Lee (1625?–1691) was a renowned nonconformist scholar with wide ranging interests in theology and philosophy, who after the Restoration came to serve both Presbyterian and Independent congregations. After re-locating to New England with his wife and daughter in 1686 to escape the feared consequences of James II’s ascension to the throne, Lee became pastor of the church in Bristol, Rhode Island. Upon the Glorious Revolution, Lee intended to sail back to England, but the ship was captured by French pirates and he died in captivity. His daughter Lydia, however, had married John George of Boston, and after George’s passing she became Cotton Mather’s third wife in 1715.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>25</sup> See the English edition of Carré’s *The charitable Samaritan* (1689).

<sup>26</sup> See Thomas Guillemain, “Jalons pour une étude du corpus huguenot sur la tolérance au moment de la Révocation” (2018). Philipot is also known to be the author of *Sur les justes bornes de la Tolérance: avec la défense des mysteres du Christianisme; contre l’avis sur le tableau de Socinianisme* (1691).

<sup>27</sup> Silverman, *Life and Times*, pp. 279–306. Mather cites his father-in-law’s works in several places in the “Biblia,” including a manuscript by Lee on the location of terrestrial paradise in

On the number of the Beast, mentioned in Rev. 13:8, Mather wanted to offer his readers three essays. While the immediate source for the first essay was likely Philipot's *A New System of the Apocalypse*, its numerological speculations ultimately come from the work of the English painter, clergyman, biblical commentator, experimentalist, and early fellow of the Royal Society Francis Potter (1594–1678), *An Interpretation of the Number 666 wherein, not onely the Manner, how this Number ought to be interpreted, is clearely proved and demonstrated* (1642). The second is adapted from *A Scripture-line of Time* (1684) by Thomas Beverley (fl. 1670–1701). Formerly a Church of England rector to the parish of Lilley (Hertfordshire), Beverley was an English Congregationalist clergyman who had been imprisoned for his religious views in the mid-1680s. He penned more than fifteen tracts on apocalyptic prophecy in the tumultuous years between the mid-1680s and 1701.<sup>28</sup> Like the Mathers, Beverley was a pre-millennialist and had originally set his sight on 1697 as the time of the destruction of the Roman Antichrist and Christ's return. Later he revised his calculations to 1701. Beverley's tracts on eschatology include *A Scripture-line* and *The Thousand Years Kingdome, in its Full Scripture-State: answering Mr. Baxter's new treatise in opposition to it* (1691). The Mathers owned a number of his works. During his sojourn in England to renegotiate the Massachusetts Charter, Increase Mather had met Beverley and later the two men corresponded.<sup>29</sup> The third essay appears to be based on a personal letter by the Puritan minister and friend of the Mather family Nicholas Noyes (1647–1715), who also supplied him with a note on Rev. 13:2. Noyes, too, was an ardent millennialist who published several works of eschatological theology, including *New Englands Duty and Interest* (1698) and exchanged letters with Cotton Mather about end-time matters (see below).

Next to be mentioned are *The Judgments of God upon the Roman Church* (1689) and *A Demonstration of the First Principles of the Protestant applications of the Apocalypse* (1690) by Drue Cressener (bap. 1642, d. 1718), from which Mather derived several entries. A student (MA, 1665) and fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge, from where he also received a D.D. in 1680, Cressener served as the vicar of Soham in Cambridgeshire and published his only two books in the immediate aftermath of the Glorious Revolution. "These are among a body of works by English authors such as the congregationalist Thomas Beverley, the Baptist Benjamin Keach, and the Anglican ministers Benjamin Woodroffe, John Butler, and Walter Garrett," as Warren Johnston writes, "that presented the fall of James II and the accession of William and Mary as a fulfilment of prophecies in the book of Revelation," and predicted "a revived

Genesis (see BA 1:444–64), and his *Orbis Miraculum, or, The Temple of Solomon* (1659) as well as *Israel Redux* (1677) on the historical books of the Old Testament (see BA 4:606–15, 740–44).

<sup>28</sup> See Johnston, *Revelation Restored*, pp. 192–93.

<sup>29</sup> See Smolinski's note in *Tripuradus*, p. 356.

reformation to go out from England to conquer Europe.”<sup>30</sup> Building on works of Jurieu and others, Cressener also ascribed eschatological significance to the struggle of French Protestants and advocated for complete religious freedom for all Protestants, depicting the suppression of dissenters in state churches as part of the Antichristian corruption of Christendom after Constantine.

In the annotations on Rev. 20–22, there is substantial overlap with what Mather wrote in his epistolary tract “*Problema Theologicum: An Essay concerning the Happy State expected for the Church upon Earth, & In a Letter.*” Penned in 1703, “*Problema Theologicum*” was addressed to Nicholas Noyes of Salem, who had requested an exposition of Mather’s scheme of premillennialism. It cannot be determined with certainty whether Mather developed the epistolary tract from what he had already written in the “*Biblia*”-manuscript or whether the annotations there are excerpted from “*Problema*.” However, the second option seems more likely.<sup>31</sup> In any case, the sections overlapping with “*Problema*” are among the ones that were most heavily revised when, during the final decade of his life, Mather’s views on the latter-day events changed on several accounts – most importantly on the national conversion of the Jews and the Petrine conflagration (see 2.8.).

Beyond these sources, Mather references a wide array of titles for single entries, most of them from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As is to be expected, not a few of those are again by Reformed theologians, especially authors of his own Puritan-Dissenting tradition. For instance, Mather cites two posthumous publications by Jeremiah Burroughs (c. 1600–1646), *Moses His Choice, With his Eye fixed upon Heaven* (1650) and *Jeruselems Glory breaking forth into the World* (1684). Trained at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, under Thomas Hooker, the Puritan minister Burroughs was suspended and deprived of his ministry in 1637 and went to Rotterdam to serve an English Independent congregation. In 1640, he returned to England and became a prominent and politically active pastor of two of the largest congregations in England: Stepney and St. Giles, Cripplegate. In the Westminster Assembly, Burroughs, together with Goodwin, was a leading representative of Congregationalism. Or, at Rev. 1:18 Mather tips his hat to his “Honoured Friend, Mr. *John Howe*” (BA 10:456), by quoting *A Discourse concerning the Redeemer’s Dominion over the Invisible World* (1699). The Puritan minister Howe had briefly served as one of Oliver Cromwell’s chaplains during the period of the Protectorate Parliament. His post-Retoration peregrinations led him to Ireland and the Netherlands

<sup>30</sup> Warren Johnston, “Cressener, Drue” (ODNB) and Johannes van den Berg, “Glorious Revolution and Millennium: The ‘Apocalyptical Thoughts’ of Drue Cressener” (1991).

<sup>31</sup> Although clearly intended for publication, the “*Problema*”-manuscript never went to the printer and remained in the archives of the American Antiquarian Society until a scholarly edition was undertaken by Jeffrey Scott Mares. See Mares, “Cotton Mather’s ‘*Problema Theologicum*’: An Authoritative Edition” (1995).



before he returned to England just before the Glorious Revolution, which he enthusiastically supported. Howe was also a friend of the Mather family.

As in other parts of the "Biblia," Mather did not hesitate to cross confessional divides, however, if he chanced upon the "illumination" of a verse that appealed to him. Naturally, he found it hard to resist mentioning the commentary on Revelation by the Spanish Jesuit exegete and premillennialist Francisco de Ribera (1537–1591), *In Sacrum Beati Ioannis Apostoli, & Evangelistiae Apocalypsin Commentarij* (1590), even though this work sought to refute Protestant interpretations of the Pope as the Antichrist. Frequently through some intermediary source, Mather also again and again cites information from Catholic scholars on the history of the church and the papacy. Numerous times the twelve-volume *Annales ecclesiastici a Christo nato ad annum 1198* (1588–1593) by the great Italian church historian Cesare Baronio (1538–1607) are referenced. To identify historical events or figures corresponding with the visions of Revelation, Mather also makes use of the *Historiarum De Occidentali Imperio* (1578) by the Italian Humanist historian Carlo Sigonio (Carolus Sigonius, 1524–1584), or the *Rationarium temporum* (1633) by the French Jesuit theologian and historian Denis Pétau (Dionysius Petavius; 1583–1652). *Rationarium* was an abridgment of Petavius's 1627 *Opus de doctrina temporum*, in which he attempted an improvement of Joseph Justus Scalinger's *De Emendatione temporum* (1583). A similar work, which went into the historical interpretations of John's prophecies, is the *Breviarium historico-chronologico-criticum* (1717–1727) by the French Catholic church historian François Pagi (1654–1721).

#### *Main Sources of the Post-1706 Expansions*

Right after his commentary on Revelation, Mather added a long essay titled "Coronis," which offers a synopsis of William Whiston's *An Essay on the Revelation of Saint John: so far as concerns the Past and Present Times* (1706). Whiston's *Essay* corrected and refined, but basically confirmed, Mede's scheme of interpretation. As it goes over the whole book of Revelation again, "Coronis" effectually amounted to a second commentary *in nuce*, which has considerable overlap with the first. It seems that Mather penned this essay very shortly after Whiston's *Essay* had first appeared in print, because Mather originally wrote in his introduction that Whiston "has newly published (this 1706)" the work, a sentence that he later crossed out. Although "Coronis" does not have an index number, it might therefore still have been part of Stage I. Indeed, Mather's introduction reflects a sense of having reached the end of his work, which was now ready to go to the printer. He wrote: "We Began with our Excellent and Accurate *Whiston*. It falls out, that we must also conclude with him," by which Mather alludes to the fact that he prefaced his commentaries on Genesis (see *BA* 1:277–301) with excerpts from Whiston's *A Short View of the Chronology of*

*the Old Testament, and of the Harmony of the Four Evangelists* (1702). At some later point, Mather inserted between these two sentences the exasperated interjection, “Oh! had he continued ours!,” and struck through “Excellent” along with many other laudatory adjectives across the essay (BA 10:767). Very likely, this happened around 1710/11 when Mather learned about Whiston’s removal from the the University of Cambridge on account of his recently published Arian views of the Trinity.<sup>32</sup>

The news about Whiston’s apostasy from Athanasian Trinitarianism hit Mather hard, as he had long admired the Cambridge-trained Church of England theologian and scholar, who had succeeded Sir Isaac Netwon as the Lucasian chair of mathematics in 1702. Typical of Newton and the circle around him, Whiston was a committed low-church Whig. His works seamlessly moved between mathematics, natural philosophy – not excluding its more speculative and occult branches – various historical pursuits, and, most importantly, scriptural exegesis based on an ardent biblicism and the belief that the prophecies pointed to an imminent dawn of the millennium. Mather, of course, shared these interests and commitments and frequently cited Whiston’s non-Arian works in the “Biblia,” including *A New Theory of the Earth from its Original to the Consummation of All Things* (1696), his Boyle lectures published as *The Accomplishment of Scripture Prophecies* (1708), but also *An Essay towards restoring the true Text of the Old Testament* (1722). After his removal from Cambridge and the subsequent heresy trial before the Convocation, Whiston continued his crusade for religious liberty, the new learning, and restoring what he considered “primitive Christianity” as a lecturer and popularizer of the new sciences and biblical scholarship. He continued to predict that the fall of Antichrist and Second Coming were very close. Whiston’s Arianism and millennialism, as well as Mather’s reactions to them, and the larger contexts will be treated more fully in Section Two.

As is true for other parts of the “Biblia,” any dating of entries after Mather stopped indexing them is speculative, unless a publication date of a work cited or a personal aside provides a clue. But sometime during Stage II or III, Mather added further layers of annotations, most of which come from three main sources that all depended on Mede too. It seems that Mather went through them from cover to cover, adding numerous entries on all chapters of Revelation. The first is *The Book of the Revelation Paraphrased; with Annotations on Each Chapter*, which was first anonymously published in 1693. The work apparently proved quite popular since by 1715 it had already gone through 15 editions. Its author was subsequently identified as the Church of England clergyman Edward Waple (1647–1712), but Mather seems not to have known this. Educated at Oxford, Waple was appointed Archdeacon of Taunton in 1682, became

<sup>32</sup> On this, see ch. 4 of Force, *William Whiston*.

Vicar of St Sepulchre-without-Newgate in 1683, and Canon of Winchester in 1690. Waple also served as dean and president of Sion's College, Oxford. Mather had already drawn on *The Book of the Revelation Paraphrased* for single entries during Stage I, as a few have indexed numbers (see, for instance, Rev. 10:2), but after 1706 he methodically added many new ones. At that point Mather silently passed over Waple's speculation that Antichrist's reign – a crucial linchpin in any millennialist calculation – had begun in "437 AD," which would have made 1697 the end of the 1,260 years allotted to him for persecuting the true church.

The second main source for the post 1706-expansion is *A Genuine Explication of the Visions of the Book of Revelation* (1679) by the German Christian Hebraist and Kabbalist Christian Knorr von Rosenroth (1631–1689). The German original *Erklärung über die Gesichter d. Offenbarung S. Johannis/Voll unterschiedl. neuer Christl. Meinungen* appeared in 1670 and, like the English translation, was published under the pseudonym A. B. Peganius.<sup>33</sup> This work was an important conduit of futurist millennialism à la Joseph Mede into the German-speaking world. Born the son of a Lutheran pastor in Alt-Raudten, Silesia, Knorr von Rosenroth studied theology and ancient languages in Leipzig (MA, 1660). He continued to develop his wide-ranging intellectual interests in the *ars critica*, literature, natural philosophy, but also medicine and the occult during his travels in the Netherlands and England, where he met Henry More and John Lightfoot, among others. With the help of Franciscus Mercurius van Helmont, son of Johann Baptista van Helmont, von Rosenroth became the privy counsellor of Christian Augustus, Count Palatine of Sulzbach in 1668.<sup>34</sup>

Under Knorr von Rosenroth's spiritual direction, the court of Sulzbach developed into a center of baroque learning, the fine arts, and Christian esotericism. Von Rosenroth's thought was a unique blend of mystical spiritualism and natural philosophy that merged the new sciences, alchemy, and medicine with Protestant Pietism, gnostic and neoplatonic elements, Boehmian theosophy, and kabbalistic traditions. He was also an ardent millennialist and strong advocate of religious freedom. Among Knorr von Rosenroth's many writings, his compilations and translations were probably most influential, especially his German versions of Giambattista della Porta's *Magia naturalis*, Thomas Browne's *Pseudodoxia epidemica*, of Johann Baptista van Helmont's *Ortus Medicinae*, and the famous annotated anthology *Kabbala Denudata* (1677–1684). This last work became highly influential for the development of a Christian Kabbalah and is also frequently cited by Mather. Entries from *A Genuine Explication* are inserted across the commentary on Revelation, but at

<sup>33</sup> See the edition with a biographic and bibliographic introduction, Christian Knorr von Rosenroth, *Apocalypse-Kommentar*, ed. Italo Michele Battafarano (2004).

<sup>34</sup> On the van Helmonts, see Walter Pagel, *Joan Baptista van Helmont: Reformers of Science and Medicine* (1982); Allison P. Coudert, *The Impact of the Kabbalah in the Seventeenth Century: The Life and Thought of Francis Mercury Van Helmont, 1614–1698* (1999).

Rev. 17 Mather adds a longer “Appendix” in which he engages with, and improves upon, Knorr von Rosenroth’s views on heaven and the New Jerusalem.

A massive tome titled *Prodromus In D. Joannis Apocalypsin: In quo hactenus minus bene intellectæ explicantur, dum Opus integrum paratur* (1675) is Mather’s third main source. Little is known about its author, Antonius Grelotus (Anton Grelot; fl. 1670–1677), other than that he was a Huguenot theologian and Hebraist living in Dutch exile.<sup>35</sup> From Grelotus’s work Mather took dozens and dozens of lengthy citations (in Latin translation) and shorter references to talmudic and mishnaic literatures as well as medieval rabbinic writings of apocalyptic or mystic-kabbalistic character, which reflected Jewish beliefs in a coming messiah, the defeat of the latter-day anti-messiah Armilus, a glorious restoration of Israel, and the great Sabbath of the world. In the tradition of Christian Hebraism, Grelotus reads these Jewish apocalyptic expectations and hopes as precursors or deviant versions (in the sense that they mistook the identity of Jesus Christ) of the true Christian eschatology contained in the Book of Revelation. While misguided, these Jewish sources could greatly help to elucidate the Bible’s enigmatic final book. Reading Revelation in this way nicely connected with Mather’s conviction that the belief in a future messiah and millennium were part of the antediluvian religion of mankind passed on to ancient Judaism by Noah (see 2.4.).

Furthermore, there are a number of sources that served as the basis for longer thematic essays on key questions debated among interpreters of Revelation. At Rev. 20, Mather appended a “Postscript” arguing that the expectation of a future literal kingdom, preceded by a corporeal resurrection of the saints, was part of original primitive Christianity and had always been maintained since then by the most faithful witnesses. This essay was excerpted from *De Zelo Sine scientiâ & charitate, Admonitio Fraterna J. A. Comenii ad D. Samuelem Maresium: Pro minuendis odiis, & ampliandis favoribus* (1669), by the famous polymath John Amos Comenius (Jan Amos Komenský, 1592–1670). Born in Nivnice, Moravia, Comenius studied in Herborn and Heidelberg and was destined to serve as a leader of the *Unitas Fratrum* or Moravian Church before the onset of the Thirty Years’ War forced him to go into exile and lead the life of an itinerant scholar. In the following decades, he spent time in, among other places, England, Holland, Sweden, and Hungary, gaining a reputation as a teacher, educator, philosopher, and ecumenical theologian at various centers of Reformed learning. His most significant publications were the *Didactica magna* (1657) and *Orbis pictus* (1658), two monumental works on education. Comenius was tied into the Hartlib circle, which also extended to New England, and he shared its

<sup>35</sup> The title *Prodromus* (“Forerunner”) suggests that Grelot intended to produce a fuller version of his commentary, which, however, never seems to have been published. The only other work by Grelot that I was able to identify is a *Commentarius in ep. Judæ catholicam* (1677).

pansophist and millenarian ideas of universal social, ecclesial, and educational reform coupled with schemes for scientific advancement.

The work summarized by Mather came out of a controversy with the Groningen theologian Samuel Maresius (1599–1673), triggered by Comenius's *Lux in tenebris* (1657), in which the latter published the chiliastic visions of Christopher Kotterus, Mikuláš Drábík (Lat. Nicolaus Drabicius), and Christina Poniatowska. When attacked by Maresius, Comenius chose to defend the orthodoxy of millenarianism with his *De Zelo* by reference to the works of his Herborn teachers – Johannes Pisactor's commentary on Revelation of 1613 and Johann Heinrich Alsted's *Diatrobe de mille annis apocalypticis* (1654) –, the early Christian tradition, and, most importantly, extensive scriptural evidence. Maresius responded with his highly polemical *Antirrheticus, sive defensio pii pro retinenda recepta in Ecclesiis Reformatis doctrina* (1669).<sup>36</sup> At Rev. 17, Mather included a very long essay that condenses a voluminous millennialist work titled *A Discourse concerning Antichrist ... Shewing, that the Church of Rome is that woman mentioned Rev. xvii.3* (1680). Its author Walter Garrett (fl. 1680), vicar of Titchfield, Hampshire, and fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, left little mark on history. However, *A Discourse* and Garrett's other tracts of a similar nature show that futurist millenarianism was by no means the exclusive domain of radical Dissenters in the late seventeenth century, but reached deep into the Church of England as well.

Throughout Stages II to IV, Mather also continued composing glosses on single verses of Revelation, deriving their content from very heterogeneous sources. We can place some of these entries with certainty in the fourth stage of composition, since the publication of their sources date after 1716. Besides the suggestions from Nicholas Noyes (see above), Mather includes a note on the witnesses of Rev. 11 from the posthumous *A Discourse Concerning the Witnesses* (1681), by William Hooke (1601–1678). A distinguished Puritan clergyman, Hooke lived in New England from 1640 to 1656 (most of this time he worked with John Davenport in New Haven's first Congregational Church), before he returned to England to serve as the private chaplain to Cromwell. Then there is an entry on the conflagration and resurrection of the saints, based on another New England manuscript source by William Torrey (1608–1690). Torrey was a first-generation immigrant from England who had become a prominent Puritan citizen at Weymouth, Massachusetts. The now lost manuscript was published in 1757 by the Boston minister Thomas Prince (1687–1758) as *A brief Discourse concerning Futurities or Things to come* (1757). It seems that shortly before or after the death of Torrey, the manuscript was given to the Mathers, whose family library served as a repository for numerous such documents, as Cotton Mather's *Magnalia Christi Americana* attests. Prince, in turn, must have received the

<sup>36</sup> On this, see Hotson, *Paradise Postponed*, p. 1–25.

manuscript from the Mather estate and thought it worthy of publication. In his preface he praised Torrey's elaborate eschatological scheme.

We find, moreover, numerous shorter post-1706 entries derived from works of other British millenarians. For example, Mather comments on the man-child of Rev. 12:5, drawing on John Worthington's *Miscellanies* (1704). Worthington (1618–1671) was an English minister and disciple of Mede. He was associated with the Cambridge Platonists and a member of the Dury-Hartlib circle, which, as we already saw, is amply represented in Mather's writings. Another, slightly later, network that Mather was more directly involved in were the Newtonians.<sup>37</sup> He had epistolary contact not only with William Whiston, but also William Burnet (1688–1729), the colonial governor of New York and New Jersey (1720–1728) and also of Massachusetts and New Hampshire (1728–1729). Burnet was a man of many intellectual interests, including the natural sciences (he was a fellow of the Royal Society) and theology. Like his teacher Isaac Newton, Burnet was also an ardent millennialist. In 1724 Burnet anonymously published *An Essay on Scripture-Prophecy, wherein it is endeavoured to explain the three Periods contain'd in the XIIth chapter of the Prophet Daniel. With some Arguments to make it possible, that the first of the Periods did expire in the year 1715* (1724), in which he argued that Christ would return to earth in 1790. Mather knew the identity of the author and engaged with Burnet's work.

A draft letter to Burnet from November 1723 has survived in which Mather praises Burnet's interpretive scheme (presumably on the basis of a summary or manuscript copy of *An Essay* that the governor had sent to him) and shares his thoughts on whether “the coming of our Saviour at the beginning of the Millennium can be any other than personal and literal.” We also have a draft letter from August 1724, presumably addressed to Gurdon Saltonstall (1666–1724), Governor of Connecticut, in which Mather writes: “I look upon Colonel Burnet's late *Essay on the Scripture Prophecies* as the most penetrating, judicious, decisive essay that has ever been made upon that noble subject. What that excellent person who led him to these happy studies (our late President, Sir Isaac Newton) has been to the world in philosophy, this must his honorable scholar now be in prophecy, and be acknowledged as a dictator above all contradiction.” To this Mather added, that there was “indeed no little proof of our being arrived onto the *Time of the End* (and that he has calculated right) in our having Daniel so admirably opened unto us.”<sup>38</sup> While he did not fully accept Burnet's eschatological timetable, Mather made use of *An Essay* for the purpose of finessing his millennial calculations after the disappointment of 1716, both in his annotations on Daniel and Revelation for the “Biblia.” On the latter book,

<sup>37</sup> See James E. Force and S. Hutton, ed., *Newton and Newtonianism: New Studies* (2004).

<sup>38</sup> See Mather, ed. Silverman, *Selected Letters*, 377 and 389. Mather also praises Burnet in his *Tripuradisu*, p. 318.

he inserted notes from Burnet on the effusion of the vials and the apocalyptic witnesses of Rev. 11. Furthermore, Burnet is the only source referenced in the very last essay on things to be expected in the latter days ("Expectanda") that Mather appended to the "Biblia."

Mather's "French connection" also comes into play in the Stage II and III additions. He cites the *New Observations upon the Creed* (1647), by Jean D'Espagne (1591–1659), a Huguenot minister serving the Église protestante française de Londres, as well as the more recent New Testament translation by Isaac de Beausobre and Jacques Lenfant *Le Nouveau Testament de notre seigneur Jesus-Christ* (1718). The two French Protestant theologians Beausobre (1659–1738) and Lenfant (1661–1728) had to leave France in 1685 and both ended up in Brandenburg services. Not to be omitted from this survey are, moreover, the multiple references to contemporary travel literature that Mather makes in the additions to his commentary on Revelation. Most significant are *A Voyage into the Levant* (1718), by the French botanist Joseph Pitton de Tournefort (1656–1708), whose work chronicles a journey through Greece and the present-day Eurasian region of Georgia in pursuit of his scientific interests; and the *Remarks upon the Manners, Religion and Government of the Turks, together with a Survey of the Seven Churches of Asia* (1678) by the English scholar, expelled Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, and non-juring divine Thomas Smith (1638–1710). This work was the outcome of Smith's service as chaplain to Sir Daniel Harvey, ambassador at Constantinople, in the late 1660s. After his return to Oxford, Smith published his observations on the affairs of the Levant and the state of the Greek Orthodox Church. Together with the British diplomat and historian Sir Paul Rycaut FRS (1629–1700), he attempted to heal the division between the western and eastern church. Mather also cites Rycaut's *The Present State of the Greek and Armenian Churches, Anno Christi 1678* (1679). For the most part, Mather employs the observations of these modern travelers describing the current state of the seven churches of Asia as a way to demonstrate the fulfilment of John's prophecies. However, Mather, too, deeply cared about the fate of the Greek churches – as evinced by his *American Tears upon the Ruines of the Greek Churches* (1701) that appears to have been developed from his annotations on Rev. 7 – and dreamed about a reunion with Eastern Orthodoxy. In this context, Mather, quite remarkably, cites the *Confessio fidei* (1629) of Cyril Lucaris or Loukaris (1572–1638), who intermittently served as the Greek Patriarch of Alexandria (as Cyril III) and Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople (as Cyril I) between 1620 and 1638. Cyril had studied Reformed theology at various European universities, and his *Confessio* was an attempt to reconcile Orthodoxy and Reformed Protestantism.

*The Appended Essays:* The two series of essays that Mather attached to the "Biblia"-manuscript all appear to have been composed after 1706 and some as late as the mid-1720s. The first one, "An Essay, for a further COMMENTARY,

on the Sacred Scriptures,” focuses on personal experience and lived religion as a key to the right understanding of Scripture. Without identifying them as such, Mather brings in Bible meditations that he had committed to his diaries and also used for his autobiography *Paterna*.<sup>39</sup> In addition, he uses and acknowledges similar meditations recorded by his colleague Thomas Bridge (born in England, 1656, d. in Boston, 1715). Bridge was schooled at Oxford and migrated to the New World in 1682. Subsequently he was a preacher in Jamaica and the Bermuda Isles, and in 1702/3 at Cohanzy, West Jersey. In 1704 he accepted a call from the First Church of Boston to serve as pastor with Benjamin Wadsworth. He remained in this position from his installation in 1705 to his death; in 1712 he received an Honorary Masters from Harvard. In 1715, Cotton Mather preached his funeral sermon, which was subsequently published in extended form as *Benedictus. Good Men described, and the glories of their goodness, declared. . . . Whereto there is added, an instrument, which he wrote, when he drew near his End, and left as a Legacy to Survivors, relating some of his experiences* (1715). In that publication, Mather mentions that Bridge “wrote many sweet Illustrations on the Sacred Scripture,” of which “in our BIBLIA AMERICANA, we have preserved a specimen.” This specimen seems to have been taken from a now lost manuscript that Bridge must have shared with Mather before his death.<sup>40</sup>

The emphasis on an experiential approach to Scripture was something that Mather shared with his Pietist correspondents.<sup>41</sup> As is well known, Mather was in conversation with the director of the Foundation, the great Lutheran theologian and one of the founding fathers of “churchly” Pietism, August Hermann Francke (1663–1727), as well as several of his associates.<sup>42</sup> Mather felt an “elective affinity” with Halle Pietism. He was so impressed by both its theology and its reforming activities that he famously spoke in a 1716 letter to Francke’s student (who served chaplain to Prince George at the London court) Anton Wilhelm Boehm (Böhme, 1673–1722) about his “*American Puritanism*” as being “so much of a Peece with the *Frederician Pietism*.”<sup>43</sup> Between 1709 and the end of their lives, Mather and Francke exchanged letters and literature. Works by Francke and Boehm are cited across the “Biblia,” and for the essay Mather draws on the 1706 London edition of Francke’s guide to biblical hermeneutics

39 See *Paterna* (written in different stages between 1699 and 1727; ed. 1976), pp. 93–95.

40 Mather, *Benedictus*, p. 44.

41 See Johannes Wallmann, “Scriptural Understanding and Interpretation in Pietism” (2008); and Susanne Luther, “Schriftverständnis im Pietismus” (2020) and Thomas Hahn-Bruckart, “Bibel” (2020). For a comparison of Puritan, early evangelical, and Pietist approaches to Scripture, see the essays in *The Bible in Early Transatlantic Evangelicalism and Pietism*, ed. Ryan P. Hoselton et al. (2022).

42 On Mather’s relation with Halle Pietism see the essays by Ernst Benz (1951, 1961); Richard Lovelace’s *The American Pietism of Cotton Mather* (1979); and Stievertmann, “A Syncretism of Piety” (2020).

43 Mather, *Diary* (2:411).



*Manuductio ad lectionem scripturae sacrae Augusti Hermannii Franckii, S. Th. Prof. Hallens: cum nova prefatione, de impedimentis studii theologici* (first ed. 1693), which came with a recommendation of Pierre Allix and an anonymous preface (*Praefatio de impedimenti Studii Theologici* or “Preface about the Impediments of the Study of Theology”). Although Mather does not seem to have been aware of the fact, this preface was actually penned by Boehm, who was an important mediator between the worlds of German Lutheran Pietism and that of early Anglophone evangelicalism. When dealing with the thorny issue of whether the extraordinary gifts of the Spirit had forever ceased in the essay “VATES,” Mather again brings Francke’s moderating voice into the conversation with his *Programma De Donis Dei Extraordinariis* (*programma IX*), in *Programmata diversis temporibus in Academia Hallensi publice proposita* (1714).<sup>44</sup>

Much more unexpected are Mather’s extensive Latin excerpts from the work of the German jurist, classical scholar, theologian, and devotional writer Christoph Besold (Christopher Besoldus; 1577–1638), *Axiomata Philosophiae Christianae* (1626–28). Often considered one of the most important legal scholars of his time besides Grotius, Besold was born and educated as a Lutheran in Tübingen, Württemberg, and received a doctor of law from that university in 1598. In 1600 he became a Professor pandectarum at Tübingen. Besold had many prominent friends and pupils, including Johannes Kepler, Tobias Heß, and Johannes Valentinus Andreae. Together with the latter two he belonged to a circle of mystical-pietistic, theosophic, and millenarian thinkers, whose writings contributed to the development of Rosacruzianism. In 1635, Besold publicly converted to Catholicism and subsequently accepted the chair of Roman Law at the University of Ingoldstadt. In his juristical publications, he developed, among other things, an influential theory of sovereignty and argued that the secularization of monasteries by the Protestant princes had been illegal because they had the status of immediate dependency on the Empire (*Reichsunmittelbarkeit*). This implied the Protestant princes had an obligation to restore the confiscated religious property. It is rather unlikely that Mather would have been aware of this, however. He appears to have appreciated the *Axiomata* for their deeply mystical piety that stands in the tradition of the *devotion moderna* but also abounds in esoteric speculations more typical of the Baroque period. The final two sections of “An Eßay,” dealing with Christianity’s relation to Greco-Roman philosophy and the formation of the biblical canon, again, come from *The Reasonableness and Certainty of the Christian Religion*, which has already been introduced above.

<sup>44</sup> On Mather’s spiritualistic hermeneutics, see chs. 2 and 3 of Ryan P. Hoselton, “Spiritually Discerned: Cotton Mather, Jonathan Edwards, and Experiential Exegesis in Early Evangelicalism” (PhD diss., Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg, 2019).

The second series of essays contained in “An Appendix” starts with “VATES. Or, some Remarks upon the SPIRIT of PROPHECY,” which is not only the longest but also, in more than one regard, the most baffling and intriguing addition that Mather made to the “Biblia.” This essay is based on *The General Delusion of Christians, touching the Ways of God’s revealing Himself, to, and by the Prophets* (1713) by John Lacy (bap. 1664, d. 1730). Lacy was a Justice of the Peace and a wealthy member of Edmund Calamy’s Presbyterian congregation at Tothill Street, Westminster. In 1706, he, along with other congregants from that flock, became enthralled by three refugee Camisard preachers who had arrived in England in 1706: Durand Fage (1681–c. 1750), Jean Cavalier (1686–c. 1740), and the charismatic Elie Marion (1678–1713). They had fled the violent re-Catholicization campaign of Louis XIV and the ensuing guerilla war (c. 1702–1710) in the southern province of Languedoc. The Camisards came from the rugged and isolated Cévennes mountains, as Lionel Laborie has written, and constituted “a poorer Huguenot subculture animated by beliefs in prophecy and martyrdom.”<sup>45</sup> Among lay believers, radical apocalyptic beliefs and ecstatic practices (notably tongue speaking and prophesying) had developed, which the three self-declared prophets then began to spread among the London community of Huguenot exiles and beyond. Here many already believed that the wars against Louis XIV and the conflicts in France were happening in fulfillment of the end-time prophecies.

John Lacy was one of the most prominent English converts and supporters of the Camisards in London, a movement soon to be known as the French Prophets. The other two were the Irish baronet and Fellow of the Royal Society Sir Richard Bulkeley (1660–1710) and Nicolas Fatio de Duillier (1664–1753), a Swiss mathematician of international fame, Fellow of the Royal Society, and a close friend of Isaac Newton. Within less than two years the French Prophets would attract more than 600 followers and send missionaries to the Continent. In 1707, Lacy translated François Maximilien Misson’s providential history (containing numerous witness accounts of prophecies and miracles) of the war in the Cévennes, *Théâtre sacré des Cévennes*, under the title *A Cry from the Desert*. Under Camisard influence Lacy and other self-styled instruments of the Spirit began to prophesy in tongues and practice automatic writing. In 1707 Lacy issued in three instalments a first collection of *Prophetical Warnings* that were preoccupied with the prospect of divine judgment. The French Prophets were also encouraged by Joseph Mede’s prediction, confirmed by William Whiston and others, that Antichrist and his minions would fall in 1716, to be followed by a new “State of the Church on Earth, more resplendent than every yet.”<sup>46</sup> The association with the French Prophets proved another factor in the discrediting

<sup>45</sup> Laborie, *Enlightenment Enthusiasm*, p. 9. My portrait of Lacy is based on Laborie’s research, presented esp. on pp. 43–121. See also Hillel Schwartz, *The French Prophets: The History of a Millenarian Group in Eighteenth-Century England* (1980).

<sup>46</sup> John Lacy, *A Relation of the Dealings of God* (1708), p. iv.

of Whiston, even though he half-heartedly distanced himself from prophetic enthusiasm of their kind in his 1708 Boyle lectures.<sup>47</sup>

The exploits of the French Prophets quickly polarized the public. Many were fascinated by their ecstatic trances, convulsions, the purportedly supernatural phenomena such as xenolalia, parasensory experiences (dreams, visions), and the miraculous gifts which Lacy in particular claimed to possess. Lacy “attempted to cure over a dozen people, of blindness, carbuncle, ulcers, fevers and consumption, allegedly with some success, though always in the privacy of a chamber,”<sup>48</sup> and even boasted of having walked on water and levitated. Many more remained skeptical. Cotton Mather’s correspondent Edmund Calamy witnessed one of Lacy’s demonstrations of healing and his ecstasies accompanied by hiccuping and gasping. Calamy was appalled. The movement took a downward turn when the prophesied and much publicized resurrection of an apothecary named Dr. Thomas Emes failed on 25 May, 1708. That day an estimated 20,000 people were waiting around Bunhill Fields to watch Emes rise from the grave at Lacy’s bidding, but he decided not to show. Subsequently, Lacy withdrew to Lancashire and died in obscurity in 1730. The anonymous *General Delusion of Christians with Regard to Prophecy* (1713) is more than 500-pages long and a surprisingly learned defense of the spirit of prophecy more generally and the French Prophets in particular; it was published in a second revised edition as *The Scene of Delusions* in 1723, exerting some influence on the Great Awakening.

Mather’s interest in the French Prophets must be seen in the context of his own highly supernaturalistic piety but also his already-existing concern for the Huguenots and fascination with the question of whether their fate might be a sign of the times. Mather also shared with the French Prophets a premillenarian and hyperliteralist view of the end-times. When he learned about their predictions and other purported gifts of the Spirit, Mather was naturally very curious. He even sent Lacy a letter in January 1719. In it, he praised *The General Delusion* for its positive view of “those whom we called the Ecstatics” and then explained his eschatological interest in the French Prophets:

Long, long have I been of the opinion that the revival of Christianity, and the arrival of the Kingdom of God, must be by the return of the prophetic spirit unto us, in such angelical possessions as carried on the work of the Gospel in the primitive times, when our ascended Lord gave such gifts unto men, gifts which continued in the Church till towards the coming of the dark three years and a half, for which long period it has not rained. And I know such in the world as do send up from the dust importunate cries unto Heaven, that the multitude of the Heavenly Host may come down upon us with their influences to accomplish what [appears?] otherwise to be despaired of.

<sup>47</sup> Jed Z. Buchwald and Mordechai Feingold, *Newton and the Origin of Civilization* (2013), p. 336.

<sup>48</sup> Laborie, *Enlightenment Enthusiasm*, p. 104.

While Mather had no doubt about the “real and vital piety” of Lacy, he did express reservations concerning the genuineness of his prophecies and miracles, speculating that they might be “counterfeits” induced by demonic influence: “In this dark suspense, I keep waiting to see what our glorious Lord will please to do; for when that Sun of Righteousness appears, he will dispel our darkness; the beasts will then also gather themselves together and lay them down in their dens.”<sup>49</sup> Mather did not have the opportunity to meet with Lacy or other French Prophets as his erstwhile correspondent Whiston did. After his personal encounter in 1713, Whiston concluded that some of their supernatural abilities might be real but were likely signs of demonic possession, and hence their prophecies ought not to be trusted. While Mather apparently very much appreciated Lacy’s vision of an early Christianity steeped in the supernatural, he was very cautious in handling this source. Knowing full-well who the author of *The General Delusion of Christians* was, he does not mention Lacy’s name nor the full title of the book. And he chose to leave out all the parts that discuss modern revelations and miracles or the value of apocryphal scriptures.

The essay “Tables Of the MEASURES, WEIGHTS, and COINS, occurring in the Sacred Scriptures” is based on *An essay towards the recovery of the Jewish measures & weights* by Richard Cumberland (1632–1718), a work that Mather also employs elsewhere in the “Biblia” (e.g. *BA* 2:447–48; 451–53). Educated at Cambridge (MA, 1656), Cumberland incorporated his degree at Oxford the following year, from where he also took a BD in 1663. A churchman of latitudinarian sympathies, Cumberland held various ecclesial offices over the years and after the Glorious Revolution was appointed Bishop of Peterborough. Cumberland’s wide-ranging intellectual interests in natural philosophy, particularly mathematics and physics, but also law, ancient history, and languages, are reflected in his publications. *De legibus naturae disquisitio philosophica* (1671/72) was, nationally and internationally, an influential treatise on natural law, arguing that man’s individual good lies in advancing the common good. Now president of the Royal Society, Cumberland produced *An essay towards the recovery of Jewish measures and weights* in 1686, attempting to translate biblical measures, weights, and coins into modern equivalents. The piece was designed as an appendix to the Bible, and can be found in many eighteenth-century Church of England Bible editions with the revised KJV translation. Around the same time, Cumberland also worked on an English edition of *Sanchoniatho’s Phoenician History*, preserved as fragments in the work of Eusebius. Because of its controversial nature (Cumberland found traces of Phoenician idolatry even in modern Roman Catholicism), the book only appeared posthumously in 1720, together

---

49 Silverman, ed., *Selected Letters*, pp. 270–71.

with a detailed commentary that sought to reconcile Sanchoniatho's history with the Bible.<sup>50</sup>

The next two essays on "Ezra, or, The Things done by Ezra" and "*Antiqua*, or, Our Sacred Scriptures illustrated, with some Accounts of the *Sabians* and the *Magians*," as well as the eighth essay "*Synagoga*. Or, The Original of SYNAGOGUES," the first half of the ninth essay "*Sibyllina*. Or, A brief & plain Account of the *Sibylline* Oracles," and the tenth essay "*Chaldaeans*. Or, some Account of the Jewish *Targums*," are all grounded in one source that Mather extensively quarried for other later additions across the "Biblia": *The Old and New Testament connected in the History of the Jews and neighbouring Nations* (1715–1717) by Humphrey Prideaux (1648–1724). Educated at Oxford (MA, 1675; DD, 1686), Prideaux was a Church of England cleric whose ecclesial career eventually led him to the position of Dean of Norwich in 1702. He was an accomplished Orientalist and in 1691 was invited to become the successor of Edward Pococke. However, Prideaux preferred the life of a country clergyman and refused the professorship. Still, he kept his pen active and published numerous controversial and historical works. These included the infamous *Life of Mahomet* (1697), in which he sought to discredit Islam and defuse the Deist critique of all organized religions by demonstrating that "Mohammedanism," but not Christianity, was based on the false teachings of an imposture. Covering the history of the Jews from 747 BCE to 33 CE by a combination of biblical and extra-biblical sources, Prideaux's *The Old and New Testament connected* became very influential in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, appearing in many editions and translations.

For the essays "*Patriarcha*, or, The Religion of NOAH" and "*Scripturae Nucleus*, or, The Marrow of the whole Bible," Mather leaned on the works of two Huguenot scholars. One is *A Critical History of the Doctrines and Worships* (1705) by Pierre Jurieu, who was already introduced above. The other is *Reflexions upon the Books of the Holy Scripture to establish the Truth of the Christian Religion* (1688) by Pierry Allix (1641–1717). Forced to flee France by the Edict of Fontainebleau, Allix, at the invitation of Bishop Gilbert Burnet, settled in London, where he became pastor to the French émigré church. His works of theology and exegesis were recognized for their scholarly quality (Allix was awarded a DD from Oxford) but also had a broader popular appeal, in particular the *Reflexions* and his *The Book of Psalms with the Argument of Each* (1701), which Mather employed for his own annotations on the Psalms. Like many of his compatriots, Allix was an ardent millennialist who expected the Second Coming in 1736 at the latest, to be preceded by the fall of the Roman Antichrist and the national conversion of the

<sup>50</sup> Jon Parkin, *Science, Religion and Politics in Restoration England: Richard Cumberland's De Legibus Naturae* (1999), pp. 12–14.

Jews. On this last point, Mather, in his final years, came to disagree with Allix, leading to the revision of many of the entries based on his works (see BA 4:52).

The second half of the “*Sibyllina*”-essay comes from *A Defence of Christianity from the Prophecies of the Old Testament* (1725) by Edward Chandler, (1668?–1750). Raised and educated in Ireland, Chandler’s MA was incorporated from Trinity College, Dublin, into Emmanuel College, Cambridge, in 1693, where he also received a DD in 1701. Chandler’s successful career in the Church of England was crowned by his appointment as Bishop of Durham in 1730. *A Defence of Christianity* was written in response to the fundamental challenge to prophetic evidence that the Deist Anthony Collins (1676–1729) had presented in his *Discourse of the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion* (1724), and was followed up by Chandler’s *A Vindication of the Defence of Christianity* (1728). Mather took a lively interest in this debate over prophetic evidence and excerpted entries from Chandler and other apologists in his commentary on Isaiah (BA 5:818).<sup>51</sup>

From the 1725 English translation of Augustin Calmet’s “Dissertation sur les Instruments de Musique des Hebreux,” found in his *Discours et dissertations sur tous les livres de l’Ancien Testament* (1715),<sup>52</sup> Mather gleaned much material that can be found in the essay “*Psalmes. Or, The Ancient Music and Poetry of the Hebrews*,” including a cut-out with depictions of musical instruments mentioned in the Bible. A French Benedictine monk, Calmet (1672–1757) was a leading Catholic exegete of his generation who produced commentaries on all books of the Bible, published as the multivolume *Commentaire littéral sur tous les livres de l’Ancien et du Nouveau Testaments* (first ed. 1707–1716). During the eighteenth century this work went through numerous editions and assumed quasi-official status in the Catholic church. However, Calmet is most famous for his great dictionary of the Bible (first French ed. 1720), published in English as *An historical, critical, geographical, chronological, and etymological dictionary of the Holy Bible* (3 vols., 1732). Although included with the *Discours et dissertations*, the author of the section on Hebrew poetry is identified as “Abbot Fleury,” presumably the French church historian and educator Claude Fleury (1640–1725), Abbot of Loc-Dieu in the Diocese of Rhodéz. For the essay “The Manner of Writing, among the *Ancients*; more particularly among the *Hebrews*” Mather is indebted the work of the High Church Anglican controversialist and antiquarian Thomas Lewis (b. 1689, d. in or after 1737), *Origines Hebraeae: the Antiquities of the Hebrew Republic* (1724). Probably due to his combative personality, Lewis never obtained any higher ecclesial offices. One wonders how much Mather knew about Lewis’s aggressively polemical attacks on Dissenters

51 See Stievermann, “The Debate over Prophetic Evidence for the Authority of the Bible in Cotton Mather’s *Biblia Americana*” (2017).

52 The essay was translated as part of Calmet’s *Antiquities sacred and profane: or, a Collection of Curious and Critical Dissertations on the Old and the New Testament* (1724), sect. 1.

and Latitudinarian churchmen alike, published in a short-lived journal *The Scourge, in Vindication of the Church of England* (1715), for which he was even charged with sedition, but also tracts like *The Danger of the Church Establishment of England from the insolence of the Protestant Dissenters* (1718). In any case, that a “high flier” like Lewis should be given the almost final word in the “Biblia Americana”-manuscript appears somewhat ironic. The absolute conclusion is given by Cotton Mather himself with the essay “Expectanda,” which contains his final thoughts on eschatology.

## Section 2

### Main Themes and Issues

Before going into the more specific topics, a few general remarks on the “Biblia Americana” seem in order. Mather’s work can be situated toward the end of the golden age of the *ars critica* and on the verge of the type of biblical criticism associated with the early Enlightenment. Both periods had important centers of learning in the Netherlands and England.<sup>1</sup> From there Mather received most of his books and influences, and, while rarely an original contributor, he can be considered a colonial member of the republic of letters in that he kept abreast of the latest scholarly debates and, as suggested above, attempted to synthesize important findings with his understanding of Christian orthodoxy.<sup>2</sup> Mather thus was heir to the humanist scholarship of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that had developed new philological methods and standards of rigorous criticism but remained inextricably tied into academic theology with its confessional commitments. True, some of these scholars, including Mather, had irenicist or pan-Protestant goals and saw their exegetical work as a means toward that end. However, even the most celebrated practitioners of humanist philology, notably Joseph Scaliger (1540–1609), Isaac Casaubon (1549–1614), or Louis Cappel (1585–1658), were not theologically neutral in their scholarship, let alone seeking to undermine the authority of the Bible or the Christian faith. This is also true for Scaliger’s most famous student, the Dutch Arminian

---

1 A good general history of biblical interpretation in the early modern period can be found in chs. 2–4 of John Sandys-Wunsch, *What Have They Done to the Bible? A History of Modern Biblical Interpretation* (2005); and the two volumes of Henning Graf Reventlow, *Epochen der Bibelauslegung, Band III: Renaissance, Reformation, Humanismus* (1997) and *Band IV: Von der Aufklärung bis zum 20. Jahrhundert* (2001). For helpful discussions of the important developments in the history of biblical interpretation in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, see also Richard A. Muller, “Biblical Interpretation in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries” (1998); Gerald T. Sheppard, “Biblical Interpretation in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries” (1998); for the Netherlands, see also the essays in: *Scriptural Authority and Biblical Criticism in the Dutch Golden Age: God’s Word Questioned*, ed. by Dirk van Miert, Henk J.M. Nellen, Piet Steenbakkers, and Jetze Touber (2017). On the NT specifically, see vol. 1 of William Baird, *The History of New Testament Research* (1992).

2 In situating Mather, I draw on my *Prophecy, Piety, and the Problem of Historicity* (pp. 1–82), but am also indebted to the especially helpful introductions by Smolinski (*BA* 1:113–75) and Brown (*BA* 9:5–30).



polymath Hugo Grotius, whose annotations on the Hebrew Scriptures (1644) and *Annotationes in Novum Testamentum* (1641–50) are of crucial importance to the entire “Biblia”-project and also, directly or indirectly, inform many entries of this volume. Grotius was not the free-spirited humanist hero that later admirers have made him out to be, nor was he a modern skeptic. However, in applying the critical and contextualist tools of the *ars critica*, he certainly pushed the envelope on questions about biblical authorship, chronology, textual integrity, and authenticity. This was the case, for instance, with 2 Peter. More importantly, Grotius and his followers, notably Henry Hammond, challenged the legitimacy of certain interpretative traditions and arrived at some specific theological conclusions that were unacceptable to a man of Mather’s more conservative convictions. An example to be further discussed below would be Grotius’s criticism of the deeply-ingrained Protestant habit of identifying the Antichrist of Revelation with the Pope and his preterist reading of the apocalypse more generally. But neither was Grotian criticism anti-theological, nor did Mather’s confessional commitments make him reject *in toto* the methods and findings of humanist scholarship. Rather, Mather engaged in what Brown aptly describes as an “appropriation of critical interpretation” (BA 9:15). Mather selectively and cautiously availed himself of its methods and findings for elucidating the meaning of biblical writings in their original languages and contexts, while attempting to avoid what he deemed more dangerous conclusions. In fact, Mather had great respect for the learning and ingenuity of Grotius and others working in the paradigm established by Scaliger’s generation, even as he regarded some of the results and implications as wrong and worked to defuse their explosive potential.<sup>3</sup>

Yet, the rising awareness of what we today would call the historicity of the Scriptures, embedded in a rapidly growing knowledge about ancient histories and civilizations, was not so easily dealt with. It increasingly produced fault-lines among the scholars employing the new methods. A case in point is the intense debate that was created by John Selden’s *A History of of Tithes* (1618), which still reverberated in Mather’s annotations on Heb. 7. An early English representative of the new *ars critica*, John Selden (1584–1654) was best known as a legal and constitutional scholar, but also wrote important comparative studies of sacred and ecclesiastical history, including his famous *De diis Syris* (1617), one of Mather’s favorite sources throughout the “Biblia.” As the title suggests, *A History of Tithes* dealt with the changing practice of devoting “the tenth” from apostolic Christianity up to post-Reformation England. What proved so controversial about the work, as Nicholas Hardy has recently emphasized, was more the irreverent manner of its trenchant source criticism than its actual conclusions.

---

3 On Mather’s complicated relation with Grotius, see Stievertmann, “Admired Adversary: Wrestling with Grotius the Exegete in Cotton Mather’s *Biblia Americana*” (2020).

For Selden maintained, reflecting his Erastian convictions, “that the *History* as a whole supported, rather than undermined, the payment of tithes to the English clergy. If it did so, however, it showed that any such payment should be founded on civil, rather than ecclesiastical or divine law.”<sup>4</sup> While allowing for certain instances in the ancient sources, Selden found no sufficient support for the assumption that the consecration of a tenth to the gods had been a universal practice among pagans. More dramatically, he maintained that there was no consistent biblical precedent for modern tithing, if one, as proper historians and philologists should, stayed away from typological readings. In his essay on Heb. 7:5 titled “The Antiquity and Original of *Tithes*,” Mather dips into Selden’s *History* but then quotes at length from one of the major learned works written in refutation of it: the 600-page *Diatribae upon the first part of the late History of Tithes* (1621) by the Church of England scholar Richard Montagu (or Mountague; 1577–1641). With the help of the Arminian-leaning Montagu, Mather shores up a *jure divino*-argument for tithe-payments based on Scripture (Mather strongly re-affirmed the typological connection to Gen. 14:20) and corroborated by natural law theory, which he illustrates by multiple examples from the pagans. “It seems most Reasonable, to beleieve,” Mather determines, “That this Custome, like *Sacrifice*, & *Priesthood*, & *Marriage*, was derived from *Adam* to *Noah*, and from him continued by his Posterity to the Confusion at *Babel*, and by Means of that universal Dispersion, spread over all the World” (BA 10:258; see also BA 2:709–12).

Thus, Mather was happy to follow the debates of the age’s most acute critics, but characteristically parted ways with them when they fundamentally challenged his theological modes of interpretation, such as typology, or led to dogmatically problematic (and in this case, anticlerical) outcomes. This is also how Mather responded to another notoriously controversial work published just as he started his ministry in Boston: *De legibus Hebraeorum ritualibus et earum rationibus* (1685) by the Cambridge Hebraist John Spencer (1630–1693). As Smolinski has demonstrated, Mather employed this work, somewhat ambidextrously, for his commentary on Exodus (BA 2:52–89).

Some scholars among members of Mather’s own generation took the historical-contextual approach further. Most important to name here are the French Oratorian scholar Richard Simon (1638–1712) and the Swiss Reformed exegete of Arminian persuasion Jean Le Clerc (Johannes Clericus, 1657–1736). In two ground-breaking works, the *Histoire critique du Vieux Testament* (1678; translated into English in 1682 as *A Critical History of the Old Testament*) and *Histoire critique du texte du Nouveau Testament* (1689; translated that same year

<sup>4</sup> Nicholas Hardy, *Criticism and Confession: The Bible in the Seventeenth Century Republic of Letters* (2017), p. 156.

as *A Critical History of the Text of the New Testament*),<sup>5</sup> Simon developed new critical theories about the authorship and composition of several Old and New Testament books, while ultimately seeking to assert the divine authority of the Scriptures. For instance, he rejected conventional assumptions about Mosaic authorship of the entire Pentateuch but at the same time asserted that the long and complex provenance of these books had been overseen by God's providence.<sup>6</sup> Similarly, Simon discussed the origin and character of various books of the New Testament as well as textual differences in the manuscript traditions, engaging with both Jewish critics and modern skeptics. Simon admitted the uncertainty of the Greek text in many places, only to arrive at the conclusion that it was not the books of the New Testament as bare texts that could provide a certain foundation for the Christian faith. "Although the Scriptures are a sure Rule on which our Faith is founded," he wrote, "yet this Rule is not altogether sufficient of it self." Rather, Simon argued, "it is necessary to know, besides this, what are the Apostolical Traditions; and we cannot learn them but from the Apostolical Churches, who have preserved the true Sense of Scriptures."<sup>7</sup> So to Simon, the Protestant principle of *sola scriptura* inevitably led Christians on treacherous grounds. They needed to be guided by the apostolic tradition of interpretation that was guarded by the Roman Church.

Le Clerc's most influential work was *Sentimens de quelques theologiens de Hollande sur l'histoire critique du Vieux Testament composée par le P. Richard Simon*.<sup>8</sup> In his engagement with Simon's book on the Old Testament and its perceived "Popish" shortcomings, Le Clerc advanced even more critical views on the authorship and composition of the canon, as well as on the topic of scriptural inspiration more generally. Selections from Le Clerc's writings were published in English under the title *Five Letters concerning the Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures* (1690) and widely discussed. To the horror of Mather and other apologists of his generation, in his debate with Richard Simon, Jean Le Clerc similarly maintained that not all the texts of the Bible were "equally inspir'd."<sup>9</sup> Building on Grotius's similar opinions, Le Clerc would grant actual inspiration only to the predictions of the great prophets. But even with these predictions it

5 In 1690 Simon followed up with his *Histoire critique de versions du Nouveau Testament*, to which he added three years later a *Histoire critique des principaux commentateurs du Nouveau Testament*, surveying interpreters from the patristic to the modern era. In 1702 Simon would even produce his own edition and translation of the New Testament.

6 On Simon, see John W. Rogerson, "Early Old Testament Critics in the Roman Catholic Church-Focusing on the Pentateuch" (2008), pp. 838–43; and Jean Steinmann, *Richard Simon et les origines de l'exegese biblique* (1959). On these debates and Mather's position in them, see Smolinski's "Authority and Interpretation: Cotton Mather's Response to the European Spinozists" (2006) and his "Editor's Introduction" (*BA* 1:131–44).

7 Richard Simon, *A Critical History of the Text of the New Testament* (1689), pt. 1, p. 31.

8 See Samuel Golden, *Jean Le Clerc* (1992).

9 Jean Le Clerc, *The Five Letters Concerning Inspiration* (1690), second letter, p. 36.

was the original content of what the prophets had received through their visions or dreams that was inspired, not the words in which they were later written down. Le Clerc considered the historical books of the Hebrew Bible and New Testament (i. e. the Gospels and the Book of Acts) to be generally faithful to history, but all claims to veracity would have to be carefully examined by criteria such as verifiability through human testimony and probability. Inevitably, certain mistakes were to be expected in historical writings. The same applied to the letters of the New Testament that clearly belonged to the pragmatic genre of epistolary writing, which served purposes of human communication and for which no inspiration was to be expected. Hence Le Clerc denied the notion of a uniformly inspired and in all respects infallible Scripture that could provide unambiguous textual support for the fine points of academic theology. Nevertheless, he asserted that a responsibly interpreted New Testament provided a stable doctrinal core (which he defined in very minimalistic and decidedly Arminian terms), sufficient to lead believers to salvation and serve as a sure guide to Christian living. For all the undeniable continuities with previous scholarship, the works of Simon and Le Clerc, therefore, departed from their predecessors by forcefully insisting on the open-ended nature of their inquiries and the independence of criticism from confessional theology. In that they can be said to mark an important transition of biblical interpretation into the period of enlightened *critique*.<sup>10</sup>

Again, Mather was quite aware of these works and trends, but engaged with them very cautiously and defensively. As I have shown elsewhere with regard to the Wisdom Books and Canticles, he cherry-picked some insights from Le Clerc but resoundingly denied the challenges which the Swiss scholar posed to the traditional understanding of the authorship, inspiration, and canonicity of these texts.<sup>11</sup> It is quite surprising to see how far Mather was prepared to go in meeting Simon. As becomes clear in the essay appended to this volume “*Ezra, or, The Things done by Ezra, for the Restoring & Preserving of the Sacred Scriptures,*” he, like Humphrey Prideaux – from whose *The Old and New Testament connected in the History of the Jews and neighbouring Nations* (1716–18) the essay is mostly derived – followed the Simonean argument in conceding that a number of passages in the Pentateuch, including the last chapter of Deuteronomy, “are Plain interpolations” written a long time after Moses’s death by now unknown public scribes. The final composition of the Pentateuch happened, so Mather postulated, as Ezra made an “Edition of the Sacred Scriptures” after the return from the Babylonian exile, adding “what appeared necessary to him, for the

<sup>10</sup> See Hardy, *Criticism and Confession*, pp. 373–402. On Mather’s reaction, see Brown (*BA* 9:10–11) and Smolinski (*BA* 1:149–57). On some of the long-term trends and developments of biblical criticism during the Enlightenment, see Jonathan Sheehan, *The Enlightenment Bible: Translation, Scholarship, Culture* (2005).

<sup>11</sup> Stievertmann, *Prophecy, Piety, and Historicity*, pp. 107–48.

Illustrating, the Connecting, and the Completing of them.” Mather vehemently maintained, however, that neither the multi-layered and heterogeneous character of the Pentateuch nor its long history of textual tradition put its divine authority into question. The work of the redactors had been “assisted by the Same Spirit which inspired the First Writers of them” (*BA* 10:884). In adopting Simon’s reasoning on this issue, Mather took a stance against those critics of his day who kept pushing the questions, notably Le Clerc.<sup>12</sup>

However guardedly one practiced it, incorporating the methods of critical and contextualist scholarship inevitably caused tensions for doctrinally conservative Protestants. Mather’s struggle over the textual foundation of Trinitarianism (to be discussed below) poignantly illustrates this. Another example is the nervously self-aware defense of his futurist millennialism against the argument of scholars who suggested that the apocalyptic visions of Revelation or 2 Peter could very well be explained with reference to the Roman persecutions of Jews and early Christians and the destruction of Jerusalem. Thus, as Levitin writes with a view to late seventeenth-century clerical adepts of humanist historical knowledge and philology, “[i]t was precisely the investment in criticism – *not* its rejection – that caused problems for ‘orthodoxy.’”<sup>13</sup>

A further significant factor was the rapid development of natural philosophy and the empirical sciences in the early Enlightenment, which put growing pressure on the inherited biblical worldview and posed a new burden on Christian apologists to prove the historical veracity of the Scriptures according to the latest theories about the laws of nature.<sup>14</sup> Mather’s complex engagement with natural philosophy – especially as represented by the Royal Society of London – have been comprehensively treated elsewhere.<sup>15</sup> Suffice it to say, Mather, like many of his peers, labored hard in his commentary on Genesis to demonstrate that the biblical accounts of how God first made the world and then inundated it as punishment for humankind’s sinfulness were factual and explicable by natural philosophy. For such endeavours Mather drew on the works of some of the most reputable natural philosophers of the day, such as William Whiston’s

12 On the issue of Mosaic authorship, see Smolinski’s annotations in *BA* (1:131–44) and *BA* (2:1259).

13 Dmitri Levitin, *Ancient Wisdom in the Age of New Science* (2015), p. 544. On this, see also Henk J.M. Nellen, “Growing Tensions between Church Doctrines and Critical Exegesis of the Old Testament” (2008).

14 On the complex relation between theology and natural philosophy in the seventeenth century, see Amos Funkenstein, *Theology and the Scientific Imagination from the Middle Ages to the Seventeenth Century* (1986); and Klaus Scholder, *The Birth of Modern Critical Theology* (1990). Mather’s scientific interests are most clearly on display in his *The Christian Philosopher* (1720/21), which Winton Solberg helpfully contextualized in the introduction to his 1994 edition.

15 See Smolinski, “How to Go to Heaven, or How Heaven Goes? Natural Science and Interpretation in Cotton Mather’s ‘Biblia Americana’ (1693–1728)” (2008); and Winton Solberg, “Cotton Mather, the ‘Biblia Americana,’ and the Enlightenment” (2010).

*The New Theory of the Earth* (1696). Similarly, in his commentary on 2 Peter in this volume, he felt compelled to provide a scientific hypothesis for how the apocalyptic conflagration of the globe, which he expected to occur at the Second Coming, might work out in terms of secondary, natural causes (see below).

Such speculations were not unusual, especially among members of the Royal Society. With these particular representatives of a programmatically Christian Enlightenment, the Protestant push for a literalist hermeneutic that read the Scriptures in terms of an ever-more detailed representational realism and the rise of scientific empiricism were mutually dependent and reinforcing trends. More particularly, as Mather's example shows, there was a penchant to conceive of the prophesied latter-day events in naturalistic categories and to develop theories on how they might play out within the framework of a Newtonian universe.<sup>16</sup> "Far from the scientific revolution of the seventeenth century contributing to the demise of scripture," writes Colin Kidd, following the research of Peter Harrison and others, "the emergence of early modern science went hand in hand with a positive reappraisal of the scientific value of the Bible. Indeed, most Protestant theologians and scientists alike read the Bible and the natural world – God's book of nature – in tandem as complementary 'texts.'"<sup>17</sup>

However, a small group of critics, sometimes associated with the term "radical Enlightenment," saw history, the tools of historical exegesis, and the insights of natural philosophy as weapons in their fight against the perceived errors of theology and the church. In Mather's intellectual universe, English Deists such as John Toland (1670–1722) and Anthony Collins (1676–1729) highlighted contradictions between the established laws of nature and biblical stories. They also pointed out historical errors that became apparent when comparing biblical narratives to other extra-scriptural accounts. In such criticism, a new and all-encompassing concept of natural and human history became the standard against which the truth of the Bible was measured – and often found wanting. Even more radically, Deism called into question the historical exclusivity of the Bible and Christianity.<sup>18</sup>

Mather's basic view of and approach to biblical criticism was, therefore, broadly traditionalist. It remained beholden to an older type of confessional, notably Reformed, model of *ars critica*. At the same time, it was marked by an awareness of these transformations and challenges. Around him, the standards of biblical interpretation, at least in some intellectual circles, were changing.

<sup>16</sup> On this, see Peter Harrison, *The Bible, Protestantism, and the Rise of Natural Science* (1998), pp. 121–60.

<sup>17</sup> Colin Kidd, *The Forging of Races: Race and Scripture in the Protestant Atlantic World* (2006), p. 57. See also the essays in Kevin Killeen and Peter J. Forshaw, eds., *The Word and the World: Biblical Exegesis and Early Modern Science* (2007).

<sup>18</sup> See Reventlow, *The Authority of the Bible and the Rise of the Modern World* (1985), pp. 289–411, and "English Rationalism, Deism and Early Biblical Criticism" (2008).

There was a new, emerging ideal of independent judgment informed by autonomous reason and textual and historical evidence, regardless of whether such judgments put the critic at odds with tradition, even with the most fundamental teachings about the Bible and Christian faith. Mather certainly opposed the emerging criticism that was programmatically anti-theological or even, in the stricter sense of the word, genuinely critical of the Bible. Mather defended inherited theological modes of interpretation and, more generally, the prevalent understanding of Scripture's supernatural authority as one continuous, coherent, and infallible revelation from God. However, he felt compelled to do so in ways that acknowledged the arguments of those who attacked these views. The "Biblia Americana" must thus be seen as an exemplar of an innovative kind of apologetically-oriented criticism that evolved in close dialogue, or antilogue, with this more "critical criticism." It was closely related to "critical criticism" in terms of its deepening sense of the historicity of the Bible, the subjects of discussion, and the general methods to which it aspired. Ultimately, however, the "Biblia" aimed at legitimizing what Mather held to be an orthodox understanding of the Scriptures, and, both in its presuppositions and conclusions, remained thoroughly theological. And, for Mather, biblical criticism always stood in the service of his great goal of restoring from the Scriptures a pristine "primitive Christianity."<sup>19</sup>

One crucial aspect of Mather's theological commitments was his resistance against a tendency in early Enlightenment Protestant criticism to purge biblical hermeneutics of seemingly arbitrary typological and allegorical readings, as well as anachronistic philosophical or speculative interpretations that had no foundation in the language of Scripture. Jean Le Clerc was probably the most radical purist of the naked *sensus literalis*. English Newtonians, whom Mather otherwise so admired, also advanced a rather radical literalism, according to which, in William Whiston's formulation, "the obvious or Literal Sense of Scripture is the True and Real one, where no evident reason can be given to the contrary."<sup>20</sup> Such a hyperliteralism tended to loosen the ties between Old and New Testament to a degree that someone like Mather deemed wholly unacceptable. It could also, as the case of Whiston's espousal of Arianism showed, lead to shockingly heterodox outcomes, for the Cambridge scholar found that the New Testament texts, properly understood, did not support the metaphysical edifices of Nicean Trinitarianism.

<sup>19</sup> In all of these ways, Mather's approach to biblical criticism and his general version of a Christian Enlightenment strongly resemble those of Jonathan Edwards. See Robert E. Brown, *Jonathan Edwards and the Bible* (2002) and Douglas A. Sweeney, *Edwards the Exegete: Biblical Interpretation and Anglo-Protestant Culture on the Edge of the Enlightenment* (2015).

<sup>20</sup> The citation comes from the "postulata" of Whiston's biblical hermeneutics as formulated in his *A New Theory of the Earth*, p. 95.

More generally, as Harrison and others have observed, the convergence of a new biblical positivism and scientific empiricism seemed to work towards “the collapse of the allegorical interpretation of texts” under the hands of Protestant exegetes, “who in their search for an unambiguous religious authority, insisted that the book of scripture be interpreted only in its literal, historical sense.”<sup>21</sup> The “Biblia” complicates this seemingly straightforward story. On the one hand, Mather’s work in many places bears testimony to the trend of hyperliteralism and the obsession with the factual reality behind the biblical texts, especially the end-time prophecies. Mather was very concerned about avoiding arbitrary allegorical or typological readings that obscured the proper *sensus literalis*. “For Men to make an Allegory, or depart from the literal Sense of Scripture, where the *Analogy of Faith* compels not unto it,” he writes in his commentary on Revelation, “is for them to obtrude their own Imaginations instead of Scripture.” At least in theory, he felt beholden to the maxim, “*Non est a Litera, sive propria Scriptura Significatione recedendum nisi evidens aliqua Necessitas cogat, et Scriptura Veritas in ipsa litera periclitari videtur.*”<sup>22</sup> To ensure this, he even laid down some basic hermeneutical rules on how to carefully check the scriptural warrant for going beyond the literal sense (BA 10:716).

On the other hand, Mather everywhere insisted on the possibility of manifold, often hidden, mystical senses, and frequently moves from a straightforward historical-literalist reading to a complex typological or allegorical one, where this appeared appropriate to him. Neither did Mather see a problem with speculative philosophical and frequently “esoterical” readings in the tradition of Hermeticism and the Kabbalah.<sup>23</sup> In a single entry, Mather could effortlessly transition from the literal-historical explication of a Daniel Whitby to the conjectures of a Christian Knorr von Rosenroth. In other words, the “Biblia” does not evince a simple disenchantment of either Scripture or nature, in the sense that natural objects could simply no longer be seen as having spiritual import. In fact, Mather also seems to represent something like a strong spiritualist counter-tendency, both in biblical interpretation and natural philosophy, which characterized many Pietist and early evangelical scholars. This tendency comprised a desire to push back against the threat of robbing God’s Word of its

21 Harrison, *The Bible, Protestantism, and the Rise of Natural Science*, p. 4. On Whiston’s Newtonian method of biblical interpretation, see Force, *William Whiston*, pp. 32–89. On Whiston’s debate with Anthony Collins over the theological implications of a radically literalist hermeneutics, see Stephen Snobelen, “The Argument over Prophecy: An Eighteenth-Century Debate between William Whiston and Anthony Collins” (1996).

22 “One shall not leave the letter or the proper meaning of the Scripture, unless something obvious makes it necessary and the truth of the Scripture appears to be threatened in just this letter.” Mather’s source here is Robert Maton, *Israel’s redemption or the propheticall history of our Saviours kingdome on earth* (1642), pp. 47–48.

23 On the Christian Kabbalah during Mather’s period, see Klaus Reichert, “Christian Kabbalah in the Seventeenth Century” (1997).



infinite riches in meaning by reinvigorating inherited modes of theological and mystical exegesis, as much as a penchant toward a heightened supernaturalism that insisted that the same Spirit that gave forth the Scriptures could and should also inspire pious interpreters today. Especially when it came to the latter-day secrets of Revelation, it seemed to him that the “Sense, and importance of this Course of Divine Judgments,” was “so heavenly and spiritual, as to be impossible to be explained, but by either immediate *Revelation*, or the nearest Approach of themselves” (BA 10:636).<sup>24</sup>

In short, the “Biblia” is a tangle of many different, sometimes seemingly contradictory, intellectual strands and lines of influence that defies easy generalization. The same is true for Mather himself. In many ways he appears as the scholar theologian and, as Kenneth Silverman has put it, New England’s consummate “Eighteenth-Century Gentleman,” of outstanding erudition, who “kept himself abreast of the instant developments in European thought and culture,” making him “the one man of his time in America not dwarfed beside the virtuosi of the continent.”<sup>25</sup> Indeed, together with his father, Mather served as Boston’s intellectual “gatekeepers and authority figures in shaping the culture of their city and region and connecting it to the wider Atlantic world’s Republic of Letters . . . .”<sup>26</sup> At the same time, Mather was a very active minister and missionary, driven by a vision of primitive Christianity rooted in a fervent, deeply personal faith and the expectation of the imminent return of Christ – something that he shared with other “hot Protestants” of his time.

Despite his vituperative anti-Catholicism, Mather liked to claim, as in his advertising pamphlet *A New Offer to the Lovers of Religion and Learning* (1714), that the “Biblia” was “not a Work animated by the *Spirit of a Party*” and carried out “with such a Catholick Spirit, that it may be hoped no *Good Man*, will have any matter of just Offence given unto him.”<sup>27</sup> While in many regards he certainly propagated an usually broad type of pan-Protestantism, the “Biblia’s” investment in expounding the “true Doctrine of the CHILIAD” was by no means commonly accepted. Most Lutheran and many Church of England theologians would have strongly objected, no matter that *A New Offer* announced that the “Biblia” would offer only “the most *unexceptionable Thoughts* of the ablest Writers on the Apocalypse; defecated from the more Arbitrary and less Defensible Conceits, of *overdoing Students* in the Prophecies.”<sup>28</sup> Even among those Protestant who, too, believed in a future millennium, Mather’s

24 Mather cites Thomas Beverley, *A Scripture-line*, sect. 15 (“Wherein is given a very brief Display upon the Vials”), in *Works*, p. 187. On this, see my “Reading Revelation and Revelatory Readings in Early Awakened Protestantism: A Transatlantic Comparison” (2022).

25 Silverman, ed, *Select Letters*, xvii.

26 Peterson, *The City-State of Boston*, p. 220.

27 *A New Offer*, p. 7.

28 *A New Offer*, p. 14.

particular interpretation of it was anything but uncontroversial. It comes from a very specific Puritan-Dissenting tradition. Mather believed the Second Coming of Christ and the apocalyptic events surrounding the creation of His earthly kingdom would occur in the very near future. This kind of imminentist and literalist premillennialism separated Mather from a great many Protestants, even though a considerable minority in his own Dissenting milieu but also among Dutch and German Pietists had similar expectations.

Moreover, Mather cultivated an intense personal spirituality that frequently involved experiences of the supernatural. Indeed, as we will see, Mather's apocalyptic speculations gave him hope for a restoration of the apostolic gifts of the Spirit. He thought it very likely that "when the grand Period whereto those Visions bring us does arrive, the Holy *Spirit* of God will visit the World, & marvellously take Possession of Mankind," so that "*Joels* Prophecy shall be fully accomplished, yea, God will *dwell with men*, and even in *them* too" (BA 10:454). In that, he had much in common with radical Pietists and "enthusiasts" such as the French Prophets. These different facets of his personality are all reflected in the "Biblia." Which Mather one sees, or which aspect of the "Biblia" shifts to the forefront, can differ from section to section, and very much depends on the issues brought into focus. The following discussion, with its range of focal themes, seeks to do some justice to all of them.

## 2.1. Textual Issues and Questions of Translation

Mather the inquisitive but generally conservative theologian scholar comes out most visibly whenever textual issues are discussed in the "Biblia." This is frequently the case in volume ten. Repeatedly, Mather addresses questions arising from an intensified scrutiny of the history of the scriptural texts as texts; that is, questions of their original composition, provenance, and canonization, as well as the process of tradition by copying that produced numerous manuscript witnesses, exhibiting a great number of variant readings.

In Mather's day, New Testament scholars increasingly challenged the "givenness" of the received Greek text, on which the vernacular translations of the Reformation and post-Reformation age had been based, including the KJV.<sup>29</sup> The *Textus Receptus* – so called after the Elzevir printers of Leiden who in 1633 claimed that this was the version received by all – went back to the 1516 Greek New Testament edition with a new Latin translation by Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466–1563). While Erasmus had attempted to provide a sound textual foundation, he only had relatively few, and mostly late-medieval,

<sup>29</sup> For the following, see part II, ch. 3 of Bruce M. Metzger and Bart D. Ehrman, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration* (2005).

manuscripts to compare. By and large, these stemmed from the tradition that had become established in Antioch, Syria, in the fourth century. Erasmus's New Testament went through five editions during his lifetime and quickly came to be accepted as the normative text. It was regularly reprinted, independently and in various emended editions and polyglot Bibles, for the next 300 years. Yet humanist scholars were well aware of other manuscript traditions. Although based on Erasmus's *editio princeps*, Robertus Stephanus's (Robert Estienne; 1503–1559) Greek edition of 1550 included marginal notes listing differences among some of the fourteen manuscripts that Stephanus had been able to consult. (Stephanus's was also the first printed New Testament with a division into chapters and verses). A century later, the *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (1654–1657), produced by the Cambridge scholar Brian Walton (1600–1661) and an outstanding team of English colleagues, already had a large critical apparatus for the New Testament, documenting hundreds of variant readings. It also offered the Syriac Peshitta, the Arabic, and the Ethiopian versions in parallel columns alongside the Greek and its Latin translation. Mather owned and routinely consulted the London Polyglot.

Moreover, seventeenth-century critics discussed the religious implications of variant witnesses and, in some cases, cited them to challenge established readings. Notable examples include Hugo Grotius and especially Unitarian scholars like Jonas Schlichting, who focused on the textual variants of key passages supporting the doctrine of the Trinity (see below). In 1689, Richard Simon's *A Critical History of the Text of the New Testament* startled the Protestant champions of *sola scriptura*. Upon examining the textual and interpretative difficulties surrounding the Gospel of John, Simon caustically wrote,

I admire the headstrong prejudice of the Protestants and *Unitaries*, who dare to oppose the common Belief of all the Churches of the World, having no other Foundation but that of Records, which they acknowledge to be so obscure and difficult to be understood. It is true that the Protestants do not altogether agree about the obscurity of Scripture, especially in the most important places, but the *Unitaries*, in this matter, shew more Candor . . . . They only desire that the number of the Fundamental Points of our Faith be limited.<sup>30</sup>

At least the Unitarians were being consistent and honest Protestants, “not denying a thing which is obvious,” namely the – given the diverging manuscript witnesses – uncertain foundation even for core doctrines such as the Trinity. How were Protestant theologians to deal with this, if they did not want to fall back, as Simon suggested, on the teaching tradition of the Church?

Around the turn of the eighteenth century, the debate over the Greek New Testament was further ratcheted up, as scholars began more and more to realize the enormous extent of textual variations. A game-changing work of textual

---

<sup>30</sup> Simon, *A Critical History*, pt. 2, p. 90.

criticism was produced in England by the Oxford don John Mill (1645–1707). Two weeks before his death, Mill completed the publication of his *Novum Testamentum graecum, cum lectionibus variantibus MSS* (1707), the fruits of thirty years of painstaking labor. Although he still used Stephanus's version as his base-line, Mill's apparatus documented over thirty-thousand variant readings between some one hundred extant New Testament manuscripts and countless patristic citations. Mill did not aim to undermine orthodoxy, and on issues such as the Trinity his notes even demonstrate a clear intention to defend it. Still, the sheer mass of variants he accrued had a decidedly unsettling effect. It is not clear whether Mather had access to, and personally studied, Mill's *Novum Testamentum*. However, Mather definitely perused and cited some of the literature written in direct response to Mill. And he was very much aware of the content and the far-reaching implications of the debate, in which nothing less than the status of the original text of the New Testament was at stake. Mather's most important guide in navigating this debate was Mill's Oxford colleague, Daniel Whitby.

In 1710, Whitby put forth his *Examen variantium Lectionum Johannis Milli*, appended to his *Additional Annotations to the New Testament* (1710), a sequel to his widely-influential *A Paraphrase and Commentary on the New Testament*. Mather cites the former work at least once in his entry on Heb. 5:7. In *A Paraphrase and Commentary*, which Mather very frequently uses throughout his annotations on the New Testament (see above), Whitby had already addressed some of the more significant variants highlighted by Mill. With the *Examen variantium Lectionum Johannis Milli*, Whitby offered a more systematic and apologetic response to Mill's findings. "It pains me and I am distressed that I have found so much in Mill's *Prologomena* that seems quite plainly to render the standard of faith uncertain, or at least give others too good a handle for making it doubtful," he wrote, "or which barrages the core rule and strongest foundation [of faith] with quibbles of the Papist and others."<sup>31</sup> Whitby was obviously thinking of the Deists here. And sure enough, Anthony Collins would soon avail himself of Mill's *Novum Testamentum* in his *Discourse on Free Thinking* (1713) to gleefully point out that even the clergy have been "owning and laboring to prove the Text of the Scriptures to be precarious."<sup>32</sup> Also, admitting the textual instability of the Greek New Testament might encourage people to turn to the authority of the church à la Richard Simon, if the authority of the Bible was no

31 "DOLEO igitur, & moleste fero tam multa me in *Millii* Prolegomensis invenisse, quae hujus fidei normam vel plane labefactare videantur, vel saltem aliis ansam nimis speciosam praebeant de ea dubitandi; aut denu[m] *Pontificorum*, aliorumque, contra hanc Regulam ratiunculis, robur adjiciant, & firmamentum." *Additional Annotations to the New Testament: With Seven Discourses; and an Appendix Entituled Examen Variantium Lectionum Johannis Milli*, S. T. P. in *Novum Testamentum* (1710), p. iii.

32 *A Discourse of Free-thinking: Occasion'd by the Rise and Growth of a Sect Call'd Free-thinkers* (1713), p. 88.

longer secure. Fortunately, Protestants had no reason to fret or part ways with the principle of *sola scriptura*, as Whitby sought to prove by an appendix of one hundred pages that meticulously examined Mill's findings. In conclusion, Whitby maintained that although God might have allowed minor errors to creep "into scribal copies of the New Testament, at the same time he would never allow the text to be corrupted (i. e. altered) to the point that it could not adequately achieve its divine aim and purpose." According to Whitby, the text of the New Testament was, in the words of Bart Ehrman, "secure, since scarcely any variant cited by Mill involves an article of faith or question of conduct, and the vast majority of Mill's variants have no claim to authenticity."<sup>33</sup> Mather was happy to take it on Whitby's word.<sup>34</sup>

Mather now and then discusses textual variants in this volume, but does so in a rather non-alarmist manner, with the exception of the *comma Johanneum*. Although well-read in the relevant secondary literature, Mather was not an expert philologist himself and, even if he would have wanted to compare them, had no access to any manuscripts. In any case, his theological instincts led him to trust the authority of Whitby and other learned apologists in the humanist tradition. The majority of these variants, as he was informed by Whitby and others, represented accidental, minor changes or textual corruptions incidentally caused by scribes. Mather commented on such cases where they had led to significant interpretative difficulties or debates. On occasion, when the evidence presented to him seemed compelling, he even argued for the correction of the *Textus Receptus*.

A good example can be found in Mather's commentary on Heb. 11:37, which said (in the KJV translations based on the *Textus Receptus*) about the early Christian martyrs: "they were stoned, they were sawn asunder, were tempted, were slain with the sword." The problem here was that ἐπειράσθησαν ([epeiras-thesa] "they were tempted") seemed oddly anticlimactic after the listing of tortures preceding it. Humanist scholars had offered a variety of solutions. "Some read," as Mather summarizes, "ἐπυράσθησαν, some, ἐπυρώθησαν, some ἐπρήσθησαν· all signifying, *They were burnt*."<sup>35</sup> This interpretation was not

33 Bart Ehrman, *Misquoting Jesus: The Story Behind Who Changed the Bible and Why* (2005), pp. 85–86. Ehrman relies on Adam Fox, *John Mill and Richard Bentley: A Study of Textual Criticism of the New Testament, 1675–1729* (1954), pp. 105–06.

34 Mather made similar arguments with a view to textual variants in the Hebrew Bible (see BA 1:134 and BA 3:724).

35 Humanist exegetes suggested various solutions. One group assumed that this was a case of textual corruption which could only be restored by conjecture. For instance, the famous Reformed exegete Franciscus Junius (François du Jon, 1545–1602) in his *Sacrorum parallelorum libri tres*, lib. 3, col. 1625, in *Opera theologica* (1607), vol. 1, conjectured ἐπυράσθησαν; Beza in his *Annotaciones*, p. 539: ἐπυρώθησαν; the Westminster divine Thomas Gataker (1574–1654) in his *Adversaria miscellanea* (1659), misc. 44, pp. 893–900: ἐπρήσθησαν. These forms are in the aorist-passiv of πυράζω [pyrazo] "singe," πυρώω [pyroo] "burn with fire", and πρήθω [pretho] "spout" respectively. Another group of scholars (e. g. Erasmus, Calvin, Beza, Grotius,

improbable, but, following Whitby, Mather ultimately opted for another solution. The ἐπειράσθησαν in the Byzantine manuscript, on which *Textus Receptus* was based, represented “an Error, arising, εκ διττογραφίας.<sup>36</sup> *From Writing the same Word twice*; or, that some who knew not what ἐπισθῆσαν meant,<sup>37</sup> writt for it ἐπειράσθησαν, and so in time they came to be both written.” Among the evidence that Whitby cited for this proposal was that the “the *Syr-iack* ha’s not, ἐπειράσθησαν” and neither did it occur in a number of early Patristic citations. All of this gave “Ground for Conjecture, that some Ignorant Writer, putt, ἐπειράσθησαν, for ἐπισθῆσαν.” The latter, then, Mather concluded with Whitby, “was the only Reading followed by the Ancients” (BA 10:290–91).

Or consider Mather’s entry on the admonition of the gentiles in 1 Pet. 4:3. Here the *Textus Receptus* has ἀρκετὸς γὰρ ἡμῖν ὁ παρεληλυθὼς χρόνος τοῦ βίου, which the KJV renders: “For the time past of our life may suffice us.” This bothered interpreters because it appeared to include the apostolic speaker with the gentile audience. To settle the problem, Mather turned for help to the work of the Welsh Independent minister and biblical scholar Jeremiah Jones (1693/4–1724), *A new and full Method of Settling the canonical Authority of the New Testament* (3 vols., 1726–1727). Drawing on the *Complutensian Polyglott* (the earliest complete polyglot Bible published at Alcala under the supervision of Cardinal Francisco Ximénez de Cisneros between 1514 and 1517), Jones argued, in Mather’s summary, that “The true Reading in the Greek should be ὑμιν & not ἡμιν as it is in many of the most ancient printed Editions.” This changed the translation to: “the time past of your life may suffice *you*.”<sup>38</sup> Alternatively, Mather argued, “we should insert neither ὑμιν nor ἡμιν,” for “neither of the Words are in the ancient Manuscripts or Versions,” that John Mill had examined. In the final analysis, Jones and Mather favored such a reading as well (BA 10:351).<sup>39</sup>

None of this was worth losing any sleep over. But what about variants that represented intentional interpretative changes or interpolations of doctrinal significance? Mather did not entirely shy away from such cases either. For example, on 2 Pet. 1:10 (“give diligence to make your calling and election sure”) he observes from Whitby, “That many Mss. & many of the Ancients add, Δια

---

Hammond) argued for deleting the word entirely as it appeared to be a scribal error. This is also what Whitby maintains.

36 The phrase εκ διττογραφία (δισσογραφία) [ek dittographia] signifies “by a repetition of words by a copyist.”

37 “were sawn asunder.” From πρίζω [prizo] “saw.” This is the reading in the NTG today.

38 See Jones, *A new and full Method of Settling the canonical Authority of the New Testament* ([1726–1727] 1798), vol. 2, part 3, ch. 39, p. 433. See *Complutensian Polyglott* (p. 1249), which reads here: ἀρκετός γαρ ὑμῖν ὁ παρεληλυθὼς χρόνος.

39 From Jones, Mather refers to John Mill’s text critical apparatus in his *Novum Testamentum graecum, cum lectionibus variantibus MSS* (1707), p. 715. A reading without possessive pronoun is also preferred by NA 28 now: ἀρκετός γὰρ ὁ παρεληλυθὼς χρόνος which ESV renders: “For the time that is past suffices.”

των καλων εργαων. *By good Works.*"<sup>40</sup> From the English philosopher and theologian Nathaniel Culverwell (Culverwel; bap. 1619, d. 1651), Mather further learned that the great Genevan Reformed theologian and biblical scholar Theodore Beza (Théodore de Bèze, 1519–1605) had "found it in Two Ancient Copies."<sup>41</sup> Mather then added from the work of the German patristic and biblical scholar at Oxford John Ernest Grabe (Johannes Ernst Grabe; 1666–1711): "one of them is the *Alexandrian*, which the Learned, as Dr. *Grabe* sais, deservedly prefer to all other Manuscripts."<sup>42</sup> Although some "Papist" critics had also argued for the authenticity of the longer variant, it did not offer, in Mather's estimation, textual support for a problematic notion of work righteousness. Instead, as Beza had already argued, it supported a truly Reformed understanding of good works or sanctification as an indication of a Christian's effective calling by unmerited grace (*sylogismus practicus*). And even if a philological argument could be made that the addition should "be left out in the Letter," after all, Mather assured his readers, "yett we include it in this Sense" (BA 10:368).

The debate around the *comma Johanneum* of 1 John 5:7–8 was an entirely different ballgame. This passage had long been a central *locus* of discussions surrounding the Trinity and became so again in the early eighteenth century. The passage was included in the manuscript versions of the Latin Vulgate and from there had been carried over into the *Textus Receptus* and the major vernacular translations. In the KJV it reads in context:

This is he that came by water and blood, even Jesus Christ; not by water only, but by water and blood. For there are three that bear record in heaven, *the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost: and these three are one. And there are three that bear witness in earth, the Spirit, and the water, and the blood: and these three agree in one.*

For obvious reason, these verses were of great theological import. The only passage in the Bible to do so, they explicated something like a full-fledged doctrine of the Trinity, in the sense that they spoke of a triune God. The problem was that the central clause in that passage could not be found in most of the Greek manuscripts, even in the few late ones that Erasmus had consulted. Instead they simply read: "For there are three that bear record: the Spirit, the

<sup>40</sup> Mather cites Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:188).

<sup>41</sup> Mather cites the posthumously published work of Nathanael Culverwell, *The white Stone*, in *An elegant and learned Discourse of the Light of Nature* ([1652] 1654), p. 98. Culverwell refers to Beza's *Annotationes majores in Novum Dn Nostri Jesu Christi Testamentum* (1594), p. 584. Beza here mentions the incorporation of the phrase διὰ τῶν καλῶν ἔργων [dia ton kalân ergon] in the translation of the VUL and "in duobus manuscriptis codicibus Graecis," but does not say which ones. Several important NT uncials have this reading, including *Codex Alexandrinus* (5<sup>th</sup> cent.).

<sup>42</sup> Grabe published critical patristic editions and a new edition of the Greek Old Testament, based on the 5<sup>th</sup> cent. *Codex Alexandrinus*, one of the oldest and most complete Bible manuscripts (ODNB). For his textual critical discussion of the *Codex Alexandrinus* see, e.g., the *Prolegomena* in his edition *Septuaginta interpretum* (4 vols., 1707–1720), no pagination, or his *Dissertatio de variis vitiis LXX interpretum versioni* (1710).

water, and the blood: and these three agree in one.” Consequently, Erasmus did not include the *comma* in the first two editions of his Greek New Testament, before he, under considerable pressure, finally incorporated it in the third edition of 1522. Erasmus agreed to do this even though he was suspicious of the manuscript witness that had been presented to him. He suspected the *comma* to originate with Jerome.<sup>43</sup> And so the *comma* continued to be included in Bible editions and translations through the seventeenth century and beyond. Walton’s London Polyglott did so as well, even though it noted in the “Variantes Lectiones”-section that the verses were missing in older Greek manuscripts.<sup>44</sup> However, among the period’s representatives of a more “critical” approach to biblical philology, the debate about 1 John 5:7–8 was far from over.

Grotius, for one, thought the *comma* was inauthentic. Somewhat idiosyncratically, he considered it an insertion by the Arian party during the Trinitarian debates of the fourth century.<sup>45</sup> Richard Simon in his *A Critical History of the Text of the New Testament* remarked that he tried hard but unsuccessfully “to find among the Greek any Manuscript Copies that have that Passage; I speak not only of the Ancients, but also of those of the later time.” Hence it appeared probable to Simon “that that Doctrinal Point was formerly written [in] the Margin, by way of Scolium or Note, but afterwards inserted in the Text by those who transcribed the Copies,” both Greek and Latin, long after Jerome’s time.<sup>46</sup> Likewise, Jean Le Clerc declared the passage spurious, despite the arguments to the contrary by as critical a scholar as Henry Hammond.<sup>47</sup> At the same time, orthodox apologists all over Europe mounted their defense of the clauses’s authenticity, as did, for instance, Francis Turretin in his *De Tribus Testibus Coelestibus* (1674), or Simon Patrick in England with his *The Witnesses to Christianity, or, the Certainty of our Faith and Hope. In a Discourse upon 1 S. John V. 7,8* (1675) or John Edwards in his *The Socinian Creed: Or, a Brief Account of the Professed Tenets and Doctrines of the Foreign and English Socinians* (1697). This specific discussion surrounding the Johannine *comma* must be seen as part of the larger debates over Trinitarianism that gripped England with particular intensity during the Civil War period and then with renewed force after the Glorious Revolution.

<sup>43</sup> See Erasmus, *Novum Instrumentum omne* (1516), p. 183, the second ed. (1519), p. 522–23; and the third ed. (1522), p. 522. The third edition was probably used by Tyndale for the first English New Testament (Worms, 1526) and was the basis for the 1550 Robert Stephanus edition that was then used by the translators of the Geneva Bible and King James Version. For Erasmus’s proposal that Jerome was the originator, see his annotations on that passage in *Critici Sacri* (6:4652).

<sup>44</sup> *Biblia Polyglotta* (5:922 and 6:34; 36).

<sup>45</sup> See Grotius, in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (6:4663). Here he asked whether the Arians had truly removed those words, or rather added them: “Neque vero Arianis ablatas voces quasdam, sed potius additas.”

<sup>46</sup> Simon, *A Critical History of the Text of the New Testament*, part 2, pp. 1–10, here p. 2.

<sup>47</sup> Le Clerc, *A Supplement to Dr Hammond’s Paraphrase and Annotations on the New Testament* (1699), pp. 620–21. Compare Hammond, *A Paraphrase* (4:463–64).



Animated by a fervent Christian primitivism and biblicism, the rising party of Antitrinitarians and neo-Arians attracted numerous high-profile scholar theologians and philosophers – anonymous as well as public – in the Church of England and also the Dissenting churches. In line with a long tradition of post-Reformation Antitrinitarianism, these men were convinced that the Church had become institutionally as well as doctrinally corrupt as early as the fourth century. To them, the doctrine of the Trinity, as codified in the Nicene Creed, reflected the imposition of concepts from Platonic philosophy, alien to original Christianity and Scripture. These concepts were then retroactively read, or even fraudulently inserted, into a number of key Bible passages. Critics of Athanasian Trinitarianism attempted to demonstrate this textual imposition with the tools of humanist philology, availing themselves of the growing knowledge about the history and variants of the Greek New Testament. As Stephen Snobelen has written, “biblical criticism was the chief apologetic tool of antitrinitarianism” in late seventeenth-century England.<sup>48</sup> Critics took renewed aim at the quintessential Trinitarian proof texts such as John 1:1 and 14 and 20:28, Acts 10:36 and 20:28, Rom. 9:5, 1 Tim. 3:16, 1 John 5:20, and, most importantly, 1 John 5:7–8.

While not even aware of the full extent of it, Mather was especially troubled by the involvement of the Newtonians in these activities, as well as that of other greatly respected English intellectuals. Around 1691, Sir Issac Newton himself penned a dissertation titled “A historical account of two notable corruptions of Scripture, in a letter to a Friend,” which he sent to John Locke. The letter was further circulated among trusted associates, but Newton prudently chose not to publish it. In this text, Newton exposed the Johannine comma along with 1 Tim. 3:16 as later interpolations that corrupted the original meaning of Scripture in those places.<sup>49</sup> Newton’s two most important disciples went public with similar critical examinations of Trinitarianism’s scriptural foundation and suffered the consequences (see below). Most dramatic was the case of William Whiston, who launched an all-out attack on the key biblical *loci* in his *Primitive Christianity Reviv’d* (1712), which aimed to show that the Apostles and earliest Christians had certainly held subordinationist views. In the included dissertation titled *An Account of Primitive Faith concerning the Trinity and Incarnation*, Whiston noted specifically on the *comma Johanneum* that the clause was “certainly spurious, and inserted by some bold Transcribers from a marginal Gloss on the next Verse.”<sup>50</sup> That same year Samuel Clarke (1675–1729), then rector of St. James,

48 Stephen D. Snobelen: “‘To us there is but one God, the Father’: Antitrinitarianism Textual Criticism in Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth-Century England” (2006), p. 128.

49 See Rob Iliffe, “Friendly Criticism: Richard Simone, John Locke, Isaac Newton and the *Johannine Comma*”; and Iliffe’s *Priest of Nature: The Religious Worlds of Isaac Newton* (2017), pp. 365–79.

50 In *Primitive Christianity Reviv’d* (1712), vol. 4, pp. 379. See also pp. 171–73. And in his *A Commentary on the three Catholick Epistles of St. John* (1719), Whiston simply left out the clause, noting in the margin: “So the Alex. and Other old Versions” (68).

Westminster, published the first edition of his famous *Scripture-doctrine of the Trinity*. Proceeding much more carefully than Whiston, Clarke presented a philosophically sophisticated, mildly subordinationist view of Christ. However, Clarke pulled no punches when it came to the authenticity and authority of passages such as 1 Tim. 3:16 and especially 1 John 5:7–8.<sup>51</sup>

In his *A Paraphrase and Commentary on the New Testament*, Daniel Whitby still defended the Johannine comma and, more generally, asserted the scriptural nature of Nicene Trinitarianism against its Unitarian critics. Ironically, he side-stepped a detailed textual discussion of 1 John 5:7–8, pointing the reader to the forthcoming completion of the New Testament edition by his Oxford colleague John Mill (who had started work on the project in 1677, while the printing of the text and apparatus had begun in 1686), which “treats so copiously on that Subject.”<sup>52</sup> When he finally saw Mill’s entire work in print, Whitby found its overall impression too unsettling for the general Christian public, as we saw. Later in life, however, Whitby not only embraced an Arminian soteriology, but also, partly under the influence of Clarke’s *Scripture-doctrine of the Trinity*, converted to a neo-Arian subordinationism.

While he might not have learned about Whitby’s late conversion, Mather was fully immersed in these debates, and, as will be discussed below, also made several interventions in print. He consistently sided with the learned Trinitarian apologists who attempted to wrest the tools of humanist exegesis from the hands of Antitrinitarian and Arian skeptics and use them in defense of the Nicene formulas. For instance, John Edwards, whom Mather much admired and cited, focused on the same canon of scriptural passages in his *Socinianism unmask’d* (1696). But according to Edwards, these verses were all authentic and unambiguously demonstrated “that there is a necessity of believing the Messiah to be the very God, of the same Essence with the Father and the Holy Ghost.”<sup>53</sup>

In the “Biblia”-annotations on 1 John 5:7–8, Mather tackles the textual question by first considering some of the “Endeavours of the *Socinians*, to gett a *Writt of Ejectment* for this Text, & have it cast out of the Bible” (BA 10:413). In a few broad strokes, he recounts the familiar story of Erasmus’s Greek New Testament and how its initial exclusion of the *comma* was mirrored in the first edition of Luther’s and Tyndal’s translation. He then goes on to argue that Erasmus’s reasons for the exclusion of the *comma* in the third edition had been misguided, for the manuscript witnesses were stronger in favor of its inclusion. Already “*Robert Stephens* found it in Nine of his Copies. And inserting it in his Edition, 1549 ... he says, *Nullam omnino Literam secus esse pateremur quàm*

51 See Samuel Clarke, *Scripture-doctrine of the Trinity* (4:121).

52 Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2: 228–29).

53 Edwards, *Socinianism unmask’d* (1696), p. 10.

*plures, iique meliores tanquam Testes comprobarent.*"<sup>54</sup> This situation had, in Mather's estimation, not fundamentally changed over the last 150 years. "Be it so," Mather continues, "that the Words are wanting, in some Translations or some Ancient Copies." This was no reason to throw out the baby with the bath-water, for "so are some whole Epistles, and so are some considerable Parts of other Chapters: which yett we do not cast away, as not being genuine." Moreover, there were good historical (and theologically innocent) explanations for why some of the "Ancient Copies" did not contain the comma (*BA* 10:411). These explanations he laid out with the help of his brother, the Congregational minister in Witney, England, Samuel Mather (1674–1733), who had published *A Discourse concerning the Necessity of Believing the Doctrine of the Holy Trinity* in 1719. Samuel Mather's work was a digest of recent Trinitarian apologetics and especially drew on the *Theological Discourses, containing VIII Letters and III Sermons concerning the blessed Trinity* (1692), by the English mathematician and cryptographer John Wallis (1616–1703).

The existence of numerous variants without the comma could be most plausibly explained, the Mather brothers thought, by the kind of accidental mistake New Testament scholars call *periblepsis* (an "eye-skip") occasioned by *homoeoteleuton* (the "same endings"). "Before the Convenience of *Printing* was found out," Cotton Mather writes,

when Copies were to be singly transcribed one from another, & even those but in very few Hands, it was very Possible, yea, hardly Avoidable for a Transcriber sometimes to skip a Line; especially (which is the Case here,) when some of the very same Words do recur after a Line or two. (*BA* 10:411).

In all likelihood, then, the omission originally happened due to a "*casual Mistake*," which was then transmitted by other scribes. Although Mather did not know or acknowledge it, this was actually not very far removed from what John Mill said on 1 John 5:7–8 – with one big difference. In his annotation, Mill admitted that he knew of only one ancient Greek manuscript that contained the comma, but still considered it authentic. For it was this longer manuscript witness that he considered closest to the original text of 1 John. Subsequently, the passage was left out due to an accidental error in the copying process, before, much later, another scribe recovered the manuscript with the correct text, which then provided the foundation for the Latin Vulgate translation.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>54</sup> "We will not suffer the loss of any letter when most of the codices, and in fact the better ones, confirm it." From Samuel Mather, *A Discourse concerning the Necessity of Believing the Doctrine of the Holy Trinity* (1719), ch. 5, pp. 62–63, Mather cites the preface of the 1550 Bible edition by Robert Estienne, *Novum testamentum ex bibliotheca regia* ([1550] 1566), p. 3.

<sup>55</sup> See Mill, *Novum Testamentum*, pp. 739–49, and esp. 746–48. On Mill's reasoning, see Kristine Louise Haugen, "Transformations of the Trinity Doctrine in English Scholarship: From the History of Beliefs to the History of Texts" (2001).

However it happened, Mather, too, was certain that the variants did not come about by “a wilful Falsification.” “If here were a wilful Falsification,” Mather said with a view to Grotius’s theory, “it is by far the more likely, that the *Arians* did wilfully omit this Passage in some Copies, than that the *Orthodox* did wilfully Insert it.” If the latter had been the case, “the *Arians* would have presently detected it, with the loudest Vociferations upon it.” But there was absolutely no record of such protests, even “when *Athanasius* and others, urged this Text, against the *Arians* . . .” (BA 10:412).<sup>56</sup> Also, Mather opined, the Athanasian party had no need for such manipulations, as it had stronger scriptural evidence for “the Godhead of our SAVIOUR” from the Gospel of John. Finally, there were the early patristic citations of 1 John 5:7–8 to consider. Both Tertullian and Cyprian, in Mather’s estimation,<sup>57</sup> quoted “this Passage, *These three are one*,” and paralleled it with John 10:30, “*I and the Father are one*.”<sup>58</sup> “What if some of the Fathers might happen to have a Copy, in which this Passage is wanting,” he asked, “or, what if they should content themselves with that; *I and my Father are one*?” He was sure that his reasoning and evidence was strong enough, “to hinder the *Arians* of our Days, from wresting out of our Hand a *Thunderbolt*, which forever destroys their Hæresy!” (BA 10:413). In the end the Trinity and full divinity of Christ did not depend on the inclusion of some minor scriptural clause, of course. Because they formed the very heart of the Christian religion, much more substantial theological reasons as well as experiential evidence could easily be mustered. For example, at the end of his entry on 1 John 5:7–8, Mather refers his readers to an essay filled with such theological arguments, which he had appended to the end of the commentary on Matthew.

Mather’s critically informed but conservative position on 1 John 5:7–8 exemplifies his more general tendency. He had no problem with correcting the *Textus Recepetus* when it came to minor discrepancies. However, on doctrinally relevant passages, especially regarding the Trinity or the nature of Christ, he

<sup>56</sup> See the *Disputatio contra Arium*, purportedly written at the Council of Nicea (325), where reference is made to the verse: “Likewise is not the remission of sins procured by that quickening and sanctifying ablution, without which no man shall see the kingdom of heaven, an ablution given to the faithful in the thrice-blessed name. And besides all these, John says, And the three are one” [PG 28. 500]. However, this text is now widely believed to be a pseudo-graph ascribed to Athanasius.

<sup>57</sup> From Samuel Mather, *A Discourse*, ch. 5, p. 66, reference is made to Tertullian, *Adversus Praxeas* (c. 210), cap. 25 [PL 2.188], where a Trinitarian view is implied in the quotation of John 10:30: “Thus the connection of the Father in the Son, and of the Son in the Paraclete, produces three coherent Persons, *who are yet distinct* One from Another. These Three are, one *essence*, not one *Person*, as it is said, ‘I and my Father are One,’ in respect of unity of substance not singularity of number.” Transl. from *Against Praxeas*, in *Systematic Theology: Roman Catholic Perspectives* (2011), p. 159. And reference is made to Cyprian, *De Unitate Ecclesiae*, 1.6 [PL 4.519; CCL 3]; transl.: ANF 5: 983: “The Lord says, ‘I and the Father are one;’ and again it is written of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, ‘And these three are one.’”

<sup>58</sup> From Samuel Mather, *A Discourse*, ch. 5, p. 66.

either defended the *Textus Receptus* version, or suggested readings that supplied textual additions to strengthen the theologically desired interpretation. This is what he did, for example, on Rev. 19:10 (*BA* 10:707–08).

Mather firmly believed the divinely inspired original copies of the New Testament books could only have contained writings that were errorless in all regards. Because these originals were lost, the Greek text was only available to modern Christians with a great number of *variae lectiones*, on account of the numerous and often late manuscript witnesses. The vast majority of these were of no real concern. Where they mattered, exegetes could and should choose those readings that best aligned with orthodox positions, as these surely were also closer to the original text. By God's providence, corruptions or interpolations that would have irretrievably obscured important passages had surely been prevented. Like other orthodox apologists of his day, Mather thus rested assured in the knowledge that, despite the accidents of manuscript history and textual transmission, God had supervised the essentially faithful transmission of His truths into the canonical books of the Bible.

The same kind of trust also braced Mather as he faced challenges to the integrity, authenticity, and, ultimately, divine authority of the Masoretic text of the Hebrew Bible. In this volume, he addresses such challenges primarily in the appended essay "*Ezra, or, The Things done by Ezra, for the Restoring & Preserving of the SACRED SCRIPTURES.*"<sup>59</sup> Among other things, the essay discusses the scholarly debate over the Hebrew vowel points. Among the different camps of post-Reformation Protestant orthodoxy, the ruling assumption had been that the entire text of the Bible was divinely inspired, including the vocalization of the Hebrew Bible's consonantal texts. The vowel pointings thus must have been part of the original autographs. In the first decades of the seventeenth century, however, this view of the inspiration and antiquity of the vowel pointings was being questioned by representatives of the new *ars critica*, leading to a protracted and heated debate among experts.

The most prominent skeptic was Louis Cappel. Building on rabbinical tradition, the works of Jewish Renaissance scholar Elias Levita (1469–1549), and his own extensive historical and philological research, Cappel constructed a strong argument that the vocalization of the Hebrew Bible dated from the post-Talmudic period and was the work of the Masoretes. This made it impossible to assume a fully inspired text handed down in unchanged form from the days of Ezra. Unsurprisingly, then, Cappel and his supporters soon faced the fierce opposition of other scholars and theologians. The most prominent scholars among these were the Basel Hebraists Johannes Buxtorf the Elder (1564–1629), and Johannes Buxtorf the Younger (1599–1664), who concluded from their

<sup>59</sup> This essay is derived from Humphrey Prideaux, *The Old and New Testament connected in the History of the Jews and neighbouring Nations* ([1715–1717] 1718), vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 259–86.

extensive studies of rabbinical and Talmudic sources that the vowel points were just as old as the consonantal texts, thereby affirming the doctrine of plenary inspiration.<sup>60</sup> Mather initially was a firm supporter of the Buxtorfs and wrote his 1681 Harvard M.A. thesis “*Puncta Hebraica sunt originis divinae*” in defense of the traditionalist position. Later in life, however, Mather changed his view, as the essay reveals.<sup>61</sup> Whether Ezra, when he, “assisted by the same Spirit which inspired the First Writers of them,” redacted and “collected the Books of the Sacred Scriptures” after the return from Babylonian exile, “did now add, the *Points*, which are the *Vowels* of the Language, is a Quæstion that cannot easily be decided,” Mather mused.

It went without Contradiction in the Affirmative, until *Elias Levita*, a German Jew, wrote against it, in the Beginning of the Reformation. *Buxtorf* the Elder, endeavoured his Refutation. *Capellus*, a Protestant Professor of the Hebrew, in the University at *Saumur*, hath elaborately replied unto him. *Buxtorf* the Younger, made a learned Answer, in the Vindication of his Fathers Opinion. Whole Volumns have been since written on both Sides; to give a Detail of which, would be a Talk, which I am not now fond of undertaking. I confess, That when I took my Degree of *Master of Arts*, I did publickly, maintain the *Antiquity & Authority* of the *Points*, now used in our *Hebrew Bible*: and wholly went into the *Buxtorfian* Apprehensions; But I now find myself, compelled unto the Sentiments of Dr. *Prideaux*, upon this Controversy; whereof the Sum, shall be now exhibited (*BA* 10:886).

From Prideaux, Mather accepted what Cappel had suggested all along, namely that “The *Vowel-Points*, never having been received by the *Jews*, in their Synagogues,” were not originally esteemed “an Authentic Part of the Old Testament.” Instead, like the division into verses, they represented a later “Invention added, for the more easy Reading of the Text, after the *Hebrew* was no more a vulgar Language among them,” but “the *Chaldee* Tongue.” Contrary to the much later datings suggested by other scholars, Mather (following Prideaux) thus argued that it was “most likely, that these *Vowel-Points* were the Invention of the *Masorites*, a little after the time of *Ezra*.” To these scribes responsible for

<sup>60</sup> Already in 1620, Buxtorf the Elder had published *Tiberias sive commentarius masorethicus*, in which he had attacked Levita and other rabbinical critics who had called into question the antiquity of the vowel points. Cappel first presented his arguments against Buxtorf and the orthodox view in the anonymously published *Arcanum punctationis revelatum* (1624). Buxtorf the Younger then stepped into the ring in defense of his father and orthodoxy with the *Dissertatio de litterarum hebraicarum genuina antiquitate* (1643). Cappel’s response was his *Diatriba de veris et antiquis Ebraeorum literis* (1645), answered in turn by Buxtorf’s *Tractatus de punctorum vocalium, et accentuum, in libris Veteris Testamenti hebraicis, origine, antiquitate, & autoritate* (1648) and his *Anticritica, seu vindicie veritatis hebraice, adversus Ludovicum Cappelli criticam* (1653). Cappel’s final view of the matter can be found in his *Critica Sacra* (1650). For a good discussion of this debate, see ch. 7 of Stephen G. Burnett, “Later Christian Hebraists” (2008), pp. 785–92.

<sup>61</sup> For Mather’s M.A. thesis, see his *Diary* (1:26); for his change of heart, see the biography written by his son, Samuel Mather, *Life*, pp. 5–6. I am indebted here to the information provided by Smolinski (*BA* 1:700–01).

the correct copying of the Masoretic text, the “Use of the *Points*, most certainly now began to be absolutely Necessary; For the *Hebrew Language*, was now to be acquired only by Instruction.” For those, “who thoroughly know the Language, the *Letters* with the Context, are enough to determine the Reading,” as evinced by the fact that most rabbinical texts were unpointed. But for the disciples of the Masora the points were a necessary help to make sure that no misinterpretations crept in (*BA* 10:888). Mather’s shift of opinion on the vowel points, therefore, does not seem to have entailed any loss of trust in the divine authority of the Hebrew Bible or in the ability of skilled exegetes to reconstruct with certainty the *sensus* of the consonantal texts as originally intended by the Spirit.<sup>62</sup>

Like most post-Reformation Protestant exegetes, Mather consistently asserted the priority of the Masoretic text over the Septuagint (LXX), the Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible probably produced in the third century BCE. He did so although the earliest manuscript witnesses of the Masoretic text were not much more than 600 years old in the seventeenth century.<sup>63</sup> As a consequence of this preference, Mather, like so many apologetically-oriented critics of the period, found it necessary to argue that the New Testament authors had not cited the LXX when referring to the Old Testament. Mather found occasion for discussing this issue at Heb. 10:5, where, in the context of interpreting Jesus’s sacrifice, Ps. 40:6 is invoked (KJV: “but a body hast thou prepared me”). The exact wording in the Greek text here, however, matches the translation of Ps. 40:6 in the most significant manuscripts known at the time (Codices Vaticanus and Alexandrinus) of the LXX: ὥμα δὲ κατηρίσω μοι. By contrast, the Masoretic text has אָזְנִים כָּרִיתָ לִי, which translates “mine ears hast thou opened” (KJV). As Mather explains, there were many more cases like this in the New Testament, where an Old Testament citation was “more Agreeable to the *present Septuagint*, than unto the *Hebrew Original*.” But this was no reason to imagine, as some critics such as Louis Cappel did, that in those passages the New Testament writers found divergent readings in the manuscripts they used, leading them to deem “the *Hebrew Original* to bee corrupted, & go to Reform it by the *present Septuagint*. This now is a great Wrong, most rashly done to the Oracles of God” (*BA* 10:273). Nor were Paul and the other Apostles ignorant of the Masoretic text.

<sup>62</sup> Drawing on the work of the English Nonconformist minister Walter Cross (d. 1701), *The Thagmical Art: or, the Art of expounding Scripture by the Points* (1698), Mather even argues in diverse entries across the “Biblia” that the Masoretic vowel points sometimes distorted the intended meaning of the consonantal text and stood in need of correction. If one looks at the suggested revisions, they seem entirely determined by theological presuppositions and apologetical concerns. For examples of Mather’s use of Cross’s work, see *BA* (1:700–11), and the entry on Isa. 7:16 in volume 5 (*BA* 5:607–08).

<sup>63</sup> On this, see Nicholas Hardy, “The Septuagint and the Transformation of Biblical Scholarship in England, from the King James Bible (1611) to the London Polyglott (1657)” (2015).

Drawing on John Owen's *Exercitations on the Epistle to the Hebrews Spirit*, Mather instead argued that the New Testament authors, under divine inspiration, freely paraphrased their citations from the Hebrew Bible in order to make them fit into the new context more perfectly. Then, "Hundreds of Years after the Writing of the New Testament," Christian theologians, to strengthen their arguments in the polemical battles with Jewish critics, "altered the *Septuagint* in many of those Places which the New Testament quotes out of the Old, & putt in the Words of the New Testament, which were not there before it." In the case of Heb. 10:5, evidence for this theory was furnished by Jerome. The Church Father alleged that in his day, "the *Seventy* did not so Read the Words, as now they do: The *New Testament* by no means did conform to the *Seventy*, but somebody did more lately *Reform* the *Seventy* by the *New Testament* (BA 10:273).<sup>64</sup>

In an additional gloss, Mather leaned on Whitby's philological expertise to show that the reference to Ps. 40:6 in the Greek text of Heb 10:5 was not obscuring or distorting the sense of the Hebrew original. In fact, it was a good interpretation of it, for "the Hebrew Word, signifies, *To prepare*, as well as, *To pierce*."<sup>65</sup> To play on this double meaning made perfect theological sense. The boring of the ear, according to Mosaic law, was the mark for Israelite slaves, "who having served *six* Years with their *Brethren-Masters*, were willing to continue in that State of Servitude, until Death Freed them." So by "*Boring of an Ear*, the Servant as it were took on him a New Political *Body*." This was what Jesus Christ did, when he took "the *Form of a Servant*; It was on the brink of the *seventh Day*, at the Creation, that this *Righteous Servant* of God, was discovered, as undertaking to purchase our Blessedness." What Mather (somewhat disingenuously) fails to mention is that Whitby freely acknowledged that the New Testament text here cited the LXX translation without any modification, while also arguing that the LXX-translators, perhaps by divine influence, had come up with an interpretation of Ps. 40:6 that was not only linguistically sound and faithful to the Hebrew, but also nicely matched Paul's intention when writing this passage of Hebrews.<sup>66</sup> By means of a similar kind of exegetical jiu-jitsu move, Mather dealt with the LXX citation of Gen. 47:31 in Heb. 11:21 (BA 10:285–86), to cite another example.

<sup>64</sup> See Owen in *Exercitations on the Epistle to the Hebrews*, exerc. 5 ("Testimonies Cited by the Apostle out of the Old Testament"), pp. 51–53. William Whiston made a similar argument in his *An Essay towards Restoring the true Text of the Old Testament and for Vindicating the Citations made thence in the New Testament* (1722), which prompted a rejoinder by Anthony Collins.

<sup>65</sup> From Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:102–03). Mather, following Whitby, is attempting to reconcile the discrepancy, arguing that the Hebrew word in question פָּרַיִת [karita] from פָּרָה [kara] means not only "dig, open, pierce" but, because of the association with enslavement, could also be understood as "prepare," in the sense of making somebody ready for servitude.

<sup>66</sup> Whitby argued that "the *Apostle* did not change the Translation of the *Septuagint*" (2:103).



In the end, then, Mather the inquisitive scholar was always reigned in by Mather the confessional theologian, for whom that which must not be, cannot be. His theological presuppositions also guided him in how he confronted the potentially threatening proliferation of meanings through different vernacular translations in the post-Reformation period. For Mather's generation of exegetes, the Bible not only existed in the Hebrew and Greek originals but also in ancient Syriac or Ethiopic versions (all easily accessible in print through the London Polyglot), as well as the many recent vernacular translations that had come out of the Reformation. Mather never seems to have been genuinely troubled by the existence of these often widely diverging translations, ancient or modern. On the contrary, he appears to have regarded them mostly as a resource for a fuller understanding of the biblical texts and for improving the common English translation of the KJV. In so doing, Mather joined a host of British scholars who saw the authorized version in need of emendation. One of them was Robert Gell (1595–1665), the Church of England theologian, rector of St. Mary Aldermary (London), and chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury, whose *An Essay toward the Amendment of the last English-Translation of the Bible* Mather frequently consults throughout his annotations. The “Biblia” thus marks the very first involvement of America's theological elite in discussions over revising the KJV.<sup>67</sup> To offer improvements where a word or entire verse in the KJV was deemed wrong, obscure, or just a little awkward, Mather would compare the different ancient language versions and vernacular translations, but also consider the rabbinic glosses contained in the *Mikraot Gedolot*, or “Rabbinic Bible,” first published in 1524–1525 by Daniel Bomberg in Venice.

Usually, the revisions Mather offers are semantic corrections of single terms or phrases in order to improve intelligibility or bring out certain nuances of meaning. Most of these very numerous corrections do not concern doctrinally sensitive issues, however. A few brief examples must suffice here to illustrate the spectrum of Mather's interventions with the KJV translation. Taking his cue from Gell, for instance, Mather offered a smoother reading of 1 Pet. 4:4, “they think it strange, that you run not with them into the same Excess of Riot.” Mather's suggested improvement also emphasized the wonderful nature of the Christian separation from the world in the tradition of the Nazarites: They “*wonder* at those who do not run with them into the same (as here it may be read) *Confusion of Luxury*” (BA 10:352). In the characterization of the wisdom from above in Jam. 3:17, to cite another example, Mather considered the KJV's

---

<sup>67</sup> For a cultural history of the King James Bible, its multiple revisions, and the various attempts to replace it with new translations, see Gordon Campbell, *Bible: The Story of the King James Version 1611–2011* (2010), esp. pp. 193–211 on America.

“easy to be intreated” as less than felicitous. He deemed the German translation by Luther better and “a very Instructive one, Läßt ihr sagen, or, *patiens Admonitionis*, willing to take an Admonition” (BA 10:321).<sup>68</sup> Or, the prayer of the righteous in Jam. 5:16, “which our Translation calls, *An Effectual Fervent Prayer*,” he thought the French translation of the Geneva Bible rendered much more fittingly, “*La Priere faite avec Vehemence*.”<sup>69</sup> For it was evident in his estimation, “that an *Energy*, or *Fervency*, is here ascribed unto such a Prayer; yea, but the Word here being a *Passive*, it implies that the *Energy*, or *Fervency* must bee *Inwrought* in him that partakes of it” (BA 10:333).

Occasionally, Mather’s suggestions for revised translation could also be of more theological import. Such was the case with the famous definition of faith as “the substance of things hoped for” in Heb. 11:1. Here the KJV really troubled him. “By ὑπόστασις,” he writes, citing the explanation of Sir Norton Knatchbull,

wee may either understand, *Expectation*;<sup>70</sup> according to that of the LXX. Psal. 39.7. ἡ ὑπόστασις μου παρὰ σοὶ ἐστι. *Expectatio mea in te est*.<sup>71</sup> And if wee say, *Faith is the Expectation of things Hoped for*, it will sound better than our Translation, of *Substance*: or, wee may render it, *Confidence*, agreeably to the Import of the Word, 2. Cor. 9.4 2. Cor. 11.17. Heb. 3.14. Our Translation, *Substance*, is both dark and harsh: wee had better say, *confident Expectation*.

To this Mather added a flourish from Gell, noting “That the Word ὑποστασις,<sup>72</sup> implies, not only an *Expectation* of Good, but also a firm, fix’d, immoveable Posture, against whatever may Oppose us, or Disturb us. ... *Faith* includes *Patience* in it” (BA 10:279). For Mather, there never was any firm boundary between philology and (practical) divinity.

<sup>68</sup> From an unknown source, Mather cites Martin Luther’s translation. In his 1546 edition of the *Deutsche Bibel*, Luther had replaced his antiquated translation from 1522 “[die Weisheit ist] gelencke” with the phrase “lesst jr sagen” (WA DB 7:394–95). In the modern German edition (LUT), this has become: “[die Weisheit] lässt sich etwas sagen.”

<sup>69</sup> “The prayer made with vehemence.” The French Protestant Geneva Bible (*Bible de Genève*, orig. 1535), by Pierre Robert Olivétan, in its 1687 Amsterdam ed. (*La Bible*) translates James 5:16 (p. 110b): “... car la prière du juste faite avec véhémence est de grande efficace.”

<sup>70</sup> From Knatchbull, *Annotations upon some difficult texts in all the books of the New Testament* (1693), pp. 281–82. Many modern translations go in a similar direction, including the ESV that opts for “the assurance of things hoped for.”

<sup>71</sup> The phrase that Mather cites from the LXX version of Ps. 39:7 ἡ ὑπόστασις μου παρὰ σοὶ ἐστι [he hypostasis mou para soi esti] means “my hope is in you.” This is also what the citation from the VUL means. Modern critical editions of the LXX have ἡ ὑπόστασις μου παρὰ σοῦ ἐστιν (“my hope is from you”). But Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:145) also has σοί.

<sup>72</sup> See above. This paragraph is derived from Robert Gell, *An Essay toward the Amendment of the last English-Translation of the Bible*, pp. 143–44.

## 2.2. Issues of Authorship, Canonicity, and Historical Context

To Mather, a much bigger concern than uncertainties of translation were issues regarding authorship and canonicity. Such issues take a prominent place in the section of the “Biblia”-manuscript covered in this volume, as it deals with those seven New Testament books whose authorship and authority had been disputed since the days of the early Church. Behind such debates had always lurked uneasy questions about the uniform inspiration and divine character of the Scriptures (after all, the defense of a text’s inspiration was intimately connected to its attributability to one identifiable author) and their equal worth for the Church, as well as questions about a possibly misguided exclusion of inspired writings from the canon. At the turn of eighteenth century, such questions were discussed with new intensity as early Enlightenment critics, building on the work of humanist philology, challenged the established ecclesial consensus. At the same time, apologists studied the patristic evidence in search of defensive arguments but sometimes came up with more troubling results. Scholars have assumed that British colonial theologians did not participate in these debates over the New Testament canon, except for some miscellaneous reflections by Jonathan Edwards (1703–1758).<sup>73</sup> In his authoritative study, Bruce M. Metzger highlighted Princeton’s Archibald Alexander (1772–1851) as the first American to offer a sustained treatment of the topic in his *The Canon of the Old and New Testaments Ascertained; or, the Bible Complete without the Apocrypha and Unwritten Tradition* (first ed. Philadelphia, 1826).<sup>74</sup> As it turns out, Mather preceded Alexander by a full century.

In the protracted and highly complex negotiations and conflicts over an agreed-upon body of authoritative Scriptures that preoccupied the early Church, East and West, for a good 300 years, Hebrews, James, 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, Jude, and Revelation held an especially precarious position. While virtually all books that eventually came to be canonized as the New Testament were called into question by someone at some point, these seven were for a long time and by a wide variety of authors considered among the *antilegomena* or disputed books. Situated at the tail end of the early canonization process, when the Council of Laodicea had already issued its famous authoritative list of New Testament books, Jerome’s writing still occasionally echoe the lingering doubts about the seven texts. About James, “who is called the brother of the Lord,” Jerome remarked: “He wrote only one Epistle, which is reckoned among the seven Catholic Epistles, and even this is claimed by some to have been published by some one else under his name and gradually, as time went on, to have

<sup>73</sup> Brown, *Jonathan Edwards and the Bible*, pp. 104–11; see also William Baird, *History of New Testament Research*, Volume 2: *From Jonathan Edwards to Rudolf Bultman* (2003), pp. 6–10.

<sup>74</sup> Bruce M. Metzger, *The Canon of the New Testament: Its Origin, Development, and Significance* (1987), p. 18.

gained in authority.” On Jude, Jerome noted that many considered it spurious, in part because it drew on the apocryphal *Book of Enoch*: “Yet by age and use it has gained authority and is reckoned among the holy Scriptures.” With a view to 2 and 3 John, Jerome knew that some considered it “to be the work of John the presbyter,” while John the Apostle was only the author of the first eponymous epistle.<sup>75</sup> As regards 2 Peter, so different in style from the first epistle by that name, there had long been arguments, as Jerome acknowledged, about it being an inferior work by a different author. However, Jerome thought that Peter might simply have dictated his two epistles to different amanuenses.<sup>76</sup> In a letter to Claudienius Postumus Dardanus (dated 414), Jerome reflected on the long-disputed status of Hebrews and Revelation:

The Epistle which is inscribed to the Hebrews is received not only by the Churches of the East, but also by all Church writers of the Greek language before our days, as of Paul the apostle, though many think that it is from Barnabas or Clement. And it makes no difference whose it is, since it is from a churchman, and is celebrated in the daily readings of the Churches. And if the usage of the Latins does not receive it among the canonical Scriptures, neither indeed by the same liberty do the Churches of the Greeks receive the Revelation of John. And yet we receive both, in what we follow by no means the habit of today, but the authority of ancient writers, who for the most part quote each of them, not as they are sometimes to do the apocrypha, and even also as they rarely use the examples of secular books, but as canonical and churchly.<sup>77</sup>

And so, by tradition and with the backing of many (if by no means all) ancient fathers, Jerome followed the emerging consensus and included all seven books into the Vulgata, his Latin translation of the Old and New Testament, whose authority in the Western church would remain almost uncontested for a millennium.<sup>78</sup>

With the arrival of Renaissance humanism and the Reformation, the canon debate was reopened. Naturally, humanist philologists were especially concerned with determining the authorship and authenticity of New Testament Scriptures, and once again the seven *antilegomena* of old moved to the center of attention. For example, both Erasmus and Cardinal Cajetan (Jacob Thomas de Vio; 1469–1534), cast doubt on the apostolic authorship of Hebrews, Jude, and the second and third epistle of John. They were divided over 2 Peter, with the former rejecting and the latter accepting its authenticity. Given their great

<sup>75</sup> Jerome, *Liber de Viris illustribus*, 2, 4, 9 [PL 23. 609–25]. The following relies on Metzger, *The Canon of the New Testament*, pp. 235–38. The translations are also Metzger’s.

<sup>76</sup> Jerome, *Epistola* 120 [PL 22. 1002].

<sup>77</sup> Jerome, *Epistola* 129 [PL 22. 1103]; see *NPNFii* (6:260).

<sup>78</sup> The canon of the Vulgata is also reflected in the famous letter of Jerome to Paulinus, Bishop of Nola, on the study of the Scriptures, in which we find a comprehensive canon list of the whole Bible, listing all twenty-seven books of the New Testament. See *Epistola* 53 [PL 22. 540–49].

stylistic discrepancies, Erasmus also thought it impossible that Revelation could have been written by John the Apostle, author of the Fourth Gospel.<sup>79</sup> These debates intensified and diversified during the golden age of the *ars critica*. Among seventeenth-century critics, Grotius made some especially bold (and partly idiosyncratic) claims. He affirmed the suspicion that Hebrews was not a Pauline epistle and argued that the idiom and some contextual clues pointed to Luke as a possible author. Grotius expressed no qualms that James had indeed been written by the “brother of the Lord.” However, the Dutch scholar mustered fresh evidence for considering 2 and 3 John, 2 Peter, and Jude pseudoepigraphic writings. So, too, he thought the authorship of Revelation could not be determined with any certainty.<sup>80</sup> In accordance with his preterist interpretation of the visions of Revelation as referring to, among other things, the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, Grotius favored an early dating, possibly as early as the reign of Claudius.

This goes to show how the heightened attention to authorship and authorial intentions also came with a greater sensitivity to the original historical and communicative contexts. Inevitably, this acute awareness that the books of the New Testament had been written for different and very specific audiences also triggered critical reflections about the criteria for their general applicability to and authority for other Christians. Especially with a view to those cases where the apostolic authorship was uncertain, but really for all books of the Bible, Grotius thought that the ultimate criterion was their theological quality and universal relevance. Books such as Revelation or 2 Peter surely had the most urgent importance for their own time and target-audience. But for modern Christians, living long after all their visions had been fulfilled, they were of secondary significance.

As we saw above, Grotius and even more so Le Clerc came to deny the equal inspiration of all Scriptures, something that scandalized most Protestants. But they were by no means the only ones during the Reformation and post-Reformation period who argued for something like a canon within the canon. Luther himself had sorted the New Testament books into three groups: those that contained the core of the gospel message necessary to salvation, those that were primarily historical in nature, and those that were contested. Hebrews, James, Jude, and Revelation were put in the third basket. Luther not only disagreed with various facets of their theology (he famously called James an epistle of straw on account of its alleged promotion of a work righteousness), but also doubted their apostolic authorship or canonicity. In his September Testament of 1522, the books appeared unnumbered at the end. However, despite such challenges and tensions, in the broader Protestant as well as the Catholic

<sup>79</sup> Metzger, *The Canon of the New Testament*, p. 11.

<sup>80</sup> See Grotius in *Critici Sacri* (6:4097–98, 4422, 4574, 4671, 4689, 4709).

tradition, the canon as enshrined in the Vulgata survived intact and was routinely being reproduced (even though in slightly different orders) in myriad Bible editions.<sup>81</sup>

In Mather's day, however, critics raised the debate on the New Testament canon to a new level.<sup>82</sup> Deist John Toland stirred the pot when, in a side note to *The Life of John Milton* (1698), he alleged the arbitrariness of the New Testament's composition. Called out by infuriated churchmen, Toland responded with *Amyntor; or, a Defense of Milton's Life* (1699), in which he utilized the findings of humanist philology and patristic scholarship to argue in greater detail that the boundary between the so-called apocrypha and the New Testament books had been drawn as the result of theological and ecclesial power struggles. The books that made it into the New Testament canon did so not because their authenticity or apostolic authorship was never questioned, while the apocrypha were consistently considered dubious. Rather, many communities of early Christians (which widely differed in what books they considered authoritative) held texts such as the two epistles of St. Clement and the Shepherd of Hermas in high regard for a long time, before these texts were finally ejected as a result of ecclesial pressure. Inversely, some texts that ended up in the canon, such as 2 Peter, Jude, and James, had frequently been suspected from early on of being pseudoepigraphia. Ultimately, the canon reflected an exercise of power by a series of church councils dominated by specific episcopal parties that came to define "orthodoxy" according to their own standards. Later Toland even announced that he had recovered the Gospel of Barnabas and, provocatively, demanded its consideration for canonization. This lost gospel most closely reflected what Toland considered to have been the original faith of the very first Christians: the group of Jewish converts later anathematized as Ebionites, who emphasized ethics (abiding by the law) over ceremony. As he polemically argued in *Nazarenus* (1718), the "Catholic" version of Christianity that won the upper hand in the fourth century really was a corruption of primitive Christianity as represented by the Ebionite community, which also constituted a historical link to the strict monotheism of both Judaism and Islam.

Toland triggered a slew of further responses and also helped spur on the production of more general works of apologetics. Among the immediate rejoinders were Samuel Clarke's *Some Reflections on that Part of a Book called Amyntor, or, The Defense of Milton's Life, which relates to the Writings of the Primitive Fathers and the Canon of the New Testament* (1699), *The Canon of the New Testament Vindicated; In Answer to Amyntor* (1700) by John Richardson

<sup>81</sup> Metzger, *The Canon of the New Testament*, p. 11.

<sup>82</sup> On the following, see Nicholas Keene, "'A Two-Edged Sword': Biblical Criticism and the New Testament Canon in Early Modern England" (2006). For the debates over the apocrypha, see Ariel Hessayon, "The Apocrypha in Early Modern England" (2015).

(1647–1725; rector of North Luffenham, Rutland, from 1685 until his ejection as a non-juror in 1690), or *An Historical Account and Defense of the Canon of the New Testament; In answer to Anyntor* (1700) by the Unitarian-leaning Stephen Nye (1648–1719; rector of Little Hormead, Hertfordshire). A far cry from earlier Protestant arguments about the self-authenticating nature of Scripture, the discussion in these works is very much focused on early church history, patristic evidence, and the relative merits of apocryphal texts. While Toland's specific points could easily be dismissed by these apologists of the canon, they felt they had to engage him and other critics on the same historicist grounds.

His commitment to a radical Christian primitivism also led William Whiston to enter the fray, but, again, in a fashion that surprised and shocked Mather. In his *Primitive Christianity Reviv'd* (1711–1712), Whiston presented a case for including the Apostolic Constitution into the canon, a body of texts that are now generally regarded as originating in the latter half of the fourth century. Whiston, however, believed they went back to the gathering of the Apostles at Jerusalem in 64 CE. Whiston declared that the Constitution ought to be regarded as the most sacred core of the canon, because it contained “the *Catholick Doctrine*, or the main original Laws and Constitutions of the Gospel, which the Eleven Apostles had personally received from our Saviours Mouth, after his Resurrection.”<sup>83</sup> Whiston also offered his readers a bilingual edition of all the eight books of the Apostolic Constitution. Based on the Constitution, he, furthermore, argued for incorporating the epistles of St. Clement and St. Ignatius as well as the Shepherd of Hermas into the New Testament, while fiercely defending the canonicity of Revelation.<sup>84</sup>

In such an intellectual climate, theologians of all stripes felt the need to offer comprehensive historical accounts of the genesis of the Bible and the early history of Christianity that also defended the established New Testament canon. In the “Biblia,” Mather used a number of works providing such accounts, including Jacques Basanage's *Histoire de l'église depuis Jésus Christ jusqu'à présent* (1699), Louis Ellies Du Pin's *A Compleat History of the Canon and Writers of the Books of the Old and New Testament* (1699–1700), or Robert Jenkin's *The Reasonableness and Certainty of the Christian Religion* (first ed. 1696–1697).<sup>85</sup> However, the most monumental and influential work of this type, which Mather cites on several occasions (see *BA* 9:209, 219, 410; *BA* 10:351), was that of the Welsh Dissenting minister Jeremiah Jones (1693/4–1724), *A new*

<sup>83</sup> Whiston, *An Essay on the Apostolic Constitution*, in *Primitive Christianity Reviv'd* (3:40).

<sup>84</sup> See Whiston's *Essay upon the Epistle of Ignatius* (1710), and also his later *Collection of Original Texts of Scripture, and Testimonies of Antiquity that relate to Christian Discipline* (1739).

<sup>85</sup> Cotton Mather's brother, Samuel Mather of Witney, published the extensive *Vindication of the Holy Bible, wherein the Arguments for, and Objections against, the divine Original, Purity and Integrity of the Scripture, are proposed and considered* (1723), which also contains a defense of the canon.

and full Method of Settling the canonical Authority of the New Testament (3 vols., 1726–1727).<sup>86</sup> In over a thousand pages, Jones took it upon himself “to determine the canonical authority of any book, or books, by searching into the most ancient and authentic records of Christianity, and finding out the testimony or traditions of those, who lived nearest the time in which the books were written, concerning them.”<sup>87</sup> Mather found in Jones’s volumes confirmation that the New Testament canon was not a late and arbitrary imposition by church councils. Instead, Jones “emphasized that the conception of the canon, as an authoritative body of texts, possessed an early genesis that slowly took shape as geographical, communicational and political barriers were overcome, spurious texts identified and dissenters ostracized.”<sup>88</sup> However, Mather seems to have taken only a passing interest in the extensive translations, summaries, and discussions of all the known New Testament apocrypha that Jones offered, and which, according to him, had wide circulation and authority among many early Christian communities.

Mather also silently ignored Jones’s potentially troubling reflections on the Syriac Version of the New Testament, which Jones deemed to be of near-apostolic origin. Jones’s explanation for why the oldest Syriac manuscripts did not contain most of the *antilegomena* – 2 Peter, 2–3 John, Jude, and Revelation – was that they had not yet been written when this translation was made. Mather likewise passed over Jones’s troubling conclusions on 1 John 5:7–8 as well as on John 7:53–8:11, which he argued were later interpolations and not written by the Apostles under inspiration. Like Grotius and others, Jones pointed to the absence of these passages in the oldest Greek manuscripts and the Syriac Version of the New Testament as one crucial point of evidence for their inauthentic nature. In addition, Jones emphasized that 1 John 5:7–8 did not become a proof text for Trinitarianism before the Arian debates of the fourth century. From Mather’s selective use of Jones, one would not have guessed that these and other findings made the Welsh Dissenter sympathetic to the Arian cause.<sup>89</sup>

When Mather put down his mature convictions on the subject in the appended essay “Some Remarks, relating to the *Inspiration*, and the *Obsignation*, of the CANON,” he primarily relied on the respective sections in Jenkin’s *The Reasonableness and Certainty of the Christian Religion*.<sup>90</sup> With Jenkin he rejected all arguments for either relegating certain canonical books to secondary status,

<sup>86</sup> Mather also made good use of Jones in his discussion of the Epistle of Barnabas (*BA* 1:886–888, and *BA* 9: 283).

<sup>87</sup> Jones, *A new and full Method of Settling the canonical Authority of the New Testament* (1:47).

<sup>88</sup> Keene, “A Two-Edged Sword,” p. 101.

<sup>89</sup> Jones, *A new and full Method of Settling the canonical Authority of the New Testament* (1:110–13).

<sup>90</sup> See Jenkin, *The Reasonableness*, vol. 2, ch. 2, (“Of Inspiration”), pp. 32–40; and vol. 2, ch. 4 (“Of the Canon of the Holy Scriptures”), sect. 12, pp. 113–15.



or for including additional texts such as the Apostolic Constitution. And against all critics who questioned the divine authority of the canonical Scriptures, Mather affirmed the full and equal inspiration of all the original writings collected in the Old and New Testament. As such, Scripture was infallible. With Jenkin he then argued, however, that such a belief in plenary inspiration was not to deny the possibility that later on in the process of manuscript transmission certain mistakes or interpolations were made. Nor did it exclude from the original process of composition “such *Humane Means*, as Information in *Matters of Fact*,” which the authors would have derived “from their *own Senses*, or from the *Testimony* of others; and in *Matters of Discourse and Reason*, to argue from their own Observations.” Still, he insisted that “the Holy Spirit infallibly guided them in the Use of these Means.” Divine inspiration was no mechanical determination, as in automatic writing, and so the authors were allowed the “Use of their *own Words*, and of the *Style* that was most natural to them” (BA 10:813). Thus Mather embraced a synergistic model of biblical authorship in which the Spirit was understood as having preserved, for the most part, the free and conscious agency of His human amanuenses. The Holy Spirit’s influence worked through the particular personalities of the biblical writers and employed their varied skills and characteristics of their style, which necessarily also reflected their particular time and place. Only in exceptional cases were prophets transported out of their minds in divine visions or dreams that revealed knowledge to them far above and beyond their capacities.<sup>91</sup>

While Mather continued to subscribe to verbal inspiration, he interpreted it as usually having played out in a more indirect fashion through the natural workings of the mental faculties and affections. With a particular view to the Apostle Paul, for example, he opined that his “Doctrine was Inspired by the Holy Spirit,” while the Spirit suffered “him to putt it into his own Words, yett never suffered him to express it otherwise, than in such a Manner as was agreeable to *His Intention*.” And when speaking on matters of little importance, such as the salutations at the end of the New Testament epistles, the Holy Spirit seemed not, as Mather argued from Jenkin, to have found it necessary to immediately “have Dictated unto the Men of God; but only to have used a *Directive* or *conductive* Power upon them.” Instead, the Spirit supplied “them with suitable Apprehensions, & keep them in the Use of their own Rational Judgment, within the Bounds of Infallible Truth, & of Expediency for the present Occasions.” By different means and degrees, the Spirit and the various

---

<sup>91</sup> On the topic of inspiration, see also the long essay-like entry on 1 Chron. 29, in which Mather detailed his more specific views on inspiration and modes of prophetic revelation, mostly with the help of the Dutch reformed scholar Herman Witsius (BA 3:712–35). On this subject, see also Reiner Smolinski, “Editors’s Introduction” (BA 1:156–57, 159–60) and Kenneth P. Minkema, “Editor’s Introduction” (BA 3:44–48).

gifts with which he endowed “the *Prophets*, and *Apostles*, and *Evangelists*, and *Pastors* and *Teachers*” of primitive Christianity, thus all worked to preserve “that *Book* from Error, which was to be the *Standard of Truth* for all Ages” (BA 10:813–14).

Overall, Mather understood the entire composition of the New Testament as having happened under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, down to the citations from the Hebrew Bible and other source texts. The same was also true for the process of canon formation. From Jenkin but also in agreement with Jones, Mather argued that this process had started very early, stood in direct continuity with the Apostles, and was directed by a series of ecclesial councils. For skeptics such as Toland, the canon was a late selection from a great diversity of writings in circulation. Even some orthodox Protestant scholars like Basnage conceded that the canon had not become fixed before the fourth century. In Mather’s view, by contrast, there had been from very early on a nucleus of Scriptures that most early Christians regarded as authoritative in addition to the Hebrew Bible. And although, as he conceded, “the Authority of some certain Books, was for a while quæstioned by a few *private Men*, yett none of those Books which now stand in our *Canon*, were ever Rejected, by any *Council* of the Church; albeit, such were frequently called in the First Ages of Christianity, & had this very thing under consideration” (BA 10:814).

To back up this proposition, Mather primarily relied on the testimony of Tertullian (c. 160/170–after 220) and Irenaeus (c. 130/140–c. 200/203). In his conflict with Marcion, Tertullian had presented “the Scriptures of the Old Testament as divinely given, and he attributed to the four Gospels and the apostolic Epistles an authority equal to that of the Law and the Prophets.”<sup>92</sup> However, what Mather fails to mention is that in his writings Tertullian did not acknowledge all the books of the New Testament canon. References to 2 Peter, James, and 2 and 3 John are missing, although Tertullian might have omitted the latter two on account of their relative insignificance. Tertullian also attributed Hebrews to Barnabas rather than Paul. Nevertheless, even after his conversion to Montanism sometime before 210, Tertullian, as Mather points out, “rejected the Authority of *Herma’s Pastor*, as not being received into the *Canon* of the Scripture; but saies, It was reckoned among the *Apocryphal Books*, by all the *Councils* of his Adversaries; who were now, the Orthodox.”<sup>93</sup> Following Jenkin, Mather uses this reference from Tertullian’s *De pudicitia* to corroborate his own argument, “that in *Tertullians* Time, diverse *Councils* had passed their Censure on the *Apocryphal Books*, and that the *Canon* of the Scripture had been

<sup>92</sup> Metzger, *The Canon of the New Testament*, p. 160.

<sup>93</sup> From Jenkin, Mather refers to Tertullian (c. 160/170–after 220), *De pudicitia*, cap. 10. [PL 1. 999–1001; SC 394–95].

fixed long before.”<sup>94</sup> These councils, Mather surmised, might have taken place during the life time of Polycarp of Smyrna (Mather places his martyrdom at 147 CE), or at least, “they must be held in the Time of *Irenaeus*, who conversed with *Polycarp*, and was contemporary with *Tertullian*.”<sup>95</sup> In this way, Mather could argue for an unbroken apostolic tradition, by which “the *Canon* of the Scripture, was vouched by those, who received it from *John* the Apostle; and *Councils* were called (which *Tertullian* tells us, were very numerous & frequent in *Greece*,) to give Testimony unto the Genuine Canon, and censure the Books that were *Apocryphal*.”<sup>96</sup>

There was nothing controversial about Mather’s assertion that Irenaeus had an early connection with Polycarp, who was widely regarded as a disciple of the Apostles themselves. And in his attacks on Montanism and other heresies, Irenaeus’s *Adversus Haereses* had indeed articulated an understanding of orthodox faith that comprised a relatively well-defined Scripture canon. However, while the debate about the canonical gospels was already settled for Irenaeus, his canon of apostolic letters was not yet finally fixed. Like Tertullian, he does not provide a list, but cites all the Pauline letters (except Philemon) and all the Catholic Letters, except for 2 Peter, 3 John, or Jude. Mather does not mention this, nor does he betray any knowledge of the fact that Irenaeus, together with the Revelation of John, also included the Shepherd of Hermas as “scripture.”<sup>97</sup> More significantly, Jenkin and Mather provide no further evidence for the existence of larger, cross-regional church councils before the fourth century that would have established the New Testament canon and guaranteed its stability and uniformity. Nor do they offer proof for their suggestion that these councils, through Polycarp and Irenaeus, “received it from *John*,” and thus inherited their basic notion of the canon directly from apostolic authority (*BA* 10:815).

In any case, Mather thought it “manifest, that the *Canon* of the Scripture, had been settled before the Council of *Laodicea*, which appoints that no Books which are *extrà Canonem* (none but *Canonical*,) should be Read in the Christian Assemblies, and then subjoins the Titles of the *Canonical Books*” (*BA* 10:815). The Council of Laodicea was a regional synod for early Christian clerics from Asia minor that assembled c. 363 in Laodicea, a city in Phrygia Pacatiana.

<sup>94</sup> While some modern scholars, too, have taken Tertullian’s statement to imply conciliar decisions about the New Testament canon, most agree that during this early period there were no synods in the later technical sense, but merely local church congregations. See Metzger, *The Canon of the New Testament*, p. 160.

<sup>95</sup> From Jenkin, Mather refers to Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses*, 3.3.4, where it is said that in his youth Irenaeus personally met Polycarp (c. 70–156 or 167 CE), who had conversed with many who had known Christ and was appointed bishop of Smyrna by the Apostle John shortly before his death, thus serving as a guarantor of the apostolic tradition (*RGG*).

<sup>96</sup> From Jenkin, a reference to Tertullian, *De jejuniis*, cap. 13 [PL 2. 971–72].

<sup>97</sup> Metzger, *The Canon of the New Testament*, pp. 153–56.

Among the decrees issued, canon 59 reads: “No psalms composed by private individuals nor any uncanonical books may be read in the church, but only the Canonical Books of the Old and New Testaments.” Canon 60 then lists the canonical books, with the New Testament containing 26 books, omitting Revelation.<sup>98</sup>

For Mather, the decrees of Laodicea represented the direct outgrowth of a more than 200-year long process and its codification in the form of an official canon list. The canonical books were probably so called, he mused, “because they were inserted into, *The Apostles Canons*; and others were called, *Uncanonical*.” With this he referred to the Canons of the Apostles, which were part of the much-debated Apostolic Constitution that Whiston wished to include in the New Testament. The Constitution comprises eight books offering rules on moral conduct, liturgy, and church organization. Chapter 47 of book 8 contains the Canons of the Apostles, regulating congregational life, the sacraments, and the election and duties of church officers, but it also features a list of biblical books to be considered “canonical.”<sup>99</sup> With Jenkin, Mather speculated, that the decrees “which go under the Name of, *The Apostles Canons*, are the *Canons of Councils*, assembled before the Council of *Nice*; inasmuch as that Council refers unto them; And that they are styled, *Apostolical*, because they were made by *Apostolical Men*, or such as lived next unto the *Apostles* times.” Jenkin and Mather date the final form of the Canons of the Apostles at no later than the early third century, and thought that “they were collected into one Body, by *Clemens Alexandrinus*.”<sup>100</sup> Thus to their mind, the Canons of the Apostles were

98 For a transl., see *NPNFii* (14:158–59). Modern scholars consider the authenticity of canon 60 as doubtful (also because it is missing from the Greek manuscripts), and have also downplayed the importance of the Council of Laodicea more generally, which only had some thirty or so clerics in attendance. Still, there is strong evidence that during the last third of the fourth century, the formation of the canon was entering into its decisive phase and that the boundaries were hardening. Around 350 CE, Cyril of Jerusalem already wrote up a list matching that of canon 60. See his *Catecheses*, 4.33–37 [PG 33. 494–99]. And in 367 Athanasius of Alexandria (ca. 296–373) wrote his Thirtieth-Ninth Festal Epistle that also contains a list of the canonical books of the Old and New Testaments. His New Testament comprises 27 books: the four Gospels, Acts, the seven Catholic Epistles, the Pauline Epistles (including Hebrews), and Revelation. See Metzger, *The Canon of the New Testament*, p. 210.

99 For the NT they list: “the four Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John; the fourteen Epistles of Paul; two Epistles of Peter, three of John, one of James, one of Jude; two Epistles of Clement; and the Constitution dedicated to you the bishops by me Clement, in eight books; which it is not fit to publish before all, because of the mysteries contained in them; and the Acts of us the Apostles” (transl. *ANF* (7:385–508)).

100 From Jenkin, *The Reasonableness*, vol. 2, ch. 4 (“Of the Canon of the Holy Scriptures”), pp. 113–15. Traditionally, the canons had been ascribed to the Twelve Apostles and thought to have been gathered by Pope Clement I (d. 99). Since the days of Scaliger, however, scholars had harbored doubts about the authenticity of the Apostolic Constitution. In 1653, for instance, Jean Daillé had argued that the Apostolic Constitution was a forgery from late antiquity, probably fabricated by Arians. See his *De pseudoepigraphis apostolicis* (1653). On this, see Il. J. de Jonge, “J. S. Scaliger’s De LXXXV Canonibus Apostolorum Diatribe” (1975).

the aggregation of what was allegedly decided at earlier synods since the time of Polycarp. Hence the Council of Laodicea would have referred to these decrees. "Now, that particular *Canon*," Mather thought, "which contains the *Canon of the Scripture*, the Council of *Laodicea* gives a sufficient Testimony unto it, so far as it concerns the *Books of the New Testament*; and it agrees very well with what we observed out of *Tertullian*." Mather admitted that Revelation was missing from both canon lists, but argued that this had been due to its dark and mysterious character, "which rendred it less edifying to be publicly Read in the Churches." However, as he concluded in the essay, "*The Revelation*, was long before the Council of *Laodicea*, acknowledged Genuine, by *Justin Martyr*, by *Irenaeus*, (both of whom wrote a Comment upon it,) and by *Tertullian*, and others" (BA 10:815–17).<sup>101</sup> In his introductory notes on Revelation, he amassed further patristic evidence for the early canonicity of Revelation and the authorship of John the Apostle. And at Rev. 1:9 he also embraced the traditional dating of John's banishment to Patmos to the brief but intense "Persecution of *Domitian*" in the year 96 (BA 10:449).

What the ominous warning in Rev. 22:18 ("If any man shall add unto these things") suggested, was thus to be literally understood as the closing of the "*Canon of the Scripture ... by the Apostle John*," in the late first century. Over the course of the next decades, "such Books as were not of Divine Authority," Mather believed, "were laid aside, by *Councils* held, when there were living Witnesses, to certify *Johns* Approbation of the *Canon*; or at least, those who had received it from such Witnesses." Inversely, those "Books which had been doubted of," but truly "belonged unto the *Canon of the Scripture*," like some of the Catholic Epistles, "were afterwards generally acknowledged in all the Churches" (BA 10:817). Thus, the inner-ecclesial process of canon formation

---

Jenkin, however, places their collection around the end of the second or the beginning of the third century by ascribing it to Clement of Alexandria, who died c. 215. For this argument he draws on the work of the Anglican orientalist and Bishop of St. Asaph, William Beveridge (1637–1708), *Synodikon, sive Pandectae canonum ss. Apostolorum et conciliorum ab ecclesia graeca receptorum* (1672); and the work of the Anglican divine patristic scholar William Cave (1637–1713), *Scriptorum ecclesiasticorum historia litteraria a Christo nato usque ad saeculum XIV* (1688), vol. 1, p. 19. Mather might have chosen to obscure the name of these scholars because they belonged to the party of High Church-Anglicans that sought to demonstrate that the Church of England in its present form and relation to the state stood in direct continuity with the primitive Apostolic Church. Cave made this argument in his work *Primitive Christianity* (1697). Most scholars today date the Constitution around 380 CE, but some as late as the early fifth century. They probably originated in Syria. It is assumed that the Canons of the Apostles are partly derived from earlier canon collections, in particular those produced by the Councils of Antiochia and Laodicea. (RGG).

<sup>101</sup> From Jenkin, reference is made to Justin Martyr, *Dialogus cum Tryphone Judaeo*, cap. 80–81 [PG 6. 663–70]; Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses*, 5.30–35 [PG 7.1064–90]; and Tertullian, *De praescriptione haereticorum*, 33; and *Liber de Resurrectione Carnis.*, cap. 27. [PL 2.45–46 and 833–34].

only officially recognized, and separated from non-inspired writings, the body of texts that had been given to the Apostles as Scripture by the Holy Spirit.

When Mather cites apocrypha, he does so for the elucidation of the canonical Scriptures. For instance, in an annotation on Gal. 1:7, Mather speculates that Paul's allusion to "another gospel" might refer to the lost Ebionite *Gospel of the Nazarenes* (BA 9:410).<sup>102</sup> Several times Mather also draws on anonymous early Christian book of revelations *The Shepherd of Hermas* (probably composed in the first half of the second century) or the pseudoepigraphical *Epistle of Barnabas* (c. 130 CE) to shed light on a difficult passage. At Jam. 1:6 he does so, via Whitby, to better explain the phrase "Ἀνὴρ διψυχος καὶ διακρινόμενος, *The Double-minded and Wavering Man*." From Hermas one can learn, he writes,<sup>103</sup> "*That Visions and Revelations are διὰ τοὺς διψυχούς For the Double-minded; which he thus explains; τοὺς διαλογιζομένους ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις αὐτῶν, εἴ ἂν ἔστι τὰντα, ἢ οὐκ ἔστιν*"<sup>104</sup> *For them who Reason in their Hearts, whether these things will be, or not.*" Similarly, *The Epistle of Barnabas* "also; speaking of him, that walks in the Way of Light, saies, οὐ μὴ διψυχησῇ *He will not be Doubtful whether a thing be so, or no.*"<sup>105</sup> Never, however, does Mather treat any apocrypha as authoritative texts in and of themselves.

It is against this background that we must understand Mather's handling of the specific questions regarding the authorship and canonicity of Hebrews, James, 2 Peter, 2–3 John, and Jude. While he duly considers some of the long-standing controversies over these books, Mather in the end always comes to reaffirm a conservative view. With regard to Hebrews, Mather was of course aware of the more recent challenges to a Pauline authorship by Erasmus and Grotius, among others, and the patristic opinions on which they built. Yet in this case he knew the best "orthodox" critics to be firmly on the side of including the epistle in the Pauline corpus, which considered authentic in its entirety. Thus John Owen in his *Exercitations on the Epistle to the Hebrews, Also Concerning the Messiah* (1668) defended the "canonical authority" and "divine original" of the Epistle to the Hebrews and aimed to "evince *St. Paul* to have been the Author of it."<sup>106</sup> Even Grotius's English disciple Henry Hammond concluded that both

<sup>102</sup> The source is Jones, *A new and full Method* (1:332).

<sup>103</sup> Mather refers from Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:137) to *The Shepherd of Hermas, Visions*, 12 (III.4).3, (LCL 25, p. 204); and *Visions*, 23 (IV.2).6, (LCL 25, pp. 230–32) as well as *Commandments*, 39 (IX).5, (LCL 25, p. 274).

<sup>104</sup> Mather provides a literal translation for διὰ τοὺς διψυχούς [dia tous dipsychous]. The phrase τοὺς διαλογιζομένους ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις αὐτῶν, εἴ ἂν ἔστι τὰντα, ἢ οὐκ ἔστιν [tous dialogizomenous en tais kardiais auton, eī ān esti tauta, ē ouk estin] literally signifies "[for] those who reason carefully in their hearts whether these things are so or not."

<sup>105</sup> The phrase οὐ μὴ διψυχησῇ [ou me dipsychese] literally translates in its original context "He will never doubt [whether this should happen or not]." From Whitby, Mather paraphrases the *Epistle of Barnabas*, 19.5; cf. LCL 25, p. 76.

<sup>106</sup> Owen, *Exercitations on the Epistle to the Hebrews*, "Exertitatio I," pp. 1–23.

the authorship of Hebrews and its place of origin could not be determined with certainty, but believed that it was not improbable that Paul had written the original in Hebrew, and Luke then translated it into Greek.<sup>107</sup> And Mather would have felt reassured by Daniel Whitby's critical judgment, which found the evidence against a Pauline authorship inconclusive and thus saw no reason to challenge the received assumption.<sup>108</sup> One can imagine Mather's glee when he lit upon a passage in Richard Simon's *Histoire critique du texte du Nouveau Testament* that further strengthened the case by citing rabbinical opinions on the text:

That famous modern Critic, *Simons*, tells us, (Hist. Crit. N.T. c. 21.) That he gave to a *Jew*, the *Epistle to the Hebrewes*, to Read; and a Jew who was greatly acquainted with their Ancient Authors. Upon the Perusal of it, the *Jew* frankly avowed, That this *Epistle* could be writt by none but some great *Mekubal* (i. e. Man of Tradition) of his own Nation. He celebrated his profound Knowledge in the sublime Sence of the Bible, and spoke of the great *Mekubal* with Admiration. (BA 10:229)<sup>109</sup>

Skeptical opinions, ancient or modern, that challenged this attribution of Hebrews are not given any room. Accepting the authorship of Hebrews almost as a given, Mather thus makes references to the "Apostle Paul" or expounds the "Words of Paul" throughout his annotations.

Accordingly, in his chronology of the New Testament (which he included in the prefatory material before his commentary on Genesis), Mather dates Hebrews close to the other Pauline epistles at "A.D. 62" (BA 1:265). With John Lightfoot, he asserts that the epistle was originally written in Greek, the "common tongue" of the time, which allowed it to reach a broad audience and facilitated evangelization among the diasporic Jews.<sup>110</sup> But its immediate addressees were "the *Jewes* which dwelt in the Land of *Judea*," which were styled "Hebrews" in opposition to the "Hellenists." From these "*Jewes* in the *Holy Land*, the principal Seat of the Circumcision," the message of Paul was then supposed "to diffuse itself, thro' the whole Jewish World," and beyond (BA 10:229). Mather saw no stylistic, let alone theological, differences from other Pauline letters, even where earlier Protestant interpreters had found such differences. For instance, Luther had objected to the assertions in Heb. 6:4–6 and 10:26–31 that if Christians became apostates to their faith after baptism, they could no longer be renewed unto repentance. To Luther, these statements put too much emphasis on human agency and too little on divine sovereignty, and it appeared to contradict the Pauline message of *sola fide* and *sola gratia*. By contrast, Mather

<sup>107</sup> Hammond, *A Paraphrase* (4:328).

<sup>108</sup> Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:41–43).

<sup>109</sup> A reference to Richard Simon's *Histoire critique du texte du Nouveau Testament* (1689), ch. 21, p. 248.

<sup>110</sup> Mather draws this passage from John Lightfoot, *The Harmony, Chronicle, and Order of the New Testament* (1655) in *Works* (1:340).

noted at Heb. 6:6 that he would have the true meaning of those passages to be: “Tis Impossible *for us* to Renew them [i. e. the lapsed Christians]. It is Labour in Vain *for us*, to Review Principles for them. In short; They forsake the *only Means* of being *Renew’d*, Releev’d, Restored, as *Repenting Sinners* use to be. No *other Means* can be proposed.” Apostates had received the one saving faith and rejected it. However, Mather explained, “This does not exclude them absolutely from Salvation, upon their Returning to the same *Christian Principles*, which they have deserted” (BA 10:254).<sup>111</sup>

At least in theory, the Catholic Letters posed the greatest challenge to an apologetically-oriented critic such as Mather. Drawing on Whitby, he proposed in a prefatory note to James that the Catholic Letters had “obtained that Name” sometime in the fourth century; and been ranked in the same Order, in which they now stand. Their designation reflected their target audience and missionary intentions, in that they were all written “*generally to the Faithful, or to the Jewes of the Dispersion.*” The term Catholic Letters did not come about, as was often suggested, “Because they were, *passim recepta ab omnibus, et ubique*;<sup>112</sup> For, we learn from the Testimonies of *Origen* and *Eusebius*, and *Amphilochius*, and *Jerom*,” as Mather admitted, “That the Ancients doubted Four or Five of the *Seven*” (BA 10:303). This was certainly so.

Jerome’s references to the patristic debates over the Catholic Letters have already been considered above. Mather also mentions an essential source for the highly contested process of canon formation in the early church: Eusebius’s *Ecclesiastical History*. In book three (ch. 25.1–7), Eusebius, while falling short of providing an actual canon list of the New Testament, surveys the ongoing debates by subdividing all the apostolic or alleged apostolic writings into three categories: “(1) Those on whose authority and authenticity all the churches and all the authors he had consulted were agreed; (2) those which the witnesses were equally agreed in rejecting; and (3) an intermediate class regarding which the votes were divided.”<sup>113</sup> This last group he calls the “Disputed Books, which are nevertheless known to most.” These are: “the Epistle called of James, that of Jude, the second Epistle of Peter, and the so-called second and third Epistles of John which may be the work of the evangelist or of some other with the same name.”<sup>114</sup> So while Mather acknowledged these and other witnesses to the uncertain status of James, Jude, 2 Peter, and 2 and 3 John in some circles as late the early fourth century, he had no doubt that they belonged to the proto-canon

111 Here Mather relies on Abraham Woodhead, Richard Allestree, and Obadiah Walker, *A Paraphrase and Annotations upon all the Epistles of St. Paul, done by several eminent Men at Oxford* (1708), p. 387.

112 “Generally received by all and everywhere.” From Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:129)..

113 Metzger, *The Canon of the New Testament*, p. 203.

114 Eusebius of Caesarea, *Ecclesiastical History*, 3.25.3; [PG 20. 270]; transl. LCL 153, p. 257.



handed down from the Apostles, which was eventually recognized by all the orthodox churches.

Mather was seemingly unfazed by the old and new discussions over the authorship of James. The majority opinion in the ancient church (as well as among medieval and early modern exegetes) had always been that James, the “brother of the Lord” (1 Cor. 9:5; Matt. 13:55; Mark 6:3; Acts 1:14; Gal. 1:19), wrote the eponymous epistle. Whether a literal brother, cousin, or close friend, this James succeeded Peter as Bishop of Jerusalem. He came to be known as “the Just,” and was put to death by the priestly authorities several years before the destruction of the city in 70 CE. The problem was that some manuscript copies of the Epistle had a superscription identifying James as “the Apostle,” but the “brother of the Lord” had not been one of the Twelve during Jesus’s ministry. This and his early death had always made some exegetes doubt James’s authorship.<sup>115</sup> An alternative possibility was James, the son of Alphaeus, also known as James the Less or the Younger, who is identified in the apostolic list as one of the Twelve (Matt. 10:3; Mark 3:18; Luke 6:15; Acts 1:13). John Calvin, for instance, thought this was the likelier explanation, while Luther, of course, had denied that this “Epistle of Straw” had been written by any Apostle. In Mather’s day, different solutions to this condundrum were suggested. For example, Whitby proposed that James, “the brother of the Lord,” and James the Less were actually one and the same person, while Hammond argued that the title “Apostle” was not restricted to the original Twelve but was given to many leaders in the early church, including bishops. There was thus no reason to reject the authorship of James, the “brother of the Lord.”<sup>116</sup> Cotton Mather wholeheartedly agreed.

Mather dated the composition of James at around “A. D. 58.” In Mather’s New Testament chronology, this was the time, when “The High-Priesthood being by means of King *Agrippa*, brought into the hands of *Ananias*, a Sadducee.” And “this New High Priest, before the Arrival of *Albinus*, whom *Nero* sent to succeed *Festus*, the *Roman* Procurator, caused our *James* to be martyred. And it is probable, that *James* wrote his Epistle, not long before his Martyrdome” (BA 1:265).<sup>117</sup> While not addressed to a particular local community, the letter was written with a dual audience of “*Infidel* Jews” and “*Beleeving* Jews” in mind.

115 Eusebius mentions that the authorship of James, the brother of Christ, was disputed in his day. See *Ecclesiastical History*, 2.23 [PG 20. 205–06]; see also Jerome in *De viris illustribus*, cap. 2 [PL 23. 609–10].

116 See Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:130–31) and Hammond *A Paraphrase* (4:378–79); similarly Grotius in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (6:4422).

117 Reference is here made to Flavius Josephus (*Antiquities* 20.9), who reports that King Herod Agrippa II (44–93 CE) was instrumental in installing Ananias (47–58 CE), son of Nedebeaus, as high priest of Jerusalem (*HBD*). According to Josephus and Eusebius (*Historia ecclesiastica* 2.23), James, brother of Jesus, was put to death by the priests of Jerusalem a few years before Roman Emperor Nero (37–68 CE) sent Albinus to succeed Porcius Festus as Roman procurator of Judea (c. 62 CE).

Paying attention to this frequently shifting double perspective was, in Mather's opinion, crucial to the right interpretation of this book. In some parts, the Apostle aimed to correct the "haughty Errors" of unconverted Jews living by the law, and "to soften their ungoverned Zeal, and to Reform their Indecent Usages in Religion." In other parts, the priority was to comfort the Christian Jews "under the Hardships they were to suffer for their Christianity; to warn them against several Prejudices & Practices of their Persecutors ... & to spirit them up unto the pure & patient Profession of the Gospel" (BA 10:304).<sup>118</sup> The double perspective also helped to explain the alternating emphases on works and faith that had confounded not a few interpreters.

As Mather notes in a lengthy entry on Jam. 2:17–26, "Some of the Ancients, (as *Eusebius* and *Jerom* tell us) did not esteem the Epistle of *James* canonical, because there seem'd [in it] a Contradiction to *Pauls*." At first Luther, like other Reformers, had similar doubts, and "for the same Cause, called the Epistle in Quæstion tho' *Luther* afterwards did Repent of this Weakness."<sup>119</sup> For one could, of course, resolve the apparent discrepancy between what James taught in this chapter, "*By Works a Man is Justified, & not by Faith only*," and "the Words of *Paul*, to the *Romans*, & the *Galatians*, *That a Man is not Justified by the Works of the Law, but by the Faith of Jesus Christ*." As Mather writes, Paul "treats of our *Justification* before *God*, and the *Right* unto everlasting Life therein granted unto us: which is only by Faith in our Lord Jesus Christ." James, on the other hand, "treats of that which may *manifest* our *Justification* unto *Men*, that see and hear, *our Profession of our Faith*" (BA 10:314–15). So the two Apostles were not contradicting each other at all, but each focused on one side of the same coin.

Mather treated 1 and 2 Peter as equally authentic epistles, both written around "A. D. 65." "Not long after this," Mather added, "we may date the Epistle of *Jude*, which agrees very much with the Second Epistle of *Peter*." Just as he was certain that the author of 1 and 2 Peter was indeed the Apostle Simon Petrus, he accepted the factuality of the authorial self-identification at the opening of Jude as a "servant of Jesus Christ, and the brother of James." This made the author of

<sup>118</sup> From Pyle, *A Paraphrase* (2:314–15).

<sup>119</sup> In this section, Mather seems to rely on Manton, *A Practical Commentary*, preface. On Eusebius of Caesarea and Jerome, see the footnote at Jam. 1:1. In his early *Preface on the New Testament* from 1522, Martin Luther criticized the epistle of James as "an epistle of straw" ("eyn rechte stroern Epistel") in comparison to the epistles of John, Peter, and especially Paul, which for him contained the core of the Christian faith (WA DB 6:10; *Luther's Works* 35:362). In later editions of his *Deutsche Bibel*, this famous harsh comment on James was omitted, but it has remained present in readers's minds until today. In his *Preface on the Epistles of St. James and St. Jude* (WA DB 7:385–87; *Luther's Works* 35:395–97) and in later single sermons and remarks on James, Luther recognized the theological value of the letter, but still saw it as standing in tension with Paul's doctrine of justification, which was central for Luther's own theology: "Whatever does not teach Christ is not yet apostolic..." (p. 396).

Jude another brother of the Lord. While the precise origin and intended recipients of Jude were difficult to determine, Mather noted, Peter had written the two epistles when he resided at Babylon (*BA* 1:268). With this interpretation, Mather went against not a few authorities. A long line of scholars, especially in the Catholic church, had dated the text as early as 44 CE. And traditionally, the majority opinion had been that the reference to “the church that is at Babylon” (1 Pet. 5:13) was a coded allusion to Rome, considered the new Babylon, and that Peter wrote his first epistle from there to the Jewish Christians in the dispersion. Some of the Protestant critics whom Mather regularly consulted on such historical matters affirmed the view that Babylon meant Rome, but pushed back the time of composition to the mid-60s. They assumed that Peter wrote the letter with a view to his imminent martyrdom under Nero and the coming destruction of Jerusalem. This, for instance, was argued by both Hammond and Whitby.<sup>120</sup> While Mather accepted the later dating, he trusted the minority opinion of John Lightfoot that Peter very likely never came to Rome. Instead, he wrote from somewhere in the territory of ancient Babylonia to the Jewish Christians residing there “in *Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bythinia*, in which Regions, the *Apostasy* from the Faith, had been exceeding prevalent, & accordingly the *Persecution* of the Faith, very outrageous” (*BA* 10:335).<sup>121</sup> How such an interpretation was or was not to be squared with the many traditions about Peter’s and Paul’s execution at Rome in 67 CE, Mather does not say.

From the early patristic period, arguments that 2 Peter was to be counted among the *antilegomena* or even to be ejected had frequently been extended to Jude as well. After all, the two letters were so similar in many regards and also cited from the same apocryphal writings. Accordingly, Mather tackled the issues surrounding these texts together. For this purpose, he primarily relied on a dissertation by the Bishop of London and Christian apologist Thomas Sherlock (1677–1761), *The Authority of the Second Epistle of St. Peter* (1725).<sup>122</sup> Mather starts by reviewing some of the critical opinions, ancient and new. Yes, it was true, he again admitted, “That some of the Anciens did not look on the Second Epistle of *Peter* to be genuine because of some *Difference in the Style* of it, from the former Epistle.” He mentions the above-cited passages in Origen and Eusebius, while noting that they were recording individual opinions and that it “appears not that this Doubt had infected *whole Churches*, or that there were *any Churches* that rejected the Epistle” (*BA* 10:360). More recent critics, including Grotius and the French Catholic philologist and theologian Petrus Daniel Huetius (Pierre Daniel Huet, 1630–1721) in his *Demonstratio Evangelica*

<sup>120</sup> Hammond, *A Paraphrase* (4:401) and Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:156–58 and 182).

<sup>121</sup> Mather draws this passage from John Lightfoot, *The Harmony, Chronicle, and Order of the New Testament* (1655) in *Works* (1:335).

<sup>122</sup> Contained in Sherlock’s *The Use and Intent of Prophecy in the several Ages of the World* (1725), pp. 199–230.

(1679), had reexamined the case and concluded that Jude and 2 Peter were pseudoepigraphic writings. The vision of a fiery conflagration in 2 Pet. 3 was clearly alluding to the destruction of Jerusalem in the year 70. In Grotius's view, this event must have happened already when the letter was written, because no early Jewish Christian would have believed that the latter days were upon them before the prophesied destruction of Jerusalem had taken place. Assuming that Simon Petrus had died under Nero in about 67, this ruled out his authorship. Grotius therefore speculated that Simeon, second Bishop of Jerusalem, who was martyred in 107, was likely the author.<sup>123</sup> Jude, on the other hand, Grotius ascribed to the fifteenth Bishop of Jerusalem by that same name, who held that office during the time of Hadrian.<sup>124</sup>

However, this was far from consensual, even among the more critical critics. Hammond, for one, thought that Grotius's suggestions for the authorship and late dating of 2 Peter and Jude were unfounded speculations.<sup>125</sup> With regard to 2 Peter and Jude, Hammond opined, the fact that they "were not so universally known and undoubtedly received at first as other parts of the New Testament," should not be overestimated. For soon after, they were "universally known, and translated, and received into the ancient canon, and the apostolicness of the writing never so questioned by any as to assign it to any author, or to doubt of the truth of any thing contained in it." Both epistles were written in response to the same situation and around the same time, "foregoing the destruction of Jerusalem, and the ruin of the Jews, and Judaizing Christians, and Gnostics," about whose false teachers the two books so vehemently warned the faithful.<sup>126</sup> Whitby and also Sherlock went in a similar direction.<sup>127</sup>

Sherlock argued, in Mather's summary, that both 2 Peter and Jude "were *Circular Letters* ... sent upon the Occasion of the Troubles & the Dangers from the *False Teachers*," and predicted the imminent ruin of these impostures, as well as the Jews refusing to embrace Christ and the gospel. Given the fact, that both had been "drawn on the same Occasion, there is no Wonder in their Harmony." The stylistic differences to 1 Peter were really only remarkable in the second chapter of 2 Peter, which, at the same time, has the most common material with Jude in their description of the false teachers. The reason for this was that both authors paraphrased and cited language "from some Ancient *Jewish Writer*, who so described the False Prophets of his own, or perhaps earlier Times." So it was not the case that one plagiarized from the other, but "both copied from the same Original & they drew from it as they found themselves directed." This also

123 See Grotius in *Critici Sacri* (6:44573–74) and Huetius, *Demonstratio Evangelica* (1679), prop. 1, cap. 13, p. 21.

124 Grotius in *Critici Sacri* (6: 4689).

125 Hammond, *A Paraphrase* (4:426–27).

126 Hammond, *A Paraphrase* (4:478).

127 Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:183–84).

explained why “Their *Sentiments* are the same,” but “their *Expressions* very different” (BA 10:361).<sup>128</sup> The prophecies of Enoch mentioned in Jude 14, Sherlock and Mather speculated (wrongly, as it turned out), did not refer to the Book of Enoch known to some of the Church Fathers. This book they thought “was a Romance & full of Idle Inventions, written by some Hellenistical Jew.” While it could not be proven, it seemed more likely, that Peter and Jude “quoted some Ancient Book, which contained the Traditions of the *Jewish Church*, which has long since been lost; & probably contained many other things relating to the ancient Patriarchs & Prophets as well as *Enoch*.” The loss of this precious source was compensated in late antiquity “by forging Books under the Names of the Patriarchs,” such as “the *Life of Adam*, the *Book of Seth*, the *Testaments of the Patriarchs*,”<sup>129</sup> which spread both among misguided Jews and Christians (BA 10:362). At Jude 14, Mather further elaborated on this theory in an entry drawn from Heidegger, suggesting that this most ancient but now lost collection of prophecies, histories, and wisdom from the patriarchs was frequently cited across the Old and New Testament (BA 10:437).

With a view to 1–3 John, Mather came down squarely on the side of those who affirmed that all three epistles had been rightly ascribed to the Apostle John, who also authored the eponymous Gospel and the Book of Revelation. Mather does not give a precise year of composition, but in his New Testament chronology “The Three Epistles of *John*” are squeezed between 2 Timothy, the last of the Pauline epistles, which Mather dates to “A.D. 67” (the year he thought Paul was martyred at Rome), and Revelation, which he dated to “A.D. 96” (BA 1:268). And in an entry on 1 John 4:3, Mather actually draws on Grotius’s research to argue that this letter appears to have been written “a very little before the Destruction of *Jerusalem*,” for it reflected the experience of intensified persecution and the Jewish insurrections against the Romans. Mather agreed with Grotius that the original target audience for 1 John were Jewish Christians living in diverse provinces of the Parthian empire, across the Euphrates and outside the boundaries of the Roman Empire. They were collectively referred to as *Parthos*. And the reason why “this Epistle ha’s not the Name of the Apostle unto it, nor any Apostolical Salutations or Valedictions” was that it had to be secretly smuggled to these diasporic communities across the Roman border by “*Ephesian Merchants*.” The Apostle was especially concerned “that the Christians of those Parts might maintain *Peace* and *Love*, among themselves, and

128 Sherlock, *The Authority*, pp. 202–09.

129 From Sherlock, *The Authority*, p. 216, Mather refers to several early Jewish pseudepigraphic writings, passed down in several ancient languages (e.g. Greek, Latin, Ethiopic), which never became canonical in Judaism or Christianity but had an enormous impact on later religious literature, including the Quran. Mather mentions *The Life of Adam and Eve* (c. 20 BCE–70 CE), the *Apocryphal Book in the Name of Seth* (which is known only from a longer quotation in *Opus imperfectum in Matthaeum*, a spurious Latin commentary on Matthew), and the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs* (probably late 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. CE).

not suffer themselves to be involved in the *Factions*, which the *Jewes* of that Age were fallen into,” that is the insurrectionists in Judea, who were following false messiahs in their hope of defeating the Romans. Hence, the fervent appeals “that they might hearken to None, who did not preach the Lord Jesus Christ as the *only Saviour*” and true God made manifest in the flesh (BA 10:404).<sup>130</sup>

Historically, the authorship of 2 and 3 John had been much more contested than that of the first epistle. Again, the texts were lacking direct references to the name of the Apostle. The brief superscriptions merely mentioned “the Elder” as the originator. Following some of the Fathers, Grotius had therefore called the apostolic authenticity of 2 and 3 John into question. He thought they were the epistles of another John, a bishop to the first Jewish Christian church at Ephesus.<sup>131</sup> None other than Hammond conceded, however, that Grotius’s reasons for doing so were less than compelling, and Whitby, with many other apologetic critics, outright defended a Johannine authorship. It was not to be wondered at, Whitby suggested to Mather, that John merely called himself “The Elder,” as “he is the only Apostle, that affected to conceal his Name; & who in his Gospel, scarce ever, speaks of himself without some Circumlocution.”<sup>132</sup> Against Grotius, who thought that “the elect lady and her children” to whom 2 John was addressed were specific persons at Ephesus, Whitby maintained that this was a metaphorical way of referring to the mother of all churches and her offspring, namely “the *Christian Church of Jerusalem*” (BA 10:423).<sup>133</sup> To Mather this was much more convincing. 3 John, by contrast, was likely addressed to the church at Corinth. “[W]ee may suppose,” Mather writes, “that *John* sent this Third Epistle, to *Gaius* at *Corinth*, by *Timothy*, from *Ephesus*, who was travelling thence to *Rome*, upon being by *Paul* sent for thither: In which Travel, hee was to call at *Corinth*, & carry *Mark* from thence along with him” (BA 10:425).<sup>134</sup> Thus the letter would have been written shortly before the martyrdom of Paul at Rome, for which Mather set the year 67 as the *terminus ad quem*.

As already stated, Mather unambiguously asserted the apostolic authenticity and canonicity of the Apocalypse of John. To this end, he aims to situate John in history very precisely, dating the exile on Patmos to eighteen months under Domitian and describing the conditions on the island in some detail. In an entry at Rev. 1:10, Mather, if somewhat hesitantly, also draws on James Ussher’s new edition of the disputed Epistles of St. Ignatius (who, along with Polycarp, was traditionally considered a disciple of the Apostle) to provide more biographical detail on John:

<sup>130</sup> See Grotius’s preface to his commentary in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (6:4608–09).

<sup>131</sup> See *Critici Sacri* (6:4671).

<sup>132</sup> See Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:234), and Hammond, *A Paraphrase* (2:473–75).

<sup>133</sup> From Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:234).

<sup>134</sup> Mather cites Pyle, *A Paraphrase* (2:395).

*Ignatius*, was *Johns* Contemporary, & His Disciple: *John* wrote his *Revelation*, in or near the A. C. 96. on *Patmos*, [after which, hee wrote his Gospel, upon his Return from his *Patmos*, to *Ephesus*:] and hee died in the Year 98 or 99, under *Trajan*. *Ignatius* dyed a Martyr under the very same Emperour; about the Year of our Lord, 107. (BA 10:452)<sup>135</sup>

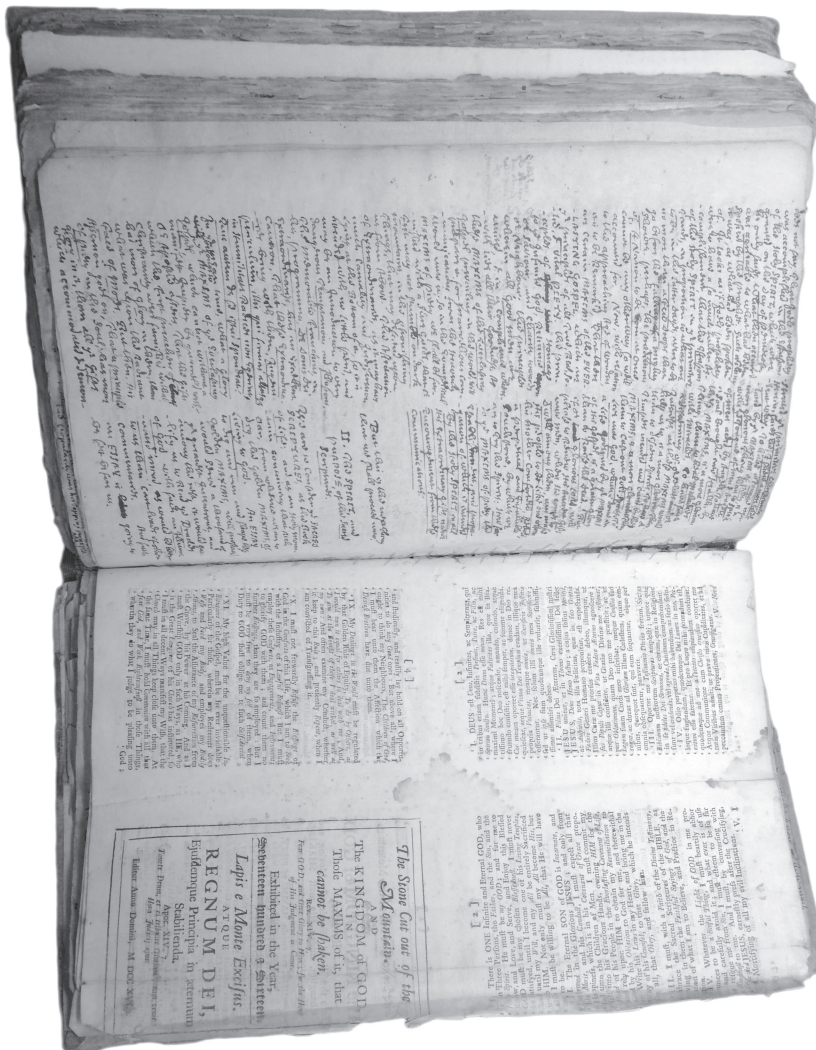
Mather also gives considerable weight to the original context and audience of Revelation. He does so in contradistinction to a line of Reformed and especially Puritan exegetes, who, as they reclaimed a futurist interpretation of John's vision of the destruction of Antichrist and Christ's thousand-year reign, tended to treat the entire book as disconnected from its own time and place and only concerned with what will befall the church in later ages.

On the other end of the spectrum stood those critics who, like Grotius and Hammond, argued that the whole of Revelation should be read in preterist terms. Rightly understood, all of John's prophecies had been fulfilled in the first 300 years of Christian history. Obviously, such an approach threatened the very foundation of Mather's eschatology, and, as will be discussed below, he went to great lengths to demonstrate that the visions of Revelation spanned the whole of church history down to the very consummation of all things.

Nevertheless, Mather sought to strike what appeared to him a responsible balance. On the one hand, he insisted on a futurist interpretation of those parts that, to his mind, clearly referred to events far beyond John's local and temporal horizon. On the other hand, he took a historical-contextualist approach to those parts of Revelation that, by light of reason, seemed to require such a reading to make good sense. And so, somewhat surprisingly, he came to censure those like "*Brightman*, and *Forbes*, and *Cocceius*," who failed to grasp the original authorial "Intention of the *Seven Epistles*, to the *Seven Churches* in the lesser *Asia*." Instead they had therein delineated "a *sevenfold*, and *successive* Estate of the Church, until the Second Coming of our Saviour."<sup>136</sup> Mather frowned on "the Flourishes of the Interpreters, who make the *Seven Epistles*, to be *Prophecies*," which appeared to him "so *Arbitrary*, and (if I may be allow'd so to speak) so *Injudicious*, that I cannot prevail with myself so much as to Recite them." Following Hermann Witsius, Mather, chose to strictly keep to "the meer *Historical Sense*," with regard to the seven epistles, and "to argue for the *literal* Accommodation of the *Epistles*,

<sup>135</sup> Mather draws on John Wallis, *A Defense of the Christian Sabbath* (1693), pt.1, pp. 48–49, who references Bishop James Ussher, "A Letter to Dr. Twiss, Concerning the Sabbath, and Observations of the Lord's Day," in a tract entitled "Of the Sabbath," in *The Whole Works of the Most Rev. James Ussher, D. D.*, vol. 12, p. 584.

<sup>136</sup> Mather refers to *A Revelation of the Revelation* (1611) by Thomas Brightman; *An Exquisite Commentarie upon the Revelation of Saint John* (1613) by Patrick Forbes; and *Cogitationes de Apocalypsis Johannis* (1665) by Johannes Cocceius. All three took a historico-prophetic approach to the seven churches mentioned in Rev. 2–3, interpreting them as prophetic symbols representing successive states or dispensations of church history.



Manuscript page [13r] of "An Appendix" with the uncut print sheets of *The Stone Cut out of the Mountain*



unto the particular Churches whereto they were directed.”<sup>137</sup> Doing so was not to deny, however, that in a general spiritual sense, “the Condition of the Church in every succeeding Age, may be considered in that of the *Seven Churches*,” as for instance in the condemnation of idolatry in the threat of judgment against Pergamos or the admonition against a lukewarm faith in the epistle to Laodica (BA 10:462–63).

This, as Mather notes, was also his interpretative guideline with regard to “the other *Epistles* of the New Testament.” On the one hand, one ought to attend to the “*Historical Sense*,” as determined by the authorial intention, original context, and audience. On the other hand, this must “by no means exclude the Interests which the Faithful & the Churches of all Ages have therein.” Because they were inspired by the Holy Spirit and thus ultimately of divine authorship, all the canonical writings of the Bible contained deeper meaning than their human amanuenses knew and one that was universally relevant. And many of the prophetic writings of the Old and New Testament, including John’s visions of “the *Seven Seals*, and the *Seven Trumpets*, and the *Seven Vials*,” looked far beyond their own times and places when interpreted according to their literal and historical sense (BA 10:463). To accommodate these as precisely as possible to specific historical events or persons was one of the main goals of Mather’s annotations on Revelation but also on other prophetic books such as 2 Peter. The challenge, of course, was how to distinguish between those parts that only appeared to be predictive and those that were actual prophecies, as well as between those prophecies that had already been fully accomplished in the distant past and those that remained to be fulfilled.

### 2.3. Mather and the Debates over Primitive Christianity and the Doctrine of the Trinity

The preceding sections have already shown how in Mather’s world “true religion” was defined by two intersecting paradigms: an all-embracing biblicism and an intense primitivist orientation.<sup>138</sup> As such, true religion was both the retrospective ideal of a pristine, apostolic Christianity and the forward-looking project of perfecting Protestantism, understood as the ongoing purification of the original faith from subsequent Antichristian corruptions. To “Reform the Reformation” – as Mather puts it in explicating the vision of the temple in Rev. 11 (BA 10:564) – was an eschatological goal to be completed only in

<sup>137</sup> Mather draws on Witsius, *Miscellaneorum sacrorum libri IV*, lib. 3, cap. 3, “Argumenta pro sensu Historico,” pp. 670–71.

<sup>138</sup> On the specifically Puritan tradition of radical Christian “primitivism” see Theodor Dwight Bozeman, *To Live Ancient Lives: The Primitivist Dimension in Puritanism* (1988).

the millennium, which would lead the Church right back to where it began. However, primitive Christianity was easier to cast as an abstract ideal than to define in concrete terms. While the Scriptures themselves continued to be the primary battle ground in the endless struggles of Protestant exegetes over these terms, by the late seventeenth century a certain shift had occurred. It had to do with the multiplying issues surrounding the biblical texts, their translations and interpretation (some of which were discussed above), but also with the fact that the Scriptures appeared to have no sufficiently clear answers on many of the theological and ecclesial questions that presented themselves.

The more it became clear that not everything could be simply settled by the authority of the Bible alone, that the Scriptures were not self-interpreting, the more attention was also being focused on the extra-biblical witnesses of the early Church. At least from the perspective of Protestant exegetes, this did not constitute a quasi-Catholic turn to the authority of tradition, but a means to get to the pure Christianity of Christ's first disciples through early patristic (and also Jewish) sources, which would shed the necessary light on what otherwise remained obscure. Inevitably, the often sparse early patristic evidence turned out to be ambiguous in many cases, too, and open to dramatically divergent interpretations. Just in Britain, not to speak of the larger European scene, patristics became a highly contested field of scholarship, where Protestants challenged entrenched Catholic views of early church history, High Church Anglican scholars argued with Dissenters over the sacraments and ecclesial organization among the first Christians, and Athanasian Trinitarians battled Socinians and Arians. Also, the champions of Christian primitivism faced the additional difficulty of determining when exactly the Church had started to lose its way. At what point did the rise of Antichrist begin and impurities creep into the true religion of the first martyrs? And who after that could be considered a faithful representative of the true religion (and thus an interpretative guide to the Bible) through the dark centuries of Antichrist's reign until the first light of the Reformation had broken?

Mather's annotations and essays in this volume are intensely concerned with interpreting primitive Christianity and the history of the early church, just as they reveal the mounting quarrels over patristic evidence. As he attends to various doctrinal and practical matters, and weighs in on what the Scriptures reveal about these, according to the interpretation of the Apostles and early Fathers, Mather constructs a specific version of the Christian religion at its point of origin. Among many other things, he examines some basic issues of soteriology (specifically the relation between faith and works), Christology, and, in particular, the Trinity, but also pneumatology. He comments on the polity of the early churches and their relation to the Roman empire as well as the eminently activist and missionary orientation of the first Christians. Last but not least, he goes to great length to demonstrate that the eschatology of primitive

Christianity was of the same kind of literalist-premillennialist type he lays out in his extensive notes on Revelation.

Moreover, Mather translates his version of the original Christian religion into what he liked to call "MAXIMS of PIETY," a list of the fundamentals of faith. He hoped to use these Maxims to further the "Reform of the Reformation" and unite all earnest Protestants in preparation for the imminent Second Coming. Mather worked on his "MAXIMS of PIETY" for a long time, and over the years published several iterations of various lengths.<sup>139</sup> Among the essays at the end of the "Biblia Americana"-manuscript, he appended a version (in the form of uncut print sheets) published in 1716 under the title *The Stone cut out of the Mountain*. It contained in fourteen points, presented in Latin and English, what Mather considered the *evangelium aeternum*, the everlasting gospel distilled from the Scriptures, as understood by its most faithful witnesses. To Mather, "The People, who have these *Evangelical*, and *Everlasting Maxims* written on their Hearts" constituted the true invisible and universal Church of Christ across times, nations, and confessional divides, "howbeit in Lesser Points they may differ from one another." Through his maxims, Mather believed, a "Pure, Genuine, and Primitive Christianity makes that Invitation of Christ unto the nations" to lay aside their minor differences and join the approaching bride groom.<sup>140</sup> I will cross-reference the following survey of Mather's interpretation of primitive Christianity with *The Stone Cut Out of the Mountain* to make visible the practical, ecumenical, and missionary dimension of this project. Mather's maxims were not abstract dogmatic formula. According to Mather, it was not sufficient to rationally assent to the maxims. They had to become personal, practical, and experiential truths. Such an experiential appropriation of these truths was only possible through the new birth in Jesus Christ.

At the turn of the eighteenth century, Arminianism was on the advance everywhere in the world of Reformed Protestantism, but especially in the Netherlands and Britain. Here the older traditions of Dutch Remonstrantism

<sup>139</sup> Mather first worked out his "MAXIMS of PIETY" in his *Things to be more thought upon* (1713). Subsequently, he revised them then in *The Stone cut out of the Mountain* (1716), and then in *Malachi* (1717). The maxims were supposed to serve as the basis for ecumenical cooperation or even union among the Protestant churches of Europe and North America. In *Malachi* Mather proposes "[t]hat there should be formed SOCIETIES of Good Men, who can own some such Instrument of PIETY, and make it their most inviolate Law, to bear with Differences in one another upon the Lower and Lesser points of Religion, and still at their Meetings have their Prayers for the growth of the People, who being Established on the Grand MAXIMS of Christianity are to become a Great Mountain and fill the whole Earth, accompanied with Projections of the most unexceptionable Methods to accomplish it" (92–3). Mather's *Three Letters from New-England* (1721), p. 9, and his *Manuductio ad ministerium* (1726), p. 119, also contain reflections on church union on the basis of these maxims of a vital, christocentric piety. On this, see Middlekauff, *The Mathers*, pp. 305–19.

<sup>140</sup> Mather, *The Stone*, pp. 11 and 8; *BA* (10:866–72).

and the English anti-Calvinism of the Civil War-era mingled with a new type of rationalistic Arminianism reflecting the rise of Enlightenment philosophies and their strong emphasis on human reason and agency. Many of Mather's most frequent interlocutors for the "Biblia" leaned in this direction, including the Church of England theologians Simon Patrick and Daniel Whitby, but also John Locke. They embraced different varieties of a synergistic soteriology, in which humans were called upon to actively respond to God's grace in order to find redemption. Such was offered by a benevolent God through a Christian faith that emphasized moral action as well as the accessibility of the gospel's saving message to any reasonable and well-intended person. This emphasis on God's desire to save all His children and on human choice clashed with the understanding of divine sovereignty and the doctrine of predestination, as propagated by the defenders of Reformed Orthodoxy within the Church of England but especially among the Dissenting churches. Generally speaking, Mather clearly positioned himself on the side of Reformed Orthodoxy, and he greatly admired "High Calvinist" apologists such as John Edwards.<sup>141</sup> In contrast to most of his Puritan forebears, however, Mather did not regard Arminianism per se as a damnable heresy but rather as a divergent position within the spectrum of genuine Protestantism that should be debated but not excluded. An earnest Arminian had a place at Mather's ecumenical table, as much as a Baptist or Lutheran Pietist.<sup>142</sup>

Nevertheless, Mather was convinced that the apostolic teachings on grace and works, as laid down in the New Testament letters, were most faithfully captured by the Augustinian tradition and the Reformed creeds.<sup>143</sup> When referencing Arminian commentators on the letters of the NT, he always does so in a way that edits out their explicitly theological interpretations. Throughout he emphasizes divine sovereignty and the salvific work of Christ. In his commentary on Hebrews, for instance, Mather dwells at length on Christ's high priestly office and the purification of sin through His sacrifice. With particular regard to the Catholic letters, Mather was very concerned about reconciling possible tensions or even contradictions with the Pauline corpus, thus refuting any notion that the New Testament comprised a diversity of theological perspectives.

141 On Edwards and the "High Calvinism" of this period, see ch. 6 of Dewey D. Wallace, *Shapers of English Calvinism, 1660–1714: Variety, Persistence, and Transformation* (2011), and chs. 2 and 3 of Stephen Hampton, *Anti-Arminians: The Anglican Reformed Tradition from Charles II to George I* (2008).

142 See, for instance, the printed exchange of letters between Mather and the former Jesuit Francis de la Pillonniere, who had converted to an Arminian Protestantism. The exchange was printed in the London magazine *The Occasional Papers* 3.4 (1718). On Mather's pan-Protestantism, see Lovelace, *The Pietism of Cotton Mather*, pp. 251–81; Middlekauff, *The Mathers*, pp. 209–30, and Stievermann, "A 'Syncretism of Piety'" (2020).

143 For Mather's defense of a Reformed soteriology, see, for instance, *A Seasonable Testimony to the Glorious Doctrine* (1702) and *Free Grace* (1706).

We already saw how Mather argued against Luther's relegation of the Epistle of James to a second-class status in the canon. In that lengthy entry on Jam. 2:17–26, Mather goes on to elaborate that the doctrines of Paul and James form an organic unit that together represents the apostolic faith in salvation through Christ alone.<sup>144</sup> “The Doctrine of *Paul* is,” he explains,

That a *Justifying Faith*, is a Receiving of, and a Relying on, the *Gift of Righteousness* from God, by the Lord Jesus Christ; or, the Consent of a Distressed Soul, to bee Justified by Gods graciously Imputing unto him, the Obedience, which the Lord Jesus Christ as our *Surety*, yielded unto God, on the behalf of His Elect. This *Faith*, does Justify a Sinner, not as it is a *Work*, but only Relatively & Instrumentally; inasmuch as it is, the Instrument, by which a Man apprehends the Righteousness of the Lord Jesus Christ; as freely tendred unto the Sinner in the Gospel; Tis only in this Regard, that Faith, and no Grace but This Faith, ha's the Honour to Justify us. (BA 10:314).

Note the carefully phrased language here about Christ's vicarious atonement “on the behalf of His Elect,” and the clarification that salvation through faith is not something that can be earned or worked toward but is “freely tendred unto the Sinner in the Gospel.” If James does nevertheless assert, “That a Man is Justified by *Works*, and not *by Faith only*,” Mather continues, this ought to be understood in the sense that a vital faith needs to become evident in how Christians live: “The *Works* of a sanctified Man, which I am doing every Day are the *Proofs* of my Faith. This is the Doctrine of *James*.” The two Apostles were teaching the very same gospel but from two different angles. While Paul in Romans and Galatians is primarily concerned with the sin of self- and work-righteousness, and emphasizes the need to rely on divine grace, James here chastises the sin of a professed faith that bears no fruits. “The Quæstion discoursed by *James*,” Mather concludes, “is whether a Man pretending to *Faith* in the *Righteousness* of the Lord Jesus Christ, shall bee saved, tho' hee continues without the Works of an *Holy Life* agreeable thereunto? The Answer is No, Hee has no Faith at all” (BA 10:315).<sup>145</sup>

As this example shows, the “Biblia” presented the soteriology of the apostolic letters and primitive Christianity as one that emphasized free grace, divine sovereignty, and election, as much as it did the need for activism. Faith without good works, as Mather (with the help of the Arminian Hugo Grotius) improves the KJV translation of Jam. 2:26, was like “*the Body without Breathing* [χωρίς πνεύματος]: dead (BA 10:314).<sup>146</sup> The first eight maxims of *The Stone Cut out*

<sup>144</sup> On this, see also Stephen J. Stein, “Cotton Mather and Jonathan Edwards on the Epistle of James: A Comparative Study” (2010).

<sup>145</sup> The entry on Jam. 2:17–26 forms the nucleus of Mather's theological tract *Faith at work. A brief and plain essay, upon certain articles of the Gospel, most necessary to be understood by every Christian: to wit, the nature, the order, and the necessity of the good works, by which the faith of a Christian is to be evidenced* (1697).

<sup>146</sup> The phrase *χωρίς πνεύματος* [choris pneumatos] signifies “without breathing/spirit.” See Grotius in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (6:4454).

of the Mountain strike a similar balance. On the one hand, Christians ought to believe with all their heart that there was no other way “to obtain my *Reconciliation* to God” but by faith in “the Glorious JESUS; and only from his *Merit*, and his *Conduct*, I must expect all that Happiness, which is in his *Covenant of Grace* proposed unto the Children of Men.” The notion that the church as an institution could somehow administer the merits of Christ or dispense divine grace to penitents in exchange for good works, was, in Mather’s ardently Protestant mind, one key symptom of the Antichristian corruption that overcame primitive Christianity when the Papacy usurped spiritual and temporal power. No, Mather insisted, a saving faith was received by the application of the Holy Spirit as an unmerited gift in the process of conversion, making the individual “a *New Creature* ... with a *Changed Biass* of the Soul,” that put the spiritual interests of God over everything in this world. On the other hand, those regenerate souls who were truly brought “in the Way of his *Counsel*” and had Christ’s laws written in their hearts, necessarily would “*Obey*, and follow him” in sanctifying their lives. This meant to abhor and avoid sin as much as possible, and an attending willingness to “walk in the Ways prescribed in his Word; and abandon all *Ungodliness and Worldly Lusts*, and live *Godlily* [sic!], and *Soberly*, and *Righetously* in the World.” Besides a desire to fulfill one’s duties toward God, this would give Christians “an heart full of *Benignity* unto Mankind;” and would make them “labour to be a *Blessing* in all Relations” to one’s neighbors according to Christ’s golden rule.<sup>147</sup>

The Calvinist-Arminian differences over Christianity’s original soteriology were minor, however, compared to the deep divisions that opened between leading Protestant exegetes, especially in Britain, over what the Apostles and first Christians had believed regarding the Trinity. Since the Reformation, England had repeatedly witnessed challenges to the Nicean understanding of the Trinity as enshrined in the Thirty-nine Articles (1571). Most of the individuals and religious networks that have been labelled (if not always quite accurately) by historians as English Antitrinitarians had strong connections to Continental theologians and churches. This was notably true for the English Unitarians of the first half of the seventeenth century. The most famous examples, Paul Best (1590–1657) and John Biddle (1615–1662), were very much influenced by the Socinianism of the Polish Brethren.<sup>148</sup> Numerous works of the Polish Brethren became available to educated British readers through the nine-volume *Bibliotheca Fratrum Polonorum quos Unitarios vocant* (1668), printed at Leiden. During the tumultuous Civil War era, some were also translated and printed in England, including (at John Milton’s initiative) the Racovian Catechism (1650)

<sup>147</sup> Mather, *The Stone*, pp. 2–4; BA (10:852–58).

<sup>148</sup> See McLachlan, *Socinianism in Seventeenth-Century England*, and Sarah Mortimer, *Reason and Religion in the English Revolution: The Challenge of Socinianism* (2010).

and the anonymous edition of *The Expiation of a Sinner in a Commentary upon the Epistle to the Hebrews* (1646) written by the Socinian theologians Jonas Schlichting and Johann Crell (see Section 1.1). This latter work, as we saw, makes an indirect but significant appearance in Mather's annotations on Hebrews. In many ways, as Snobelen has noted, the new Antitrinitarianism took the Reformers' biblicism and their desire to restore the apostolic faith to unintended conclusions. Driven by "a passionate belief that Christianity had become corrupt in late antiquity combined with a powerful rejection of Church tradition, authority and the ecumenical creeds," they employed the tools of Renaissance humanism "to retrieve from the original text of the bible," what they considered "the pure teaching of monotheism, namely, the oneness and unipersonality of God. This doctrine, they believed, had been taught to the Israelites by Moses and reaffirmed in the New Testament by the Apostles and the Son of God himself."<sup>149</sup> In England, this restorationist project was pushed by authors like the abovementioned Oxford scholar John Biddle in his *A confession of faith touching the Trinity* (1648).

After the Restoration, Antitrinitarianism had been suppressed along with other unwelcome forms of religious "extremism." However, it made a comeback with James II's Declaration of Indulgence in 1687, even though the Act of Toleration (1689) in the wake of the Glorious Revolution then explicitly denied legal recognition to non-trinitarian Christians. Formally, the Blasphemy Act of 1697, which threatened non-trinitarian believers with religious and civil disabilities, continued in law and settled the matter until the early nineteenth century.<sup>150</sup> But when the Licensing Order for the censorship of print publications was allowed to lapse in 1694, the production of Antitrinitarian works virtually exploded. Stephen Nye quickly brought a simmering debate to a boiling point with his Antitrinitarian *A brief history of the Unitarians, called also Socinians: in four letters, written to a friend* (1687) and *A letter of resolution concerning the doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation* (1691). These were answered by William Sherlock's *A vindication of the doctrine of the holy and ever blessed Trinity* (1690), and *The Doctrine of the Blessed Trinity, briefly explained in a letter to a friend* (1690) by the Presbyterian John Wallis (1616–1703), as well as the above-mentioned tracts of John Edwards, among others. More openly and aggressively than ever before, critics of Nicean Trinitarianism and defenders of Athanasian orthodoxy battled one another in dozens and dozens of books and tracts.<sup>151</sup> Besides the hard-edged forms of Unitarianism or "Socinianism," which flatly denied the pre-existence of Christ and only recognized His divine

<sup>149</sup> Snobelen: "To us there is but one God, the Father," p. 116.

<sup>150</sup> William Gibson, *The Church of England 1688–1832: Unity and Accord* (2001), p. 15.

<sup>151</sup> Just for the decade between 1689 and 1699, John Hunt identified nearly seventy different pamphlets on the subject. See John Hunt, *Religious Thought in England from the Reformation to the End of Last Century: A Contribution to the History of Theology* (1870–71), vol. 2, pp. 273–7.

sonship in adoptionist terms, if at all, various strains of subordinationism were articulated in these debates. To the confusion of later historians, both Unitarianism and subordinationism were frequently lumped together under the rubric “Arianism.” The differences between this label and that of Socinianism were not always clear.<sup>152</sup> However, “the trinitarian controversy of the 1690s was never simply a contest over the doctrine of the Church of England.” It was very much an ecclesio-political power struggle between warring church parties after the Glorious Revolution. “The theological imperative to vindicate Trinitarian orthodoxy was from the beginning embedded in what might be thought of as a disciplinary crisis,” as Brent Sirota has convincingly demonstrated, that is, “a series of constitutional and ecclesiological controversies over precisely which civil and religious institutions bore responsibility for undertaking such vindications.”<sup>153</sup> For the rest of the 1690s and well into first decade of the eighteenth century, theological discourse in Britain was in large part dominated by debates over “the history and authenticity of the doctrine of the Trinity.”<sup>154</sup>

Section One already mentioned that an influential circle of English “Arians” formed around Newton, even though the Lucasian professor of mathematics never revealed his personal opinions on the matter publicly. While several prominent members of this circle, including John Locke, Samuel Clarke, and Richard Bentley, became suspected of Arianism and ran afoul of the Church of England, it was William Whiston who caused the biggest scandal. Animated by a deep-reaching historical interest in early Christianity and a hyperliteralist, Newtonian approach to the Scriptures, Whiston came to a startling conclusion in 1708. The Athanasian definition of the Trinity, as enshrined in the Nicene Creed, constituted not only a misreading of the Bible that imposed alien concepts from Greek metaphysics and dogmatic niceties on the scriptural texts. To make things worse, the Athanasian party had also committed bald-faced fraud to shore up its ascendancy, which was subsequently accepted by other major Church Fathers like Jerome and Augustine. Against the warning of well-meaning friends, Whiston went public with his opinions through his *Sermons and Essays* (1709). This collection contained an “Advice for the Study of Divinity” and an essay titled “Reason and Philosophy No Enemies to Faith,” in which he first laid out the basic argument that he would keep refining, documenting, and defending over the next decades. For Whiston, in contrast to later theological sophistry, “the Scripture and most primitive Antiquity never speak of these

152 On the “Trinitarian Controversy” and eighteenth-century Arianism, see Maurice Wiles, *Archetypal Heresy: Arianism Through the Centuries* (2001) and Philip Dixon, “Nice and Hot Disputes”: *The Doctrine of the Trinity in the Seventeenth Century* (2003); and chs. 4 and 5 of Hampton, *Anti-Arminians*.

153 Brent S. Sirota, “The Trinitarian Crisis in Church and State: Religious Controversy and the Making of the Postrevolutionary Church of England, 1687–1702” (2013), p. 27.

154 Iliffe, “Friendly Criticism,” p. 137.



Three Divine Persons as *One God*; but by the *One God*, always mean *One God* in the highest sense, or *One God the Father*." The Son and Holy Spirit are referred to as "Divine Persons" only "in a lower Sense" in that "they entirely derive their Essence from, depend on, and are intimately united with the Father."<sup>155</sup>

According to Whiston, the primitive Christianity of the Apostles had clearly embraced a subordinationist Christology. For him, as for other Newtonians, "Jesus was neither coeternal or consubstantial with the Father. Nor did Jesus bring together in his person a union of divine and human nature." Rather, in Force's apt summary, "Jesus was the created logos incorporated in human flesh, so that he, not humanity, might suffer." Early Christians had rightly worshipped Jesus for "his perfect obedience to the divine plan," but had idolatrously elevated him to the status of full divinity, "as being of the same substance with God the Father."<sup>156</sup> Hence, what subsequently became the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity was not a part of the apostolic faith but added later. This, Whiston thought, was evident from the New Testament as well as the oldest documents of the nascent Church, especially the Apostolic Constitution, which he deemed an authentic source of the first century. Following the conflicts between the Arian and Athanasian parties of the fourth century, the latter, upon its triumph, perpetrated massive forgeries in many of the relevant documents, including the records of the Council of Nicea. Originally, the documents did not contain anathemas against "those who said Jesus was created, and hence of a like substance, but not the same substance, as God."<sup>157</sup> These condemnations of Arianism in the Nicene Creed were fraudulently interpolated by Athanasius and his ilk. The Athanasian understanding of the Trinity as three hypostases had little foundation in the Scriptures and rather reflected the influence of neo-Platonic philosophy and its substance metaphysics. Even biblical texts were manipulated by manuscript scribes, notably the Johannine comma of 1 John 5:7–8.

For Whiston, these impositions of the Athanasians were not only a corruption of primitive Christianity, but also responsible for many of the schisms that had plagued the churches, especially Protestant churches. These would finally be healed when Christians relied on a literal interpretation of the Scriptures alone (which should include the Apostolic Constitution) rather than the authority of creeds and "Modern Books of Controversy, written by such as are to vindicate the Doctrines and Practices of that particular Sect or Church."<sup>158</sup> The reaction by the church establishment was swift and hard. In 1710, Whiston was expelled from the university. Although deprived of office, Whiston continued his crusade for the restoration of primitive Christianity as a public lecturer and through a slew of publications. These included *Athanasius Convicted of Forgery* (1712)

<sup>155</sup> Whiston, "Reason and Philosophy No Enemies to Faith," in *Sermons and Essays*, p. 215.

<sup>156</sup> Force, *William Whiston*, p. 108.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 109.

<sup>158</sup> Whiston, "Advice for the Student of Divinity," in *Sermons and Essays*, p. 242.

and, most importantly the massive *Primitive Christianity Reviv'd in Four Parts* (4 vols., 1711–1712), which also contained his edition of the Apostolic Constitution. In his “Historical Preface” to the first tome, Whiston summed up his conviction, “That the one and only Supreme God of the Christians is no other than God the Father.”<sup>159</sup>

Mather knew that at least some of the Newtonians leaned toward Arianism. After all, he closely read and selectively mined both Samuel Clarke’s *A Paraphrase on the Four Evangelists* (1701–1702) and John Locke’s *Paraphrase and Notes on the Epistles of St Paul* (1707). Still, when Mather caught wind of the Whiston affair he was devastated. He shared Whiston’s passionate investment in biblical primitivism and a literalist premillennialism. For years, Mather had been a great admirer of Whiston’s scholarship, and the two men had even engaged in an epistolary correspondence, which is no longer extant. Extracts from Whiston’s works on the creation, Scripture chronology, and Revelation bookended the “Biblia”-manuscript as it stood around 1710. Then, in 1711, Mather noted in his Diary with exasperation: “My learned Friend *Whiston* (from whom I have this week received an Account of his Proceedings,) is likely to raise a prodigious Dust in the world, by reviving the *Arian* Opinions.” Mather even seems to have feared that he himself might be persuaded by Whiston’s views: “He revives them with more than ordinary Advantages,” he notes, “and I am likely to have my own Mind shock’d with more than ordinary Temptations on this Occasion.”<sup>160</sup> However, Mather’s commitment to Athanasian Trinitarianism survived intact. He distanced himself from Whiston (without rejecting his scholarship wholesale), and even crossed out many of the admiring or affectionate references to Whiston in the final section of the “Biblia”-manuscript on Revelation, which he had titled “Coronis.”

Over the course of the 1710s, however, Mather had to take notice of more and more Arian publications by Whiston and other Newtonians, most prominently Samuel Clarke’s *Scripture-doctrine of the Trinity* (1712). He would have learned of the hubhub caused by Whiston’s and Clarke’s trials for heresy (1710–14) before the ecclesiastical Convocation and the Court of Delegates. And even though the Newtonian Arians were silenced one by one, Mather was apparently worried that the force of their arguments would sway other theologians and preachers in the Church of England and also the Dissenting churches. In 1713, Mather composed a comprehensive refutation of Whiston and Arianism more generally under the title “Goliathus Detruncatus,” but the manuscript was lost in London before it could be printed.<sup>161</sup> Nevertheless, Mather made his transatlantic intervention in the Arian controversy with the tract *Things to be*

<sup>159</sup> Whiston, “Historical Preface,” *Primitive Christianity Reviv'd* (1:65).

<sup>160</sup> Mather, *Diary* (2:106).

<sup>161</sup> Mather, *Diary* (2:230). See also Samuel Mather, *The Life of the very Reverend and Learned Cotton Mather* (1729), p. 73.

*more thought Upon: A Brief Treatise on the Injuries offered unto the Glorious and only Saviour of the World* (1713).

Then in 1716 conflicts broke out in the Exeter association of Dissenting ministers. Alarmed by the perceived rise of Arianism in their own ranks, a party of ministers attempted to enforce subscription to the doctrine of the Trinity. However, creedal subscription was considered by others as biblically unwarranted and smacked of the spiritual tyranny of High Church Anglicanism. By the fall of 1718 the debate had still not been resolved, and so the "orthodox" party referred the case to the authority of the London association of Dissenting ministers. In the spring of 1719, some 150 ministers met at Salters' Hall to resolve the conflict.<sup>162</sup> Instead, it escalated and deeply divided those in favor and those against subscription. When the latter carried a slim majority in the decisive vote, the party favoring subscription withdrew, leaving to the non-subscribers the role of advising the Exeter assembly against an obligatory declaration for the Trinity. Although this was in most cases questionable at best, the non-subscribers were widely suspected of harboring Arian sympathies or even being outright Antitrinitarians. Subsequently, Presbyterian, Congregational, and Baptist ministers who supported subscriptions had their names published on list of "orthodox" churchmen, and an ugly pamphlet war ensued. The so-called Salters' Hall controversy sent ripples across Britain and its colonies. It contributed, in the long run, to deepening divisions among the Dissenting churches, and probably helped to promote Arian views as many ministers turned to study the matters under discussion.

Cotton Mather kept abreast of these developments through his many contacts among English Dissenters, including his brother Samuel at Witney, Edmund Callamy, and Isaac Watts (1674–1748). Watts, who did not personally partake in the meetings and attempted to stay above the fray, told Mather in a letter dating from February 11, 1720, that in his estimation it was undoubtedly the case that some Exeter ministers had "entered into Dr Clarks scheme or approached near to it." However, among those who voted for non-subscription at the Salters' Hall debates, he believed only a small number to be actually "chargeable with this; perhaps there may be three or four of which they have suspicions." According to Watts, "The chief difference in short lyes here": those who subscribed "generally believe the athanasian scheme necessary to salvation," those who were against it, "do not think the Athanasian scheme so necessary, tho' I know not one that was present in that meeting who is enclined to arianism, & I'm perswaded almost all of them believe the athanasian d[octrine] to be true."<sup>163</sup> In contrast to Watts, who believed that both sides had made mistakes

<sup>162</sup> See Roger Thomas, "The Non-Subscription Controversy amongst Dissenters in 1719: The Salters' Hall Debate" (1953).

<sup>163</sup> Quoted from David L. Wykes, "Subscribers and Non-Subscribers at the Salters' Hall Debate" (*ODNB*). See Isaac Watts [to Cotton Mather], 11 Feb 1720, Mass. Hist. Soc., MS

in letting the conflict spin out of control, Mather unambiguously sided with the subscribers. From Boston he arranged for the London publication of *Some American Sentiments on the Great Controversy of the Time* (1720), followed by *Three Letters from New-England, relating to the Controversy of the Present Time* (1721).<sup>164</sup> In these, Mather made it clear that he was among those who, in Watt's words, considered the "athanasian scheme necessary to salvation."

Not surprisingly, Mather included a robustly Nicean definition of the Trinity among the very first of his fundamentals laid out in *The Stone Cut out of the Mountain*. "There is ONE Infinite and Eternal GOD," they begin, "who is in Three Persons, the *Father*, and the *Son*, and the *Holy Spirit*." And of the second person Mather explicitly says that "The Eternal SON of GOD is *Incarnate*, and *Ethroned* in the Glorious JESUS."<sup>165</sup> In Mather's mind, these precise affirmations of the co-eternal and consubstantial nature of the Son, as well as the full divinity and full humanity of Jesus Christ, were not to be counted among the adiaphora. For him, the Nicean formula were true to the Scripture doctrine taught by the Apostles and early Fathers. He attempted to provide certain evidence of this across the "Biblia." In many respects, Mather's Trinitarian vision of primitive Christianity resembles that presented in other works of contemporary English apologists, including George Bull's influential *Defensio fidei niceanae* (1685) or William Cave's *Primitive Christianity* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 1675). Mather's annotations throughout both the Old and the New Testament present a high view of the Trinity. At several places in the manuscript, lengthy entries or essays apologetically engage key questions surrounding this contested doctrine, while refuting Socinian and especially Arian views. Particularly substantial are, among others, the entries on Gen. 2:1, Deut. 6, Matt. 28:19, Rom. 9:5, John 1:14, 2 Cor. 13:14, and, in this volume, on Heb. 1 and 5, as well as 1 John 5:7–8. Presumably, what can be found in these entries has considerable overlap with the material contained in the lost "Goliathus Detruncatus"-manuscript.

Two examples shall be briefly considered here. The opening of Hebrews contains various exaltations of Jesus. Among other things, it is said in Heb. 1:3 that the Son, who now sits at the right hand of the "Majesty on high," was able to purge our sin, "being the brightness of his glory, and the express image of his person, ... upholding all things by the word of his power." And the next verses magnify Him as "so much better than the angels." Mather interprets these exaltations in strictly Nicean terms. With John Owen, he explains that the "special Matter ... intimated in that Passage, *Hee upholds all things, with the Word of His Power*," was the co-eternal and consubstantial "*Deity* of our Lord Jesus Christ." For Christ was here adored as the creator and sustainer of the

N-1013, *Benjamin Colman Papers*.

<sup>164</sup> On Mather's intervention, see Silverman, *The Life and Times*, pp. 328–32.

<sup>165</sup> Mather, *The Stone*, p. 2; BA (10:854).

World. And “to express the Deity,” Paul here deliberately used δύναμις as the Greek equivalent of the Hebrew “Word גבורה, Power,”<sup>166</sup> to assure his Jewish Christian audience, “that our Lord sustains the World, and prevents its Relapse into its primitive Abyss, by the Vertue of His Deity” (BA 10:231).<sup>167</sup>

To explicate why “the Messiah of God” is specifically called in Heb. 1:3 “*The Brightness of His Glory, and express Image of His Person*,” Mather draws on Herman Witsius and Daniel Whitby. Their expertise allows him to lay out in great detail how these phrases are typological references to Old Testament predictions of the messiah. For example, in Hag. 2.23 the messiah is called the “*The Signet of God*,” which corresponds with the title “express image of his person.” Both authors relate “the brightness of his glory” to the theophanies of the Old Testament, and “the *Brightness* of the Divine Majesty, that was with astonishment beheld by the Prophets, when God Appeared in an Humane Form unto them.” Like Mather they also understood the shekhinah as a manifestation of the pre-incarnate Christ. Mather then explores early patristic readings of this formulation, all inflected by Platonic emanation metaphysics. While “some of the Fathers think, as *Justin Martyr*,<sup>168</sup> that this is a Metaphor taken from the *Sun*,” others, such as Tatian, suggest “that it is taken from the *Fire*, or the *Light*; from whence *Fire* and *Light* is taken, without any Diminution of that which kindles it.”<sup>169</sup> In this tradition of the earliest Fathers, “the *Niceae Council*,” very appropriately “styled our Lord, *Light of Light*” (BA 10:233). Thus, guided by these early Fathers, Mather finds in this Scripture passage (and so many others) the position of the *homoousians*, according to which God the Son was of the same substance with God the Father. He also finds there biblical warrant for the pre-existence and co-equality of “The Son of God,” who “may be called, Απογαυσμα της δοξης<sup>170</sup> *An Emanation from the Glory of the Father*; as being before all things, *Prolatus à Patre, sive generatus*, as *Irenæus* expresses it.”<sup>171</sup> This implied no subordination: “Being alwayes in Him, but, *coming forth before all things, he* των υλικων ξυμπαντων ιδεα και ενεργεια. *The Idea and active Power of all material*

166 From גְּבוּרָה [gevurah] “strength, (God’s) mighty (deeds)”; δύναμις [dynamis] signifies “power, might.”

167 Cf. the annotation on this verse by John Owen, in *Exercitations on the Epistle to the Hebrews, Also Concerning the Messiah*, pp. 58–59.

168 From Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:48–49), a reference to the Greek philosopher, apologist and Christian martyr, Justin Martyr (Iustinus Martys, c. 100–165), *Dialogus cum Tryphone Iudaeo* [PG 6. 776. 53–54].

169 From Whitby a reference to the early Syrian Christian apologist Tatian the Assyrian (c. 120–c. 180/190), *Oratio adversus Graecos* [PG 6. 817. 47].

170 The phrase ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης [apaugasma tes doxes] means “the radiance of the glory” (Heb. 1:3); Mather misspells the word as ἀπαύγασμα.

171 “Emitted or generated by the Father.” From Whitby, a summary reference to Irenaeus of Lyon, *Contra Haereses*, lib. 2, cap. 28 [PG 7. 809. 34].

*Beings*; as tis express'd by *Athenagoras*.<sup>172</sup> Or, in the words of Tertullian, "*He was the Word brought forth by the Father, and by that Prolation generated; and therefore the Son of God.*"<sup>173</sup>

Leaning on the *Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England* (1699) by the Bishop of Salisbury Gilbert Burnet (1643–1715), Mather remarks on the way that Paul compares Christ to the ministering angels: He, "is not only præferred unto *Angles*, but also sett in Opposition to them, as one of *another Order of Beings*."<sup>174</sup> With the help of that same source, Mather then draws his conclusions on how the opening of Hebrews, with its specific adorations of Christ, clearly contradicted those who wished to diminish or deny His full divinity:

All those who acknowledge, that CHRIST is to be worshipped, must say, that it is due to him, either because He is truly GOD, or because He is a Person of such an high Dignity, that GOD has upon that Consideration appointed him to be so worshipped. Now the second Notion may fall under another Distinction; That either he was of a very sublime Order by Nature as some Angelical Being, that tho' he was created, yett had this high Priviledge bestow'd upon him; or, that he was a Prophet Illuminated & Authorized in so particular a Manner beyond all others, that out of a regard unto That, he was exalted unto the Honour of a Claim to be worshipped. One of these must be chosen by all, who do not belevee him to be truly GOD: And indeed one of these was the *Arian*, as the other is the *Socinian*, Hypotheses. For how much soever the *Arians* might exalt him in Words, yett if they beleveed him to be a Creature made in Time, so that once he was not; all that they said of him can amount unto no more, but that he was a Creature of a spiritual Nature; and this is plainly the Notion which the Scripture gives us of *Angels*. *Artemon*, *Samosatenus*, *Photinus*, and the *Socinians* in our Days, consider our Saviour as a great *Prophet* and *Lawgiver*, and unto this they resolve his Dignity. (*BA* 10:229–30).<sup>175</sup>

Unitarians, but also neo-Arian subordinationists like Whiston, regarded the worshipping of Christ as God as an idolatrous corruption, which detracted from the pristine monotheism of the early Christians. By contrast, Mather saw any diminution of Christ's divine dignity as a sinful failure to worship God as he commanded it by the express words of Scripture.

How Mather defended the authenticity of the *comma Johanneum* has been discussed already. But what theological import did he ascribe to 1 John 5:7–8 exactly? To him, the clause "plainly asserted ... *That from the Three Persons in our One GOD, we have an Heavenly Testimony to the Character & Religion of our*

172 From Whitby, Mather offers a valid translation of the phrase ὑλικῶν ζυμπάντων ἰδέα καὶ ἐνέργεια [hylikon xym panton idea kai energeia]. Reference is made to the work of Athenagoras of Athens (c. 133–190), *Legatio pro Christianis* [PG 6. 909. 68].

173 From Whitby, a reference to Tertullian, *Apologeticus*, cap. 21 [PL 1. 395–96; CSEL 69; CCL 1]; transl.: *LCL* 250, p. 106.

174 Burnet, *An Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England* ([1699] third ed., 1705), pp. 50–51 (on Article 2).

175 For explanations of these terms, see (*BA* 10:230).

*admirable Saviour.*" Among the different revelations, "which our Saviour ha's made unto us, of the *Trinity* in the Godhead, This is one Testimony, that He is the *Messiah* of God, & our *only Saviour.*" It connected various other New Testament passages where "each of the *Three Persons in GOD*, have together Testified from Heaven" to that effect, as for example when in Matt. 3:16–17 "by the Vow of God the *Spirit*" proclaimed Jesus God's beloved Son at His baptism (BA 10:413). Another such passage was the transfiguration of Jesus that to the Apostles evidenced His divinity and redeemership (Matt. 17:1–8; Mark 9:2–8; Luke 9:28–36).

As Mather makes clear at 1 John 5:7–8, the doctrine of the Trinity was not only scriptural to him but also necessary to salvation. This "Grand Article of our Faith" constituted the heart of Christian religion and its "*Method* of our *Salvation.*" "The very *Vitals* of *Christianity* ly in this Mystery. Our Salvation by the Blessed JESUS, is accomplished by *God in Three Persons.*" To the born-again soul at least, the experience of regeneration through faith in Christ inversely provided irrefutable "Proof, That our JESUS is the *Son* of GOD, and that *Christianity* is the *Truth* of God." No human author could have invented such an "exquisite" and "consummate" "*Contrivance* of our *Salvation* in this Way," Mather thought: "Our *Destination* to Salvation by God the *Father*; the *Impe-tration* of our Salvation by God the *Son*; The *Application* of our Salvation, by God the *Spirit.*" Surely, "This *Oeconomy* of our Salvation," was the work of the Triune God. For Mather, "the Summ of the Matter," was to be found in Eph. 2:18: "*Thro' Christ we have an Access by one Spirit unto the Father*" (BA 10:414).<sup>176</sup>

From this entry on 1 John 5:7–8, Mather referenced his essay-length "Illustrations, on Matth. 28.19," in which he explicitly meets the challenge of Whiston's Arian interpretation of primitive Christianity. Here he elaborates on the scriptural but also experimental proofs "to a truly religious Mind" that the Savior "was nothing less than the *Eternal Son of God*, Incarnate and Enthroned in our JESUS." This was the very foundation of the Christian religion from the beginning. Should it fail, "all falls to the Ground. But, as it ha's been hitherto Imprægnable, so it will still dash to Peeces all the *Vain Men*, who make their concerted and præsumptuous Attempts, for the Removing of it" (BA 7). The history of the Church, as prophetically predicted in Revelation, Mather thought, also provided strong evidence against the Arian views. Whiston and Mather agreed that the purity of the church began to be polluted as early as the fourth century, and that the 1,260-year reign of Antichrist began in the middle of the fifth century. For Mather, this creeping corruption initially only involved the Pope's arrogation of spiritual and temporal power, but was not of a doctrinal

<sup>176</sup> From Edmund Calamy, *Thirteen Sermons concerning the Doctrine of the Trinity: preached at the Merchant's-Lecture, at Salter's-Hall; together with a vindication of that celebrated text, 1 John v. 7 from being spurious* (1722), sermon 4, pp. 557–58.

nature. After all, the councils defended what were to Mather the correct scriptural views of the Trinity and Christ's nature.

To Whiston, by contrast, the Antichristian pollution of primitive Christianity was, from early on, also a doctrinal one. Against this opinion, Mather argues, that "If our *Saviour* be but a *Meer Creature*, the *whole Church* of God, for a Thousand Years together, ha's been left in an *Idolatry*," without any faithful standard-bearers of the true religion left. "For, the *Arian Haeresy*, [T'was doubtless *That!*] ... was in a very little while entirely swallowed up," in the fourth century and did not raise its head again until the Reformation. Assuming that the Arians were right, and they represented the apostolic faith, where then were the faithful witnesses "under the long Reign of *Antichrist*," that "*Distinguishing Remnant*, of Christians, who have kept the *Commandments of God*"? Did not every serious student of Revelation recognize these witnesses as an essential part of the prophecies? But all the forerunners of the Reformation widely recognized by Protestants, such as the Waldensians or the Bohemian Brothers, were Trinitarians and thus, according to Whiston, guilty of an idolatrous "Mistake of His Person, as would be no less than Infinite, and Infinitely provoking to Him." Pray, then, Mr. Whiston, Mather asked, "where ha's there been any *Body* of Christians, or the least *Remnant*, free from a most criminal *Idolatry*, assigning to a *Meer Creature*, all the Glories of the Omnipotent GOD, for this vast Period of Time, if the *Arians* be true *Christians*" (BA 7). Obviously to Mather, Whiston's version of primitive Christianity was not only in conflict with the Bible but also contradicted his own interpretation of the apocalyptic prophecies.

Mather's defense of high Trinitarianism in the "Biblia" also extends to the Holy Spirit. In an entry on 2 Cor. 13:14, for instance, he examines "the Judgment of primitive Christianity, concerning the Godhead of the Holy Spirit" (BA 9:404–07). For this purpose, Mather extracts material, without revealing his source, from the anonymously published *Primitive Christianity vindicated, in a second letter to the author of the History of Montanism, against the Arian misrepresentations of it, and Mr. Whiston's bold assertions in his late books* (1712). Authored by James Knight (1672–1735), vicar of St. Sepulchre, London, and senior fellow at St. John's College, Oxford, this work, as the title suggests, was written against the *History of Montanism* (1709) by the English Philadelphian Francis Lee (1661–1719) and Whiston's *Primitive Christianity Reviv'd*. Via Knight, Mather cites patristic evidence from Athenagoras and Tertullian, to demonstrate that all the early Fathers thought of the third person of the Trinity "to partake of the Divine Nature, as much as the *Son Himself*." For these torchbearers of the apostolic faith, the Spirit was "*Consubstantial*, or of the same Essence with God," and they had no doubt that "since it ha's personal Attributes given to it, in the Scripture, it must be a *Consubstantial Person*, that is *True God*." Just the "Authorities of these Two Writers, for the *Consubstantiality of the Holy Spirit*, would make one wonder at those," Mather caustically adds



with a nod to Whiston, “who have asserted, That No Christian ever heard of such Doctrine or Language, till a long while after the Council of *Nice*.” But he nevertheless goes on to add Irenaeus and Augustine to the cloud of later witnesses. Mather repeatedly gestures to the patristic view of the Spirit as the “Mother” of Christianity. Through the Spirit, individual Christians are born again, and it is the Spirit that constitutes and carries forward the church as the community of regenerate souls. “*Ubi enim Ecclesia*,” Mather quotes Irenaeus “*ibi est Spiritus Dei, et ubi Spiritus Dei, illi et Ecclesia*” (BA 9:407).<sup>177</sup>

In this context, it is worth pointing out that, during the later part of his career, Mather came to embrace the view that the supernatural gifts of the Spirit continued in the primitive church for more than two centuries after the composition of the last canonical Scriptures. By far the longest essay appended to the “Biblia,” “VATES. Or, some Remarks upon the SPIRIT of PROPHECY,” unfolds this understanding of early church history in great detail, along with reflections on the ministry of angels and on the different manners of prophetic inspiration and revelation. Significantly, this essay was based on the work of John Lacy, a controversial follower of the French Prophets in London, who wrote *The General Delusion of Christians, touching the Ways of God's revealing Himself, to, and by the Prophets* (1713). Although a lay theologian, and an “enthusiast” by almost anyone’s standard, Lacy musters impressive learning in his long work, especially in the burgeoning field of patristics. Again without disclosing his controversial source, Mather avails himself of parts of Lacy’s arguments about the early Church and the patristic evidence. Stringing together quotation after quotation from ante-Nicene Fathers, Mather thus presents an argument that the charismata and proper miracles continued well past the apostolic age. As he constructs this argument, it is important to him to point out “that in those times the *extraordinary Gifts of the Holy Spirit*, were bestowed not only upon such as were constituted *Pastors* of the Church, but upon a *great many of the common Christians too*.”<sup>178</sup> While they began to decline by the middle of the third century, the final cessation of extraordinary gifts, such as prophecy, healing, or speaking in tongues, did not occur before the fourth century. Then the Spirit finally withdrew his supernatural aids in response to the rising Antichristian apostasy in the main body of the church. In making these arguments, Lacy relied on Francis Lee’s above-mentioned *History of Montanism* but also the famous *Unparteyische*

177 “Where the Church is, there is the Spirit of God, and where the Spirit of God is, there is the Church.” Irenaeus, *Against Heresies*, 3.40; transl. ANF (1:535–36).

178 From Lacy, *The General Delusion*, pp. 147–148, a citation from the work of the Anglican churchman and Archbishop of Canterbury (1716–1737) William Wake (1657–1737), *The Genuine Epistles of the Apostolic Fathers, S. Barnabas, S. Ignatius, S. Clement, S. Polycarp, the Shepherd of Hermas, and the Martyrdoms of Ignatius and St. Polycarp* (1710), preliminary discourse, ch. 10, p. 112–15. Wake makes a reference to Justin Martyr, *Dialogus cum Tryphone*, sect. 88 [PG 6. 685–86; PTS 47].

*Kirchen- und Ketzer-Historie* (2 vols., 1699–1700). Drawing on this work by the radical German Pietist Gottfried Arnold (1666–1714), Mather identifies the “furious Prosecutions against *Montanus*” and his followers as major signs of this rising apostasy, for “their only *Hæresy* lay in their Pretensions to the *Gift of Prophecy*.” Significantly, Mather agreed “That many of the condemned *Montanists*, were excellent Children of GOD, and the best of Christians in the World, and such as really were *Inspired* from Above” (BA 10:844). In stark contrast to the versions of early church history construed by Anglican theologians and patristic scholars, but also by the majority of Dissenting church historians, Mather makes Montanism the last gasp of primitive Christianity.

Mather came to share with radical German Pietists and the French Prophets “an extreme version of Christian primitivism, the paradigm of which was Montanism.” This implied, as Laborie has written, a defense of “the gift of tongues and the reality of miracles, and offered a prominent place to charismatic women such as the prophetess Priscilla, Maximilla, and Quintilla.”<sup>179</sup> But Mather parted ways with Lacy and other radical Pietists in how they assessed the traditional canon and the possibility of new revelations. For Lacy, the closing of the canon was an effect of the Antichristian corruption of the Church, and he “accused Rome of usurping its authority by deliberately excluding post-apostolic writings from the canon as a pretext to subdue true Christians and persecute them as heretics.” Lacy pleaded for a much broader canon. “Written in the same prophetic vein as the Book of Revelation, the epistles of Clement and Barnabas, the visions of Hermas or the Montanist prophecies belonged in his view to the tenets of the early Church,” and ought to be included in the Bible. The same applied to genuine modern prophecies, among which Lacy counted his own.<sup>180</sup> Mather did not copy any of these arguments about Scripture from Lacy’s book into his essay. For he very much disagreed on this point. Although Mather, too, believed in the possibility of inspired revelations for modern Christians, he never thought these new revelations ought to be ascribed scripture-like status. At best, they could serve as experiential affirmations or fuller explications of the truths contained in the canonical Bible. In this fashion, Mather navigated a complex course between the orthodox proponents of cessationism (a position that he partly rejected) and the “enthusiasts,” who wished to open the canon, something that he strenuously rejected.

Proving that primitive Christianity held to the consubstantiality and personhood of the Holy Spirit and continued to receive the Spirit’s extraordinary gifts was, therefore, much more than an abstract historical and theological issue. Mather represented a type of awakened Protestantism that, like German Pietism or the nascent Methodist movement, placed a strong emphasis on the role of

<sup>179</sup> Laborie, *Enlightenment Enthusiasm*, p. 91.

<sup>180</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 92.

the third person of the Trinity. The Holy Spirit was seen not only as key in the process of individual conversion but also in the ecclesial reform and renewal to which they aspired. For someone like Mather, vital, daily communion with the Spirit constituted the hallmark of a true, experiential faith. And Mather's eschatological hopes for the revival of the church very much rested on the return of the supernatural gift provided by the Paraclete. While "the plentiful Rain with which the Lord once comforted His Heritage, has been Stopt by the Ingratitude of Mankind; and so, for three Years and an half (the M.CC. LX dayes of Anti-christ) it has not rained," as Mather succinctly put it in a diary entry from May 1717, this period was quickly drawing to an end now, and, as promised by Joel 2:28, "there will be a Sound of Abundance of Rain" in the latter days.<sup>181</sup> That such a latter-day rain was to be expected in "Fulfillment of that Prophecy which yet remains to be Fulfilled, *I will pour out my Spirit upon all Flesh*," Mather also asserted in *The Stone Cut out of the Mountain*. The divine purpose for which "these *Extraordinary* Gifts will be showered down upon the World," was to "revive the *weary Heritage* of God;" that is, to enable the millennial renewal and expansion of the Church.<sup>182</sup>

Another core topic that was being negotiated through the discourse of primitive Christianity in Mather's day was, of course, church polity and liturgy. Like all who partook in this discourse, Mather thought it of utmost importance, that "I must Worship GOD only in such Ways, as HE, who is the great *Lawgiver* of his *Church* has instituted," as he puts it in *The Stone Cut out of the Mountain*, "so I must in all decent Way manifest my Wish, that the *Church* may in all Things keep close to them." Yet he knew full well that High Church Anglicans or Lutherans had substantially different interpretations from the Dissenters about what Scripture and the record of the early Church dictated on these things. To strengthen the common Protestant interest and foster the renewal of Christianity, Mather thus advised, "to hold Communion with all that *fear God and Work Righteousness*" where common ground could be established, but, at the same time, to peaceably and in the spirit of charity "*dissent, and withdraw* in those Things which appear Evil to me."<sup>183</sup> Many of the most controversial matters, such as church offices and hierarchies or the sacraments, are discussed in other sections of the "Biblia"-manuscript (notably those dealing with the Pauline letters and Acts) and cannot be treated more fully here. Readers who wish to know more about Mather's normative pronouncements on these issues are referred to his *Ratio Disciplinae* (1726). In this work, Mather, in great detail, sought to demonstrate that the Congregational churches kept closest to biblical warrant and apostolic precedent. It should at least be noted here, however, how

181 *Diary* (2:453).

182 *The Stone*, pp. 9–10; *BA* (10:868–71).

183 *Ibid.*, p. 4; *BA* (10:858).

Mather also anchored this view of Congregationalism in his interpretations of Revelation as prophetic church history.

A striking example can be found in one of the essays Mather offers on the prophecy of the two witnesses in Rev. 11, which was very important to his millennialist scheme for a number of reasons. The prophecy is introduced by a vision of “the temple of God, and the altar, and them that worship therein,” which John is asked to measure with a reed provided by the angel. Like the original in Jerusalem, the temple is divided into an inner court and a court without, “given unto the Gentiles,” who tread the holy city under foot for 42 months. John is commanded to disregard this outer court when taking measure. Following a long line of Protestant interpreters in the tradition of Joseph Mede, and specifically Thomas Goodwin, Mather reads the court of the Gentiles as the Popish church under the reign of Antichrist. Even the “*Reformed Churches*,” as they were established on the Continent and in Britain, “are indeed more *Outer Court*, than *Inner*” because “great Corruptions in the *Form* of the *Temple*, and Impurities in the *Worship*, and about the *Altar* of it, have been continued among them.” Now, however, “about an Age or so, before the *Seventh Trumpet*,” God has set “His *Builders* on Work to endeavour the *Erection* of a New Frame in His Churches, and Reform the Reformation.” By the reed, which is “the *Word* of God,” they “measure the *Temple* and *Altar* over anew, and leave out the *Outer Court* and the Corruptions of it, and contract the *Temple* into a Narrower Compass ... but more gloriously Refined, and more acceptable to the glorious God,” because they “admitt of nothing in the Matters of the Church that is not warranted in the *Word* of God” (BA 10:564–65).

In accordance with Goodwin’s and Mather’s Congregationalist understanding of independent, gathered churches, “the *Temple*” is interpreted as the community of all such “Congregations of publick Worshippers ... and their *Church-Fellowship*.” “Every *particular Church*,” Mather emphasizes, “bears the Name of the Whole, and is called, a *Temple*, because the Ordinances of *Church-Communion* are no where else to be administred; as there were no Sacrifices ordinarily to be offered, but at the *Temple* of *Jerusalem*.” Likewise, “all Ordinances of public Worship,” were to be determined and conducted by each of these churches. What bound them together was no episcopal or synodal hierarchy, but their adherence to “a true *Platform*, drawn from the *Word* of God; showing, what a True Church or *Temple* is, and how to be Built, and what is the Right Way for the Administration of all Ordinances in it; and laying forth, who are *True Saints*, and fitt to be received as Worshippers there.”<sup>184</sup> In contrast to the Catholic but also the Protestant state churches, only regenerate saints were admitted to be “a *Part* in the *Reformed Temple*,” while “*carnal Professors*”

184 From Goodwin, *An Exposition* (Works 3:128–30).

and those who were “*Formalist in Religion*,” were to be rejected “from *Church-Fellowship*” (BA 10:565).

However, “to Renounce all such Forms of Administration in Worship, *Liturgies*, &c. which are not found agreeable to the *Word of God*,” one had to be sure what exactly the Scriptures said on each contested issue. For additional help, Mather turned to the writings of the early Church Fathers, but also to Christian Hebraists scholarship about worship in Jewish synagogues after the destruction of the second temple by the Romans. To Mather, the relation between the truly Reformed churches and the ways in which pious Jews organized and administered their services in these synagogues was more than typological. In many respects, he understood a Protestant worship freed from all Antichristian accretions to constitute the restoration of pure Jewish worship after the end of the temple services and sacrifices, with the “*Holy Priesthood of the New Testament*” replacing that of the Old (BA 10:565). The ecclesial and liturgical dimension of Mather’s Hebraism comes out in the appended essay “*Synagoga. Or, The Original of SYNAGOGUES*,” which, by way of Humphrey Prideaux, discusses the development of synagogal worship from its first post-exilic roots to late antiquity. Suffice it to say here that Mather finds in early Jewish synagogues precedent for a congregational polity (including all the offices that also appear in the New Testament), and an anti-ceremonial liturgy centered on free prayer as well as the reading and exposition of Scripture.

Despite this very Hebraistic interpretation of primitive Christianity, Mather nevertheless defended the notion that already the earliest Christians, even the Apostles, had rejected the Saturday-Sabbath. In an entry on Rev. 1:10, he thus made a historical as well as (pseudo-)scientific argument, “That the Day called by *John*, *The Lords Day*, was, the, *First Day of the (Jewish) Week*” (BA 10:452). His source in this case was John Wallis, *A Defense of the Christian Sabbath* (1693), which supplied exegetical as well as mathematical arguments.

Perhaps surprisingly, Mather’s idealization of the early church under the cross and his belief in the continuity with diasporic Judaism is intimately connected with the stark repudiation of “spiritual tyranny.” This concern over spiritual tyranny is also very much connected with Mather’s apocalyptic vision of church history. Protestant and especially Puritan exegetes had, of course, long considered the mixing of spiritual and temporal power an abomination that characterized the Roman beast. Except for some Baptist voices, however, few had argued that this might also fundamentally challenge the confessional politics of Protestant state churches. In response to the changing conditions in post-1688 Britain, some students of the prophecies also dramatically extended the notion of spiritual tyranny to essentially include any kind of coercion in religious matters, either by the church itself, exercising worldly power, or by the state suppressing or persecuting minorities on behalf of an established church. Mather followed this trend and, starting in the late 1690s, began to advocate

far-reaching religious freedoms for all Protestant churches. His commentary on Revelation shows that this went hand in hand with an increasingly critical view of the Constantinian turn. As Mather came to see it, the Emperor's embrace of Christianity as a state religion thankfully brought the executions of martyrs to an end, but it also paved the way for the rise of Antichrist a century later. As soon as the Christian emperors made themselves head of the church, they encroached upon matters of the church and meddled with theology, beginning sinful "*Impositions on Conscience*" as Mather notes from Goodwin at Rev. 8:1, (BA 10:519).

On the vision of the seven trumpets in the ninth chapter of Revelation, Mather excerpts an elaborate essay from Drue Cressener, *The Judgments of God upon the Roman Church* (1689). Cressener assumed that the first four trumpets represented tribulations visited upon the pagan Roman Empire for its persecution of Christians, while the last three were the afflictions resulting in the eventual destruction of the Roman Church (whose "*Ecclesiastical Authority* became far more Absolute than ever the *Imperial*") and the vestiges of Popery in the Protestant state churches. Mather approvingly quotes Cressener: these afflictions were sent by God in punishment for the "*Tyranny of the Roman Church, and the horrible Idolatries, and Superstitions, and Impieties, which it soon fell into.*" Especially emphasizing the first sin, Mather writes that soon after "the *Imperial Throne* was come into the Church," there began "*A Tyranny over Conscience; The Forcing of Men against their Conscience, to submitt unto the Roman Authority, in Points of Faith and Worship, for the only Standard of Christian Truth.*" Strikingly, he forwards Cressener's argument and includes even the dealings of the Church Councils against the Arians in this development, which falsely "pretended unto *Inspiration*" and infallibility: "There was even in those Dayes, too assuming a Spirit in the Government of the Church: and a Spirit of *Persecution* towards Dissenters." Emperor and church thus built a veritable "spiritual *Dictatorship*," arrogating "*The Power of giving Law to the Consciences of Men in Disputable Matters.*" Sadly, as they left the state of primitive purity, Christians "were now playing over again, the Game of *Tyranny*, that had been plaid by the *Pagans*, when those *Martyrs* were sacrificed" (BA 10:547). This "Game of *Tyranny*" continued in various degrees and forms in the Protestant state churches. However, as the reforming of the Reformation was progressing and the millennium drawing nearer, freedom of conscience would become sacrosanct.

True Protestants, as Mather proclaims in *The Stone Cut out of the Mountain*, ought to be "for ever contrary to the unreasonable *Spirit of Persecution*" and conduct disputes in the "*Pure, and Peacable Spirit of Wisdom, gentle, easy to be intreated, full of mercy and good Fruits.*" Any method "but those of a friendly *Argument, and Perswasion, upon Conscientious Differences* in Religion," was to be avoided. Everyone "must be left free to follow the Dictates of his own

*Conscience*, and suffer no Molestation in any of his *Temporal Interests*, for holding any Opinions, whereby *Humane Society* is not evidently damnified, or endangered.”<sup>185</sup> Thus, Mather’s biblical primitivism developed in a direction that would have astonished his two grandfathers and architects of the New England Way, who would not have dreamed of treating their conflicts with Quakers and Baptists in such a way.

Finally, Mather spent a great deal of energy and ink on the eschatology of primitive Christianity, which, again, he propagated as the true hope for all believers. His notes on the last two chapters of Revelation in particular contain extensive reflections on the history of millennialism. They show Mather’s firm conviction that the Apostles and earliest Christians understood the Scriptures to promise an apocalyptic conflagration at the end of days that would conclude the destruction of Antichrist’s reign and purge the world of sin at the personal return of the Lord, accompanied by a literal resurrection of His saints. These events would usher in a thousand-year dominion of Christ over a New Heaven and New Earth. In an essay-length excursion at Rev. 20, mostly derived from his “Problema Theologicum” (1703)-manuscript, Mather fills dozens of pages reviewing the early patristic debates over millennialism to come to the conclusion that almost unanimously, “*Primitive and Orthodox* Christianitie, was of this Mind.” Only “since *Antichristianism* ha’s prevailed,” starting in the late fourth century, Mather contended, “the Doctrine of the *First Resurrection*, with the millennial Reign, ha’s been condemned for *Heresy*.” By espousing this opinion, Mather placed himself in the company of not a few contemporary millennialists, notably Newton and Whiston. Theirs and Mather’s two main witnesses for the “*Fathers and Martyrs* in the Primitive Times,” who allegedly received this doctrine “from the Apostles themselves,” were Justin Martyr and Irenaeus (BA 10:719). As Mather puts it, Justin in his apology, “tells *Trypho*, the Jew, that not only himself, but *ἐἰ τινες εἰσιν ὀρθογνώμονες κατὰ πάντα χριστιανοί*”<sup>186</sup> *Whatever Christians were thoroughly Orthodox, did Believe the Resurrection and the Thousand Years in Jerusalem, as the Prophet Isaiah & Ezekiel had foretold*,” and John elaborated in his visions. Likewise, Irenaeus in his *Against Heresies*, taught “such a *Resurrection*, as wee have been pleading for, & ... affirms, that the *Elders*, who knew that Apostle *John*, declared that they Received this Doctrine from him, and that *John* was thus taught by our Lord Himself” (BA 10:719).<sup>187</sup> Mather took it as confirmation of “the True *Chiliasm*,” that some of “the *First Opposers* of it” “were faign (as you’l find in *Eusebius*) to

<sup>185</sup> *The Stone*, p. 5; BA (10:860).

<sup>186</sup> The phrase *ἐἰ τινες εἰσιν ὀρθογνώμονες κατὰ πάντα Χριστιανοί* [ei tines eisin orthognomones kata panta Christianoi] means “and others, who are right-minded Christians on all points.” From Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho* 80.5.31–35 [PG 6:668]; transl.: ANF (1:638). Cf. Mather, “Problema Theologicum,” pp. 408–09.

<sup>187</sup> See Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses*, 5.33 [PG 7.2.1213]; transl.: ANF (1:1382).

Deny the Divine Authority, both of the *Apocalypse*, and of the *Second Epistle of Peter*; because the Writers of those Books, it seems, were *Chiliasts*.” To Mather these were nothing but “Desperate Shifts,” worthy of contempt: “Miserable the Cause that must be so shifted for!”<sup>188</sup> Following several other patristic references, Mather summarily cites Jerome on a futurist and literalist millennialism in the first three centuries of Christian theology. While this otherwise so admirable Father, sadly, “was one of the first who sett himself against it; nevertheless hee saies, *hee durst not condemn it, because many ecclesiastical Doctors & Martyrs have taught it*” (BA 10:735, 719).<sup>189</sup>

Then, in an extensive “Postscript” to his annotations on Rev. 21, Mather goes over much of the same ground again, this time relying on *De Zelo Sine scientiâ & charitate* (1669). John Amos Comenius had written this work in defense of a futurist millennialism, arguing against the Groningen theologian Samuel Maresius. In addition to Justin Martyr and Irenaeus, Mather here identifies further witnesses from the second and third centuries, namely “*Papias* (a Scholar of our Apostle *John*.) of *Meleto*,” “of *Tertullian*, of *Nepos Agyptius*, of *Victorinus Pictaviensis*, of *Sulpitius Severus*, of *Clemens Alexandrius*,” and, at greatest length, Lactantius. With Comenius, Mather even seeks to make the case that “the Three hundred & Eighteen Fathers, and an innumerable Multitude of enlightened Persons, whom *Constantine* called unto the First famous *Oecumenical Council of Nice*” embraced this original millenarianism. Such “was the *Heroic Hope* of the Three First Ages,” Mather concludes with Comenius. “But when Christian Emperours came to sitt on the Throne, and *Christianity* Degenerated apace into *Carnality*, and a worldly Interest, *Chiliasm* then became despised and condemned.” He specifically points to the council held by Pope Damasus in Rome in 382 as a first sign of this advancing corruption. There, the millenarianism of Apollinarius, Bishop of Laodicea was condemned alongside other heresies like Macedonianism. With the ascendancy of the papacy, “The Kingdome of CHRIST was to be Forgotten, because the Kingdome of ANTI-CHRIST was to come on” (BA 10:764–65).

While there had always been some proponents of the true chiliasm throughout the dark ages of church history, it was only after “the Reformation, this Truth began to Revive,” at least among some of the Reformers. Luther and much of the Lutheranism in accordance with the Augsburg Confession, had, of course, been blind to it, as had the Church of England. And even among the Reformed exegetes, too many were still taken in by either preterist or allegorical misreadings of the eschatological prophecies in the Augustinian tradition. But

<sup>188</sup> On the early patristic debate over the authorship and canonicity of the Book of Revelation, see the footnote on Mather’s entry on Rev. 1:1. On the *Second Epistle of Peter*, see, among other places, Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, 3.3 and 3.25 [PG 20. 215–20 and 267–70].

<sup>189</sup> See Jerome, *Commentariorum in Jeremiam prophetam libri sex*, 4.15 [PL 24. 802].



now, with the latter-days fast approaching, Mather was sure that more and more pious Protestants would come to see the light and re-embrace this vital aspect of primitive Christianity. Indeed, one of the major tasks that Mather set for himself with the "Biblia Americana"-project was to demonstrate from the Scriptures the "true Doctrine of the CHILIAD, which more opens & breaks in upon the more considerate Enquirers, as the Day approaches."<sup>190</sup> However, for strategic reasons, especially with a view to his Lutheran allies, Mather never included the doctrine of chiliasm in his core "MAXIMS of PIETY," including those listed in his apocalyptically-titled *The Stone Cut out of the Mountain*. Still, he profusely published on the subject throughout his career, and also offered a summary of his mature eschatological opinions (see below) in the very last essay added to the "Biblia"-manuscript titled: "Expectanda. Or, The State of Things in the KINGDOM of our SAVIOUR, to be look'd for." Moreover, Mather included the belief in a future messianic kingdom in the account of the origin and history of human religion, which he offered across several of the appended essays.

#### 2.4. Mather on the History of Religion and Religions

In the "Postscript" from Comenius, Mather proposed that millenarianism was much older than primitive Christianity, and that the "Birth of *Chiliasm*, was indeed in *Paradise*. It was born to us, in the *Protevangelium* given there." In this interpretation, Gen. 3:15 "foretold a perpetual War, between the *Serpent* and our *Saviour*. There is foretold the Final Issue of the War, in the Destruction of the *Serpent*, and a glorious Victory of our *Saviour*." Christ's war and victory would not be just spiritual, but would actually take place on this earth. According to Mather, this chiliasm of paradise was then passed on to the postdiluvian world through Noah and his descendants and found its purest expression in Judaism, especially the faith of the great prophets. Their books, Mather writes after Comenius, "are full of Passages & Prædictions, concerning the glorious Victory, Triumph, and Kingdome of the *Messiah*. The Prophecies of *Daniel* to this Purpose, are singularly admirable" (BA 10:760). At the same time, Mather argues, these "Prophecies, and the Traditions, found some Conveyance, from the *Israelitish* to the *Gentile* World." Like other early modern scholars, Mather thought the prime example of this was the Sibylline Oracles. From Comenius, he cites the Spanish Renaissance scholar Juan Luis Vives (1493–1540): "*Tanta res fuit Adventus Domini nostri, ut eum convenerit prænunciari Judeis et Gentibus: Ut priores expectarent, præsentés reciperent, posterí crederent.*"<sup>191</sup> Mather's extensive

<sup>190</sup> *A New Offer*, p. 14.

<sup>191</sup> "The advent of our Lord was a thing of such greatness that it was foretold by Jews and gentiles alike: just as the former expected it, the latter received [the notion of] it and those coming after them believed it." From Comenius, *De Zelo*, pp. 10–11, Mather cites the

citations of rabbinic literature in his commentary on Revelation (most from Grellotus's *Prodromus*) must also be understood in this context. Like many of the scholars he quoted, Mather saw Jewish apocalypticism and messianism standing in continuity with the true chiliasm inherited from Paradise that had been passed on through the great prophets – even though later versions of Judaism misunderstood this tradition as a result of their rejection of Jesus Christ as savior.

Mather's vision of primitive Christianity and a truly reformed Protestantism was thus embedded in a larger history of "religion" and "religions." On the one hand, this historical approach imagined an absolute point of origin for human religion, dating back to the very creation of the world. All the truly essential Christian beliefs and practices could be traced back to this origin. On the other hand, this approach allowed for comparisons with traditions, ancient and contemporary, beyond the Judeo-Christian pale, which were all interpreted as religions that had later developed from the same original religion. However, over time, they had lost their purity through various forms of corruption. Mather interspersed numerous entries across the "Biblia" explaining aspects of pagan religions from the Scriptures in this way. In the end, these entries all attempt to demonstrate that the "pagan" cultures of ancient Greece and Rome as much as those of the far East did not really constitute challenges or alternatives to the Bible and the Judeo-Christian tradition, but, upon closer examination, they could be all harmonized with sacred history and supported the truth of scriptural revelation. In a series of essays on edenic and Noahic religion, Zoroastrianism, as well as on the Sibylline Oracles, Mather lays out this theory of religion and religious history in a more systematic fashion.

What do these essays reveal about the larger development of the comparative study of religions in the Atlantic world? Guy Stroumsa and others have argued that the seventeenth century was "the crucial one in European intellectual history for the first emergence and early formulation of the modern study of religion." This seems a somewhat problematic overstatement. As the "Biblia"-essays and the sources they rely on illustrate, the "new paradigm of religion" was not really born in an "intellectual revolution," as Stroumsa claims. Mather and his main interlocutors show a great deal of continuity with earlier Renaissance scholarship. At the same time, some of the crucial features (such as interiority and a sharp distinction from secularity) that the modern concept of religion would subsequently acquire are still missing. It thus might be more appropriate to say that the new paradigm evolved over a very long time and continued to substantially change during the eighteenth and especially the nineteenth centuries. Yet, the "Biblia"-material supports Stroumsa's point that the basic "epistemological foundations of the new cognitive structures invented

---

commentary on Virgil's fourth Eclogue by Juan Luis Vives in *In publii Vergilii Maronis Bucolica, interpretatio, potissimum allegorica* ([1537] 1543), no pag.

for understanding religious phenomena," were indeed constituted between the sixteenth and the early eighteenth centuries.<sup>192</sup>

Moreover, the "Biblia"-essays correct prevailing assumptions that colonial North America was largely disconnected from this development. Puritan intellectuals are believed to have had little interest in the pioneering works of European scholars in the nascent field of comparative religion. While Jonathan Edwards is now acknowledged as having had some familiarity with the relevant literature of his day, James Turner's recent study specifically singles out Cotton Mather as someone who "showed no curiosity at all about the non-European religions that Deists touted."<sup>193</sup> Only during the post-revolutionary period, American thinkers associated with the radical Enlightenment and Unitarianism were able to see past the narrow Christocentrism of their ancestors. Or so the story goes. Specifically, Hannah Adams's *Dictionary of All Religions and Religious Denominations: Jewish, Heathen, Mahometan, Christian, Ancient, and Modern* (four editions appeared between 1791 and 1817) is credited as "the first American attempt to survey religions throughout the world. Moreover, Adams did recognize religion as worldwide phenomenon, and she tried to take all religions seriously."<sup>194</sup> The essays demonstrate that Mather, a full century before Adams, was in fact intensely interested in religions other than Judaism and Christianity, even though this interest flowed from a desire to historically corroborate the absolute truth claim of the latter.

Mather's genealogical and comparative approach was in many ways still beholden to older concepts of *prisca theologia* and Euhemerism, which had been developed by Renaissance humanists from patristic and rabbinic sources. In the seventeenth century, these concepts had been applied with stupendous learning to an unprecedented breadth of material in works such as John Selden's *De Diis Syris Syntagmata* (1617), Gerhard Vossius's *De theologia gentili* (1641), Samuel Bochart's *Geographia Sacra* (1646), Edmund Dickinson's *Delphi phoenicizantes* (1655), and *Physica Vetus & Vera: sive Tractatus De Naturali veritate hexameri Mosaici* (1702), or Edward Stillinfleet's, *Origines sacrae* (1662), all of which Mather put to frequent use. Across the "Biblia," illustrations abound, in which Mather, citing from these sources, suggests that the Greco-Roman gods, myths, and ritual practices were corrupted versions of biblical figures, stories, and ceremonies. He also took from these works accounts of the Mosaic

<sup>192</sup> Guy G. Stroumsa, *A New Science: The Discovery of Religion in the Age of Reason* (2010), viii and 5. See also the special edition of *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* 3 (2001) on the topic of the seventeenth-century origins of comparative religion, which was edited by Stroumsa and Jan Assmann.

<sup>193</sup> James Turner, *Religion Enters the Academy: The Origins of the Scholarly Study of Religion in America* (2011), p. 17.

<sup>194</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 28.

origins of pagan philosophies.<sup>195</sup> Thus, for instance, in his commentary on Job, Mather construes a genealogy of Platonism from Egyptian origins, leading all the way back to Noah's son Shem and to Job, whom Mather believed to have lived long before Moses (*BA* 4:183–84).<sup>196</sup> Generally speaking, Mather and his sources assumed that behind the multifarious traditions of pagan cultures stood the much older revelations of the Hebrew Bible, and behind that the one true religion originally given by God to humanity before the flood. So, the pagan philosophies, chronologies, and religions, in different measures, all contained a mixture of surviving truths, distortions, and false accretions.

The “Biblia” also reflects the advancement of new notions about a universal, aboriginal religion of mankind, of which the historical religions were different manifestations.<sup>197</sup> Pious Protestants such as Mather partook in this ideation of religion as a universal feature of human nature and history, which could be clearly demarcated from other spheres of life and whose essential properties could be identified across different periods and cultures. Yet to someone like Mather, Judaism and Christianity were not only the implicit norms for conceptualizing religion; they were perceived as jointly forming the only true religion from God. This stood in stark contrast to early Enlightenment thinkers like the English Deists, who pursued this universalization and naturalization of religion to challenge the authority of the church and, ultimately, the exclusivity of the Bible and Christianity. How reasonable and moral was it, the Deists asked, to assume that God had revealed Himself and the one path to salvation exclusively to, as James Turner put it, “a small tribe in a backward corner of West Asia and then spread it only to Christians, leaving the rest of humanity to roast in hell? Would not a just God have revealed saving truth to all peoples?”<sup>198</sup> Some Deists, like Matthew Tindal, thus historically relativized Christianity as just one religion among many others (although still regarded as superior in many ways). For them, Christianity was distinctive because it more or less perfectly embodied

<sup>195</sup> On this, see Harry Clark Maddux, “Euhemerism and Ancient Theology in Cotton Mather’s ‘Biblia Americana’” (2010).

<sup>196</sup> For Mather, the writings of Job (translated into Hebrew after the time of Moses) contained a pre-Mosaic religion still very close to that of Noah: “But now, in this Illustrious Book, Behold, The Divinity known and own’d by the Patriarchs, before the Days of *Moses!* Behold, *How much nearer it approach’d unto the Christian, than unto the Jewish Religion!* The Articles of the Faith embraced by the Ancient Church, here appear to be such, as cannot be read without astonishment” (*BA* 4:184). Mather here draws on Jurieu, *A Critical History*, vol. 1, bk. 1, ch. 2, pp. 14–19.

<sup>197</sup> On the ideation of religion during the Enlightenment, see Frank E. Manuel, *The Eighteenth Century Confronts the Gods* (1959); Daniel P. Walker, *The Ancient Theology: Studies in Christian Platonism from the Fifteenth Century to the Eighteenth Century* (1972); David A. Pailin, *Attitudes to Other Religions. Comparative Religion in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Britain* (1984); and Peter Harrison, “Religion” and the Religions in the English Enlightenment (1990).

<sup>198</sup> Turner, *Religion Enters the Academy*, p. 18.

a universal religion of reason grounded on the laws of nature. This perfection had emerged over the course of human history, not because of special revelation.

These debates form the background of Mather's two long essays on the development of human religion from paradise, through Noah, to Moses and the patriarchs. These topics, especially the religion of Noah, were widely discussed among Christian scholars of the period. What motivated these discussions was an attempt to explain the existence of religious diversity, and especially the many varieties of idolatry, within a framework of redemptive history. During the seventeenth century, there were two basic competing theories. The first, much more widespread, theory conceived of an original monotheism that subsequently degenerated into various types of idolatry. The Jewish and later Christian religion advanced their reforms in opposition to the corruption of this original monotheism. The second theory, most prominently articulated by John Spencer, posited an original idolatry in response to which Mosaic religion first arose. Much later, Christianity emerged from the Mosaic religion. While the first theory's underlying logic was that of restoration by return to a pure origin, the second theory's logic posited a progressive development.<sup>199</sup> Mather's notions of an edenic and Noahic religion clearly adhere to the first basic theory. Drawing on various sources, Mather makes the stories from Genesis about Paradise, the Flood, and the postdiluvian peopling of the world the backbone of an elaborate narrative of the history of human religion. According to this narrative, both the aboriginal pristine faith and the primary forms of idolatrous corruption developed from their origins by diffusion from East to West.

In "*Scripturæ Nucleus*, or, *The Marrow of the whole Bible; very much of it found in the FIRST PROMISE, which is in the Head of the Volumn,*" Mather employs Pierre Allix's *Reflexions upon the Books of the Holy Scripture to establish the Truth of the Christian Religion* (1688), to elaborate his understanding of the "Protevangeliū" coming out of paradise.<sup>200</sup> The essay begins by asserting that all the best modern works in natural history, but also comparative chronology, "conspire to confirm the *Mosaic History of the Creation*" as a truthful account of the world's first "Two Thousand three hundred & seventy Years." However, Genesis also contains the nucleus of an edenic religion handed down by God to Adam and Eve, which was then unfolded in the rest of Scripture. According to Allix and Mather, this "*Scripturæ Nucleus*" is twofold. First, from the very order of creation the protoplasts understood the Sabbath as a holy day, to be set aside to express their belief in God as the creator of all things, to worship and to thank him. Mather, therefore, agrees with Allix that "the Law of the *Sabbath*

199 On the concept of the "religion of Noah" in the context of the period's theology and scholarship, see Stroumsa, *A New Science*, pp. 77–100. On the fascination of Newton and the Newtonians with this concept, see Iliffe, *Priest of Nature*, pp. 189–92 and 209–12.

200 The first part of this essay is based on Allix, *Reflexions upon the Books of the Holy Scripture to establish the Truth of the Christian Religion*, 2 vols. (1688), vol. 1, pt. 1, ch. 7, pp. 34–44.

which has a Natural Relation to the *Creation*, was observed from the Beginning to the Time of *Moses*,” when it was received again as one of the commandments revealed on Mount Sinai (*BA* 10:908).

Sabbath worship from the beginning had an eschatological horizon. The “*Rest of the Sabbath*” was understood to point, however dimly, to the promised land, “The *Rest* in the Land of *Canaan*,” and beyond that a third and ultimate “*Rest which remains for the People of GOD* in the World to come, of which the Two former were but the Figures” (*BA* 10:909). Thus, the religion of paradise already comprised the promise of heaven, immortality, and the doctrine of the chiliad, which, to Mather, were inextricably intertwined. For Mather, this nexus explained why so many pagan religions reserved special days of devotion to the gods, often regarded seven as a sacred number, but also had different beliefs in a future paradise. These were the twisted and corrupted remnants of the edenic ur-religion spread by the wanderings of Noah (which, together with Japheth, eventually took him to Italy) and the dispersion of his descendants, who peopled the world after the flood (*BA* 1:678, 693). Noah and his sons had settled in various regions and soon came to be venerated under the names of various pagan gods, as idolatry began overwhelming almost all of mankind (with the exception of the chosen people of Israel). But even in those cultures, which did not receive the further revelations collected in the Bible, vestiges of the “FIRST PROMISE” remained.

The second aspect of edenic religion, explicitly mentioned in Gen. 3:15, was directly connected to this eschatological dimension of Sabbath worship: “the Faith and Hope of This, *That there should arise one of their Posterity, by whom the grand Enemy of Mankind should be destroy’d, and Mankind be delivered from the Miseries which our Fall from GOD ha’s brought upon us.*” Needless to say that on “this *Faith* of the Expected REDEEMER, our whole BIBLE turns, more than upon any one thing in the World. And this *Faith* more than any one thing in the World, gives us a Key to Numberless Passages in this *Book of the MESIAH*, which *great Things* may else appear *strange Things* unto us.” Following Allix, Mather was convinced that the “first Patriarchs made this promised REDEEMER doubtless the chief Object of their Meditation,” and that “they still handed this Matter down unto their Offspring.” From this hope for a messiah descended from the line of the first patriarchs sprang the concern of the ancient Jews about genealogy, which was so evident in many parts of the Hebrew Bible. And yet, Mather emphasizes, the “First Promise” to God’s peculiar people was expanded beyond that single nation as early as Moses’s prediction of “the *Vocation of the Gentiles*, which was by the following Prophets further explained and confirmed.” Moses foresaw that “after the Coming of the *Messiah*, God would take a contrary Method, and call all Men to Salvation by Him” (*BA* 10:915). Those among Noah’s descendants who did not receive the scriptural revelations and lapsed into false religions had never actually been outside

the bounds of salvation altogether. For they had always had the universal religion descended from paradise, salvific in its own right, even though they grossly distorted or forgot it. When they encountered the Christian gospel, they received a second chance, as it were, to re-embrace the first promise, now delivered and fully revealed by the messiah himself.

The further development of this ur-religion is treated in the essay "*Patriarcha*, or, The Religion of NOAH," which especially concerns itself with the "*Præcepts of Noah*," which, as Mather remarks, "were scarce known unto Christians, [but] are now every where talked of" (BA 10:901). Although the immediate source is Pierre Jurieu's *A Critical History of the Doctrines & Worship (both good and evil) of the Church from Adam to our Saviour Jesus Christ* (1705), much of the material ultimately comes from rabbinic writings, "which make a frequent Mention of them, have given us a New Light into the Religion of the Patriarchs before the Days of Moses" (BA 10:901). The basic assumption is that seven basic precepts for piety, devotion, and ethical conduct grew from the original, messianically-inflected monotheism that Noah received from his forebears and preserved for the postdiluvian world. Of these seven principles, Mather notes, "the first Six, the Jews tell us, were given to Adam, in Paradise." There is no room here to go into Mather's detailed explanations of these precepts "*De Cultu Extraneo*," "*De Benedictione Nominis*," "*De Effusione Sanguinis*," "*De revelatione Pudendorum*," "*De Raptu*," "*De Judicijs*," and "*De Membro Vivo*." In Mather's interpretation, they functionally replace the position of the universal precepts of reason in Deism, while also serving as the equivalent of natural law. Prefiguring the Ten Commandments, the religion of Noah constitutes the sum of "the whole Religion of Mankind from Adam to Abraham," which, as Mather approvingly notes, the Jewish rabbis had regarded as kind of "*Jus Naturale*, which all the Children of Noah are oblig'd unto." Although God entered a special covenant with "the Family of Jacob, the Observation of the Seven Precepts was enough to secure the Salvation of the other Nations, and their Fælicity in the World to come." From Allix, Mather also adds a historical aside on how many, if not most, of the early Jewish followers of Christ had not been natural-born Jews. Rather they belonged to "the Proselytes of the Gate," gentile converts to Judaism, who were not strictly observant, but "professed the same Religion with our Father Noah." As they "had Renounced Idolatry, & lived in Expectation of the Messiah," they were "more easily converted than the Pagans," and even "the Jews themselves; inasmuch as they were not fond of the Mosaic Ceremonies, not having ever submitted unto them." In embracing Christianity, they "scarce made any Change of Religion . . . They had little more to do, than to look on our JESUS, as the Messiah whom they had been looking for" (BA 10:901–6).

On the whole, Mather saw "the Religion of the Patriarchs" as a doctrinally minimalistic faith of great "Simplicity" and with "very few Ceremonies

loading of it.” Yet it was, for good reasons “at all times esteemed salutiferous” by the great rabbis, “[e]ven when the *Mosaic Law* was in the full Vigour of it.” Most importantly, in Mather’s estimation, “the *Christian Religion* has made No Addition unto it, but only the more Distinct Knowledge of the SAVIOUR, whose Coming they looked for. *Christianity* is but the *Religion of the Patriarchs* brought unto the Perfection of it” (BA 10:906). Thus, for Jurieu and Mather a pure and fully salvific religion existed long before Jesus and even before Moses brought the Ten Commandments from Mount Sinai. This original religion of the Patriarchs was born in the Middle East. However, the first forms of idolatry, or “Sabianism,” also arose there. This happened among the Chaldeans, who began to worship images and transformed the patriarchs into Gods. This view on the origin of idolatry proposed by Jurieu and Mather, like that of so many other Christian scholars of the period, was much beholden to Maimonides’s *Guide for the Perplexed* (c. 1190). In the respective chapters of that book, the great medieval rabbi had developed his own influential argument: that the ceremonies introduced by Moses were a strategic ploy to wean the Israelites off the idolatrous rites that they had absorbed during their stay in Egypt.<sup>201</sup>

Drawing on Maimonides, Mather presented a very ambiguous view of the “*Mosaic Ceremonies*.” On the one hand, they polluted the pristine religion of the patriarchs to a certain extent. On the other hand, these ceremonies and laws all served a higher purpose in God’s providential design. In an essay on Ex. 12, in which he engages with John Spencer’s *De Legibus Hebraeorum*,<sup>202</sup> Mather insists, in line with a very long tradition, that “the *Mosaic Caremonies* were Types, under which were both *Vail’d*, and yett also *Taught*, our *Evangelical Mysteries*,” so as to prepare Israel for the coming of the Savior. At the same time, Mather partly agreed with Maimonides “that many of the *Mosaic Ceremonies* were likewise appointed by the All-Wise God, in Opposition unto the *Idolatries* wherein Mankind was generally then entangled.” Thus, for Mather, “the Institutions of the *Mosaic Padagogy*” served as a divine ruse to counter the idolatry that had infected the entire East from the “*Ancient Chaldees*, having Apostasised from the true Knowledge and Worship of God, even before the *Dayes of Abraham*.” As an example for how “the *Idols of Egypt*, must become the *Sacrifices of Israel*,” Mather then discusses the Passover (BA 1:196–99). From Mather’s perspective, the tragedy was, of course, that Israel ultimately failed to learn the lessons of this “*Mosaic Padagogy*.”

Unlike Lutheranism, the Reformed tradition had always strongly emphasized the continuities between Judaism and Christianity, Old and New Testament. Mather takes this logic of Christian Hebraism even further. The

201 Maimonides, *Guide for the Perplexed*, 3. 29–32.

202 Compare Spencer, *De Legibus*, lib. 1, cap. 9–10, fols. 177–79. On Mather’s engagement with Spencer, see Smolinski, “Editor’s Introduction” (BA 2:52–89).



primitive, pre-Mosaic Judaism of the patriarchs (partly restored by the anti-ceremonial, faith-centered teachings of the great prophets) are seen both as the historical origin of the Christian faith and a model worth imitating. In this analysis, Christianity was not a historically "later" evolution; it had been born, *avant la lettre*, in the garden of Eden. The full restoration of primitive Christianity would literally take mankind back to paradise. Such an "attempt to locate true religion and its corruption in the distant past was a precarious exercise for Christians," as Rob Iliffe has observed with a view to Isaac Newton's fascination with the religion of Noah. While intended to defuse the problem of religious pluralism, it, at the same time, "threatened to downgrade the unique significance of Christ's message and risked providing evidence that the corruption of religious practice was so old, that religion had never in fact been untainted."<sup>203</sup> Indeed, Newton and his disciples concluded that the doctrine of the Trinity was a corruption of the original, strictly monotheistic religion of Noah. The Trinitarian corruption had been perpetrated, against the intentions of Jesus Christ, by the early Church.

By contrast, Mather suggested the ur-religion of mankind was already Trinitarian. On this he agreed with other contemporary theologians and apologists, including Ralph Cudworth, who in his *True Intellectual System of the Universe* (1678) maintained that the Trinity was already to be found in the teachings of Moses, or with Pierre Allix, who penned another work with the programmatic title *The Judgment of the ancient Jewish Church against the Unitarians* (1689). The argument went so far as to assert that the first parents and the ancient Jewish patriarchs had consistently believed in the fully divinity of their expected messiah. This was also the point that Mather kept making in his tracts for missionizing the Jews, notably in *The Faith of the Fathers* (1699). While the Trinitarianism of Adam and Eve and the patriarchs had been, for the most part, implicit, there were also numerous places in the Hebrew Bible where it became more explicit. At Deut. 6:4 (which he thinks ought to be translated "*Hear, O Israel: The Lord our God, the Lord, are One*") Mather provides a lengthy exposition of many such places "in the Old Testament, to Illustrate the Doctrine of the *Trinity*," and across his commentaries on the Hebrew Bible Mather glosses on many more. To him, "primitive Judaism" clearly conceived of a "*Trinity of Persons in the God-head*" (BA 2:1043), and the Old Testament provided numerous accounts of direct experiences with the Spirit but also the pre-incarnate Son, who made himself manifest in the Shekhinah.

If ancient Judaism, in Mather's mind, was "but the *First Essay* of the Christian Religion," as he put it in his *Malachi*, the idolatrous "pagan religions also contained the Dawns of Christianity."<sup>204</sup> Even in Islam, which he regarded as a

<sup>203</sup> Iliffe, *Priest of Nature*, p. 190.

<sup>204</sup> Mather, *Malachi*, pp. 40–41.

kind of archheresy developed from Judaism, one could find the vestiges of the patriarchal ur-religion. The appended essays offer two fascinating examples of how Mather applied this conceptual framework: first, in how he engages with the religious history of ancient Persia, and, second, in his interpretation of the Sibylline Oracles. The essay “*Antiqua*,” contains “some Accounts of the *Sabians* and the *Magians*.” Like many scholars of the period (notably John Spencer, Thomas Hyde, and Humphrey Prideaux), Mather went back to Maimonides and understood the “Sabians” or “Zabians” not so much as a distinct people but as a type of religion: the polytheistic idolatry that was believed to have originated in the Middle East and to have spread from there across the world. In early modern discourse, the “Sabians” were often closely associated, or treated synonymously, with the “Chaldeans.” The label “Sabianism” was also applied by some authors to the polytheistic religion of ancient Greece or even the perceived idolatrous practices of the Native peoples in the New World. At Ex. 12, Mather thus writes about the “Sabiens” or “Ancient *Chaldees*” that “These famous *Idolaters* and *Magicians*, in a Manner gave Law to the World, and there were few Nations, but what submitted unto their Superstitions” (BA 2:197).<sup>205</sup> And the “*Magians*,” according to Mather’s essay, were an early offshoot of the “Sabians” in ancient Persia. Together they appear as the two main branches or “sects” in the first history of idolatry as it developed in the Middle East. While the “Sabians” were the primordial “Worshippers of *Images*,” particular of the stars, the “*Magians*” were the original “Worshippers of *Fire*.” It was from this religion of fire that Zoroastrianism supposedly emerged (BA 10:889).

Mather’s essay might be the first sustained treatment of Zoroastrianism in British North America. His direct interlocutor in this endeavor is Humphrey Prideaux,<sup>206</sup> who gives his interpretative spin to the work of various seventeenth-century Orientalists and most importantly to Thomas Hyde’s *Historia religionis veterum Persarum* (1700). Hyde was regius professor of Arabic and Hebrew at Oxford, and his monumental history is considered a turning point in the study of ancient Persian religions, specifically Zoroastrianism, as it drew not only on Jewish-Christian and Greco-Roman but also Persian and Arabic sources.<sup>207</sup>

Even though Prideaux largely relied on Hyde for his material, the two scholars presented different understandings of how the religion of ancient Persia and the reforms of Zoroaster related to the original monotheism of the patriarchs.<sup>208</sup> Both men assumed that the origins of ancient Persian religion could

<sup>205</sup> Maimonides, *Guide for the Perplexed*, 3.31–33.523–34.

<sup>206</sup> *The Old and New Testament connected*, vol. 1, pt. 1, bk. 3 and 4, pp. 139–89.

<sup>207</sup> On the period’s interest in and study of Zoroastrianism, see Stroumsa, *A New Science*, pp. 101–23.

<sup>208</sup> On Hyde’s and Prideaux’s interpretation of Zoroastrianism, see Michael Stausberg, *Faszination Zarathushtra: Zoroaster und die Europäische Religionsgeschichte der Frühen Neuzeit* (1998), pp. 680–712 and 740–56.

be traced back to Noah's son Shem and grandson Elam, who had worshipped the one true God and had already known of a divine mediator and messiah. Over the course of time, this original Noahic monotheism had become corrupted by the idolatrous beliefs and practices of "Sabianism," with its cult of images representing celestial deities. However, following Thomas Hyde, Prideaux (and Mather with him) suggests that the "Magian" religion had originally been monotheistic and continued to hew more closely to its Noahic origins. The worship of the sun and fire was understood symbolically, as representing the one true God. Only later, under the influence of Chaldean "Sabianism" did the "Magians" lapse into actual idolatry and a dualistic form of polytheism. Subsequently, as Levitin explains, "Abraham, called directly by God, reformed this religion back to its primitive state, but there was soon an 'interpolatio Sabaitica secunda.' Nonetheless, even this Sabianism involved worship of the true God."<sup>209</sup> Then, in the time of Darius, Zoroaster entered the scene as a religious reformer among the "Magians," of Persia and India, who rejected all images and worshipped God only by fire, understood as a symbol of divinity. In Hyde's version, Zoroaster had been a student of Ezra and learned Jewish religion and prophecy in his youth. He in many ways led Persian religion back toward its Noahic origins and also foresaw the arrival of Christ. Thus, to Hyde, Zoroastrianism was neither guilty of *pyrolatria*, nor of a truly dualistic cosmology, of which it had been so often accused. Uncreated and benevolent, Ahura Mazda alone was revered as the supreme deity, while the evil principle or spirit of Angra Mainyu, with which it was locked in constant struggle, had been separately created. For Hyde, Zoroastrianism was a monotheistic religion in its own right that deserved respect.

Prideaux and Mather followed the basic trajectory of Hyde's history, but imprinted it with their own apologetic logic, accenting the need to receive the full revelation of Christ's messiahship and divinity and thus the supremacy of Christianity. "The True Religion taught by *Noah*," as Mather writes, had not only shown the ancient Persians, "The Worship of one GOD, the supreme Creatour and Governour of all things," but also given them "hopes of His Mercy thro' a *Mediator*." Indeed, the "Necessity of a *Mediator* between GOD and Man, was a general Notion, which obtained among all Mankind from the Beginning." However, "having as yett no more than a Dark Revelation of a *Mediator*, they took upon them to address the Glorious & Holy GOD, by *Mediators* chosen by themselves" (*BA* 10:890). Misunderstanding the nature of the mediator, the ancient Persians lapsed into idolatrous image worship or came to misconceive of light and fire as media of divine presence. Without the gospel, all religions, although stemming from a common origin, were bound to develop in false directions and lose their salvific nature in the process. Mather also accepted Prideaux's re-interpretation of Zoroaster. In stark contrast to Hyde's version,

---

209 Levitin, *Ancient Wisdom in the Age of the New Science*, p. 99.

Prideaux painted Zoroaster (whom he deemed more likely an apprentice to Daniel rather than Ezra) as a pseudo-prophet and a swindler (albeit a very learned one), who pretended to receive false revelations that were later collected as sacred writs by his followers. Indeed, as Mather puts it, “He was the greatest Impostor, except *Mahomet*, that ever appeared in the World” (BA 10:892). His reforms and the resulting religion of Zoroastrianism were, for the most part, based on a fraudulent mimicry of Jewish teachings, prophecies, and practices, while his genuine innovations – such as allegedly suspending the taboo of incest – contradicted the Judeo-Christian tradition.

Nevertheless, Mather accepted Prideaux’s (and ultimately Hyde’s) judgment that, despite ancient and modern opinions to the contrary, Zoroastrianism was not really a dualistic religion even though genuinely dualistic sects like Mazdaism or Manichaeism later evolved from it. Zoroaster’s “chief Reformation” of “the *Magian* Religion, was in the First Principle of it,” Mather writes. “He no longer held the Being and the Struggle of Two *First Causes*, *Light* and *Darkness*, but he introduced one supreme GOD, a Principle superiour to Both, who created both *Light* and *Darkness*, and out of these Two, according to the Pleasure of his own Will, made all Things else that are.” Presiding and struggling over the creation were “The Angel of *Light*, who is the Author and Director of all *Good*, and the Angel of *Darkness*, who is the Author and Director of all *Evil*.” Informed by his Jewish sources, Zoroaster predicted that this struggle would “continue unto the End of the World: That then there shall be a general Resurrection, and a Day of Judgment, wherein a just Retribution shall be rendered unto all, according to their Works.” While “the Angel of *Light*, and His Disciples, will go into the World of their own; where they shall in everlasting Light receive the Recompence of their Godliness;” his opponent “with His Disciples, will also go into a World of their own, where in everlasting Darkness they shall suffer the Punishment of their Wickedness” (BA 10:893). Thus, Zoroaster had preserved the basic contours of his teacher’s eschatology. The temple worship he instituted was likewise beholden to the Jewish ceremonies, of which he learned from the Babylonian exiles.

Mather similarly combines historical-critical and apologetic approaches in his essay “*Sibyllina*. Or, A brief & plain Account of the *Sibylline* Oracles.” Here, he relies again on Prideaux but also on Edward Chandler’s *A Defence of Christianity from the Prophecies of the Old Testament* (1725).<sup>210</sup> Since late antiquity, the

<sup>210</sup> Interestingly, Mather also included two lengthy entries on the evidential value of the Sibylline Oracles regarding the messiahship of Jesus Christ in the general introduction to his commentary on “The Four Gospels” (vol. 7). Relying mostly on John Edwards, the first of these entries argues that the extant Oracles were in fact written by pagan female poets, who “mixed some Superstitious Things with the Prædictions, of the Messiah & His Kingdome, which the Old Testament had afforded unto them,” drawing specifically on Isaiah and Daniel. While not inspired and combing much that was spurious with what they had “borrowed from the Sacred Scriptures,” the Oracles thus had some value. The second entry, by contrast, follows

*oracula Sibyllinia*, a collection of prophecies in dactylic hexameters, had been regarded by many Church Fathers and other Christians as genuine oracles. These previous authors believed that the oracles originated with the pagan Sibyls but in many instances foresaw Christ, the gospel truths, and latter-day events. Through the Renaissance period, the Sibylline Oracles continued to be highly popular, and, along with the so-called Chaldean Oracles and the *Corpus hermeticum*, served as a main exemplar for those who subscribed to *prisca theologia*-theories. Starting in the mid-sixteenth century, various editions and Latin translations were prepared, notably Xystus Betuleius's *Sibyllionorum oraculorum libri octo* (1545) and Sebastian Castello's *Sibyllina oracula de Graeco in Latinum conversa et in eadem annotations* (1546). At the same time, Renaissance philologists began to question the authenticity of the Sibylline Oracles, with Johannes Opsopoeus, Joseph Scaliger, Isaac Casaubon, and Jacques Cappel being the most prominent skeptical voices. By the mid-seventeenth century, the number of critics included such renowned names as Hugo Grotius, David Blondel, and Richard Simon. All of them argued for the Jewish or Christian origins of the *oracula Sibyllinia*.<sup>211</sup> However, there also continued to be prominent defenders in Mather's day, including William Whiston with his *A Vindication of the Sibylline Oracles* (1715).

Unlike his father, who simply dismissed them, Cotton Mather followed Prideaux and Chandler in attempting to strike a compromise.<sup>212</sup> He readily conceded that the collection of pagan oracles ascribed to various Sibyls that had been kept in the temple at the capitol and destroyed in the early years of the fifth century CE was distinct from, and probably had little to do with, the "eight Books of Greek Verse, which go under the Name of *Sibylline*." This "Collection could not be made before the Year of our Lord, 138; because it mentions the next Successor to *Adrian*; and it could not be made after the Year, 167. because *Justin Martyr* often quotes it." Some of these verses were undoubtedly of Christian origin, for, "We find in the Book, such an Abstract of the Bible, as could be written by none but a Christian." The books would have been ascribed to the Sibyls, Mather thought, on account of their "very Ancient Reputation" in Greco-Roman culture. Who the pagan Sibyls really were, no one could tell for

---

the German Pietist and professor of theology at Halle, Joachim Lange, in contending that the Sibylline Oracles were largely worthless, "a defective and a depraved heap of Verses, forged at diverse Times; not by Pagans, nor by Jews, who are indeed condemned therein; but by some Christians, & these perhaps Hereticks, who proposed in this Ill Way to defend a Good Cause, against the Common Adversaries of Christianity." At the end of these conflicting interpretations, Mather gestures to the improved attempt he made on the topic in "the *Ninth Article* of the *Appendix* to our BIBLIA AMERICANA; unto which I refer the Reader."

<sup>211</sup> On the early-modern debates, see Anthony Grafton, "Higher Criticism Ancient and Modern: The Lamentable Death of Hermes and the Sibyls" (1988), and Jean-Michel Roessli, "Inspiration divine ou possession démoniaque? John Twysden (1607–1688) et la défense des sibylles et des *Oracles sibyllins*" (2019).

<sup>212</sup> See Increase Mather, *A Dissertation concerning the Future Conversion of the Jewish Nation*, p. 23.

certain, as “we have little but Fable & Fiction to instruct us.” While Prideaux speculated that there might have been historical Sibyls or female prophetesses in pre-Christian antiquity, Chandler deemed it unlikely, “that there was any Person, that had for her proper Name, that of *Sibyl*.” Instead, the moniker Sibylline Oracles was given to all sorts of pagan prophecies, and “because these Verses were collected in different Countreys, a *Sibyl* was fancied, and so denominated from that Countrey where the Verses were collected” (BA 10:934).

However, the “Greek *Sibylline Books* were of another Nature,” Mather agreed with his interlocutors, as they “spoke of Things to come; which were foretold in the *Jewish Prophecies*; and nothing more, for ought appears than what was grounded on the Interpretation of those Prophecies.” On how this came about and what it implied, Prideaux and Chandler had somewhat divergent opinions. Prideaux thought that a heathen Greek poet, living around the time of the birth of Jesus, had actually authored most of the verses. This poet received his ideas from Hellenistic Jews dispersed “among the Nations; who had an earnest Expectation of the *Messiah*, quickly to appear unto the World; and had the Prædictions of *Daniel*, to raise it in them.” Thus God, in his mysterious ways, used this writer to produce a book of verses in the tradition “of the *pagan Oracles*, to bear some Testimony unto the Approach of the Redeemer.” Sometime in the early second century, this book was “interpolated with many Additions by some *Christian*, who wanted both *Discretion & Honesty*.” Unfortunately, “these *Adulterations* destroy’d the Authority of the *Whole*, to the Damage of the Christian Cause.” Even though the extant collection thus was “this *wretched Mixture*; whereof, tho’ the biggest Part is to be condemned,” Prideaux insisted that part of the Sibylline oracles were authentic prophecies from “about the Time of our SAVIOUR,” which confirmed the messianic expectations of Christianity (BA 10:933).

Chandler, on the other hand, sided with the “very learned Men (such as *Usher*, and *Grotius* and *Vossius*),”<sup>213</sup> who thought the Greek *sibyllina* “to be a Jewish Composition, designed for to propagate the Beleeif of the *Messias*, and præpare for the Way for His Reception among the Gentiles.” Originally composed by Hellenistic Jews in the first century, the prophecies then entered Greek culture at large and from there “passed unto the *Romans*.” Circulating throughout the Roman Empire, the prophecies were ascribed to the ancient pagan oracles and achieved great popularity. For some time, poets like Virgil, but also politicians and rulers, cited these “Prædictions both in Greek and Latin, concerning, A *Glorious King to come*. They were in every bodies hands;

<sup>213</sup> References are made to the works of James Ussher, *The Annals of the World: Deduced from the Origin of Time, and Continued to the Beginning of the Emperour Vespasians Reign, and the Totall Destruction and Abolition of the Temple and Common-wealth of the Jews* (1658), p. 713 (4674, Julian Period); Grotius’s annotations on Math. 2:1 (*Opera* 2:16–17); and Isaac Vossius, *De Sibyllinis aliisque quae Christi natalem praecessere oraculis: Acced. eiusdem Responsio* (1680).

and many of them under the Title of, *Sibylline*" (BA 10:935). While these men, blind to the truth as they were, might have misapplied these prophecies to the birth of emperors and Roman conquests, they still unwittingly pointed to the prophecies' true fulfillment in the Messiah and his coming kingdom. Either way, Mather believed that at least a core part of the Sibylline Oracles was genuine, in the sense that the respective verses mostly originated from around the time of Jesus and channeled Jewish messianic and apocalyptic expectations based in the Scriptures. Christians could take comfort and feel affirmed in their faith by how many of these promises had been fulfilled in Christ. And they could look forward to further fulfillments in the latter-days.<sup>214</sup> Moreover, the *sibyllina* constituted valuable testimonies of how, by God's providence, the "FIRST PROMISE" encapsulated in the religion of paradise had been transported through the centuries by Jewish tradition and from there entered into the pagan cultures of antiquity.

Mather never expressed any doubt as to the absolute truth and primacy of Christianity. Still, he felt the need to defend Christianity on historical grounds, and saw himself obliged to engage with those scholars and Deist critics who undermined Christianity's uniqueness by placing it in a larger history of religion(s). In line with many other apologists of his period, Mather responded by reinterpreting the ancient notion of a *prisca theologia* in the light of all the new learning. He assumed that an edenic ur-religion, complete with a proto-Trinitarian belief in a coming messiah, was transmitted to the postdiluvian world by Noah and then flowered among the Hebrew patriarchs and prophets. Christianity was the repristination and fulfillment of this ancient theology. As Haugen has observed, such an original religion of mankind-theory was also an ingenious way to counter Arianism, for "if the trinity had formed part of the true original religion of mankind, the route by which Christians had acquired the doctrine became an irrelevant question."<sup>215</sup>

In the religions of other ancient peoples, such as Egyptian and Greco-Roman polytheism but also Chinese Confucianism, fragments of the Noahic religion (sometimes along with bits and pieces of the Hebrew Scriptures then widely considered to be the oldest monuments of human history) were thought to have survived in greatly corrupted forms. Even in what Mather contemptuously regarded as the diabolically distorted beliefs and practices of Native Americans and the false revelations of Islam, some faint traces of the aboriginal divine revelation could be found. Obviously, this also mattered for the context of missionary work. God had already revealed himself to the gentiles, even if they had not yet received the fullness of the gospel. Underneath their various forms of idolatry, "Indians" in the East and West did have recognizable religious

<sup>214</sup> See also his *Trip Paradise*, 194–98, which seems to be derived from this "Biblia"-essay.

<sup>215</sup> Haugen, "Transformations of the Trinity Doctrine in English Scholarship," p. 153.

beliefs that made them susceptible to the truth of the Bible. Mather thus attempted to fold the growing knowledge about the plurality of religions back into a biblical framework in a way that accentuated both the salvific exclusivity of Christianity and the total inclusivity of its redemptive promise over the course of human history. Even in a historical-genetic way Christianity was the one true religion, which theoretically was available to everyone from the beginning, if they had not twisted it so badly out of shape on account of their own depravity.

It should be added that in its deepest structural logic Mather's thinking on "religion" and "religions" had a strong anti-Catholic bias and a millennialist horizon. For him, as for many other Protestant theologians at the time, the Church of Rome had swerved away from its foundation in Scripture and lapsed into a type of idolatry analogous to those of ancient pagans or non-European heathens. Mather understood primitive Christianity to be at once the restoration and fulfillment of the original religion of the ancient Hebrew patriarchs and the prophets (which had anticipated Christ before being corrupted by legalistic-ceremonial Judaism). Using the same logic, he saw Roman Catholicism as a corruption of the pure Christian religion after the usurpation of the church by Antichrist. The Reformation had begun the revitalization of this "primitive" biblical faith that awakened Protestants such as Mather hoped to bring to fuller realization in their own time and expected to see completed in the purified, post-confessional Protestantism of the millennial church.<sup>216</sup>

## 2.5. Mather's Millennialism in Context

Eschatology was a life-long obsession for Cotton Mather. It was a source of great hope and energy as well as the cause of much brooding and despair. He had inherited this obsession from his father Increase and his maternal grandfather John Cotton, who had published extensively on prophetic church history, the latter-days, and the millennium.<sup>217</sup> Contrary to what some scholars continue to argue, there was nothing truly exceptional, let alone exceptionalistically "American," about these pursuits of the Mather family. They stood in a long and broad transatlantic tradition, which was rooted in early Christianity, but had taken distinct shape in the Reformed churches of Continental Europe

<sup>216</sup> See Stievermann, "A Syncretism of Piety."

<sup>217</sup> The best brief introductions to Puritan millennialism are Reiner Smolinski, "Apocalypticism in Colonial North America" (1998) and Jeffrey K. Jue, "Puritan Millennialism in Old and New England" (2008). See also Stievermann, "Interpreting the Role of America in New England Millennialism, 1640 to 1800" (2009). While the book as a whole is helpful in many ways, the section on colonial New England (pp. 47–78) in John Howard Smith's *A Dream of the Judgment Day: American Millennialism and Apocalypticism, 1620–1890* (2021) uncritically reaffirms some of the outmoded interpretations of Puritan millennialism as the source of American exceptionalism and, in particular, misreads Cotton Mather in this way.



and especially in post-Reformation England.<sup>218</sup> Far from fading away during the age of early Enlightenment, this tradition was being reenergized during the middle decades of Mather's life.<sup>219</sup> At the turn of the eighteenth century, a great many ordinary Protestants as well as reputable theologians and scholars saw events around them as signs of the approaching consummation of history, when the reign of the Roman Antichrist would finally collapse and the kingdom of Christ be established on earth. Galvanized by these apocalyptic energies, Mather, between ca. 1690 and his death in 1728, published no less than fifty shorter works on the subject. The third and longest part of Mather's last grand theological treatise *Trip paradisus* (finished ca. 1726/27), which remained unpublished until the late twentieth century, was also devoted to the "final things."

Mather's millennialism is also the aspect of his theology that has received the most sustained attention from scholars. Reiner Smolinski, in particular, has done groundbreaking work carefully historicizing and explicating Mather's eschatology and its evolution.<sup>220</sup> As Smolinski has shown, there are strong continuities but also notable departures in how Mather interpreted the end-time prophecies over the course of his career, especially on controversial topics such as the national conversion of the Jews, the apocalyptic conflagration, and the dating and nature of the millennium. This makes it useful to distinguish two major phases. The sum of his earlier to mid-life eschatological thought is most fully laid out in "Problema Theologicum" (1703), an epistolary tract addressed to the Salem pastor Nicholas Noyes that remained unpublished until recently.<sup>221</sup> *Trip paradisus* marks the culmination of the second phase. The long and sprawling commentary on Revelation in the "Biblia," with its many additions, revisions, and post-scripts, reflects the full development of Mather's interpretation of prophetic church history and the millennium across these two phases. He incorporated and later modified substantial parts of the "Problema Theologicum"-manuscript into the "Biblia"-commentary. At the same time,

218 For the Reformation background, see Irena Backus, *Reformation Readings of the Apocalypse: Geneva, Zurich and Wittenberg* (2000) and Katherine Firth, *The Apocalyptic Tradition in Reformation Britain 1530–1645* (1979). For post-Reformation English apocalypticism, see Bryan W. Ball, *A Great Expectation: Eschatological Thought in English Protestantism to 1660* (1975) and Paul Kenneth Christianson, *Reformers in Babylon: English Apocalyptic Visions from the Reformation to the Eve of the Civil War* (1975). A very helpful introduction to the specifically Puritan tradition is Crawford Gribben, *The Puritan Millennium: Literature and Theology, 1550–1682* (2007).

219 See William Gibson, "Millenarianism and Prophecy in Eighteenth-Century Britain" (2020) and the essays in James E. Force and Richard H. Popkin, editors, *Millenarianism and Messianism in Early Modern European Culture: Volume III* (2001).

220 See Smolinski, editor, *The Threefold Paradise of Cotton Mather: An Edition of "Trip paradisus"* (1995), which also contains an expert "Introduction" (pp. 38–79), to which I'm greatly indebted. John Erwin's *The Millennialism of Cotton Mather: An Historical and Theological Analysis* (1990) has its merits but also contains some mistakes and misinterpretations.

221 See Jeffrey Scott Mares, editor, "Cotton Mather's 'Problema Theologicum': An Authoritative Edition" (1995).

much of what Mather presents in the third part of *Trip paradisus* is derived from the “Biblia,” especially the annotations on Revelation. While Mather, in the final years of his life, edited or crossed out some of his earlier entries to reflect his altered opinions, these revisions are not comprehensive or fully consistent. Also, much of his original writing remains legible. For students of Mather and his tradition, this is a great boon, because the manuscript gives us a window into his intellectual workshop as he grappled with the Johannine visions over the decades and in the light of ever new sources as well as shifting ecclesio-political contexts. Conversely, this often makes it rather challenging to introduce the substance of his arguments. On some of the crucial issues the following overview will track the major changes of Mather’s beliefs that are reflected in the manuscript. Before going into these specific interpretative issues, however, a few very general remarks on Mather’s millennialism and its theological and historical backgrounds seem in order.

Generally speaking, Mather’s eschatology must be understood as an outgrowth of the revival of “chiliasm” among seventeenth-century Reformed exegetes on the Continent and in England. Important pioneers were the Scottish divine John Napier (1550–1617) with his *A Plaine Discovery of the Whole Revelation of St. John* (1593), the German Reformed Johann Heinrich Alsted with his *The Beloved City* (1643; Lat. or. 1627), English theologians of the late Elizabethan and early Stuart age, such as Thomas Brightman, John Cotton, and especially Joseph Mede with his *Key to the Revelation* (1650; Lat. or. 1627) and larger Commentary on Revelation (*Commentarius Apocalypseos*; 1632), but also some of the great scholars of the golden age of Dutch biblical exegesis, including Johannes Cocceius and Campegius Vitringa.<sup>222</sup> There were enormous differences among these interpreters, but they and their followers converged on one crucial point. They all rejected the still-dominant Augustinian a-millennialism that understood the thousand-year respite of Rev. 20 in spiritual and preterist terms, identifying it with the church age. Instead, they put the millennium back into the future, as it were, as an actual reign of Christ on earth and read the rest of Revelation as a prophetic church history of the post-apostolic period. The book’s mysterious cycles of visions prefigured a chronological sequence, describing the rise, reign, decline, and ultimate fall of the Antichrist, the great oppressor of the true church through the ages, whose regeneration and triumph was foretold in the final chapters of Revelation.

Such redemptive-historical readings of Revelation provided an “afflictive model of progress,”<sup>223</sup> in which the history of the church appeared as a series of

<sup>222</sup> On Alsted and the formidable influence, see Hotson, *Paradise Postponed*; on Mede and the tradition of British millennialism that built on his *Key to the Revelation*, see Jeffrey K. Jue, *Heaven upon Earth: Joseph Mede (1586–1638) and the Legacy of Millenarianism* (2006).

<sup>223</sup> James West Davidson, *The Logic of Millennial Thought: Eighteenth-Century New England* (1977), p. 260.

struggles toward victory. Such a model allowed the hotter sorts of Protestants to interpret their own afflictions and victories as part of a latter-day scenario before the dawning of the millennial age. The present moment was pregnant with sacred significance. This was notably true of English Puritans during the Civil War period, which witnessed a massive outpouring of millennial writings between 1640 and 1659. Some of these Puritan chiliasts, such as the famed Fifth Monarch Men, propagated a literalist understanding of the coming kingdom of Christ on earth and saw themselves as divine instruments called to help with its construction.<sup>224</sup> The Restoration certainly put a lid on this kind of radical enthusiasm. However, recent studies, notably Warren Johnston's *Revelation Restored: The Apocalypse in Later Seventeenth-Century England* (2015), have challenged the assumption that 1660 marked a decisive break in the British millennialist tradition.<sup>225</sup> It was this assumption, which dominated much of the older historiography on post-Civil War Puritanism, that was also responsible for making the fervent millennialism of Increase and Cotton Mather appear much more backward-looking or peculiar than it actually was.<sup>226</sup>

Examining an extensive body of printed sermons, tracts, and larger works, Johnston forcefully demonstrates the vitality and diversity of apocalyptic-millennialist thought in Britain after 1660, where it remained a key medium for interpreting political and ecclesial developments. Moreover, Johnston convincingly argues that post-Restoration apocalyptic thought was by no means the exclusive domain of radical Dissenters, but remained a significant "element within moderate political and religious discourse after the return of monarchy and the episcopal church."<sup>227</sup> Both Dissenters and Anglicans also turned to biblical end-time prophecies to make sense of the Glorious Revolution and the subsequent settlement, as well as the wars against Catholic France and Spain. These events very much contributed to a veritable new wave of chiliastic excitement, which swept through Britain and its colonies between the late 1680s and the early 1700s. Just as millennialism spanned the religious spectrum of late seventeenth-century Britain, it appealed to all classes, to unlearned or self-taught folk as much as to gentlemen scholars and aristocrats. One of the most popular apocalyptic tracts of the post-Glorious Revolution era was *The Midnight Cry*

<sup>224</sup> See B.S. Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men: A Study in Seventeenth-Century English Millenarianism* (1972) and Christopher Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas during the English Revolution* (1972).

<sup>225</sup> For a thorough discussion of the historiography, see Johnston, *Revelation Restored: The Apocalypse in Later Seventeenth-Century England* (2015), pp. 2–21.

<sup>226</sup> This claim was frequently made in the older literature. See, for instance Perry Miller, *The New England Mind: From Colony to Province* (1953), p. 185, or the introductory remarks by Mason I. Lowance and David Watters to their edition of Increase Mather's "A Discourse Concerning the glorious state of the church on earth under the new Jerusalem" (1977), pp. 345, 348.

<sup>227</sup> Johnston, *Revelation Restored*, p. 18.

(1691), by the English lay prophet John Mason, who predicted the immediate and personal return of Christ to usher in His millennial reign – an expectation that was confirmed to him by a personal vision of the Savior in 1694. At the same time, as Richard Popkin put it, “millennial thinking was alive and well in the best intellectual circles in England in the first decade of the eighteenth century.”<sup>228</sup> Among many others, Henry More, Robert Boyle, John Wilkins, and Henry Oldenburg were all ardent millennialists, as were Sir Isaac Newton and some of his main disciples, notably William Whiston and William Burnet.

It was to these circles of scholarly and reputable millennialists that Mather felt closest, not to the popular radicalism of the Fifth Monarchists or visionary prophets like John Mason. As already noted, he also had contacts with these circles and occasionally liked to show them off in the “Biblia.” For instance, when considering different interpretations of the apocalyptic vials, he would let his reader know that he had been told “by Colonel *Burnet*, the learned Governour of *New-York*, That the Incomparable Sir *Isaac Newton*,” had applied “himself to the Study of the *sacred Prophecies* with a peculiar Diligence and Attention, & vastly præferred it unto the Study of the *Mathematicks*, wherein he has been so great a Master” (*BA* 10:640).<sup>229</sup> And because Newton, per conversation with Burnet, favored a reading of the vials as synchronous with the trumpets, it had to be considered as especially authoritative.<sup>230</sup>

Virtually all British, but also many Continental, students of Revelation during this time built on Joseph Mede’s *Key to the Revelation*. Mede had developed a basic schematization of Revelation’s complex vision cycles (the two books, the seals, trumpets, vials, and woes) as well as a historicizing approach, in which he established “synchronisms” between the different apocalyptic symbols and specific historical periods. This approach had led Mede to expect a more or less imminent millennium in the early eighteenth century, sometime between 1716 and 1736. Mede’s influence was so extensive that the history of millennialism during this period can be described as a series of footnotes or modifications to his *Key to the Revelation*. Even the oldest of Mather’s major sources for the Revelation commentary, Thomas Goodwin’s *An Exposition of the Revelation* (written 1639, but published posthumously), appears to have been much influenced by the Latin original of Mede’s work, the *Clavis Apocalyptica* (1627).

<sup>228</sup> Popkin, “Foreword,” xiv.

<sup>229</sup> Ironically, Mather here articulates a view of a deeply religious Newton obsessed with the study of end-time prophecies that has only recently, and in the wake of a systematic study of his private religious papers, come to be acknowledged by modern scholars. See the essays by Harkness, Hutton, Murrin, and Smolinski in *Newton and Religion: Context, Nature and Influence*, ed. by James E. Force and Richard H. Popkins (1999); as well as Iliffe, *Priest of Nature*, 219–259.

<sup>230</sup> Some of Newton’s annotations were posthumously published as *Observations upon the Prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse of St. John* (1733). The cited opinion about the synchronicity of the vials and the trumpets can be found on p. 295.

One of Mather's main contemporary interlocutors, Edward Waple, spoke for the great majority of his fellow millenarians, when he praised Mede's apocalyptic exegesis as "the best grounded, the most consequential, and the most comprehensive *Hypothesis* of any other."<sup>231</sup> Likewise, Newton signaled the indebtedness of his extensive readings of the prophetic Scriptures to Mede's writing: "Mr Mede layed the foundations and I have built upon it."<sup>232</sup> Those Newtonian scholars who continued their teacher's fascination with the end-times, notably William Burnet and William Whiston, would have said very much the same. Whiston's *An Essay on the Revelation of Saint John* (1706) and Burnet's *An Essay on Scripture-Prophecy* (1724), both prominently represented in the "Biblia," are essentially attempts at refining the views of Mede in a more scientific manner.

Why did Mather provide a long synopsis of *An Essay on the Revelation of Saint John* as a separate appendix (titled "Corona," in the sense of finishing flourish) to his commentary on Revelation? The reason was not because Whiston offered startlingly new insights that differed much from what Mather had already synthesized from his other sources. On the contrary, Whiston's study was, like Mather's commentary, largely a digest of what each man considered the best opinion among the "Medean" interpreters. So Mather took *An Essay on the Revelation of Saint John* first and foremost as a confirmation of his own opinions by a leading scientist of the day, and, secondly, as a means to tweak and refine some particular exegetical points. He was especially impressed by Whiston's exact calculation of dates that came with the authority of a (former) Cambridge professor of mathematics and cited these at length. For the most part, however, the "Corona"-appendix is repeating what Mather had already presented in the previous sections of the manuscript, with slight variations. Ultimately, the appendix comes to the same conclusion as the main text, including the date for the likely onset of the millennium – which was the one that Mede had suggested in the first place.

Indeed, almost without exception, the sources that Mather drew on adhered to the Medean paradigm, which was flexible enough to accommodate the needs of different confessions, ecclesial parties, and religious convictions. Post-Restoration High Church millenarians like Henry More or Walter Garrett but also Bishops William Lloyd (1627–1717) and Thomas Sherlock (1678–1761), could employ this paradigm to propagate a vision of church history culminating in the triumph of the Church of England. Latitudinarian or Whiggish low-church theologians such as Simon Patrick, Drue Cressner, Thomas Burnet, and William Whiston, or Dissenters like Samuel Lee or Thomas Beverley but also Increase Mather did the same to emphasize the need for toleration, comprehension, and

<sup>231</sup> Waple, *The Book of Revelation*, preface, unpaginated.

<sup>232</sup> Qtd. from Frank E. Manuel, *The Religion of Isaac Newton* (1974), p. 121.

reform of British Protestantism.<sup>233</sup> Characteristically, Cotton Mather picks and chooses materials from both groups, ignoring or editing out ecclesio-political opinions where they do not suit him.

The diverging legacies of Mede became especially evident in the build-up to the events of 1688–89 and its aftermath. While almost all British students of the apocalypse saw the Glorious Revolution as a significant latter-day event, perhaps heralding the pending collapse of the papacy, High Church Anglicans tended to argue “that the Revolution confirmed the prophetic primacy of the Church of England and presaged its millennial pre-eminence.” Whiggish Anglicans and Dissenters, on the other hand, emphasized that the defeat of Catholicism in England marked only a partial prophetic achievement, and “expected further reform of the national church, or at least a religious settlement that encompassed their doctrinal divergences and ended the prohibition of their worship by civil and ecclesiastical authorities.”<sup>234</sup> One of the most vociferous apocalyptic advocates of further reform was the English Congregational minister Thomas Beverley, who published more than fifty tracts on Scripture prophecy between the mid-1680s and 1701. That some of his tracts make an appearance in the “Biblia” was not just due to the fact that Beverley was an acquaintance of the Mather family. Cotton Mather also shared Beverley’s reformist views.

Mede’s influence was not confined to Britain, however. The revival of futurist millennialism among German Pietists in the late seventeenth century, for instance, had much to do with the reception of his *Key to the Revelation*.<sup>235</sup> Also, the entire school of refugee French Huguenot theologians, who interpreted their experience of persecution and exile as part of the latter-day scenario predicted in Revelation, depended on Mede’s basic approach and schematization. Mather availed himself of some of these international expositors in the Medean vein for the “Biblia.” As mentioned above, he systematically mined the English translations of *A Genuine Explication of the Visions of the Book of Revelation* (1679), by the radical German Pietist Christian Knorr von Rosenroth, and of Pierre Jurieu’s *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies* (1687). Thus, Mather’s study of the prophetic Scriptures was anything but an insular affair. Like New England theologians before and after him, from John Cotton to Jonathan Edwards, he was tied into cross-oceanic millennialist networks and

<sup>233</sup> In the “Appendix” to his *A Dissertation, wherein the Strange Doctrine . . . is examined and confuted* (1708), Increase Mather places his view of the end-times squarely in the tradition of Mede and also favorably discusses Mede’s chronological scheme (1716/1736). Moreover, he gives a list of the best interpreters of Revelation (p. 110), which almost exclusively contains exegetes in the tradition of Mede, including Goodwin, Cressener, Allix, Lee, Jurieu, Phillipot, Garret, and Whiston.

<sup>234</sup> Johnston, *Revelation Restored*, pp. 190 and 213.

<sup>235</sup> See Wolfgang Breul, “‘Hoffnung besserer Zeiten’: Der Wandel der ‘Endzeit’ im lutherischen Pietismus um 1700” (2012) and Hans Schneider, “Die unterfüllte Zukunft: Apokalyptische Erwartungen im radikalen Pietismus um 1700” (1999).

discussions. Both on the scholarly and the popular level, colonial millennialism followed the tidal undulations of eschatological expectations and also disappointments in the Old World. The flurry of apocalyptic literature from the pen of New England clergymen around the turn of the eighteenth century, including the Mathers, Nicholas Noyes, or Samuel Sewall, must be seen as part of the new wave of chiliasm in Britain and on the Continent.

Although widespread, futurist millennialism was far from uncontroversial on both sides of the ocean. The Augustinian tradition persisted not only among "orthodox" Lutherans, confessionally conservative Anglicans, but also some Dissenting theologians like Richard Baxter. Preterist readings were also advanced by certain practitioners of historical-contextual criticism (see below). Furthermore, some proponents of Enlightenment rationalism and moderation denounced millennialism altogether as conducive to dangerous enthusiasm. And even among those who in principle shared a millennialist outlook, debates raged about how precisely the prophecies of Revelation ought to be expounded. These discussions were about correlating specific prophetic visions and historical events as well as about the date for the expected dawn of the thousand-year reign. But the debates were also, and more fundamentally, about whether Christ's personal return would usher in the millennium, and how exactly to understand the nature of His reign and several surrounding latter-day events.

Modern historians have often made the question of when Christ's physical return was expected the one decisive criterion to divide theologians into pre- and postmillennialist camps, with Mather being routinely sorted into the former. But this distinction is far too simple. What we now call premillennialism envisions "the relation between this age and the millennium as a radical disjunction." Exegetes associated with the label "postmillennialism," on the other hand, "generally argued for continuity between this age and the next ... and that Christ's coming would *succeed* the millennium."<sup>236</sup> These differences, however, emerged from opposing interpretative tendencies, as exegetes read a number of key prophecies in either literalist-factualist or allegorical-spiritual terms: How to understand the slaying of the witnesses? What would be the nature of the apocalyptic tribulations and the resurrection of the saints before the millennium? Would there be an eschatological restoration and conversion of the Jews? In what ways exactly would Christ rule on earth, and how was one to imagine the millennial earth? While exegetes leaned in one direction or the other, they often varied on specific issues. Mather was no exception. Labelling him a premillennialist is therefore not wrong but obscures the complicated mixture of positions to be found in his musings on Revelation.

While there were no clear-cut dividing lines and most millennialist exegetes combined both approaches to a certain extent, one can still distinguish roughly

---

<sup>236</sup> Gribben, *The Puritan Millennium*, p. 27.

two groups. On the one side were those who leaned toward an allegorical-spiritualist interpretation. They did not think Christ would suddenly appear in the body before the beginning of the millennium. Rather, they envisioned the establishment of the millennial kingdom as a gradual process during which Christ's influence on earth would continuously expand and a rule of the saints would be established. An early representative of this tendency in New England was John Cotton. In *The Churches Resurrection* (1642) and *An Exposition* (1655), he argued that the blessings of the millennial reign, which he expected to begin in 1655, signified the increasing purity of Christ's church on earth. He interpreted the first resurrection in Rev. 20 to signify both an individual, spiritual resurrection through the regeneration of more and more believers, and a corporate resurrection of particular churches as they came to conform with the pure or primitive Christianity of the gospel. Besides Cotton, Thomas Brightman and even Joseph Mede himself preferred such a spiritualist interpretation of the millennium, during which Christ would reign not personally but through his increasingly perfected church. Only at the end of the thousand-year period would Christ return in person for the Last Judgment. Around the turn of the eighteenth century, Daniel Whitby had become the most prominent British proponent of such a view, which he put forward in his influential *Treatise of the True Millennium* (1703). For all his predilection for Whitby's annotations on the New Testament, Mather conspicuously and completely ignored Whitby on the latter-day prophecies.

Like his father, Cotton Mather strongly disagreed with what he sometimes contemptuously called the "allegorizers." At Rev. 20, Mather emphasized that the first resurrection and the millennial reign ought to be understood in a literalist fashion, "most Necessarily & Unavoidably. The *Twentieth Chapter* of the *Revelation*, is of all the most free from Allegory, & from the Involution of propheticall Figures; as describing indeed that Age & State, wherein all things relating to the Kingdome of God, will bee most *clearly understood*" (BA 10:716). He could only shake his head at how some of the heroic revivalists of a futurist millennialism, like Brightman and Cotton, could have foolishly held on to a spiritualist understanding of these prophecies. No, Christ would return in the body amid a fiery inferno to establish His actual dominion on earth. The first resurrection was also thought to be corporeal; it would bring the departed saints back to life and physically affect the faithful who were alive at the time. Together with their Lord, the saints would rule over the New Heavens and the New Earth for a thousand years. Then, Satan would be unleashed to assault the saints one last time before his final defeat and the Last Judgment.

Although divided on a number of particular issues, both Increase and Cotton Mather almost consistently (major exceptions will be discussed below) argued for the priority of a literalist exegesis in other parts of Revelation as well, at least on the level of understanding the reality to which the prophecies



referred. For instance, while they would still read the trumpets and vials of Revelation figuratively as symbols of the apocalyptic tribulations, the meaning of these tribulations was to be understood literally as referring to actual rather than spiritual calamities. Cotton Mather thus carried forward the Reformed-Puritan paradigm of a futurist and radically literalist millennialism from the Civil War-period into the eighteenth century, where it vied with an increasingly popular paradigm that also looked to a coming age of triumph and prosperity for Christ's church but did not expect the onset of this age to mark a supernatural break with the course of history since the apostolic age.

Cotton Mather went even further than his father in bringing his apocalyptic speculations into agreement with the emerging referential paradigm of biblical realism. In this, he partook in a contemporary trend among a certain group of eschatological theorists that Peter Harrison has called the development of a "science of last things." In the contemporary English-speaking world, this development found its most prominent expression among Newton and some of his disciples, especially Whiston. Relying on natural philosophy, mathematics, the study of history, and a probabilistic epistemology, the Newtonians sought to "synchronize sacred and natural history according to the principles of the new science."<sup>237</sup> Informed by a confluence of Enlightenment thought and ideas of radical Protestantism, these theorists attempted to place the apocalypse and subsequent millennial reign in historical time with the greatest possible accuracy. However, they conceded that, ultimately, there was no absolute certainty with regard to the fulfilment of future prophecies, only different degrees of probability. The Newtonians also imagined that latter-day events, such as the physical catastrophes at the onset of the millennium and the manifestation of a material city of the New Jerusalem, would play out on the same "ontological" level of reality as other occurrences in the realm of nature. Even though these events would be unprecedented in scale and supernaturally caused, the apocalyptic tribulations and glories of the millennial age were imagined to be real in the same way as natural calamities or previous historical triumphs of human civilization and religion were real. For these theorists there was thus an "empirical basis of biblical prophecies" that could and needed to be worked out in order to understand fully what they predicted. "The incorporation of eschatological events into historical time," Harrison writes, "was accompanied by the appearance of eschatological sites in empirical space."<sup>238</sup> The possible locations and physical features of paradise, heaven, and hell became central topics of discussion, as did the natural mechanism of the apocalyptic tribulations, the topography of the millennial reign, and the science behind the resurrection.

---

<sup>237</sup> Ruth H. Bloch, *Visionary Republic: Millennial Themes in American Thought, 1756–1800* (1985), p. 9.

<sup>238</sup> Peter Harrison, *The Bible, Protestantism, and the Rise of Natural Science*, p. 148.

Cotton Mather was undoubtedly the most prominent representative of this “science of the last things” in early America. A striking example from this volume would be his essay at 2 Peter on the chain of natural or secondary causation that, once set into motion by the return of Christ, would bring about the conflagration. In this case, his main source was *An Essay towards a Natural History of the Earth* (1695) by John Woodward (1665–1728). A professor of physics at Gresham College, Woodward was a famous natural historian of the period and a leading member of the Royal Society, with whom Mather was also in correspondence. According to Woodward, the innermost parts of the earth contained vast reservoirs of water. These waters, in Mather’s summary, were cyclically elevated toward the surface by “a nearly uniform, and perpetual Fire, (or, Heat) that is Disseminated throughout the Body of the Earth,” and then evaporated into the atmosphere only to come down again as rain. Occasionally, however, this “subterraneous *Heat*, or *Fire*, . . . being in any Part of the *Earth stop’d*, and so diverted from its ordinary Course, and preternaturally Assembled, in a greater Quantity than usual, into one,” caused earthquakes and volcanic emissions of the bottled-up “*subterranean Fire*” (BA 10:391). Woodward’s theory, Mather thought, could help explain the mechanisms by which the fiery destruction of the globe would come about at the end of history, when “the elements shall melt with fervent heat, [and] the earth also and the works that are therein shall be burned up” (2 Pet. 3:10). Mather suggests that at the approach of Christ, the subterraneous fire would, at His will, be “preternaturally assembled” to an unprecedented degree, causing massive earthquakes, violent floodings, and volcanic outbreaks that would literally tear up the earth. At the same time, “Minerals being belch’d forth, of the Earth, at the Time of *Earthquakes*, (whereto the Countreyes most abounding with these *Minerals* are much exposed,) in such plenty as to thicken and darken the Air,” would work as “a Kind of aërial Gun-Powder,” and cause the most “Terrible *Thunder* and *Lightning*,” so as to make the very atmosphere burn (BA 10:391–92).

Perhaps in no other facet of Mather’s exegesis can one more clearly detect the pull toward the new paradigm of (quasi-)scientific biblical realism. For Mather, it felt like allegorizing interpretations of eschatological events generally diminished their realness, and, in the case of the conflagration, made people blind to what was coming: the world would be literally purged of sin by fire to be built anew. In the *Trip paradisus*, he chastised those exegetes who would “play their *Allegorical Engines* to putt out the formidable *Fire*, which the Word of GOD has plainly devoted this *Earth* unto.” Such figurative readings, to his mind, constituted a “perilous *Unsignifying* of the Sacred Oracles.”<sup>239</sup> In his annotations on Revelation, he thus constantly fought on two different, sometimes intersecting, fronts. On the first, he strove to demonstrate that there was no need to

239 *Trip paradisus*, pp. 156, 158.

“spiritualize into thin air” John’s prophecies, to interpret as merely referring to some internal spiritual development in the (future) history of the church. On the second, he sought to defend a futurist understanding of the key prophecies against a preterist approach, which in the seventeenth century had been systematically expanded by some of the leading historical critics of the Bible and thus received a boost of new prestige.

## 2.6. Responding to the Preterist Challenge

In mid-seventeenth-century Britain, preterist positions had become an embattled minority among students of the apocalypse, also thanks to the formidable influence of Joseph Mede. After the Restoration, however, they experienced a moderate resurgence. In part, this was a reaction to the dangerous enthusiasm that futurist millennialism was perceived as having precipitated. At the same time, preterist interpretations of the latter-day prophecies were embraced by scholars championing a historical-contextualist approach in biblical exegesis, most notably the great Hugo Grotius. Grotius also saw apocalypticism as a major cause of the ongoing division and hatred between Protestants and Catholics, which he wished to help overcome. Grotius generally limited the foresight of the prophets to events within their more immediate temporal horizon. The Hebrew prophets, such as Daniel or Isaiah, could occasionally be understood as mystically foreshadowing Christ and the destruction of Jerusalem, but their threats of divine judgments and promises of Israel’s restoration had nothing to do with the latter days. Grotius interpreted the oracles of the New Testament historically: they had had their one literal fulfillment in the tribulations and eventual triumph of the early church. Going against a Protestant tradition deeply entrenched since the days of Luther, Grotius also no longer identified the apocalyptic symbols of the Antichrist and the whore of Babylon with the pope and the Catholic Church (*BA* 9:545). Instead, Grotius and those who followed his lead argued that these visions of the New Testament prophets referred to historical figures such as Caligula (2 Thess. 2:3–7) and other emperors (Rev. 13 and 17; Matt. 24:6–7), the Roman Empire itself (Rev. 13), or Jewish messiah pretenders such as Barkochba (1 John 2:18–24 and 4:1–5) and Simon Magus (2 Thess. 2:8–11).<sup>240</sup>

Likewise, Grotius read the apocalyptic tribulations in these visions, which futurist exegetes placed in the latter days, in a historical-contextual fashion. For instance, the conflagration of 2 Peter did not refer to some future incineration of the world but to the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans. The images

---

<sup>240</sup> On this, see Michael Becker, “Apocalyptic und Irenik in Hugo Grotius’ späten Theologischen Schriften” (2014).

of global destruction were better understood in a spiritual rather than a literal fashion. Specifically, Revelation predicted the persecutions of the early Christians, the collapse of the pagan Roman Empire, and the happy times that were ushered in for the church with the Constantinian turn.<sup>241</sup> Christ's messianic reign had begun with the establishment of the gospel church. There would be no millennial interlude in history, and His return was not to be expected until the Last Judgment, which Grotius did not believe to be imminent.

In England, the preterist method was advanced most notably by Henry Hammond, whose *A Paraphrase and Annotations upon all the Books of the New Testament* (1653) was widely respected among scholars of the Bible.<sup>242</sup> A second significant representative was the Church of England minister and orientalist scholar (he was responsible for the Syriac section in Walton's London Polyglott), Herbert Thorndike (1598–1672), who penned *Millennianism: or, Christ's Thousand Years Reign upon Earth, considered, in a Familiar Letter to a Friend*, which was then published anonymously in 1693. Other English "Grotians" included Samuel White (1678–1716), whose *A Commentary on the Prophet Isaiah, wherein the literal Sense of his Prophecy is briefly explain'd* (1709) systematically applied the contextualist-preterist approach to the greatest of the Hebrew prophets. With regard to Revelation, Hammond argued in great detail and with much learning that John's vision was either only pertinent to his immediate target audience in the seven churches of Asia minor, or it referred to events in early church history no farther than the time of Constantine. For Hammond, the key to correctly understanding Revelation was given in the very first verse that proclaimed of the things to be shown unto John that they "must shortly come to pass." What Hammond, attempted in his exposition, therein expanding upon Grotius, was "a general survey of the whole book, to see whether those words might not probably be extended to all the prophecies of it, and have a literal truth in them." The result was clear and compelling to Hammond. He found that all the visions of the Apocalypse "belonged to those times that were then immediately ensuing, and that they had accordingly their completion." Consequently, "they that pretended to find in those visions the predictions of events in these later ages, and those so nicely defined as to belong to particular acts and persons in this and some other kingdoms ... had much mistaken the drift of it."<sup>243</sup> The thousand-year reign of Rev. 20:3, for him, predicted "the tranquility and freedom from persecutions that should be allowed the Church

241 On the crucial prophecy of Rev. 20, Grotius wrote: "significans tranquillitatem, quae Ecclesiis per Constantinum erat primum data, aucta per successores fores, fore quidem longam, non tamen usque ad Mundi interitum" ("signifying the peace, which was first given to the churches by Constantine, will be given in even greater measure by his successors, and will certainly last long, but not, however, until the end of the world") *Opera* (2:1226).

242 Smolinski, "Introduction" to *Tripuraditus* (pp. 14–16) provides a helpful survey of the English debate over Grotius.

243 Hammond, *Annotations* (4:489–90).

of Christ from the time of Constantine's coming to the Empire."<sup>244</sup> And if one properly attended to the literal-historical sense, the Petrine conflagration, Hammond argued (again following Grotius), could only be understood as referring to the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans in 70 CE. If a secondary futurist sense was to be allowed, it had to be understood in an allegorical and anagogical sense.<sup>245</sup>

Such interpretations, of course, severely limited the relevance of Revelation and other apocalyptic writings of the New Testament like 2 Peter for modern Christians. These texts now offered merely a general sense of assurance about God's providence. Everything that the prophets predicted had come to pass. Besides that, these prophecies contained some universally applicable spiritual lessons, but it did not promise – as overly enthusiastic Protestants liked to believe – the fall of the papacy or the coming of a literal millennial kingdom. Even more painful to Mather, it was not just Arminians and rationalists who advanced a preterist and spiritualist understanding of the millennium. Richard Baxter, a personal friend of Increase Mather and one of the most influential English Dissenters of the late seventeenth century, did much the same in his *A Paraphrase of the New Testament* (1685) and *The Glorious Kingdom of Christ* (1691). For Baxter, the thousand-year era of rest for the church stretched from Constantine to the rise of Ottoman Turks.

For futurist millennialists on both sides of the Atlantic, everything was at stake in the debates with the proponents of a contextualist-preterist hermeneutics. The publication battles were frequently emotional and characterized by a mixture of anxiety and triumphalist expectancy. In his "Biblia"-annotations, Mather more than once angrily pointed his finger at scholars like Grotius or Hammond. "I can scarce prevail with myself," Mather fumed, "to give them any other Answer than This; That they are all of them so *Absurd*, they are scarce worthy to be *Answer'd*." He could not have imagined, "that it had been possible for such great Men, to have been overtaken with such *Absurdities*, if I had not seen *Grotius*, a Man for his Learning as *great* as almost any Man, fall under an Infatuation æqual to *Theirs*" (BA 10:737). And yet, Mather felt compelled to answer again and again. He was too much of a scholar to simply dismiss the arguments of Grotian critics out of hand. Instead, he attempted to refute or at least defuse them, using their own critical weapons against them.

As I have shown elsewhere, Mather worked out elaborate schemes of multiple fulfilments for the eschatological prophecies of the Old Testament. According to Mather's schemes, many of the predictions of Isaiah or Daniel might, in the first instance, be understood as referring to historical events relatively

<sup>244</sup> Hammond, *Works* (3:937).

<sup>245</sup> Compare Grotius annotations on *Opera* (2: 1121–24) and Hammond, *Paraphrase* (4:101–08).

close to the time of their original utterance.<sup>246</sup> Ultimately, however, they could be understood as looking forward to the eschaton without violating their context or literal sense. With regard to the New Testament prophecies, Mather sometimes allowed for such multiple accomplishments as well. In some cases, he even subscribed to completely historicist interpretations, as for instance with the letters to the seven churches of Asia of Rev. 2–3. For the prophecies regarding the end times and the millennium, however, he felt justified in rejecting, on historical-contextualist grounds, any reading that restricted their import to the distant past. For instance, he vehemently asserted the traditional dating of Revelation “*a little before his Time, at the End of the Reign of Domitian*,” ca. 95–96 CE, because this entailed, “That none of the Predictions in, the *Revelation*, can refer to the Times before the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, or indeed, before the Conclusion of the Reign of *Domitian*.” Since he excluded the possibility that John’s visions might be retrospective rather than predictive, Mather thought that with such a dating “the very Foundations of *Grotius’s*, and *Hammonds*, and *Thorndikes* Expositions on these Prophecies, are all at once overthrown” (BA 10:769).

In principle, Mather remained convinced to his death that the apocalypse and Christ’s Second Coming ushering in the millennium were literal, fully physical events that would happen in a not too distant future. However, as will be discussed below, he became less sure about how exactly to interpret a few key events surrounding this last great historical revolution, notably the slaughter and rising of the two slain witnesses in Rev. 11 and the eschatological conversion of the Jews. He also wavered on how exactly to understand the promises of a New Earth. More importantly, perhaps, Mather worried about his calculations of the precise dates for when these things would come to pass. He repeatedly changed his exegetical positions on some of the particulars and also was forced to recalculate the beginning of the end several times when the set date came and went. Every time the question lurked: If he obviously had been wrong on certain details, might not the whole interpretative scheme prove to be mistaken? Whatever the extent of Mather’s doubts might have been, he seemed to have pulled himself back from them every time and to have died in the firm expectation that the return of the Lord could not be far off.

## 2.7. Mather’s Interpretation of Revelation as Prophetic Church History

As most millenarians in the Reformed tradition, Mather found in Revelation more than a promise of a glorious Sabbath for the Church at the end of history. He was convinced that the last book of the Bible, when put in

<sup>246</sup> Stievermann, *Prophecy and Piety*, pp. 259–360.

connection with other scriptural prophecies, contained in symbolic abbreviation the whole history of the Church from the times of the Apostles to the end of the world. All of the commentators that Mather employed shared this basic “historicist understanding” inherited from Alsted and Mede. Accordingly, they all attempted to unlock “the cryptic imagery in Revelation” by identifying “a progression of historical events that corresponded to the symbolic messages of the prophecies,” creating a continuous narrative arc that began with the rise of Antichrist and ended with the millennium.<sup>247</sup> In construing this narrative arc, Reformed exegetes referred to events from what used to be called *historia sacra* as well as *historia profana*, as far as it had affected the church, thereby creating an integrated as well as progressive vision of post-apostolic redemption history. For this purpose, Mather and his colleagues availed themselves of the ever-growing libraries of scholarship on the history of late antiquity, the middle ages, the Reformation but also the Ottoman Empire, as well as of writings reporting on current events, such as wars or religious persecutions, which might be interpreted as signs of the times. They were generally unafraid of going out on many a speculative limb, even the thinnest ones, connecting the most obscure details of John’s visions with historical events and figures.

Cumulatively, Mather’s annotations on Revelation are among the most detailed in the “Biblia Americana,” and he offers glosses on almost every verse. It is impossible to do justice to his dense and often labyrinthine commentary in an introduction. However, Mather himself helpfully summarizes this historicist view in a note commenting on the “general *Idea* of the *Revelation*,” inspired by Thomas Goodwin’s *A Brief History of the Kingdom of God. Extracted Out of the Book of Revelation*.<sup>248</sup> The Book of Revelation, Mather writes, offered “a *Theatre*, a *Vision*, of what shall befall the World, and the Church in the World, from the Time of our Lords Ascension, to the Time of His Coming to Judgment.” Encoded in its cycles of visions, one could find “the History of the Kingdome of our Lord JESUS CHRIST, and the Removal of the several Difficulties, that ly in the Way of His Coming to it” (BA 10:485). The rest of the entry sketches out Mather’s understanding of the book’s basic structure, which accorded with a broad consensus among late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century interpreters working from the foundation of Mede’s *Key to the Revelation*. Yet on a number of exegetical issues there were lively and controversial discussions. To show how Mather positioned himself within that broad consensus, Johnston’s survey of that summary will serve as a convenient framework of comparison.<sup>249</sup>

<sup>247</sup> Johnston, *Revelation Restored*, p. 27.

<sup>248</sup> This tract was included as an epilogue to his *An Exposition of the Revelation* (1639), in *The Works of Thomas Goodwin* (3:207–18).

<sup>249</sup> See ch. 1 (“Conventions in Restoration apocalyptic interpretation”) in Johnston, *Revelation Restored*, pp. 23–66.

*Interpreting the Eras of Church History:* Many commentators in Mather's orbit read the epistles to the seven churches of Asia as prophecies of the distinct historical ages of the church. As he historicizes the epistles as non-predictive addresses, however, the entire first three chapters of Revelation, in Mather's judgment, form the preface of that book. Like virtually all of his sources, Mather follows Mede's method of grouping John's complex visions across the different chapters of Revelation into "synchronisms" or contemporary periods, each corresponding with particular eras of church history. Most basically, Mather separates Revelation into two prophecies: the sealed book, from chapter 4 to 10, and the opened book, from chapter 11 to 22. Although separately revealed and chronologically confused, the visions comprised by these two major prophecies are understood to predict related figures and events, which could be cross-referenced and ordered into groups belonging to the same periods, so that eventually one coherent historical sequence might be established. The fourth chapter of Revelation, as Mather describes it, expanding upon his theatrical metaphor, is setting up the stage with a "Repræsentation of the *Universal Church*, not without a Pattern for an *Instituted Church*," followed by a "Prologue, in the *Fifth Chapter*," that outlines "our Lords Undertaking, to be the *Commissioner*, that should both exhibit, and execute, all that was going to be exhibited; And the Acclamations of the *Chorus* thereupon." To this Mather adds, that the "The Place where all is to be acted, is, *The Roman Empire*" and its modern successors. Beginning at chapter six, the basic "story" of this cosmic drama then unfolds as follows:

The Government of our Lord JESUS CHRIST over the World is to be discovered and administred; First, In Putting down all opposite Power, that stands in the Way; And, Then, in Assuming the Kingdome visibly to Himself, and the Saints; Accordingly, we have here the Story, how the Lord Putts down all the Essayes of Power in the *Roman Empire* one after another, that opposed His Kingdome; in several Successions, until He ha's worn out all that stand in the Way of His Coming to His Kingdome. But it Ends in a glorious Kingdome, which our Lord Setts up under the whole Heaven, and Employes His Holy Ones in the Management of it (BA 10:486).

Mather accepted Mede's suggestion that the major turns of events in this narrative corresponded with the three series of visions: the seven seals (Rev. 6:1–17, and 8:1), trumpets (8:2–9; 21, and 11:15–19), and vials (16:1–21). Together these constitute one overarching chronological sequence, but could be subdivided into major periods or acts. With the "*Seal-Prophecy*," Mather writes, John foresaw the period of the early Church "when the *Roman Monarchy* in its *pagan* Character, extended both East and West, ... and the World was wholly under the Dominion of *Satan, the God of this World*." The seals (in combination with the four horsemen) represented tribulations, such as famines, plagues, and foreign invasions, visited upon this "Empire of Satan," as divine punishment



for persecuting the Christians. Through them, God had been "Distressing the Roman Monarchy, until it, and the Emperours of it ... converted unto Christianity" in the fourth century. The "*Twelfth* Chapter of the *Book-Prophecy*," Mather adds, gives another "Abridgment of this great Event" (BA 10:486).

Yet even in the Christian Empire, "Rebellion against the Kingdome of our Lord continued" in various forms, including the state's meddling with the affairs of the church. For its presumption to define orthodoxy and its violent suppression of perceived heretics, Mather writes, God brought ruin "upon the civil Power of the Empire." John foresaw this in the vision of the trumpets (initiated by the final seal), "in the *Eighth* and *Ninth* Chapters." The first four trumpets predicted how the "*Western Part of the Empire*, must fall," through the "*Gothic troubles*" or Germanic invasions leading to the collapse of Roman imperial authority in the West by the middle of the fifth century. The fifth and sixth trumpets represented the growth of Islam in the "*Eastern Part of the Empire*," which must "Fall by the *Saracens* first, and then by the *Turks*" (BA 10:486). This process had started during the seventh century and culminated in the fall of Constantinople in 1453 and the subsequent advance of the Ottoman Empire into Eastern Europe. The afflictions that Muslim powers caused the Christian Empires also corresponded with the first two of the three woes mentioned in Rev. 9:13. The final passing of the second woe, as Mather argued against Mede, had not happened yet, but was to be expected for the immediate future when the Ottoman Empire would crumble.<sup>250</sup> The seventh trumpet and the third woe were still to come. The fulfillment of these prophecies would be the total destruction of Antichrist's reign. During this dark time of chaos and violence, a remnant of true Christians was providentially safeguarded (symbolized by the 144,000), so as to make sure "that a Profession of True Christianity may be præserv'd under all these Calamities."

According to the model established by Mede and adopted by Mather, the eleventh chapter marked the beginning of the opened-book prophecy. In the chapter's initial vision of the temple, the measuring of the inner court signified the purity of primitive Christianity, while the trampling of the outer court stood for the idolatrous corruption and suppression of that pristine faith during Antichrist's reign, which would last for forty-two prophetic months or years. These events, for Mather and other exegetes in the Medean tradition, ran parallel with the 1,260 years of the two witnesses prophesying in sackcloth and with the first six trumpets of the sealed book. Yet, as we shall see, there was much debate over precisely how to interpret the witnessing, death, and resurrection of the two witnesses, and how it corresponded with the destruction of mystical Babylon under the prophecies of the vials.

<sup>250</sup> See Mather's long essay on the trumpets and woes derived from Drue Cressener at Rev. 9 (BA 10:538–49).

With regard to chapter 12 and the woman clothed with the sun, there was again a broad consensus that she symbolized the early Church, her pains in childbirth the persecution of primitive Christians suffered under the dragon, and the war in heaven the contest between pagan Rome and the early Church. Together with many of his peers, Mather understood the dragon at its first appearance (Rev. 12:3) as the pagan Roman Empire persecuting Christians, while he interpreted subsequent mentionings (Rev. 12:4; 13:2; 4:11) as referring to the Empire after “putting on the *Papal Form*” but continuing “no less a *Dragon*” (BA 10:585) in its corruption and persecuting spirit. By the visions of the birth of the man-child and its being raised up to heaven, Mather and his interlocutors argued, John was given to see the conversion of Constantine and the beginning of Christendom. The vision of the woman carried into the wilderness then showed how the true church, supported by doctrinal orthodoxy, would have to flee from papal tyranny.

“The *Thirteenth* Chapter,” then, as Mather puts it in his summary account, “describes this Beast, and the *Seventeenth* expounds it” (BA 10:487). Entering the scene in Rev. 13:1–8, the beast rising out of the sea with seven heads and ten horns prefigured the continuation of Roman temporal government after the collapse of the Western Empire, according to a broad post-Medean consensus. It was identical with the beast carrying the whore (Rev. 17:3, 8, 11), which symbolized the emperors’s support for the rising power of the Antichristian Church of Rome. Mather, like most Medean interpreters, associated the seven heads of the beast with the seven hills of Rome and also the forms of government by which Rome had been ruled, with the last form symbolizing the papacy. The ten horns, on the other hand, had to be understood as the ten Germanic (or Gothic) kingdoms that emerged from the ruins of the Western Empire, which eventually all subjected “themselves unto the Command and Conduct of the *Pope*, who becomes the Successor to the Emperours of the *West*, and *Possessor* of their Empire, & *heals the Wound* that had been given to the *Roman Monarchy*” (BA 10:486). When exactly this happened was a major bone of contention among exegetes, but many, including Mather, thought sometime in the fifth century. Thus began the dark ages of “Antichristian Tyranny,” through which the Lord again preserved another remnant of true Christians (symbolized again by a “Company of 144,000 Christians”), that preserved “His Inheritance” until the dawn of the Reformation. Called “*Virgins* in Opposition to the *Scarlett-Whore*; of their Circumstances we read in the *Fourteenth* Chapter” (BA 10:487).

As this suggests, Mather – in keeping with his main sources and in opposition to the minority report of Grotius, Hammond, or Baxter – routinely identifies the whore (Rev. 17:1–7, 15–18), the beast carrying the whore, the beast that rises out of the earth (13:11–18), and the false prophet (16:13, 19:20) as all representing the Roman papacy under various aspects. While whoredom signified idolatry and false prophecy and the corruption of scriptural doctrine,

the apocalyptic beasts stood for the arrogation and abuse of spiritual as well as temporal power. Like many Protestant exegetes of the period, Mather also spills much ink on the number of the beast (Rev. 13:18), demonstrating by extensive numerological speculations spread over several manuscript pages how the 666 was a coded reference to the Papacy (*BA* 10:607–12).<sup>251</sup> Almost routinely, the multiple references to Babylon across Revelation (Rev. 14:8; 16:19; 17:5; 18:2, 10, 21) are read as typological references to Rome. Entirely conventional is also Mather's matter-of-fact assumption that these apocalyptic figures from Revelation are one and the same with the Antichrist (mentioned in 1 John 2:18, 22; 4:3; 2 John 7) and the man of sin of which 2 Thess. 2:3–12 speaks.

The “*Fifteenth* and *Sixteenth* Chapters” of Revelation mark the turning point in the cosmic drama described by Mather, as “Our Lord being by such Enemies kept as far off His Kingdome as He was before,” now “setts Himself to overcome the Remaining Difficulties, by pouring out His *Vials* upon these Enemies.” Again, there was wide agreement on this by those working in the vein of Mede, who all saw the apocalyptic vials as the tribulations visited on Rome and the enemies of true Christianity. These tribulations would eventually lead to the fall of Antichrist's reign. However, there was much argument over just how many vials had already been poured out, and whether the vials were contained by the final two trumpets or by the seventh trumpet alone. As we will see, Mather considerably wavered on this issue. Less controversial was the reading of the eighteenth chapter as, in Mather's phrase, “a *Funeral Song* of Triumph, over the Ruine of the *Antichrist*” (*BA* 10:487). Chapters 19 to 22 finally contained the happy resolution with Christ vanquishing His enemies and casting them into the lake of fire (Rev. 19:21), and then the resurrection of the saints, “the *Gathering* of both *Jewes* and *Gentiles* to serve the Lord; and the Descent of the *New Jerusalem* from Heaven, and that Kingdome of the Lord, which is to continue for a *Thousand Years*” (*BA* 10:487). As already suggested above, the question whether to expound these millennial promises in more literal or more spiritual terms, was undoubtedly the most contested of all questions, even among those working in the tradition of Mede.

Before we turn to this question, two other exegetical issues that Mather's sources wrangled over, and to which he himself devoted a lot of thought, ought to be mentioned. One was how to understand the prophecy of the two witnesses (Rev. 11:3–13), of whom it was said that they would prophesy in sackcloth for 1,260 days or years before they would be killed by the beast and left dead in the street for three and a half days or years before their resurrection. Like others before and after him, Mede synchronized the time of the witnesses' prophesying

<sup>251</sup> The number of the beast was one of the most frequently discussed issues of apocalyptic literature in the period. Mather's following speculations reflect a broad mainstream among English millenarians of the period. See David Brady, “The Number of the Beast in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century England” (1973).

with the 42 months assigned to the trampling of the outer court of the temple, the reign of the Antichristian beast (Rev. 11:2, 13:5), and the periods covered by the first six trumpets of the sealed book. Mede identified the witnesses as the keepers of the uncorrupted gospel before (e.g. the Waldensians) and after the Reformation. The prediction of their violent death in the street was to be interpreted allegorically. It signified their political or ecclesiastical exclusion under Roman authority, and their resurrection corresponded with the future destruction of mystical Babylon under the fifth vial. Over the years, Mather entertained a number of alternative interpretations, which he presented to his readers in the form of different “essays” on this prophecy. The first (BA 10:552–56) draws on Robert Fleming’s *The Rise and Fall of the Papacy*, which agreed with Mede that the slaughter and the resurrection of the witnesses occurred in the interval between the sixth and the seventh trumpet. However, Fleming identified this period as having started with Jan Hus and the Bohemian wars of the early fifteenth century, climaxing in the near annihilation of the witnesses around 1500. To Fleming, then, the prophecy had been completely fulfilled with the witnesses’ resurrection in the Reformation. No further slaughter of witnesses was to be expected that might bring Protestantism to the brink of total destruction: “For since then,” Mather summarizes Fleming, “the Reformed Religion ha’s been Established publicly in several Nations, and Authorized by Law, in Opposition to Popery, which it never was before” (BA 10:556).

The second essay (BA 10:556–62) reflects the influence of French Huguenot apocalypticism on Mather’s thinking, notably that of Pierre Jurieu’s *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies*, which also excited many other British millenarians by arguing that the prophecy concerning the witnesses was being fulfilled right before their eyes. The slaughtering of the two witnesses literally predicted the bloody persecution of Protestants in France and neighboring Piedmont, which began around 1655 with the persecutions in Piedmont and peaked in Louis XIV’s revocation of the Edict of Nantes in October 1685 and the subsequent religious war in southern France. Mather had firmly embraced this interpretation in his early millennialist tracts *Things to be Look’d For* (1691) and *A Midnight Cry* (1692). The interpretation had considerable influence on the hope he held then that Christ would return before the turn of the century.<sup>252</sup> As the decades went by, Mather’s doubts naturally grew and he treated Jurieu’s interpretation as one hypothesis among others.

According to Jurieu, the witnesses’ resurrection would be fulfilled in the re-establishment of French Protestantism, an event which would simultaneously mark the end of the witnesses prophesying in sackcloth and of the reign of Antichrist. To Jurieu, the seven vials of wrath had already been poured upon the Antichrist, and the Turkish woe was about to conclude with the expected

252 On Mather and Jurieu, see also *Tripuradismus*, pp. 63, 70, and 338.

collapse of the Ottoman Empire. The resurrection of the witnesses at the seventh trumpet blast (accompanied by a series of earthquakes) were all the remaining signs before the Second Coming. Jurieu's interpretation was also confirmed by Mather's second major Huguenot source, Philipot's *A New Systeme of the Apocalypse*. How exactly to date "*the Three Years and an half*, that the *Witnesses* are to ly thus *Dead*," became an equally thrilling and vexing question. Insisting on a literal understanding of these years, Jurieu originally looked toward 1689. But he had conceded, in Mather's words, that it cannot be known, "whether God will begin to reckon the *Three Years and an half* until other Princes have wholly extinguished the *Reformation* in their Dominions." One should therefore not be too rash, "to affirm, *That Deliverance must exactly come in such a Year*" (BA 10:560). Subsequently, Jurieu invested his hope in King William's joining the Great Alliance against Louis XIV and looked to an accomplishment of the prophecy in the early eighteenth century. In any case, Jurieu was convinced "That *Antichrist* is *Finishing* his Reign; and that the Church is now under the *last Persecution*" (BA 10:558). As Mather notes in a kind of autobiographical aside, he had been electrified when he first heard the news from France and read Jurieu to make sense of it, so much so that Mather got carried away in "the Year 1692" to draw a connection to the Salem Witch Trials and pronounced that these must be part of the very last raging of Antichrist. Subsequently, he was forced to change his mind. "Alas, more than Thrice Seven Years have Rolled away,"<sup>253</sup> he mused with melancholy in a later insertion, "since we made these Conjectures; but what Progress ha's been made in the Revival of the *French Witnesses*, whose *Three Years & an Half*, I was willing to begin, from the Slaughter of their Brethren the *Vaudois*, by the very same *Dragoons*, that had murdered them! Truly, None at all" (BA 10:562). Neither the War of the Great Alliance, or King William's War (1688–97), nor the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714) had brought down the great Catholic powers, and "the Infamous Peace of *Reswyck*, and the more Infamous one of *Utrecht*," had even accommodated them, without any guarantees for the legal protection of Protestants in France or Spain. Mather was at a loss as to how make sense of this.<sup>254</sup>

And so Mather searched further and wrote up a third essay on the prophecy based on Thomas Goodwin's analysis with three more additions from other Puritan exegetes (BA 10:563–73). While also futurist, Goodwin's exposition was at once more Anglocentric and more open with regard to the

<sup>253</sup> Mather seems to have originally written "Twice" and then to have corrected it to "more than Thrice," indicating he revisited this passage sometime after 1713, if indeed he was still counting from 1692.

<sup>254</sup> Signed in 1697, the Peace of Ryswick (or Rijswijk) ended the war of the Great Alliance (also called King William's War in America) with France (1689–97). The Peace of Utrecht (1713–1715) ended the War of the Spanish Succession. On these events, compare also *Tripurandisus*, p. 226.

expected fulfillment of the prophecy. He, too, opined that the slaughtering and resurrection of the witnesses was not yet in the past, for “*Antichrist* had not yett advanced so far as he was to do, on the *Outer Court*.” And he did not perceive “the Times of the *Sixth Trumpett* expiring, or any Remarkable Transaction afoot, relating to the *Turkish Power*” (BA 10:568).<sup>255</sup> Yet Goodwin thought that roughly an age before the blowing of the seventh trumpet, the best of the Protestant witnesses had begun the further Reformation that would eventually purge the church of all vestiges of Antichristian corruption. This process, he suggested to Mather, started with the sixteenth-century Puritan movement seeking to complete the Reformation in England. The killing and revival of the witnesses, Goodwin argued, might be accomplished gradually and by multiple fulfillments over the course of this struggle.<sup>256</sup> Whether there would also occur a literal slaughtering or whether the witnesses would only be subjected to “civil death,” Goodwin could not say. But at one or several points in time, the cause of English Protestantism (most faithfully embodied by Congregationalism) would be near extinct for three-and-a-half years. The subsequent resurrection of the witnesses was to be understood spiritually as a religious revolution restoring primitive Christianity in its pristine purity. Britain would figure as a central site in this eschatological contest. Goodwin, “finds more such *True Witnesses* in *Great Britain*,” Mather notes, “than in all the *Reformed Churches* besides. And those *last Champions* of the *Beast*, who receive only the *Number of his Name*, he finds more eminently conspicuous there,” too. In making additions to Goodwin’s interpretation, Mather offered proposals for what might have been partial fulfilments of the prophecy during the Restoration period and in the context of the Glorious Revolution. Mather did not endorse these as certain, but implied that, summarily, they suggested that the resurrection of the witnesses could not be far off (BA 10:571–73).

The second major issue to be mentioned here is that concerning the effusion or non-effusion of the vials. According to Mede, it has to be remembered, the vision of the seven vials predicted a series of historical events leading up to the destruction of the papacy. The first vial represented the forerunners of the Reformation – notably the Waldenses, Albigenses, Wycliffe, and the Hussites – the second stood for the Reformation, and the third was to be understood as the anti-Catholic laws implemented under Elizabeth. The “results of the fourth vial were being fulfilled,” as Mede conjectured in the mid-seventeenth century, “during his time in the events of the Thirty Years War. The events of the last three vials would be the destruction of Rome, the conversion of the Jews, and the defeat of the beast and its followers at Armageddon.”<sup>257</sup> Again, Mather

<sup>255</sup> Compare also *Trip paradisus*, p. 336.

<sup>256</sup> See Goodwin, *An Exposition* (Works 3:155–56).

<sup>257</sup> Johnston, *Revelation Restored*, p. 13.

in his annotations on Rev. 16 laid out three “hypotheses” he had successively compiled for how to refine Mede’s scheme. The first one was again based on Jurieu (*BA* 10:624–35).

The French theologian agreed that “the *Seven Vials* do imply *Seven Periods* of Time, which are to be Distinguished, one from another,” in which the Church of Rome suffered setbacks, disasters, or internal divisions that gradually weakened its authority and power. But he insisted that the first vial was poured out as early as the era of the crusades. The sixth vial, symbolizing the advance of the Ottoman Turks in Eastern Europe, was already spent, since the Ottomans were defeated at Vienna and had been on the retreat ever since. For Jurieu, the present period was part of the seventh vial, signifying the ongoing Reformation of the church, which “is the last Period of the Antichristian Kingdome; It shall comprehend its total Ruine.” The first six vials were comprehended under the six trumpets, while the final completion of the seventh vial, “or, the *Vintage* on the Papal Empire,” and the national conversion of the Jews, was to “be contemporary, & coincident with the *Seventh Trumpett*,” which, as we saw, Jurieu expected imminently (*BA* 10:634–35). In another personal aside, Mather confessed to his intended audience, “I have been sometimes ready to Admire this *Hypothesis*. The more I have consider’d of it, the more it ha’s appear’d Admirable to me.” As the years went by, however, Mather felt inclined to add two alternative readings. One was from *A New System of the Apocalypse* (written in direct response to Jurieu) and Thomas Beverley’s *A Scripture-line*, which both argued that “the *Seven Vials* do not arrive till the *Seventh Trumpett* begins to sound; and by Consequence, none of them are yett *poured out*” (*BA* 10:636).

The other hypothesis was again derived from Cressener’s *The Judgments of God Upon the Roman-Catholick Church*. It maintained that the effusion of the vials began only with the first victory of the Reformation ca. 1530. While the first four vials had been spent by the last third of seventeenth century, as Mather writes, the “rest of the *Vials*, according to Dr. *Cressener*, still remain to be poured out.” The fifth would “produce a wondrous Vexation in the Kingdome of *Antichrist*, at the Sight of a *New Reformation*; upon the *Resurrection of the Witnesses*,” and the sixth entail “a Judgment, wherein certain Princes beyond the River *Euphrates* will be concerned. Which implies, a Removal of the *Turkish* Empire in the mean Time.” At the battle of Armageddon, to be fought in the Holy Land, “the Papal Confæderates, and the *Eastern Princes*” would fight each other to near destruction. “The *Seventh Vial*,” finally, would bring on “the last Ruine of *Antichrist*” (*BA* 10:636–39). That Cressener did not expect this to happen before the nineteenth century, Mather silently omitted. This shows Mather’s own commitment to an earlier date for the onset of the millennium, which, however, he became increasingly reluctant to specify too precisely after suffering several sore disappointments. Finally, it should be added that his excerpts from William Whiston’s *An Essay on the Revelation of Saint John* contained yet another

hypothesis concerning the vials, which Mather summarized without attempting to reconcile the contradictions with the other proposed schemes (BA 10:771). Whiston held that the pouring out of the seven vials was yet in the future and synchronous with the seventh trumpet to be sounded at the return of Christ.

*Mather's Dating and Understanding of the Millennium:* Projecting dates for the fall of Antichrist and the dawn of the thousand-year reign of Christ was, of course, a common pursuit among futurist millennialists in the Reformed-Puritan tradition. They all assumed that, taken together and read correctly, the prophecies yielded an apocalyptic timetable, allowing for scripturally well-grounded conjectures, even if Matt. 24:36 said, "No one knows when that day or hour will come." Historicist and hyperliteralist exegetes of Mather's kind understood this warning to say precisely that: One might not be able to pinpoint the exact day or hour, but the year could certainly be known, or, at the very least, a range of years within which to expect the Second Coming. The Newtonians and others aspired to turn millennium mathematics into an exact science, which could calculate with a very high degree of probability when the prophesied latter-day events would go down. While they shared the same basic assumption and all followed Mede's synchronization method, few of the exegetes Mather was in conversation with could ever fully agree on the dates. And those, like Mather, who decided to put them in the near future, were frequently forced to recalculate when history proved them wrong.

What were the basic assumptions in the tradition of Mede? For one, it was assumed that all the historical events foreseen in Revelation concerned only the fate of the church within the world of the Roman Empire and its successors. This was justified by arguing that Revelation was, in Mather's formulation, an explication "on what we have in the *Seventh* Chapter of *Daniel*, about the *Fourth Beast* in the Visions" (BA 10:442).<sup>258</sup> According to a long tradition, the four beasts in Daniel (Dan. 2:31–44, 7:1–28) represented the Babylonian, Medo-Persian, Greek, and the Roman Empires respectively. And the little horn among the ten horns, upon the last head of that beast (Dan. 7:8) was the Bishop of Rome. Hence, Mather argued, in Revelation "No Notice is taken of Events that happen without the Bounds of the *Roman Empire*; because God Reveals not Events, but with respect unto His *Church*, which is the Object of His peculiar Love" (BA 10:442–3).<sup>259</sup> The original or first Roman Empire was succeeded by the ten Germanic kingdoms from which, in this interpretation, all modern European kingdoms developed, which were represented by the seven-headed beast with ten horns and crowns (Rev. 13:1). The second basic assumption was that the Scripture prophecies' predictions referred to the exact duration of two key periods in church history, running parallel to each other: one was the reign

<sup>258</sup> Compare also *Trip paradisus*, p. 333.

<sup>259</sup> Compare also *Trip paradisus*, p. 334.



of Antichrist and the second what was often called the “wilderness condition” of the church under the persecution of the beast.

According to the third assumption, Revelation (but also Daniel) provided several chronometric units in which these periods were measured. There were the 1,260 days of the witnesses prophesying in sackcloth and of the woman hiding in the wilderness (Rev. 11:3 and 12:6), and the forty-two months for which the gentiles or false Christians were allowed to trample the outer court (i. e. to defile the pure faith) and the beast to hold power (Rev. 11:2 and 13:5). Moreover, the woman, after giving birth to the man-child, was nourished in the wilderness for “a time, times, and half a time” (Rev. 12:14), which interpreters connected to the mentioning of the same mysterious time reference in Dan. 7:25 and 12:7. Following the widely accepted day-year principle, the prophetic days into which these units could be broken down were understood to signify actual years in history. Hence the 1,260 days were understood as 1,260 years, and the forty-two months as “months of years” which equaled 1,260 years (42x30 prophetic days). As Mede had suggested, these 1,260 years also equaled the three-and-a-half times. Dividing the former figure by the latter, one arrived at 360 years per “time.” Therefore, the “time, and times, and half a time” for Antichrist’s reign and the church’s wilderness condition respectively amounted to 360 years, 720 years, and 180 years.<sup>260</sup> With all chronometric units measuring an equal amount of time and thus referring to the same parallel developments in church history, the overriding concern became to find the point at which they all began. Once that fulcrum was in place, calculating the end date of Antichrist’s reign and the persecution of the true church became a simple mathematical exercise, in which one added 1,260 years to the starting date. The starting date and the end of the 1,260 years simultaneously provided the historical framework into which the entire sequence of events corresponding with the various cycles of visions had to be fitted. And although students of Revelation often allowed for some delay after the passing of the 1,260 years, the projected end of Antichrist’s reign also indicated the imminent onset of the millennium.

Since the millennialists that Mather consulted were almost all Protestants, many of the “hotter” sort, they connected the rise of Antichrist’s reign with the Bishop of Rome’s claim to supreme authority over the entire Church and the Papacy’s growing arrogation of temporal or civil authority vis-à-vis the successors of the Roman Empire. In this interpretative scheme, the two beasts of Revelation 13 symbolized the civil and ecclesiastical nature of papal rule. This rising Roman tyranny, as it was often styled, had obscured the true nature of the church and opened the doors for the infiltration of apostasy into Christianity. However, Rome’s struggle to wield the power of both swords (while delegating the sword of temporal power to faithful kings) was obviously a long and complicated

---

<sup>260</sup> Compare also *Tripuraditus*, p. 71.

historical process with many ups and downs, climaxing in the contests between popes and emperors during the middle ages. The difficulty was in determining an exact beginning of the Roman apostasy. “We know, That a Period of 1,260 Years, is allow’d unto the Empire of *Antichrist*,” Mather admitted in a note on Rev. 17:12, “But we don’t know when to Begin that Period in our Computation” (BA 10:651). Yet there were notable intimations to direct and comfort students of the apocalypse. Among Mather’s sources certain key events of church history were frequently discussed. Central importance was given, for instance, to Emperor Phocas accepting Pope Boniface III’s aspiration to the title of universal bishop in 606. Some, such as Drue Cressener or Matthew Poole, thus took the early seventh century as the actual onset of Antichrist’s reign, which placed the beginning of the millennium in the nineteenth century. The majority, however, and Mather among them, saw Boniface’s acceptance of the title as the symptom of a disease, the root cause of which could be found earlier around the time the old Roman Empire collapsed in the middle of the fifth century.

Even though Joseph Mede was always careful not to give too much room to such speculations, he had suggested that 455/56 or 476 might be the decisive dates from which to count the 1,260 years. In 455, Genseric or Gaiseric (c. 389–477), king of the Vandals and Alans (428–477), captured and plundered the city of Rome, an event that contributed much to the collapse of the western Roman Empire.<sup>261</sup> 476 was the date the reign of the last Western Emperor Augustulus ended, when the “barbarian” Flavius Odoacer (431–491) deposed him and made himself king of Italy.<sup>262</sup> This, Mede thought, made possible Rome’s ambition to exercise jurisdiction over the Germanic kingdoms that emerged from the ruins of the empire around this time. The two dates remained fixtures in millennialist discourse well into the early eighteenth century. The younger Cotton Mather, however, had been even more daring in his hopes. In several millennialist tracts he published during the last decade of the seventeenth century, including *Things to be Look’d For* and *A Midnight Cry*, he set his sight on 1697 as the time when Antichrist’s reign might come to an end. Mather placed the beginning of the 1,260 years of the church’s wilderness condition at 437, when Germanic tribes made ever deeper incursions into the territories of the Western Empire. Mather was not alone in this. Thomas Beverley, for instance, maintained the same thing in numerous publications. Alsted, in his widely influential *Diatribes de mille annis apocalypticas* (1627), had even argued for 1694.

But 1697 passed without a major revolution in global affairs. Sometime thereafter, Mather embraced Mede’s calculations according to which the early eighteenth century would bring the desired revolution. He looked to 1716 (or 1736 at the very latest) as the decisive year. This is what we can gather from Mather’s “Problema Theologicum,” where he proposes that date to Noyes. The

<sup>261</sup> Compare also *Tripuraditus*, p. 317.

<sup>262</sup> Compare also *Tripuraditus*, p. 76.

relevant “Biblia” annotations show that Mather was encouraged to take that step by reading the works of several major works in the tradition of Mede, most importantly the commentaries on Revelation by Jurieu and Whiston, as well as Samuel Lee’s *Antichristi Excidium* and Walter Garrett’s *A Discourse concerning Antichrist*, which all provided further historical evidence. Jurieu made an elaborate case for the 450s as a watershed decade, when “the Principal Points of *Popery* were introduced.” For Jurieu, the beginning of all later papal claims to universal jurisdiction could be found in the pontificate of Leo I, who, during the Council of Chalcedon in 451, officially established the Bishop of Rome as the supreme ruler of the church.<sup>263</sup> At almost the exact same time, ten Germanic kingdoms had arisen “from the Dismembred *Roman Empire*,” prefigured by the ten horns of the seven-headed beast that rises out of the sea. The Germanic kingdoms would eventually all subject themselves to the authority of the pope – hence the “name of blasphemy” written on their heads (Rev. 13:1). The sacking of Rome in 455 then was the finishing blow in “the Desolation of the *Roman Empire*,” to be calculated from “the Descent made upon it, by *Gensericus*.”<sup>264</sup> “Now, you will presently see,” Mather jubilated, “whereabout we are. Not long after the Year, 1710, or, 1715.” “Great things are to be looked for,” he thought, maybe even before but certainly around 1716 (*BA* 10:659).

Extensively cited by Mather, Lee’s *Antichristi Excidium* and Garrett’s *A Discourse concerning Antichrist* hewed even more closely to Mede. Lee argued that the epoch in which the ten kings rose to power was the very same epoch “when we find the *Papal Beast receiving his Power*,” under the pontificate of Innocent I (from 401 to 417), who already strove mightily for “the *Supremacy* of the Bishop of *Rome*.” However, this epoch, Lee insisted, “may have a due *Breadth* allowed unto it, Reckon from the Year, 410. when the Last of the *Ten Kings* is up, to the Year, 476. when the *Western-Empire* utterly gave up the Ghost; and until which none of the *Ten Kings* were in the free and safe Possession of their *Crownes*” (*BA* 10:654). Garrett agreed that “the Antichristian Beast ... begun his Reign about the Year, 456. when these *Ten Horns*, or *Kings*, were arisen in the *Roman Empire*,” but pointed out that “in a Computation of this Nature, some Latitude of the Years, may in Reason be allow’d of. An allowance of Forty or Fifty Years, to fix an *Epoch* of 1,260 Years, is not very considerable” (*BA* 10:663).

When Mather excerpted Whiston’s *An Essay on the Revelation of Saint John* shortly after its publication in 1706, he found in it an incredibly detailed – and, as he then thought, most accurate – elaboration of Mede’s familiar 456–1716 framework. Whiston’s scheme accommodated all the visions of Revelation and matched them to very specific historical events. Whiston was very confident that 1716 would see “the time of the Commencing of Christ’s Kingdom

<sup>263</sup> Compare also *Triparadisus*, p. 73.

<sup>264</sup> From Jurieu, *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies*, pp. 49–54.

upon the first fall of Antichrist,” even though he gestured to 1736 as a fallback date.<sup>265</sup> While there was no absolutely “certain demonstration,” the “exactness in the Coincidence of such large and express numbers seems to me not a little remarkable, and worthy of more than ordinary consideration.”<sup>266</sup> Among many other things, Whiston went to great length to show that the Franks had established the last of the ten Germanic kingdoms in the year 456, right after Genseric’s sacking of Rome. Mather praised the renowned mathematician as “wondrous exact in this Matter,” and thought he “in his Exactness ha’s outdone all that have gone before him” (BA 10:787). Likewise, to cite another example, Whiston demonstrated from various Huguenot sources that the prophecy of the two witnesses was indeed to be connected to the ongoing religious conflicts in Piedmont and southern France. Mather was ecstatic, recounting how he, after “some Discouragements that have occur’d since the Year 1690,” had retracted his erstwhile conjectures, while now, “at the Perswasion of Mr. *Whiston*, I retract my Retraction. I will Return to my dear *Vaudois*, and expect an astonishing thing to be done for them, at or soon after,<sup>267</sup> A.D. 1716”. Overall, Mather found great “comfort” in the “*Whistonian* Illustrations” (BA 10:785, 783).

The claim that 1716 might mark the turning of the tide would also have made perfect sense to Mather because of how he perceived the state of affairs in the worldwide contest between the Protestant Cause and Catholicism after the War of the Spanish Succession. Things were still hanging in the balance. In his treatise *Menachem: A Very Brief Essay of Tokens for Good*, published that same year, Mather addressed this situation in dramatic words. “[T]he prevailing of Popery,” he wrote, “has been Formidable;” “the Protestant Interest, has been reduced so Low, that it has not at this Day much more than *Half* of that Extent of People and Countreys, which it had acquired in Sixty Years, after the Appearance of the *First Reformers*.”<sup>268</sup> Yet his millennialist views gave him hope that the past decades might have been the last raging of the Antichrist before his fall. By the providence of God, the evangelical churches would prevail against all odds. To Mather’s mind, the failure of the Stuart uprisings, the capture of Acadia, the Hanoverian succession to the English throne in 1714, and the death of Louis XIV the following year were all providential tokens “for Good unto the Protestant Religion.”<sup>269</sup> Mather also saw his ecumenical efforts as part of this latter-day scenario. “*The Reformation of the Church* will shortly be revived in greater Purity than ever. The Kingdom of *Antichrist* shall undergo the Destruction which has been long hoped for it,” Mather asserted in *The Stone Cut out of the Mountain*. One essential means towards that end was the convergence of the churches of

<sup>265</sup> Compare also *Tripuradisis*, p. 75.

<sup>266</sup> Whiston, *An Essay*, pp. 222, 248, 270–72.

<sup>267</sup> The phrase “or soon after” is a later insertion. See Mather’s annotations on Rev. 11:1–14.

<sup>268</sup> Mather, *Menachem*, 31.

<sup>269</sup> Mather, *Menachem*, 34.

the Reformation around the shared "*Maxims of the Everlasting Gospel*," which, as Mather wrote with reference to the prophecy of Daniel, "shall be a *Stone Cut out of the Mountain*, that will smite all the Kingdoms of the *Papacy*, and break them to pieces, and consume them, and become a *Great Mountain*, which the *whole Earth shall be filled withall*."<sup>270</sup>

After 1716 came and went, Mather and Whiston, like numerous other British millenarians scrambled to readjust their schemes. But the Boston clergyman made a point of no longer heeding what Whiston had to say on the subject, after the latter was removed from office for his Arianism. In later editions of *An Essay on the Revelation of Saint John* and also in *The Accomplishment of Scripture Prophecies* (first ed. 1708), Whiston reverted back to Mede's second suggestion of 1736 for the starting date of the millennium. Moreover, Whiston argued that the Papacy did not achieve full authority over the Germanic kingdoms until 606, when Boniface III gained his title of universal bishop. Thus, Whiston came to believe, as Force explains, "that between the years 1736 and 1866, a gradual wearing down of anti-Christian authority would occur as each one of the ten successor kingdoms in Europe defected from Antichrist."<sup>271</sup> The same period would also see the restoration and national conversion of the Jews as well as the rebuilding of the temple in the Holy Land. Mather similarly fell back on 476 as a starting date, so that, as he had noted from Lee, the "1,260 Years allotted for the Reign of *Antichrist*, must of necessity expire by the Year 1736. at farthest; and may (which God grant, if it be His Will,) expire before (*BA* 10:654)." However, like Whiston, "he had learned to be much more cautious about predicting the exact year of the cosmic event," by the time he finished the third section of *Trip paradisus* in 1726. He restricted himself instead to announcing that the downfall of the Antichrist was to be expected very soon – sometime between 1736 and the end of the century.<sup>272</sup>

In the final essay appended to the "*Biblia*," titled "Expectanda," which Mather must have written right around the same time that he finished the *Trip paradisus*, he looked to another Newtonian, William Burnet, to assure himself that by "all just and fair Computations the *Twelve Hundred Sixty Years* allowed for the *Papal Empire* must be near; if not quite, expired" (*BA* 10:962–63). However, as Burnet suggested, there might be a temporal gap of about 75 years between the downfall of Antichrist and the onset of the millennium, if one took into account that Dan. 12:12–13 said that the blessed who "shalt rest, and stand in thy lot at the end of the days" had to wait for a "thousand three hundred and five and thirty days." Hence the years remaining before the beginning of that blessed age, "are not likely to extend beyond the present Century. Yea, For

<sup>270</sup> Mather, *The Stone*, 12.

<sup>271</sup> Force, *William Whiston*, p. 116.

<sup>272</sup> Smolinski's "Introduction," *Trip paradisus*, p. 64. Mather's final reflections on the commencement of the millennium appear on pp. 338–41.

aught any man alive can say, The *Midnightcry* may be heard before to morrow Morning" (BA 10:964).<sup>273</sup> Significantly, Mather in "Expectanda," also alludes to the fact that he, in his final years, came to the conviction that the slaughtering of the witnesses was in the past and the effusion of the vials all but complete: "Those awful Things, which our Lord foretold, as, *The Signs of His Coming*," he noted with grim satisfaction, "have been *all* actually exhibited; we have had 'em *all*, in all the Persons of them; and a stupid World has not understood them!" (BA 10:963). Though plagued by doubts, Mather therefore continued to convince himself that the basics of his millennial mathematics were sound, no matter if some minor mistakes had crept into the calculations and a certain gradualism had to be allowed for the accomplishments of the very last things.

Among those who believed in a future millennium, the debates were not confined to the matter of dating its commencement. As suggested above, it was equally contested whether Christ would return before or after the binding of the dragon for a thousand years (Rev. 20:2–3), what form His presence and governance would take over the millennial earth, and who the saints were that would rule with him (Rev. 20:4). Would their company include the people of Israel after their national restoration and conversion? No less controversial was the question concerning how to understand the first resurrection of the witnesses and martyrs (Rev. 20:5) in relation to the general resurrection to be expected at the Last Judgment. And would the destruction of the old sinful world, and the creation of a new heavens and new earth take place at the beginning or the end of the thousand years (Rev. 21:1)? Mather laid out his positions on all these questions in "Problema Theologicum." They are, with some modifications, repeated in the annotations on Rev. 20 (BA 10:712–27), reflecting the fact that Mather's views remained largely unchanged – with two significant exceptions to be discussed below.

An additional, essay-like entry on Rev. 20 presents Mather's views in a nutshell and thus lends itself for the purposes of this introduction. In this entry, Mather excerpts a manuscript tract in the family's possession written by, as he puts it, "a pious and worthy old Gentleman of *New England*, whose Name was Mr. *William Torrey*," who "did in the Seventy Ninth Year of his Age, write a Treatise, which he entituled, *A Discourse concerning Futurities*. The Treatise is yett in Manuscript, and perhaps never likely to be otherwise" (BA 10:712). As explained above, it was published in 1757 by none other than Thomas Prince, who also praised its elaborate eschatological scheme.<sup>274</sup> Mather found in Torrey's work confirmation for most of his own eschatological views. Mather's final

273 In his annotations on Dan. 12v Mather also included a large excerpt from William Burnet's *An Essay on Scripture-Prophecy*, in which it is proposed that the rapid decline of Antichrist's reign had begun in 1715 and that the millennium might begin around 1790, at the latest.

274 *A brief Discourse concerning Futurities or Things to come* (1757). Compare Mather's reference in *Trip paradisus*, p. 314.

thoughts on eschatology are again condensed in the "Expectanda"-essay, which serves as a second reference point here.

Like Torrey, Mather had no doubt "That the *Second Coming* of the Lord, will be, at the Beginning of the *Millennium*," and that Christ's "personal, visible, & glorious Appearance" would come to a largely unexpected and sinful world in "times of deep Security, general Sensuality, Horrible Profanitie, & almost universal Apostasie." The world would not gradually improve during a millennial era preceding the Parousia. Instead, Christ's coming would immediately and supernaturally end this "Time of Wickedness" to erect His kingdom on earth. (BA 10:713). "The *Second Coming* of the Lord, will be at and for the Destruction of the *Man of Sin*, and Extinction of the *Roman Monarchy*, under the *Papal Form* of it," Mather emphasized in his "Expectanda"-essay. He thought it completely unaccountable for "any wise men" to interpret "the *Brightness of His Coming*, and His *Coming in the Clouds of Heaven* for this Purpose, as if it meant any thing but the Second, Literal, Personal *Coming* of the Lord" (BA 10:960). As Christ descended from the clouds with His heavenly host, Mather and Torrey agreed, the old world would be purged of the church's enemies in a first fulfillment of the Petrine "*Conflagration*, which will be at the Beginning of the *Millennium*, (and which differs from that at the Conclusion of it,) will fall only upon such as are Actually then in Arms against our Lord Jesus Christ" (BA 10:713). Only the destructions of a literal fiery "*Conflagration*" could enable the creation of an actual New Heavens and New Earth. Preterist or spiritual interpretations robbed the faithful of their most precious hope, as Mather underlined in "Expectanda." "To make the *New Heavens & New Earth*, signify no more than the Church-State of the *Gospel*, Away with so shameful Hallucinations!" he exclaimed. No, the "Happy Times" promised "for the Church of GOD upon *Earth*" could not arrive without the building of a "*New Earth*" from the ruins of the old. For interpreters to assume that the church could hope to conquer all sin and prosper "*Before the Petrine Conflagration*, tis an Absurdity so very marvellous, one cannot but be surprized at any one falling into it" (BA 10:960).

Then the First Resurrection would take place. It had to be as clearly distinguished, Mather and Torrey insisted, from the post-millennial Second or General Resurrection, as had to be "the *Inchoate Judgment*, and the *General Judgment*." Following Christ's "*Inchoate Judgment*," to separate His true witnesses from the worshippers of the Beast, the "*First Resurrection*" would only concern these "*Saints at His Coming*." However, the First Resurrection needed to be understood as literally and corporally as the Second Resurrection (BA 10:714). At Rev. 20, Mather also added long explanations why it was utterly mistaken to understand the First Resurrection in spiritual or political terms, as many millennialists had done, and on how most of the primitive Christians had believed in the literal raising of the martyrs from the dead in conjunction with the personal return of Christ.

Mather made a distinction between the raised witnesses and the saints alive at Christ's Second Coming. The former would no longer be subject to sin and death, while the latter would still feel that sting, though with diminished intensity. During the millennium, he writes in the annotations overlapping with "Problema Theologicum," "there will be Two Sorts of Men in the World. There will be in the *New Jerusalem* the *Raised Saints*, who will be *equal to the Angels*, and will indeed be the *Angels*, the *Teachers* and the *Rulers* of the *New World*." On the other hand, "there will be the *saved Nations*, who will *walk in the Light* of that *New Jerusalem*, and be under the Influence of that *City of God*" (BA 10:747). Mather assumed that the abode of Christ and his raised saints, located at some distance from the earth, would be the "*Holy Jerusalem* come down into the *New Heavens*, wherein there shall be the *Glory of God*, and the *Throne of God* & of the *Lamb* shall be in it, and *His Servants* there shall serve Him, & see His Face" (BA 10:754). Before he changed his views on this topic late in life (see below), Mather thought this material New Jerusalem would hover above the old city of Jerusalem in the Holy Land, complete with a rebuilt temple, which would form the political and ecclesial center of the saved nations. From that center would emanate the influence of unadulterated Christianity across the New Earth and a reign of righteousness would spread through the saved nations. This reign, however, would not encompass all of humanity. With true religion holiness, justice, prosperity, and learning would rise to unprecedented levels, but never make laws and the sword of the magistrate wholly unnecessary. Generally speaking, therefore, Mather originally held an "inchoate" view of the millennium, according to which Christ's dominion was at no point during the millennium a total one. Geographically and politically, Christ's kingdom and the renovated church would progressively spread from the Holy Land over a globe freed from the minions of Antichrist and thus made receptive to the true gospel. In this way, the league of saved nations would grow. The power of sin and death were not completely extinct, but dramatically reduced and progressively diminishing as time went by. Yet, deathless and sinless perfection Mather only expected on the other side of the Last Judgment.

Before that was to occur at the conclusion of the thousand years, Mather, like most millennialists in the tradition of Mede, anticipated a short resurgence of Satan and the enemies of Christ who would be allowed to make war against the Church one last time. For Rev. 20:7–10 predicted that after the expiration of the thousand years, "Satan shall be loosed out of his prison" once more "to deceive the nations which are in the four quarters of the earth, Gog and Magog, to gather them together" to embattle "the camp of the saints" and "the beloved city" before "fire" would come "down from God out of heaven" and devour them. Of course, Mather was firmly convinced this final act would also play out quite literally. As he put it in the notes overlapping with "Problema," when the reign of Christ from New Jerusalem had run its course, "there shall be an



Unaccountable Attempt from *Hell* against that *Holy City*.” Given, however, that at this point the earth had been under the influence of Christ’s saints for a thousand years, this raised the troubling question: “*who, and whence, will be the Wretches that make this attempt?*” (BA 10:747). Where was one to find Gog and Magog? Mather devoted several entries to this vexing problem without arriving at a final conclusion. Even in the *Trip paradisi*, where a short appendix is devoted to this issue, Mather admitted that the identity of Gog and Magog ultimately remained shrouded in mystery. Still he developed some strong ideas.

One important factor that kept Mather searching for a clearer answer was his interest in the influential millennialist speculations of Nicholas Fuller and especially Joseph Mede.<sup>275</sup> Both English scholars assumed that the Gog and Magog of Rev. 20:8–9 were the natural offspring of Old Israel’s archenemy Gog mentioned in Ezek. 38:3. Like Mather, they thought that Japheth’s second son Magog, widely assumed to be the primeval ancestor of the Scythians, was also the progenitor of the American Indians. However, they drew very different and, from an American perspective, very troubling conclusions from this pedigree. Mede, in agreement with Fuller’s suggestions, conjectured that Christ’s thousand-year reign on earth would only encompass the territory of Daniel’s four empires (Dan. 2:31–45), identified as Babylon, Medo-Persia, Greece, and Rome. This would make the Old World the “sole partaker of the promised instauration.”<sup>276</sup> Specifically, Mede, as Mather paraphrases the English theologian in a note on Rev. 20, argued that the entire “*American Hemisphere*” could not partake “in the Blessedness of the *Thousand Years*” (BA 10:748).<sup>277</sup> According to Mede, America was the place where Satan would gather an army from these deceived nations and attack the saintly community of the new spiritual Israel at the end of the millennium. The “nations &c., which are spiritually called *Gog and Magog*” by the prophet, Mede wrote, were literally the native “inhabitants of the land of *America*, both Northern and Southern,” since these peoples genealogically descended from “Colonies of the nation of *Magog*.”<sup>278</sup>

Mather did not ascribe any special providential role or sacred significance to the New World, but, naturally, he could also not accept to have it excluded from God’s redemptive plan in this way. In the “Biblia” commentary on Rev. 20,

<sup>275</sup> Nicholas Fuller’s thoughts on the place of America in the Christianography of the millennial kingdom appear in his *Miscellaneorum theologicorum libri tres* (1612). Much more influential were the speculations on this topic made by Mede in an appendix to the enlarged edition of his *Key of the Revelation* (1650), entitled “A Conjecture concerning *Gog and Magog* in Revelation.” Cotton Mather attacked Mede’s theory on many occasions, including the opening chapter of the *Magnalia Christi Americana*, his “Problema Theologicum,” *Theopolis Americana* (1710), and the *Trip paradisi*, pp. 289–94.

<sup>276</sup> Mede, “A Conjecture concerning *Gog and Magog* in the Revelation,” no pagination.

<sup>277</sup> See also *Trip paradisi*, p. 55.

<sup>278</sup> Mede, “A Conjecture concerning *Gog and Magog* in the Revelation,” no pagination.

he frankly stated: "I that am an *American*, and at work upon BIBLIA AMERICANA, must needs be lothe, to allow all *America* still unto the *Divels Possession*, when our Lord shall possess all the rest of the World ... " (BA 10:748).<sup>279</sup> William Torrey's manuscript seems to have provided Mather with the basic defensive argument that he needed. Torrey made a case that the Gog of Ezekiel had no real connection to the Gog and Magog of Revelation. Mather incorporated this into his "Biblia" entry on Rev. 20: "The *Gog* and *Magog* of *Ezekiel*, are contemporary with the First Return of the *Jewes*, to the Repossession of the Holy Land. Their Principal War, is with the *Jewish Nation*. But the *Gog* and *Magog* of *John*" would not appear after the new spiritual Israel had reigned over the millennial kingdom with Christ for a thousand years: "And their Quarrel will be against the whole Church of God upon Earth. In *Ezekiel's* Action, the terriblest Battel is fought, that ever was in the World. In *Johns*, there is not a Stroke Struck on either side, but Fire from Heaven decides the Controversy" (BA 10:712). Christ would annihilate them in an instant.

Mather agreed that, historically speaking, the Native Americans were descendants of the ancient Scythians, who were in turn descended from Gog, offspring of Japheth, one of the three sons of Noah.<sup>280</sup> As Torrey helped him to argue, however, this did not imply that the inhabitants of America had to be identified as the eschatological Gog and Magog of Revelation, and hence be interpreted in a spiritual or prophetic sense as the deceived nations who would engage the saints in the final battle at the end of the millennium. But if the Native Americans were not the eschatological Gog and Magog, and America is not to be taken for the symbolical "four corners of the earth," who were Gog and Magog and where would they come from? Mather was ready to admit that he had no certain way of knowing. However, he rejected it as unscriptural and unreasonable to collectively exclude all Americans, either natives or colonists, from the camp of the saints, and condemn them to the outer darkness at the end of time.

The most likely scenario, Mather thought, was that the armies of Gog and Magog would literally gather from all directions of the globe in the wake of the general resurrection. They would be comprised of the demonic legions of Satan released from the pit as well as the condemned sinners raised from their temporary hell and those who would – according to God's eternal decree – reject Christ incarnate after their resurrection. For Mather thought it likely that all "those, who in their first Life-time, never had the Offer of a REDEEMER made

<sup>279</sup> Compare also *Tripuraditus*, p. 42.

<sup>280</sup> See Stievermann "The Genealogy of Races and the Problem of Slavery in Cotton Mather's 'Biblia Americana'" (2010), pp. 537–46, and Richard W. Cogley, "The Ancestry of the American Indians: Thomas Thorowgood's *Jewes in America* (1650) and *Jews in America* (1660)" (2005).

unto them,” including the ancient peoples and all the heathen nations never reached by Christian missionaries, “shall then enjoy the Offer; which Some (as it is *Now*) shall Accept, & be admitted into the *Camp of the Saints*; but as the Most (as it is *Now*) shall, thro’ the venomous & bewitching Influences of Satan upon them, Refuse, and be drawn into a Plott, which will bring Fire from Heaven upon them.”<sup>281</sup> This final battle would end in another fiery inferno from heaven, in which Peter’s prophecy of the conflagration were to have its ultimate fulfillment. The eschatological Gog and Magog would be consumed and sent to unending punishment in the flames of eternal hell. This would complete the Last Judgment (*BA* 10:722). Inversely, the saints living on earth at the end of the millennium would all be transported to the heavenly New Jerusalem. Here, they would join the angels in enjoying the blessing of eternal life and the beatific vision in the third paradise or highest heaven.

## 2.8. Major Changes in Mather’s Later Eschatology

The “Biblia”-manuscript documents how Mather, during the last years of his life, altered his opinions on two much-debated issues among millennialist exegetes: the extent and effect of the conflagration at the beginning of Christ’s reign, and the eschatological conversion of the Jews. Rethinking the conflagration also entailed changes in how he imagined the nature of the millennium itself as well as the New Heavens and Earth. In his recent study, John H. Duff demonstrated that the New Heavens and Earth (mentioned in Isaiah, 2 Peter, and Revelation) were a subject of considerable debate among seventeenth-century English students of eschatology. Broadly speaking, exegetes were divided into two camps. The first camp was comprised of those who understood these biblical promises as allegorical-spiritual allusions to dramatic “changes in the civil and religious fortunes of the church.” These changes were either located during the Apostolic age (for John Lightfoot, Henry Hammond but also John Owen, for instance, the new dispensation had begun with the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 CE), or were expected to occur during the final age of history. Many futurist millennialists held to this stance. However, there was also a second school of exegetes who conceived of the New Heavens and Earth much more literally, “believing its fulfilment consisted of a renovation of the material world at the consummation of all things.”<sup>282</sup> Some of these exegetes, such as John Seager (d. 1656) or Thomas Collier (c. 1615–1691), even claimed that Christ would erect his eternal kingdom on the renovated earth, and that this

<sup>281</sup> Compare *Trip Paradise*, p. 294.

<sup>282</sup> John H. Duff, “A Knot Worth Unloosing”: *The Interpretation of the New Heavens and Earth in Seventeenth-Century England* (2019), p. 221.

New Earth would also serve as the final abode of the saints after the last Judgment. As we will see, with his re-interpretation of the Petrine conflagration, Mather ended up occupying a unique exegetical position between the spiritualizing, church-centered view of the New Heavens and Earth widely shared by seventeenth-century millennialists and the hope for a physical renovation of the entire creation embraced by theologians such as Seager.

For a long time, Mather, like other futurist millennialists (including his father), had conjectured that the conflagration might be locally confined to the territories under the sway of Antichrist, starting with Rome itself. While this fiery inundation was expected to destroy most of Christ's enemies, sin and unbelief would not be entirely rooted out. Eventually, however, Mather became disenchanted with this scenario of an inchoate millennium that made the New Earth look too much like the old. He imagined a truly global and all-consuming conflagration that would free the world of all sin, creating a *tabula rasa* from which to truly begin again. But what about the saints alive at that time of the Second Coming, who would still be bound to their old sinful and fragile bodies? What would happen to them in this inferno, from which nothing short of a direct supernatural intervention could save the living saints?

How much this question concerned Mather and other millennialists of a similar literalist bent can be deduced from his engagement with Torrey, who had also agonized that if "the *Conflagration* at this Time" would be so "very Considerable and Formidable," how then "the Good Men, and the other Creatures, that are to be preserved when the World shall be in such a tremendous flame, shall receive their Præservation"? As Mather noted from Torrey,

This is a Quæstion too hard for me. Neither do I know, that it is Reveled in the Scripture. But, tho' we do not know, yett, *The Lord knowes how to deliver the Godly out of Temptation, when the Unjust shall be reserved to the Day of Judgment, to be punished*: [2. Pet. 2.9.] And we do know, That *Faith* ha's *quenched the Violence of the Fire*. [Heb. 11.34.] And that the *Fire* which burnt up the mightiest Men of *Nebuchadnezzars* Army, had *no Power* over the Bodies of the Saints. [Dan. 3.20.] And there are Some who shall *dwell with Devouring Fire, and Everlasting Burnings*, when Some shall not, but shall *be as the Burning of Lime, and as Thorns cutt up, they shall be burnt in the Fire*. [Jer. 33.12, 14, 15.] And there is a Promise, [Isa. 43.2.] That when the People of God *pass thro' the Fire* they shall *not be burnt, neither shall the Flames kindle upon them*. Again, when God destroy'd the Old World by *Water*, He found out a Way to preserve *Noah*, and his Family and Creatures of every kind, when as neither *Noah* nor all the World besides could tell, how it would be till God Revealed it. Nor can any thing that I know, be certainly concluded, how He will preserve His Church at this time, but that He will have a Glorious Church on Earth after this. (BA 10:715).

According to Smolinski, it was a rather obscure tract entitled *Good Things to Come*, anonymously published in 1675, which brought Mather the desired solution. He chanced upon the work in 1724. Half a century after it was penned

by the Fifth Monarchy Man Praise-God Barebone (c. 1598–1657),<sup>283</sup> this work, in Smolinski's estimation, provided Mather with a new understanding of the distinction between the resurrected or "raised saints" and what he from then on would call the "changed saints," who were the true believers alive at the Second Coming. Drawing on 1 Cor. 15:51–54 and 1 Thess. 4:15–17, *Good Things to Come* maintained that these still-living saints would be raptured out of the flames of the conflagration to join the hosts of heaven. Their bodies would, in the process, be spiritually changed into the state of sinless immortality before being returned to earth. There is no reason to doubt that *Good Things to Come* was, as Smolinski claims, important in furthering the development of Mather's understanding of what would happen around the conflagration into its final shape, not least terminologically. However, as I have argued elsewhere, it seems that Mather had already worked out the basic solution in his annotations on Isaiah prior to 1724, where he deals both with the nature of the conflagration and the rapture.<sup>284</sup>

Be that as it may, with this solution of the rapture Mather was able unreservedly to make a case in the *Trip Paradise* for an idea he had pondered for some time, given what appeared to him a hopelessly rotten state of affairs everywhere in the world. The cancellations and revisions in the annotations overlapping with "Problema Theologicum" show how he gradually arrived at the conclusion that the latter-day inferno would not be confined to the strongholds of the Anti-christ in Catholic Europe and the Ottoman Empire. "How far it shall then proceed,"<sup>285</sup> it reads there after many corrections, "I was at a Loss until the Apostle *Peter* determined me, That it must go on to bring the whole Earth under a tremendous Devastation" (BA 10:754). Deadly flames would engulf all continents and countries, but the faithful could be saved supernaturally by being caught up into the air. Everyone else would perish in the flames to make room for a new world.

Given the long-standing opinion among Americanists that Mather wished to claim a privileged place for the churches of New England in the latter-day events, it is remarkable to see how explicitly some of the "Biblia" annotations on the subject of the conflagration also include the New World in the fiery destruction at Christ's Second Coming. In an entry on Isa. 24:14–15, Mather went so far as to speculate where most of the saints who would be raptured to safety on that terrible day might be located. Discussing the identity of those whom

<sup>283</sup> Smolinski, "Introduction," *Trip Paradise*, pp. 33–34. This was the man who lent his name to the Barebone's Parliament of the English Commonwealth of 1653. On his life and work, see Stephen Wright, "Barebone, Praise-god (c.1598–1679/80)" (2004).

<sup>284</sup> Stievermann, *Prophecy and Piety*, pp. 334–40.

<sup>285</sup> Mather here originally had: "How far it shall proceed, we do not know; But after it ha's done its Work upon the *Roman Territories*, [Dan. 7.12.] *The Rest of the Beasts have their Lives prolonged for a Season*. The *Earth* of old occupied by the *Babylonian*, and *Persian*, and *Græcian* Kingdomes, will yett remain untouched." The above-cited sentence is a marginal insertion replacing the cancelled passage.

Isaiah describes as glorifying God “in the fires” and praising the majesty of the Lord “in the isles of the sea,” Mather – following William Lowth’s scheme of multiple applications – proposes a first fulfilment in those Israelites, “whom He preserved in *Jerusalem*, who had a near View of His Majesty, but they also who fled unto the Isles of the *Mediterranean* Sea, and remained there till this Tyranny was over.” However, he again admonishes his Christian reader to “look so far forward, as the *Conflagration* of the World, at the *Second Coming* of the Lord. This is the main Event, that the Prophecy refers unto.” Then, Mather adds:

It is remarkable, That in this Event, only the Inhabitants of the *Isles of the Sea*, which is the Prophetic Phrase for *Europe*, and the western Parts of the World, are called upon to *glorify the Lord in the Fires*. No where, but there, will there be found any Number that shall then *glorify the Lord*, & bee *caught up* from the reach of the *Fires*, to *meet the Lord*. (BA 5:696)

These sentences should not be misunderstood as denying the universality of Christ’s redemptive promise to all who would truly believe in Him. Mather certainly assumed that there were individual saints in all parts of Christendom, including in the Orthodox churches and the Roman Catholic Church. With the conflagration, Christ would bring the world to judgment and separate the true believers from nominal Christians, irrespective of their denominational identity, condemning the latter to the flames.<sup>286</sup> This was the onset of the Last Judgment or Day of the Lord, to be completed after the end of the millennium and general Resurrection.

To Mather’s mind, Europe, or to be more precise, Protestant Europe, would naturally account for the largest number of the faithful to be saved from the flames. Missions and colonies had only recently begun to spread Protestantism in the Western hemisphere, and with the Second Coming drawing near there would likely not be enough time to make much more progress either there or in other parts of the world. Clearly, America held no special position in Mather’s vision of the millennium. There is only one single entry in this volume, quoted from Thomas Brightman, in which Mather entertained the possibility that American colonists might have a particular providential role to play. There, Mather only considers America’s providential role in the sense that, as Rev. 17:1 suggested, a “*faithful People in a Wilderness, would have the most clear Discoveries of the Abominations of the Man of Sin*.”<sup>287</sup> To which Mather added: “If the People of God in an *American Wilderness* might flatter themselves with any such Apprehension, it might conciliate some Credit, & Value, unto the *Illustrations*, upon

<sup>286</sup> *Tripuraditus*, p. 225.

<sup>287</sup> This allusion seems to be taken from the work the Puritan clergyman and co-founder of the American colony of New Haven John Davenport (1597–1670), *Another Essay for Investigation of the Truth, in answer to two questions, concerning I. The subject of baptism. II. The consociation of churches* (1663), unpaginated “Preface to the Reader.” Davenport refers to Thomas Brightman, *A Revelation of the Revelation* ([1611] 1615), p. 570.

which we are now proceeding" (BA 10:641). Of course, this was also a bit of self-serving rhetorical posturing and, overall, much in line with Mather's ambition for the "Biblia" to serve as an American digest of the best of European literature on the Scriptures.

However, as the above-cited passage from the commentary on Isaiah shows, Mather's eschatological vision was decidedly Eurocentric. He views the promise of the "western Parts of the World" as a mere extension of Europe. Members of American churches might be among the saints, insofar as they belong to communities that carried across the ocean the purest forms of European Protestantism. But there is nothing to suggest that Mather understood New England as having some kind of privileged status in the final age. If anything, Mather's view of the spiritual prospects of his native country dimmed toward the end of his life. When he revised the above-quoted entry for inclusion in the *Trip paradisus*, he wrote,

Now, there will be scarce any where upon the face of the Earth, except in the *European* Parts of the World, [my poor *American* Countrey, Lett me pray and hope, for thy adding some unto the Number!] any considerable Number of those *Humble Walkers with GOD*, who will then be able to *sing for the Majesty of the Lord, and glorify the Lord in the Fires*, and may look to be transported by the *Angels* of GOD, after their Brethren, the *Raised* Ones, who are to have the Start of the *Changed*, in this wonderful Revolution.<sup>288</sup>

In addition to dispelling the myth of Mather's role in the development of American exceptionalism,<sup>289</sup> the revisions here also show how Mather came to systematically distinguish between the "raised saints," first to join Christ's hosts in heaven, and the "changed saints," who would be spiritually transformed when being "caught up in the air" at the onset of the conflagration.

As he summarized his final understanding of this distinction in "Expectanda," the "*Raised Saints*, in the *New Heavens*," would "be equal to the *Angels*," no longer bound to their former earthly lives and thus "not marry nor

<sup>288</sup> *Trip paradisus*, p. 189.

<sup>289</sup> That myth was decisively shaped by Perry Miller, who maintained that Increase and Cotton Mather assigned a central role to New England in their typology and eschatology, and that they thereby made an important contribution to the Americanization of Puritan religion. See Miller, *The New England Mind: From Colony to Province*, esp. 185–90. Sacvan Bercovitch expanded this argument into his theory about the origins of an American exceptionalist ideology and the oppressive culture of hegemonic consensus. These origins he located in how second and third-generation Puritans transformed a traditional Christian hermeneutic into a symbolic rhetoric of American identity. "Theirs was a peculiar mission," Bercovitch famously wrote of the Puritans, for they regarded themselves as "a 'peculiar people,' a company of Christians not only called but chosen, and chosen not only for heaven but as instruments of a sacred historical design." Bercovitch, *The American Jeremiad* (1978), pp. 7–8. Again, Mather was seen as a key figure in this process. See also Bercovitch's *The Puritan Origins of the American Self* (1975). For an important critique of this myth, see Smolinski, "'Israel Redivivus': The Eschatological Limits of Puritan Typology in New England" (1990).

*be given in Marriage.*” Together with the angels, they would surround Christ on his throne in the heavenly city of the New Jerusalem, delighting in His immediate presence: “The Inhabitants will be *Embodied Spirits*, The Glorious KING of the *City* Himself will be so.”<sup>290</sup> By contrast, the “*changed Saints* on the *New Earth*, will *Build Houses and Inhabit them*; will *plant Vineyards & eat the Fruit of them*, will have an *Offspring that shall be with them the Blessed of the Lord*” (BA 10:52).<sup>291</sup> This, he thought Isaiah had foretold. And yet they would be “*Deathless, and Sinless.*” Indeed, “the *Holy People* on the *New Earth*, shall be circumstanced like *Adam and Eve in Paradise*, and in a spotless Manner living unto GOD” (BA 10:961).<sup>292</sup> Thus, Mather no longer looked to an inchoate millennial earth, but a second terrestrial paradise, re-created by God out of the completely incinerated old earth. As long as Satan and his legion were bound and cast into the bottomless pit according to Rev. 9, the inhabitants of the New Earth would not only be freed from the curses brought upon Adam and his progeny, notably death, sickness, and hard labor. They also would not need to fear demonic molestations or temptations. And the changed saints on earth would be under the supervision of “the *Raised Saints*,” who, “being somewhat more *Angelically* circumstanced, will be sent from time to time, down from the *New Heavens* unto them, to be their *Teachers and Rulers*, and have *Power over Nations.*” In this way, “the *Will of GOD* will be *done on Earth as it is done in Heaven*” (BA 10:961).<sup>293</sup>

The changed saints would therefore get to enjoy the countless blessings of the New Earth promised by John as well as Isaiah. Above them, in the upper parts of the atmosphere, the New Heavens with the New Jerusalem would be home to all the saints of former times (including the Jewish patriarchs and prophets), which Christ would raise to a blissful life in His immediate presence. This dispensation would continue at least for a thousand years, during or after which the changed saints would eventually all be transported to the heavenly city as well. “Whether the Translations from the *New Earth* to the *New Heavens*, will be successively during the Thousand Years,” Mather remarked, “or all together after it, has not been discovered” (BA 10:962).<sup>294</sup> Then there would follow the final assault of the devil and his legions of Gog and Magog, who would be destroyed and sent to the eternal torments of hell in the completion of the Last Judgment, while the saints would continue forever in their state of beatitude.

It ought to be emphasized, that Mather still imagined this state to be located in space and to have a corporeal or sensory quality. This state would also have a temporal dimension – that of infinite extension. It would be forever

<sup>290</sup> See also *Trip Paradise*, pp. 244–45.

<sup>291</sup> See also *Trip Paradise*, pp. 180–81.

<sup>292</sup> See also Mather’s annotations on Isa. 65 (BA 5:847–51).

<sup>293</sup> Compare also *Trip Paradise*, p. 269.

<sup>294</sup> Compare also *Trip Paradise*, p. 273.



enjoyed by the saints with their transfigured bodies in the heavenly city and tabernacle, where they could be in direct communion with God. "The Divine Essence," Mather agreed with Knorr von Rosenroth, "is also altogether *Incorporeal*, and *Invisible*; and utterly *Incomprehensible* by any Creature. How can what is *Finite*, comprehend what is *Infinite*?" Both men hoped for a "most magnificent *Communication* of GOD" that could only become meaningful and enjoyable under the conditions of space and time. Heaven, therefore, must be "the most Excellent and Illustrious *Place*." God's creatures, "as they cannot live out of the World, which is replenished with *Matter*, so neither can they live out of *Matter*." Ergo, the state of beatitude must be, "where the most Noble and Sublime Creatures, find the noblest and purest *Matter*. This *Place* is in the *Heavens*; and no doubt in that Part of the *Heavens*, where the best Part of that rare *Matter* is to be mett withal" (BA 10:697). What exactly the experience of this "UNION with GOD," would be like, "into which it is the Eternal Purpose of His *Love*, to bring his Chosen People," no mortal could tell. However, Mather thought that Isaiah had caught a glimpse of it, and recorded in his mysterious vision of the divine throne in Isa. 6. "The *Delights* of the *Union* between the THREE ever to be adored Persons in the Glorious GOD," as Mather wrote in *Trip paradisus*, gesturing to the unspeakable, "are Incomprehensible! But such is His inconceivable and Unfathomable *Grace*, as to bring some from among the *Sons of Men*, to partake in those Divine *Delights* as far as that is possible for *Creatures* to be made Partakers of them."<sup>295</sup> Together with the hierarchies of angels, the redeemed would surround the throne in eternal adoration and bliss.

In his later years, Mather thus came to believe that the "*New Heavens* in Conjunction with the *New Earth* under the Influences thereof, is that *Heavenly Countrey*, which the Patriarchs look'd for," of which the erstwhile Promised Land had only been a token (BA 10:962). During the millennium, the entire globe would be a second terrestrial paradise without any geographical or political distinctions. The ancient Holy Land of Israel would no longer be preeminent.<sup>296</sup> Connected to this was an even more significant change of view that Mather underwent in the final period of his life, which concerned the eschatological restoration and conversion of the Jews.<sup>297</sup> "Virtually all seventeenth- and

<sup>295</sup> See *Trip paradisus*, p. 249.

<sup>296</sup> Following Smolinski's lead, Smith writes: "While the de-centering of Jewish national conversion had implications for Mather's eschatological system, he nevertheless maintained a Judeo-centric outlook. While remaining geographically Judeo-centric in his belief that the New Jerusalem would be situated above the historic Jerusalem in Palestine, the eschatological system he developed after 1724 did not accord Jews the privileges common in the prophetic tradition he inherited" (*More Desired Than Our Own Salvation*, p. 132). Given the textual evidence cited above, it does not seem quite accurate to me to say that Mather's millennialism remained "geographically Judeo-centric" in its final phase.

<sup>297</sup> On the widespread commitment to the national restoration and conversion of the Jews in early modern English Protestantism as an outgrowth of the prevalent tradition of Judeo-centric

early eighteenth-century millennialists on both sides of the Atlantic,” writes Smolinski, “agreed that even though the Jews were still languishing in their Diaspora, Jehovah had not forgotten his chosen people and would, in due time, restore them to their once-elevated position among the nations.” Looking mostly to Rom. 9:27; 11:7–10, 25–26, and 32 as their New Testament proof-texts, these exegetes saw in Paul’s promises for the restoration of a “remnant” of “the seed of Abraham” the true meaning of what the Old Testament prophets had also foreshadowed when they spoke of how God, through all the calamities to befall Israel, would always preserve for himself a faithful “remnant.” The Apostle was thus understood to have grasped the true meaning of the ancient prophecies concerning the “remnant” and predicted the collective conversion of the Jews before the millennium, when “God would remove their blinding veil of unbelief ... and they would then embrace Christianity in everlasting communion with the Ancient of Days.”<sup>298</sup>

This was the position that Mather’s main interlocutors – including Alsted, Brightman, Mede, Whiston, and Lowth – took. It was also the position that many contemporary Pietists, Puritans, and his own father propagated in works such as *The Mystery of Israel’s Salvation* (1669) and *A Dissertation concerning the future Conversion of the Jewish Nation* (1709). Fueling an intense interest in Jewish missions among Puritans and Pietists, the national restoration and conversion of Old Israel, in conjunction with the defeat of “Popery” and the “Turks” occupying the Holy Land, was regarded as one of the major events or “signs” that remained to be fulfilled before the Second Coming. Another major sign that many millennialists of Mather’s age looked for was a dramatic reformation and expansion of the Christian church, in which the converted Jews would play a leading role.

Mather subscribed to this literalist and futurist understanding of Rom. 11 for the longest time of his life.<sup>299</sup> He feverishly searched for indications of a happy revolution in the church. Contrary to what Sacvan Bercovitch and other Americanists have claimed, Mather never transferred the idea of a national conversion and millennial elevation to the churches of New England.<sup>300</sup> “Contrary

---

prophecy interpretation, see the essays in Peter Toon, ed., *Puritans, the Millennium and the Future of Israel: Puritan Eschatology 1600–1660* (1970); David S. Katz, *Philo-semitism and the Readmission of the Jews to England, 1603–1655* (1982); and the studies by Nabil I. Matar, “The Idea of the Restoration of the Jews in English Protestant Thought, 1661–1701” (1985) and “The Controversy over the Restoration of the Jews in English Protestant Thought: 1701–1753” (1988); chs. 3 to 6 in Robert O. Smith, *More Desired than Our Own Salvation: The Roots of Christian Zionism* (2013), as well as the two books by Andrew Crome, *The Restoration of the Jews: Early Modern Hermeneutics, Eschatology, and National Identity in the Works of Thomas Brightman* (2014) and *Christian Zionism and English National Identity, 1600–1850* (2019).

<sup>298</sup> Smolinski, “Introduction,” *Tripuraditus*, p. 24.

<sup>299</sup> For Mather’s intense interest in missionizing the Jews, see chs. 2 and 3 of Michael Hoberman, *New Israel/New England: Jews and Puritans in Early America* (2011).

<sup>300</sup> Bercovitch erroneously claimed: “[T]he New England Puritans ... departed from tradition, however, in what I suggested was their main use of the doctrine of the National

to the spurious presumptions of popular Americanist historiography," as Robert O. Smith, succinctly puts it, "even the author of *Theopolis Americana* [i.e. Cotton Mather] had no intention of substituting New England as the New Jerusalem or Anglo-American Puritans as God's New Israel."<sup>301</sup> This can be seen in Mather's summary of William Torrey's manuscript for the entry on Rev. 20. There, Mather applauded the suggestion that maybe a dramatic "weakening of the *Turkish Power*, will give to the *Jewes*, an Opportunity to Return into *Judaea*, before their Conversion to Christianitie" (BA 10:712). However, sometime during the last decade of his life, Mather had a change of heart regarding the eschatological conversion of the Jews.

By the time he wrote *Trip paradisus* and the "Expectanda"-essay, he openly rejected the belief in a national restoration and conversion. In the latter text, he asserted that "Such a *Conversion of the Israelitish Nation*, with a Return to their ancient Seats in *Palestine*, as many excellent Persons of later Years, have been perswaded of," was inconsistent "with the *Coming* of the Lord, and the *Burning* of the World, at the Fall of *Antichrist* before which Fall, no body imagines that Conversion" (BA 10:962). If, as Mather now thought, the final collapse of Antichrist's reign would only happen with the Second Coming, and the global conflagration was to come upon a world in the deep slumber of sin, how could this be reconciled with the expectation that natural Israel would be gathered to the Holy Land at that time or shortly thereafter? And it made little sense to Mather to continue conceiving of a later conversion of the Jews in a re-created New Earth free of sin and populated by transfigured saints. Of "what Advantage, Now to the Kingdom of GOD" could that possibly be, "except we should suppose to remain upon the *Jewish Nation* after their Conversion, something to *Distinguish* them from the rest of the Christian Beleevers?" But this was to be emphatically rejected for the New Earth Mather now imagined, in which God would not needlessly "Rebuild a *Partition-Wall* that our SAVIOUR has demolished & abolished." Surely, Mather thought, the "*Holy People*, of the Prophecies is found among the *Gentiles*; the *Surrogate Israel*. The *New Testament* seems to have done with a *carnal Israel*." Those millennialists who had read the "*Eleventh* Chapter to the *Romans*" as predicting a national conversion had "marvellously misunderstood" it: "There we find *All Israel saved*, by a *Filling up with the Gentiles*; which we mistranslate, *The Fulness of the Gentiles*" (BA 10:962).<sup>302</sup>

---

Conversion: their application of the doctrine, literally and historically, to their own venture. It was an application which violated a fundamental tenet of Protestant exegesis – that relation between the old chosen people and the new was solely spiritual – and an application for which the Puritans' rhetoric and vision had amply prepared them. As Israel redivivus in the type, they could claim all ancient prerogatives." *The American Jeremiad*, p. 75.

<sup>301</sup> Smith, *More Desired than Our Own Salvation*, p. 131.

<sup>302</sup> See Mather's annotations on that key chapter (BA 9:147–50). Compare also *Trip paradisus*, p. 311.

Through a careful comparison of the extensive revisions in Mather's annotations on the Psalms and his *Psalterium Americanum* (1718), Harry Clark Maddux has gathered fresh evidence that Mather's change of opinion might have occurred as early as 1718, but most likely took place after 1720.<sup>303</sup> Smolinski had previously argued for 1724 as the *terminus ad quem*, pointing to a diary entry from that year, in which Mather wrote that God had led him "into fuller Views" regarding the latter days and that he was now fully convinced that all signs announcing Christ's return had already been given.<sup>304</sup> There was "nothing to hinder the immediate Coming of our Saviour, in these Flames, that shall bring an horrible Destruction on this present and wicked World, and bring on the new Heaven, and the new Earth, wherein shall dwell Righteousness."<sup>305</sup> However, as David Komline rightly emphasizes, this diary entry should not be taken as an indication of a sudden alteration of Mather's position. Despite Mather's rhetoric of immediate revelation, the entry is better read as marking the end point of a long and tortured process of deliberation, perhaps extending over the better part of a decade, maybe even longer.<sup>306</sup> It is certainly striking that when Mather excerpted Whiston's commentary for the "Coronis"-essay sometime between 1707 and 1710, he did not include the extensive conjectures on the national restoration and conversion of the Jews or the rebuilding of the temple. Whatever the precise time when Mather underwent his change of opinion, it was one of significant theological consequence for him.

For much of his life, Mather held the conviction that God continued to have a special concern for natural Israel, preserving it often by miraculous acts of providence through all the calamities that their rejection of Christ had brought upon them until the day of their national restoration. As long as he conceived of an inchoate millennium, he had believed that a restored and converted Israel would play a special role in the government of the saved nations and in spreading the gospel to the far corners of the earth. The "Biblia"-manuscript is filled with annotations offering readings of Scripture to that effect. As Mather abandoned this core element of his eschatology, he began editing many of these annotations to reflect his altered views. In this volume alone, there are numerous such cancellations, and rewritings. However, Mather never got around to expunging or revising all of the relevant entries, so inconsistencies and contradictions remain here and there.

<sup>303</sup> Compare Maddux, "Editor's Introduction" (BA 4:51–53).

<sup>304</sup> See *Tripuradismus*, p. 338.

<sup>305</sup> *Diary* (2:733). Four years earlier, Mather wrote in a letter to a publisher, Mr. Baldwin: "Yett, but will you allow a Professor of Chiliasm to say, can anything be done to purpose until our Lord Himself attend with the Eagles of Heaven and makes his Descent unto us: Come Lord Jesus, come quickly!" Qtd. from Erwin, *The Millennialism of Cotton Mather*, p. 2. See AAS Letters (Folder #6, 1720–23).

<sup>306</sup> David Komline, "The Controversy of the Present Time: Arianism, William Whiston, and the Development of Mather's Late Eschatology" (2010), pp. 453–56.

Some striking examples for such cancellations and revisions can be found in two entries on the seventh chapter of Revelation. At Rev. 7:8, Mather inquired why the tribe of Dan was omitted from the tribes of Israel in listing how many of each would be among the 144,000 sealed ones to be saved? In a pre-1706 entry, he considered the proposal of Grotius whether by this omission of the renegade tribe of Dan a “*surrogate Israel* is here to bee Repræsented: (and so do some understand, *The Twelve Tribes scattered abroad*, which are elsewhere spoken of,) a True Church of *Gentiles*, is here exhibited.” Significantly, Mather added here that it might be better after all “to lay aside the Thoughts of a *surrogate Israel* from among the *Gentiles*, as intended here.” Without doubt, “the proper *Israelitish Nation*, to be reserved for the Glory of the Latter Dayes, is intended in this Vision, & Prophecy” (BA 10:514). The names of the tribe of Dan, but also Ephraim, were not mentioned but only implied because they fell into idolatry. But then, at some later point, Mather crossed out this entire addition, leaving the sole emphasis on the “*surrogate Israel*” of the Christian church.

On the vision of the multitude that adores the Lamb on His throne in white robes and with palms in their hands (Rev. 7:9), Mather wrote two entries. In a first entry, he explained at some length the typological reference to “the *Feast of Tabernacles*.” The second entry engages with those interpreters who saw these verses prefiguring the distinct “Condition & victorious Distinction of the *Israelitish Nation* in the Kingdome of GOD.” Originally, Mather had introduced this part in a way that made it clear that he held such a view as well. But he then changed the language to signal that he was merely presenting the conjectures of others. Yet the rest of the entry still reflects what Mather himself had once believed, namely that the palms born “by the Restored *Israelites*, may not only be a Badge of their victorious Condition, but also they may be an Allusion to their Usages at the *Feast of Tabernacles*.” For after their restoration the descendants of natural Israel would serve in a “peculiar Dignity” as the priests of God “in the *New Jerusalem* Rebuilt on Earth, among the converted Jewes.” In this case, Mather did not simply cross out what he wrote earlier, but rather added that the “Matter deserves a further Examination” and that he was now inclined “to think after all, we must be satisfied with a *surrogate Israel*” (BA 10:515–17).

The changes regarding Israel’s conversion are also very conspicuous in the annotations on Rev. 20 overlapping with “*Problema Theologicum*.” There is an entire section here on the connection between the Second Coming and the national conversion of Israel. Mather had originally argued that “the *Beginning of the Happy State*, which we expect for the Church in the Latter” would occur “*Immediately after the Long Tribulation under which the Jewish Nation is now languishing*.”<sup>307</sup> Subsequently, Mather changed “*Jewish Nation*” to “*Israel of God*,” a correction he continues through the following pages. This shows how

307 Compare “*Problema Theologicum*,” p. 382.

Mather made the shift from viewing God's promise applying to national Israel, to re-interpreting Israel as God's people more generally. Mather also canceled a long paragraph in which he had discussed whether there were any reasons to doubt that "the *Second Coming* of the Lord, shall be *not long* after the *Conversion* of the *Jewish Nation*." If at all, he then argued, one could find some "shrewd Intimations in the Scriptures, That what *Conversion* of the *Jewish Nation*, to be looke'd for, should be rather AT and BY the Appearance of our Lord Jesus Christ, than *long after*." 1. Tim. 1:17 and Rev. 1:7 or Rom. 11:26 could be taken that way. Indeed, there were learned men who speculated that "a *Transient Appearance* of our Lord for the *Conversion* of *Israel*, a little before His *Appearing*, with a more *constant Residence* to *Judge* and *Rule* the World," would cause the mass conversion of Jews. But, Mather professed, "I am unconcerned, in the Decision of this particular Circumstance. Either Way, our Argument will hold" (BA 10:726).<sup>308</sup> A few years later, he no longer thought it did.

According to Smolinski, this fundamental reorientation in Mather's thinking was very much influenced by the preterist hermeneutics advocated by Grotius and his followers. The Grotians proposed that Rom. 11 and other prophecies that promised a restoration of God's erstwhile *peculium* had been fully accomplished in their literal sense: in the very early days of the church, a great number of Jews had joined the Christian religion. Only in an allegorical-mystical sense would these promises be further accomplished in the growth and flourishing of Christianity. Henry Hammond, Grotius's most vociferous apologist in England, advocated this view. A minority of contemporary millennialists, including John Lightfoot and Richard Baxter, who held that no national restoration or conversion of the Jews should be expected to usher in the millennium, had also adopted it.<sup>309</sup>

Smolinski suggests that Mather, in a decisive break with his earlier convictions, converted to this minority opinion shortly before the composition of the *Trip paradisu*. In that text, he then embraced a Grotian interpretation of those prophecies about the promised land as God's "inheritance" to Israel, its restoration from captivity, and concerning the chosen "remnant" to be saved, restored to glory, and given "rest." According to Grotius and Hammond, the literal *primum implementum* of all these prophecies had either happened in the history of ancient Israel or in the conversion of Jewish Christians during the apostolic age. Through allegorical exegesis, one could find a higher, mystical sense

<sup>308</sup> Compare "Problema Theologicum," pp. 386–90.

<sup>309</sup> Smolinski, "Introduction," *Trip paradisu*, p. 34–37. For Grotius and Hammond's preterist readings, see their annotations on Rom. 11 in *Opera* (2:740–43) and *A Paraphrase* (4:71–73). Lightfoot expressed his disbelief in the possibility of a national conversion most succinctly in *A Parergon Concerning the Fall of Jerusalem*, in *The Harmony, Chronology and Order of the New-Testament* (1655), pp. 175–95. For Baxter, see his *The glorious kingdom of Christ, described and clearly vindicated against the bold asserters of a future calling and reign of the Jews* (1691).

in the ancient promises, but this sense did not apply to natural Israel at all. It solely pertained to the new or "surrogate" Israel of the gentile church. While Mather came to embrace a preterist reading of Rom. 11, he did by no means do so with all of the other prophecies concerning Israel, and it does not seem quite accurate to say that he joined the allegorist camp.

As Mather's annotations on the Isaianic prophecies about a "remnant will return" reveal, he himself did not consider his altered position as embracing a preterist-allegorical interpretation à la Grotius. Instead, he conceived of these prophecies as having multiple literal fulfillments. However, only the first two literal fulfillments pertained to natural Israel. After having been accomplished in the restoration from Babylonian exile, God's promise to save a "remnant" found another literal fulfilment in the days of the Apostles, when a great many pious Jews accepted Christ as their messiah (see, for example, *BA* 5:567, 629). Although the final fulfillments would concern God's surrogate Israel, they would be no less literal: the preservation of the saints from the flames of the conflagration by the rapture for a glorious restoration on the New Earth, and their acquittal in the Last Judgment.<sup>310</sup> Herein lay Mather's exegetical solution, which he then also adopted for the *Trip Paradise*.<sup>311</sup> In that work he would explain at great length that the "remnant will return," "when the *Offspring of GOD* shall be brought forth, with a *New Birth*, for the *World to Come*. This will be the True Return of Israel."<sup>312</sup> Similarly, he proposed a scheme of multiple fulfillments for the covenants God made with his chosen people. Mather now thought that just as the promises of the old covenant with natural Israel had had a further and higher accomplishment in the new covenant with the church of Christ, they both would have their highest fulfillment in the blessings that God's elect would experience during the millennial age. In the *Trip Paradise*, he thus wrote: "Lett it be first of all considered, That the Blessedness of a *Deathless & Sinless World*, which is to come after the *Burning of This World*, is that COVENANT, in

<sup>310</sup> Smolinski comes to a slightly different conclusion. He argues that Mather's position on the meaning of the remnant agrees with those exegetes, such as John Lightfoot, who proposed "a preterite abrogation in an elect remnant of Christianized Jews and a quasi-allegorical application of the prophecy to the Christian church of the nations." Smolinski, "Introduction," *Trip Paradise*, p. 34.

<sup>311</sup> Mather's final view is spelled out in the section of the *Trip Paradise* on "Whether a National Conversion is still to be looked for" (295–318).

<sup>312</sup> *Trip Paradise*, p. 187. In *Trip Paradise* Mather also describes this eschatological gathering-in of the remnant as the final step in the redemption of the saints, starting with the new birth, leading to sanctification and culminating in their bodily resurrection or transformation into a sinless and deathless existence: "There is a *Return to GOD*, (and so, a *Regeneration*) which must be found in the Experience of all that shall be Partakers of the *Glories* in the *Kingdome* of our SAVIOUR. The *Beginning* of this *Return*, is now in our *Spirits*, by a *Work of Sanctification* upon them, *without which no Man shall see the Lord*. But in the *Perfection* of this *Return*, our *Bodies* are to have a Share, by a *Recovery* from the *State of the Dead*; the *Deplorable State* in which our Fall from GOD has buried us" (188–89).

which the Glorious GOD has promised all along to be *the GOD of His people*.” Abraham himself had understood that the covenant God had made with him in Canaan “would not be fulfill’d *until*, the time of his being brought out from the *Cave of the Treasury* there, by a *Resurrection from the Dead*.”<sup>313</sup> Abraham, the patriarchs, prophets, pious kings, and other faithful Israelites would be united with the saints of the gentile church during the final age.

This is also how Mather came to handle the promises of a Sabbath “rest,” cited from the Old Testament (where the “rest” signifies the land promised to Israel after its wandering in the desert) in the fourth chapter of Hebrews. A long pre-1706 entry at Heb. 4:10 explored “the *Sense*, and *Force*, of the Apostles Discourse to the *Hebrewes*, about the *Sabbatism Remaining for the People of God*.” For Mather it was clear that this referred to “a State of glorious and wonderful *Rest*, which our Blessed JESUS, will give unto His Church in the great *millennial Sabbath*” (BA 10:245–46). Following this sentence, Mather had originally written: “In that *Rest*, the Church of the *Hebrewes*, are to have a particular & peculiar Concern, tho’ the *Gentiles* also shall not bee excluded.” Subsequently, he cancelled that entire sentence. Nevertheless, Mather still thought that the “millennial Sabbath” would be the ultimate fulfillment in a series of literal accomplishments granted by God to His promises of “rest” for the faithful in earlier parts of the Bible. The series had started with the command to rest on the Sabbath, which “implied the *Finishing* of the *Creation*” and continued with the prophecies of a promised land to be given as a place of rest to the wandering Israelites, which were literally fulfilled in the conquest of Canaan and the restoration of the eastern tribes.<sup>314</sup> But none of these accomplished the “*Effectual Rest*” that God ultimately intended for His people, “for After This, wee have *David* most affectionately calling upon the People, of the present & after Times, to *Hear the Voice of God*, lest they missed of the *Rest*, which had been proposed.”<sup>315</sup> It followed to Mather, “that there must *Remain*, a *Rest*, beyond all this, which our Lord Jesus Christ, will bring His People into, even That *Rest*, whereof all this was a Figure.”<sup>316</sup> By denying that natural Israel had a special place among the saints during the millennium, Mather did therefore not fully embrace an allegorical-spiritualizing reading of the “rest”-prophecies. Instead, he came to reject one accomplishment of the prophecy in a series of literal accomplishments (namely, the national conversion of Israel), in which each served as a prophetic type of the final fulfillment, “which *yett Remains* to bee expected & obtained” (BA 10:246).

Likewise, as 1 Pet. 4:12 suggested to Mather, the promised inheritance that Israel received with the conquest of Canaan, was a prophetic type of the

313 *Tripuraditus*, p. 181.

314 See Gen. 2:2, Deut. 12:10, 25:19, and Josh. 21:44, 22:4.

315 See Ps. 95:8–11.

316 Derived from Owen’s annotations on Heb. 4:6 in *Exercitations*, pp. 232–34.



"*Inheritance Incorruptible, and Undefined, that fadeth not away, reserved in Heaven* for us." This prophetic type would find its ultimate but quite literal fulfillment in the "glorious *Kingdome* to be administred by the *Messiah*, at His Coming" (BA 10:338). Initially, Mather had here refered to "a singular Share which the [\*\*\*\*] Israelitish Nation ... shall have in the Comforts of that Kingdome; yea, of an *Heavenly City*, whereof the Raised Saints are then to be the Inhabitants." Subsequently, he altered this formulation so as to speak of "the Share which the True *Israel* of God" would have (BA 10:337).<sup>317</sup> According to the same logic, he also noted in his "Expectanda"-essay: "The Prophecies of the Old *Testament* that seem to have an Aspect upon such a Nation," had either been accomplished, or, "they belong to that *Holy People* whom a Succession to the Piety of the Patriarchs will render, what our Bible has taught us to call them, *The Israel of GOD*: But the final Fulfilment of them all will be, in the *World to come*; or the *New Heavens* & the *New Earth*, where *GOD will dwell with Men*, & be *Their GOD*" (BA 10:962).

It is impossible to perfectly reconstruct what motivated Mather's change of opinion on this crucial issue. Neither Mather's published writings nor the *Trip paradisus* and "Biblia Americana" provide definite answers. His diaries and letters likewise give only hints. Both Smolinski and Michael Hoberman have read these hints as suggesting a mounting frustration and anxiety on Mather's part as a national restoration and conversion of the Jews increasingly appeared impossible to him. Hoberman connects Mather's often strongly anti-Jewish frustration with his own unsuccessful attempts to convert two local Jewish merchants in Boston.<sup>318</sup> With every year that ticked off the millennial clock without any notable news of Jews returning to the Holy Land and converting to the gospel, it would have seemed more unlikely that these events were still going to happen. As John Lightfoot, among others, had pointed out, the obstacles to a national restoration and conversion were prohibitive. Who could still reasonably

317 In making this argument, Mather seems to rely on the work of John Seager, *A Discoverie of the World to come according to the Scriptures* (1650), sect. iv, p. 65 (on the true meaning of the future Canaan) and sect. xvii, p. 253 (on the incorruptible inheritance of the elect). Seager's tract argues that the New Heaven and the New Earth are identical with the world to come after the destruction of the old sinful world upon the return of Christ for judgment. While real in the physical sense and to be ruled by Christ as a "Personal-Humane Kingdom, wherein he shall reign bodily in his Humane Nature" (134), this new world would be perfect, without sin or death. Seager was no millenarian, however. He thought that this New Heaven and New Earth would be the eternal dwelling place of Christ and his people. Mather thus appropriated *A Discoverie* very selectively. But Seager's work seems to have played an important role in changing Mather's opinion on the conversion of the Jews, the conflagration, and the nature of the New Heaven and Earth during the millennium. See *Trip paradisus*, third paradise, sect. x and xi. Seager is mentioned in *Trip paradisus* as "an honest Man" who rebuked those interpreters who falsely expected a national restoration and conversion of the Jews (310). On Seager and his work, see Duff, "A Knot Worth Unloosing," pp. 186–93.

318 Hoberman, *New Israel/New England*, p. 87.

expect, Mather (picking up on Lightfoot's arguments) asked in the *Triparadisus*, "that the *Jews*, who are now a *Crue* of Circumcised and Abandoned *Infidels*, dispersed in many Countreys, will under better Sentiments of *Christianity*, be repossessed of their *Old Countrey*, and be there Distinguished from the rest of the *Christians* in the World, in Circumstances of *Prosperity & Fertility* like or above & beyond those of their Fathers in the Dayes of *Solomon*?"<sup>319</sup> Either Christ's return was not imminent, or the national restoration and conversion was not a necessary sign.

Likewise, the happy state of the church that millennialists expected to arise when the Jews were called home seemed more and more improbable to Mather. For all his earlier dreams (especially in the wake of the Hanoverian accession) about a greater ecumenical union between Lutherans, Reformed, and Anglicans, the Protestant cause remained as divided as ever. The new kings were as ready as the old to settle for compromises with the Catholic powers, as the peace treaties of Ryswick and Utrecht demonstrated. The theological and ecclesial state of affairs in Old and New England were more than alarming to someone like Mather. He was especially concerned about the rise of Deism at home and abroad, and by the debates over Arianism, culminating in the Salters' Hall controversy of 1719. To Mather, these developments revealed how much this ancient heresy had crept even into English Dissenting circles.<sup>320</sup> Mather was all but completely disillusioned by the reports about these developments and especially by the news that Whiston, whom he had long admired, had outed himself as an Arian. As Mather's diaries and letters show, he all but gave up hope of a major revival of the Protestant churches and their movement to greater ecumenical unity. "They who expect the *Rest* promised for the Church of GOD upon *Earth*, to be found any where but in the *New Earth*," he remarked, with a notable undertone of embitterment, "and they who expect any Happy Times for the Church, in a World that has *Death* and *Sin* in it, these *do err, not knowing the Scriptures, nor the Kingdome of GOD*" (BA 10:962). Only the return of Christ would set things right.

In the final analysis, it was probably the connection between the expected happy state of the church and the national conversion of the Jews in the minds of millenarians that was the most important factor in changing Mather's mind. As the situation of the church looked increasingly grim to him with the expected end of days coming closer, he gave up on the idea of a national Jewish restoration. No grand spiritual revolution was yet to be expected before the Second Coming. As his diary shows, by 1724 he was finally and fully convinced "that there is nothing that we know of, remaining to be done, before this astonishing Revolution; so it may with Reason be daily looked for." Thus, in his final years

<sup>319</sup> *Triparadisus*, p. 182.

<sup>320</sup> David Komline, "The Controversy of the Present Time," pp. 450–53.

Mather thought that the “tremendous Conflagration which is to precede the new Heavens and the new Earth,”<sup>321</sup> would prepare the looked-for happy state of the church, purging the world of all non-Christians and nominal Christians, saving the true saints to then build up a holy and happy society. Inversely, re-interpreting the eschatological fulfillment of the promises of redemption for the “remnant” as the rapture of the living saints also provided Mather with a convenient solution to the vexing question of how God would save His faithful if the conflagration was indeed, as seemed necessary to Mather, a global event.

Turning away from the expectation of a future national conversion of the Jews had inevitable repercussions for Mather's integrationist model of substitution, even if it did not completely overturn it. He still conceived of a great continuity between Old and New Israel and continued to hold that an elect “remnant” of the Jewish people had been physically integrated into the early church by conversion and intermarriage. Mather now believed, however, that after this time God's special relationship with natural Israel had ended. It “was permanently cast off and the promise once given to Abraham passed on to the spiritual Israel of the Christian church,” as he wrote in the *Tripuradisis*. Since the apostolic age, only individual Jews gained access to God's redemption by means of baptism and conversion to the true faith. Those Jews, who at the Second Coming of Christ would still be “found in their *Unbeleef*,” continuing to refuse Christ, “must perish, among them, who *obey not the Gospel*, & must feel the *Flaming Fire* take *Vengeance* on them.”<sup>322</sup>

Mather arguably shifted back – though never fully – to an older model of supersessionism that had been widespread in Christian theology during the patristic, medieval, and Reformation periods. Assuming a replacement of God's chosen people by the gentile church after the apostolic age, Christian theologians holding to this model argued that there was no longer a special promise for natural Israel as a whole. Even though individual converts from Judaism were hoped for, a collective incorporation of the synagogue into the church was not expected. Mather's strong interest in the Harvard Hebrew tutor Judah Monis's turn to Christianity in the early 1720s illustrates that his shifting back to this model did not entail indifference toward the fate of individual Jews.<sup>323</sup> Nor did it lead him to more extreme forms of religious anti-Judaism that were embraced by some of his contemporaries, who maintained that the rejection of Christ and God's casting off of Israel implied the inevitable collective damnation of all Jews. Mather still thought that redemption was possible for Abraham's natural seed. He continued to be intensely interested in missionary efforts of all kinds to his dying day. He thought the evangelization of the Jews to be as much an

321 Mather, *Diary* (2:740).

322 *Tripuradisis*, p. 311.

323 See Hoberman, *New Israel/New England*, pp. 86–115.

imperative duty of Christians living close to diasporic communities as the missionary work among Africans and Native Americans. However, he rid himself of the anxiety of looking for the wholesale conversion of global Jewry as a prerequisite for the coming of Christ's earthly reign.<sup>324</sup> He expected that, as with any other people, a number of saints would still be found among the modern Jews. But he did not feel he had to believe in either the possibility or the necessity of their collective restoration.

It should be emphasized, though, that this change of opinion on the national restoration and conversion of the Jews did not affect how Mather viewed the role of New England and its churches, as previously discussed.<sup>325</sup> Instead, the material contained in this volume confirms Smolinski and other revisionist scholars who have contested the still-widespread belief that Mather propagated some early form of apocalyptically inflected American exceptionalism.<sup>326</sup> In no entry of this volume or elsewhere in the "Biblia Americana" has Mather been found to claim some kind of special place for New England or America more generally – unlike, for instance, his colleague Samuel Sewall (1652–1730), who thought that Mexico might be the seat of the New Jerusalem. Also, his commentaries do not confirm the time-honored assumption that Mather somehow partook in an extension of the bounds of traditional typology to the realm of secular history that allowed him to identify New England as the latter-day surrogate of Old Israel. On the contrary, Mather's use of typology is quite conventional Protestant fare, and not nearly as daring as his interpretations of the prophecies. Because these (to him) clearly looked to times beyond the apostolic age, searching for fulfillments in the further unfolding of church history was entirely warranted by the Scriptures themselves. However, as we saw, in this regard too Mather foresaw no special destiny for New England or America. Indeed, Mather's commentaries on Revelation are a striking illustration of the tendency in New England Puritan thought toward conceiving "the millennium as a kind of cosmopolis," spanning the entire globe.<sup>327</sup> Thus, the "Biblia" challenges inherited notions about the Puritan origins of American exceptionalism, as much as it defies the stereotypes of parochialism and the tribalist mentality that are too often still associated with Puritan theology more generally and Mather in particular.

<sup>324</sup> Mather also came to think that the expectation of a future conversion of the Jews as a prerequisite sign for the Second Coming "lulled" people into a dead sleep, when they should expect the return of Christ imminently. See *Tripadistus*, pp. 32–33, 69–71, and esp. 296.

<sup>325</sup> Mather's shifting views of the diasporic Jews were connected to how he understood the genealogy and ethnicity of the Native American tribes. See my "The Genealogy of Races."

<sup>326</sup> For a fuller discussion, see Stievermann, *Prophecy and Piety*, pp. 214–21.

<sup>327</sup> Nan Goodman, *The Puritan Cosmopolis: The Law of Nations and the Early American Imagination* (2018), p. 88.



## Works Cited in Section 1–2

### Primary Works

- Allix, Pierre. *Reflexions upon the Books of the Holy Scripture to establish the Truth of the Christian Religion*. 2 vols. London, 1688.
- The Apostolic Fathers, Volume II: Epistle of Barnabas. Papias and Quadratus. Epistle to Diognetus. The Shepherd of Hermas*. Edited and translated by Bart D. Ehrman. LCL 25. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 2003.
- Athenagoras of Athens. *Legatio pro Christianis*. [PG 6. 890–974].
- Baxter, Richard. *The glorious kingdom of Christ, described and clearly vindicated against the bold asserters of a future calling and reign of the Jews, and 1000 years before the conflagration and the asserters of the 1000 years kingdom after the conflagration*. London, 1691.
- Beveridge, William. *Synodikon, sive Pandectae canonum ss. Apostolorum et conciliorum ab ecclesia graeca receptorum*. 2 vols. Oxford, 1672.
- Beverly, Thomas. *A Scripture-line of Time*. 1684. In *Works*: 1–202.
- . *Works of Thomas Beverly*. London, 1687.
- Beza, Theodore. *Annotationes majores in Novum Dn. Nostri Jesu Christi Testamentum*. Geneva, 1589.
- Bibliotheca Fratrum Polonorum quos Unitarios vocant*. 9 vols. Leiden, 1665–92.
- Burnet, Gilbert. *An Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England written by Gilbert Bishop of Sarum*. 1699. Third edition. London, 1705.
- Burnet, William. *An Essay on Scripture-Prophecy, wherein it is endeavoured to explain the three Period contain'd in the XIIth Chapter of the Prophet Daniel. With some Arguments to make it possible, that the first of the Periods did expire in the Year 1715*. New York, 1724.
- Calamy, Edmund. *Thirteen Sermons concerning the Doctrine of the Trinity. preached at the Merchant's-Lecture, at Salter's-Hall*. London, 1722.
- Carré, Ezéchiel. *The charitable Samaritan. A sermon on the tenth chapter of Luke, ver. 30–35. Pronounced in the French church at Boston*. Translated into English by N. Walter. Boston, 1689.
- Cave, William. *Primitive Christianity. Or The Religion of the Ancient Christians in the First Ages of the Gospel*. London, 1697.
- . *Scriptorum ecclesiasticorum historia litteraria a Christo nato usque ad saeculum XIV... digesta... Accedunt scriptores gentiles christianae religionis oppugnatores*. 2 vols. London, 1688.
- Clarke, Samuel. *Scripture-doctrine of the Trinity*. 4 vols. London, 1712.
- Collins, Anthony. *A Discourse of the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion. In two Parts*. London, 1724.
- . *A Discourse of Free-thinking: Occasion'd by the Rise and Growth of a Sect Call'd Free-thinkers*. London, 1713.

- [*Complutensian Polyglott*=] *Biblia Polyglotta*. 6 vols. Edited by Francisco Ximénez (Jiménez) de Cisneros. Alcalá, 1514–1517.
- ♦ *Critici Sacri, sive, Doctissimorum virorum in SS. Biblia annotationes & tractatus*. Edited by John Pearson, Anthony Scattergood, Francis Gouldman, and Richard Pearson. 9 vols. London, 1660. Amsterdam, 1698.
  - ♦ Cross, Walter. *The Thagmical Art: or, the Art of expounding Scripture by the Points, usually called Accents, but are really tactical: A grammatical, logical, and rhetorical Instrument of Interpretation*. London, 1698.
  - ♦ Culverwell, Nathanael. *An elegant and learned Discourse of the Light of Nature*. 2 vols. Oxford, 1652.
  - Cyprian of Carthage (Thascius Caecilius Cyprianus). *De Unitate Ecclesiae*. [PL 4. 494–520].
  - . *De Unitate Ecclesiae*. Edited by Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson. ANF 5. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1995.
  - Cyril of Jerusalem (Cyrillus Hierosolymitanus). *Catecheses*. [PG 33. 331–1059].
  - Edwards, John. *Socinianism unmask'd: a discourse shewing the unreasonableness of a late writer's opinion concerning the necessity of only one article of Christian faith*. London, 1696.
  - Erasmus, Desiderius (Erasmus of Rotterdam). *Novum Instrumentum omne, diligenter ab Erasmo Rot. Recognitum et Emendatum*. 1516. Second edition. 1519. Third edition. 1522.
  - Eusebius of Caesarea (Eusebius Pamphili). *Ecclesiastical History*. Translated by Kirsopp Lake. LCL 176. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1926.
  - . *Historia ecclesiastica* [PG 20. 9–908].
  - Gell, Robert. *An Essay toward the Amendment of the last English-Translation of the Bible*. London, 1659.
  - ♦ Grotius, Hugo (Huig de Groot). *Annotationes ad Vetus Testamentum*. 1642. 3 vols. Paris, 1644. In *Opera omnia theologica*. Vol. 1
  - . *Opera omnia theologica, in tres tomos divisa. Ante quidem per partes, nunc autem conjunctim & accuratius edita. Quid porro huic editioni prae caeteris accesserit, praefatio ad lectorem docebit*. London, 1679.
  - ♦ Hammond, Henry. *A Paraphrase and Annotations upon all the Books of the New Testament. Briefly explaining all the difficult Places thereof*. First edition. London, 1653. 4 vols. Oxford, 1845.
  - Huetius, Petrus Daniel (Pierre Daniel Huet). *Demonstratio Evangelica ad serenissimum Delphinum*. 1679. Frankfurt am Main, 1722.
  - Irenaeus of Lyon (Irenaeus Lugdunensis). *Adversus haereses*. [PG 7. 437–1224].
  - . *Contra Haereses*. [PG 7. 1263–1320].
  - ♦ Jenkin, Robert. *The Reasonableness and Certainty of the Christian Religion*. 1696–1697. Fourth edition. 2 vols. London, 1715
  - Jerome (Eusebius Hieronymus Stridonensis). *Commentariorum in Jeremiam prophetam libri VI*. [PL 24. 679–900].
  - . *Epistolae*. [PL 22. 325–1224].
  - . *Jerome: Letters and Select Works*. Edited by Philip Schaff and Henry Wace. NPNFii 6. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1995.
  - . *Liber de viris illustribus*. [PL 23. 634–760].
  - Jones, Jeremiah. *A new and full Method of Settling the canonical Authority of the New Testament*. 1726–1727. 3 vols. Oxford, 1798.

- Jurieu, Pierre. *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies, Or, The Approaching Deliverance of the Church. In Two Parts*. London, 1687.
- . *A Critical History of the Doctrines and Worships (both good and evil) of the Church from Adam to our Saviour Jesus Christ. Giving an Account of the Origin of alle the Idolatries of the ancient Pagans, as far as they relate to the Jewish Worship*. 2 vols. Translated from the French by J. C. London, 1705.
- Justin Martyr (Iusinus Martyrs). *Dialogue with Trypho*. [PG 6. 469–800].
- Knatchbull, Norton. *Annotations upon some difficult texts in all the books of the New Testament*. London, 1693.
- Knight, James. *Primitive Christianity vindicated, in a second letter to the author of the History of Montanism, against the Arian misrepresentations of it, and Mr. Whiston's bold assertions in his late books*. London, 1712.
- Lacy, John. *The General Delusion of Christians, touching the Ways of God's revealing Himself, to, and by the Prophets, ecinc'd from Scripture and Primitive Antiquity*. London, 1713.
- . *A Relation of the Dealings of God*. London, 1708.
- Le Clerc, Jean (LeClerc, Leclerc, Johannes Clericus). *Ars critica, in qua ad studia linguarum latinae, graecae et hebraicae via munitur, veterumque emendandorum, & spuriorum scriptorum a genuinis dignoscendorum ratio traditur*. 2 vols. Amsterdam, 1697.
- . *Five Letters concerning the Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures. Translated out of French*. N. P., 1690.
- . *A Supplement to Dr Hammond's Paraphrase and Annotations on the New Testament*. London, 1699.
- Lightfoot, John. *The Harmony, Chronicle, and Order of the New Testament* (1655). In *Works* 1.
- ♦♦ –. *Horae hebraicae et talmudicae*. London, 1658–1674.
- ♦ –. *The Works of the Reverend and Learned John Lightfoot, D. D., Late Master of Katherine Hall in Cambridge*. 2 vols. London, 1684.
- Maimonides, Moses (Moses Ben Maimon, Rambam). [*More Nebuchim*=] *Doctor Perplexorum. Ad dubia & obscuria Scripture loca rectius intelligenda veluti clavem continens . . . . Primum ab autore in lingua arabica ante CCCCI. circiter annos in Ægypto conscriptus. Deinde a R. Samuele Aben Tybbon Hispano in linguam hebream . . . translatus. Nunc . . . in linguam latinam perspicue & fideliter conversus a Johanne Buxtorfio, Fil.* Translated by Johannes Buxtorf (the Younger). Basel, 1629.
- . *The Guide for the Perplexed*. Translated and annotated by M. Friedländer. Reprint of the second, revised edition. New York: Dover, 1956.
- ♦♦ Manton, Thomas. *A Practical Commentary or an Exposition, with Notes on the Epistle of James*. London, 1653.
- Mather, Cotton. *American Tears upon the Ruines of the Greek Churches*. Boston, 1701.
- . *Benedictus. Good Men described, and the Glories of their Goodness, declared. With some Character & History of One who belonged unto the Tribe; namely Mr. Thomas Bridge, a late Pastor of the First-Church in Boston*. Boston, 1715.
- . “Biblia Americana” (holograph manuscript), 6 vols. Folio. The Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston. The Papers of Cotton Mather. Part I. “Biblia Americana” (Reels 10–13).
- . [BA=] *Biblia Americana: America's First Bible Commentary. A Synoptic Commentary on the Old and New Testaments*. Gen. eds. R. Smolinski and J. Stievertmann. 10 vols. 2010–.



- . *Biblia Americana*. Vol. 1. *Genesis*. Edited by Reiner Smolinski. Tübingen/Grand Rapids: Mohr Siebeck/Baker Academic, 2010.
- . *Biblia Americana*. Vol. 2. *Exodus*. Edited by Reiner Smolinski. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2019.
- . *Biblia Americana*. Vol. 3. *Joshua–2 Chronicles*. Edited by Kenneth P. Minkema. Tübingen/Grand Rapids: Mohr Siebeck/Baker Academic, 2013.
- . *Biblia Americana*. Vol. 4. *Ezra–Psalms*. Edited by Harry Clark Maddux. Tübingen/Grand Rapids: Mohr Siebeck/Baker Academic, 2014.
- . *Biblia Americana*. Vol. 5. *Proverbs–Jeremiah*. Edited by Jan Stievermann. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2015.
- . *Biblia Americana*. Vol. 9. *Romans–Philemon*. Edited by Robert E. Brown. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2018.
- ◆ –. *The Christian Philosopher. A Collection of the best Discoveries in Nature, with religious Improvements*. London, 1721.
- . *The Christian Philosopher*. Edited by Winton U. Solberg. Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1994.
- . *The Diary of Cotton Mather*. Edited by W.C. Ford. 2 vols. *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*, 7<sup>th</sup> ser., vol. VII–VIII. Boston, 1911–1912.
- . *The Faith of the Fathers. Or, the Articles of the true Religion, all of them exhibited in the express Words of the Old Testament*. Boston, 1699.
- . *Free Grace maintained and improved. Or, the general Offer of the Gospel, managed with Considerations of the great Things done by special Grace, in the Election and Redemption and Vocation of those who embrace that Offer*. Boston, 1706.
- –. *Magnalia Christi Americana: Or, The Ecclesiastical History of New England*. London, 1702.
- . *Malachi. Or, the everlasting Gospel, preached unto the Nations. And those Maxims of Piety, which are to be glorious Rules of Behaviour, the only Terms of Communion, and the happy Stops to Controversy*. Boston, 1717.
- . *Manuductio ad Ministerium. Directions for a Candidate of the Ministry*. Boston, 1726.
- . *A Midnight Cry. An Essay for our Awakening out of that sinful Sleep, to which we are at this Time too much disposed; and for our Discovering of what peculiar Things there are in this Time, that are for our Awakening*. Boston, 1692.
- . *A New Offer to the Lovers of Religion and Learning*. Boston, 1714.
- . *Paterna: The Autobiography of Cotton Mather*. Edited by Ronald A. Bosco. Delmar, NY: Scholar's Facsimiles & Reprints, 1976.
- . "Cotton Mather's 'Problema Theologicum': An Authoritative Edition." Edited by Jeffrey Scott Mares. *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 104 (1995): 333–440.
- ◆◆ –. *Ratio disciplinae fratrum Nov-Anglorum: A faithful Account of the Discipline professed and practiced in the Churches of New England*. Boston, 1726.
- . *A Seasonable Testimony to the glorious Doctrines of Grace. Considered, by a general Convention of Ministers, meeting at Boston, May 28th. 1702. And voted by them, to be published, for the Establishment of the Churches in the present Truth*. Boston, 1702.
- . *Selected Letters of Cotton Mather*. Edited by Kenneth Silverman. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State UP, 1971.
- . *The Stone cut out of the Mountain. And the Kingdom of God, in those Maxims of it, that cannot be shaken*. Boston, 1716.
- . *Theopolis Americana. An Essay on the golden Street of the holy City; publishing, a Testimony against the Corruptions of the Market-place. With some good Hopes of better Things to be yet seen in the American World*. Boston, 1710.

- . *Things for a distressed People to think upon*. Boston, 1696.
- . *Things to be more thought upon. A brief Treatise on the Injuries offered unto the glorious and only Saviour of the World; in many Instances, wherein the Guilty are seldom aware of their being so injurious to the eternal Son of God. With a more particular Conviction of the Jewish and Arian Infidelity*. Boston, 1713.
- . *Three Letters from New England, relating to the Controversy of the present Time*. London, 1721.
- . *The Threefold Paradise of Cotton Mather: An Edition of the “Triparadisus.”* Edited by Reiner Smolinski. Athens and London: U of Georgia P, 1995.
- Mather, Increase. “A Discourse Concerning the glorious state of the church on earth under the new Jerusalem” (c. 1692–95). Edited by M. I. Lowance and D Watters. In “Increase Mather’s ‘New Jerusalem’: Millennialism in late Seventeenth-Century New England.” *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 87.2 (1977): 343–408.
- . *A Dissertation Concerning the Future Conversion of the Jewish Nation*. London, 1709.
- . *A Dissertation, wherein the Strange Doctrine lately published in a Sermon, the Tendency of which, is, to encourage Unsanctified Persons (while such) to approach the Holy Table of the Lord, is examined and confuted*. Boston, 1708.
- . *The Mystery of Israels Salvation*. London, 1669.
- Mather, Samuel (CM’s brother). *A Discourse concerning the Necessity of Believing the Doctrine of the Holy Trinity*. London, 1719.
- Mather, Samuel (CM’s son). *The Life of the very Reverend and Learned Cotton Mather, D. D. & F.R.S.* Boston, 1729.
- Maton, Robert. *Israel’s redemption or the propheticall history of our Saviours kingdome on earth*. London, 1642.
- ♦ Mill, John. *Novum Testamentum graecum, cum lectionibus variantibus MSS.* Oxford, 1707.
- Owen, John. *Exercitationes on the Epistle to the Hebrews*, London, 1668.
- Pliny (the Elder, Gaius Plinius Secundus). *Natural History*. 10 vols. Translated by H. Rackham, W. H. S. Jones, et al. *LCL* 330–418. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 2003–2006.
- ♦ Prideaux, Humphrey. *The Old and New Testament connected in the History of the Jews and neighbouring Nations, from the Declension of the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah to the Time of Christ*. 2 vols. 1716–1718. 4 vols. London, 1729.
- Pyle, Thomas. *A Paraphrase with some Notes, on the Acts of the Apostles, and upon all the Epistles of the New Testament*. London, 1715.
- Rosenroth, Christian Knorr von. *Apokalypse-Kommentar*. Edited by Italo Michele Battafarano. Bern: Peter Lang, 2004.
- Seager, John. *A Discoverie of the World to come according to the Scriptures*. London, 1650.
- Schlichting, Jonas and Johann Crell (Crellius). *The Expiation of a Sinner in a Commentary upon the Epistle to the Hebrewes*. London, 1646.
- . *Commentarius in Epistolam ad Hebraeos*. Raków, 1634.
- ♦ Sherlock, Thomas. *The Use and Intent of Prophecy in the several Ages of the World*. London, 1725.
- Simon, Richard. *A Critical History of the Text of the New Testament*. London, 1689.
- Spencer, John. *De legibus Hebraeorum ritualibus et earum rationibus. Libri tres*. 2 vols. Cambridge, 1685.
- Tatian (Tatianus). *Oratio adversus Græcos* [PG 6. 803–890].
- Tertullian (Quintus Septimius Florens Tertullianus). *Adversus Praxean*. [PL 2. 154–196].

- . *Against Praxeas*. In *Systematic Theology: Roman Catholic Perspectives*. Edited by Francis Schüssler Fiorenza and John P. Galvin. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2011.
- . *Apologeticus adversus gentes pro Christianis*. [PL 1. 257–560].
- . *Apology. De Spectaculis. Minucius Felix, Octavius*. Translated by T. R. Glover, Gerald H. Rendall. LCL 250. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1931.
- . *De jejuniis*. [PL 2. 953–78].
- . *De praescriptionibus adversus haereticos*. [PL 2. 10–74].
- . *De pudicitia* [PL 1. 979–1030].
- . *De resurrectione carnis* [PL 2. 791–886].
- Ussher, James. *The Annals of the World: Deduced from the Origin of Time, and Continued to the Beginning of the Emperour Vespasians Reign, and the Total Destruction and Abolition of the Temple and Common-wealth of the Jews*. London, 1658.
- . *The Whole Works of the Most Rev. James Ussher, D. D.* 17 vols. Dublin, 1864.
- Vives, Juan Luis. *In publici Vergilii Maronis Bucolica, interpretatio, potissimum allegorica*. 1537. Antwerp, 1543.
- Wake, William. *The Genuine Epistles of the Apostolic Fathers, S. Barnabas, S. Ignatius, S. Clement, S. Polycarp, the Shepherd of Hermas, and the Martyrdoms of Ignatius and St. Polycarp*. London, 1710.
- Wallis, John. *A Defense of the Christian Sabbath*. London, 1693.
- ♦♦ Walton, Brian. Editor. [=Biblia Polyglotta] *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta. Complectentia textus originales, hebraicum, cum Pentateucho samaritano, chaldaicum, graecum, versionumque antiquarum, samaritanæ, græcae LXXII interp., chaldaicæ, syriacæ, arabicæ, æthiopicæ, persicæ, Vulg. lat. Quicquid comparari poterat. Cum textuum, & versionum orientalium translationibus latinis*. 6 vols. London, 1653–1657.
- ♦ Whiston, William. *The Accomplishment of Scripture Prophecies. Being eight Sermons preach'd at the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, in the Year MDCCVII. At the Lecture founded by the Honourable Robert Boyle Esq.* Cambridge, 1708.
- . *Athanasius convicted of forgery: in a letter to Mr. Thirlby [in reply to An answer to Mr. Whiston's seventeen suspicions concerning Athanasius]*. London, 1712.
- . *A Collection of Ancient Monuments relating to the Trinity and Incarnation, and to the History of the Fourth Century of the Church*. London, 1713.
- . *A Collection of Original Texts of Scripture, and Testimonies of Antiquity that relate to Christian Discipline*. London, 1739.
- . *A Commentary on the three Catholick Epistles of St. John*. London, 1719.
- –. *An Essay on the Revelation of Saint John, so far as concerns the past and present Times. To which are added two Dissertations, ... With a Collection of Scripture-Prophecies relating to the Times after the Coming of the Messiah*. Cambridge, 1706.
- . *An Essay towards Restoring the true Text of the Old Testament and for Vindicating the Citations made thence in the New Testament*. London, 1722.
- . *Essay upon the Epistle of Ignatius*. London, 1710.
- ♦ –. *A new Theory of the Earth, from its Original, to the Consummation of all Things, wherein the Creation of the World in six Days, the universal Deluge, and the general Conflagration, as laid down in the Holy Scriptures, are shewn to be perfectly agreeable to Reason and Philosophy*. London, 1696.
- . *Primitive Christianity Reviv'd in Four Parts*. 4 vols. London, 1711–1712.
- . *A short View of the Chronology of the Old Testament, and of the Harmony of the four Evangelists*. Cambridge, 1702.
- . *Sermons and Essays upon Several Subjects*. London, 1709.

- Whitby, Daniel. *Additional Annotations to the New Testament: With Seven Discourses; and an Appendix Entitled Examen Variantium Lectionum Johannis Millii, S. T. P. in Novum Testamentum*. London, 1710.
- ♦ –. *A Paraphrase and Commentary on the New Testament*. 2 vols. London, 1703.
- Witsius, Hermann (Herman Wits). *Miscellaneorum sacrorum libri IV. Quibus de prophetis & prophetia, de tabernaculi Levitici mysteriis, de collatione sacerdoti Aaronis & Christi ...* 2 vols. Utrecht, 1692–1700. *Editio nova ab auctore recognita, & praefatione aucta*. Leiden, 1736.
- Woodhead, Abraham, Richard Allestree, and Obadiah Walker. *A Paraphrase and annotations upon all the epistles of St. Paul, done by several eminent men at Oxford*. 1675. London, 1708.

## Secondary Works

- Backus, Irena. *Reformation Readings of the Apocalypse: Geneva, Zurich and Wittenberg*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2000.
- Baird, William. *History of New Testament Research*. Vol. 1: *From Deism to Tübingen*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992.
- . *History of New Testament Research*. Vol. 2. *From Jonathan Edwards to Rudolf Bultmann*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2003.
- Ball, Bryan W. *A Great Expectation: Eschatological Thought in English Protestantism to 1660*. Leiden: Brill, 1975.
- Becker, Michael. “Apocalyptic und Irenik in Hugo Grotius’ späten Theologischen Schriften.” *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte/Archive for Reformation History* 105 (2014): 180–205.
- Benz, Ernst. “Ecumenical Relations between Boston Puritanism and German Pietism (Cotton Mather and August Hermann Francke).” *Harvard Theological Review* 54.3 (1961): 159–93.
- . “Pietist and Puritan Sources of Early Protestant World Missions (Cotton Mather and A. H. Francke).” *Church History* 20.2 (1951): 28–55.
- Bercovitch, Sacvan. *The American Jeremiad*. Madison: The U of Wisconsin P, 1978.
- . *The Puritan Origins of the American Self*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1975.
- [BBK=] *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*. Gen. ed. T. Bautz. 35 vols. Nordhausen et al.: Bautz et al., 1975–2014.
- Bloch, Ruth H. *Visionary Republic: Millennial Themes in American Thought, 1756–1800*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1985.
- Bozeman, Theodor Dwight. *To Live Ancient Lives: The Primitivist Dimension in Puritanism*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina P, 1988.
- Brady, David. “The Number of the Beast in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century England.” *The Evangelical Quarterly* 45 (1973): 219–240.
- Breul, Wolfgang. “‘Hoffnung besserer Zeiten’: Der Wandel der ‘Endzeit’ im lutherischen Pietismus um 1700.” In *Frühe Neue Zeiten: Zeitwissen zwischen Reformation und Revolution*. Edited by Achim Landwehr. Bielefeld: Transcript, 2012. 261–82.
- , and Thomas Hahn-Bruckert. Editors. *Pietismus Handbuch*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2020.
- Brown, Robert E. *Jonathan Edwards and the Bible*. Bloomington: Indiana UP, 2002.

- . “Editor’s Introduction.” In *Biblia Americana*. Vol. 9. *Romans-Philemon*. Edited by Robert E. Brown. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2018. 1–75.
- Buchwald, Jed Z. and Mordechai Feingold. *Newton and the Origin of Civilization*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 2013.
- Burnett, Stephen G. *Christian Hebraism in the Reformation Era (1500–1660): Authors, Books, and the Transmission of Jewish Learning*. Leiden: Brill, 2012.
- . “Later Christian Hebraists.” In *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament: From the Renaissance to the Enlightenment*. Edited by Magne Sæbø. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008. 785–801.
- Campbell, Gordon. *Bible: The Story of the King James Version 1611–2011*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2010.
- Capp, Bernhard S. *The Fifth Monarchy Men: A Study in Seventeenth-Century English Millenarianism*. London: Faber and Faber, 1972.
- Champion, Justin A.I. *The Pillars of Priestcraft Shaken: The Church of England and its Enemies, 1660–1730*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1992.
- Christianson, Paul Kenneth. *Reformers in Babylon: English Apocalyptic Visions from the Reformation to the Eve of the Civil War*. Toronto: University of Toronto P, 1975.
- Cogley, Richard W. “The Ancestry of the American Indians: Thomas Thorowgood’s *Jewes in America* (1650) and *Jews in America* (1660).” *English Literary Renaissance* 35.2 (Spring 2005): 304–30.
- Coudert, Allison P. *The Impact of the Kabbalah in the Seventeenth Century: The Life and Thought of Francis Mercury Van Helmont (1614–1698)*. Leiden: Brill, 1999.
- . *Religion, Magic, and Science in Early Modern Europe and America*. Santa Barbara: Praeger, 2011.
- Crome, Andrew. *Christian Zionism and English National Identity, 1600–1850*. London: Palgrave, 2019.
- . *The Restoration of the Jews: Early Modern Hermeneutics, Eschatology, and National Identity in the Works of Thomas Brightman*. Heidelberg: Springer, 2014.
- Davidson, James West. *The Logic of Millennial Thought: Eighteenth-Century New England*. New Haven: Yale UP 1977.
- De Jonge, Il. J. “J. S. Scaliger’s De LXXXV Canonibus Apostolorum Diatribe,” *Lias* 2 (1975): 115–24.
- De Quehen, Hugh. “Hammond, Henry (1606–1660).” *ODNB*. 2004. Online Edition. Accessed December 23, 2021. <www.oxforddnb.com>
- Dixon, Philip. “Nice and Hot Disputes”: *The Doctrine of the Trinity in the Seventeenth Century*. Bloomsbury: T.& T. Clark, 2003.
- Duff, John H. “A Knot Worth Unloosing”: *The Interpretation of the New Heavens and Earth in Seventeenth-Century England*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2019.
- Ehrman, Bart E. *Misquoting Jesus: The Story Behind Who Changed the Bible and Why*. New York: HarperCollins, 2005.
- Erwin, John. *The Millennialism of Cotton Mather: An Historical and Theological Analysis*. Studies in American Religion 45. Lewiston: Edwin Mellen P, 1990.
- Firth, Katherine. *The Apocalyptic Tradition in Reformation Britain 1530–1645*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1979.
- Fleming, John V. *The Dark Side of the Enlightenment: Wizards, Alchemists, and Spiritual Seekers in the Age of Enlightenment*. New York and London: Norton, 2013.
- Force, James. E. *William Whiston: Honest Newtonian*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1985.

- and Richard H. Popkin. Editors. *Millenarianism and Messianism in Early Modern European Culture: Volume III: The Millenarian Turn: Millenarian Contexts of Science, Politics and Everyday Life in Anglo-American Life in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*. Dordrecht: Kluwer, 2001.
- and Richard H. Popkin. Editors. *Newton and Religion: Context, Nature and Influence*. Dordrecht: Kluwer, 1999.
- and Sarah Hutton. Editors. *Newton and Newtonianism: New Studies*. Dordrecht: Kluwer, 2004.
- Fox, Adam. *John Mill and Richard Bentley: A Study of Textual Criticism of the New Testament, 1675–1729*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1954.
- Funkenstein, Amos. *Theology and the Scientific Imagination from the Middle Ages to the Seventeenth Century*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1986.
- Garrett, Clarke. *Spirit Possession and Popular Religion, From the Camisards to the Shakers*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1987.
- Gibson, William. *The Church of England 1688–1832: Unity and Accord*. London: Routledge, 2001.
- . “Millenarianism and Prophecy in Eighteenth-Century Britain.” In *Early Modern Prophecies in Transnational, National and Regional Contexts*. Edited by Lionel Laborie and Ariel Hessayon. 3 Vols. Leiden: Brill, 2020.
- Golden, Samuel. *Jean Le Clerc*. New York: Twayne, 1972.
- Goodman, Nan. *The Puritan Cosmopolis: The Law of Nations and the Early American Imagination*. New York: Oxford UP, 2018.
- Grafton, Anthony. “Higher Criticism Ancient and Modern: The Lamentable Death of Hermes and the Sibyls.” In *The Uses of Greek and Latin: Historical Essays*. Edited by A. C. Dionisotti, Anthony Grafton, and Jill Kraye. London: The Warburg Institute, 1988.
- Greengrass, Mark, Michael Leslie, and Timothy Raylor. Editors. *Samuel Hartlib and Universal Reformation: Studies in Intellectual Communication*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1994.
- Gribben, Crawford. *The Puritan Millennium: Literature and Theology, 1550–1682*. Second ed. Dublin: Paternoster, 2007.
- . *John Owen and English Puritanism: Experiences of Defeat*. New York: Oxford UP, 2016.
- Guillemin Thomas. “Jalons pour une étude du corpus huguenot sur la tolérance au moment de la Révocation.” *Annales de Bretagne et des pays de l’Ouest* 125.1 (2018): 33–44.
- Gwynn, Robin. “Strains of Worship: The Huguenots and Non-conformity.” In *The Huguenots: History and Memory in Transnational Context: Essays in Honour and Memory of Walter C. Utt*. Edited by David J. B. Trim. Leiden: Brill, 2011. 121–52.
- Hahn-Bruckart, Thomas. “Bibel.” In *Pietismus-Handbuch*. Edited by Wolfgang Breul and Thomas Hahn-Bruckart. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2020. 420–27.
- Hampton, Stephen. *Anti-Arminians: The Anglican Reformed Tradition from Charles II to George I*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2008.
- Hardy, Nicholas. *Criticism and Confession: The Bible in the Seventeenth Century Republic of Letters*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2017.
- . “The Septuagint and the Transformation of Biblical Scholarship in England, from the King James Bible (1611) to the London Polyglott (1657).” In *The Oxford Handbook of the Bible in Early Modern England, c. 1530–1700*. Edited by Kevin Killeen, Helen Smith, and Rachel Willie. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2015. 117–130.

- Harrison, Peter. *The Bible, Protestantism, and the Rise of Natural Science*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998.
- . "Religion" and the Religions in the English Enlightenment. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1990.
- Haugen, Kristine Louise. "Transformations of the Trinity Doctrine in English Scholarship: From the History of Beliefs to the History of Texts." *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* 3 (2001): 149–68.
- Hazard, Paul. *The Crisis of the European Mind, 1680–1715*. 1935. Translated by James Lewis May. With an Introduction by Anthony Grafton. New York: New York Review Books, 2013.
- Hessayon, Ariel. "The Apocrypha in Early Modern England." In *The Oxford Handbook of the Bible in Early Modern England, c. 1530–1700*. Edited by Kevin Killeen, Helen Smith, and Rachel Willie. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2015. 131–148.
- . and Nicholas Keene. Editors. *Scripture and Scholarship in Early Modern England*. London: Ashgate, 2006.
- Hill, Christopher. *The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas during the English Revolution*. London: Temple Smith, 1972.
- Hoberman, Michael. *New Israel/New England: Jews and Puritans in Early America*. Amherst: U of Massachusetts P, 2011.
- Holmes, Thomas James. *Cotton Mather: A Bibliography of His Work*. 3 vols. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1940.
- Hoselton, Ryan P. "Spiritually Discerned: Cotton Mather, Jonathan Edwards, and Experiential Exegesis in Early Evangelicalism." PhD diss. Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg, 2019.
- and Jan Stievermann, Douglas A. Sweeney, and Michael Haykin. Editors. *The Bible in Early Transatlantic Evangelicalism and Pietism*. University Park: Pennsylvania State UP, 2022.
- Hotson, Howard. *Paradise Postponed: Johann Heinrich Alsted and the Birth of Calvinist Millenarianism*. Dordrecht: Kluwer, 2000.
- Hunt, John. *Religious Thought in England from the Reformation to the End of Last Century: A Contribution to the History of Theology*. 3 vols. London, 1870–71.
- Illiffe, Rob. "Friendly Criticism: Richard Simone, John Locke, Isaac Newton and the *Johannine Comma*." In *Scripture and Scholarship in Early Modern England*. Edited by Ariel Hessayon and Nicholas Keene. London: Ashgate, 2006. 137–157.
- . *Priest of Nature: The Religious Worlds of Isaac Newton*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2017.
- Jacob, Margaret C. "Millenarianism and Science in the Late Seventeenth Century." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 37:2 (1976): 335–41.
- Johnston, Warren. "Cressener, Drue (1642–1718)." *ODNB*. Online Edition. 2004. Accessed December 23, 2021. [www.oxforddnb.com](http://www.oxforddnb.com)
- . *Revelation Restored: The Apocalypse in Later Seventeenth-Century England*. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2011.
- Jue, Jeffrey K. *Heaven upon Earth: Joseph Mede (1586–1638) and the Legacy of Millenarianism*. Dordrecht: Kluwer, 2006.
- . "Puritan Millennialism in Old and New England." In *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism*. Edited by John Coffey and Paul C. H. Lim. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2008. 259–76.
- Juster, Susan. *Doomsayers: Anglo-American Prophecy in the Age of Revolution*. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania P, 2003.

- Katz, David S. *Philo-semitism and the Readmission of the Jews to England, 1603–1655*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1982.
- Keene, Nicholas. “‘A Two-Edged Sword’: Biblical Criticism and the New Testament Canon in Early Modern England.” In *Scripture and Scholarship in Early Modern England*. Edited by Ariel Hessayon and Nicholas Keene. London: Ashgate, 2006. 94–115.
- Kennedy, Rick. *The First American Evangelical: A Short Life of Cotton Mather*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2015.
- Kidd, Colin. *The Forging of Races: Race and Scripture in the Protestant Atlantic World, 1600–2000*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2006.
- Killeen, Kevin and Peter J. Forshaw. Editors. *The Word and the World: Biblical Exegesis and Early Modern Science*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.
- Kléber Monod, Paul. *Solomon’s Secret Arts: The Occult in the Age of Enlightenment*. New Haven and London: Yale UP, 2013.
- Komline, David. “The Controversy of the Present Time: Arianism, William Whiston, and the Development of Mather’s Late Eschatology.” In *Cotton Mather and Biblia Americana – America’s First Bible Commentary: Essays in Reappraisal*. Edited by Reiner Smolinski and Jan Stievermann. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010. 439–59.
- Laborie, Lionel. *Enlightening Enthusiasm: Prophecy and Religious Experience in Eighteenth-Century England*. Manchester: Manchester UP, 2015.
- Lawrence, T.M. “Goodwin, Thomas (1600–1680).” *ODNB*. Online Edition. 2008. Accessed December 23, 2021. [www.oxforddnb.com](http://www.oxforddnb.com)
- Levin, David. *Cotton Mather: The Young Life of the Lord’s Remembrancer 1663–1703*. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1978.
- Levitin, Dmitri. *Ancient Wisdom in the Age of New Science*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2015.
- Link, Adolf and Paul Tschakert “Schlichting, Jonas von.” *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 31 (1890): 489. Online Edition. Accessed December 23, 2021. <[deutsche-biographie.de](http://deutsche-biographie.de)>
- Lovelace, Richard. *The American Pietism of Cotton Mather: Origins of American Evangelicalism*. Grand Rapids: Christian UP, 1979.
- Luther, Susanne. “Schriftverständnis im Pietismus.” In: *Pietismus-Handbuch*. Edited by Wolfgang Breul and Thomas Hahn-Bruckart. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2020. 349–59
- Maddux, Harry Clark. “Editor’s Introduction.” In *Biblia Americana: America’s First Bible Commentary. A Synoptic Commentary on the Old and New Testaments*. Vol. 3. *Ezra-Psalms*. By Cotton Mather. Tübingen/Grand Rapids: Mohr Siebeck/Baker Academic, 2014. 1–80.
- . “Euhemerism and Ancient Theology in Cotton Mather’s ‘Biblia Americana.’” In *Cotton Mather and Biblia Americana – America’s First Bible Commentary: Essays in Reappraisal*. Edited by Reiner Smolinski and Jan Stievermann. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010. 337–59.
- Manuel, Frank E. *The Broken Staff: Judaism through Christian Eyes*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1992.
- . *The Eighteenth Century Confronts the Gods*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1959.
- . *The Religion of Isaac Newton*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1974.
- Matar, Nabil I. “The Idea of the Restoration of the Jews in English Protestant Thought, 1661–1701.” *Harvard Theological Review* 78 (1985): 115–48.



- . “The Controversy over the Restoration of the Jews in English Protestant Thought, 1701–1753.” *Durham University Journal* 80 (1988): 241–256.
- McGraw, Paul. “The Memory of the Huguenots in North America: Protestant History and Polemic.” In *The Huguenots: History and Memory in Transnational Context: Essays in Honour and Memory of Walter C. Utt*. Edited by David J. B. Trim. Leiden: Brill, 2011. 285–304.
- McLachlan, H. John. *Socinianism in Seventeenth-Century England*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1951.
- Meserole, Harrison T. Editor. *American Poetry of the Seventeenth Century*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University P, 1985.
- Metzger, Bruce M. *The Canon of the New Testament: Its Origin, Development, and Significance*. Oxford: Clarendon P, 1987.
- , and Bart D. Ehrman, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration*. 4<sup>th</sup> ed. New York: Oxford UP, 2005.
- Middlekauff, Robert. *The Mathers: Three Generations of Puritan Intellectuals, 1596–1728*. New York: Oxford UP, 1971. New Edition, 1999.
- Miller, Perry. *The New England Mind: From Colony to Province*. Cambridge: Belknap P of Harvard UP, 1953.
- Minkema, Kenneth P. “Editor’s Introduction.” In *Biblia Americana*. Vol. 3. *Joshua–2 Chronicles*. Edited by Kenneth P. Minkema. Tübingen/Grand Rapids: Mohr Siebeck/Baker Academic, 2013. 1–80.
- Mortimer, Sarah. *Reason and Religion in the English Revolution: The Challenge of Socinianism*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2010.
- Muller, Richard A. “Biblical Interpretation in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.” In *Historical Handbook of Major Biblical Interpreters*. Edited by Donald K. McKim. Downers Grove: InterVarsity P, 1998. 123–52.
- . “John Lightfoot.” In *Historical Handbook of Major Biblical Interpreters*. Edited by Donald K. McKim. Downers Grove: InterVarsity P, 1998. 208–12.
- Nellen, Henk J. M. *Hugo Grotius: A Lifelong Struggle for Peace in Church and State, 1583/1645*. Leiden: Brill, 2014.
- . “Growing Tensions between Church Doctrines and Critical Exegesis of the Old Testament.” In *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament: From the Renaissance to the Enlightenment*. Edited by Magne Sæbø. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008. 802–26.
- O’Higgins, James. *Anthony Collins: The Man and His Works*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1970.
- [ODNB=] *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Edited by H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2004. Online edition. < www.oxforddnb.com >
- Packer, John W. *The Transformation of Anglicanism, 1643–1660 with Special Reference to Henry Hammond*. Manchester: Manchester UP, 1969.
- Pagel, Walter. *Joan Baptista van Helmont: Reformers of Science and Medicine*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1982.
- Pailin, David A. *Attitudes to Other Religions. Comparative Religion in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Britain*. Manchester: Manchester UP, 1984.
- Parkin, Jon. *Science, Religion and Politics in Restoration England: Richard Cumberland’s De Legibus Naturae*. The Royal Historical Society: Boydell P, 1999.
- Peterson, Mark A. *The City State of Boston: The Rise and Fall of an Atlantic Power, 1630–1865*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019.

- Popkin, Richard H. "Foreword," in James. E. Force, *William Whiston: Honest Newtonian*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.xi–xxi.
- Quantin, Jean-Louis. "Whitby, Daniel (1637/38–1726)." *ODNB*. Online Edition. 2004. Accessed December 23, 2021. [www.oxforddnb.com](http://www.oxforddnb.com)
- Randall, Catharine. *From a Far Country: Camisards and Huguenots in the Atlantic World*. Athens: University of Georgia P, 2009.
- Reichert, Klaus. "Christian Kabbalah in the Seventeenth Century." In *The Christian Kabbalah. Jewish Mystical Books and their Christian Interpreters*. Edited by Joseph Dan. Cambridge, MA: Harvard College Library, 1997. 127–47.
- Reventlow, Henning Graf. *The Authority of the Bible and the Rise of the Modern World*. Translated by John Bowden. Philadelphia: Fortress P, 1985.
- . "English Rationalism, Deism and Early Biblical Criticism." In *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament: From the Renaissance to the Enlightenment*. Edited by Magne Sæbø. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008. 851–74.
- . *Epochen der Bibelauslegung. Band III: Renaissance, Reformation, Humanismus*. München: Beck, 1997.
- . *Epochen der Bibelauslegung. Band IV: Von der Aufklärung bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*. München: Beck, 2001.
- . *History of Biblical Interpretation*. Translated by Leo G. Perdue and James O. Duke. 4 vols. Resources for Biblical Study 50–63. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2009–2010.
- . "Humanistic Exegesis: The Famous Hugo Grotius." In *Creative Biblical Exegesis: Christian and Jewish Hermeneutics through the Centuries*. Edited by Benjamin Uffenheimer and Henning Graf Reventlow. Sheffield: JSOT P, 1988. 175–91.
- Rogerson, John W. "Early Old Testament Critics in the Roman Catholic Church-Focusing on the Pentateuch." In *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament: From the Renaissance to the Enlightenment*. Edited by Magne Sæbø. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008. 837–50.
- Sandys-Wunsch, John. *What Have They Done to the Bible? A History of Modern Biblical Interpretation*. Collegeville: Liturgical P, 2005.
- Schimmelpfennig, Adolf. "Crell, Johann." *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 31 (1876): 586–87. Online Edition. Accessed December 23, 2021. < [deutsche-biographie.de](http://deutsche-biographie.de) >
- Schneider, Hans. "Die unterfüllte Zukunft: Apokalyptische Erwartungen im radikalen Pietismus um 1700." In *Jahrhundertwenden: Endzeit- und Zukunftsvorstellungen vom 15. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*. Edited by Manfred Jakubowski-Tiessen et al. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999. 187–212.
- Scholder, Klaus. *The Birth of Modern Critical Theology*. Translated by John Bowden. London/Philadelphia: SCM P/Trinity P International, 1990.
- Schwartz, Hillel. *The French Prophets: The History of a Millenarian Group in Eighteenth-Century England*. Berkeley: University of California P, 1980.
- Shaw, Jane. *Miracles in Enlightenment England*. New Haven: Yale UP, 2006.
- Sheehan, Jonathan. *The Enlightenment Bible: Translation, Scholarship, Culture*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 2005.
- Sheppard, Gerald T. "Biblical Interpretation in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries." In *Historical Handbook of Major Biblical Interpreters*. Edited by Donald K. McKim. Downers Grove: InterVarsity P, 1998. 257–80.
- Silverman, Kenneth. *The Life and Times of Cotton Mather*. New York: Harper & Row, 1984.

- Sirota, Brent S. "The Trinitarian Crisis in Church and State: Religious Controversy and the Making of the Postrevolutionary Church of England, 1687–1702." *Journal of British Studies* 52 (2013): 26–54.
- Smith, John Howard. *A Dream of the Judgment Day: American Millennialism and Apocalypticism, 1620–1890*. New York: Oxford UP, 2021.
- Smith, Robert. O. *More Desired than Our Own Salvation: The Roots of Christian Zionism*. New York: Oxford UP, 2013.
- Smolinski, Reiner. "Apocalypticism in Colonial North America." In *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism*. Vol. 3. *Apocalypticism in the Modern Period and the Contemporary Age*. Edited by Stephen J. Stein. New York: Continuum, 1998. 36–72.
- . "Authority and Interpretation: Cotton Mather's Response to the European Spinozists." In *Shaping the Stuart World, 1603–1714: The Atlantic Connection*. Edited by Alan I. Macinnes and Arthur Williamson. Leiden: Brill, 2006. 175–203.
- . "'Eager Imitators of the Egyptian Inventions': Cotton Mather's Engagement with John Spencer and the Debate about the Pagan Origins of the Mosaic Laws, Rites, and Customs." In *Cotton Mather and Biblia Americana – America's First Bible Commentary: Essays in Reappraisal*. Edited by Reiner Smolinski and Jan Stievermann. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010. 295–335.
- . "Editor's Introduction." In *Biblia Americana*. Vol. 1. *Genesis*. Edited by Reiner Smolinski. Tübingen/Grand Rapids: Mohr Siebeck/Baker Academic, 2010. 1–210.
- . "Editor's Introduction." In *Biblia Americana*. Vol. 2. *Exodus*. Edited by Reiner Smolinski. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2019. 1–112.
- . "How to Go to Heaven, or How Heaven Goes? Natural Science and Interpretation in Cotton Mather's 'Biblia Americana' (1693–1728)." *New England Quarterly* 81.2 (2008): 278–329.
- . "Introduction." In *The Threefold Paradise of Cotton Mather: An Edition of "Tripardisus"*. Athens/London: U of Georgia P, 1995: 3–78.
- . "'Israel Redivivus': The Eschatological Limits of Puritan Typology in New England." *New England Quarterly* 63.3 (1990): 357–95.
- . and Jan Stievermann. Editors. *Cotton Mather and Biblia Americana – America's First Bible Commentary: Essays in Reappraisal*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010.
- Snobelen, Stephen D. "The Argument over Prophecy: An Eighteenth-Century Debate between William Whiston and Anthony Collins." *Lumen* 15 (1996): 195–213.
- . "'To us there is but one God, the Father': Antitrinitarianism Textual Criticism in Seventeenth- and Early Eighteenth-Century England." In *Scripture and Scholarship in Early Modern England*. Edited by Ariel Hessayon and Nicholas Keene. London: Ashgate, 2006. 116–36.
- Solberg, Winton U. "Cotton Mather, the 'Biblia Americana,' and the Enlightenment." In *Cotton Mather and Biblia Americana – America's First Bible Commentary: Essays in Reappraisal*. Edited by Reiner Smolinski and Jan Stievermann. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010. 183–201.
- . "Introduction." In *The Christian Philosopher*. By Cotton Mather. Edited by Winton U. Solberg. Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1994. xic–cxxxiv.
- Stanwood, Owen. *The Global Refuge: Huguenots in an Age of Empire*. New York: Oxford UP, 2020.
- Stausberg, Michael. *Faszination Zarathushtra: Zoroaster und die Europäische Religionsgeschichte der Frühen Neuzeit*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1998.

- Stein, Stephen J. "Cotton Mather and Jonathan Edwards on the Epistle of James: A Comparative Study." In *Cotton Mather and Biblia Americana – America's First Bible Commentary: Essays in Reappraisal*. Edited by Reiner Smolinski and Jan Stievermann. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010. 363–382.
- Steinmann, Jean. *Richard Simon et les origines de l'exegese biblique*. Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1959.
- Stievermann, Jan. "Admired Adversary: Wrestling with Grotius the Exegete in Cotton Mather's *Biblia Americana*." *Grotiana* 41:1 (2020): 198–235.
- . "The Debate over Prophetic Evidence for the Authority of the Bible in Cotton Mather's *Biblia Americana*." *The Bible in American Life*. Edited by Philip Goff, Arthur Farnsley II, and Peter J. Thuesen. New York: Oxford UP, 2017. 48–62.
- . "The Genealogy of Races and the Problem of Slavery in Cotton Mather's 'Biblia Americana.'" In *Cotton Mather and Biblia Americana – America's First Bible Commentary: Essays in Reappraisal*. Edited by Reiner Smolinski and Jan Stievermann. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010. 515–76.
- . "General Introduction." In *Cotton Mather and Biblia Americana – America's First Bible Commentary: Essays in Reappraisal*. Edited by Reiner Smolinski and Jan Stievermann. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010. 1–58.
- . "Interpreting the Role of America in New England Millennialism, 1640 to 1800." *A Companion to American Cultural History: From the Colonial Period to the End of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century*. Eds. Bernd Engler and Oliver Scheiding. Trier: WVT, 2009. 121–163.
- . *Prophecy, Piety, and the Problem of Historicity: Interpreting the Hebrew Scriptures in Cotton Mather's Biblia Americana*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016.
- . "Reading Revelation and Revelatory Readings in Early Awakened Protestantism: A Transatlantic Comparison." In *The Bible in Early Transatlantic Pietism and Evangelicalism*, ed. Ryan Hoselton, Jan Stievermann, Douglas A. Sweeney, and Michael Haykin. University Park: Pennsylvania State UP, 2022. 200–20.
- . (with Ryan Hoselton). "Spiritual Meaning and Experimental Piety in the Exegesis of Cotton Mather and Jonathan Edwards." In *Jonathan Edwards and Scripture: Biblical Exegesis in British North America*. Eds. David P. Barshinger and Douglas A. Sweeney. New York: Oxford University Press, 2018. 86–105.
- . "A 'Syncretism of Piety': Imagining Global Protestantism in Early Eighteenth-Century Boston, Tranquebar, and Halle." *Church History* 89.4 (December 2020): 829–56.
- Stolzenberg, Daniel. "John Spencer and the Perils of Sacred Philology," *Past and Present* (2012): 129–63.
- Stroumsa, Guy G. *A New Science: The Discovery of Religion in the Age of Reason*. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 2010.
- and Jan Assmann. Editors. *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* 3 (2001)). Themenheft: *Das 17. Jahrhundert und die Ursprünge der Religionsgeschichte*.
- Sweeney, Douglass A. *Edwards the Exegete: Biblical Interpretation and Anglo-Protestant Culture on the Edge of the Enlightenment*. New York: Oxford UP, 2015.
- Thomas, Roger. "The Non-Subscription Controversy amongst Dissenters in 1719: The Salters' Hall Debate." *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 4 (1953): 162–86.
- Toon, Peter. Editor. *Puritans, the Millennium and the Future of Israel: Puritan Eschatology 1600–1660*. London: James Clarke, 1970.
- Trim, David J. B. Editor. *The Huguenots: History and Memory in Transnational Context: Essays in Honour and Memory of Walter C. Utt*. Leiden: Brill, 2011.

- Turnbull, George H. *Hartlib, Dury, and Comenius: Gleanings from Hartlib's Papers*. Liverpool: University P of Liverpool, 1947.
- Turner, James. *Religion Enters the Academy: The Origins of the Scholarly Study of Religion in America*. Athens: U of Georgia P, 2011.
- Van den Berg, Johannes. "Glorious Revolution and Millennium: The 'Apocalyptic Thoughts' of Drue Cressener." *Church, Change and Revolution*. Edited by Johannes van den Berg and P. G. Hoftijzer. Leiden: Brill, 1991, 130–44.
- . "Grotius and Apocalyptic Thought in England." In *Hugo Grotius – Theologian: Essays in Honour of G. H. M. Posthumus Meyjes*. Edited by Henk J. M. Nellen and Edwin Rabbie. Leiden: Brill, 1994. 169–84.
- Van Miert, Dirk, Henk J. M. Nellen, Piet Steenbakkers, and Jetze Toubert. Editors. *Scriptural Authority and Biblical Criticism in the Dutch Golden Age: God's Word Questioned*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2017.
- Walker, Daniel P. *The Ancient Theology: Studies in Christian Platonism from the Fifteenth Century to the Eighteenth Century*. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1972.
- Walker, David John. "Thomas Goodwin and the Debate on Church Government." *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 34.1 (1983): 85–99.
- Wallmann, Johannes. "Scriptural Understanding and Interpretation in Pietism." In *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament: From the Renaissance to the Enlightenment*. Edited by Magne Sæbø. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008. 902–25.
- Wallace, Dewey D. *Shapers of English Calvinism, 1660–1714: Variety, Persistence, and Transformation*. New York: Oxford UP, 2011.
- Webster, Charles. *The Great Instauration: Science, Medicine and Reform, 1626–1660*. London: Duckworth, 1975.
- Wilbur, Earl Morse. *A History of Unitarianism*. 2 vols. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1945–52.
- Wiles, Maurice. *Archetypal Heresy: Arianism Through the Centuries*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2001.
- Wykes, David L. "Subscribers and Non-Subscribers at the Salters' Hall Debate." *ODNB*. Online Edition. 2009. Accessed December 23, 2021. [www.oxforddnb.com](http://www.oxforddnb.com)



## Section 3

### Notes on the Manuscript

This section is designed to provide information specific to this volume only and the part of the manuscript on which it is based. A detailed description of the “Biblia Americana” manuscript as a whole and the condition of the text is provided by the “Editor’s Introduction” to volume one. There the interested reader can also find an in-depth history of the manuscript and a discussion of how it likely came into the possession of the MHS in the early nineteenth century.<sup>1</sup> Volume one, moreover, outlines the editorial principles used in transcribing and annotating Mather’s handwritten commentaries, which will not be reproduced here.<sup>2</sup>

Probably sometime after its acquisition by the MHS, the fascicles of the “Biblia” manuscript were divided into six sections and bound up in book-like volumes with cardboard backs and covers. Mather’s annotations on Hebrews, James, 1–2 Peter, 1–3 John, Jude, and Revelation, as well as two series of appended essays, are all in volume six. Overall, this section of the manuscript is in good condition (except for some water and ink stains) and seems to be complete, with the exception of parts of the annotations on Rev. 20. The manuscript is badly damaged here, but the illegible parts could be supplied from Mather’s “Problema Theologicum”-manuscript that overlaps with Mather’s commentary here. There are only a few cases in which single words or parts of sentences were lost entirely due to damage. Occasionally, a sheet is wider or longer than the bound volume’s dimensions, and where this occurred Mather or a later owner folded over the edges one or two inches, resulting in some torn-off edges.

Mather’s commentaries on Hebrews to Revelation plus the appended essays together comprise 219 leaves of differing sizes. There are basically three types of leaves: those that roughly have a folio format, those that are about quarto-size, and then variously sized, smaller pieces of paper. In this section, nearly all of the folio leaves are single rather than conjugate or infolded. In most cases, Mather wrote on both sides. In keeping with our editorial principles, each leaf, no matter its size, is counted as a separate item with a recto and verso page.

---

<sup>1</sup> Smolinski, “Editor’s Introduction” (*BA* 1:191–96).

<sup>2</sup> Smolinski, “Editor’s Introduction” (*BA* 1:203–10). These principles can be found online as well: [www.matherproject.org](http://www.matherproject.org).

As suggested above, Mather started the project writing on leaves cut approximately to folio size and folded in the middle to create a double-column. These sheets were organized by head notes indicating scripture books and chapters. Mather's handwriting on the original folio sheets shows considerable variation, which in part would also have been the result of using different quills. Diverse kinds of ink also appear. This reflects Mather's work routine of jumping back and forth between different sections, adding single entries from a great variety of sources.

One striking case of irregularity should also be mentioned, which can be found on some of the original folio sheets. At Heb. 2:14, Heb. 5:7, 1 Pet. 1:23 (RH), 1 Pet. 4:3, and after the essay "*Ezra*, or, The Things done by *Ezra*," we find entries or additions to existing entries that appear in a very different, much more ornamental handwriting (see illustration above). The same handwriting occasionally shows up in other sections of the "Biblia" manuscript as well. Mather, or someone else, crossed out most of these additions. Wherever this occurs, it is noted in the critical apparatus. Theologically, these insertions do not stand out in any way. However, in some cases (as in the entry on 1 Pet. 1:23) the insertions are composed in verse.

It is, of course, possible that Mather himself penned these additions, choosing for some reason to write in a very different style. However, it seems more likely that someone else did. We should at least regard the authorship of these entries as uncertain. It is conceivable that these additions were made by a member of his family, a later owner of the manuscript, or someone of Mather's acquaintance to whom he lent the manuscript for perusal. We know of one instance in which Mather gave parts of the "Biblia" to Joseph Dudley, who praised it but ultimately failed to extend his help in getting the manuscript published.<sup>3</sup> Likely, this was not the only such case of manuscript circulation from which the "Biblia" might have come back with a few new notes.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, an entry on 2 Pet. 3:7 appears to have been composed by (or dictated to) Samuel Mather, as the handwriting resembles that from manuscripts at the AAS written by him.

At the end of the first stage of composition, these folio leaves were stitched together into fascicles for the prospective publication. As was the case

<sup>3</sup> Silverman, *The Life and Times*, p. 210.

<sup>4</sup> At 1 Pet. 1:23 and in the annotations on the Historical Books, where similar insertions can be found, two of these mysterious entries in verse are signed with "R.H" (BA 4:826–27). Possibly, this might point to Robert Hunter (1664–1734) as the author. Hunter was colonial governor of New York from 1710 to 1720 and a versatile intellectual, who also composed poetry and plays. Mather corresponded with Hunter and might have approached him for help with the publication. Another, perhaps even more likely, possibility is Richard Henschman (1655–1725) who taught at Boston's North Writing school and composed poetry. He was an associate of both Mather and Judge Sewall. He exchanged manuscript verses with both of them and is mentioned in Mather's *Thoughts for a Rainy Day*. See *American Poetry of the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Harrison T. Meserole (1985), pp. 467–79.



throughout the manuscript, this process obscured some of the index numbers Mather had originally added to his entries, a practice which he abandoned afterwards. The later binding obscured even more of these numbers. Especially in the manuscript of volume three, the pages are bound so that the first words left and right of the gutter are often just barely legible. While some numbers disappeared that way, we were able to reconstruct virtually all of the actual text.

During the subsequent stages of composition, Mather interleaved additional folio and, more often, quarto leaves to make room for new entries where the original sheets were already overcrowded. He frequently found it necessary as well to attach further smaller inserts to the margins with sealing wax. Sometimes there are even inserts glued onto already existing inserts, creating a kind of fold-out of additional notes. In a few cases, such smaller leaves that once were attached to others have become loose. Thanks to Mather's habit of always making reference to chapter and verse, however, the designated places for their insertion could still be identified. In the edited text the annotations from such inserts always appear in their designated places, which Mather often also indicates through explicit instructions for the printer.

#### Measurements, Watermarks, and Countersigns: Paper Use in the "Biblia" on Hebrews through the Appended Essays

The table below records the measurements of the different leaves Mather used for this section of the manuscript. It also records watermarks and countersigns, where visible. The watermark and countersign references follow the system established by Reiner Smolinski in the first volume of the edition. Countermarks (consisting of initials or symbols) are given in italics. For comparative purposes, readers should consult the corresponding tables and descriptions in previous volumes.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> See *BA* (1:196–202). Many of Smolinski's identifications are based on William A. Churchill, *Watermarks in Paper in Holland, England, and France, etc. in the XVII and XVIII centuries and their interconnection* ([1935] 1990), and Edward Heawood, *Watermarks, mainly of the 17th and 18th centuries* ([1950] Hilversum: Paper Publ. Society 1981). Additional sources are Thomas L. Gravell and George Miller, *A Catalogue of American Watermarks, 1690–1835* (New York: Garland, 1979), and by the same authors, *A Catalogue of Foreign Watermarks Found on Paper used in America, 1700–1835* (New York: Garland, 1983).

*Hebrews*

| [1r–1v]   | [2r–2v]   | [3r–3v]   | [4r–4v]   | [5r–5v]   | [6r–6v]   |
|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| H 313     | H 310     | H 302     | H 305     | H 209     | H 303     |
| W 185     | W 185     | W 185     | W 185     | W 159     | W 178     |
| G 5,9     | G 7,3     | G 5,7     | G 4,4     | G 6,0     | G 2,2     |
| WM: —     | WM: —     | WM: —     | WM: —     | WM: —     | WM: —     |
| CM: WC    | CM: —     | CM: —     | CM: —     | CM: —     | CM: —     |
| [7r–7v]   | [8r–8v]   | [9r–9v]   | [10r–10v] | [11r–11v] | [12r–12v] |
| H 192     | H 195     | H 303     | H 300     | H 152     | H 156     |
| W 95      | W 144     | W 184     | W 175     | W 99      | W 59      |
| G 6,1     | G 8,1     | G 7,8     | G 5,4     | G 1,6     | G 2,2     |
| WM: —     | WM: —     | WM: —     | WM: —     | WM: (A)   | WM: —     |
| CM: —     | CM: —     | CM: HD    | CM: —     | CM: —     | CM: —     |
| [13r–13v] | [14r–14v] | [15r–15v] | [16r–16v] | [17r–17v] | [18r–18v] |
| H 217     | H 304     | H 213     | H 308     | H 219     | H 150     |
| W 144     | W 184     | W 164     | W 185     | W 158     | W 160     |
| G 7,0     | G 2,4     | G 3,2     | G 6,2     | G 1,0     | G 4,0     |
| WM: —     | WM: —     | WM: —     | WM: —     | WM: (?)   | WM: —     |
| CM: —     | CM: CC    | CM: —     | CM: —     | CM: —     | CM: —     |
| [19r–19v] | [20r–20v] | [21r–21v] | [22r–22v] | [23r–23v] | [24r–24v] |
| H 195     | H 300     | H 155     | H 185     | H 195     | H 304     |
| W 145     | W 185     | W 100     | W 135     | W 150     | W 188     |
| G 5,4     | G 7,7     | G 7,2     | G 5,7     | G 6,5     | G 3,0     |
| WM: —     | WM: —     | WM: —     | WM: —     | WM: —     | WM: —     |
| CM: —     | CM: —     | CM: —     | CM: —     | CM: —     | CM: W     |
| [25r–25v] | [26r–26v] |           |           |           |           |
| H 303     | H 304     |           |           |           |           |
| W 185     | W 189     |           |           |           |           |
| G 6,9     | G 8,5     |           |           |           |           |
| WM: —     | WM: —     |           |           |           |           |
| CM: —     | CM: CM    |           |           |           |           |

*James*

| [1r–1v] | [2r–2v] | [3r–3v] | [4r–4v] | [5r–5v] | [6r–6v] |
|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| H 302   | H 153   | H 112   | H 303   | H 173   | H 305   |
| W 185   | W 165   | W 52    | W 180   | W 105   | W 188   |
| G 2,0   | G 1,0   | G 3,0   | G 1,0   | G 10,10 | G 10,9  |
| WM: —   | WM: —   | WM: —   | WM: —   | WM: —   | WM: (C) |
| CM: M   | CM: —   | CM: —   | CM: —   | CM: —   | CM: —   |
| [7r–7v] | [8r–8v] | [9r–9v] |         |         |         |
| H 302   | H 150   | H 312   |         |         |         |
| W 189   | W 82    | W 194   |         |         |         |
| G 6,5   | G 0,1   | G 7,1   |         |         |         |
| WM: —   | WM: —   | WM: —   |         |         |         |
| CM: —   | CM: —   | CM: CW  |         |         |         |

*1 Peter*

| [1r-1v] | [2r-2v] | [3r-3v] | [4r-4v] | [5r-5v] | [6r-6v] |
|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| H 299   | H 305   | H 105   | H 195   | H 310   | H 305   |
| W 181   | W 191   | W 85    | W 149   | W 185   | W 180   |
| G 82,4  | G 12,7  | G 10,0  | G 8,5   | G 10,0  | G 2,5   |
| WM: —   | WM: —   | WM: —   | WM: (L) | WM: —   | WM: (L) |
| CM: HD  | CM: —   | CM: —   | CM: —   | CM: —   | CM: —   |

[7r-7v]  
H 302  
W 185  
G 5,5  
WM: —  
CM: CC

*2 Peter*

| [1r-1v] | [2r-2v] | [3r-3v] | [4r-4v] | [5r-5v] | [6r-6v] |
|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| H 298   | H 195   | H 156   | H 305   | H 300   | H 155   |
| W 169   | W 140   | W 90    | W 189   | W 177   | W 96    |
| G 5,5   | G 0,5   | G 4,0   | G 12,3  | G 12,6  | G 2,0   |
| WM: (A) | WM: —   | WM: —   | WM: —   | WM: (F) | WM: —   |
| CM: —   | CM: —   | CM: W   | CM: —   | CM: —   | CM: —   |

| [7r-7v] | [8r-8v] | [9r-9v] | [10r-10v] | [11r-11v] | [12r-12v] |
|---------|---------|---------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| H 311   | H 218   | H 309   | H 307     | H 306     | H 199     |
| W 188   | W 138   | W 187   | W 188     | W 200     | W 146     |
| G 2,3   | G 9,0   | G 4,1   | G 5,2     | G 5,60    | G 50,1    |
| WM: —   | WM: —   | WM: —   | WM: (L)   | WM: —     | WM: (L)   |
| CM: MC  | CM: —   | CM: —   | CM: —     | CM: PD    | CM: —     |

*1 John*

| [1r-1v] | [2r-2v] | [3r-3v] | [4r-4v] | [5r-5v] | [6r-6v] |
|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| H 180   | H 309   | H 216   | H 301   | H 95    | H 188   |
| W 149   | W 185   | W 151   | W 184   | W 154   | W 145   |
| G 4,6   | G 3,6   | G 4,6   | G 3,2   | G 1,0   | G 50,3  |
| WM: —   | WM: (L) | WM: —   | WM: —   | WM: —   | WM: —   |
| CM: —   | CM: —   | CM: —   | CM: —   | CM: —   | CM: —   |

| [7r-7v] | [8r-8v] | [9r-9v]  | [10r-10v] |
|---------|---------|----------|-----------|
| H 303   | H 205   | H 312    | H 156     |
| W 179   | W 160   | W 185    | W 193     |
| G 7,3   | G 12,4  | G 59,2   | G 15,0    |
| WM: —   | WM: —   | WM: (??) | WM: (B)   |
| CM: †   | CM: —   | CM: —    | CM: —     |

*2 and 3 John*

| [1r–1v] | [1r–1v] |
|---------|---------|
| H 178   | H 305   |
| W 135   | W 185   |
| G 2,65  | G 8,75  |
| WM: —   | WM: (F) |
| CM: —   | CM: —   |

*Jude*

| [1r–1v] | [2r–2v] | [3r–3v] | [4r–4v] |
|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| H 305   | H 195   | H 303   | H 308   |
| W 180   | W 135   | W 178   | W 178   |
| G 0,1   | G 13,0  | G 1,0   | G 15,0  |
| WM: (Q) | WM: —   | WM: —   | WM: —   |
| CM: —   | CM: —   | CM: —   | CM: —   |

*Revelation*

| [1r–1v]   | [2r–2v]   | [3r–3v]   | [4r–4v]   | [5r–5v]   | [6r–6v]   |
|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| H 218     | H 307     | H 152     | H 304     | H 311     | H 308     |
| W 144     | W 186     | W 95      | W 189     | W 188     | W 189     |
| G 5,4     | G 4,7     | G 8,6     | G 6,2     | G 5,7     | G 5,2     |
| WM: —     | WM: —     | WM: —     | WM: —     | WM: —     | WM: (A)   |
| CM: —     | CM: —     | CM: —     | CM: —     | CM: —     | CM: —     |
| [7r–7v]   | [8r–8v]   | [9r–9v]   | [10r–10v] | [11r–11v] | [12r–12v] |
| H 307     | H 305     | H 308     | H 306     | H 301     | H 309     |
| W 182     | W 182     | W 207     | W 184     | W 177     | W 185     |
| G 8,2     | G 7,0     | G 6,10    | G 7,5     | G 3,5     | G 4,1     |
| WM: —     | WM: (A)   | WM: (X)   | WM: (Q)   | WM: —     | WM: —     |
| CM: —     | CM: —     | CM: —     | CM: —     | CM: E     | CM: —     |
| [13r–13v] | [14r–14v] | [15r–15v] | [16r–16v] | [17r–17v] | [18r–18v] |
| H 192     | H 310     | H 309     | H 307     | H 310     | H 307     |
| W 145     | W 190     | W 186     | W 185     | W 189     | W 186     |
| G 15,3    | G 6,1     | G 9,1     | G 10,4    | G 5,4     | G 6,5     |
| WM: —     | WM: —     | WM: (A)   | WM: —     | WM: —     | WM: (A)   |
| CM: —     | CM: M&C   | CM: —     | CM: C     | CM: —     | CM: —     |
| [19r–19v] | [20r–20v] | [21r–21v] | [22r–22v] | [23r–23v] | [24r–24v] |
| H 195     | H 217     | H 297     | H 216     | H 191     | H 306     |
| W 145     | W 150     | W 181     | W 156     | W 155     | W 189     |
| G 10,5    | G 8,2     | G 60,11   | G 20,17   | G 6,0     | G 6,88    |
| WM: —     | WM: —     | WM: (F)   | WM: —     | WM: —     | WM: —     |
| CM: —     | CM: —     | CM: —     | CM: —     | CM: —     | CM: —     |

|           |           |           |           |           |           |
|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| [25r–25v] | [26r–26v] | [27r–27v] | [28r–28v] | [29r–29v] | [30r–30v] |
| H 306     | H 309     | H 309     | H 188     | H 218     | H 300     |
| W 186     | W 187     | W 188     | W 77      | W 152     | W 188     |
| G 7,8     | G 6,5     | G 4,2     | G 6,0     | G 4,5     | G 5,3     |
| WM: —     | WM: —     | WM: —     | WM: —     | WM: —     | WM: —     |
| CM: —     | CM: —     | CM: —     | CM: —     | CM: —     | CM: —     |
| [31r–31v] | [32r–32v] | [33r–33v] | [34r–34v] | [35r–35v] | [36r–36v] |
| H 304     | H 301     | H 305     | H 305     | H 304     | H 304     |
| W 188     | W 190     | W 190     | W 187     | W 188     | W 187     |
| G 6,3     | G 7,6     | G 7,4     | G 4,3     | G 5,2     | G 3,1     |
| WM: —     | WM: (G)   | WM: (A)   | WM: —     | WM: (G)   | WM: —     |
| CM: —     | CM: —     | CM: —     | CM: —     | CM: —     | CM: —     |
| [37r–37v] | [38r–38v] | [39r–39v] | [40r–40v] | [41r–41v] | [42r–42v] |
| H 302     | H 300     | H 303     | H 187     | H 295     | H 200     |
| W 189     | W 188     | W 190     | W 149     | W 185     | W 145     |
| G 8,8     | G 7,5     | G 12,1    | G 18,9    | G 8,4     | G 11,3    |
| WM: (G)   | WM: (G)   | WM: —     | WM: —     | WM: —     | WM: —     |
| CM: —     | CM: —     | CM: —     | CM: —     | CM: —     | CM: —     |
| [43r–43v] | [44r–44v] | [45r–45v] | [46r–46v] | [47r–47v] | [48r–48v] |
| H 309     | H 310     | H 309     | H 157     | H 309     | H 311     |
| W 195     | W 185     | W 186     | W 80      | W 185     | W 189     |
| G 3,4     | G 8,4     | G 10,10   | G 1,0     | G 9,5     | G 9,6     |
| WM: (A)   | WM: —     | WM: —     | WM: —     | WM: —     | WM: —     |
| CM: —     | CM: M&C   | CM: —     | CM: —     | CM: M&C   | CM: M&C   |
| [49r–49v] | [50r–50v] | [51r–51v] | [52r–52v] | [53r–53v] | [54r–54v] |
| H 216     | H 310     | H 310     | H 311     | H 191     | H 312     |
| W 146     | W 190     | W 185     | W 187     | W 140     | W 189     |
| G 5,5     | G 10,5    | G 14,0    | G 8,35    | G 3,4     | G 6,5     |
| WM: —     | WM: (A)   | WM: —     | WM: (A)   | WM: —     | WM: —     |
| CM: —     | CM: —     | CM: M&C   | CM: —     | CM: —     | CM: —     |
| [55r–55v] | [56r–56v] | [57r–57v] | [58r–58v] | [59r–59v] | [60r–60v] |
| H 219     | H 310     | H 312     | H 312     | H 309     | H 309     |
| W 153     | W 189     | W 189     | W 190     | W 187     | W 190     |
| G 9,5     | G 7,6     | G 6,2     | G 6,6     | G 0,4     | G 10,3    |
| WM: —     | WM: (A)   | WM: (A)   | WM: —     | WM: (A)   | WM: —     |
| CM: —     | CM: —     | CM: —     | CM: M&C   | CM: —     | CM: C     |
| [61r–61v] | [62r–62v] | [63r–63v] | [64r–64v] | [65r–65v] | [66r–66v] |
| H 312     | H 155     | H 310     | H 293     | H 290     | H 155     |
| W 188     | W 89      | W 189     | W 190     | W 180     | W 99      |
| G 6,5     | G 9,0     | G 10,7    | G 11,7    | G 15,5    | G 11,0    |
| WM: (A)   | WM: —     | WM: (A)   | WM: (G)   | WM: —     | WM: —     |
| CM: —     | CM: —     | CM: —     | CM: —     | CM: —     | CM: —     |

|           |           |           |           |           |           |
|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| [67r–67v] | [68r–68v] | [69r–69v] | [70r–70v] | [71r–71v] | [72r–72v] |
| H 311     | H 308     | H 310     | H 310     | H 310     | H 310     |
| W 180     | W 181     | W 187     | W 185     | W 187     | W 188     |
| G 9,6     | G 12,6    | G 13,3    | G 14,5    | G 15,5    | G 12,5    |
| WM: (A)   | WM: —     | WM: (A)   | WM: —     | WM: (A)   | WM: —     |
| CM: —     | CM: *     | CM: —     | CM: *     | CM: —     | CM: *     |
| [73r–73v] | [74r–74v] | [75r–75v] | [76r–76v] | [77r–77v] | [78r–78v] |
| H 310     | H 309     | H 310     | H 307     | H 310     | H 310     |
| W 189     | W 189     | W 185     | W 185     | W 186     | W 186     |
| G 15,5    | G 14,5    | G 12,9    | G 10,3    | G 15,8    | G 13,9    |
| WM: (A)   | WM: —     | WM: (A)   | WM: (A)   | WM: —     | WM: (A)   |
| CM: —     | CM: *     | CM: —     | CM: —     | CM: *     | CM: —     |
| [79r–79v] | [80r–80v] | [81r–81v] | [82r–82v] | [83r–83v] | [84r–84v] |
| H 309     | H 310     | H 306     | H 191     | H 196     | H 304     |
| W 184     | W 185     | W 185     | W 155     | W 153     | W 189     |
| G 91,0    | G 70,9    | G 10,5    | G 51,7    | G 4,2     | G 14,2    |
| WM: —     | WM: (A)   | WM: —     | WM: —     | WM: —     | WM: —     |
| CM: *     | CM: —     | CM: EB    | CM: —     | CM: —     | CM: —     |
| [85r–85v] | [86r–86v] | [87r–87v] | [88r–88v] | [89r–89v] | [90r–90v] |
| H 308     | H 305     | H 303     | H 296     | H 166     | H 300     |
| W 185     | W 185     | W 184     | W 185     | W 183     | W 185     |
| G 10,8    | G 10,3    | G 17,2    | G 9,5     | G 16,0    | G 20,1    |
| WM: —     | WM: —     | WM: —     | WM: —     | WM: (CA)  | WM: —     |
| CM: *     | CM: —     | CM: H     | CM: WP    | CM: —     | CM: —     |
| [91r–91v] | [92r–92v] | [93r–93v] | [94r–94v] | [95r–95v] | [96r–96v] |
| H 300     | H 299     | H 300     | H 300     | H 300     | H 300     |
| W 181     | W 181     | W 185     | W 184     | W 185     | W 185     |
| G 19,1    | G 11,1    | G 14,1    | G 14,1    | G 10,1    | G 12,9    |
| WM: (L)   | WM: —     | WM: (??)  | WM: —     | WM: (??)  | WM: —     |
| CM: —     | CM: —     | CM: —     | CM: —     | CM: —     | CM: —     |
| [97r–97v] | [98r–98v] | [99r–99v] | [88r–88v] | [89r–89v] | [90r–90v] |
| H 301     | H 300     | H 300     | H 296     | H 166     | H 300     |
| W 185     | W 185     | W 185     | W 185     | W 183     | W 185     |
| G 10,9    | G 13,1    | G 20,1    | G 9,5     | G 16,0    | G 20,1    |
| WM: (G)   | WM: —     | WM: (G)   | WM: —     | WM: (CA)  | WM: —     |
| CM: —     | CM: —     | CM: —     | CM: WP    | CM: —     | CM: —     |
| [85r–85v] | [86r–86v] | [87r–87v] | [88r–88v] | [89r–89v] | [99r–99v] |
| H 308     | H 305     | H 303     | H 296     | H 166     | H 300     |
| W 185     | W 185     | W 184     | W 185     | W 183     | W 185     |
| G 10,8    | G 10,3    | G 17,2    | G 9,5     | G 16,0    | G 20,1    |
| WM: —     | WM: —     | WM: —     | WM: —     | WM: (CA)  | WM: —     |
| CM: *     | CM: —     | CM: H     | CM: WP    | CM: —     | CM: —     |

| [100r–100v] | [101–101v] | [102r–102v] | [103r–103v] | [104r–104v] | [105r–105v] |
|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| H 305       | H 308      | H 308       | H 306       | H 307       | H 307       |
| W 183       | W 181      | W 185       | W 183       | W 186       | W 184       |
| G 14,7      | G 12,2     | G 13,6      | G 14,6      | G 15,5      | G 19,4      |
| WM: (A)     | WM: —      | WM: —       | WM: (A)     | WM: —       | WM: —       |
| CM: —       | CM: H      | CM: H       | CM: —       | CM: H       | CM: —       |

| [106–106v] | [107r–107v] |
|------------|-------------|
| H 307      | H 300       |
| W 184      | W 198       |
| G 19,4     | G 15,10     |
| WM: —      | WM: (A)     |
| CM: —      | CM: —       |

*Essays*

| [1r–1v] | [2r–2v] | [3r–3v] | [4r–4v] | [5r–5v] | [6r–6v] |
|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| H 306   | H 306   | H 305   | H 294   | H 299   | H 296   |
| W 183   | W 183   | W 183   | W 183   | W 175   | W 175   |
| G 13,4  | G 12,2  | G 13,1  | G 13,6  | G 15,2  | G 11,10 |
| WM: —   | WM: (A) | WM: (A) | WM: —   | WM: (A) | WM: (A) |
| CM: H   | CM: —   | CM: —   | CM: V   | CM: —   | CM: —   |

| [7r–7v] | [8r–8v] | [9r–9v] | [10r–10v] | [11r–11v] | [12r–12v] |
|---------|---------|---------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| H 296   | H 299   | H 298   | H 299     | H 298     | H 298     |
| W 175   | W 175   | W 175   | W 175     | W 175     | W 175     |
| G 14,8  | G 5,2   | G 9,2   | G 12,6    | G 11,5    | G 14,6    |
| WM: —   | WM: (A) | WM: —   | WM: (A)   | WM: —     | WM: —     |
| CM: —   | CM: —   | CM: V   | CM: —     | CM: —     | CM: —     |

| [13r–13v] | [14r–14v] | [15r–15v] | [16r–16v] | [17r–17v] | [18r–18v] |
|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| H 300     | H 300     | H 300     | H 210     | H 295     | H 285     |
| W 198     | W 198     | W 198     | W 155     | W 178     | W 177     |
| G 15,1    | G 11,9    | G 6,6     | G 6,6     | G 35,0    | G 17,1    |
| WM: —     | WM: (G)   | WM: (G)   | WM: —     | WM: —     | WM: (A)   |
| CM: —     | CM: —     | CM: —     | CM: —     | CM: V     | CM: —     |

| [19r–19v] | [20r–20v] | [21r–21v] | [22r–22v] | [23r–23v] | [24r–24v] |
|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| H 286     | H 285     | H 284     | H 286     | H 287     | H 287     |
| W 177     | W 177     | W 177     | W 177     | W 177     | W 177     |
| G 20,15   | G 20,15   | G 20,10   | G 17,15   | G 18,0    | G 19,6    |
| WM: —     | WM: —     | WM: (A)   | WM: (A)   | WM: —     | WM: (A)   |
| CM: V     | CM: VI    | CM: —     | CM: —     | CM: VI    | CM: —     |

| [25r–25v] | [26r–26v] | [27r–27v] | [28r–28v] | [29r–29v] | [30r–30v] |
|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| H 288     | H 286     | H 289     | H 187     | H 289     | H 305     |
| W 177     | W 175     | W 175     | W 175     | W 175     | W 177     |
| G 20,8    | G 20,7    | G 10,15   | G 15,10   | G 20,2    | G 20,23   |
| WM: —     | WM: (A)   | WM: —     | WM: —     | WM: (A)   | WM: (K)   |
| CM: VI    | CM: —     | CM: —     | CM: HD    | CM: —     | CM: —     |

| [31r–31v] | [32r–32v] | [33r–33v] | [34r–34v] | [35r–35v] | [36r–36v] |
|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| H 305     | H 305     | H 305     | H 305     | H 305     | H 305     |
| W 175     | W 180     | W 180     | W 180     | W 106     | W 180     |
| G 20,25   | G 27,3    | G 27,22   | G 20,1    | G 30,0    | G 25,1    |
| WM: (K)   | WM: (K)   | WM: —     | WM: —     | WM: —     | WM: (K)   |
| CM: —     | CM: —     | CM: DP    | CM: DP    | CM: DP    | CM: —     |
| [37r–37v] | [38r–38v] | [39r–39v] | [40r–40v] | [41r–41v] | [42r–42v] |
| H 270     | H 306     | H 306     | H 300     | H 193     | H 192     |
| W 190     | W 180     | W 179     | W 175     | W 160     | W 160     |
| G 1,0     | G 30,3    | G 25,3    | G 24,0    | G 1,2     | G 1,0     |
| WM: —     | WM: —     | WM: (KA)  | WM: (K)   | WM: —     | WM: (K)   |
| CM: CC    | CM: —     | CM: —     | CM: —     | CM: —     | CM: —     |

### Watermark Notes:

(A), (K): London Coat-of-Arms. The first variant looks similar to Churchill 243 or 244, while the second variant resembles Churchill 240;<sup>6</sup> for a discussion of the variants of this watermark and its possible dating, see *BA* 1:200.

(B): Arms of England. Similar to Churchill 212 but with no crown;<sup>7</sup> for a description, see *BA* 1:200.

(F): Lilies. A variant of the popular lilies design with the letter “A” at the bottom; variants of this watermarks are described in *BA* 1:200–01. Three variants are depicted in Churchill 388, 389 and 395.<sup>8</sup>

(Ca) Coat of Arms / Arms of Amsterdam: an elaborate design closest in appearance to Heawood (PL # 437, Gravel (p. 79 # 225), and Churchill (PL III # 1).

(G) Arms of Genoa: this WM is similar to design 271 in Gravell’s *Foreign Watermarks*.

(I): Three Globes: For a description, see *BA* 1:201. The design is closest to design 153 in Gravell’s *Foreign Watermarks*.

(K): London Coat-of Arms Variant: This major variant of the London Coat-of-Arms with a large cross of bladelikey appearance is similar to figure 240 in Churchill;<sup>9</sup> for a description, see *BA* 1:201.

(L): Horn: This horn design is closest to figure 315 in Churchill but it has the letters “A” or “HCA” at the bottom;<sup>10</sup> for a description of variants of this design, see *BA* 1:201–02.

(Q): Lily Variant. This fleur-de-lis design is closest to figure 390 in Churchill;<sup>11</sup> for a description, see *BA* 1:202.

<sup>6</sup> See Churchill, *Watermarks*, p. CCIV; see also Heawood, *Watermarks*, p. 455.

<sup>7</sup> See Churchill, *Watermarks*, p. CLXXXVII.

<sup>8</sup> See Churchill, *Watermarks*, pp. CCLXXXIX and CCXCI.

<sup>9</sup> See Churchill, *Watermarks*, p. CCXIII.

<sup>10</sup> See Churchill, *Watermarks*, p. CCXLIX.

<sup>11</sup> See Churchill, *Watermarks*, p. CCLXXXIX.



(X) This watermark features a lion design of unknown origin.

(?) This unidentified watermark has the shape of two globes with IP next to it.

(??) This unidentified watermark looks like a globe with a cross on top of an upsidetown crescent.

*Countersign Notes:*

C, CC, CM, CW, DP, E, EB, H, HD, IP, M, MC, M&C, PC, PD, V, VI, W, WC, WP,

†. This symbol indicates a countersign reading "COMPANY," which is described in *BA* 1:202.

\* This symbol indicates a counterdesign reading "ELLISTON & BASKET"

## PART 2

### THE TEXT



## The Epistle to the Hebrews.

[1r]

**Q.** What may one call, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*?

**A.** Tis well expressed by Sir *Charles Wolseley*.

“This Epistle is a *Funeral Sermon*, preached at the Interment of the *Law*: The maternal Body of *Moses*, God Himself Buried long before, and no Man ever knew the Place of his Sepulture; and now, his mystical Body, his Doctrine, growing old & ready to vanish away, ripe for Abolition, or rather Dissolution, not so much by being Repeated or Rescinded, but its Use ceasing, the End and Substance of it appearing, & its Glory being of course swallowed up into a greater Glory: the Holy Ghost Himself, by this Epistle layes it Honourably in the Grave; And so wee have the Sepulchre of the mystical Body of *Moses*, abiding with us to this day.”<sup>1</sup>

**Q.** Why is the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, written in *Greek*?

**A.** If you consider several Passages, of the *Jerusalem Gemarists* about the *Greek* Language, quoted by Dr. *Lightfoot*, you’ll see the Reason of it.<sup>2</sup>

Upon that Prophecy, *God shall enlarge Japhet, & hee shall dwell in the Tents of Shem*, they say, *They shall speak the Language of Japhet, in the Tents of Shem*. And the *Babylon Gemara*, tells us, That the *Greek Tongue*, is the *Beauty of Japhet, which shall bee in the Tents of Shem*. They do moreover mention Four brave Languages, *The Vulgar, the Roman, the Syrian, & the Hebrew*. And *Midras Tillin* tells us, That the *Greek Tongue*, is intended by, *The Vulgar*. Furthermore, They

---

1 From the work of Sir Charles Wolseley, *The Mount of Spirits, that glorious & honorable State to which Believers are called by the Gospel* (1691), pp. 1–2. Sir Charles (1629/30–1714), second baronet, was appointed Lord Wolseley under the Protectorate and was a leading politician under Cromwell. Even for an Independent, he was a strong advocate of religious toleration in post-Restoration England and published a number of theological and apologetical works, including attacks on Hobbes and a defense of divorce (*ODNB*).

2 Mather draws this passage from John Lightfoot, *The Harmony, Chronicle, and Order of the New Testament* (1655) in *Works* (1:340). A member of the Westminster Assembly and later vice-chancellor of the University of Cambridge, Lightfoot (1602–1675) was one of the greatest English Hebraists and biblical scholars of the period. He bequeathed his library of Old Testament books and documents to Harvard.

Lightfoot argues that Hebrews was primarily addressed to the “believing Jews of Judea” but written in Greek as the “common tongue” of the time, which allowed it to reach a broad audience and facilitate evangelization among the diasporic Jews. Lightfoot references a Talmudic tradition (and the Gemara on it), according to which “the most beautiful thing which Japheth has – that is, the Greek language – shall dwell in the tents of Shem”; see the Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Megillah 9b (Soncino, p. 50). Reference is also made to the Midrash Tehillim, probably the commentary on Ps. 1:2, which discusses the legitimacy of learning Greek. See Braude’s translation: *The Midrash on Psalms*, vol. 1, pp. 23–24. Finally, Lightfoot refers to a Gemara in the Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Sotah 49b (Soncino, pp. 268–70).

*recite*, the Traditions of Rabbi's; *That the Law cannot bee Interpreted compleatly, but only in the Greek*. Yea, The *Talmuds* affirm, *That at Casarea, they rehearsed their Phylacteries in the Greek Tongue*; tho' in *Casarea* there were as learned Schools, as any where in the Nation. The *Greek*, was now planted throughout the World, by means of the *Græcian* Monarchy; & the *Hebrew* was a Stranger to all but Scholars; yea, it seems, the *Greek* was used in an University of *Judea* itself. Well might our Apostle then write as hee did.<sup>3</sup>

**Q.** Who were, *The Hebrews*; and why is the Epistle thus endorsed, rather than to, *The Jewes*?

**A.** It must bee supposed, that the Apostle sends the Epistle, to bee delivered at some *certain Place*; for the *Bearer* could not possibly deliver it unto all the Dispersion, and the *Writer* also saies, hee would come to see them.<sup>4</sup> Now, the Direction, to, *The Hebrewes*, will determine the Place. Hee calls them so, not only because the Name of *Jewes*, was apace becoming odious, but because hee would point out the *Jewes*, which dwelt in the Land of *Israel*. Wee read in Act. 6.1. about, *A Murmuring of the Hellenists against the Hebrew*, where, by the

<sup>3</sup> While Mather engages in debates over the authorship and canonicity of other books of the Bible, he does not do so here, apparently considering the consensus on its divine inspiration and Pauline authorship safe enough. This consensus was unambiguously defended by the most important interpreters in the Reformed-Puritan tradition of the seventeenth century. For example, in his posthumous *magnum opus*, the three-volume *Commentary on the Whole Epistle to the Hebrews* (3 vols., [1655] 1866), the Westminster divine William Gouge (1575–1653) asserted that the epistle was of “divine authority” and its “penman . . . Paul the Apostle” (1:3). Similarly, the famous Puritan divine and expositor John Owen (1616–1683) devoted “Exertitation I” (1–23) of his *Exercitations on the Epistle to the Hebrews, Also Concerning the Messiah* (1668) to defending the “canonical authority” and “divine original” of the Epistle to the Hebrews and seeking to “evinces *St. Paul* to have been the Author of it.”

Partly drawing on debates in the early days of the church (where some had suggested Barnabas, some Luke, and some Clemens Romanus as the author), a number of prominent critics of the early modern period, however, were again questioning that broad consensus. The Dutch Christian scholar and Renaissance polymath Erasmus of Rotterdam (Desiderius Erasmus Roterodamus; 1466–1536) cast doubt on the matter. The great Dutch jurist, historian, theologian, and humanist scholar of the Bible, Hugo Grotius (Huij de Groot; 1583–1645), thought that the style, idiom, and some contextual clues pointed to Luke rather than Paul. See Erasmus's and Grotius's prefatory remarks in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (6:4075 and 4097–98). Weighing all the evidence, Grotius's English disciple, the Anglican theologian and exegete, Henry Hammond (1605–1660), concluded that both the authorship and the place of origin could not be determined with certainty but believed that it was not improbable that Paul had written the original in Hebrew and that Luke then translated it into Greek. See his *A Paraphrase and Annotations upon all the Books of the New Testament* ([1653] 1845), 4:328. One of Mather's most trusted authorities in critical New Testament studies, the Anglican theologian Daniel Whitby (1638–1726), on the other hand, found the evidence against the Pauline authorship inconclusive and thus saw no reason to challenge the received assumption. See his *A Paraphrase and Commentary on the New Testament* (1703), 2:41–43.

<sup>4</sup> Also from Lightfoot, *The Harmony, Chronicle, and Order of the New Testament* (1655) in *Works* (1:340).

*Hellenists*, are meant the *Jewes*, which dwelt in foreign Countreyes, among the *Greeks*, (as Dr. *Lightfoot* supposes, tho' some take them to be gentile Proselytes) and by the *Hebrewes*, are meant the *Jewes* which dwelt in the Land of *Judea*. To these then, is this Epistle Inscribed: a People that had been much obliged unto *Paul*, for obtaining of Collections for them, and unto *Mark*, the present Messenger, who had attended him when hee brought the Alms unto them. Indeed, hee intends, the *Jewes* throughout the whole Dispersion, as *Peter* afterwards applied it unto them all: But hee sends it unto the *Jewes* in the *Holy Land*, the principal Seat of the Circumcision, as the Center, from whence it might bee most likely to diffuse itself, thro' the whole Jewish World.

**Q.** Since the *Jewes* take a great Liberty (such is their Envy!) to Reproach the Apostle *Paul*, as an Ignorant Man, & Fallacious in his Disputations, lett us hear what the more Ingenuous among them will acknowledge?

**A.** That famous modern Critic, *Simons*, tells us, (*Hist. Crit. N.T. c. 21.*) That he gave to a *Jew*, the *Epistle to the Hebrewes*, to Read; and a Jew who was greatly acquainted with their Ancient Authors. Upon the Perusal of it, the *Jew* frankly avowed, That this *Epistle* could be writt by none but some great *Mekubal* (i. e. Man of Tradition) of his own Nation. He celebrated his profound Knowledge in the sublime Sence of the Bible, and spoke of the great *Mekubal* with Admiration.<sup>5</sup>

|

[1v]

**Q.** Is there not a noble Proof of our Saviours *Deity*, to be fetch'd from the Beginning of the Epistle to the *Hebrewes*?

**A.** Dr. *Burnet* has well observed it.<sup>6</sup>

All those who acknowledge, that CHRIST is to be worshipped, must say, that it is due to him, either because He is truly GOD, or because He is a Person of such an high Dignity, that GOD has upon that Consideration appointed him to be so worshipped. Now the second Notion may fall under another Distinction; That either he was of a very sublime Order by Nature as some Angelical Being, that tho' he was created, yett had this high Priviledge bestow'd upon him; or, that he was a Prophet Illuminated & Authorized in so particular a Manner beyond all others, that out of a regard unto That, he was exalted unto the Honour of a Claim to be worshipped. One of these must be chosen by all, who

5 A reference to Richard Simon's *Histoire critique du texte du Nouveau Testament* (1689), ch. 21, p. 248. A French priest and member of the Oratorians, Simon (1638–1712) was one of the most famous biblical critics and orientlists of the period. In the work cited by Mather, Simon discusses the origin and character of the various books of the New Testament, engaging with both Jewish critics and modern skeptics.

6 From the work of the Scottish philosopher, historian, and Bishop of Salisbury (after 1689) Gilbert Burnet (1643–1715), *An Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England* ([1699] third ed., 1705), pp. 50–51 (on Article 2).

do not believe him to be truly GOD: And indeed one of these was the *Arian*, as the other is the *Socinian*, Hypotheses. For how much soever the *Arians* might exalt him in Words, yett if they beleaved him to be a Creature made in Time, so that once he was not; all that they said of him can amount unto no more, but that he was a Creature of a spiritual Nature; and this is plainly the Notion which the Scripture gives us of *Angels*. *Artemon*, *Samosatenus*, *Photinus*, and the *Socinians* in our Days, consider our Saviour as a great *Prophet* and *Lawgiver*, and unto this they resolve his Dignity.<sup>7</sup>

In Opposition to both of these, this Epistle begins with Expressions, that are the more severe because they are Negatives; which are to be understood more strictly than positive Words. CHRIST is not only præferred unto *Angels*, but also sett in Opposition to them, as one of *another Order* of Beings. From that the Writer goes on, to shew, that He was as much above *Moses*, who was above all other Prophets, as a *Son* is above a *Servant*; yea, as the *Builder* of the House, is above the House; yea, a Builder who is very GOD.<sup>8</sup>

---

7 On the debates surrounding Socinianism and Arianism in Mather's time, see the Introduction. Reference is made to: a) Artemon (or Artemas), a representative of "dynamic monarchianism" around the turn of the third century, which viewed Christ as a mere man, even though miraculously conceived, and as the Son of God only in the sense that he had been filled with divine power and wisdom to an infinitely high degree; b) Paul of Samosata (Paulus Samosatenus; ca. 200–275), who was Bishop of Antioch from 260 to 268 and taught an adoptionist variety of monarchianism, according to which Jesus was born a mere human being, but was infused with the divine Logos when, according to Scripture, the Holy Ghost descended upon him during his baptism in the River Jordan, whereby he was adopted as the Son of God, effectively becoming divine and the Christ; and c) Photinus of Sirmium (b. 376 in Ancyra), who was a disciple of Marcellus of Ancyra and Bishop of Sirmium for a short time (around 343). His exact ideas are hard to reconstruct, but he seems to have emphasized the unity of the godhead in a way that precluded the notion that Christ was begotten of the Father before time. Instead, he thought that the *ousia* of the godhead expanded and contracted, and that the divine *dynamis* somehow emanated into the human person of Jesus, making him the Christ. At a synod held at Milan in 345, Photinus's teachings were rejected and condemned (RGG).

8 Mather here uses "very" as an adjective in the old theological sense of "really or truly entitled to the name or designation; possessing the true character of the person or thing named; properly so called or designated" (OED).

**Q.** On that, *The express Image of His Person?* v. 3.

**A.** Dr. *Arrowsmith* ha's an Observation upon it.<sup>10</sup> There is a Difference between a *Shadow*, and a *Picture*, and a *Statue*. It is the last of these, that is here alluded unto. A *Shadow*, is a sleight Repræsentation of a Body; but not a *clear* one. Such a Repræsentation of God there is in all the Creatures. A *Picture* goes further; it is most lively, it gives the *Feature*; perhaps the *Colour* too. A *Picture* of God is drawn, on Angels, & on the Souls of Men. But then a *Statue*: this is a *Character* that goes further still: It exhibits the *whole Man*, from the Crown of the Head to the Sole of the Foot. It is a more *substantial* Exhibition. It gives also the *Proportion* of every Part. Thus our Saviour is the *Character of His Fathers Person*. He holds forth God, whole God, and Altogether.

**Q.** What special Matter may bee intimated in that Passage, *Hee upholds all things, with the Word of His Power?* v. 3.

**A.** The *Deity* of our Lord Jesus Christ.

It was usual for the Jewes, to express the Deity, by the Word גבורה, *Power*; and therefore δύναις is here inserted,<sup>11</sup> to assure them, that our Lord sustains the World, and prevents its Relapse into its primitive Abyss, by the Vertue of His *Deity*.<sup>12</sup>

**Q.** Well, but what further Emphasis, may there be in the Word, φέρω,<sup>13</sup> which we render, *Upholding?*

**A.** The Word signifies, *Governing*, and may be rendred so; as the Word /נשא/ does, from which comes /נשיא/ *A Prince*.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>9</sup> See Appendix A.

<sup>10</sup> Mather quotes from the work of the Cambridge professor of divinity and member of the Westminster Assembly, John Arrowsmith (1602–1659), *Armilla catechetica, a Chain of Principles* (1659), exerc. 4; aphor. 5, pp. 372–75. During his Cambridge years, Arrowsmith used to deliver religious aphorisms on Sunday evenings in St John's College. Some of these catechetical aphorisms were published posthumously under the title *Armilla Catechetica* (ODNB).

<sup>11</sup> From גְּבוּרָה [gevurah] “strength, (God's) mighty (deeds)”; δύναις [dynamis] signifies “power, might.”

<sup>12</sup> Cf. the annotation on this verse by John Owen, in *Exercitations on the Epistle to the Hebrews, Also Concerning the Messiah*, pp. 58–59.

<sup>13</sup> The verb φέρω [phero] basically signifies “bear, carry.” Here (Heb. 1:3) it is usually taken to mean “to cause to continue in a state or condition, sustain” (BDAG), or “uphold,” as the KJV renders it. Mather's suggestion for a “further emphasis” is cited from Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:50).

<sup>14</sup> Reference is made to the words נָשָׂא [nasa] “lift (up), carry, take”; and נָשִׂי [nasi], which is derived from נָשָׂא and signifies “leader, chief (BDB).”



**Q.** Upon what Account is the *Messiah* of God called, *The Brightness of His Glory, and express Image of His Person?* v. 3.

**A.** The most acute *Bisterfeld* asserts, That the Apostle here uses no Phrase, but such as have a Foundation in the Old Testament. Yea, and he maintains, *In Novo Testamento, nec Phrasiis, nec Vocem aliquam, nisi planè sit Vox tantum Historica, nullum fidei mysterium significans, usurpari quin ex Veteri desumatur.*<sup>15</sup>

But I will now desert *Bisterfeld*, and consult *Witsius* rather than him, to learn what Passages of the Old Testament might be considered in these Expressions of our Apostle.<sup>16</sup>

The *Brightness of the Divine Glory* here ascribed unto our *Messiah*, why may it not refer to the *Glorious Brightness* of old seen over the *Ark*, or that seen on the Face of *Moses*, or that seen by *Ezekiel* among the *Cherubim*; This, and all the Glory signified by this, is upon our *Messiah*. The Word /נוגה/ used there answers to the *Απογνυσμα*, used here.<sup>17</sup> Or *Witsius* would rather suppose here a Reference to the *Brightness* of the Divine Majesty, that was with astonishment beheld by the Prophets, when God Appeared in an Humane Form unto them. [See Ezek. 1.27, 28.] The Apostle would now declare, That our *Messiah* is the very same that then appeared in that Illustrious *Brightness*.

The *express Image* here called, *χαρακτηρ*, answers to the Hebrew, /תמונה/ which means the *Form* of a thing, by which tis distinguished from every other Thing.<sup>18</sup> What if it should have an Eye to the Text, where the *Messiah* is called, Hag. 2.23. *The Signet of God*. As if it had been said, *Imprimam tibi omnimodam mei Similitudinem; Demonstrabo te esse Filium mihi* ομοσυσιον και ομοδοξον,

15 “... that in the New Testament neither a phrase nor any word – unless it might be a purely historical statement that does not signify any mystery of faith – is used which is not taken from the Old.” From Herman Witsius, *Exercitationes sacrae* (1689), exerc. 12, p. 212, Mather cites the work of Johannes Heinrich Bisterfeld, *De Uno Deo Patre, Filio, Spiritu Sanctu contra Jo. Crellium breviter defensum* (1639), lib. 1, sect. 2, cap. 30, pp. 298–99. Professor of divinity at Franeker, Utrecht, and Leiden, Witsius (Herman Wits, 1636–1708) was renowned in the world of Reformed theology for his important work on covenant theology, *De oeconomia foederum Dei cum hominibus* (1677), but also for his exegetical writings, which Mather frequently cites in the “Biblia.” Bisterfeld (1605–1655) was a German Reformed theologian and pupil of Johann Heinrich Alsted and went with him to Weissenburg (Alba Iulia) in Transylvania, where he became head of the academy (*ADB*). Bisterfeld’s work apparently responds to the *Commentarius in Epistolam ad Hebraeos* (1634), co-authored by the Socinian theologians Jonas Schlichting and Johannes Crell (see below).

16 From Witsius, *Exercitationes sacrae*, exerc. 12, p. 212.

17 The word נֹגַהּ [nogah] means “gleam, bright light.” It seems that Mather misspelled the Greek word ἀπαύγασμα [apauγasma], meaning “radiance, effulgence,” while Witsius has the correct form.

18 The word χαρακτήρ [charakter] signifies a “mark engraved, impress”; while תְּמוּנָה [te-munah] indeed means “form, manifestation.”

*omnibusque signis te talem manifestabo.*<sup>19</sup> Thus tis said of the *Messiah*, Zech. 3.9. *I will engrave the Engraving thereof.* As if it had been said, *Facio ut in illo appareant omnes illæ notæ, atque excellentiæ, quæ indicia sunt Messiæ, et Filii mei.*<sup>20</sup>

We will call in Dr. *Whitby's* Observations!<sup>21</sup>

He observes, That some of the Fathers think, as *Justin Martyr*,<sup>22</sup> that this is a Metaphor taken from the *Sun*; others, as *Tatian*,<sup>23</sup> that it is taken from the *Fire*, or the *Light*; from whence *Fire* and *Light* is taken, without any Diminution of that which kindles it. Perhaps they borrowed this thought, from *Philo*, who speaking of the Spirit in *Moses*, derived unto the *seventy Elders*, uses this very Comparison for it.<sup>24</sup> Accordingly, the *Niceae Council* styled our Lord, *Light of Light*. The like Notions the Jewes do seem to have of their λογος, or, *Wisdom*. For in the *Book of Wisdom*, tis said of her, [Ch. 7.25, 26.] *That she is an Efflux of the sincere Glory of the Almighty, and ἀπαύγασμα φωτός αἰδίου, the Splendor of eternal Light.*<sup>25</sup> Probably, they | took it, from the *Glory*, that conducted them out of *Egypt*, and was afterwards in the *Tabernacle*, and in the *Temple*. [2v]

This Δόξα,<sup>26</sup> *Glory*, (the *Shechinah*) so often mentioned in the *Old Testament*, & in the Writings of the *Jewes*, was not the *Cloud* itself; that being only the Cover of it; but it was the *Light*, *Fire*, or *Splendor*, that issued from it. Consider, Exod. 24.16.

19 “I will impress [or imprint] on you a perfect likeness to me. I will demonstrate that you are the son who is consubstantial with me and of the same mind. And by all the signs I will make manifest that you are of this kind.” The Greek words are ὁμοούσιον καὶ ὁμόδοξον [homousion kai homodoxon]: “consubstantial and of the same mind.”

20 “I make it so that in him appear all the features and forms of excellence that are signs of the messiah and my son.”

21 From *Whitby, A Paraphrase* (2:48–49). See Appendix A.

22 From *Whitby*, a reference to the Greek philosopher, apologist, and Christian martyr, *Justin Martyr* (Iustinus Martyr, c. 100–165), *Dialogus cum Tryphone Judæo* [PG 6. 776. 53–54; *Patristische Texte und Studien* 47].

23 From *Whitby*, a reference to the early Syrian Christian apologist, *Tatian the Assyrian* (c. 120–c. 180/190), *Oratio adversus Græcos* [PG 6. 817. 47].

24 From *Whitby*, a reference to *Philo of Alexandria*, *Librum De Gigantes*, 6.25: “... when they [the seventy elders, cf. Num. 11:16–18] take fire from fire, for though the fire should kindle a thousand torches, it is still as it was and is diminished not a whit.” Transl.: *LCL* 227, p. 477. *Philo of Alexandria* (c. 15 BCE–c. 50 CE) was a leading Jewish philosopher of classical antiquity who attempted a synthesis between Jewish tradition and Greek philosophy in numerous apologetical, exegetical, and systematic works. *Philo* assumed that the Tanakh already encapsulated all the wisdom of Greek philosophy (often in allegorical form) and that therefore the latter could be used to explicate the former. Postulating the radical transcendence of God, *Philo* appropriated the Platonic concept of an intermediary divine being, the Logos, through whom the material world was created and in whose image man was made. The Church Fathers greatly appreciated not only *Philo's* Logos-theology but also his hermeneutics of allegorization through which scriptural texts could be read as speaking of philosophical ideas on a higher level of signification (*RGG*).

25 From *Whitby*, *Mather* offers a translation for the phrase ἀπαύγασμα φωτός αἰδίου [apaugasma photos aidiou]. Reference is made to Wis. 7:25–26.

26 The word δόξα [doxa] means “notion, opinion” but also “glory.”

And this *Glory* is called, *The Glory of the Lord*, not as being itself a *Divine Thing*, or a Ray of Divinity; but as being the Symbol of the glorious Presence and Abode of God, where it appeared. It was therefore called, *The Cloud of Jehovah*. [Exod. 40.38.]

Our Lord Jesus Christ, after His Ascension, appeared still in or with the *Glory* of the Lord: And when He was *Transfigured*, it attended Him.

Because of Gods Residence in this *Glory*, the Word *Glory* doth often signify, *God* Himself. [See Jer. 2.11.]

From this *Glory*, when any wondrous Works of Power, and Mercy, and Judgment, were done by God, there is said to be an Emanation or Shining forth of *Glory*. *Fire* came forth from the *Glory*, to testify an Acceptance of the *Sacrifices*. [Lev. 9.23, 24.] And to consume *Transgressors*. [Lev. 10.2.]

Well, The *Son* of God, may be called, Απογαυσμα της δόξης.<sup>27</sup> *An Emanation from the Glory of the Father*; as being before all things, *Prolatus à Patre, sive generatus*, as *Irenæus* expresses it.<sup>28</sup> Being alwayes in Him, but, *coming forth before all things*, *he* *be* των υλικων ξυμπαντων ιδεα και ενεργεια. *The Idea and active Power of all material Beings*; as tis express'd by *Athenagoras*.<sup>29</sup> Or, as *Tertullian* has it, *He was the Word brought forth by the Father, and by that Prolation generated; and therefore the Son of God*.<sup>30</sup>

**Q.** *This Day?* v. 5.

**A.** An Hebraism, frequently added unto speeches wherein some Remarkable Matter is either done, or given, or promised, or commanded; unto the End, that

<sup>27</sup> The phrase ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης [apaugasma tes doxes] means “the radiance of the glory” (Heb. 1:3); Mather again misspells the word as ἀπαύγασμα.

<sup>28</sup> From Whitby, a reference to Irenæus of Lyon (c. 130/140–c. 200/203), *Adversus Haereses*, lib. 2, cap. 28 [PG 7. 809. 34; SC 153]. Born in Asia Minor, Irenæus, following his conversion, transplanted himself to Gaul, where he became Bishop of Lyon in 177. He wrote some of the earliest works of systematic theology as well as apologies (chief among which is *Adversus haereses*) against a variety of early Christian movements he regarded as heresies, including Valentianism (a form of Gnosticism) and the Docetism propagated by, among others, the followers of Marcion.

<sup>29</sup> From Whitby, Mather offers a valid translation of the phrase ὑλικῶν ξυμπάντων ιδέα καὶ ἐνέργεια [hylikon xympanton idea kai energeia]. Reference is made to the work of Athenagoras of Athens (c. 133–190), *Legatio pro Christianis* [PG 6. 909. 68]. A philosopher and early convert to Christianity, Athenagoras wrote influential apologetics of the faith.

<sup>30</sup> From Whitby, a reference to Tertullian *Apologeticus*, cap. 21 [PL 1. 395–96; CSEL 69; CCSL 1]; transl.: LCL 250, p. 106. Born and educated in Carthage, Quintus Septimius Florens Tertullian converted to Christianity sometime before 195, subsequently turning toward the prophetic movement of Montanism and eventually breaking with the mainstream church around 210. Besides numerous catechetical and homiletical works, he is the author of some of the earliest apologies of Christianity, most of which were written during the period of Christian persecution in the late second century. These works defend and advocate Christianity often in polemical terms vis-à-vis Greco-Roman culture but also Judaism. His *Apology* was written during the persecution of the early Christians, ca. 197/198 (RGG). See Appendix B.

the Day may be kept in Memory & perhaps remain for a Day of Commemoration.<sup>31</sup>

**Q.** *And Again, when He bringeth in the First-begotten into the World?*] v. 6.

**A.** *Again*, may well be referr'd unto His *Bringing in*. For our Saviour was expelled [from]<sup>32</sup> the World by His Death & Burial. But God *brought Him into the World Again* by His Resurrection.<sup>33</sup>

**Q.** *Spirits & a Flame of Fire?*] v. 7.

**A.** The Passage is in Psal. CIV.4. The Manner of the *Angelical Ministry* is here pointed at. It is like a *Spirit*, or *Wind*; very Forcible, and yett Invisible. And like a *Flame of Fire*, or Lightning; very Penetrating, & of such Agility, as to move almost in an Instant, from one Part of Heaven to another.<sup>34</sup>

**Q.** *The Oyl of Gladness above thy Fellows?*] v. 9.

**A.** It alludes to the *anointing of Kings*, or, if you please, of *Guests* at Feasts. Tis called, *The Oyl of Gladness*, because the Spirits were exhilarated with it.

*Solomon* was endowed by God, with Wisdome, & Riches, & Honour, above other Men. Particularly *above his Fellowes*, or the rest of the Sons of *David*.

But this is most gloriously fulfilled in our JESUS, a Greater than *Solomon*.<sup>35</sup>

{105\*}

**Q.** The Apostle is proving, The *Messiah* to bee *God* and *Jesus* to bee the *Messiah*. In Confirmation of the former Assertion, hee cites, that Passage, in Psal. 102.25. *Thou, Lord, in the Beginning, hast laid the foundation of the Earth.*- Suppose, a

<sup>31</sup> This philological explanation comes from the work of the Socinian theologians Jonas Schlichting and Johann Crell, anonymously published in England as *The Expiation of a Sinner in a Commentary upon the Epistle to the Hebrewes* (1646), p. 6. (On Schlichting and Crell, see the annotation at Heb. 5:8.) Mather's citation here is a striking instance of silent omission, for *The Expiation* in the annotation on Heb. 1:5 offers a fully developed Unitarian reading of Christ's sonship and his generation by the Father: Christ is "singularly entituled and named the Sonne of God, because God in a singular manner hat begotten him, raised him from the dead ... and made him most resemblant and like to God himselfe, by giving him Immortality and universall Royalty to bee King over his people. ... For God is called God by reason of his supream power and dominon; whereof they also are called God and the sons of god, that have power and dominion, and the greater their power if, or the nearer it resembles Gods power, so much the rather, and more nearly are they his sonnes. ... Christ was the Sonne of God before his resurrection; for during his prophetick function, he was a great Potentate, and wrought powerfull miracles; but after his Resurrection upon his Regal office, he became most nearly and highly the Sonne of God, because then God made him an immortall and universall Potentate; for then all Power was given him in heaven and earth (5-6)."

<sup>32</sup> Editorial insertion: Mather accidentally omitted the word "from" in this sentence.

<sup>33</sup> From *The Expiation*, p. 6. Similarly, also, Owen, in *Exercitations*, p. 89.

<sup>34</sup> From *The Expiation*, p. 7.

<sup>35</sup> From *The Expiation*, p. 9.

Jew now objecting, *This is to bee understood of God the Father*; How were the Objection to bee Answered? v. 10.

**A.** It might bee Answered, out of their own Consessions, upon which the Apostle now argues. For, that Passage, in Gen. 1.2. *The Spirit of God moved upon the Face of the Waters*; they so Interpret, *This is the Spirit of the King Messiah*. Thus you have their Mind spoken, in *Zohar*, in *Bereshith Rabba*,<sup>36</sup> and in diverse others. Now, if the *Spirit of Christ*, was the great Agent in the Creation, they could not but grant this Allegation, to bee very pertinent.

**Q.** It is said of the *Angels*, *Are they not ministring Spirits*? Give us a good Note upon it? v. 14.

**A.** I have somewhere mett with such a Note as this. The Style of the *good Angels* is, *ministring Spirits*; but the Style of the *evil Angels*, is, *The Prince of the Powers of the Air*, and, *The God of this World*. To *serve* God, is not only the *Duty*, but the *Honour* of the Highest Creatures; It is more *Honour* to *serve* God, than to *Rule* the World.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>36</sup> A reference to the Book of Zohar, Vayehi, 240a. See the transl. of the Soncino ed.: "The 'spirit of God which hovered over the face of the waters' (Gen. 1:2) is the spirit of the Messiah ... ." (364), and the Bereshit Rabbah, at Gen. 1:2 [16]. See also the Soncino *Midrash Rabbah*, Genesis: "AND THE SPIRIT OF GOD HOVERED: this alludes to the spirit of Messiah" (17).

<sup>37</sup> See Increase Mather, *Angelographia, or A discourse concerning the nature and power of the holy angel* (1696), pp. 28, 65, 82, 111.

**Q.** Unto what Alludes the Apostle, in his Expression of, *letting slip, the Things which wee have heard?* v. 1.

**A.** Interpreters have generally concurred, with the venerable *Beza*, in supposing these Words and Allusion, to *leaky Vessels*.<sup>38</sup> Now if you have Recourse to the *Pirke Avoth*, a Book which contains various Traditions of the Ancient *Hebrewes*, you shall find a Passage very much Illustrating this of the Apostle to the *Hebrewes*. In cap. 5. §15. *Quatuor sunt Genera eorum, qui sedent Coram Sapientibus: Quidam sunt, ut Spongia; alij ut Clepsydra; alij, ut Saccus fæcinacius; alij ut Cribrum.* Spongia, *quia illa sugendo attrahit omnia;* Clepsydra; *QUIA UNA EX PARTE ATTRAHIT, ET ALIÀ EX PARTE EFFUNDIT;* Saccus Fæcinaceus, *quia effundit Vinum et colligit Fæces:* Cribrum, *quà emittit Farinam et colligit simillam.*<sup>39</sup> The Apostle now cautions the Hearers of the Word, that they bee none of those three last Sorts of Hearers. And I add, It were well that they who do with so much Impatience regard the *Hourglass*, while Hearing, would bee themselves less like the *Hourglass*.<sup>40</sup>

|  
1235.

[3v]

**Q.** What is that *World to come*, which God *hath not putt in Subjection unto the Angels?* v. 5.

**A.** It cannot bee, the *present State of the World*; for that is in Subjection to the Government of *Holy Angels*; who are therefore styled, *Thrones, Dominions, Principalities, & Powers*. Nevertheless, The *World to come*, is a State upon Earth, as the Greek Word for *World* here, plainly intimates; οἰκουμένη, *designat τόπον*

<sup>38</sup> A reference to the work of the French Reformed Protestant reformer and disciple of John Calvin, Theodore Beza (1519–1605), *Annotationes majores in Novum Dn Nostri Jesu Christi Testamentum* (1594), p. 489.

<sup>39</sup> "... that there are four kinds of those who sit next to the wise: there are those that are like a sponge; others like a clepsydra [a water clock]; others like a bag for residues; others like a sieve. A sponge because it takes in everything by sucking it up; a clepsydra because it takes in through one part and ejects through the other; a bag of residues because it emits the vine and collects the dregs; a sieve because it emits flour and holds back fine wheat flour." The citation comes from the work of the English theologian, Hebraist, and apologist Christopher Cartwright (1602–1658), *Mellificium hebraicum* ("Hebrew honey-making"), published in vol. 9 of the 1660 ed. of Pearson, *Critici Sacri*, and in vol. 8 of the 1698 Amsterdam ed., pp. 1271–426, here 8:1350. Cartwright's source is the *Pirke Avoth* ("Chapters of the Fathers"), in *Nezikin* (the fourth order of the *Mishnah*), cap. 5:15; transl. *Pirke Aboth, The Ethics of the Talmud*, p. 137.

<sup>40</sup> A reference to the hourglass used by preachers in New England and elsewhere to keep time.

οικήσεως.<sup>41</sup> It remains then, That the *World to come*, should bee the State of Things during the Day of Judgment, or, after the Second Coming of our Lord Jesus Christ. The Ministry of *Holy Angels*, will not then bee wanted; for the *Evil Angels* will bee chained up; and the *Raised Saints* then shall do the Work which is now done by the *Holy Angels*.

Besides, you may observe, the Apostle adds, *whereof wee speak*. And where was that, but in Chap. 1.6. where, wee do much amiss to read the Words, *And again, when Hee brings the First-begotten into the World*; for they should bee read, *And when Hee brings Again, the First-begotten, into the (Habitable) World, Hee saith, lett all the Angels of God worship Him*. Τis, ὅταν δε πάλιν εισαγάγῃ, not, πάλιν δε ὅταν εισαγάγῃ. And, *Aoristus secundus subjunctivi, significationem habet Futuri*.<sup>42</sup> Now these Words evidently point at the Day of Judgment; and the Ninety-seventh Psalm, out of which the Apostle takes these Words, manifestly refers to this Day of the Lord.

**Q.** The Intention of the Text cited here, *what the Son of Man, that thou visitest him?* v. 6.

**A.** One writes at this rate. God gave *Adam*, the Dominion over this Earthly World; yett not personally for himself only, but for him & his Sons, or Posterity after him. For, tho' he were sole Lord over his Sons during their Minority, yett afterwards as they grew up into Maturity, then the Right was also to be communicated unto them, to be Lords over this Earthly World. [Psal. CXV. 16.]

Thus, the Faithful, are the Sons of our glorious JESUS. God has given Him Dominion over the Heavenly World. But it is for His Children to have a Share in it, when they have pass'd thro' their Non-age under His Tuition, & are come to the Maturity of Immortality, then a Share in the Dominion shall be imparted unto them also. [2. Tim. II. 12.]<sup>43</sup>

<sup>41</sup> The word οἰκουμένη [oikoumene] means “inhabited world” and the phrase τόπον οικήσεως [topon oikeseos] “place of dwelling.”

<sup>42</sup> “An aorist that follows a conjunction has a future meaning.” From Joseph Mede, “De regno Ἐπιφάνειας Christi accipiendum illud Apostoli ad Hebraeos cap. 2. vers. 5,” in idem, *The Works of the Pious and Profoundly-learned Joseph Mede* (1677), bk. 3, p. 577. The English Hebraist and biblical exegete Joseph Mede (Mead, Meade, 1586–1639) had a major influence on Puritan millennialism, especially through his *Clavis Apocalyptica* (1627), which calculated that the end times would begin in 1716 or 1736 (ODNB). Drawing on Mede, Mather here discusses the translation of Heb. 1:6, a verse which he interprets as looking ahead to Second Coming and the Last Judgment. While the KJV has “and again, when he brings,” Mede and Mather suggest “and when he brings again,” switching around the word order from πάλιν δε ὅταν εισαγάγῃ [palin de hotan eisagage] to ὅταν δε πάλιν εισαγάγῃ [hotan de palin eisagage] to underline this alternative interpretation. Mede’s (and Mather’s) argument that a conjunctive or subjunctive aorist (eventualis) suggests a future tense is correct. Indeed, a number of modern Bible translations support this alternative interpretation, including the NAS (“and when He again brings”) and a number of German translations, while the ESV, NIV, and NRS, among others, uphold the KJV translation.

<sup>43</sup> From *The Expiation*, p. 22.

4502

**Q.** Upon that Passage; *Thou hast made Him a little lower than the Angels*: what Remark? v. 7.

**A.** *Luther* in his *Table-Talk*, observes, That it should be rendred; as in the Original tis, *Thou hast made Him a little while, lower than the Angels*: That is, until He had *Tasted of Death*. It was, by being made Subject unto *Death*; for the *Angels Dy not*.<sup>44</sup>

| <sup>45</sup>

[4r]

**Q.** It is said, *Jesus doth Taste Death for every Man*; why is that Expression of, *Tasting Death*, made Use of? v. 9.

**A.** 'Tis an elegant Allusion to the Way, whereby, *Death* at first came into the World; This was by *Tasting* the Forbidden Fruit. And this Phrase being used here, does intimate, That the *Death* of the Second *Adam*, was for the *Sin* of the First.

Briefly, I find in *Bellarmino*, this Gloss upon it. *Quasi dicere voluisset; primus Homo deglutiens dulce Pomum vetitum, omnem Posteritatem Morti addixit: secundus Homo deglutiens Mortis Pomum amarissimum, omnes, qui ex illo renascuntur, ad Vitam æternam adduxit*.<sup>46</sup>

**Q.** How was the *Captain* of our Salvation made *perfect thro' Sufferings*? v. 10.

**A.** The Word, *τελειουν*-is used for the *Consecration of a Priest*.<sup>47</sup> God being about the gracious Work of bringing many Sons unto Glory, *Consecrated*, or *Inaugurated* our Saviour unto that Work, by *Sufferings*. He being so *Consecrated*, [*τελειωθεις*]<sup>48</sup> became the *Author of eternal Salvation*.

<sup>44</sup> A reference to Luther's gloss on Heb. 1:6–7 in *Doctoris Martini Lutheri Colloquia Mensalia: Or, Dr Martin Luther's Divine Discourses at His Table* (1659), p. 114; see *Tischreden, Sammlungen Aurifabers*, (WA 6:69).

<sup>45</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>46</sup> "As if he had wanted to say: the first man tasting a sweet and forbidden fruit has condemned all of his posterity to death. The second man tasting the most bitter fruit of death has led all those to eternal life who are born again through him." Mather cites Robert Bellarmine, *De septem verbis a Christo in cruce prolatis libri duo* (1668), lib. 2, cap. 20, p. 209. This reference is certainly unusual, for the Italian Jesuit Robert Bellarmine (Italian: Roberto Francesco Romolo Bellarmino; 1542–1621) was a professor of theology and later rector of the Roman College, Archbishop of Capua (1602), and a Cardinal of the Catholic Church who championed the reform decrees of the Council of Trent and was infamously involved in the trial of Giordano Bruno and the Galileo affair.

<sup>47</sup> The present infinitive of *τελειόω* [*teleioo*] "make perfect, accomplish"; Mather proposes that the word is used in a cultic sense in this passage, a possibility which is still being debated among modern exegetes (*EDNT*).

<sup>48</sup> The passive participle of *τελειόω* (see above).



Thus we Christians must expect our τελειωσις,<sup>49</sup> our Consecration is unto the Dignity, of *Kings* and *Priests*, by *Sufferings*.<sup>50</sup>

One observes, τελειωσαι, in a *sacrificial* Sense, is either to *Consecrate*, or to *Purge perfectly* from Sins. In an *Agonistical* Sense, it is, to *Crown* and *Reward*.<sup>51</sup>

**Q.** That Expression, *I will putt my Trust in Him*; How does this prove that the Faithful are the *Brethren* of Christ? v. 13.

**A.** Thus. Christ and the Faithful, putt their Trust in the same God. This proves, that they are of *One*. They are Dependents on the *same God*, and Father. Having the *same Father* for the Object of their Dependence, they must needs be *Brethren*.<sup>52</sup>

**Q.** In what Sense may it be said, That *the Divil had the Power of Death*? v. 14.

**A.** What think you of the Gloss, which Dr. *Turner* in his *Boylens* Lectures ha's upon it? The *Divil* had *Power* and *Authority* over *the Dead*, to Torment and Afflict and Punish them for their Sins.<sup>53</sup>

492.

**Q.** There may be Cause to think yett a little further?<sup>54</sup>

**A.** I have often considered it; and at last, from some closer Considerations, founded on many Observations credited, the Words of our Mr. *Walter Cross*, a late Writer.<sup>55</sup>

“For any thing, I know (saith hee) that Scripture intimates, that the *Divil* ha's an active Influence on the *Death* of every Man. Wee call it, a *Natural Death*, but it is the *Divil*, with as active Causalitie, as if the Executioner cutt our Throat.”<sup>56</sup>

Lett us pursue the Thought!

<sup>49</sup> The word τελειωσις [teleiosis] means “completion, fulfillment.”

<sup>50</sup> The first part of this entry seems to be derived from Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:59). Similarly, also, Owen, *Exercitations*, p. 231.

<sup>51</sup> The aorist infinitive τελειῶσαι [teleiosai] (from τελειόω, see above) is the biblical form of Heb. 2:10. This paragraph is in a different ink and was presumably added later. Mather seems to take this note from Henry Hammond's annotation on Phil. 3:12, in *A Paraphrase* (4:228–29).

<sup>52</sup> From *The Expiation*, p. 30.

<sup>53</sup> Mather cites John Turner, *The Wisdom of God in the Redemption of Man, Eight Sermons preach'd in the Year 1708, of the Lecture founded by R. Boyle* (1708), pp. 142–43. A D.D. from Trinity, Cambridge, Turner (1660–1720) was vicar of Greenwich and chaplain to George I; he wrote a number of apologetical works.

<sup>54</sup> See Appendix A.

<sup>55</sup> Mather references the work of Walter Cross (d. 1701), *An Exposition of the second verse of the fourth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans* (1694), p. 95. Cross was an English Nonconformist minister at Moorfield (London) and preacher at Utrecht (*ODNB*). The word “late” was added by Mather, an indication that this entry must have been originally composed before Cross's death. There also seems to be a crossed out “X” to the right of the column.

<sup>56</sup> See Appendix A.

{7903}

By seducing *Adam* to eat of the Fobidden Fruit, the *Divel*, whom the Jewes called, *Samael*, had Power to Accuse Men, and to demand, that they might Dy, according to the Threatning pronounced against them: This is the constant Opinion of the *Jewes*. Their wise Men say, It is a Tradition, That *Satan*, the Adversary, the *Angel of Death*, *descendeth & seduceth, ascendeth & accuseth, receives Power, & takes away the Soul or Life*. Hence they say of him, That *he causes Death to the whole World*.

Καταργειν τον διαβολον. Is to Frustrate,<sup>57</sup> & bring to nought, the Design of the Divel, to subject all Men unto the Power of *Death*, & keep them under the Dominion of it. And thus our Saviour does καταργειν θανατον.<sup>58</sup> *Abolish Death*: [2. Tim. 1.10.] That therefore we are subject unto Death, say the *Fathers*, tis not that we are now punished with it, but out of Mercy, that *Sin* might not be Immortal in us: The Time of the Resurrection being that, wherein *Death* shall be totally *Abolished*. [1. Cor. 15. 26.]

|  
363

[4v]

**Q.** Wee read concerning our Lord, *Hee took on Him the Seed of Abraham*; what Emphasis do you observe, in the Greek Word for, *Took*? v. 16.

**A.** The Greek, ἐπιλαμβάνεται, thus rendred signifies, The *Catching Hold of a thing*, that is, *in magno Discrimine*, in extreme Danger of Perishing, to save it from Ruine.<sup>59</sup> This was the Condition of Mankind when our Lord mercifully *Took* our Nature on Him.<sup>60</sup>

In a Sermon of my Fathers, in a Book entituled, *Important Truths*, I find this Matter thus expressed:

“The Words may be read, *He taketh not Hold of the Angels*: saith the Apostle; CHRIST saw the Reprobate Angels falling into the Pitt of Destruction, but He did not *take Hold* on them, to recover them. No, but *the Seed of Abraham He taketh Hold of*. He doth not say, *The Seed of Adam*, but, *The Seed of Abraham*: Thereby intimating, that CHRIST did not come to Redeem

<sup>57</sup> As Mather suggests, the phrase καταργειν τὸν διάβολον [katargein ton diabolon] signifies “to abolish/bring to nought the Devil.”

<sup>58</sup> As Mather suggests, the phrase καταργειν θάνατον [katargein thanaton] means “to abolish death.” The second part of this entry is derived from Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:60).

<sup>59</sup> Literally ἐπιλαμβάνομαι [epilambanomai] means “take, receive.” In the context of Heb. 2:16, the word can be interpreted as “be concerned with/about. ... in the sense of *help*” (BDAG). The Latin phrase signifies “in great peril.”

<sup>60</sup> Mather seems to get this from the annotations of the Scottish Reformed divine John Cameron (1579–1625), contained in *Critici Sacri* (6:4121). Cameron’s biblical annotations were originally published as *Myrothecium evangelicum. Hoc est Novi Testamenti loca quamplurima ab eo, post aliorum labores, aptè & commodè vel illustrata, vel explicata, vel vindicate* (1632). Similarly, also, *The Expiation*, p. 33.

all Men whatsoever, but the Elect of GOD; who are none by that Expression,<sup>61</sup>  
*The Seed of Abraham.*”<sup>62</sup>

**Q.** When it is said of our Lord, *Hee is able to succour them which are Tempted*, what Emphasis may there be on the *Succour* here proposed? v. 18.

**A.** The Greek Word here, *To succour*; Βοηθεω, is as much as to say, επιβοην θεω, to {Run} *in at the Cry of another to help him*; to {rescue} one upon his *Outcry* for Help. An Intimation of what is the Duty of *Tempted* Persons, what should be their Method, if they would obtain *Succour* from the Lord Jesus Christ in their *Temptations*.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>61</sup> Mather probably meant to write “known.”

<sup>62</sup> A citation from the work of Cotton Mather’s father, the Boston minister and theologian, Increase Mather (1639–1723), *Some Important Truths concerning Conversion, delivered in Several Sermons* (1674), p. 193.

<sup>63</sup> Mather paraphrases the word βοητέω [boetheo] “come to aid, render assistance, help” with the phrase ἐπιβοην θέω [epi boen theo] which literally signifies “I run upon a cry” (cf. the word ἐπιβοηθέω [epiboetheo] “come to aid, succor”). Mather seems to quote this etymological explanation from the work of the Swiss Reformed Pietist, Samuel Heinrich König (1671–1750), *Etymologicon Helleno-Hebraeum: seu primitiva Graeca ex Hebraeo fonte vicinisque orientis linguis, uti Chaldaea, Syra, Arabica atque Aethiopica deducta* (1722), p. 64.

**Q.** On the *Building* of the *House*? v. 4.

**A.** Some observe, That κατασκευάζω,<sup>64</sup> signifies, either to *Build*, or to *Order* and *Govern*. And they think the Latter Sense here to be most Natural, tho' the Former be most Received. The House here, seems to be, the *Family* dwelling in the *House*.<sup>65</sup>

**Q.** Whose *Voice* is here spoken of? v. 7.

**A.** The Apostle had just before said, That CHRIST as a *Son*, and *Lord*, was over *His House*. It immediately followes, *Hear HIS Voice*. It is CHRIST who was *Tempted* by the *Israelites* in the Wilderness. Compare, 1. Cor. X.9.

This Consideration, will give you a *Key*, that lets you into a View of Things, which perhaps you had not so fully before.<sup>66</sup>

**Q.** On that Passage, *To Day, if yee will hear His Voice*? v. 7.

**A.** The Words here used by the Apostle, are found, in Psal. XLV.7.

One observes; The literal Sense of them is this. On the *Festival Day*, it was the Custome of the People, to enter, the *Temple*, and attend, the *Worship*, of God. Hereupon *David* composed the Psalm for such a Festival. And he exhorts & excites the People, that since they did on such a *Day*, hear the *Law of God* read unto them, which is the *Voice of God*, they would obey it, & not *harden their Hearts* against it. The mystical Sense is this. The *Voice* of Christ, by which we have the Gospel delivered unto us, is the *Voice of God*. The Time of the Dispensation of the Gospel, is the *Festival Day of Grace*; wherein God makes an Offer of Salvation, & invites us to it, by the Preaching of the Gospel. This Time will not last alwayes unto particular Persons; it will be but *a Day*; and last unto them no longer than their own *Dayes* at the furthest; & unto some, not so long. The Apostle, in the Words of the Psalmist, admonishes the Jewes that they would speedily show themselves teachable, & harken to the Voice of God

<sup>64</sup> As Mather suggests, κατασκευάζω [kataskeuazo] means “furnish, build, construct.”

<sup>65</sup> From Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:65). Similarly, also, the annotation in the work of the Anglican cleric and scholar, Thomas Pyle (1674–1756), *A Paraphrase with some Notes on the Acts of the Apostles, and upon all the Epistles of the New Testament* (1715), vol. 2, p. 229. Pyle was an outspoken Arian and close associate of the English theologian, historian, and mathematician, William Whiston (1667–1752) (ODNB).

<sup>66</sup> Mather seems to derive this from the work of the prominent English Presbyterian minister and Westminster divine, Thomas Manton (1620–1677), *Christ's Temptation and Transfiguration practically explained and improved, in several sermons* (1685), pp. 87–89. With its reference to Ex. 17:7, this interpretation highlights the presence of the pre-incarnate Christ during the Old Testament dispensation and hence the full divinity of the Son.

in the Gospel; & yeeld Obedience without any *Delay* of the Matter from Day to Day; without any Procrastination.<sup>67</sup>

**Q.** *While it is called, To Day?*] v. 13.

**A.** In *Erubin*, it is observed by R. *Levi ben Josua*, that wee read, in Deut. VIII.11. *The Commandments which I command thee This Day*. And he notes upon it; *Hodiè ea sunt facienda, non cras; hodiè sunt facienda, et cras Merces eorum est accipienda*.<sup>68</sup>

In *Pirke Aboth*, a celebrated Saying of *Hillel* is mentioned; *si non Nunc, Quandò?*

Of the same Tendency, the Saying of R. *Eleazar*. *Resipisce uno Die ante Mortem tuam*.<sup>69</sup> In *Midras Tillim* the same Saying is ascribed unto another, with this Gloss upon it; *lett a Man say, perhaps I shall Dy tomorrow, and then he will not lett one Day of his Life pass without Repentance*.<sup>70</sup>

[5v] | [blank]

<sup>67</sup> From *The Expiation*, p. 46.

<sup>68</sup> “This day these things are to be done, not tomorrow, today they are to be done, and tomorrow the reward for them is to be taken.” From Cartwright, *Mellificium Hebraicum*, lib. 3, *Critici Sacri* (8:1350), a reference to the Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Eruvin, 22a (Soncino, p. 152).

<sup>69</sup> “If not now, when?” and “Repent one day before your death.” From Cartwright, references to Rabbi Hillel and Rabbi Eliezer in *Pirke Avoth*, cap. 1:14 and cap. 2:15; see *Pirke Aboth, The Ethics of the Talmud*, pp. 33–34 and p. 55.

<sup>70</sup> From Cartwright, a reference to the Midrash Tehillim, probably the commentary on Ps. 90:16; see Braude’s translation (*The Midrash on Psalms*, vol. 2, pp. 96–97).

**Q.** What may be meant by, *Seeming to come short of the promised Rest?* v. 1.

**A.** I have heard whole Sermons preached upon that, *Seeming*, and a deal of Distinction used about it. But the Greek Word here, δοκῆ, does not signify alwayes, *To seem*; it signifes also, *To Do as one thinks fit*, or, *To Do ones Pleasure*.<sup>71</sup> I then so read the Text, *Fear, – lest any of you take your Liberty to come short; – or, think Good to come short.*

But there is one, who observes, that the Clause, *lest a Promise being left us*, ought to be read, *lest the Promise being left*. The *Promise* is then *Left*, Forsaken, Relinquished, when it is no longer Credited and Relied upon. This was the Crime of the *Israelites* in the Wilderness, after they had for a While embraced the *Promise*. Now, we must be so far from *leaving* of the Gospel, that we must not *seem* to do so, or give any Man Occasion to think we do so. We must not give any one Occasion to *suspect*, in us, the least Inclination to Revolt. A Man may raise this Opinion in others, by abating & remitting of his Fervency in Piety.<sup>72</sup>

**Q.** How is it said, *unto us was the Gospel preached, as well as unto them?* v. 2.

**A.** The Greek runs, *we have had the good News [of a Rest] preached unto us, as they likewise had*.<sup>73</sup>

**Q.** A Paraphrase on, *He that hath entred into Rest, hath ceased from his own Works?* v. 10.

**A.** Mr. *Pyle* so paraphrases.<sup>74</sup>

“Nor indeed could the Happiness and Reward of a true Servant of God be properly compared to *Gods Rest from all His Work*, unless it be a Final and Compleat Deliverance from all the Labours & Troubles of this Life.”

1521.

**Q.** What is the *Sense*, and *Force*, of the Apostles Discourse to the *Hebrewes*, about the *Sabbatism Remaining for the People of God?* v. 10.

<sup>71</sup> From Grotius in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (6:4163). The word δοκέω [dokeo] has a variety of meanings: “expect, think, seem.” Sometimes δοκέω means “*it seems good* to me, or *it is my pleasure*” (cf. Luke 1:3, Acts 15:22), as Mather points out. In the context of Heb. 4:1, however, such a translation seems questionable.

<sup>72</sup> From John Owen, *Exercitations on the epistle to the Hebrews, ... with a Continuation of the exposition on the third, fourth, and fifth chapters of said epistle to the Hebrews* (1674), p. 184.

<sup>73</sup> From Owen, *Exercitations*, pp. 195–96.

<sup>74</sup> From Pyle, *A Paraphrase* (2:234).

A. There is a State of glorious and wonderful *Rest*, which our Blessed JESUS, will give unto His Church in the great *millennial Sabbath*.<sup>75</sup> Our Apostle therefore urges the *Hebrewes* to *Hear the Voice of the Lord Jesus Christ*, offering this *Rest*, lest *they fell after the Exemple of Unbeleef in their Fathers*, who perished in the Wilderness, ere they arrived at the *Land of Promise*. Hee now asserts, that this *promised Rest*, had been preached throughout the whole Book of God; and that *Beleever*s are to bee Admitted therein, but the *Disobedient*, & the *Unperswadeable* shutt out forever. — This hee does, with a Demonstration, that every *Rest* mentioned in the Scripture, as already obtained by the People of God, was but a Type of the *Rest*, which *yett Remains* to bee expected & obtained.

First, There was the *Rest* of the *Works Finished*, or, the *Sabbath* at the *Finishing* of the *Creation*. But this was not the Intended, nor an Effectual *Rest*, for after this, God Threatens His People in the Desert, about missing to, *enter into Rest*. So then, they were not already in the Possession of it!<sup>76</sup>

Nor, was the *Rest*, whereto they arrived by *Joshua*, that which was Effectual or Intended; for After This, wee have *David* most affectionately calling upon the People, of the present & after Times, to *Hear the Voice of God*, lest they missed of the *Rest*, which had been proposed.<sup>77</sup>

It followes then, that there must *Remain*, a *Rest*, beyond all this, which our Lord Jesus Christ, will bring His People into, even That *Rest*, whereof all this was a Figure.<sup>78</sup>

In *Zohar*, in *Gen.* fol. 5. col. 2. there is a Saying; *Dies Sabbati quid est? Figura Terræ Viventium, nempè Sæculi Futuri, Sæculi Animarum, Sæculi Consolationum*.<sup>79</sup>

*Buxtorf* in his *Florilegium* ha's that Saying of the Hebrews. *Non datum est Sabbatum, nisi et esset Typus Sæculi futuri; seu, Vitæ Æternæ*.<sup>80</sup>

75 See Appendix A. Mather here originally ascribed a special share of the millennial blessings to the “Church of the *Hebrewes*,” but revised the passage following his change of opinions concerning the eschatological conversion of the Jews.

Interestingly, Whitby's regard for the original context and audience of the epistle leads him to dismiss any millennialist reading of the references to “the rest” in Hebrews. See Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:72–73).

76 See Gen. 2:2 and Deut. 12:10, 25:19.

77 See Josh. 21:44, 22:4 and Ps. 95:8–11.

78 Derived from Owen's annotations on Heb. 4:6 in *Exercitationes*, pp. 232–34.

79 “What is the day of Sabbath? A type for those living on earth, certainly of the future world, the world of souls, the world of consolations.” Drawn from Cartwright, *Mellificium Hebraicum*, lib. 3, as printed in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (8:1351). Reference is made to the Book of *Zohar*, Prologue (Soncino, p. 4).

80 “The Sabbath is not given [or mentioned], if it is not also the type of the future age, or, the eternal life.” From Cartwright a reference to the work of the famous Basel Hebraist, Johannes Buxtorf, the Younger (1599–1664), *Florilegium hebraicum: continens elegantes sententias, proverbia, apophthegmata, similitudines* (1648), p. 299. These last two paragraphs were added later.

[6v]

Q. What may be peculiarly meant by, *The Word of God, which is Quick & Powerful*? v. 12.

A. From the Consideration of the Context, some are induced to beleieve, that by the *Word of God* here, is meant,<sup>81</sup> His decree and {menace?} of Judgment, which assigns a Punishment unto the Unbeleieving and the Disobedient. Of that Kind was the *Wrath* of God. Which He swore, to exclude the unbeleiving Fathers of the Jewes from entring into *Rest*. This *Word* is *Quick*: it never dies; it growes not exolete with Time or Age.<sup>82</sup> It is *Powerful*. God will not Revoke it, or lett it fall thro' Oblivion or Inconstancy; and it is full of Force to execute the Will of God contained in it. And *sharper than any two edged Sword*. It wounds more fearfully. It pierces into the most *secret Parts* of Men; it reaches their most *secret Sins*, & those which are committed in the most *Interiour Faculties*; which no Sword of any civil Magistrate can do. It binds over the very *Thoughts & Intentions of the Heart*, unto Punishment. There is no lying Hid from its terrible Efficacy.

[▽Insert from 7r–7v]<sup>83</sup>

[▽7r–7v]

But lett us consider a little further; and we shall find the Context plainly leading us to a glorious CHRIST, as this Word here spoken of. The Apostle advises a stedfast Adhærence unto our JESUS, as the *Apostle & High-Priest of our Profession*. He declares, that since he exceeded Moses as far as a *Son* exceeds a *Servant*, the Danger which the *Israelites* incurred by Disobedience unto *Moses*, to be shutt out of a *Temporal Rest*, was not greater than our Danger to be shutt out of the Heavenly Rest, if we disobey the Word; which by the SON of GOD has been delivered unto us. For, says he, we have now to do with the SON of GOD Himself, who is one from whom our most secret Inclinations to Revolt from His Religion cannot be conceled & who lives forever & never wants Power enough to Revenge us and at the same time is perfectly acquainted with all our Difficulties, & is able to help us in all of our Distresses.

<sup>81</sup> Mather here enters a long-standing exegetical debate on whether this verse was to be understood as the personal Word of God, the Logos, or the written word or decrees of God, as the majority of Protestant divines argued. The debate is surveyed in Owen, *Exercitations*, pp. 269–72, who in turn relies on the summary of the debate offered in *Critici Sacri*. Mather first offers a version of the first interpretation, for which he, surprisingly, seems again to rely on *The Expiation*, pp. 66–67. Drawing directly on Owen, *Exercitations*, pp. 72–77, Mather then elaborates on the second, emphasizing, like Owen, that the two readings are not mutually exclusive but in fact depend on one another.

<sup>82</sup> “Exolete” means something that has lost its virtue; effete, insipid (*OED*).

<sup>83</sup> This page is a lengthy cut-out glued to the margin of the folio page and folded together.



The Apostle plainly describes a Real Person,<sup>84</sup> and such a Connection there is between the several Parts of his Account, that it is plain the Person he describes from the beginning to the End of, is one & the same.

Now, tis our glorious CHRIST who is, the Person, denoted in the New Testament, by, *The Word of God*.

And it is no Wonder, that the Apostle writing to the *Hebrews*, gives Him this Title; since it is evident from *Philo's* Writings about this time, that some of [7v] them did apply the Title, in | a Sense not much different from the Apostles.<sup>85</sup>

Behold, how he proceeds.

The *Word of GOD is living*; and lives forever to Revenge the Contempt of His *promised Rest*.

And He is *powerful*; yea, *sharper than any two-edged Sword*; which the Priest makes Use of, to lay open the *Sacrifice*.

– *Piercing, even to the Dividing asunder of Soul and Spirit*; Ransacking all the secretest Parts of the Humane Composition, separating those that are most nearly connected, even the *Soul* & the *Spirit*. [See 1. Thess. V. 23.]

*And of the Joints*, or Nerves (by which other Parts are held together) *and Marrow*; and under which those Parts that lie hid, and are enclosed in others, are comprehended.

*And is a Discerner*, or, Judge of the *Thoughts & Intents of the Heart*; As the Priest sits Judge of the Sacrifice thus laid open before him, whether entire, & without Blemish, or no.

And not only are *we* thus laid open before Him, in Order to His Passing a Judgment on us; but *neither is there any Creature that is not manifest in His Sight, but all things are naked & open before the Eyes of Him with whom we have to do*; or, to whom our *Account* is to be given: *Naked & Open*, and as perfectly discovered unto Him, as the *Sacrifice* is unto the *Priest*, when it is flay'd, & cutt down the Back, & laid open before him, in order to his Passing a Judgment on the Soundness of it.

Quære: why may not the Import of the last Clause be, *To whom He is with us* (owned as) *the Logos*?

[△] [△Insert ends]

3136.

**Q.** Upon that Passage, *The Word of God is sharper than any two-edged Sword*; have you mett with no Passage in the old Jewish Writers, that may afford something of Illustration? v. 12.

<sup>84</sup> Mather originally had "The Word of God" instead of "The Apostle."

<sup>85</sup> From Owen, Mather cites Philo of Alexandria, *On the Cherubim*, 9.28 and *Who is the Heir of Divine Things*, 26.131 (see below).

A. Philo, discoursing on the *Cherubim* and the *Flaming Sword*, in the Third Chapter of *Genesis*, hath a very Remarkable Passage.<sup>86</sup>

“To the truly *one God*, there are *two* supreme and primary Powers belonging, *Goodness* and *Power*: By *Goodness* all things were made, and governed by *Power*: There was still a *Third*, as a Conciliator in the Midst of the *Two* former, namely Λογος, *The Word*. – The *Cherubims* are Symbols of these two *Powers*, of *Government* and *Goodness*; Λογου δε την φλογινην ρομφαιαν. *and the Flaming Sword, of, The Word*.<sup>87</sup> For the, Λογος the *Word*, was very swift & fervent; especially that of the First Cause; it being before all things understood, and appearing above all.”

Philo in yett another Place, makes that *Flaming Sword* a Symbol of, *the Word*, when he speaks of Gods *Cutting* and *Dividing* the united Natures of things, he adds, That He does it, τω τομει των συμπαντων αυτω λογω, *By His λογος, or Word, Dividing all things*. How agreeable is this to our Apostle!<sup>88</sup>

And so is what we read in the *Apocryphal Book of Wisdome*. Ch. 18. v. 15, 16. *Thine Almighty Word leapt down from Heaven, out of thy Royal Throne, as a fierce Man of War, into the Midst of a Land of Destruction, & brought thine unfeigned Commandment as a sharp Sword*.<sup>89</sup> Compare what we now have in our Book of *Revelation*, Ch. 19.13, 15, 21 & Ch. 1.16. and Ch. 2.16. where the *Word of God* is described, with a *sharp Sword* going out of His Mouth.

And one of the Christian Ancients long since observed, how agreeable this is, to the Prophecies of *Isaiah* about the *Messiah*.<sup>90</sup>

*Origen* on *John*, ha's a Passage of this Importance.<sup>91</sup> “It is said in *Isaiah* [Ch. 49.2.] The Father hath *made his Mouth, like a sharp Sword*. The Mouth of

<sup>86</sup> This entry is derived from Richard Kidder, *A Demonstration of the Messiah* ([1684] 1726), part 3, ch. 6, pp. 94–95. The Anglican churchman Richard Kidder (1633–1703) was Bishop of Bath and Wells and a well-known apologist. The *Demonstration* was his most popular work, going through at least four editions in Mather's lifetime.

<sup>87</sup> The phrase λογου δε την φλογινην ρομφαιαν [logou de ten phloginen rhomphaian] means “and the flaming sword of [the] word.” From Kidder, Mather cites Philo of Alexandria, *On the Cherubim*, 9.28; transl.: LCL 227, p. 24.

<sup>88</sup> The phrase τω τομει των συμπαντων αυτω λογω [to tomei ton sympanton auto logo] signifies “through the severer of all things, namely [the] word itself.” Mather paraphrases Philo of Alexandria, *Who is the Heir of Divine Things*, 26.131; transl.: LCL 261, p. 345.

<sup>89</sup> Wis. 18:15–16.

<sup>90</sup> Isa. 49:2.

<sup>91</sup> From Kidder, a reference to the fragmentary exegetical work of Origen (Origenes Adamantius, c. 185/86–c. 253/54), *Commentaria in Evangelium Joannis* [PG 14. 1. 85]. Born into a Christian family in Tyre, Origen became headmaster of the Christian Catechetical School at Alexandria. A conflict with the local bishop led to his move to Caesarea in Palestine (230/31). He died a few years after the persecutions of Christians under Decius, during which he had to suffer heavy torture. Well-versed in the Greek philosophical traditions, especially (Neo-)Platonism, Origen produced highly influential and homiletical exegetical works that engaged in sophisticated allegorical readings of Scripture aimed to uncover the higher spiritual meaning. He also produced a critical edition of the OT (the *Hexapla*), an early attempt at systematizing Christian doctrine (*De principiis*), and an important apologetic work, *Contra*

the Son of God is *a sharp Sword* μαχαίρα ὀξεῖα.<sup>92</sup> *The Word of God is Quick & Powerful, piercing even to the Dividing asunder of Soul and Spirit.* He comes not to *send Peace upon the Earth*, that is upon corporeal and sensible Things, but a *Sword*; cutting asunder the hurtful Friendship between the Soul and Body, that the *Soul* permitting itself to the Spirit, that wars against the Flesh, might be at Friendship with God.”

I think, I have here laid before you, some things, worthy of a deep Contemplation.

Alardus observes, τετραχλίσμενα,<sup>93</sup> to be a Metaphor fetched à *Re Palæstricâ*.<sup>94</sup> In Wrestling, he did τραχηλίζειν his Antagonist, who so siezed upon his Neck, *ut objiciat Spectatorum Oculis, nudum, et undiquaque retectum*.<sup>95</sup>

**Q.** *Yett without Sin.*] Why is that Clause added? v. 15.

**A.** Partly to answer the Calumny of those Wretches, who said that our JESUS deserved the Punishment inflicted on Him; and partly to admonish Christians, that they should study Innocence, & not suffer as Malefactors; but then also not wonder at it, if notwithstanding their Innocence they were exposed to Sufferings.<sup>96</sup>

**Q.** *The Throne of Grace.*] Whose Throne? v. 16.

**A.** We are directed to come unto the *Throne*, because we have an *High-Priest* sensible of our Infirmities, and ready to succour us. It is then the *Throne* which our *High-Priest* sits upon. Yett it is a *Throne of Grace*. He that sits on it, is full of Love unto us.<sup>97</sup>

[7r–7v inserted into their designated place]<sup>98</sup>

---

*Celsum*. With his teachings on the *Apokatastasis* (“the restitution of all”), the pre-existence of souls, and the subordinate role of Christ in the Trinity, Origen left a highly controversial legacy to the church.

<sup>92</sup> Mather offers a correct translation for the phrase μάχαῖρα ὀξεῖα [machaira oxeia].

<sup>93</sup> The perfect participle τετραχλίσμενα [tetrachelismena] of the verb τραχηλίζω [trachelizo], which normally means “bend or twist the neck (e.g. in wrestling).” In the context of Heb. 4:13 and in conjunction with “γυμνά” (naked), it can signify “to be laid open.” Mather cites the work of the German Lutheran theologian and poet, Lambert Alard (Lampertus Alardus; 1602–1672), *Pathologia sacra novi testamenti continens significantiora ejusdem & cum emphasi singulari usurpata loca* (1635), p. 224. This last section is a later addition.

<sup>94</sup> “From the subject matter of wrestling.”

<sup>95</sup> “wrestle”; the present infinitive τραχηλίζειν [trachelizein], see above. The Latin phrase translates: “to expose [the antagonist] to the eyes of the spectators, naked and uncovered on every side.”

<sup>96</sup> From *The Expiation*, p. 73.

<sup>97</sup> From *The Expiation*, pp. 73–74.

<sup>98</sup> These pages were stuck to 6v and thus probably added later.

**Q.** On the *Prayers and Supplications* with the *strong Crying and Tears*, which our Saviour offered up unto His Father, to be *saved from Death*? v. 7.

**A.** I find some Discourse at this note upon it. A *Deliverance from Death* was that which our Saviour desired. For this, He commended His expiring *Spirit* unto His Father.<sup>99</sup> This was to pray, that He would Præserve it, and Restore it; & *Recall Him from Death to Life*. The History of the Gospel saies nothing of His *Tears* on this Occasion; However t'was well-known to the Author of this Epistle. But the *strong Crying* with which He gave up the Ghost, is particularly mentioned. We read of that Action accompanying of it; His *Bowing of His Head*. Which was not a simple Action of a *Dying Man*, as Interpreters commonly carry it; but an Action of *Worship*, and [εὐλαβεία] the *Reverence* of a pious Man, that was offering *Supplications* unto God.<sup>100</sup>

**Q.** That Passage, *He learned Obedience by the Things which He suffered*? v. 8.

**A.** Dr. *Whitby* in his Additional Notes, does upon second Thoughts prefer this Translation. *Tho' He was a Son, yett He taught us Obedience, by the things which He suffered*.<sup>101</sup>

But I meet elsewhere with another Interpretation.<sup>102</sup> In the Year, 1646. there was published, a thin *Folio*, entituled, *The Expiation of a Sinner, in a Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews*. In a Leaf before the Title-Page, there is an Attestation signed by *John Downname*, that saies, He “has perused it, & finds it Learned, | Judicious, Profitable, & allowes it to be published.” When I read the Book over, I could not but wonder at this Attestation, and suspect it a Forgery. For the Author was an *Arian*, and *Arianism* in its full System, (indeed a fuller than I have ever yett seen any where else) reigns every where in it, from first to last. However, there be some Illustrations in this Composure, very worthy to be considered.<sup>103</sup>

[8v]

<sup>99</sup> From *The Expiation*, pp. 82–85.

<sup>100</sup> From εὐλαβεία [eulabeia] “discretion, caution, reverence.” See Appendix A.

<sup>101</sup> From Daniel Whitby, *Additional Annotations to the New Testament: With Seven Discourses; and an Appendix Entituled Examen Variantium Lectionum Johannis Millii, S. T. P. in Novum Testamentum* (1710), p. 129.

<sup>102</sup> The next two paragraphs are in a different ink and were probably added later.

<sup>103</sup> Mather's cautiousness is understandable. The work he refers to is *The Expiation of a Sinner in a Commentary upon the Epistle to the Hebrewes* (1646). Published under the title *Commentarius in Epistolam ad Hebræos* (1634), the Latin original of this work was co-authored by Jonas Schlichting (Jonasz Szlichtyng, Schlichtingus; 1592–1661) and Johannes Crell (Johannes Krell, Jan Krell, Crellius; 1590–1633), two seventeenth-century Socinian theologians associated with the Polish Brethren. The English edition appeared anonymously, but the preface is signed with “G. M.” The prefatory note commending the work and signed with “John Downname” was

Such an one there is (tho' others have also had it) on the Clause now before us. What we translate, *Obedience*, is to be translated, *Giving of Audience*. Our Saviour, upon his Prayers unto His Father to be saved from Death, *had Audience* of God; He did thereby learn to *give Audience* unto His People, which in their Distresses, they offer up their Prayers unto Him. Yea, the Word, ὑπακοή,<sup>104</sup> carries in it, an elegant Symplece of Sense; both of the *Audience*, and of *Obedience* in it. The Compassion of our Saviour in hearing the Prayers of His People, is both His *Audience* of them, & His *Obedience* to His Father, who constituted Him an High-Priest for that Purpose.

**Q.** Why is that Clause added, *Tho' He were a Son?* v. 8.

**A.** God might have taught a *Son*, the Lessons of Obedience, in some other School, than that of *Afflictions*. Yett He chose *this Way*, & would not excuse Him from the common Condition of His *Brethren*. Behold, the Love of God unto Mankind, is thus providing for our Succour in our Distresses!

But here is a plain Intimation, That the *Fatherly Love of God* unto the Faithful, is not impaired, when He exercises their Faith and Patience with various *Afflictions*.<sup>105</sup>

**Q.** *Yee are become such as have need of Milk, & not of strong Meat.* What is meant by *Milk*, and what by strong Meat? v. 12.

**A.** Compare 1. Cor. 2. 1, 2.

I am very well pleased, with a Gloss of *Grotius: Lac sunt elementa Christianæ Religionis, cibus verò explicatio mysteriorum in veteri Historia latentium*.<sup>106</sup>

---

likely a forgery. John Downname or Downham (1571–1652) was an orthodox English clergyman and theologian with Puritan leanings who came to prominence in the 1640s when he worked closely with the Westminster Assembly. It is assumed that the rather free translation and publication of the *Commentarius* was undertaken by Thomas Lushington (1590–1661), an Anglican cleric who became known for his anti-Trinitarian views during the Civil War period. For more on this source and Mather's use of it, see the Introduction.

<sup>104</sup> The word ὑπακοή [hypakoe] signifies "obedience, answer to prayer" just as Mather suggests. From *The Expiation*, pp. 85–86.

<sup>105</sup> See Owen, *Exercitations*, pp. 376–81.

<sup>106</sup> "The elements of the Christian religion are the milk, the food [represents] the true explication of the mysteries hidden in the old history [testament]." Mather cites Grotius's annotation on 1 Cor. 3:1 in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (6:2868). Mather seems to have confused the chapter of 1 Cor. here.

**Q.** What means the Apostle, by the *Doctrine of Baptisms, & of Laying on of Hands?* v. 2.

**A.** Lett it not seem strange, if I tell you, That hee means his *Repentance from Dead Works*, and *Faith towards God*, which hee had newly mentioned.

Some think, These were called, *The Doctrine of Baptisms, and Laying on of Hands*, because, when Persons were *Baptised* and *Confirmed*, which was with *Imposition of Hands*, in the primitive Times, they were Instructed in these Points; and in those two that follow, namely, *The Resurrection of the Dead*, and, *eternal Judgment*.<sup>107</sup>

But I'll give you the Words of my Uncle, *Nathanael Mather*, in a little Book of his, newly published.<sup>108</sup>

"Beleeving is called *Leaning, Staying, Resting*, on Christ, and on God. This I conceive, was Taught Them, & Us, by that Ordinance, which enjoined him, that brought the *Sacrifice*, to *lay his Hand*, or, *lean* with his *Hand*, upon his *Sacrifice*. [Exod. 29.10. Lev. 1.4. & 3.2, 8, 13. and 4.4, 15, 24, 29, 33. and 16.21.] I know, that Rite is by many Interpreted as signifying, the Transferring of the Sin of him that brought the Sacrifice, unto or upon the Sacrifice, which was to bee offered for him. But the Laying of our Sins upon Christ, is not *our* Act, but *Gods*. [Isa. 53.11.] And the Word used in *Exodus* and *Leviticus*, doth signify a *Leaning* with Stress and Might, and is rendred [Ps. 88.8.] *lyeth Hard*; and [Ezek. 24.2.] *Beket*; that is, pressed upon, with Force and Strength.

And the Apostle (if I mistake not the Meaning of the Place, which I think, I do not) tells us, Heb. 6.1, 2. That *Faith on God*, is the *Doctrine of Laying on of Hands*; that is, the Thing Taught, by that Rite & Ceremony: even as, *Repentance from Dead Works*, is the *Doctrine* of, or Thing Taught by their *Levitical Washings*, which I take to bee there meant, by *Baptisms*."

|

[9v]

**Q.** Why is it said of them that are *Apostates* from Christianity, *It is impossible to Renew them again unto Repentance?* v. 6.

**A.** The *Oxford Paraphrase*, would have the Meaning to be; Tis Impossible for us to Renew them. It is Labour in Vain for us, to Review Principles for them.

<sup>107</sup> From Owen, *A Continuation of the Exposition of the Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Hebrews viz, on the sixth, seventh, eight, ninth, and tenth Chapters* (1680), pp. 32–33.

<sup>108</sup> From the work of Cotton Mather's uncle, the English Independent minister and lecturer at Pinner's Hall, Nathanael (or Nathaniel) Mather (1631–1697), *The Righteousness of God Through Faith Upon All Without Difference who Believe* (1694), pp. 42–43. A second ed. of this work was publ. in 1710; maybe that is what the remark "newly published" is referring to.

In short; They forsake the *only Means* of being *Renew'd*, Releev'd, Restored, as *Repenting Sinners* use to be. No *other Means* can be proposed; No *other Sacrifice* remains, if that of our glorious CHRIST be Refused. Nor is there any other *Holy Spirit*, than that, whom they cast Contempt upon. [Compare, 1. Cor. 3.11. 2. Cor. 11.4. Heb. 10.27.] This does not exclude them absolutely from Salvation, upon their Returning to the same *Christian Principles*, which they have deserted.<sup>109</sup>

**Q.** Why is it said of the *unfruitful Earth*; *It is nigh unto Cursing*? Why not, already *cursed*? v. 8.

**A.** Unfruitful Men deserve the present *Curse* of God; yett He does not presently lay His *Curse* on them. For some time He delays their Punishment. He waits for Fruit from them. As in the Case of the *Barren Fig-tree*.<sup>110</sup>

**Q.** The watered *Earth*, which bears *Thorns & Briars*, its *End* is to *be burned*. With what *Burning*? v. 8.

**A.** The *Oxford Paraphrase*, is, Tis forsaken to be *scorched*. [Psal. 107.34.]<sup>111</sup>  
Or, The *Fruits* of it, The *Thorns*, and *Briars*, are to be *Burned*.

Briefly, when a Piece of Ground fails of its Crops, & brings forth only *Thorns* and *Briars*, or light *Straw* without *Corn*, the Manner of Husbandmen is, to kindle *Fire* upon it, and Burn it. A Church full of such Things, ha's horrible *Fires* kindled upon it, by the Vengeance of God. As for the *Briars* and *Thorns* themselves, they are thrown into eternal Burnings.<sup>112</sup>

**Q.** An *Oath* the *End of Strife*? v. 16

**A.** Lett the Passage in the Roman Law, be a Gloss upon this of the Apostle; *Dig.* 12.2, 1.

*Maximum Remedium, expediendarum Litium, in Usum venit Jurisjurandi Religio.*<sup>113</sup>

<sup>109</sup> From Abraham Woodhead, Richard Allestree, and Obadiah Walker, *A Paraphrase and Annotations upon all the Epistles of St. Paul, done by several eminent Men at Oxford* (1708), p. 387. The first ed. of 1675 was only a partial paraphrase; the 1684 ed. covered all of the Pauline epistles. The 1702 ed. included the affixed subtitle, hence it became known as the "Oxford Paraphrase." Woodhead (1609–1678) and Walker (1616–1699) were Anglican divines teaching at Oxford; both converted to Catholicism. Allestree (1619–1681) was a royalist soldier and chaplain during the Civil War; in 1663, he was made a chaplain for the king and, in 1665, Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford. He remained a loyal Anglican (ODNB).

<sup>110</sup> From *The Expiation*, p. 102.

<sup>111</sup> Woodhead, Allestree, and Walker, *A Paraphrase*, p. 387.

<sup>112</sup> This last section is a later addition from *The Expiation*, pp. 102–03.

<sup>113</sup> "A very important means for promptly disposing of litigation has come into use, the religious character of an oath." A citation from the *Digesta Iustiniani Augusti*, 12.2.1. Transl.

**Q.** On that, *For this Melchisedec?* v. 1.

**A.** It may be read, *For He* (i. e. Christ) *is the Melchisedec*. That is the Antitype of that *Melchisedec*, who was King of *Salem*.<sup>114</sup>

**Q.** Upon what Account is it said of *Melchisedec*, That he was *without Father, without Mother?* v. 3.

**A.** Because his Pedigree is unknown; which was a most significant Way of Expression to the *Jews* (as Mr. *Jenkyns* observes,) who were so careful & exact in their *Genealogies*.<sup>115</sup> But the very same Sort of Expression, is used by *Livy*. (l. 4. c. 3.) *Patre nullo, Matre Serva*.<sup>116</sup> By *Horace*: (l. 1. Sat. V.) *Nullis majoribus ortos*.<sup>117</sup> By *Seneca*; (ep. 8) *Duos Romanos Reges esse, quorum alter Patrem non habet, alter Matrem. Nam de Servii Matre dubitatur. Anci Pater nullus; Numæ nepos dicitur*.<sup>118</sup>

**Q.** Why is it said of *Melchisedech*, He was *without Descent?* v. 3.

---

adapted from *The Civil Law*, vol. 4, p. 113. The Digest (Digesta), or Pandects (Pandectae), was a part of a reduction and codification of all Roman laws up to that time, which later came to be known as the *Corpus Iuris Civilis*. The collection was ordered by the Eastern Roman emperor Justinian I in the sixth century (530–533 CE) and issued in 533 under the direction of the imperial quaestor Tribonian. It compiled the writings of the great Roman jurists along with current edicts.

<sup>114</sup> From Pyle, *A Paraphrase* (2:144).

<sup>115</sup> From Robert Jenkin, *The Reasonableness and Certainty of the Christian Religion* ([1696–1697] 1715), vol. 2, p. 55. This book was a defense of revealed religion and the fundamental dogmas of Protestant Christianity against contemporary skeptics, such as Thomas Hobbes or the English Deist Charles Blount, and against proponents of an “overconfident” rationalism, such as John Locke, whom Jenkin attacked both in *The Reasonableness* (vol. 1) and in a tract entitled *Remarks on some Books lately publish'd; viz. Basnage's “History of the Jews,” Whiston's “Eight Sermons,” Lock's Paraphrase and Notes on St. Paul's epistles, Le Clerc's “Bibliothèque Choisie* (1709). His two-volume *magnum opus* enjoyed great popularity throughout the eighteenth century and went through multiple editions; Mather probably used the fourth edition printed in 1715. The Anglican divine Robert Jenkin (bapt. 1656, d. 1727) was a prominent Anglican divine and non-juror after the Glorious Revolution who later became a Master of St. John's College, Cambridge (since 1711), as well as Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity (ODNB).

<sup>116</sup> “Nobody for his father and a bond-woman for his mother.” From Jenkin, Mather cites the work of the Roman historian Livy (Titus Livius, 59–17 BCE), *History of Rome*, 4.3.12; transl.: *LCL* 133, p. 266.

<sup>117</sup> “From ancestors of no account.” Mather cites the Roman poet Horace (Quintus Horatius Flaccus, c. 65–8 BCE), *Satires* 1.6.7–11; transl.: *LCL* 194, p. 77.

<sup>118</sup> “There were two Roman kings – one without a father and one without a mother. For we cannot settle who was Servius's mother, and Ancus, the grandson of Numa, has no father on record.” Mather refers to the Roman Stoic philosopher, Lucius Annaeus Seneca the Younger (c. 4 BCE–65 CE), *Epistles* 108.30; transl.: *LCL* 77, p. 249.



**A.** It is *not* said so! He is not said to be ἀγένητος, but, ἀγενεαλόγητος, *without any Registered Genealogy*.<sup>119</sup> By this one Word, the whole Verse appears to be a Parable, and we have the best Key to that Passage, *without Father, without Mother*.

Indeed, it is an admirable Consideration, as Dr. Grew well observes, That throughout the whole New Testament, there is not any one Instance to be mett withal, wherein the sacred Writers do not use, for to express what they intend, the most proper Words in the World.

The Jews objected, That our *Jesus* was not of the *priestly Race*. Our Apostle shewes, of *what Order* He was.

4068.

**Q.** Well, but how could *Melchisedech* be *without Father, without Mother*?

**A.** He was not so, as he was a *Man*, but as he was a *Priest*. That is to say, His Priesthood, was not like the *Levitical*, tied to come of such a *Father*, & such a *Mother*, & such a *Kindred*. The *Aaronical* Priest must have his *Father* and *Mother* of the Tribe of *Levi*. Nor, was *Melchisedech* without *Beginning of Dayes or End of Life*. But his *Priesthood* was not stinted, for to *begin* at such a Time, [at Thirty Years,] or to *end* at such a Time, [at Fifty Years,] as the *Levitical* Priesthood was. And in this, it was a brighter Type of our Saviours *Priesthood*. M. Limborch adds, It was as a *Priest*, that *Melchisedek* was *without Beginning or End*; he had neither Predecessors nor Successors; no Limits were sett unto His Priesthood.<sup>120</sup>

[▽11r–11v] [▽Insert from 11r–11v]<sup>121</sup>

**Q.** The Antiquity and Original of *Tithes*? v. 5.

**A.** *Tertullian* in his *Apologetic*, mentions the, *Decima Herculis*, paid among the Pagans.<sup>122</sup>

119 The word ἀγένητος [agenetos] signifies “uncreated, not having happened,” whereas ἀγενεαλόγητος [agenealogetos] means “of unrecorded descent.” The latter is a neologism that is used in this verse of Hebrews. ESV proposes: “He is without father or mother or genealogy.” Mather cites the work of the English physician and natural philosopher, Dr. Nehemiah Grew (1641–1712), *Cosmologia sacra: Or a Discourse of the Universe as it is the Creature and Kingdom of God* (1701), bk. 5, p. 296.

120 Much of this entry closely corresponds with *The Expiation*, pp. 117–20. Further reference is made to the work of the Dutch Arminian theologian, Philippus van Limborch (1633–1712), *Commentarius in Acta Apostolorum et in Epistolas ad Romanos et Hebraeos* (1711), p. 611. Van Limborch was a Remonstrant pastor at Gouda, and in 1667, he was transferred to Amsterdam, where, in the following year, the office of professor of theology in the Remonstrant seminary was added to his pastoral charge. He was a friend of John Locke, whose *A Letter Concerning Toleration* (1689) was likely addressed to and first published by him. His most important work is the *Institutiones theologiae christianae, ad praxin pietatis et promotionem pacis, christianae unice directae* (Amsterdam, 1686, fifth ed., 1735), transl. into English in 1702.

121 This manuscript page is attached to 11r but was clearly intended to be included here.

122 The first two paragraphs of this entry are based on annotations on Tertullian, *Apologeticus adversus gentes*, cap. 14 [PL 1. 348A; CSL 69], as available to Mather in William Reeves, *The*

Pliny in his *Natural History*, l. 12. c. 14. mentions a Law in *Arabia*, which obliged every Merchant, to offer the Tenth of his *Frankincense*, to the God *Sabis*. And, l. 12. c. 19. he reports, that the *Ethiopians*, paid their Tenth, to their God *Assabinus*.<sup>123</sup> We find in *Justin*, l. 18. c. 7. That the *Carthaginians* devoted the Tenth of their Spoils taken in the *Carthaginian War*, to *Hercules* of *Tyre*.<sup>124</sup> *Plutarch* in *Sylla*, & *Crassus*, informs us, That the Roman General *Sylla*, devoted the Tenth of all this Estate unto *Hercules*, and the same was done by *Crassus*.<sup>125</sup> A Variety of such Instances are to be seen in *Selden's History of Tithes*; c. 3.<sup>126</sup> In *Montagues Diatriba* p. 1. c. 3.<sup>127</sup> In *Spencer, De Leg. Hebr.* l. 3. c. 10.<sup>128</sup>

An Annotator on *Tertullian*, enquires, How it is possible, that Nations so remote, & who never seem to have had the least Commerce or Acquaintance with each other, should come to hitt upon the same Notion, as to Dedicate a *Tenth*, exactly, neither more nor less. This Proportion is in itself, one would think, a Thing Indifferent; and consequently, the Light of Nature discovered it not. And the Practice was too Constant, & Regular, & Universal, to be ascribed only unto Humour & Fancy, nor can it be thought with any Probability, to have spred over the World from the Jewish Nation; a Nation debarred from corresponding | with the Gentile World, and mortally hated for the Singularities [12v] of their Religion. Besides, the Custome of Dedicating a Tenth, was a Custome long before the Jews were an established People.<sup>129</sup> Wherefore, as this Gentle-

*Apologies of Justin Martyr, Tertullian, and Minutius Felix in Defence of the Christian Religion* (1709), vol. 1, pp. 226–27. The Latin phrase means “tenth of Hercules.” On the topic of tithes, compare also Mather’s entry on Gen. 14:20 (*BA* 1:896–97).

<sup>123</sup> From the work of the Roman historian and orator, Pliny the Elder (Plinius, 23/24–79 CE), *Natural History*, 12.32 and 42; transl.: *LCL* 370, p. 46 and p. 66.

<sup>124</sup> A reference to the work of the Roman historian Marcus Junianus Justinus (fl. 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. CE), *Epitoma Historiarum Philippicarum*, lib. 18, cap. 7.

<sup>125</sup> References to the work of the Hellenic Roman historian, biographer, and philosopher Plutarch (c. 45–after 120 CE), *Lives, Sulla*, cap. 35; transl.: *LCL* 80, p. 436; and *Lives, Crassus*, cap. 2; transl.: *LCL* 65, p. 316.

<sup>126</sup> A reference to John Selden’s *A History of of Tithes* (1618), ch. 3, pp. 24–35. The English polymath John Selden (1584–1654) was best known as a legal and constitutional scholar, but he also wrote important comparative studies on pagan mythology (*ODNB*).

<sup>127</sup> A reference to the work of the English cleric, Bishop of Norwich (1639), and Anglican apologist Richard Montagu (or Mountague; 1577–1641), *Diatribae upon the first part of the late History of Tithes* (1621), pt. 1. ch. 3, pp. 406–579. This book was a critical response to Selden’s work. On this debate, see Nicholas Hardy, *Criticism and Confession: The Bible in the Seventeenth Century Republic of Letters* (2017), pp. 152–81.

<sup>128</sup> A reference to John Spencer, *De legibus Hebraeorum ritualibus et earum rationibus* (1685), lib. 3, cap. 10, diss. 1 (“Morem Gentium, occasionem dedisse Legibus de Solutione Decimarum”), pp. 99–106. The work of the Cambridge Hebraist, John Spencer (1630–1693), was highly controversial in Mather’s day, for it suggested that many religious laws and customs of the Israelites did not have their origins in immediate divine revelation but had historically developed from Egyptian origins under divine providence (*ODNB*).

<sup>129</sup> See Gen. 14:20, where Abraham accords “tithes of all” to Melchizedek, “the priest of the most high God.”

man observes, It seems most Reasonable, to beleieve, That this Custome, like *Sacrifice*, & *Priesthood*, & *Marriage*, was derived from *Adam* to *Noah*, and from him continued by his Posterity to the Confusion at *Babel*, and by Means of that universal Dispersion, spred over all the World.

In the mean time, the great Quæstion, about the, *Quota Pars*,<sup>130</sup> How much of a Mans Income, is to be devoted unto *pious Uses*? Methinks, Tis here beyond all Contestation determined. A *Tenth Part* is the least, that we can bring under a more *solemn Dedication*, unto the glorious Lord; for whom indeed, after some Sort, we are to lay out our All. A Farthing less, would make an enlightened & considerate Christian, suspicious of his Coming under the Danger of a *Sacrilege*. Since there is a *Part* of every Mans *Revenues* due to the more Immediate Service of the God, who bestowes our *All* upon us, it is not fitt, that the Determination of *what Part* it must be, should be left unto such Hearts as ours. If the Lord Himself, to whom we are but *Stewards*, ha's fixed any *Part* of our usual *Revenues* for Himself, as tis most Reasonable that He should have the fixing of it, certainly a *Tenth* will be found the least that He ha's called for. Behold, an Argument, fetch'd out of the Context. The Rights of *Melchizedek* belong to our JESUS, the *Royal High-Priest* now concerned in the Heavens for us. The *Tenths* were the Rights of *Melchizedek*. Therefore the *Tenths* belong to our JESUS. My present Thoughts are, That *this Argument cannot be answered*. Go, strait-handed Christian, go, & consider of it!

[△] [△Insert ends]

**Q.** But how could it be said of *Melchisedek*, if he were a mortal Man; *It is witnessed of him, that he liveth?* v. 8.<sup>131</sup>

**A.** Tho' the Arguments of *Molinaeus* & of *Cunæus*, to prove, That *Melchisedek* was the *Messiah*, occasionally appearing unto *Abraham*, in the *Likeness*, of that *Man*, which was afterwards born of the *Virgin*, look very plausible and perswasive; yett *Heidegger* ha's abundantly answered them.<sup>132</sup>

The Notion of *Melchisedek* being *Shem*, tho' *Capellus* call it, *Nuperum Judeorum commentum*, yett it is very Ancient.<sup>133</sup> It is in the *Targum* of *Jonathan*;

<sup>130</sup> "How many parts." The following paragraph also appears with slight variations in Cotton Mather's *Bonifacius. An Essay upon the Good* (1710), ch. 9 ("Rich Men"), pp. 108–10.

<sup>131</sup> This entry is derived from the work of the Swiss Reformed theologian, Johann Heinrich Heidegger (1633–1698), *Rashe 'avot, sive de historia sacra patriarcharum exercitationes select* (1667–1671), vol. 2, exerc. 2 ("De Melchisedeco"), pp. 38–70.

<sup>132</sup> From Heidegger, p. 45, references to the work of the French Huguenot minister, Petrus Molinaeus (Pierre Du Moulin; 1568–1658), *Vates, sev De praegognitione futurorum & Bonis Malique Prophetis Libri V* (1640), lib. 4, cap. 11–16, pp. 299–322; and the work of the Dutch philologist and jurist, Petrus Cunaeus (Peter van der Kun, 1586–1638), *De republica Hebraeorum* ([1617] 1703), lib. 3, cap. 3, pp. 404–15.

<sup>133</sup> "A recent fiction of the Jews." From Heidegger, p. 56, a reference to the work of the French Hebraist and professor of theology at Saumur, Louis Capellus (1585–1658), *Chronologia Sacra a condito mundo* (1650), p. 113.

as well as that of *Jerusalem*: which as *Buxtorf* in his *Bibliotheca Rabbinica* tells us, is, *Liber antiquissimus Hebræorum omnium*; for *Jonathan* flourished before the Incarnation of our Saviour.<sup>134</sup> That which tempted the *Jewes* to this Notion, was their Aversion to the Thought of it, That a *Gentile* should be a greater Man, than their Father *Abraham*. And many *Christians*, both among the *Romanists*, as *Lyra*, *Tostaius*, *Cajetanus*, *Suarez*, *Villalpandus*, *Turniellus*, and *Boulducus*, and among the *Reformed*, as *Broughton*, *Cloppenburg*, and G. H. *Vorstius*; have espoused this Opinion.<sup>135</sup> The Refutation which old *Epiphanius* bestowes on this Opinion; (called by him, καταγέλαστος *Ridendam*,<sup>136</sup>) is what he would make the Opinion itself to be; namely, That *Shem* was now dead; the Victory of *Abraham* falling out a Thousand and Thirty Years after *Shem* came into the World. For *Shem* survived *Abraham*, at least above Twenty Years. Much better will the Opinion be refuted, by Observing; That the *Genealogy* of *Shem* is well-known. And the *Priesthood* of our Saviour would not be so diverse from the *Levitical*, if *Shem* were *Melchisedec*; for the *Levites* were descended from *Shem*. *Levi* was in the Loins of *Shem*, as well as in the Loins of *Abraham*. And so *Levi* would require and receive *Tythes*, as well as render them; if *Shem* were *Melchisedec*. Nor would a *Father* have taken *Tythes* from his own Offspring, but rather have laid up for them, and laid out on them. And what would *Shem* do, as a Prince ruling among the Sons of *Cham*? His own Son *Abraham* would not have sojourned as a Stranger in the Land, if his Father *Shem*, | had been a Ruler there. It is enough to say, That the Pen of *Moses* directed by the Spirit of God, introduces an eminent Person, in the *History*, as both a *King* and a *Priest*, unto whom the Patriarch *Abraham* offers his *Homage*, & carries away a *Blessing* from him.<sup>137</sup> And in this *History*, there is no Consideration of the Family, or Mortality, or Succession of this wonderful *Priest*. The Spirit of God would have none of those things considered in him. There was an *Illustrious Allegory*, in the *History*; and the very *Silence* in the *History* was a most *speaking Silence*. The same Spirit, enlightened the Psalmist of *Israel*, to propose and expect the *Messiah*, Psal. 110.4. As a *Priest forever*, after the Order of *Melchisedek*. The *Glories* of this our great *High-Priest*, are shadow'd out unto us, in the *History* of *Melchisedek*. The *History* is composed in such a Manner, as to lead us unto an Apprehension of these *Glories*; & unto the Abolition of the *Levitical Priesthood*, when the *Messiah* should come to bring & be our *Sacrifice*. [10v]

134 "The oldest of all the Hebrew books." From Heidegger, p. 56, a reference to the work of the famous Basel Hebraist, Johannes Buxtorf, the Elder (1564–1629), *De Abbreviaturis Hebraicis liber novus & copiosus ... Item Bibliotheca Rabbinica nova* ([1613] 1696), p. 6.

135 This list of exegetes comes from Heidegger, pp. 56–57.

136 The word καταγέλαστος [katagelastos] means "ridiculous, absurd"; the Latin "[opinionem] ridendam" is a translation. A reference to the tract on Melchizedek by the Bishop of Constantia (Salamis) in Cyprus, Epiphanius (c. 315–403 CE), in his *Panarion*, lib. 2, tom. 1, haeresis 55 [PG 41. 982. 6; *GCS* 37].

137 Here the ink changes.

The chief Difficulty in the Discourse of the Apostle on these things, is in this Clause; *of whom it is witnessed, that he liveth*. Heinsius is so perplexed with the Difficulty, that, he interprets the Clause, not of *Melchisedek*, but of *our Saviour*. And indeed, *in emphasi et rei Veritate*, it belongs to Him alone.<sup>138</sup> The *Greek Fathers* applied it, not unto the *Priest Melchisedek*, but unto the *Priesthood of Melchisedek*. But why may not we take it thus? In the Psalm, we read of our Saviour, *He is a Priest forever after the Order of Melchisedek*. *Melchisedek* is an *eternal Priest*; He that is *eternal*, most certainly *he liveth*. The *Death of Melchisedek* is no where mention'd: our *Saviour* is now to be look'd on as the true *Melchisedek*, or the Antitype of him in the Book of *Genesis*. There is a Continuation of the *Priesthood*, without the Intimation of any Mortality to interrupt it. All that was in *Melchisedek*, does *live eternally* in *our Saviour*.

After all, Sr. Norton Knatchbul is in the right of it; that the Name JESUS, in the last Verse of the foregoing Chapter, is to be Repeted here, and understood. It is not *Melchisedek*, but JESUS, of whom it is said, *of whom it is witnessed, that He liveth*. Only instead of our Word of Supply, *There he receiveth them*, lett it be supplied, *There is Hee*.<sup>139</sup>

But look back to the Illustrations on Genesis, & see me give up all.<sup>140</sup>

**Q.** Upon, *Levi's* paying Tithes in *Abraham*. v. 9, 10.

**A.** It is a Rule, That such Acts of the Parents, must be extended only to those of their Successors or Posterity, to whom the Inheritance, or some notable Portion of their Good, will descend; either for Certainty, as here in *Abrahams* Case, or at least in all Probability.<sup>141</sup>

**Q.** How is it said, *under it the People received the Law*? v. 11.

**A.** The *Greek* Word, is not, *under it*, but, *upon it*. This Particle, ἐπὶ, answers to the Hebrew, *ʾal* and it intends, *Of*, or, *About*; it denotes the Object.<sup>142</sup>

<sup>138</sup> "By emphasis and in the truth of the matter." From Heidegger, p. 68, a reference to the annotation on Heb. 5 in the work of the famous Dutch Renaissance scholar, poet, and Leiden professor Daniel Heinsius (Heins; 1580–1655), *Sacrae exercitationes ad Novum Testamentum* (1639), pp. 563–65.

<sup>139</sup> From the work of the English scholar and politician, Sir Norton Knatchbull (1602–1685), *Animadversiones in libros Novi Testamenti*, pp. 162–65; see also the English translation in *Annotations upon some Difficult Texts in all the Books of the New Testament* (1693), pp. 266–79. This part of the entry was most likely added later.

<sup>140</sup> See Mather's entries on Gen. 14:18 (*BA* 1:892–95). This remark was most likely added later.

<sup>141</sup> From *The Expiation*, p. 125.

<sup>142</sup> The preposition ἐπὶ [epi] with genitive means "upon," as Mather rightly mentions. Mather refers to the Hebrew word *ʾal* ["al] "upon, above, over" and also "with regard to" or "about." From *The Expiation*, p. 126.

**Q.** On That, *It is evident, our Lord sprang out of Judah?* v. 14.

**A.** Some have observed an Elegancy here, in so particular & emphatical a Mention of *Judah*. Look a little forward, and you will find our Saviour called, *A Surety*. It was one of the Notable Things in the History of *Judah*, that he became a *Surety* for His Brother. Our wonderful *Surety* sprang out of such an one!

**Q.** *The Law of a carnal Commandment*. Why called so? v. 16.

**A.** It refers to the particular Præcepts of the Law, which concerned the Election & Ordination of a *Priest*. The *Commandment* is called, *carnal*; because it had respect only to the *Flesh*, and considered only the *Linage*, the *Birth*, & the *Death*, of the *Priest*.<sup>143</sup>

1467.

**Q.** Why is it said, our Lord *is made a Surety of a Better Testament*: whenas a *Surety* is not used in a *Testament*; neither is our Lord properly considered as a *Surety*, in His *Testament*, but Hee is the *Testator* Himself? v. 22.

**A.** For that Cause, I concur with *Beza*, in choosing to Read it, rather, *Covenant*, than *Testament*.<sup>144</sup>

**Q.** What is meant by *saving to the uttermost?* v. 25.

**A.** It is very true, The Salvation which our *High Priest* ha's wrought out for us, is in all Points perfect and complete. But what is here principally intended by, εἰς τὸ παντελές· is, Perfection as to Time; tis as much as to say, *continually & perpetually*.<sup>145</sup>

**Q.** How is our High-Priest, *made Higher than the Heavens?* v. 26.

**A.** Dr. *Goodwin* understands it,<sup>146</sup> as, *Higher than the Angels*. The *Highness* is not meant, of *Place*, but of *personal Dignity*. *Hell* is putt for *Divels*. The *Gates of Hell*. So, *Heaven* for *Angels*. From the *Dignity* of our *High-Priest*, proceeds the Worth of the *Sacrifice* offered by Him, & the Force of His *Intercession*. (The Reverse and Reward, of Psal. 8.5.) Moreover, that apartment of the *Heavens*, into

<sup>143</sup> From *The Expiation*, p. 131.

<sup>144</sup> A reference to *Beza*, *Annotationes*, p. 517.

<sup>145</sup> The phrase εἰς τὸ παντελές [eis to panteles] primarily signifies “completely” (ESV “to the uttermost”). As Mather argues, the phrase can also mean “forever” in later Greek writings; thus the VUL already translated it with “in perpetuo” (cf. NAS “forever”). From *The Expiation*, pp. 138–39.

<sup>146</sup> Mather quotes from the work of the famous English nonconformist minister, pioneer of Congregationalism, and millennialist exegete Thomas Goodwin (1600–1680), *Christ the Mediator* (1692), bk. 6, ch. 1, in *The Work of Thomas Goodwin*, vol. 5, p. 383.

which our *High-Priest* is entred for His *Intercession*, the *Holy of Holies* there, is *Higher*, and more *Holy* {\*\*\*\*\*} *Heavens*.<sup>147</sup>

[▽12r] [▽Insert from 12r]

I will annex the Words of Mr. *Blackwal*, in his *Sacred Classicks*, upon it.

“When *Homer* has made a pompous Description of his *Jupiter* sitting in Majesty on the top of Mount *Ida*, how are all his bright & sparkling Expressions obscured and extinguished, if sett in Comparison with that very short but superlatively glorious Description of the Lord and Heir of all things; ὑψηλότερος των ουρανων· which seems to be derived from that great Original, in the Psalms, a Passage of the Divinest Poetry & Sublimity. *The Lord is High above all Nations, & His Glory above the Heavens. Who is like unto the Lord our God, who dwelleth on High!* [Psal. CXIII.4,5]<sup>148</sup>

[△] [△Insert ends]

[11r–11v inserted into their designated place]

[12r inserted into their designated place]

[12v] | [blank]

<sup>147</sup> The following insert is a small, folded-up cut-out that was glued to the bottom of the page where it partly covers the last words of the preceding entry.

<sup>148</sup> The phrase ὑψηλότερος τῶν οὐρανῶν [hypsēloteros ton ouranon] literally signifies “higher than the heavens” (ESV “exalted above the heavens,” Heb. 7:26). Mather cites the work of the English classical scholar and schoolmaster, Anthony Blackwall (1674–1730), *The Sacred Classics Defended and Illustrated, or an Essay, Humbly Offer’d Towards Proving the Purity, Propriety, and True Eloquence of the Writers of the New Testament* (1725), p. 204. Reference is made to Ps. 113:4–5.

**Q.** *This is the Summ?* v. 1.

**A.** Not merely the Breviats; but rather, the main Head, the chief Point.<sup>149</sup>

4504.

**Q.** *I Regarded them not.* If we recur to the Place, from whence these Words are taken, in the Old Testament, there they run, *I was an Husband unto them?* v. 9.

**A.** No. Dr. *Pocock* has informed us, that the Hebrew / בעל / not only signifies, *To Govern*, and to be an *Husband*; but also, to *Refuse*, to *Despise*, to *Nauseate*.<sup>150</sup>

| [blank]

[13v]

<sup>149</sup> From *The Expiation*, p. 144.

<sup>150</sup> This entry is derived from Edward Pococke, *Notae miscellaneae philologico-biblicae: Quibus Porta Mosis Sive Praefationum R. Mosis Maimonidis in libros Mischnajoth Commentariis praemissarum & a Pocockio ex Arabico Latine versarum fascis olim stipata prodiit* (1705), cap. 1, p. 2. Pococke discusses the problem that the Masoretic Hebrew of Jer. 31:32 faithfully translates as: “Which my covenant they brake, though I was a husband to them, saith the Lord” (KJV). However, the Greek translation of the LXX has καὶ γὰρ ἡμέλισηα αὐτῶν: “And I neglected them or despised them” (NETS). Heb. 8:9 seems to cite this version. Attempting to reconcile the discrepancy, Pococke argues that the Hebrew word, בַּעַל (ba’al), “to be a husband, or govern,” was etymologically connected to the Arabic word *bahal*, which signifies to refuse, curse, or despise. The implication is that the OT citation in Heb. 8:9 is not a misreading based on the LXX but a valid interpretation of the Hebrew original. On this issue, see Mather’s entry on Heb. 10:5–7. The Anglican clergymen and Oxford scholar, Edward Pococke (bapt. 1604; d. 1691), was one of the leading orientalists and biblical scholars of the period (*ODNB*).



{4\*0\*}

**Q.** Why do we read, *The first Covenant, had Ordinances of Divine Service?* v. 1.

**A.** None of the Ancients read here, διαθηκη<sup>151</sup> But many of them, as *Theodore*t and *Oecumenius*, read, σκηνη<sup>152</sup> Dr. *Whitby* takes this to be the True Reading. For, as tis observed by the Fathers, (as well by them who read, σκηνη, as by them who read only, πρώτη;) That the Apostle having proved before from the Analogy of the *Priest* and *Priesthood* of the former Covenant, that an End was putt unto the Jewish Constitutions; he proceeds now to prove the same, from the Consideration of the *Tabernacle*, which was a *Shadow of good Things to come*. And the Contexture of the Apostles Argument, seems plainly to require this Reading. For, the *Tabernacle* consisting of Two Parts, an Outward House, called, *The Holy Place*, and an Inward House, called, *The Holy of Holies*, the Apostle here calls, the Outward House, the *First Tabernacle*; and then proceeds to the Inward House as the *Second Tabernacle*.

But why is the *First Tabernacle* called, *A worldly Sanctuary*? Both the Jewes & the Fathers tell us, It was to represent this *lower World*; the *Earth* & the *Sea*, saies *Josephus*.<sup>153</sup> It was κόσμου του αισθητου συμβολον. saies *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *A Symbol of the sensitive World*.<sup>154</sup>

<sup>151</sup> From Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:92), Mather makes reference to the fact that the word διαθήκη [diatheke] “testament, covenant” is absent in the Greek text of Heb. 9:1 (*Textus Receptus*), where only ἡ πρώτη [he prote] “the first” appears, which traditionally had been interpreted by many as “the first covenant.”

<sup>152</sup> Some interpreters took the word σκηνή [skene], “tent, Yahweh’s tabernacle,” from Heb. 9:2 to supply the missing noun in Heb. 9:1 (see above); several Greek minuscules (6<sup>mg</sup> 81 104 326 etc.) actually read it so. From Whitby, Mather references the influential theologian of the School of Antioch, biblical commentator, and Christian Bishop of Cyrrhus, Theodore (c. 393–458/466), *Historia Ecclesiastica*, lib. 4, cap. 26 [PG 82. 737D] and the early Christian author of several biblical commentaries, Oecumenius Episcopus, *Commentarius in epistolam ad Hebraeos* [PG 119. 367–68]. In Mather’s period, it was still assumed that Oecumenius was a Bishop of Trikka in Thessaly writing around 990. Now it is assumed that he was active in the early seventh century or the late sixth century in Asia Minor.

<sup>153</sup> From Whitby, Mather refers to the work of the Jewish-Hellenistic historian Flavius Josephus (37/38–after 100), *Antiquities*, 3.8.

<sup>154</sup> The phrase κόσμου τοῦ αισθητοῦ σύμβολον [kosmou tou aisthetou symbolon] signifies “a symbol of the perceptible world.” From Whitby, Mather paraphrases the work of the Christian teacher and Hellenistic philosopher at the Catechetical School of Alexandria, Titus Flavius Clemens or Clemens of Alexandria (Clemens Alexandrinus, c. 150–d. before 215/221), *Stromata*, lib. 5, cap. 6 [PG 88. 64].

We may add, The Seat of the *Sanctuary* was in this *present World*, & stood in Opposition to the *Sanctuary* of the *World to come*, whereof it was a Figure and a Shadow. A *Worldly Sanctuary*, is as much as to say, A *Terrestrial*, & a *Temporary*.<sup>155</sup>

**Q.** *Divine Service?*] v. 1.

**A.** Some observe, That the Word *λατρεία*,<sup>156</sup> used here, signifies, *Worship*, and not *Service*; and that it is amiss in most Interpreters of the Sacred Scripture, to confound them. *Worship* signifies the *Reverence* paid unto God with our Bodily Gestures; as namely, by Standing up, or Bowing down, or Kneeling down, or Falling down before Him. *Service* is an Holy *Action* performed immediately unto the Honour of God; as Praying, Praising, Sacrificing. *Worship* is determined by the Law of Nature; the Light of Nature in all Ages, & all Nations, teaches Men how to express their due *Reverence* to the Divine Majesty. But for *Service*, God ha's made special Providence in His Word; Men must not *serve* God after their own Will & Pleasure, but according to His. But both of these are so connected, that the Right of the one cannot be separated from the other. Where *Cultus doulie* is granted, *Cultus latriæ* will be so too.<sup>157</sup>

627.

**Q.** The Apostle, speaking about, *The Ark* of the Covenant, saies, *There were in it the golden Pott, that had Manna, and Aarons Rod that Budded, and the Tables of the Covenant?* Whereas, wee read, in 1. King. 8.9. *There was nothing in the Ark, save the Tables of Stone*. How will you Reconcile this Discrepancy? v. 4.

**A.** Learned Men, have often reckoned this, among the, *Insolubilia S. Scripture*:<sup>158</sup> and it is very True, that the *Solutions* commonly given of it, are very *Insufficient*. *Theophylact*, long ago, saies, That tho' there was at first nothing in the *Ark*, but the Two Tables, yett it may bee afterwards the Pott of *Manna* and Rod of *Aaron* were putt into it; which the Apostle might learn, from a Tradition of the Jewes.<sup>159</sup> But it is very unlikely: If they were not There, in *Solomons* Time, who can think of any such thing, afterwards occuring, to bee by the Apostle referr'd unto? And yett no less Men than *Alting* and *Ursinus*, & several others,

<sup>155</sup> The last paragraph is derived from Knatchbull, *Annotations*, pp. 279–80.

<sup>156</sup> The word *λατρεία* [latreia] signifies “service, divine worship.” From *The Expiation*, p. 156.

<sup>157</sup> According to Catholic tradition, “cultus latriæ” is the highest worship due to God alone, while the “cultus douliae” refers to forms of veneration which may be offered to saints or martyrs.

<sup>158</sup> “Insoluble mysteries of Sacred Scripture.”

<sup>159</sup> A reference to the Byzantine Archbishop of Ohrid (Bulgaria) and biblical commentator, Theophylactus (ca.1055–after 1107), *Expositio in Pauli epistolas: Ad Hebræos*, at Heb. 9:4 [PL 124. 237–38].

under the Conduct of *Theophylact*, say, That after the Days of *Solomon*, both *Golden Pott* and *Aarons Rod*, were putt into the *Ark*.<sup>160</sup>

*Drusius* more lately, hoped that *εν η* here, does refer unto *σκηνη*, and not unto *κιβωτος*:<sup>161</sup> which does indeed fully assoil the Difficulties,<sup>162</sup> if you can allow that *εν η* hath reference to a Word so far off, when there is another nearer to it, whereto it may agree. This Consideration caused him, to quitt that Answer; and find out another: namely, That /*ב*/ which is rendred *In*, signifies here, *Ad, Propè, Juxtà*, so that it is here asserted, That those things only stood *Near the Ark*: And yett This, hee afterwards, confesses to bee Too *Forced*.<sup>163</sup>

Wherefore a learned Man,<sup>164</sup> makes a fresh Attempt, for Accommodation; and that is This. The *Ark* is taken *strictly*, in the Text, of the *Kings*; but it is taken *largely*, in this to the *Hebrewes*. As the *Ark* signified the principal Division or Apartments of it, it had nothing in it, but the *Tables*; Hence the *Ark* had its Denomination from them, *The Ark of the Covenant*. But as the *Ark* did also comprehend, the whole Body of it, with all its Boxes, Receptacles & Concavities it contained in it, those other things, the Pot of *Manna* and the Rod of *Aaron*. Briefly These were in it, if, by the *Ark* you understand the whole sacred *Chest*; but not in it, if you understand thereby only that eminent Part of it, which gave a Name unto the Whole.

Dr. *Whitby* observes, from *Noldius*, that the Particle, *εν*, signifies, *Cum, Ad, Propè, Juxtà*.<sup>165</sup> And this Exposition agrees well, with the Tradition of the

160 Reference is made to Jacob Alting's *Praelectiones ad Epistolam Hebraeos* at Heb. 9:4 in *Opera omnia* (5 vols., 1685–1687), vol. 4, pp. 247–53. Born in Heidelberg as the son of the famous Reformed divine Heinrich Alting (1583–1644), Jacob Alting (1618–1679) was a professor of Oriental languages and theology at the University of Groningen. One of the most renowned Christian Hebraists of his day, Alting was also a follower of Johannes Cocceius and became embroiled in the controversies with the *Voetians* (*RGG*). Mather also refers to the famous Heidelberg theologian Zacharias Ursinus (1534–1584), principal author of the Heidelberg Catechism. He likely cites Ursinus's commentary on Heb. 9 in *Opera theologica* (1612), vol. 2, pp. 1645–46.

161 The phrase *ἐν ἣ* [en he] “in which (feminine singular)” opens a relative clause, whose antecedent should be—according to Drusius—*σκηνή* [skene] “tent, tabernacle” and not the *κιβωτός* [kibotos] “box/chests, the ark of Moses” (LXX). Reference is made to the annotation on Heb. 9:4 by the Flemish exegete and orientalist, Johannes Drusius (Jan van den Driessche, 1550–1616), contained in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (6:4251).

162 Mather here uses the verb “assoil” in the archaic sense of “to clear up, solve, or resolve” (*OED*).

163 Hebrew *ב* [b] meaning “in, at, (near)by.” This is also the meaning of the Latin prepositions.

164 Mather here seems to draw on Johannes Buxtorf the Younger, *Exercitationes ad historiam I. arcae foederis, II. ignis sacri et coelestis, III. Urim et Thummim, IV. Mannae, V. petrae in deserto, VI. serpentis aenei* (1659), cap. 5, pp. 70–77.

165 The preposition *ἐν* [en] has many meanings, including “in, on, within” (*BDAG*), which Mather gives in Latin: “cum” (“with”), “ad” (“at”), “prope/iuxta” (“by,” “near,” “within the range of”).

Jewes.<sup>166</sup> Buxtorf tells us from the *Talmuds*, That there were *Capsulas* about the *Ark*, for the Uses aforesaid.<sup>167</sup> Maimonides | tells us, There was a *Stone*, in the west [14v] Part of the *Holy of Holies*, on which the *Ark* was placed, and before it, the *Pott of Manna*, and the *Rod of Aaron*. Moses Mikkotsi saies the same; and Abarbinel confirms the Tradition.

Q. But how is it said, *The Holiest of all had the golden Censer?* v. 4.

A. The *golden Altar*; for the frame of it, was an *Altar*; but for the Use of it, a *Censer*; and therefore here called so. This was indeed in the *Holy Place*, or the First Tabernacle; but it was placed close up to the Veil, which parted the *Holiest of all*, or the Second Tabernacle, from the First; and the Incense burnt thereon, was principally to perfume the Second; therefore it is here said, the *Sanctum Sanctorum* had it.<sup>168</sup>

Q. On the *High-Priest*, entring the *most Holy Place*, *once* in a Year? v. 7.

A. It must be interpreted of, but *one Day* in the Year: Tho' on the same Day, he entred *Three*, or perhaps *Four* times; as tis evident from *Leviticus*.<sup>169</sup>

4507.

Q. What is meant by, *The Time of Reformation?* v. 10.

A. The Coming of the *Messiah*.

Tis Remarkable, That at the Coming of the *Messiah*, the Jewes themselves do expect a *Reformation of the Law*. They have a Saying, *That the Law which was learned in that Age, was Vanity, in respect of the Law of the Age to come*. That is, as the Gloss upon Eccles. 11.8. ha's it; *In respect of the Law of the Messiah*. And then, they say, *The Law will be Renewed*. For, saies the Author of *Sepher Ikkarim*, our Doctors declare, *That all Israel shall receive a second Law from the Mouth of*

166 Whitby, *A Paraphrase and Commentary* (2:93). Whitby refers to the work of the Danish divine and Hebraist, Christianus Noldius (Christian Nolde, 1626–1683), professor of theology at the University of Copenhagen, *Concordantiae particularum ebraeo chaldaicarum* (1679), pp. 144–45. See Appendix A.

167 From Whitby, Mather again refers to Buxtorf, *Exercitationes*, cap. 5, p. 72, who cites the work of the great Jewish philosopher and biblical and talmudic scholar, Moses ben Maimon (Maimonides, acronym: Rambam, 1135–1204), *Mishneh Torah*, *Avodah* (bk. 8, “The Book of Temple Services”), Tractate *Beit Habechirah* (“The Temple”), ch. 4, Halachah 1 (Lewittes, p. 17); and *Sefer Mitzvoth Gadol* (first printed 1488) of R. Moses ben Jacob Kotzensis or R. Moses ben Jacob of Coucy (fl. 1240), a French Tosafist and authority on Halakha; and Abravanel in *Mikraoth Gedoloth*, *Kings*, pp. 87–88 at 1 Kings 8:9. The Hebrew original *Mishneh Torah* (completed in 1182) is an extensive compendium of Jewish law, which includes many philosophic-theological deliberations. It has continued to be one of the most important Jewish legal sources until today (*TRE*).

168 From *The Expiation*, p. 158.

169 Cf. Lev. 16:2, 29. From Owen, *A Continuation*, p. 334, who draws on Grotius in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (6:4269).

*God immediate, as formerly.*<sup>170</sup> And this all prove, as our Apostle does, from Jer. 31. 31, 32, 33.

**Q.** How is it said of the *greater Tabernacle*; It is *not of this Building*? v. 11.

**A.** It belongs not to the Class of the visible Creation. It is not to be reckoned in the Number of the visible Creatures.<sup>171</sup>

**Q.** For what *Cause*? v. 15.

**A.** *Δια τουτο* *By this Blood.*<sup>172</sup>

**Q.** *Blood with Water.*] Why mingled with *Water*? v. 19.

**A.** The *Blood*, was mingled with *Water*, that it might without growing stiff, the more easily be *sprinkled*.<sup>173</sup>

But here was a Mystery, relating to the Coming & the Dying of our Saviour. Compare, 1. Joh. 5.6.

**Q.** It is said, *Moses took the Blood of Calves & of Goats, & Water, & scarlet Wool, & Hyssop, & sprinkled both the Book, & all the People.* A famous, & a wicked Jew,<sup>174</sup> has most wickedly cavilled against these Words of our Apostle; For the Apostle refers to Exod. 24.7, 8. Where we have nothing of the *Water*, of the *Wool*, and of the *Hyssop*; nor was the *Book sprinkled* with the *Blood*, but only upon the People, (or, as our Jew saies, upon the {*All*} for the Cleansing of the *People*;) Nor the *Blood of Calves & of Goats*, but only of *Bulls*, there mentioned? v. 19.

<sup>170</sup> From Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:94), Mather references the *Midrash Rabbah*, *Ecclesiastes*, at 11:8 (Soncino, p. 295), and the work of the Spanish rabbi and philosopher Joseph Albo (c. 1380–1444) *Sefer ha-Ikkarim* (“Book of Principles”), ch. 19. For a German transl., see *Buch Ikkarim: Grund- und Glaubenslehren der Mosaischen Religion* (1844), p. 310.

<sup>171</sup> See *The Expiation*, p. 167.

<sup>172</sup> From Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:95). The phrase *διὰ τοῦτο* [*dia tauto*] means “therefore or thereby.” The blood of Christ is mentioned in the preceding verse of Heb. 9:14. Thus, Mather refers this neuter pronoun back to the word blood (*τὸ αἷμα* [*to haima*], likewise neuter).

<sup>173</sup> From Pyle, *A Paraphrase* (2:258).

<sup>174</sup> This entry is drawn from Kidder, *A Demonstration of the Messiah*, part 3, ch. 7, p. 74. In the third part of his *Demonstration*, Kidder engages with the criticism of Christianity put forth by a Jacob Aben Amram in a manuscript work titled *Porta Veritatis, sive compendiaria at beatitudinem*, which points out numerous purported inconsistencies and problems in the New Testament writings. On Heb. 9:19, the *Porta* argues, according to Kidder, that the Apostle’s suggestion that Moses “sprinkled the book” is “both *false* and *foolish*,” as this citation twisted the meaning of Ex. 24:7. Written around 1634, the *Porta* was never published. Following Kidder’s own identification, it has been generally assumed that Amram was a pseudonym taken by the famous Amsterdam rabbi, Manasseh ben Israel (1604–1657), who traveled to England in the mid-1650s to negotiate the re-entry of Jews into England. Manasseh is said to have sold the manuscript to the Cambridge Hebraist, Ralph Cudworth (1617–1688), who then bequeathed it to Kidder in 1688. Kidder’s copy is now in Balliol College Library. See David S. Katz, *Philosemitism and the Readmission of the Jews to England, 1603–1655* (1982).

A. *Moses* (who did it), as well as *Paul*, saies, That the *People* were *sprinkled*; If the *Representatives* of the *People* were so, that is enough. Tho' the *Water*, & the *Wool*, and the *Hyssop* are not mentioned for that particular Action in *Exodus*, yett we find all those things mention'd elsewhere, when a *Sprinkling* of this Nature was called for. But as for the *Sprinkling of the Book*, if we examine the Matter a little more thoroughly, we shall not find our Apostle affirming, That *Moses* did *sprinkle the Book*. The Words of the Apostle, may be exactly thus translated; *Taking the Blood of Calves and Goats, with Water & scarlet Wool, & Hyssop, and the Book, he sprinkled all the People*. The αὐτο τε το βιβλιον, will admirably well refer to λαβων, as is well observed by Dr. Kidder.<sup>175</sup> And this perfectly agrees with what we read in *Exodus*; where tis said, That *Moses* TOOK the BOOK. The καὶ before παντα, is Redundant, as it is very commonly in other Places.<sup>176</sup> The *Vulgar Latin* seems to countenance our Translation; *Accipiens Sanguinem Vitulorum et Hircorum, cum Aqua, et Lana coccinea, et Hyssopo, ipsum quoque Librum, et omnem Populum aspersit*.<sup>177</sup> *Librum* here may refer to *Accipiens*; and, *et*, which appears as a *Copulative*, may be no more than an *Expletive*. And then, what tho' *Moses* does not expressly mention the *Blood of Calves and Goats*? There is all the reason imaginable to beleieve, That *Sin-Offerings* did accompany the *Peace-Offerings* then used. (We expressly find, it was the Manner to join them, Lev. 9.3, 4. and Lev. 8. and Chap. 14. 7, and 52.) Especially when, the *People* for whom the Oblation was made, were to be cleansed. Now there was the *Blood of Goats* in the *Sin-Offerings*, as well as of *Calves* (or *Bullocks*) in the other. (Lev. 4.23, 24. Ch. 9.3. Ch. 16.15.)

In fine, our Apostle professes to Tell, what was *Done* by *Moses*, not what was *Writt* by him. And if he had hereupon inserted the *commom Tradition* of his Countreymen about it, it were impossible for any of them, at this time of Day to confute them.

| <sup>178</sup>

[15r]

<sup>175</sup> From the viewpoint of modern biblical studies, Kidder's argument seems problematic. Grammatically, the phrase αὐτό τε τὸ βιβλίον (καὶ) [auto te to biblion (kai)] "both the book itself (and)" in Heb. 9:15 cannot refer to λαβὼν (λαμβάνω [lambano] "take, catch"). The conjunction "τε . . . καὶ.. (both)" closely connects "the book" and "the people" as objects that are being sprinkled. Still, the question remains what the sprinkled book might refer to. Some modern exegetes explain that the book symbolizes the altar in Ex. 24:6.

<sup>176</sup> Greek καί [kai] means "and"; πᾶς [pas] "all, every."

<sup>177</sup> VUL: "[lecto enim omni mandato legis a Mose universo populo] accipiens sanguinem vitulorum et hircorum cum aqua et lana coccinea et hysopo ipsum quoque librum et omnem populum aspersit." DRA has: "[For when every commandment of the law had been read by Moses to all the people,] he took the blood of calves and goats, with water, and scarlet wool and hyssop, and sprinkled both the book itself and all the people . . ." Mather suggests as a translation: "Taking the blood of calves and goats, with water and scarlet wool and hyssop, and the book, he sprinkled all the people." To support this solution, he interprets the "et" before "omnem populum" as a grammatical expletive.

<sup>178</sup> See Appendix B.

**Q.** Why must the *Heavenly Things themselves*, be *purified with Sacrifices*? v. 23.

**A.** Tis true, the Heavenly World was never polluted.

But the *Heavenly Sanctuary* must by the *Sacrifice* of our Saviour be so consecrated, that an Access is thereby opened for us into it; and as we may say, *Dedicated for our Use* hereafter. The *Tabernacle* of old, must undergo such a *Consecration*, before it was Open and *Free for the Use* of Men; because of an *Uncleanness* imputed thereto. But it is our *Uncleanness* that must be taken away, before a Right and Use of the Heavenly Sanctuary can be granted us. This, by an Abusion common in Speeches, where Comparisons are carried on, is called, *A Purifying of the Heavenly Things themselves*. It may be added, That by the Access of sinful Men, who are called by the Gospel, to take Possession of the Kingdome of Heaven, it seems to be polluted. This is what our Saviour seems to express in other Terms, Matth. XI.12. *The Kingdome of Heaven suffereth Violence, & the Violent take it by Force*. As of old, the Tabernacle must be expiated, under the apprehension of its being *polluted* by the Sins of the *unclean People*, who lived round about it; Thus (as my Nameless Author expresses it) “Christ restored Heaven to its due Honour, when He offered Himself there unto God, & thereby took Order, that Men guilty of Sins, having first deposed their Sins by a lively Faith and Repentance, might not be thought unworthy of Heaven.”<sup>179</sup>

[15v]

**Q.** On that, *After Death Judgment*? v. 27.

**A.** The Hebrews, in *Midras Ruth*, suppose a Man after Death, demanding a further Space of Repentance, and saying, *Sinite me, ut eam et Resipiscam*. But there is this Answer given him.<sup>180</sup>

*Stultissime hominum; Nonnè nosti hunc Mundum* (the World of Souls,) *similem esse Sabbato*, (in quo Hebræis non licuit parare cibos,) *Mundum autem ex quo venisti, similem esse Vesperis Sabbati? Si homo non parat in Vesperis Sabbati, quid comedet in Sabbato? Prætereà, Mundus hic similis est Mari; Mundus autem ex quo venisti, similis est Aridæ. Si quis non parat in Aridà, quid comedet in Mari? Adhæc, Mundus hic similis est Deserto; et Mundus ex quo venisti similis Terræ quæ habitatur. Si quis non parat in Terra quæ habitatur, quid comedet in Deserto?*<sup>181</sup>

<sup>179</sup> From *The Expiation*, p. 190.

<sup>180</sup> “Allow me, that I may go and become reasonable.”

<sup>181</sup> “You most stupid person. Don’t you know that this world (the World of Souls) is like the Sabbath (on which it was not allowed for the Jews to prepare food), but the world out of which you have come, is like the eves of the Sabbath? If man does not prepare anything on the eves of the Sabbath, what will he eat on the Sabbath? Furthermore, this world is like the sea. However, the world out of which you have come is like the dry land. If you do not prepare anything while on the dry land, what will you eat out on the sea? In addition, this world is like the desert, and the world out of which you have come is like the habitable land. If you do not prepare anything in the habitable land, what will you eat in the desert?” This entry is drawn

**Q.** The *second Appearance* of our Saviour, how is it said to be, *without Sin*? v. 28.

**A.** It may be taken for an, *Offering for Sin*. When our Saviour appears the *second time*, it will not be as a *Sin-Offering*: But it may also signify, That there shall then be not more Guilt of *Sin*, on the People of God.

The *High-Priest* of old, went into the Holy Place, to take away *Sin*; and returned from thence *without Sin*; for He had now by His Offering taken it away.

Our Saviour appearing in the Presence of God in Heaven, ha's abolished the Guilt of our *Sin*; He will now Return from thence, & Appear unto His People, to give them the Effect of their having their Guilt removed from them.

The People of God, are here compared, unto the People of *Israel*, without the Tabernacle, expecting the High-Priest, after their Manner, *unto Salvation*; that he having obtained the Remission of their Sins, they might hear his Benediction in the Name of God upon them.<sup>182</sup>

---

from Cartwright, *Mellificium Hebraicum*, lib. 3, as printed in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (8:1351–52). Transl. adapted from *Midrash Rabbah, Ruth*, p. 45.

<sup>182</sup> From *The Expiation*, pp. 201–02.



**Q.** In Psal. 40.6. the Psalmist, in Type of our Saviour, sais, *Mine Ears hast thou Opened, or Digged*; why do's the Apostle, render it, *A Body hast thou prepared for mee?* v. 5.

**A.** Lett it bee considered, That the Hebrew Word, signifies, *To prepare*, as well as, *To pierce*.<sup>184</sup> And lett it bee Remembered, That the *Boring of the Ear* with an Awl, was of *Mosaical* Institution, for such *Israelites*, who having served *six* Years with their *Brethren-Masters*, were willing to continue in that State of Servitude, until Death Freed them. By which *Boring of an Ear*, the Servant as it were took on him a New Political *Body*, whereof, being thus Inaugurated, hee could not bee divested, until hee Dy'd.

Our Lord thus took on Him, the *Form of a Servant*; It was on the brink of the *seventh Day*, at the Creation, that this *Righteous Servant* of God, was discovered, as undertaking to purchase our Blessedness.<sup>185</sup>

**Q.** How could it be said by *David*, *Lo I come, (in the Volumn of the Book it is written of me) to do thy Will?* v. 7

**A.** I find an Expositor on this Epistle, writing to this Purpose.

The Greek intimates a particular *Chapter*. Now lett us enquire, what *Chapter* it may be. Certainly, it must be that, wherein the very thing is handled, which *David* said, he *came to do*; namely, the Will of God. But where is it said, That *David* must *do the Will of God*? It is where the *Kings* of the People of God are commanded so to do. Now this you find, in Deut. XVII.14. – to the End.

In a peculiar Way was *David* ordained by God Himself to be the *First King* over His People; & the Kingdome was to remain with His Posterity. It is not written of him as *David*, but it is written of him, as a *King*. In this, he was an admirable Type of our Saviour. Him we may look upon, as even by Name so

<sup>183</sup> There are traces of seal wax on the margins of this page, suggesting that an insert was at one point attached to it, which, however, is no longer extant.

<sup>184</sup> Ps. 40:6 has לִי אָזְנַימִם כָּרִיתָ לִי [ʾoznayim karita li]: “my ears you have opened” (NIV). But many manuscripts of the LXX (incl. Codices Vaticanus and Alexandrinus) have: σώμα δὲ κατεργασέω σοι (“but a body have you prepared me”), which is referenced in Heb. 10:5. Again, Mather, following Whitby, is attempting to reconcile the discrepancy, arguing that the Hebrew word in question כָּרִיתָ [karita] from כָּרָה [karah] means not only “dig, open, pierce” but, because of the association with enslavement, could also be understood as “prepare,” in the sense of making somebody ready for servitude. Interestingly, Whitby freely acknowledges that the NT text here cites the LXX, while arguing that the LXX-translators, perhaps under divine inspiration, came up with an interpretation of Ps. 40:6 that was linguistically sound and fitting the new context. Mather, on the other hand, does not mention the LXX. See also the annotation below.

<sup>185</sup> From Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:102–03).

written of. The *King* of the People of God, must be obedient unto the Will of God. This is the Thing *written* of him. Our Blessed JESUS, is the *King* of His People. He therefore comes to Obey and Answer the Law. The Will of God, relating to an *expiatory* Sacrifice, was one of the Things, whereon the Law was to be answered.<sup>186</sup>

966.

**Q.** When the Words of the Psalmist, *mine Ears hast thou Bored*, are by the Apostle rendred, *A Body hast thou prepared for mee*: Is it not that so hee might conform, to the Reading of the *Septuagint*? v. 5, 6, 7.

**A.** I am glad of this Occasion, to give you once for all, an *Observation*, shall I call it? Or, an *Admonition*, of no little Consequence.

Wee have in our Hands, a Greek Translation of the *Old Testament*, which, they (falsely) Report, was made by *Seventy Two* Interpreters.<sup>187</sup> And there are in the *New Testament*, several Quotations out of the Old, which wee now find more Agreeable to the *present Septuagint*, than unto the *Hebrew Original*. Hence many Exquisite and Accurate Criticks, imagine the *Hebrew Original* to be corrupted, & go to Reform it by the *present Septuagint*. This now is a great Wrong, most rashly done to the Oracles of God. It was for more glorious Ends, than that of Agreeing with a *Fallacious & Erroneous*, Translation, that the Holy Spirit of God, cited Things from the Old Testament, in other Words than they were first written in. It may be proved, That some of the Primitive Christians, *Hundreds* of Years after the Writing of the New Testament, altered the *Septuagint* in many of those Places which the New Testament quotes out of the Old, & putt in the Words of the New Testament, which were not there before it. It is easy to assign the *Cause* of their doing so; and for the *Proof* of it, I need only bring this very Instance, that is now before us. In the Hebrew tis, *my | Ears hast thou bored*. In the Septuagint, it is, *A Body hast thou prepared for mee*. Well, And so tis in the New Testament. Some Divines will now make no Bones to tell you, *The Apostle took his Words out of the Seventy, & the Seventy did not Read the Original, as wee do, in our Dayes*. But this is a Wrong to the Holy Pages. No, T'was the *Spirit* of God that made that Paraphrase, by the Apostle on the Psalmist; and you shall find in *Jeroms* Works, and even in *Jeroms* Dayes, that the *Seventy* did not so Read the Words, as now they do: The *New Testament* by no means did *conform* to the *Seventy*, but somebody did more lately *Reform* the *Seventy* by the *New Testament*.<sup>188</sup>

[16v]

<sup>186</sup> From *The Expiation*, pp. 214–16.

<sup>187</sup> “(falsely)” was added later.

<sup>188</sup> Mather’s argument here is similar to that of John Owen in *Exercitationes on the Epistle to the Hebrews*, exerc. 5 (“Testimonies Cited by the Apostle out of the Old Testament”), pp. 51–53. Owen argues against Louis Capell (see his 1650 *Critica Sacra*, esp. pp. 489–558) and other critics, who assumed that a) given the many discrepancies between the Hebrew Bible and the LXX translation, there must have been a Hebrew original that diverged in many places from the now canonical Masoretic text, suggesting that in ancient times there was a variety of copies that

As for the Occasion of this Translation; when the Psalmist says, *mine Ears hast thou bored*, it means, that He was to become the *perpetual Servant* of GOD. It is very Natural & Obvious to find a *Body præpared* here; because the *Body* of the Servant was no longer his own, but his Masters: which was the very thing implied in the *Boring of the Ear*.<sup>189</sup>

1711.

**Q.** The Christian Religion, here acknowledges an *High-Priest*, who saves us, by the *Sacrifice* of Himself: Is there any thing in *Judaism*, to countenance it? v. 14.

**A.** The modern *Jewes* wholly deny this main Article of the *Christian Religion*. But *Philo*, that learned *Jew*, in his Book, *De Exilibus*, ha's this wonderful Passage:

*By Tradition, wee have it (saith hee) that wee must expect the Death of an High Priest, which Priest shall bee the very Word of God, void of all Sin; His Father shall bee God, and this Word shall bee the Fathers Wisdome, by which all things in this World were created.*<sup>190</sup>

Behold, the whole *Christian Religion*, dropt from the Pen of a *Jew*, all at once!

[▽17r] [▽Insert from 17r]<sup>191</sup>

**Q.** On that, *Their Sins and Iniquities will I remember no more?* v. 17.

**A.** There shall be *one* perfect and compleat Atonement made for them.<sup>192</sup>

---

differed in many places; or b) that all of the OT references in the Pauline letters were derived from the LXX. Against this, Owen argued that the Apostle was not always citing the LXX when referencing the OT: In most citations, Paul, under the direction of the Holy Spirit, “varieth from it, either in the use of his own Liberty, or in the more exact rendring of the Original Text.” And where there was an exact congruence of words between Paul’s OT citations and the LXX, and where both were departing from the Masoretic text in exactly the same way, as in the case of Heb. 8:9 or 10:5, this was to be explained as follows: Paul was “reporting the sense and importance of the places in words of his own, [and] the Christian Transcribers of the Greek Bible inserted his expressions into the Text, either as judging them a more proper Version of the Original, whereof they were ignorant, than that of the LXX, or out of a preposterous zeal to take away the appearance of a diversity between the text and the Apostles citation of it. And thus in those Testimonies where there is a real variation from the Hebrew original, the Apostle took not his words from the Translation of the LXX, but his words were afterwards inserted into that Translation.” For similar reflections on these discussions, see also the work of the French Catholic ecclesiastical historian Louis Ellies Du Pin (1657–1719), *A Compleat History of the Canon and Writers of the Books of the Old and New Testament* (1699), vol. 1, ch. 6, sect. 7, pp. 190–92. Whitby, by contrast, argued that “the Apostle did not change the Translation of the *Septuagint*” (2:103). The reference to Jerome is probably to his letter to Augustine, Epistola CXII, 19–22 [PL 22. 928–31].

<sup>189</sup> This last paragraph seems to have been added later. It appears to be derived from *The Expiation*, p. 211. See also Kidder, *A Demonstration of the Messiah*, pt. 2, ch. 4, pp. 90–92.

<sup>190</sup> A reference to Philo of Alexandria, *Of Flight and Finding*, 108–09; transl.: LCL 275, pp. 68–69.

<sup>191</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>192</sup> From Pyle, *A Paraphrase* (2:264).

4108.

**Q.** We read of, *A New and Living Way, consecrated for us, thro' the Veil, that is to say, the Flesh of our Lord.* How are we to understand it? v. 20.

**A.** The Way into the *Third Heaven*, was, Αβατος (as *Josephus* calls it,) *unpassable*.<sup>193</sup> There was no Entrance for us into it, until our *Fore-runner had entered* into it, & until He had *prepared* it for us, by His *Better Sacrifice*. This, as Dr. *Whitby* observes, was the Doctrine of all the Primitive Christians; That our Saviour by His Death opened this *Veil* for the Just, that were from *Adam*, αποκλεισμενοι, (tis old *Cyrils* Word) *excluded* from those Blessed Regions.<sup>194</sup> διέσχισε πραγμον τον εξ αιωνος μη σχισθεντα. *rent open the Enclosure, which from the Beginning had not been laid open*: Tis the Expression of another in *Eusebius*.<sup>195</sup> Hence *Tertullian* saies, The Patriarchs were, *Dominicæ Resurrectionis appendices*; The Appendants of our Lords Resurrection.<sup>196</sup>

The Flesh, or Body, of our Saviour, broken on the Cross, and so letting out the Blood that procures our Entrance, into the *Holy of Holies*, as the Blood, the High Priest carried with him, did procure this Entrance: This was the Veil, which till it was Rent, we could not enter there.

Tis called, *A living Way*. That is, as *Grotius* glosses it, ζωοποιησαν, *leading to Life*, and, *giving of Life*.<sup>197</sup> Our Saviour *Dyed* for us, that we might *Live* thro' Him. [1. Joh. 4.9.] *Bread* that *gives Life*, is called, *living Bread*.

I add, Here may be a reference to the Holy Places under the Law. The *Way* into them was a *Deadly Way*. It was *Death* for any Man to enter them, except the High-Priest; and He but once a Year.<sup>198</sup>

[△Insert ends]

[△]

| [blank]

[17v]

<sup>193</sup> From ἄβατος [abatos] “untrodden, impassable.” This entry is derived from Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:106–07). Via Whitby, Mather cites Josephus, *Antiquities*, 3.123; transl.: *LCL* 242, p. 374.

<sup>194</sup> Perf. participle of ἀποκλείω [apokleio] “shut up, excluded from.” From Whitby, a citation from Cyril of Alexandria (Cyrillus Alexandrinus, c. 375–444 CE), Bishop of Antioch and an important theologian in the christological discussion of the Council of Ephesus (431 CE), *De adoratione et cultu in Spiritu et veritate*, cap. 17 [PG 68. 1076].

<sup>195</sup> From Whitby, Mather offers a viable translation of the phrase διέσχισε πραγμὸν τὸν ἐξ αἰῶνος μὴ σχισθέντα [dieschise phragmon ton ex aionos me schisthenta], citing the church historian and Bishop, Eusebius of Caesarea (Eusebius Pamphili, after 260–c. 337/40 CE), *Historia ecclesiastica*, 1.13 [PG 20. 123. 78; SC 31]. Mather misspelled “φραγμόν” (‘φ’ with ‘π’).

<sup>196</sup> Mather cites Tertullian, *De anima*, cap. 55 [PL 2. 744A]. A less literal translation would be “in the retinue of the Lord’s resurrection,” *ANF* (3:4867).

<sup>197</sup> From ζωοποιέω [zoopoio] “make alive, preserve alive.” See Grotius in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (6:4310).

<sup>198</sup> This paragraph was added later.

[▽18r–18v] [▽Insert from 18r–18v]<sup>199</sup>

I will annex the Words of Dr. *Tho. Sherlock* on this Matter.<sup>200</sup>

“Allowing the Maxim of the Jewish Church to have been good from the First Institution of *Sacrifice*, *That without Blood there is no Remission*, the Case may possibly be This. *Abel* came a Petitioner for Grace & Pardons & brought the *Atonement* appointed for Sin. *Cain* appears before GOD as a *Just Person wanting no Repentance*: he brings an *Offering* in Acknowledgment of GODs Goodness & Bounty; but no *Atonement* in Acknowledgment of his own Wretchedness. The Expostulation of GOD with *Cain* favours, *If thou dost well, shalt thou not be accepted? And if thou dost not well, Sin liveth at thy Door*: i. e. If thou art Righteous, thy Righteousness shall save thee; If thou art not, by what Expiation is thy Sin purged? It lieth still at thy Door.

– What could this *Faith* (of *Abel*) be, but a Reliance on the Promises & ApPOINTMENTS of GOD; which Faith *Cain* wanted, relying on his own *Well-doing*.”

[△] [△Insert ends]

[18v] | [blank]

[resumed on 16v]

**Q.** *Not Forsaking the Assembling of ourselves together?* v. 25.

**A.** One thus paraphrases it. “Keep close to Christ, as the *Chickens* do to the *Hen* that clucks them. Such an Allusion there seems to be in the Original. *ἐπισυναγωγῇ*.”<sup>201</sup>

4244

**Q.** How may one understand that Passage, which ha’s driven so many poor Sinners to Desperation: *If we Sin willfully, after that we have received the Truth there remains no more Sacrifice for Sins; But a certain fearful Looking for of Judgment?* v. 26, 27.

**A.** The Word, *ἐκουσιως*, most properly signifies, *willingly*. So *Beza* translates it, *ultrò*.<sup>202</sup> And what Man is there that sins not *so*? Nay, No Man ever sins, but it is in a Measure *so*.

<sup>199</sup> This small separate cut-out was at one time attached to the bottom margin of [16v] but subsequently came loose.

<sup>200</sup> From the work of the Church of England theologian and Bishop of Bangor and Salisbury, Thomas Sherlock (1678–1761), *The Use and Intent of Prophecy in the several Ages of the World* (1725), vol. 1, disc. 3, pp. 84–85.

<sup>201</sup> The word *ἐπισυναγωγῇ* [episynagoge] means “gathering/being gathered together, meeting.” Similarly, Gouge, *Commentary on the Whole Epistle to the Hebrews* (2:343).

<sup>202</sup> The word *ἐκουσιως* [hekousios] signifies “willingly, deliberately,” which can be a figurative meaning of the Latin “*ultrò*.” This entry is derived from the work of the irenic Anglican cleric, Regius Professor of Greek at Oxford, and attendee of the Synod of Dort, John Hales

The Design of the Apostle here is to show the Necessity of Beleeving on the Lord JESUS CHRIST, concerning whom he had newly said *This Man after he had offered ONE SACRIFICE for Sins, forever satt down on the Right Hand of God*: whereas under the Law of old, *The Priest offered oftentimes the same Sacrifices, which can never take away Sins*. Well; we have received this glorious Truth of the Gospel. If now we *sin willingly*, as, alas, we do every day, what will become of us, if we do not fly to this ONE SACRIFICE of our Lord Jesus Christ? It is not said, *There is no Sacrifice for Sins*. But it is said, *There remains no more Sacrifice for Sins*; If we do not Beleeve in that ONE SACRIFICE as most sufficient for us, but Refuse *That*, and Reject *That*, then there remains *nothing but a certain fearful Looking for of Judgment, & fiery Indignation*.

This is the Gloss of Mr. *John Hales*, upon this Passage, which ha's been so perverted unto Despair, as if our *Willing* or *wilful Sins*, after we have received the Knowledge of the Truth, rendred us incapable of Benefit, by the Sacrifice of our Lord Jesus Christ. Saies he, "my Comfort is, that if the Text be advisedly considered, there is no such thing as the *Sin against the Holy Ghost*, or any other desperate Conclusion, to be found in it. The Scope of the precedent Verses, evidently expound the Apostles Meaning to be to lett the Jewes know, the Case was not now with them as under the Law. Then they had a *Daily Sacrifice*; but now we have *One Sacrifice*, once for all."

**Q.** What Sort of *Adversaries*, may especially be intended, where we read of, *A Fiery Indignation*, that shall devour the *Adversaries*? v. 27.

**A.** Tis a Criticism in Dr. *Lightfoots* Remains; That ὑπεναντίους more properly signifies, the *Under-adversaries*, as one may call them; that is to say, *Adversaries* under an {Hood} or some Colour and Pretence.<sup>203</sup>

**Q.** It is said of the Apostate, *Hee hath trodden under foot, the Son of God, & counted the Blood of the Covenant, wherewith hee was sanctify'd, an unholy thing*. How can bee said, That the Apostate was ever sanctify'd by the Blood of the Covenant? v. 29.

**A.** Tis not said so at all. The *Blood* of our Lord Jesus Christ, not only washes away our Sins, but also cleared the Innocency of our Bl. Lord Himself: it was attended with so many rare Circumstances, and it fulfilled so many Prophecies. Besides, There was the Shedding of *Blood* at the Sanctification, or Consecration

(1584–1656), *Of the Blasphemie against the Holy-Ghost* (1646), pp. 11–12. Hales references Beza, *Annotations*, p. 530.

<sup>203</sup> From ὑπεναντίος [hupenantios] "opposed, hostile." From *Meditations upon Some Abstruser Points of Divinity, and Explanations of Divers Difficult Places of Scripture* in *Some genuine remains of the late pious and learned John Lightfoot* (1700), pp. 158–63, Mather offers this etymological explanation, making reference to the combination of ὑπό [hypo] "under" and ἐναντίος [enantios] "opposite (in a neutral sense)."

of the *Priest* under the Law. So, They that Renounce Christianity, count the *Blood* with which the New Covenant was Ratified & Confirmed, an *unholy Thing*; that is, the *Blood* not of an Innocent Person but of a Criminal. And whereas this *Blood* is here called, *That wherewith Hee was sanctify'd*, it is not the Apostate but our Lord Jesus Christ, that is the [*Hee*] here intended; The Shedding of this *Blood*, was that, whereby our Lord was consecrated, or sanctify'd, for His eternal *Priest-hood*. Compare, Joh. 17.19.<sup>204</sup>  
 [16r–17v inserted into their designated places]<sup>205</sup>

---

<sup>204</sup> From Kidder, *A Demonstration of the Messias*, part 1, chap. 8, p. 86.

<sup>205</sup> See Appendix B.

[▽Insert from 20r]<sup>206</sup>

[▽20r]

1855.

**Q.** In the Apostolical Definition of *Faith*, what means that Clause, *The Substance of things Hoped for*? v. 1.

**A.** By ὑπόστασις, wee may either understand, *Expectation*;<sup>207</sup> according to that of the LXX. Psal. 39.7. ἡ ὑπόστασις μου παρά σοι ἔστι. *Expectatio mea in te est*<sup>208</sup>: And if wee say, *Faith is the Expectation of things Hoped for*, it will sound better than our Translation, of *Substance*: or, wee may render it, *Confidence*, agreeably to the Import of the Word, 2. Cor. 9.4. 2. Cor. 11.17. Heb. 3.14. Our Translation, *Substance*, is both dark and harsh: wee had better say, *confident Expectation*.<sup>209</sup>

It is observed by Another; That the Word ὑποστασις,<sup>210</sup> implies, not only an *Expectation* of Good, but also a firm, fix'd, immoveable Posture, against whatever may Oppose us, or Disturb us. Thus we say, υφίστασθαι κάπρον<sup>211</sup> And in Latin, *subsistere*, not to give Way, but withstand the Violence of a Wild-beast. *Faith* includes *Patience* in it.

2282.

**Q.** What is then observable in the general Character of the *Worthies*, whose eminent *Faith*, is by our Apostle celebrated? v. 1.

<sup>206</sup> At the very top of 19 r Mather writes: "[Insert this Leaf, in the second Column in the Page of the Next.]" To maintain the order of the manuscript pagination, however, 19r is not treated as an insert into 20r, but rather the respective entries from 20r are treated as inserts into 19r.

<sup>207</sup> The basic meaning of ὑπόστασις [hypostasis] is "standing under/supporting," from which a variety of further meanings are derived, e.g. "foundation/structure," "substantial nature/substance," "confidence/courage," "undertaking/promise," and "guarantee of ownership, title deed." Mather is here taking fault with the KJV translation "the substance of things hoped for," which he finds "dark and harsh." Instead he suggests "confident expectation." Many modern translations go in a similar direction, including the ESV, which opts for "the assurance of things hoped for."

<sup>208</sup> The phrase that Mather cites from the LXX version of Ps. 39:7, ἡ ὑπόστασις μου παρά σοι ἔστι [he hypostasis mou para soi esti], means "my hope is in you." This is also what the citation from the VUL means. Modern critical editions of the LXX have ἡ ὑπόστασις μου παρά σου ἔστιν ("my hope is from you"). But Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:145) also has σοί.

<sup>209</sup> From Knatchbull, *Annotations*, pp. 281–82.

<sup>210</sup> See above. This paragraph is derived from Robert Gell, *An Essay toward the Amendment of the last English-Translation of the Bible*, pp. 143–44. Robert Gell (1595–1665) was an Anglican divine, rector of St. Mary Aldermary, London, and chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

<sup>211</sup> "To resist a wild boar or beast." From υφίστημι [hyphistemi] "resist/endure" and κάπρος [kapros] "wild boar."



**A.** Concerning all the *Worthies* ennumerated in this Catalogue of Beleevers, it is the worthy *Perkins's* Observation, *That they were all married Men, every one of them*; except *Abel*, of whom tis uncertain, whether hee were *married*, or no.<sup>212</sup> Behold, the Honour putt upon a *married Estate* by the Holy Spirit of God!

**Q.** As the Hero of old thought it an Honour to have it asked, why there was *no Statue* for him; we may putt such a Quæstion concerning *Joshua*. The Apostle gives us a Catalogue of *great Men*, and of the *great Things* done by Faith in these Men; But why nothing said of *Joshua*, in all the Catalogue? v. 1.<sup>213</sup>

**A.** It may be said, That our Apostle had his Eye upon the True *Joshua*, all along his Catalogue. Our JESUS is the True *Joshua*, to the People of God. All the Glories & Exploits of the ancient *Joshua*, vanish before *His*, and are transferred into *His*. Now, whatever was done by *Faith*, our JESUS was the *Author* & the *Finisher* of it all. It was by the *Faith* of *Him*, that all the *Hero's* attain'd unto all their Atchievements. No other *Joshua* ought to be mention'd, where our JESUS is the Doer of all.

**Q.** What is it that *Abel* speaks? v. 4.

**A.** Tho' *Abel* be dead, his Sacrifice is yett a standing Evidence, That Faith is the Principle, which renders our Services acceptable to God.

This may pass for a *Paraphrase*.<sup>214</sup>

[resumed on 19r–19v]

**Q.** Why is it said, *By Faith Abel offered unto God a more excellent Sacrifice than Cain*? v. 4.

**A.** I will chuse to recite the Words of Dr. *Turner* in his *Boylean* Lectures.

“It is childish, & no Way becoming, Men that pretend to Learning & Philosophy to suggest, that the First Institution of Sacrifices, was owing to the mistaken superstitious Notions of Mankind. Not only the Old Testament, which is a more Ancient & Authentic History, than any that they can produce in favour of that fond Notion, gives us a quite Different Account of them; but also the very Construction to be made of such a Practice, & the exact Correspondency of it, as a Type to the Great and Real Expiation, which God had ordain'd should be made by the Death of His Son, show plainly whom that Institution must own as its Author. It shews plainly, that it could come from none but that God, who intended by this Means, to præpare Mans Mind for

<sup>212</sup> A citation from the work of the great Puritan divine William Perkins (1558–1602), *A Cloud of Faithfull Witnesses, Leading to the Heavenly Canaan: Or A Commentarie Upon the 11. Chapter to the Hebrewes* (1607), p. 237.

<sup>213</sup> However, it is mentioned in Heb. 11:30 that “By faith the walls of Jericho fell down.” The source of this entry could not be identified.

<sup>214</sup> From Pyle, *A Paraphrase* (2:170).

the Doctrine of Christ, by the Establishment of such a Practice as should make them sensible, that there could be no Expiation of Sin without Punishment; and that particularly without the Blood & Death of him that should undertake it.

The First Oblation of Sacrifices, was in Consequence of the Promise God had made of a Saviour, who by *Breaking the Serpents Head*, should defeat his Counsels for our Ruine, & Restore Mankind to Life & Immortality. And as we read of no Sacrifice till after the Fall of *Adam*, and the promis'd Seed for our Redemption, so I do not know, but the Acceptableness of *Abels* Sacrifice, might consist in a Ready Obedience to Gods Appointment of such a Victim, whose Death and Blood, were Representation of the Passions of our Saviour for our Sins. The acting in a Ready Compliance, with such a Divine Institution, is justly & properly imputable to Faith. Thus *by Faith Abel offered a more excellent Sacrifice than Cain*. Which Faith *Cain* wanting, & thereby chusing an Oblation less proper & suitable to that {Purpose} was rejected.”<sup>215</sup>

**Q.** What Remarkable Allusion, may there be in that Passage, *Hee that cometh unto God, must Beleeve, that HE IS?* v. 6.

**A.** Wee find, there was a mysterious Inscription, upon the *Gates* of the *Delphian* Temple, whereupon *Plutarch* ha's at large written a *Commentary*. The Inscription was, EI.<sup>216</sup> And *Plutarch* after a Recension of seven Opinions upon it, hee fixes at last, upon this Definitive Sentence of *Ammonius*, εστιν αυτοτελης του θεου προσαγορευσις και προσφωνησις,<sup>217</sup> — *It is the self-sufficient Compellation & Denomination of GOD, which together with the Word, settles in the Mind of the Pronouncer, a true Notion of the Power of God*. And hee goes on to tell us, *That those that use it, attribute, a true, unerring, & sole appellation of Essence, competent unto Him alone: For there is nothing of Essence, really to be ascribed unto us*. Tis plain, that the Ancient Heathen retained some Remembrance, of the Revelation of

<sup>215</sup> From Turner, *The Wisdom of God in the Redemption of Man*, pp. 88–90. There are traces of seal wax at the bottom of this insert page, suggesting that a second insert might have been attached to it that was subsequently lost.

<sup>216</sup> Mather refers to the Greek title (“ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΕΙ ΤΟΥ ΕΝ ΔΕΛΦΟΙΣ”) of *Plutarch's* essay in *Moralia*, *The E at Delphi*, LCL 306, p. 198.

<sup>217</sup> *Ammonius* is one of the characters in the essay discussing the meaning of the inscription. The phrase εστιν αυτοτελης του θεου προσαγορευσις και προσφωνησις [estin autoteles tou theou prosagoreusis kai prosfonesis] translates as: “it is a self-sufficing address and greeting of the god.” *Plutarch*, *Moralia*, *The E at Delphi*, 392a; transl.: LCL 306, p. 238. Some of this material also appears in *John Edwards, A Discourse concerning the Authority, Stile, and Perfection of the Books of the Old and New Testament* (3 vols., 1693–1695), vol. 1, ch. 7, p. 229. *Edwards* (1637–1716) was a Church of England clergyman and Calvinist apologist (sometimes called the Calvin of his age by his admirers) who wrote more than forty theological works, including such anti-rationalist apologetic works as *Some Thoughts concerning the several Causes and Occasions of Atheism* (1695), *Socinianism unmasked* (1696), *The Socinian Creed* (1697), and *A brief Vindication of the Fundamental Articles of the Christian Faith* (1697) as well as the influential 1713 *Theologia reformata* (ODNB). He was also a correspondent of *Mather's*.

Gods *Name* to *Moses*, in that famous Text, Exod. 3.14. *I AM*. This, *Ehejeh*, is the same with what *Plutarch* afterwards does call, Ἰήσιος. *Jejus, the one & only God*.<sup>218</sup>

The Scripture does not mention that there was any Inscription, on the front of the Porch of the *Temple* of God at *Jerusalem*. There is very great Cause, to Believe, That the Name, EHEIEH, describing the unutterable Essence of God, was inscribed upon it. *Josephus* tells us, That Three Pillars did stand there in After-Age, engraven with certain Letters. μη δειν αλλοφυλον εντος του Αγιου [19v] παριεναι, *That no Stran- | ger might be admitted into that Holy Place*.<sup>219</sup> Now, it seems a notable Allusion, to the Inscription of, EHEIEH, on the Front of the Porch of the Temple, for the Apostle to say, *Hee that cometh to God, must Believee, οτι εστι, that, HE IS*.<sup>220</sup>

It is observable, That in the Beginning of the Chapter, *Faith* ha's two Objects assign'd unto it; *Things not seen*, and, *Things hoped for*; Both of these is Faith to work upon, relating to God. First, *God is*; tho' *not seen*. Secondly, God is a *Rewarder*; which is to be *Hoped for*.

[end of 19v; resumed on 20r]

**Q.** What is, *The City ha's Foundations*? v. 10.

**A.** It is that glorious and cubic *City*, whereof we have a Description, in the *Twenty First* Chapter of the *Revelation*. The *City* will bee Inhabited by the *Raised Saints*. The *Raised Saints*, with their New *Bodies* will Inhabit it. By Consequence, it will be a *material City*. Tho' the *Matter* of it will be vastly more precious than the finest of our *Metals* or *Jewels*. Tis the same, that is called, *The Third Heaven*, and, *The Heaven of Heavens*; for the singular Excellency of it.

In the Writings of an honest Chiliast, one Mr. *Sherwin*, I meet with a Reason for this Expression of the *Cities* having *Foundations*, which may appear somewhat singular. It shall be a *City with Foundations*, for *Bodies* to inhabit it.<sup>221</sup>

Be sure, Tis opposed unto *Tabernacles*, or Tents that have *no Foundations*. It notes, an *unchangeable State*.<sup>222</sup>

<sup>218</sup> Reference is made to Ex. 3:14: אֶהְיֶה אֲשֶׁר אֶהְיֶה [’ehyeh ’aşer ’ehyeh]: “I AM who I AM.” The interpretation thus rests on the similarity in sound between ’ehyeh and Ἰήσιος [ieios], which is an epithet of Apollo. Mather cites Plutarch, *Moralia, The E at Delphi*, 393c; transl.: *LCL* 306, p. 246.

<sup>219</sup> Mather offers a loose but valid translation of the phrase μη δειν αλλοφυλον εντος του αγιου παριεναι [me dein allophylon entos tou hagiou parienai]. He cites Josephus, *The Jewish War* (5.195); transl.: *LCL* 210, p. 60. In modern editions, the quote begins with μηδένα [medena] and not with μη δειν [me dein].

<sup>220</sup> The phrase ὅτι ἐστι [hoti esti] “that he is/exists” is from Heb. 11:6.

<sup>221</sup> A reference to the tract of the English Dissenting minister (before his ejection in 1660 he had lectured at Baldock and Wallington) William Sherwin (1607–1690), *Iero-metropolis, or, The holy, the great, the beloved new Jerusalem shortly to come down from God out of heaven: being the work of Gods own hands* (1670?), esp. pp. 5–7. Sherwin was an ardent millennialist and wrote numerous tracts on eschatology after the Restoration, some of which Mather knew and cited.

<sup>222</sup> The last two sentences are later additions.

**Q.** That Phrase, εἰς καταβολὴν σπέρματος which we render,<sup>223</sup> *To conceive Seed?* v. 11.

**A.** Sr. Norton Knatchbul justly excepts against it.<sup>224</sup>

He saies, καταβολή is, *cum res aliqua sumit exordium*. So, καταβολή κόσμου, is, *The Foundation of the World*.<sup>225</sup>

[▽Insert from 21r–22v]

[▽21r–22v]

**Q.** A Remark on the Proof which the Apostle brings, that the Patriarchs *desired an Heavenly Countrey*; Because they might have had *Opportunity to have Returned* unto the Countrey from which they came, & made no Use of it? v. 15.

**A.** Honest Mr. *Maton*, thinks, it looks as if the *Heavenly Countrey* which they *desired*, were the Land of *Canaan*, to be possessed by them, when they or it, should be restored unto an *Heavenly Condition*.<sup>226</sup> This good Gentlemans Notion would be capable of a further Improvement, if we should consider the *Holy City of God*, in the *Clouds of the New Heavens*, as being peculiarly over the *Land of Promise*, at the Time of the *Restitution*, and the *Land of Promise* having a peculiar Share above other Countreys, in the Visits, which the Raised Saints from time to time shall give unto the lower World. Had *Heaven* in general, been the *Heavenly Countrey* here spoken of, our *Maton* argues, they might as well have obtained that, or have expressed their affection to it, in their *own Countrey*, *from which they came*; they might have returned unto *that*, and have lived as *Pilgrims* there. But they would this Way express their Faith, of what God had promised to do, for their Seed in *this Land*, when He should *Raise the Dead*, & be *their God*. Indeed *that Land* will then be after a | singular Manner, be an *Heavenly Countrey*; For as *Ezekiel* has foretold, Ch. XXXVI.35. It shall *become like the Garden of Eden*: In which Garden, we know the Son of God in the *Shekinah*, with His

[21v]

<sup>223</sup> The phrase εἰς καταβολὴν σπέρματος [eis katabolen spermatos] signifies either “to sow seed (=beget)” or “to establish a posterity.” See below.

<sup>224</sup> This entry is derived from Knatchbull, *Annotations*, p. 283.

<sup>225</sup> The Latin phrase translates: “When anything takes its beginning.” The word καταβολή [katabole] means “sowing, foundation.” Thus καταβολή κόσμου [katabole kosmou] can mean “foundation of the world,” as Mather argues. See Appendix B.

<sup>226</sup> From the work of the English millennialist Robert Maton (1606/7–in or after 1646), *Christ's Personall Reigne on Earth, One Thousand Yeares with his Saints, containing a Reply to A. Petrie* (1652), in the unpaginated preface “An Answer to Mr. Petries Preface.” In 1642, Maton had published *Israel's Redemption, or, The propheticall history of our Saviour's kingdom on earth*, which, much influenced by Joseph Mede, predicted the imminent Parousia and national conversion of the Jews. Troubled by the influence that Maton's book exerted on independent congregations in the Netherlands, Alexander Petrie, minister of the Scottish Church at Rotterdam, published a criticism of Maton's literalist interpretation of the prophecies in 1644 under the title *Chiliasto mastix*. Maton countered in December 1646 with a lengthy response, *Israel's Redemption Redeemed*, later republished as *Christ's Personall Reign on Earth* (ODNB). Mather cites this entry in his *Tripuradiseus*, p. 269, but here – reflecting the shift in his eschatology – expresses skepticism that a restored Canaan will indeed have “a peculiar Share above other Countreys” in the millennial reign.

Angels, was visibly & familiarly conversant. And even to the *Jerusalem* then to be Rebuilt there upon Earth, we may in some Sort apply those Words; *A City whose Builder & Maker is God*: It shall be Rebuilt according to the Figure and Platform, which God Himself has given in the Visions of *Ezekiel*.<sup>227</sup>

*Quære*. How far this a Key, to the Intention of *Joseph*, in Ordering His Dead Bones, to be transported into the *Land of Canaan*.<sup>228</sup>

[22r]

4509

**Q.** *They Desire a Better Country*. What was the *Better Country*? v. 16.

**A.** The Ancient Jewes themselves declare, That the *Earthly Canaan* was a *Type* of the *Spiritual Canaan*.<sup>229</sup> And the Promise of *living in it forever*, was a *Parable* representing their *Future Happiness in the World to come*.<sup>230</sup>

They say, *It is written, All Israelites have their Portion in the World to come; As it is said, And thy People shall all be Just, they shall inherit the Land forever*; [Isa. 60.21.] Saies *Maimonides*; *This Land is a Parable, as if he should say, The Land of the Living: And that is, The World to come*.<sup>231</sup> And *R. Menachem*, in *Gen. 12*. refers it, to the *Land which is above, watered with Waters which are above*.<sup>232</sup>

If (as *Dr. Whitby* observes) they received this *paraboliſal* Interpretation from the *Patriarchs*, here is a Reason of their Faith, and Expectation of this *Better Country*.

2407.

**Q.** The Life of *Jacob* was full of Trials, and the Faith of *Jacob*, was Tried, in every Part of his Life. Nevertheless, the Holy Spirit singles out no Instance of *Jacobs* Faith to be observed in this Place, but what appeared in his Blessing the Two Sons of *Joseph*, just before his Death? v. 21.

**A.** And most unexceptionable is the Wisdome of the Holy Spirit, in doing so; Because in that Action, *Jacob* himself Observed, and Repeated, and Renewed, the other Exercises of his Faith, which in his former Life, hee had been called unto. The Forty Eighth Chapter of *Genesis*, is a Repetition of *Jacobs* Experiences, and indeed a Directory for a Dying Beleever.<sup>233</sup>

<sup>227</sup> Cf. Mather's *Triparadisus*, p. 269.

<sup>228</sup> See *Gen. 50:22–26* and *Josh. 24:32*.

<sup>229</sup> See Appendix A.

<sup>230</sup> This entry is derived from *Whitby, A Paraphrase* (2:115). Reference is made to the Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Sanhedrin, 90a, ch. 11 (“Halek”), Mishna 1 (Soncino, p. 601).

<sup>231</sup> From *Whitby*, a reference to *Maimonides, Mishneh Torah, HaMadda* (bk. 1, “Knowledge”), Tractate *Teshuvah*, ch. 3, Halachah 5 (Hyamson, p. 84a-b).

<sup>232</sup> From *Whitby*, a reference to the work of the Kabbalist, Rabbi Menahem Recanati (1250–1310), *Perusch al ha tora*, ed. by Amnon Gross, vol. 1 (2003), p. קפב [=182].

<sup>233</sup> Cf. William Perkins, *A Cloud of Faithfull Witnesses*, pp. 361–74.

2708.

**Q.** What was the Meaning of *Jacobs, Worshipping on the Top of his Staff?* v. 21.

**A.** The wretched Work which the Papists make with this Passage, for the Countenance of their *Staurolatry*,<sup>234</sup> is too wretched indeed, for a Repetition.<sup>235</sup>

The Passage whereto it refers, is that in Gen. 47.31. *Israel bowed himself upon the Beds-Head. Jacob* was now receiving an Oath, from *Joseph*, concerning his Burial in *Canaan*, as a Token of his Faith, to receive both *Canaan*, & *Heaven*, from the Lord. In the Action, *Jacob* uses a solemn Adoration of God; (the Name of *Israel* is here very proper for him!) in which Adoration wee have him endeavouring a Gesture & Posture of *Body*, that was agreeable. *Hee bowed himself on the Beds-head*, as *Moses* relates; but then, as *Paul* ha's it, no doubt from some Intimation in the Sound of the *Hebrew Word*, which countenanced the Tradition, [*Bed*, and *Staff*, are Words of a near *Sound*, & from the same *Root*, and indeed a *Bed*, was that very thing which wee render a *Staff*, that is, a *Support*.] Hee used the Help of a *Staff*, | to *support* him, when hee so *Bowed* himself.<sup>236</sup>

[22v]

Now, the Action of *leaning on a Staff*, seems to have been a *symbolical Action*, and it ha's mett with a double Interpretation. Some think, *Jacobs Leaning on a Staff*, to be a Profession of his *Reliance*. A *Trusting* is compared unto a *Leaning*. See 2. King. 18.21. So, A *Trusting* on the Word of God, is a *Leaning* on it. And *Jacob leaning on a Staff*, did at the same Time, take into his Hand, the Word of God, which had promised him the *Blessedness* of the World to come;

<sup>234</sup> "Worship of the cross."

<sup>235</sup> Mather is alluding to Catholic interpretations of the VUL here: "et adoravit fastigium virgae eius" ("and adored the top of his rod").

<sup>236</sup> This entry is derived from John Owen, *A Continuation of the Exposition of the Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Hebrews* (viz) on the eleventh, twelfth & thirteenth Chapters (1684), pp. 96–100. Cf. also Grotius in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (6:4355). The issue here is the reference to Gen. 47:31. The Masoretic Hebrew translates: "Then Israel bowed himself upon the head of his bed" (ESV). However, the LXX has: καὶ προσεκύνησεν Ἰσραὴλ ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον τῆς ῥάβδου αὐτοῦ, which signifies: "And Israel did obeisance upon the top of his staff" (NETS). As Owen explains: "The word in the Original is, הַטֵּב which may have a different Pronunciation by a different supply of Vowels; and so a different signification. If one reads it *mittah*, it signifies a *Bed*, as we render it in *Genesis*; If we read it *Matteh*, it signifies a *Staff* or a *Rod* on which a man may lean; both from the same Verb הָטַח [natah], to *extend*, to *incline*. And hence doth the Difference arise." Heb. 11:21 corresponds with the LXX when it is said about Jacob: καὶ προσεκύνησεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον τῆς ῥάβδου αὐτοῦ; "bowing in worship over the head of his staff" (ESV). Following Owen, Mather rejects the explanation that Hebrews simply cites the LXX translation, "being in common use among the *Jews* in all their Dispersions." Instead he argues that the Apostle made use of the variety of meanings in the Hebrew root word, "to represent the entire Posture and Action of *Jacob* in his Adoration ... The Apostle did not design a precise Translation of the Words of *Moses*, but intended only to express the same thing" (99). Similarly, Hammond opines that the passage in Hebrews implies both meanings of the Hebrew, "that arising out of his bed, he sat on it and leaned, as sick persons do, upon his staff." *A Paraphrase* (4:361). By contrast, Le Clerc argues that "We had better here acknowledge the hand of a Writer who did not understand Hebrew, and followed without examination the Septuagint, than endeavor to reconcile inconsistencies" (*A Supplement* 560).

and he more *leaned* on *That*, than on the *Staff*. Others think, *Jacobs Leaning on a Staff*, to bee a Profession of his *Pilgrimage*. A *Staff* was used by the Patriarchs, as an Emblem of a *Stranger*. Hence Gen. 32.10. Thus, the *Israelites* were to *eat the Passeeover*, with a *Staff in their Hands*. Thus, the Disciples were bidden, to *take nothing for their Journey, but a Staff*. *Jacob* would keep up the Air of a *Stranger* in the World, unto the very last, and therefore you shall see him *leaning on a Staff*.

**Q.** *Joseph* gave Commandment concerning his *Bones*? v. 22.

**A.** It seems, he knew, That the *Israelites*, would not very soon after his Death depart out of *Egypt*, for to take Possession of *Canaan*; but that between his Death, and their Departure, there would be such a Distance of Time, that nothing of his Body would remain, but the *Bones*.<sup>237</sup>

**Q.** *Moses*, a proper Child? v. 23.

**A.** There was in his very Aspect a Presage & Promise of something that should be considerable. We read, Act. VII.20. *He was exceeding Fair to God*. Some Translations {render} it, *By God*. His Beauty came from God. God made him so Beautiful. His Parents imagined God would not have it in Vain, that an Infant should be Born of so beauteous a Countenance.<sup>238</sup>

**Q.** The *Pleasure of Sin for a Season*. What made *Moses* count them so? v. 25.

**A.** Partly, because he saw, how *Transitory* all these Things are; And partly, because (as one saies) he thought, that God, who is the *Avenger* of Sin, would not suffer him long to enjoy those Riches and Honours, with such Wickedness; but some Vengeance of God, would *suddenly strip* him of all, & cast a sad Punishment upon him.<sup>239</sup>

[△] [△Insert ends]

[resumed on 20v]  
120.

**Q.** Why do's the Apostle, with a particular Emphasis, mention, the *μισθαποδοσία*, or, the *Recompence of Reward*. v. 26.

**A.** Learned Men, have commonly thought the Name, *Pharisee*, to come from the Hebrew Word פֶּרַשׁ, to *separate*; because, the *Pharisees*, did affect a singular *Separation*, to bee ἀφορισμενοι,<sup>240</sup> from the Rest of the World. But I would

<sup>237</sup> From *The Expiation*, p. 273.

<sup>238</sup> From *The Expiation*, p. 273.

<sup>239</sup> From *The Expiation*, p. 274.

<sup>240</sup> The Hebrew פֶּרַשׁ [paras] means "separate," just as the Greek ἀφορίζω [aphorizo] means "mark off by boundaries, separate." Modern philology rejects this etymology because the Pharisees are called פְּרוּשִׁים in Hebrew, so the word stems from the root פֶּרַשׁ, "explain," not from the root פֶּרַשׁ, "separate."

attempt another Etymology, for the *Name* of that famous Generation. Know then, that all the Quæstion between the *Sadducees* & the *Pharisees* was whether a Man were to expect it after this Life, a פֶּרֶס *Paras*, or a *Reward*.<sup>241</sup> The *Sadducees*, you know, follow'd that *Sadocus*, whose Doctrine was, *Ne sitis tanquam Servi, qui servient Magistro, ea Conditione, ut accipiant* פֶּרֶס *MERCEDEM*.<sup>242</sup> Which Doctrine they perverted unto many sensual Purposes and Opinions. Well, our Apostle now writing to the *Hebrewes*, whereof the Nobler and Greater Part were *Pharisees*, hee thought it would more effectually Recommend what hee said, if hee should lett them see, that hee was himself still so far a *Pharisee*, as to retain his old Sentiments, about, a *Paras*, or a *Recompence*. Wherefore, with an evident allusion to the Doctrine professed in the very *Name*, which They & Hee had hitherto worn, hee tells them, That *Moses* did even what wee declare to do, in the Expectation of a *Reward*.<sup>243</sup>

[▽Insert from 23r]

[▽23r]

**Q.** Why is the Reproach undergone by *Moses*, called, *The Reproach of Christ*? v. 26.

**A.** Sometimes the People of Christ, are included in His Name. See Gal. III.16. & 1. Cor. XII.12.<sup>244</sup>

Moreover, the People of *Israel*, were a Type of Christ, & of Christians also. See Hos. XI.1. and Matth. II.15.

Besides, The Reproach of the *Israelites*, had on it, a lively Image of that which is offered now both unto *Christ*, & unto all Christians.

**Q.** On what we read here, about, *The Treasures of Egypt*? v. 26.

**A.** There is a Tradition and Conjecture, That *Moses* had been the *Lord-Treasurer of Egypt*.

[△Insert ends.]

[△]

[resumed on 20v]

<sup>241</sup> The Hebrew פֶּרֶס [paras] is an alternative spelling of פָּרַשׁ and means “separate” (see HALOT 969) and in later Hebrew “reward (after death).”

<sup>242</sup> “Do not be like the servants who serve the master under the condition that they receive recompense.” From an unknown source, Mather cites a Latin translation of a passage in Pirke Aboth, 1:3. Possibly, he could have drawn on *Mischna sive Totius Hebraeorum Iuris, Rituum, Antiquitatum, ac Legum Oralium Systema: Seder Neziqin sive Legum Mischnicarum Liber qui inscribitur Ordo Damnorum* (1702), vol. 4, p. 411. The same passage, but in a slightly different Latin translation, appears in Lightfoot’s *Horae hebraicae et talmudicae* (1658), p. 58. Here Lightfoot also offers a similar explanation of the history of the Sadducees. See also the English version in *Works* (2:125).

<sup>243</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>244</sup> From *The Expiation*, p. 275.



**Q.** The *Faith*, for which those *Heroes*, *Gideon*, *Barak*, *Sampson*, *Jephtha*, *David*, *Samuel* & the Prophets are celebrated; what was the *Name* for it, in the Old Testament where wee don't find their *Faith* so often expressly Named? v. 32.

**A.** When *Gideon* was to bee, a *Jesus*, a Saviour unto *Israel*, tis said, in Jud. 6.34. *The Spirit of the Lord came upon Gideon*. It was that *Spirit* that made *Barak*, and *Sampson*, and *Jephtha*, and *David* & the rest, play the *Men* above, common Men, when they, thro' *Faith*, subdued Kingdomes. Now, that *Spirit of the Lord*, is it, that in the New Testament, here is called, *Faith*, because the extraordinary and particular *Faith*, which inspired those *Men*, was a special Work of the *Spirit of the Lord* coming upon them; and that *Spirit*, in this Work, did first, & most of all discover himself.<sup>245</sup>

[▽23r] [▽Insert from 23r]

**Q.** Why *David* placed before *Samuel*? v. 32.

**A.** *Samuel* was nearer akin to, *The Prophets*, who are next mentioned; As *David* was to the *Hero's*, who go before.<sup>246</sup>

[△] [△Insert ends]

[resumed on 20v]

4511

**Q.** What is the Meaning of, *They wrought Righteousness*? v. 33.

**A.** They brought about great *Reformations*. It refers to the *Faith* of such great *Reformers*, as *Samuel*, and *Elias*, who turned the People from *Idolatry*, into the Way of *Righteousness*. Great *Reformers*, had need have a strong Faith, to carry them thro' their Undertakings.<sup>247</sup>

[21r–22v inserted into their designated place]<sup>248</sup>

[23r] |<sup>249</sup>

**Q.** Who were they that, *By Faith subdued Kingdomes*? v. 33.

**A.** Principally *David*. God promised him Victories over Enemies. He Beleeved it. In this Faith he made War upon them. We have several Psalms, that Illustrate this Passage. As, II. XVIII. XX. XXI.<sup>250</sup>

<sup>245</sup> Similarly, Owen, *A Continuation of the Exposition*, p. 145. A very striking contrast to Pyle, *A Paraphrase* (2:276), who argues that what distinguishes these worthies is their "reasonable faith."

<sup>246</sup> From *The Expiation*, p. 280.

<sup>247</sup> Similarly, Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:111).

<sup>248</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>249</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>250</sup> From *The Expiation*, p. 280.

1778.

**Q.** Wee read, *others were Tortured, not accepting Deliverance; that they might obtain a Better Resurrection*: why is it called, *A Better Resurrection*? v. 35.

**A.** Wee read, in the Beginning of the Verse, *Women Received their Dead, Raised unto Life again*. Wee find, in the Scripture, several of the *Dead, Raised unto Life*. But in the *Resurrection* enjoy'd by those Mortals, they Returned unto the Circumstances of an *earthly Life*; they Ate, they Drank, they Slept, and they were under such Fetters, as our present *earthly State*, is creeped withal. The *Martyrs* described in the Words now before us, would not have been *Delivered* from Death, to Return unto the Enjoyment and Actions of an *earthly Life*, if they might; such a *Resurrection*, as was granted unto the Son of the *Shunamite*, or the Man thrown into *Elisha's Grave*, would not content them; they proposed, that *Better Resurrection*, which will bee in the Kingdome of our Lord Jesus Christ, at the End of this World; for in that *Better Resurrection*, they shall bee *like the Angels of God*.

2790.

**Q.** When tis said, *They were Tortured*, it is only a *general Name*; Is there any *special Kind* of *Torturing* intended? v. 35.

**A.** Τυμπανισμός, [the Word used here,] signifies, a *special Kind* of *Torturing*, by Beating one to Death, with *Cudgels*. It hath its denomination from τυμπανον,<sup>251</sup> which usually signifies, *A Drum*. And hence it hath been parallel'd by some with the Roman *Equuleus*, as if there were a *Racking* in the *Torture*. But it signifies also, a *Drum-Stick*; and so, a *Tympanismus*, is a being Beaten to Death, with Cudgels, as with *Drumsticks*. The Maccabean Instances of it, *Eleazar*, explains it.<sup>252</sup>

|  
4510.

[23v]

**Q.** Is, Επειρασθησαν *They were Tempted*: A Right Reading? v. 37.

**A.** Dr. *Whitby* very strongly argues, No.<sup>253</sup> After two such great Punishments, as being *Stoned*, and *Sawn Asunder*, it seems not so proper to introduce their being *Tempted*, which signifies no certain Punishment at all, and is included in all the other Punishments here mentioned.

<sup>251</sup> The word τυμπανον [tympanon] signifies “kettledrum, name of some instrument of torture of execution.”

<sup>252</sup> This entry appears to be derived from Hammond's note on Heb. 11:35–37 in *A Paraphrase* (4:361–63). Cf. 2 Macc. 6:18–31, where the scribe Eleazar is told to have died “under blows” for having refused to eat pork.

<sup>253</sup> From *Whitby*, *A Paraphrase* (2:117).

Some read, *επυρασθησαν*, some, *επυρωθησαν*, some *επρησθησαν*. all signifying, *They were burnt*.<sup>254</sup> This Reading agrees well, with the Story of the *Maccabees*, where they bring *Eleazar* and the young Men, *to the Fire, & Burnt their Flesh*: so that they were, as *Josephus* expresses it, *one may say, Translated in the Fire, to Incorruption*: *ως επι πυρι μετασχηματιζομενοι εις αφθαρσιαν*.<sup>255</sup>

Dr. *Whitby*, rather præsers the Opinion of those, who think, this was an Error, arising, *εκ διττογραφιας*.<sup>256</sup> *From Writing the same Word twice*; or, that some who knew not what *επισθησαν*<sup>257</sup> meant, writt for it *επειρασθησαν*, and so in time they came to be both written; for the *Syriack* ha's not, *επειρασθησαν*. *Eusebius* quotes the Words of *Paul*, without any *επειρασθησαν*.<sup>258</sup> *Tertullian* paraphrases them, *Hieremias lapidatur, Esaias secatur, Zacharias inter Altare et Aedem trucidatur*.<sup>259</sup> *Clemens of Alex.* reads thus, *ελιθασθησαν, επιρασθησαν, εν φονω μαχαιρας απεθανον*.<sup>260</sup> Which gives Ground for Conjecture, that some Ignorant Writer, putt, *επειρασθησαν*, for *επισθησαν*. This Fault was very visible in the Transcriber of *Origen*; For in his Fourth Homily on *Jeremy*, we read in the Greek, *επισθησαν, επιρασθησαν*.<sup>261</sup> But in the old Translation, there is only, *secti, Occasione Gladii occubuerunt*.<sup>262</sup> But in the Fifteenth Homily, it is plain, that *Origen* did not own the Word, *επειρασθησαν*.<sup>263</sup> And from several other

254 The problem here is that *ἐπειράσθησαν* ([*epeirasthesan*] “they were tempted”) seems oddly anticlimactic after the listing of tortures preceding it. Over the centuries, exegetes suggested various solutions. One group assumed that this was a case of textual corruption which could only be restored by conjecture. For instance, the famous Reformed exegete Franciscus Junius (François du Jon, 1545–1602) in his *Sacrorum parallelorum libri tres*, lib. 3, col. 1625, in *Opera theologica* (1607), vol. 1, conjectured *ἐπυράσθησαν*; Beza in his *Annotationes*, p. 539: *ἐπυρώθησαν*; the Westminster divine Thomas Gataker (1574–1654) in his *Adversaria miscellanea* (1659), misc. 44, pp. 893–900: *ἐπρήσθησαν*. These forms are in the aorist-passive of *πυράζω* [*pyrazo*] “sing,” *πυρώ* [*pyroo*] “burn with fire,” and *πρήθω* [*pretho*] “spout” respectively. Another group of scholars (e.g. Erasmus, Calvin, Beza, Grotius, and Hammond) argued for deleting the word entirely as it appeared to be a scribal error. This is also what Whitby maintains.

255 The phrase *ὡς ἐπὶ πυρὶ μετασχηματιζόμενοι εἰς ἀφθαρσίαν* [*hos epi pyri metaschematizomenoi eis aphtharsian*] means “as if they were transformed in the fire into immortality.” Whitby refers to the LXX of 4 Macc. 9:22 and alludes to Josephus, *Jewish War*, 7.7; *LCL* 210, pp. 405–06.

256 The phrase *εκ διττογραφία (δισσογραφία)* [*ek dittographia*] signifies “by a repetition of words by a copyist.”

257 “were sawn asunder.” From *πρίζω* [*prizo*] “saw.” This is the reading in the NTG today.

258 “were tempted.” From *πειράω* [*peirao*] “make trial, tempt.” Mather cites Whitby, who refers to Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica*, lib. 12, cap. 10 [PG 3. 969. 583].

259 “Jeremiah is stoned, Isaiah sawn in two, Zachariah slaughtered between altar and tomb.” From Whitby, Mather cites Tertullian, *Adversus gnosticos Scorpiace*, cap. 8 [PL 2. 137B].

260 The phrase *ἐλιθάσθησαν, ἐπειράσθησαν, ἐν φόνῳ μαχαιρας ἀπέθανον* means: “they were stoned, they were tempted, they were slain with the sword.” Mather misspelled *ἐπειράσθησαν*. From Whitby, Mather cites the Church Father and philosopher, Clement of Alexandria (c. 150–c. 215), *Stromata*, 4.16 [PG 8. 1309–10; *GCS* 52].

261 From Whitby, Mather cites Origen, *In Jeremiam*, homil. 4 [PG 13].

262 “Cut into pieces, they died by the stroke of the sword.”

263 Origen, *In Jeremiam*, homil. 14, sect. 2 [PG 13. 405–05].

Citations made by Dr. *Whitby*, it is evident, that ἐπισθῆσαν· was the only Reading followed by the Ancients.

**Q.** Men of *whom the World was not worthy, wandring in Deserts?* v. 38.

**A.** One observes here, The Apostle intimates, that the wicked World, even punished itself; inflicted on itself a Punishment for its own Wickedness; in Banishing those Persons, whose Conversation it was unworthy of.<sup>264</sup>

---

<sup>264</sup> From *The Expiation*, p. 284.

**Q.** A *Cloud of Witnesses*? v. 1.

**A.** An Allusion to a spacious Theatre; with a Multitude of Spectators.<sup>265</sup>

**Q.** What is meant by, *The Sin that easily besets us*? v. 1.

**A.** By the Context it appears to be, *Unbelief*. Nevertheless there may be somewhat more of Significany, in the Expression. Ἀμαρτία εὐπερίστατος may be rendred, *The well-circumstantiated Sin*; the Sin that hath some Amiable, Inviting, Perswading *Circumstances* to attend it.<sup>266</sup> – Such a Sin is every ones Darling-Sin, or our Constitution-Sin. Our corrupt Hearts, are very eloquent in pleading for such a Sin and there are many *Circumstances* which are turned into Arguments.

**Q.** What Emphasis do you find in that *Looking unto Jesus* which is by the Apostle recommended? v. 2.

**A.** A *Looking off* from others. Ἀφορώντες is *looking off*.<sup>267</sup> Many & Famous Be-leivers had been proposed for *Exemples*, unto the People of God. But, at last the Spirit of God, Cautioning us against the Dream of Perfection in them, Invites us, to *look off* from all these unto an Incomparably more perfect *Exemplar*, even, that of our Lord Jesus Christ. Unto this Blessed Jesus wee are advised, in the next Verse, to *Analogize*, or, Proportionate ourselves.

**Q.** *Not resisted unto Blood*? v. 4.

**A.** Perhaps it may be an *Agonistical* Term. *Jacobus Lydius* will tell you, It was a most scandalous Thing for any Combatants to give out, before any Blood was drawn.<sup>268</sup>

**Q.** We read, *whom the Lord loveth, He chasteneth*. A Right Notion about the *true Origin of Temporal Evil*, would be a golden and glorious Key, to very many Passages in the other Scriptures, as well as diverse in the Twelfth Chapter in the *Hebrews*? v. 6.

<sup>265</sup> From *The Expiation*, p. 290.

<sup>266</sup> Mather takes this alternative translation of the phrase Ἀμαρτία εὐπερίστατος [hamartia euperistatos] from Hammond, *A Paraphrase* (4:367–68). Most modern translations take it as an allusion to the garments hindering the feet of Christians in their race: “a sin which clings so easily” (ESV); “the sin that so easily entangles” (NIV).

<sup>267</sup> From ἀφοράω [aphorao] “look away from all others at one, fix one’s eyes.” Cf. Owen, *A Continuation*, p. 192.

<sup>268</sup> From Pyle, *A Paraphrase* (2:278), a reference to the work of the Dort minister Jacobus Lydius (1610–1679), *Agonistica sacra* (1657), pp. 95–98.

A. Know then; Tis a thing which was mightily considered, by the Ancient *Pagans*, & there is nothing more frequently observed in the Monuments of Antiquity; *That there is no Good enjoy'd in the World, which has not much Evil mixed with it.* Notable *Successes* were with Dread look'd upon, as ominous of ballancing *Disasters*. Triumphant Generals would therefore (like *Epaminondas*) mortify themselves immediately. Emperours would (as *Augustus*) one day in a Year, putt themselves into the Ignominious Quality of *Beggars*. Their wisest Men, durst not so much as acknowledge an *ordinary Welfare*, without making such an Excuse as, *Impunè dixisse liceat*.<sup>269</sup> Their Opinion was, That the Deity was *envious*; That the God who governed this World *envied* our Prosperity. Many Passages in the Bible, seem written, to Confront and Renounce that Blasphemous Opinion. The true Notion is, that which Christianity, *The Religion of the Cross*, ha's taught us. That it is but Reasonable, that Men should not grow *Forgetful* of their Dependence on the great God, and their Obligations to glorify Him.

Now, a Mixture of *Adversity*, is thro' our Corruptions, become necessary, to prevent in us, that criminal *Forgetfulness*, and produce in us those Frames of *Piety*, and Submission and Humility, which are but agreeable *Præparatives* for our Admission unto that State of *Glory*, wherein God shall be *All in All* unto us. Tis *Reasonable*, we should be, as *Adversity* would instruct us & incline us to be. If the *Envy* of *Satan*, whom the Sin of Man, & the Wrath of God, ha's made the *Prince of this World*, operate in our *Adversity*, still, He whom we have in the First Article of our *Creed*, our Eye upon, over-rules it all, manages it all. Behold, the *true Origin of Temporal Evil*.

[24v]

Q. What is meant by, *The Few Days*, assigned unto our *Chastning* from our Parents? v. 10.

A. Not, that the Chastisement lasted not long, but passed away with our Childhood. This would not afford an Argument for our Subjection to the Chastisement of our Heavenly Father; which is to last as long as we live. But, the Meaning is; that the Good and Benefit, of our Chastisement from our Parents, is but, *For a few Days*; that is to say, For this present Life. Tis that we may the more decently, honestly, conveniently, pass over this Life, which is concluded within the Compass of a *Few Days*; But our Heavenly Father in His Chastisement, ha's an Eye to our eternal Advantage.<sup>270</sup>

<sup>269</sup> "I hope I may safely say so"; lit.: "It may be granted [to me] to have spoken so without punishment." An allusion to Pliny the Younger, *Letters*, 11; transl.: *LCL* 59, pp. 28–29.

<sup>270</sup> From *The Expiation*, p. 298.

**Q.** Tis required that wee *look Diligently, lest any Man fail of the Grace of God*; what is more Emphatically & Remarkably required in that, *Looking Diligently?* v. 15.

**A.** The Greek Word επισκοποῦντες is an ecclesiastical Word;<sup>271</sup> it seems to carry the Employment & Concerning of an Holy *Episcopacy* in this business. Breefly then, This Advice is written to *Churches*: it enjoins upon them, a *Diligent Church-Watch* over such as belong unto their Inspection; God uses to Bless a due Exercise of *Church-Watch*, to mentain the Interests of *Grace* among the People. All Churches, & especially *Pastors* of Churches, are to use an *ecclesiastical Care*, as in the whole Discipline, of the New Testament so especially in the Teaching & Charging of such as are under their *Watch*; & God will signally Bless these Means, that the People shall *not fail of His Grace*.

**Q.** What is meant by, *A Root of Bitterness?* v. 15.

**A.** An Apostate. It refers to the Words of *Moses*; Deut. XXIX.18.  
The *Defiling* of many, here means, the *Infecting* of many.<sup>272</sup>

**Q.** Why *Esau* represented as, *A profane Person?* v. 16.

**A.** Tis commonly said, For his easy Parting with the *Priesthood*.<sup>273</sup>  
*Le Clerc* thinks, For Sleighting the solemn Prayer & Benedictions of his *Father*, with which the Birthright of the elder Son, was conferred upon him, & confirmed unto him.<sup>274</sup>

[25r inserted into its designated place]<sup>275</sup>

[25v] |  
339.

**Q.** How and why is the *Blood of Jesus*, here celebrated for *speaking better things than that of Abel?* v. 24.

**A.** The Interpretation commonly Received, both with Ancients and Moderns, need not bee Repeted. One Blood cried for *Vengeance*, t'other Blood cried for *Mercy*.

I will now add, That the Reverend Opinion, which there was among the Jewes, about the *Blood of Abel*, might probably bee in the Thoughts of the Apostle, when Hee thus præfers the *Blood of Jesus*.

<sup>271</sup> From ἐπισκοπέω [episkopeo] “look at/take care, care for.” Similarly Owen, *A Continuation*, pp. 228–29.

<sup>272</sup> From *The Expiation*, p. 302.

<sup>273</sup> From Pyle, *A Paraphrase* (2:281).

<sup>274</sup> Le Clerc, *A Supplement*, p. 566.

<sup>275</sup> See Appendix B.

All that remains, is for mee, to exemplify this Observation.<sup>276</sup>

Know then, That as the learned *Selden* has noted, wee have Traditions, that the Antediluvians did use to swear, *By the Blood of Abel*.<sup>277</sup> And that the Arabic *Catena*, pretends to tell us, That the Prayer which *Noah* made in the Ark was this.

*O Lord, excellent art thou in thy Truth; and there is nothing great in Comparision of Thee. Look upon us, with an Eye of Mercy & Compassion; Deliver us from this Deluge of Waters, and sett our Feet in a larger Room. By the Sorrowes of Adam, thy first-made Man; By the Blood of Abel, thy Holy One; By the Righteousness of Seth, in whom thou art well-pleased; Number us not among those, who have Transgressed thy Statutes, but take us into thy merciful Care; for thou art our Deliverer, and thine is the Praise, from all the Works of thy Hands forever more.*

*And the Sons of Noah said, Amen, Lord.*

**Q.** A further Thought upon it?

**A.** Sir *Norton Knatchbul* takes the Meaning of the Place to be,<sup>278</sup> That the Sacrifice of our Saviour on the Cross, *speaks better* things (or is more effectual to appease the Wrath of God,) than the Oblation offered by *Abel*, the first Acceptable Type, that we find mentioned, of this great Sacrifice; even that which he offered, of the *Firstlings of his Flock, & of the Fatt thereof*, when the Lord had Respect unto *Abel*, and to his Offspring. Under the Term *Abel*, here are intended all the Offerings of the Old Testament, one Exemple, & the most noble, being putt for all the rest.

To represent the *Blood of Christ*, as Crying for *Mercy*, contrary to the *Blood of Abel*, which cried for *Vengeance*, does not so well suit, with the main Design of the Apostle; which is, to show how præferrible the Sacrifice of our Saviour is to all those of the Old Testament; and how much the Institutions of the New Covenant are to be preferr'd unto the Ceremonies of the Old. Besides, *Comparata* must be, *secundum magis et minus ejusdem Speciei et Naturæ*.<sup>279</sup> In a Comparison of Meliority, both of the Things must be good. As *Chrysostom* notes το κρειττον καλου τινος εστι κρειττον. *Quod melius est, melius est aliquo quod Bonum*

<sup>276</sup> Mather excerpts this paragraph from ch. 25 of John Gregory's *Notes and Observations upon some Passages of Scripture* (1646), in *The Works of the Reverend and Learned Mr. John Gregory* (1665), pp. 116–18. A chaplain to the Bishop of Chichester, Gregory (1607–1646) was a genuine polymath with interests in philology, astronomy, geometry, and arithmetic and was one of the leading English Orientalists of the day, famed for his command of Hebrew, Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopic, Samaritan, Saxon, and Armenian. He did important work in biblical studies but also wrote on globes and cartography, church music, ancient history, and chronology (ODNB).

<sup>277</sup> From Gregory, a reference to John Selden, *De Synedriis & Praefecturis Iuridicis Veterum Ebraeorum* (1650), vol. 1, cap. 2, p. 15.

<sup>278</sup> From Knatchbull, *Annotations*, p. 288.

<sup>279</sup> “Things to be compared ought to be of more or less of the same kind and nature.”



est.<sup>280</sup> But now, the *Blood of Abel* himself, did not speak *any good Things* at all, and was not at all good for that, for which there is a Vertue in the *Blood of Jesus*.

But this Gloss of Sir Norton is confuted by Dr. *Owen*, in his Exposition upon the Text before us.<sup>281</sup>

[▽25r] [▽Insert from 25r]<sup>282</sup>

**Q.** A Remark on, *Him that speaketh from Heaven?* v. 25.

**A.** *He from Heaven*, is evidently the SON of GOD.

[Compare, 1. Cor. XV.47.]

It is very probable, that *Moses* is the Person there *speaking on Earth*: For he alone is all along singly as a Lawgiver, opposed unto the Son of GOD, thro' the whole Epistle. It is CHRIST then, who is *from Heaven*, and *speaks from Heaven*. [See Joh. III.31, 32.] Now the *Voice* of Him who *speaks from Heaven* in publishing the *Gospel*, was what *shook the Earth* in publishing the *Law*. So then, it was CHRIST, who *shook the Earth* and published the *Law*. But the very Person who *shook the Earth*, and *speaketh from Heaven*, is He who has *promised, saying, yett once more, I shake, not the Earth only, but also Heaven*. But He who promised this, according to *Haggai*, is, *The Lord God of Hosts*.

And it is no Wonder, that *Shaking* or *Changing*, the *Heaven* and *Earth*, are in the Style of *Haggai*, ascribed unto the SON of GOD, at the End of this Epistle; when, *creating* both, and *changing* them again, is affirmed of Him, in the Style of the Psalmist, and the Entrance of it. So uniform is our Apostle, in what He argues for the SON of GOD, from the Old Testament. This is Dr. *Knights* Observation.<sup>283</sup>

[△] [△Insert ends]

**Q.** On what account is God called, *A consuming Fire?* v. 29.

**A.** The Burning Wrath of God against Sin, by which He destroyes the Wicked.

But *Moses* had called God by the Name. Deut. IV.24.

This was, with relation to His Descent upon Mount *Sinai*. Exod. XIX.18.

<sup>280</sup> The Greek phrase τὸ κρείττον καλοῦ τινός ἐστι κρείττον [to kreitton kalou tinos esti kreitton] and the Latin translation mean: "That which is better is better than something other that is good." Knatchbull cites John Chrysostom (Joannes Chrysostomus, c. 349–407), *Homiliae XXXIV in Epistolam ad Hebraeos*, homil. 16 [PG 63. 123]. John Chrysostom is widely regarded as the greatest preacher (hence his byname "golden mouth") and important reformer of the early Eastern Church, where he is venerated as one of the Three Hierarchs.

<sup>281</sup> Cf. Owen, *A Continuation*, p. 269, who rejects a comparative interpretation of this passage.

<sup>282</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>283</sup> Mather cites the work of the vicar of St. Sepulchre, London, and senior fellow at St. John's College, Oxford, James Knight (1672–1735), *Eight Sermons preached at the Cathedral Church of St. Paul* (1721), pp. 176–79 (sermon 3 on Luke 24:27).

And Fire issuing out from the Lord consumed some who did not with *Reverence & godly Fear*, draw near unto Him. As, The Two Sons of *Aaron*. And, the two hundred & fifty Pretenders to the Priesthood.

See *Daniels* Vision. Ch. VII. 9, 10. And, Psal. XCVII.3.<sup>284</sup>

**Q.** Whence does the Apostle derive what he writes, in urging, *lett us serve God Acceptably with Reverence & godly Fear; For our God is a consuming Fire?* v. 28, 29.

**A.** If you look into *Ezekiels* Illustrious Vision of the Four *Wheels*, there you'll see the glorious Angels, the great Administrators of the mundane Affayrs, while the Four *Monarchies*, & all the *Four Parts of the World*, pass under their various *Revolutions*. You'll see these *Angels* always upon the *Wing*, for the *Service* of the Lord Jesus Christ in all of these Affayrs. You'll see the *Reverence* and *godly Fear* expressed by these *Angels* in all their *Service*, while they *stand and lett down their Wings, at the Voice from the Firmament over their Heads*. But the Lord whom they *serve*, even the *Man upon the Throne*, ha's the *Appearance of Fire round about* Him. Well; wee that are Beleevers on the Lord Jesus Christ, shall *Receive a Kingdome that cannot bee moved*; there are no *Wheels* in that *Kingdome* of our Lord, which wee are to Receive at last, after that wee have here *served* its Interests. Wee shall bee employ'd in that *Kingdome*, as the *Angels* are at this Day; lett us now (saies the Apostle) *serve* our Lord Jesus Christ, as the Holy *Angels* do, with *Reverence & godly Fear*: It is that Lord the *Man upon the Throne*, who had the *Appearance of Fire round about Him*.<sup>285</sup>

<sup>284</sup> From *The Expiation*, p. 327.

<sup>285</sup> There is considerable overlap here with Mather's *Thoughts for the Day of Rain* (1712), pp. 58–59.

**Q.** On that of, *Entertaining Angels?* v. 2.

**A.** It was from the *Angels* Visiting of *Abraham*, and *Lot*, that the Pagans had such Traditions, as that which made *Ovid* introduce *Jupiter*, saying;<sup>286</sup>

*Summo delabor Olympo,  
Et Deus humana lustrum sub imagine  
Terras.*<sup>287</sup>

It is a strange Passage in *Homer*, [*Odyss.* ζ.] whom *Apuleius* calls, *omnis vetustatis certissimum Authorem*.<sup>288</sup>

και τε θεοι ξενοισιν εοικότες αλλοδαποισιν  
παντοιοι τελεθοντες επιστροφωσι πολλας,  
Ανθρωπων υβριν τε ευνομην εφορωντες.<sup>289</sup>

*In the Habit of diverse Pilgrims the Gods perambulate Towns & Cities, & take  
Inspection of the good & evil Doings of Men.*

**Q.** Who are, *They which suffer Adversity?* v. 3.

**A.** The Greek Word,<sup>290</sup> may be extended unto all Affliction. But more strictly taken, it first intends, those that are sick, & in Bodily Pains. Behold, an Elegance & Pungency in the Consideration that followes; *As being yourselves also in the Body*. We have a *Body* subject unto the like Sickness & Infirmities.

**Q.** *Marriage Honourable?* v. 4.

**A.** τιμιος.<sup>291</sup> *Alardus* observes, That this Passage is to be compared with,

<sup>286</sup> This entry seems to be derived from the work of Benjamin Camfield (1638–1693), chaplain to the Earl of Rutland and rector of Aileston, Leicestershire, *A Theological Discourse of Angels: And Their Ministries. Wherein Their Existence, Nature, Number, Order and Offices, are Modestly Treated Of* (1678), pp. 18–19. Mather apparently was fond of this work and cited it repeatedly in his writings on the invisible world.

<sup>287</sup> “I descended from high Olympus, and as a god disguised in human form travelled up and down the land.” A reference to the work of the Roman poet Ovid (Publius Ovidius Naso, 43 BCE–17 CE), *Metamorphoses*, 1.208–13; transl.: *LCL* 42, pp. 16–17.

<sup>288</sup> “the most reliable authority of antiquity.” A reference to the work of the Roman author Lucius Apuleius Madaurensis (b. c. 125 CE), *Apologia*, cap. 40; p. 64.

<sup>289</sup> “And the gods do, in the guise of strangers from afar, put on all manner of shapes, and visit the cities, beholding the violence and the righteousness of men.” A citation from *Homer*, *Odyssey*, 17.485; see *LCL* 105, pp. 190–91: και τε θεοι ξεινοισιν εοικότες αλλοδαποισι, παντοιοι τελεθοντες, επιστροφωσι πολλας, ανθρωπων υβριν τε και ευνομην εφορωντες [kai te theoi xeinoisin eoikotes allodapoi, pantoioi telethontes, epistrophosi poleas, anthropon hybrin te kai eunomien ephorontes].

<sup>290</sup> The word in question is τῶν κακουχουμένων [ton kakouchoumenon], present passive participle of κακουχέω [kakouchéo], “maltreated, tormented.” From *The Expiation*, p. 333.

<sup>291</sup> The word τιμιος [timios] means “valuable, honorable.”

1. Thess. IV. 4. *Sanctification & Honour*; where, *Honour* means, *Marriage*. *Cœlibatus autem est Ἀτιμία in se, licet scortatio non accedat. Habent cœlibes Ἀτιμίαν, quia carent Uxore, quæ in sacris etiam vocatur, Honor.*<sup>292</sup>

**Q.** *Marriage is honourable*: How should it be taken? v. 4.

**A.** The Words are mandatory as both the præcedent and the subsequent are. *Lett Marriage be honourable.*<sup>293</sup>

**Q.** That *God will Judge Whoremongers & Adulterers*? v. 4.

**A.** In *Bereshith rabba* there is recited a Saying of R. Shamlai. *Ubicunque invenitur scortatio, ibi pestis in Mundum venit, et bonos juxta ac malos perimit.*<sup>294</sup> And from Gen. VI. the Hebrews observe: *propter omnia Deus S. B. differt Iram suam, excepta scortutione.*<sup>295</sup>

**Q.** The *Conversation* to be *without Covetousness*? v. 5.

**A.** The Greek Word used here, τροπος, most properly signifies, *The Way of Getting ones Livelihood.*<sup>296</sup>

**Q.** *Be content*? v. 5.

**A.** The Jews have a Saying, cited by Buxtorf. *Non est tranquillitas major quàm si quis forte sua contentus sit.*<sup>297</sup>

**Q.** To whom does that Promise belong, *I will never leave thee nor forsake thee*? v. 5.

**A.** The Promise was made unto *Joshua*.<sup>298</sup> It belongs to all that really bear the Name of JESUS; as they do, who are in Him, & glorify His Name, and walk as

<sup>292</sup> "Celibacy in itself is [honorable], if whoredom does not go along with it. The celibates have [honor] since they do not have a wife, which in the holy rites is also called '*Honor*.'" From the work of Lampertus Alardus, *Pathologia sacra novi testament* (1635), pp. 223–24. Reference is made to 1 Thess. 4:4: "that each one of you know how to control his own body in holiness and honor" (ESV).

<sup>293</sup> Similarly, *The Expiation*, pp. 333–34, and Hammond, *A Paraphrase* (4:373).

<sup>294</sup> "Wherever whoredom is found, a plague enters the world and destroys the good along with the evil." This entry is drawn from Cartwright, *Mellificium Hebraicum*, lib. 3, as printed in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (8:1353). A reference to the saying of R. Shammai (or R. Simlai) in *Midrash Rabbah*, Genesis (Bereshith), p. 214, at Gen. 6:7.

<sup>295</sup> "For the sake of all these things God, blessed be He, diverts his wrath after having taken away the whoredom." From Cartwright, another reference to *Midrash Rabbah*, Genesis (Bereshith), at Gen. 6:7.

<sup>296</sup> The word τροπος [tropos] generally signifies "way, manner, customs." From *The Expiation*, p. 336.

<sup>297</sup> "There is no greater tranquility than if someone is content with his lot." This entry is drawn from Cartwright, *Mellificium Hebraicum*, lib. 3, as printed in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (8:1353). From Cartwright, a reference to Buxtorf, *Florilegium hebraicum*, p. 30.

<sup>298</sup> Cf. Josh. 1:5.

His Name obliges them. It is a good Thought which *Anselm* ha's upon it. *Hoc dixit Deus Josue tenenti formam D. N. Jesu Christi, et in Christo cuilibet Membro ejus.*<sup>299</sup> *Alardus* observes, εγκαταλειπω signifies not barely, *Relinquo*, but, *Aliquem in extremo periculo, et in profundo Luto, relinquo.*<sup>300</sup>

**Q.** Who are meant, in that Advice, *Remember them which have the Rule over you?* v. 7.

**A.** *Them which have had the Rule.* ἡγουμένων is not a Participle of the present Tense,<sup>301</sup> but a Noun Substantive. Consider the Context, and you'll see that the Apostle speaks of such as *had been Guides*, not such as continued still to bee so. Hee intends the Apostles, the Evangelists, and all ordinary Pastors, who had *Led* them and *Rul'd* them, with the Holy Word of God; and who were many of them, now at Rest from their Labours.

**Q.** On that, *The End of their Conversation?* v. 7.

**A.** The Word, εκβασις, elsewhere [1. Cor. X.13.] signifies,<sup>302</sup> *An Escape out of some Notable Danger*: such is the *End* of good Men; An *Escape* out of an evil World.

**Q.** The *Heart established with Grace, & not with Meats?* v. 9.

**A.** By *Meats* here, are meant, the *Feasts* of the *Sacrifices*, and especially the *Peace-Offerings*. Many of the Christian Jews, were under Temptation, still to enjoy Society, & maintain Communion, with their Countreymen in these.

To Recreate the *Heart* with *Meats*, was in the old Hebrew Phrase, to *establish* it. *Abraham* invited his Guests, Gen. XVIII.5. To *establish their Hearts with a Morsel of Bread*; that is, to take some Repast.

Here seems to be a reference, to Deut. XII.18. *Thou must eat them before the Lord thy God, and thou shalt Rejoice.*

But note, tis better to have the *Heart established with Grace*; namely, That *Grace* of God, which is Reveled & Offered in the Gospel; the Expiation of our Sin, by the Sacrifice of our Saviour; our Justification by Faith in Him; or Deliverance from the Law of Ceremonies; And, a Title unto eternal Life allow'd

<sup>299</sup> "This said God to Joshua who bears the image of our Lord Jesus Christ, and in Christ to each member of him." From an unknown source, a reference to the annotation on Heb. 13:5 by *Anselm* of Canterbury from his *Commentarius in Epistulam ad Hebraeos*, in *Omnia quae reperiri potuerunt opera* (1572), vol. 2, p. 578. This work is not included in the PL.

<sup>300</sup> "I leave"; "I leave someone in the outmost danger and leave him in the deep mud." From *Alardus*, *Pathologia sacra novi testament*, p. 67.

<sup>301</sup> From ἡγεομαι "to lead, guide"; ἡγούμενος is a nominalization used for persons in positions of authority. Cf. ESV "remember your leaders . . .," however NAS "remember those who led you." This entry is derived from Owen, *A Continuation*, p. 230.

<sup>302</sup> The word εκβασις [ekbasis] signifies "outcome of an event" (Heb. 13:7) or "way out of some difficulty" (1 Cor. 10:13), as Mather argues. From Owen, *A Continuation*, p. 232–33.

unto the Cheef of Sinners. A Soul that ha's tasted such *Grace* as this, and had a Relish of it, will no more desire the Bauquets of the *Levitical* Oblations. T'will be a Soul *established*, & prepared for all Events, and made lively in the Performance of all Christian Duties. To this good Purpose, one who is not in some other Instances, the most orthodox of Expositions.<sup>303</sup>

|  
4512.

[26v]

**Q.** Upon, *The Sacrifice of Praise*, what Remark? v. 15.

**A.** The Jewes have a Saying, That (*in Saculo futuro*,<sup>304</sup> or) in the Age of the *Messiah*, *All Oblations shall cease, but the Oblation of Thanksgiving, which shall never cease.* And that *Thanksgiving* is more Acceptable to God, than all *Sacrifices*, they prove by the Words of the Psalmist, in the *Fiftieth Psalm*.

4513.

**Q.** What is here called, *The Fruit of our Lips*, is in the Language of the Prophet, from whence it is taken; Hos. 14.2. *The Calves of our Lips*? v. 15.

**A.** The Jewes render those Words, *what shall we render for the Calves of our Lips*?

Dr. *Pocock* notes, That καρπος is here taken for καρπωμα which in the LXX signifies, *An Holocaust*,<sup>305</sup> and this being usually of *young Bullocks*, it answers to the *Calves of our Lips*, in the Hebrew.

**Q.** *Acts of Liberality* now to be our *Sacrifices*? v. 16.

**A.** We read, Hos. VI.6. *I desired Mercy, & not Sacrifice.*

One has this good Note upon it: "God would rather have the things, which were anciently offered unto Him, to be spent upon Man who needs them, than upon Himself, who needs them not, and therefore He ha's Released His whole Right thereto, that they might wholly be transferred upon the Needy."

**Q.** But, the Importance of the Præcept? v. 16.

**A.** Upon the Præcept of *Releeving the Poor*, the Hebrews have a Saying, cited by *Hottinger* in his Treatise, *De Jure Hebræorum. Quod homo est abjectus, et contemptus, et abominabilis, et fetidus, et ita detestabilis, et propemodum æque*

<sup>303</sup> From *The Expiation*, pp. 342–43.

<sup>304</sup> "Future age." This entry is taken from Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:127).

<sup>305</sup> From καρπός [karpos] "fruit, profit"; κάρπωμα [karpoma] "fruit, offering of fruits." Mather refers to the LXX version of Hos. 14:2–3 (καρπὸν χειλέων): "Take words with you, and return to the Lord your God; speak to him, that you not receive good things, and 'We will return the fruit of our lips'" (NETS). From Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:127), a reference to Pococke, *Notae miscellaneae*, p. 70.

*rejectaneus sit àc Idololatra, si cum ei suppetat undè det, Manum ab hoc Præcepto cohibeat.*<sup>306</sup>

In *Gittin*, fol. 7.1. the Hebrews give the Præcept so; *Si homo videat facultates suas esse exiguas, dabit ex eis Eleemosynas; quantò magis cum sint amplæ.*<sup>307</sup>

And there was a Saying of *Mar Zutra*. *Etiam pauper, qui Eleemosynà sustentatur, dabit Ellemosynam.*<sup>308</sup>

**Q.** Why is God called, *The God of Peace*, when Mention is made of His bringing again our Lord Jesus Christ from the Dead? v. 20.

**A.** The Act is most congruously ascribed unto God invested with that Title; because His Power was exerted in that glorious Work, after Hee was *Reconciled by the Blood of the Covenant*.

**Q.** Upon what Accounts, is our Lord called, *The great Shepherd*? v. 20.

**A.** Upon all Accounts.

But the Text now before us, may bee particularly Read so: *The Shepherd of the Sheep. Great thro' the Blood of the everlasting Covenant*. That *Shepherd* was indeed *great*, that by His *Blood* could establish an *everlasting Covenant*.<sup>309</sup>

<sup>306</sup> “That a man is abject and despicable and abominable and foul-smelling and so detestable that he must almost be as much rejected as an idolater, if he has plenty at his disposal of which he might give, but rather keeps his hand clear of this rule.” This entry is drawn from Cartwright, *Mellificium Hebraicum*, lib. 3, as printed in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (8:1353). Reference is made to the work of the Swiss Reformed theologian and orientalist, Johann Heinrich Hottinger (1620–1667), *De Jure Hebraeorum: Leges CCLXI* (1655), lex 66, p. 80.

<sup>307</sup> “If a man sees that his means are small, he will give alms from them; and how much more if they are great?” From Cartwright, a reference to the Babylonian Talmud, Tractate *Gittin*, 7a (Soncino, p. 24).

<sup>308</sup> “Even a poor man who himself is sustained by alms will give alms.” Another citation from the Babylonian Talmud, Tractate *Gittin*, 7b (Soncino, p. 24).

<sup>309</sup> From *The Expiation*, p. 355.

4514.

**Q.** What might be the Occasion of the Name, *Catholick Epistles*? v. 1.

**A.** From the *Fourth Century* they have obtained that Name; and been ranked in the same Order, in which they now stand. It could not be, Because they were, *passim recepta ab omnibus, et ubique*;<sup>1</sup> For, we learn from the Testimonies of *Origen* and *Eusebius*, and *Amphilochius*, and *Jerom*,<sup>2</sup> That the Ancients doubted Four or Five of the *Seven*. *Oecumenius* and others tell us, They were so styled, because of their being written generally, *καθολου τοις πιστοις, ητοι Ιουδαιοις τοις εν τη διασπορα*, *generally to the Faithful, or to the Jewes of the Dispersion*.<sup>3</sup> This may hint the true Reason of the Name. Excepting the two brief Epistles of *John*, they were written to the *Jewes dispersed throughout the whole World*. The Epistle to the *Hebrewes* had no Inscription, and was written only to the Inhabitants of *Judaea*; and so it was not brought into the Number.

**Q.** A *Key* to the Epistle of *James*? v. 1.

1 “Generally received by all and everywhere.” From Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:129). Whitby does not provide a source for this citation.

2 Through Whitby, Mather alludes to the debates surrounding the authenticity and canonicity of some of the “catholic” or “general” epistles and specifically to the debates about the authorship of the Epistle of James. Reference is made to Eusebius of Caesarea, *Ecclesiastical History*, 3.25.1–7 and 6.25, where Origen’s opinion is mentioned [PG 20. 267–70 and 579–86; SC 31]. In 3.25.3., Eusebius writes: “Of the Disputed Books which are nevertheless known to most are the Epistle called of James, that of Jude, the second Epistle of Peter, and the so-called second and third Epistles of John which may be the work of the evangelist or of some other with the same name” (LCL 153, p. 257). Whitby further refers to the lawyer, Bishop of Iconium, and nephew of Gregory of Nazianzus, Amphilochius of Iconium (340/45–398/404), *Iambi ad Seleucum*, pp. 310–15. *Iambi ad Seleucum* is a didactic poem that contains a biblical canon list. Migne attributed the text to Gregory of Nazianzus [PG 37. 1577–600]. Many modern scholars assume Amphilochius’s authorship, including Edmund L. Gallagher and John D. Meade, whose *The Biblical Canon List from Early Christianity: Texts and Analysis* (2017) also provides a new edition and translation (pp. 148–55). This study also contains a helpful discussion of patristic debates over the Catholic epistles (pp. 44–48). Jerome mentions the doubtful authorship and canonicity of the Catholic Letters in various places: James (De vir. Ill. 2); Jude (ibid. 4); 2 and 3 John (ibid. 9). On 2 Peter, see Epistolae, 120. On Hebrews, see his Epistola 129 [PL 22. 1103].

3 The phrase *καθολου τοις πιστοις, ητοι Ιουδαιοις τοις εν τη διασπορα* [katholou tois pistois, etoi Ioudaiois tois en te diaspora] more literally translates in its original context as: “generally to the faithful, either surely to Jews in the Dispersion [or – also like Peter – also to all those who belong to the same belief as Christians].” From Whitby, who cites the Greek Archbishop Theophylact of Ohrid in Bulgaria (Theophylactus of Ochrida, c. 1055–after 1107), *Argumentum catholicae Iacobi epistolae* [PG 125. 1131–32], attributed to the tenth-century Bishop Oecumenius of Tricca.



**A.** The Epistle is written, partly to the *Infidel* Jews, and partly to the *Beleeving* Jews. With the *Former*, our Apostle was to correct their haughty Errors, to soften their ungoverned Zeal, and to Reform their Indecent Usages in Religion. The *Latter*, he was to comfort under the Hardships they were to suffer for their Christianity; to warn them against several Prejudices & Practices of their Persecutors, to which their Education, or their Calamity might occasion their Propensity, & to spirit them up unto the pure & patient Profession of the Gospel. The Turns of each, after the Manner of the *Eastern Writing*, seem to be promiscuously carried on; But they are Distinguishable.<sup>4</sup>

4515.

**Q.** *Scattered Abroad.*] Some Illustrations upon this *Dispersion* of the Jewes? v. 1.

**A.** *Agrippa*, in his Oration to them, tells them, οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης δῆμος, *There was not a Nation upon Earth, where some of them were not seated.*<sup>5</sup> And, that if they of *Judea*, should Rebel, all of them that resided in other Places, would be destroyed, & every City fill'd with the Blood of them. The Words of *Strabo*, cited by *Josephus*, are, τόπον οὐκ ἐστὶ ραδίως εὐρεῖν τῆς οἰκουμένης *That it is not easy to find an eminent Place in the whole World, where the Jewes did not Reside.*<sup>6</sup> *Philo* in his Oration against *Flaccus*, makes mention, τῶν πανταχόθεν τῆς οἰκουμένης Ἰουδαίων *of the Jewes dispersed throughout all the World,*<sup>7</sup> adding, That one Region could not contain the *Jewes*, but they dwelt in most of the flourishing Cities of *Asia*, and in *Europe*; in the *Islands* & in the *Continents*; for number not much fewer than the Inhabitants.<sup>8</sup> And he introduces *Agrippa*, Interceding to *Caius* for them, as Inhabiting the most celebrated Parts of *Africa*, *Asia*, and *Europe*.<sup>9</sup> And even *Cicero* himself, in his Oration for another *Flaccus*,

4 From Pyle, *A Paraphrase* (2:314–15). Mather here and elsewhere assumes that the Apostle James, the “brother of the Lord,” is the author of the epistle. On the debates surrounding the question of authorship, see the Introduction.

5 The phrase οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης δῆμος [ou gar estin epi tes oikoumenes demos] literally signifies “for there is not a people in the inhabited world.” From Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:137), Mather cites Agrippa’s oration in Josephus, *Jewish War*, 2.16.398–99; transl.: LCL 203, p. 478.

6 The phrase τόπον οὐκ ἐστὶ ραδίως εὐρεῖν τῆς οἰκουμένης [topon ouk esti rhadiws heurein tes oikoumenes] literally translates: “it is not easy to find any place in the habitable world [which has not received this nation].” From Whitby, Mather refers to a quotation by the Greek geographer and historian Strabo (c. 63/64 BCE–after 23 CE), which is only found in Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, 14.7.115–16; transl.: LCL 489, p. 62.

7 The phrase τῶν πανταχόθεν τῆς οἰκουμένης Ἰουδαίων [ton pantachothēn tes oikoumenes Ioudaion] literally signifies “of the Jews from every side of the world.” From Whitby, a paraphrase of Philo of Alexandria, *Against Flaccus*, 7.45–46; transl.: LCL 363, pp. 328–29.

8 From Whitby, a summary citation of Philo of Alexandria, *Against Flaccus*, 7.45–46; transl.: LCL 363, p. 326.

9 From Whitby, Mather summarizes Philo of Alexandria, *The Embassy to Gaius*, 36.281–84; transl.: LCL 379, p. 142.

declares that the *Gold* sent by the *Jewes* to *Jerusalem*, was sent from *Italy*, and *all the other Provinces of the Roman Empire*.<sup>10</sup>

4516

**Q.** Who is the, Ἀνὴρ διψυχος καὶ διακρινόμενος, *The Double-minded and Wavering Man*? v. 6.<sup>11</sup>

**A.** We may learn it, from *Hermas*; who informs us,<sup>12</sup> *That Visions and Revelations* are διὰ τοὺς διψυχούς *For the Double-minded*; which he thus explains; τοὺς διαλογιζομένους ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις αὐτῶν, εἰ ἂν ἔστι ταῦτα, ἢ οὐκ ἔστιν.<sup>13</sup> *For them who Reason in their Hearts, whether these things will be, or not.* And again he saies, *Beleeve in God yee that are Doubtful; for He can do all things. Wo to the Doubtful, who have heard these things, & contemned them?* And again; *They who Doubt of God, they are the Double-minded, who shall receive none of their Requests.* Thus *Barnabas* also; speaking of him, that walks in the Way of Light, saies, οὐ μὴ διψυχῇσιν *He will not be Doubtful whether a thing be so, or no.*<sup>14</sup> Thus the *Apostolical Constitutions* (as they are called,) have that Passage, μὴ γίνου διψυχος, *Be not Doubtful in thy Prayer, whether thy Petition will be heard, or not.*<sup>15</sup> And with *Clement*, The διψυχοί, or *Doubtful*, are οἱ δισταζόντες περὶ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ δυνάμεως, *The Distrusters of the Power of God.*<sup>16</sup> It is opposed, unto a lively *Faith* in Prayer; for help to endure Temptations & Improve them for the Glory of God.

<sup>10</sup> From Whitby, a reference to Marcus Tullius Cicero (106–43 BCE), *Pro Flacco*, 67; transl.: LCL 324, p. 514.

<sup>11</sup> Combining words from verses 6 and 8, the phrase ἀνὴρ διψυχος καὶ διακρινόμενος [aner dipsychos kai diakrinomenos] literally signifies “a double-minded and doubting man.”

<sup>12</sup> In the following, Mather, from Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:137), refers to *The Shepherd of Hermas*, *Visions*, 12 (III.4).3, (LCL 25, p. 204); and *Visions*, 23 (IV.2).6, (LCL 25, pp. 230–32) as well as *Commandments*, 39 (IX).5, (LCL 25, p. 274). The Shepherd of Hermas is an anonymous early Christian book of revelations, probably composed in the first half of the second century in or near Rome and addressed to the former slave and Christian convert Hermas. It is counted among the Apostolic Fathers and was even considered canonical Scripture by some of the Church Fathers such as Irenaeus. Its central topic is the regeneration of Christians, who have become wavering or lukewarm in their faith and thus are διψυχοί or of two minds. The author(s) apparently knew the Epistle of James and the Epistle of Barnabas (RGG).

<sup>13</sup> Mather provides a literal translation for διὰ τοὺς διψυχούς [dia tous dipsychous]. The phrase τοὺς διαλογιζομένους ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις αὐτῶν, εἰ ἂν ἔστι ταῦτα, ἢ οὐκ ἔστιν [tous dialogizomenous en tais kardiais auton, ei ara estin tauta, e ouk estin] literally signifies “[for] those who reason carefully in their hearts whether these things are so or not.”

<sup>14</sup> The phrase οὐ μὴ διψυχῇσιν [ou me dipsychese] literally translates in its original context “He will never doubt [whether this should happen or not].” From Whitby, Mather paraphrases the *Epistle of Barnabas*, 19.5; cf. LCL 25, p. 76. Composed around 130 CE, the Epistle of Barnabas is a pseudoeptigraphical (attributed to the Apostle Barnabas) early Christian writing traditionally counted among the Apostolic Fathers, which offers advice for how to lead a life of faith and read the Hebrew Bible (RGG).

<sup>15</sup> The phrase μὴ γίνου διψυχος [me ginou dipsychos] literally translates in its original context “Do not be of two minds [in your prayer, whether it shall be granted or no.]” From Whitby, Mather cites the late fourth-century *Apostolical Constitutions*, lib. 7, sect. 1; transl.: ANF (7:467).

<sup>16</sup> From διψυχος [dipsychos] “double-minded”; the phrase οἱ δισταζόντες περὶ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ

**Q.** How the *Rich to Rejoice in being made low?* v. 10.

**A.** Take *Pyle's Paraphrase*. "Lett such who for the sake of their Religion, are fallen from a wealthy & prosperous Condition, be well-pleased with a Change, that gives them a Title to substantial & eternal Blessings, instead of a Temporal Prosperity, which, in itself is as liable to be destroy'd by a Thousand Accidents of Humane Life, as a Tender Flowre is by the Heat of the Sun."<sup>17</sup>

[lv]

[▽ 2r]

|  
[▽ Insert from 2r]

**Q.** What may be the Distinction between, *A good Gift*, and, *A perfect Gift?* v. 17.

**A.** Wee'l explain it with an Instance, which I have seen somewhere given of it, unto this Purpose.

The *Gifts of Nature*, which render a Man useful to Humane Society, and these exerted from only the lower Principle of serving *Self*, and getting *Wealth* or *Fame* in the World; These are *good Gifts*.

But then, sometimes these *Gifts* are accompanied with Real *Piety*, and the *Fear* and *Love* of God, and in sincere Concern to *Do Good* in the World; and the Person adorned with them sincerely designs the Service of GOD; These are *perfect Gifts*.

I will add the Words of Mr. *William Allein*.<sup>18</sup> "Some Gifts are *good*, but not *perfect*. Others are *good* and *perfect*; and able to make those *perfect*, who have them. *Creatures* are a *good Gift*; for every *Creature* of GOD is *good*. But CHRIST is a *good & perfect Gift*. *Knowledge* is a *good Gift*: but the *Spirit of Grace*, & *Love*, & *Adoption*, is a *good & perfect Gift*. *Earth* is a *good Gift*; but *Heaven* is a *good & perfect one*."

[△]

[△ Insert ends]

226.

**Q.** In what regard, is our God called, *The Father of Lights, with whom is no Variableness, neither Shadow of Turning?* v. 17.

**A.** The God of Heaven is here compared, but also opposed unto the *Sun* in Heaven. The Pagans called their *Jupiter* by the Name of, *Diespiter*, or the *Father of the Day*. That Name is in this Text Recovered unto the *Right Owner* of it, our

δυνάμεως [hoi distazontes peri tes tou theou dynameos] literally signifies "those who doubt the power of God." From Whitby, Mather cites Clement of Rome (Clemens Romanus, Saint Clement I, 1<sup>st</sup> cent. CE), *Epistola ad Corinthios I*, cap. 11 [PG 1. 231–32; SC 167].

<sup>17</sup> Pyle, *A Paraphrase* (2:318). This is a marginal insert.

<sup>18</sup> Mather cites the Nonconformist vicar of Bridgewater, Somerset, and private chaplain to Lord Digby, William Alleine (1614–1677), *Some Discovery of the new Heavens, and the new Earth*, p. 234, in *The Mystery of the Temple and City described in the nine last Chapters of Ezekiel unfolded* (1679). Mather cites this millennialist work across the "Biblia."

God, who is the *Father*, and Fountain of *Lights*; even the *Light* of the *Sun* itself proceedeth from Him who is thus Resembled unto the *Sun*. But there are two Things attending the *Sun* which are Incompatible unto our God; which things are here mentioned in *Astronomical* Terms, that wee translate, *A Variableness*, and, *A Shadow of Turning*. The *Variableness* of the *Sun* appears in the various Course which it seems to take. In the same Day, wee have it, in the *East*, in the *West*, & in the *Meridian*; tis now in the *Zenith*, & now in the *Nadir*; tis now in the *Summer Solstice* & now in the *Winter*; tis now in its *Perigee*, & now in its *Apogee*. And then, *the Shadow of Turning*, that belongs to the *Sun* is, in its Inability to penetrate thorough opaque Bodies; & the Variety of *Shadowes* made by Bodies according to their Position in it. Hence the Division of the Earths Inhabitants, into *Amphiscians*, and *Periscians*, and *Heteroscians*.<sup>19</sup> The Apostle now, by this Opposition would intimate these two Things unto us. First, the *Immutability* of God; who Diffuses His Rayes of Mercy or Justice, without any Change in Himself. And then, The *Omnipotency* of God: who can make the Rayes of His Grace to pierce thro' all Subjects; no Rock being able to obstruct the Passage of them.<sup>20</sup>

**Q.** Why is that Expression, *The Father of Lights*, used here? v. 17.<sup>21</sup>

**A.** Many expect their *Good* and *Evil*, from the *Stars*; as, their Wisdome from *Mercury*, and the like. They will profoundly, *Thank their Stars*, for this and that. But we are here carried up, to *God*, as the *Author of all Good*: And, a more proper Attribute could not be used on this Occasion, than this; *The Father of Lights*. Thus, as Dr. *Andrewes* also observes, in the foregoing Verse, *Do not err, my dear Brethren*; the Phrase, *err not*, is *πλανασθε*, of which very Word,<sup>22</sup> comes the Name of *Planets*.<sup>23</sup> Our Good or Ill Success is not under the Disposition of a Few *Wandering Planets*. We *wander* more than they, if we think it is. *The Father of Lights, from whom every perfect Gift.*] *Heinsius* thinks tis an Allusion to the *Urim & Thummim*.<sup>24</sup> So then, our *High-Priest*, the glorious JESUS is concerned in the Matter.

<sup>19</sup> An "Amphiscian" is a person living in the tropics, casting a shadow northward and southward at different times of the year; a "Periscian" is a person living within a polar circle, whose shadow, during the summer, will move entirely round; a "Heteroscian" is a person living either north or south of the tropics.

<sup>20</sup> Similarly, Grotius in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (6:4426), and Hammond, *A Paraphrase* (4:381).

<sup>21</sup> This entry was scribbled into the left margin of the page.

<sup>22</sup> The word *πλανασθε* [planasthe] is the present [middle-]passive imperative of *πλανάω* [planao], which means "to lead astray."

<sup>23</sup> Mather cites the scholar and Bishop of Winchester, Lancelot Andrewes (1555–1626), *XCVI Sermons* (1629), *Sermons of the Sending of the Holy Ghost*, sermon 14, p. 750.

<sup>24</sup> A reference to Heinsius, *Sacrae exercitationes ad Novum Testamentum* (1639), p. 587.

[45\*\*.]

**Q.** *Slow to speak.*] What and whence this Direction? v. 19.

**A.** It was the Imputation which the *Heathens* cast upon the *Christians*, That they were *in Publico muti*, not being inclined, *Palam loqui*, to speak openly of their Religion. And *Lactantius* confesses, *Hæc nostra Sapientia*;<sup>25</sup> It was true of the *Christians*, who were only in a private Capacity, & not engaged by Office, to preach the Word, unto the World: It was not their Custome, to publish their Religion, but only to *give an Answer unto them who required a Reason of the Hope that was in them*. Quære, whether the Apostle here, might not countenance that Practice?

[▽ 3r] [▽ Insert from 3r]

**Q.** The Sayings of the Hebrews, which may illustrate this of the Apostle, *slow to speak*? v. 19.

**A.** In *Pirke Aboth* tis a Saying of R. *Akiba*. *Sepes Sapientiæ est Silentium*.<sup>26</sup>

*Simeon* the Son of *Gamaliel* has a Saying there; *Omnibus Diebus meis educatus fui inter Sapientes; nec inveni quicquam melius Silentio*.<sup>27</sup>

In *Midras Kobeleth* you have that Saying. *Si Verbum valet siclum, Silentium duos siclos valebit, imò Lapidem pretiosum*.<sup>28</sup>

*Buxtorf* ha's a Saying out of *Michbar*. *Cuius cor est Angustum, eius Lingua est lata*.<sup>29</sup>

[△] [△ Insert ends]

25 "Silent in public"; "to speak openly"; "this [is] our wisdom." From Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:139), Mather cites the Christian apologist Lucius Caecilius Firmianus Lactantius (240–c. 320), *Divinae institutiones*, lib. 7, cap. 26 [PL 6. 815; CSEL 19]. The PL version of the Latin differs slightly.

26 "A fence for wisdom is silence." This entry is drawn from Cartwright, *Mellificium Hebraicum*, lib. 3, cap. 7, in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (8:1354). Cartwright cites the *Pirke Avoth*, cap. 3:17; transl.: *Pirke Aboth, The Ethics of the Talmud*, p. 85.

27 "In all of my days I was educated amongst wise men, and I have not found anything better for a person than silence." From Cartwright, another citation from the *Pirke Avoth*, cap. 1:17; transl.: *Pirke Aboth, The Ethics of the Talmud*, p. 35.

28 "If a word is worth a shekel, then silence will be worth two shekels, if not even a precious stone." From Cartwright, Mather cites *Midrash Rabbah, Ecclesiastes*, p. 133, on Eccles. 3:7. See also the Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Megillah 18a (Soncino, p. 109), referring to Ps. 65:2: "What is meant by the verse, *For thee silence is praise*? The best medicine of all is silence. When R. Dimi came, he said: In the West they say: 'A word is worth a *sela*', silence two *selas*.'"

29 "Whose heart is narrow [to hold a secret], his tongue is broad." From Cartwright, Mather cites Johannes Buxtorf the Younger, *Florilegium hebraicum* (1648), p. 318. Buxtorf cites *Mukhtar al-Jawahir*, a collection of proverbs about the cultivation of a virtuous soul, originally written in Arabic (Hebrew: *Mivhar ha-Penanim*, "Choice of Pearls"). The original was lost, however, and the text only survived in Hebrew manuscript translations, and was first published in 1484. Authorship was traditionally ascribed to the Jewish Neoplatonic philosopher and one of the most important religious and secular poets during the Jewish Golden Age in Spain, Solomon ben Yehuda Ibn Gabirol (Arabic: Abu Ayyub Sulaiman Ibn Yahya Ibn Jabirul, known as Avicbron, 1021/2–c. 1057/8). This ascription is debated in modern scholarship. See

4518.

**Q.** *Slow to Wrath?*] The Apostle writes to the *Jewes*; Among the *Jewes* were the *Zealots*: These were, ἐξ ἐριθείας of *contentious Spirits*: [Rom. 2.8.]<sup>30</sup> filled with *Wrath*, against the Teachers of Christianity, and especially against those who denied the Necessity of *circumcising* the *Gentiles*. [Act. 13.45. and 17.5.]

These Disputes,<sup>31</sup> naturally tended to obstruct that Faith, by which we are Justified. And to sett up those for *Teachers of the Law*, who *understood not the Things whereof they spake*. And this might give Occasion for that other Admonition, *Be slow to speak*. These People were also *Incontinent*, & very prone to *Fornications*. [Jam. 3.1. Rom. 2.22. 2. Tim. 3.5. Heb. 12.16.] And therefore they are fitly Admonished, *To lay aside all Filthiness & Superfluity of Naughtiness*.

The Jews have a Saying; *Quiquis irascitur, si sapiens est, Sapientia eius ab eo recedit. Et si Propheta est, Prophetia eius ab eo recedit; et Vita iracundorum non est Vita.*<sup>32</sup>

**Q.** When tis said, *Receive with Meekness the engrafted Word, which is able to save your Souls*, what is meant by, *The engrafted Word*? v. 21.

**A.** I much incline to expound it, of our Blessed Lord Jesus Christ, who is here proposed unto the Faith of the, *Twelve Tribes which were scattered abroad*.

Our Lord Jesus Christ, is, *The Word, of God, engrafted*. The Similitude of *Engrafting* very sweetly expresses, the *Mystery of God manifest in Flesh*, and the *Son of God* assuming a Man to subsist in *one Person* with Himself. Tis our Lords being *such a Person*, that renders Him able to *save our Souls*.<sup>33</sup>

**Q.** But if, by, *The Word*, here, be meant the *Gospel*. What is there emphatical in it? v. 21.

**A.** Dr. *Edwards* observes, That it is a very Remarkable, and Choice Expression. *Grafting* is of that which is planted; & it is not *Natural*, but is done by *Art* and *Skill*. The Shoot, or Ciens, that is *engrafted*, is not of the *proper* Growth, but is taken from *Another* Tree. And the Practice of the Art of *Grafting*, is to inoculate a *Good* Ciens into a *Bad* Stock; and the *Ciens* then changes the Ill Juice of the

---

the Hebrew-Latin edition by Theodor Ebert, *Electa hebraea septingenta quinquaginta, e libro rabbinico Mibbchar Happheninim* (1630), sect. 29, electio 6, p. 175. Engl. transl.: Abraham Cohen, *Solomon Ibn Gabirol's Choice of Pearls* (1925), p. 76.

<sup>30</sup> From ἐριθεία [eritheia] "selfish ambition." The first two paragraphs of this entry are derived from Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:139).

<sup>31</sup> The manuscript seems to have no "A." here.

<sup>32</sup> "Whoever is enraged, if he is a sage, his wisdom will leave him. And if he is a prophet, then [his gift of] prophecy will leave him; and the life of the irate is not [true] life." From Cartwright, *Mellificium Hebraicum*, lib. 3, cap. 7, in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (8:1354), Mather cites Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah*, *HaMadda*, Tractate *De'ot*, ch. 2, Halachah 3 (Hyamson, p. 48b). This last section is a later addition.

<sup>33</sup> The source of this entry could not be identified.

*Stock*, into its own good Nature. Thus, the Doctrine of the Gospel, is as it were a *Graff* of a sweet Fruit, planted in the *Stock* of our sour, sinful, corrupt Nature. We of ourselves are Evil and Barren Trees; but the Evangelical Doctrine, being *ingrafted* into us, changes our Nature, and makes us Good and Frutiful. And besides, The *Word* of the Gospel is not *Natural* and *Proper* to us; we are Averse to it; we are backward to receive it. Our Depraved Nature, which is the *Stock*, into which the Word is planted, makes us inclinable to Reject it; because it agrees not with our evil Principles.<sup>34</sup>

Thus we see the Elegancy of the Similitude.

**Q.** *Superfluity of Naughtiness?* v. 21.

**A.** One so paraphrases. “Exorbitant Passions, which like a Multitude of proud Suckers from a Tree, will spoil your Growth in Christian Vertues.”<sup>35</sup>

**Q.** To what is the Allusion of the Apostle, in that Expression, of, *Pure Religion and Undeified?* v. 27.

**A.** To a good *Jewel*; which must have these two Qualities, To be *sincera*, *et non ulcerata*,<sup>36</sup> First, genuine, and no counterfeit; And then, sound & clear, and perfect, without any Flawes.

How appositely is, *unspotted from the World*, added, unto, *visit the Widow & the Orphan*? A Lover of *this World*; or one under the *Spott* and Power of a *covetous Mind*, will not make such *Bountiful Visits* to the Poor, as ought to be made. They are the Men *unspotted from the World*, who Devise liberal things.

[2r and 3r inserted into their designated place]

[2v and 3v blank]

<sup>34</sup> Mather cites John Edwards, *The Hearer, in The Preacher, A Discourse, Showing, what are the Particular Offices and Employments of Those of that Character in the Church* (3 vols., 1702), vol. 2, p. 44.

<sup>35</sup> From Pyle, *A Paraphrase* (2:320).

<sup>36</sup> “genuine and unspotted.” From Grotius in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (6:4428).

**Q.** In the first Verse here, our Translation supplies a Word, *The Faith of our Lord Jesus Christ* [the Lord] *of Glory*. May it not be Translated without such a Supply? v. 1.

**A.** The Syriac thus carries the Construction, *The Faith of the Glory of our Lord Jesus Christ*.<sup>37</sup> *Grotius* approves it; and it is much more to be approved, than some other things of *Grotius* on this Chapter.

The Faith of that *Glory*, clothes Persons with more of *Glory*, than the most glorious Riches or Garments in the World.<sup>38</sup>

**Q.** The *Partiality* of præferring the *Rich* before the *Poor*, in *Church-Assemblies*? v. 4.

**A.** Most certainly it must not be applied unto the *common Assemblies* of Christians for *Worship*. It can be no Sin here to assign *Different Seats* unto Persons according to their *Different Ranks* wherein GOD ha's placed them.

*Austin* therefore applies it, unto the Assemblies meeting to dispose the *Offices* and *Functions* of the Church; in which, not the *Wealth* of Men, but their *Grace*, is to be considered.<sup>39</sup> But inasmuch as the Word, *Synagogue* is used here, Dr. *Manton* after others, understands it yett more particularly, for the Assemblies, in which the Church came together to examine *Causes* and administer *Censures*. The Apostle in the Context, expressly speaks of *Judges* & of *Judgments*; in which, [Lev. XIX.5.] *Accepting of Persons* is condemned. The *Jews* kept their *Courts* in *Synagogues*. [Matth. X.17. Act. XX.19. XXVI.11.] The *Christians*, to whom *James* wrote, were principally *Jews*; and still dispensed *Justice* in their Assemblies. *Maimonides*, [in San. L. 21.] says, *It is expressly provided by the Constitutions of the Jews, that when a Poor Man & a Rich plead together, the Rich shall not be bidden to sitt down, & the Poor stand, or sitt in a worse Place: but both sitt, or both stand*.<sup>40</sup> Behold, the very Phrase here used by our Apostle. When the

<sup>37</sup> From *Grotius, Annotationes in Epistolas catholicas*, in *Opera* (2:1078), Mather cites a Greek translation of the Syriac, which reads: “τὴν πίστιν τῆς δόξης τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ” and corresponds with the translation offered by Mather. Compare Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (5:884). Interestingly, this note is not included in the *Critici Sacri* version.

<sup>38</sup> This last section is a later addition.

<sup>39</sup> From Thomas Manton, *A Practical Commentary or an Exposition, with Notes on the Epistle of James* (1653), p. 230, Mather refers to Augustine, *De sententia Jacobi, seu epistola CLXVII*, cap. 5 [PL 33. 740; CSEL 44].

<sup>40</sup> From Manton, *A Practical Commentary*, p. 231, Mather refers to Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah, Sefer Shofetim* (bk. 14 “Judges”), Tractate Sanhedrin, Halachah 21. Touger translates (p. 166): “One of the litigants should not be allowed to sit, while the other stands. Instead, they both should stand. If the court desires to seat both of them, they may. One should not be seated on a higher plane than the other. Instead, they should sit on the same level.”



Church comes together for the Deciding of *Strife*, or for the Rebuking of *Sins*, if they regard the *Rich* more than the *Poor*, on the Account of their being so, they are *Judges* full of *evil Thoughts*; they discover themselves to be under the Power of *Thoughts* not agreeable to Christianity.<sup>41</sup>

Q. *Chosen the Poor of this World?* v. 5.

A. The Apostles themselves.

Q. *The Rich Oppressors?* v. 6.

A. They were the Persons, who appeared most in opposing the Christian Religion.<sup>42</sup>

4519.

Q. What might be the special Reason of introducing that Admonition, *He who transgresses in one Point, is guilty of all?* v. 10.

A. Dr. *Whitby* thinks, this Passage may be directly levelled against that loose Doctrine of the Jewish Doctors, mentioned by Dr. *Pocock*; *That God gave so many Commandments to them, that by doing any of them, they might be saved.*<sup>43</sup> So *Kimchi* expounds those Words of *Hosea*, *Take away Iniquity, & Receive Good*,<sup>44</sup> That is, saies he, Receive in lieu of them any Good, *any Commandment that we have done.*<sup>45</sup> It was, it seems, a common Rule among them; *That Men should single out some one Commandment of the Law, & therein exercise themselves, that so they might make God their Friend by that, lest in others they should too much displease Him.*<sup>46</sup> And we find this Rule by Dr. *Smith* cited from them; *He that observes any one Præcept, it shall be well with him and his Dayes shall be prolonged, and he shall possess the Earth.* And this Præcept, was with them usually, that of

<sup>41</sup> In this passage, Mather paraphrases Thomas Manton, *A Practical Commentary*, pp. 230–32.

<sup>42</sup> This and the preceding entry are from Pyle, *A Paraphrase* (2:322).

<sup>43</sup> From Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:143), a reference to Edward Pococke's commentary on Hosea in *The Theological Works of the Learned Dr. Pocock* (2 vols., 1740), vol. 2, p. 683. Pococke refers to chapter 29 in the work of Joseph Albo, *Sefer ha-Ikkarim* (*Book of Principles*, finished in 1425), lib. 3, cap. 29, where this question is discussed. See the English translation by Husik (1929), pp. 269–78.

<sup>44</sup> From Pococke, a reference to David Kimchi (acronym: Radak, 1160–1235) on Hos. 14:3. See similar rabbinic comments in *Mikraoth Gedoloth*, *The Twelve Prophets*, on Hos. 14:3, p. 86.

<sup>45</sup> Mather misidentifies this citation. Pococke mentions here a remark by the famous Portuguese Jewish philosopher, exegete, and statesman Judah Abravanel (Abrabanel, Abarbanel; 1437–1508).

<sup>46</sup> From Whitby, Mather cites the Cambridge Neoplatonist John Smith (1618–1652), *Select Discourses* (1660): *A Discovery of the Shortness and Vanity of a Pharisaick Righteousness*, ch. 2, p. 354.

the *Sabbath*, of *Sacrifices*, or of *Tythes*; These they look'd on as the *great Commandments of the Law*.<sup>47</sup>

| [4v]  
Q. *Judgment without Mercy*, to him who *shewed no Mercy?* v. 13.

A. The Hebrews have a Saying, cited by *Hottinger*. *Quicumque non exhibet Misericordiam, ei Misericordia à Cælo non exhibetur*.<sup>48</sup>

Q. On, *Mercy rejoicing against Judgment?* v. 13.

A. In *Bammidbar Rabba*, they bring in *Moses* interceding for *Israel*, after this Manner. *Domine omnium Seculorum; Fac propter temetipsum; magnificetur nunc Potentia Domini; vincat proprietas Misericordiæ, proprietatem Judicii*.<sup>49</sup>

In *Sanhedrin*, there is this Passage; *proprietas Bonitatis exsuperat proprietatem ultionis*. Tis also in the *Midras Tillim*, on *Psal. XV*.<sup>50</sup>

They Illustrate it thus. In the *Psalms*, when *Manna* was to be Rain'd, we read, *The DOORS of Heaven were opened*. When the *Flood* was to be inflicted, we only read, *The WINDOWS of Heaven were opened*. *Ostium autem maius est Fenestra*.<sup>51</sup>

1646.

Q. *Faith without Works* is compared unto the *Body without the Spirit?* v. 26.

47 From Whitby, another reference to Smith, *A Discovery of the Shortness*, ch. 2, p. 300. Smith translates a passage from Maimonides's great commentary on the Mishnah, here from the third order "Nashim" ("Women"). This text would have been accessible in the Latin edition of the Mishnah commentaries: *Seder Nashim sive legum Mishnicarum liber qui inscribitur de re uxora* (1700), Tractate Kiddushin (De sponsalibus), cap. 1, sect. 10, p. 367.

48 "Whoever does not show mercy, will not be shown mercy by heaven." This entry is drawn from Cartwright, *Mellificium Hebraicum*, lib. 3, cap. 7, in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (8:1355). Cartwright cites Johann Heinrich Hottinger, *Juris hebraeorum*, lex 68, p. 83. Hottinger refers to the Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Shabbath 151b (Soncino, p. 774).

49 "Sovereign of all worlds [or ages]; do it for thy own sake. Now let the power of the Lord be magnified. Let the attribute of mercy defeat the attribute of justice." From Cartwright, a reference to Midrash Rabbah on Num. 14:17; see *Midrash Rabbah, Numbers*, p. 689.

50 "The attribute of goodness exceeds the attribute of vengeance." From Cartwright, a reference to the Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Sanhedrin 100b (Soncino, p. 680), and to *Midrash Tehillim*, on Ps. 15 (see *The Midrash on Psalms*, vol. 1, p. 195).

51 "But the opening is larger than the window." Cartwright paraphrases a passage from the Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Yoma 76a (Soncino, pp. 369–70), which refers to Gen. 7:11. The Soncino ed. translates: "Now which measure is larger, that of reward or punishment? You must needs agree that the measure of goodness [reward] is larger. Now with the measure of punishment it is written: *The windows of heaven were opened*, with the measure of goodness, however, it is said: *And he commanded the skies above, and opened the doors of heaven; and caused manna to rain upon them for food, and gave them of the corn of heaven*. [And a Tanna taught]: Now how many windows has a door? Four; hence 'doors' [imply] eight."

**A.** I rather choose to read it, *As the Body without Breathing* [χωρίς πνεύματος] *is Dead*. – So, is *Faith*, if it *Breathe* not in *Works*.<sup>52</sup>

1431.

**Q.** How shall wee Reconcile these Words of *James*, *By Works a Man is Justified, & not by Faith only*: with the Words of *Paul*, to the *Romans*, & the *Galatians*, *That a Man is not Justified by the Works of the Law, but by the Faith of Jesus Christ*?<sup>53</sup>

**A.** The Doctrine of *Paul* is, That a *Justifying Faith*, is a Receiving of, and a Relying on, the *Gift of Righteousness* from God, by the Lord Jesus Christ; or, the Consent of a Distressed Soul, to bee Justified by Gods graciously Imputing unto him, the Obedience, which the Lord Jesus Christ as our *Surety*, yielded unto God, on the behalf of His Elect. This *Faith*, does Justify a Sinner, not as it is a *Work*, but only Relatively & Instrumentally; inasmuch as it is, the Instrument, by which a Man apprehends the Righteousness of the Lord Jesus Christ; as freely tendred unto the Sinner in the Gospel; Tis only in this Regard, that Faith, and no Grace but This Faith, ha's the Honour to Justify us.

But every *Jewel has a Counter-feit*: And how shall a Man know, That his *Faith* in the Righteousness of the Lord Jesus Christ, for his Justification, is not a Counterfeit?

To answer that Case, the Apostle *James* declares unto us, the *Marks* of a *Justifying Faith*; and those are, the *Works*, which it perpetually disposes the Believer unto.

Some of the Ancients, (as *Eusebius* and *Jerom* tell us) did not esteem the Epistle of *James* canonical, because there seem'd in a Contradiction to *Pauls*: And *Luther* at first with others, at the Beginning of the Reformation, for the same Cause, called the Epistle in Quæstion tho' *Luther* afterwards did Repent of this Weakness.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>52</sup> The phrase χωρίς πνεύματος [choris pneumatatos] signifies “without breathing/spirit.” The ESV offers “apart from the spirit.” Similarly Grotius in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (6:4454).

<sup>53</sup> The following entry contains the core of Mather's theological tract *Faith at work. A brief and plain essay, upon certain articles of the Gospel, most necessary to be understood by every Christian: to wit, the nature, the order, and the necessity of the good works, by which the faith of a Christian is to be evidenced* (1697), esp. pp. 4–6.

<sup>54</sup> In this section, Mather seems to rely on Manton, *A Practical Commentary*, preface. On Eusebius of Caesarea and Jerome, see the footnote on James 1:1. In his early *Preface on the New Testament* from 1522, Martin Luther criticized the epistle of James as “an epistle of straw” (“cyn rechte stroern Epistel”) in comparison to the epistles of John, Peter, and especially Paul, which for him contained the core of the Christian faith (*WA DB* 6:10; *Luther's Works* 35:362). In later editions of his *Deutsche Bibel*, this famous harsh comment on James was omitted, but it has remained present in readers's minds until today. In his *Preface on the Epistles of St. James and St. Jude* (*WA DB* 7:385–87; *Luther's Works* 35:395–97) and in later single sermons and remarks on James, Luther recognized the theological value of the letter, but still saw it as standing in tension with Paul's doctrine of justification, which was central for Luther's own theology: “Whatever

*Paul*, who professedly handles the Doctrine of Justification, does plainly assert, That no Man living is Justified by *Works*, but *only by Faith*. *James* does nevertheless assert, That a Man is Justified by *Works*, and not *by Faith only*. The appearance of Contradiction, is easily Reconciled. *Paul* treats of our *Justification* before *God*, and the *Right* unto everlasting Life therein granted unto us: which is only by Faith in our Lord Jesus Christ. *James* treats of that which may manifest our *Justification* unto *Men*, that see and hear, *our Profession of our Faith*.

The Conscience of a Man may bee distressed with a Twofold Accusation.

First, There is an Accusation of *Iniquity*. *Thou hast broken the Law of the Holy God, & horribly wrought Him in all His Attributes, & Interests: The terrible Penalty of that Broken Law now belongs unto thee*. The Answer to this Accusation is, The Lord Jesus Christ ha's fully obey'd the Law of God, & suffered for my Disobedience; {all?} I do, by *Faith*, depend on this Righteousness of my Lord Jesus Christ for my Acceptance with God for ever. This is the Doctrine of *Paul*.

Secondly, There is an Accusation of *Hypocrisy*. *Thou Talkest of thy Faith; but is it not meer Talk? How canst thou prove That thy Faith is any more, than what is in the very Divels themselves?* The Answer to this Accusation is; The *Works* of a sanctified Man, which I am doing every Day are the *Proofs* of my Faith. This is the Doctrine of *James*.

It is asserted by *Paul*, That a Man is *Justified Alone by Faith*. It is asserted by *James*, That a Man is *not Justified by Faith which is Alone*. The Quæstion discoursed by *Paul* is, How a guilty Person may come to bee Acquitted by the Lord, from all the Guilt that lies upon him. The Answer is, Not by any *Works* of our own, but only by the *Righteousness* of the Lord Jesus Christ, which is only by *Faith*, on our Part, applied unto us. The Quæstion discoursed by *James* is whether a Man pretending to *Faith* in the *Righteousness* of the Lord Jesus Christ, shall bee saved, tho' hee continues without the *Works* of an *Holy Life* agreeable thereunto? The Answer is No, Hee has no Faith at all.

That our Apostle here, does not intend proper *Justification* of a Person before God, by *Works*, is evident from the Instance of *Abraham*, which hee does Insist upon. *Abraham* is here *Justified by Works* and yett wee are sure, that hee is a *Justified Man*, *Thirty Years* before hee did those *Works*.

---

does not teach Christ is not yet apostolic ..." (p. 396). Therefore, he never wrote a complete commentary on James, as he did on most of the biblical books. In addition to the theological reasons, Luther also doubted the origin by the Apostle James, as many other scholars of the period (including Erasmus and Cajetan) did as well.

**Q.** What may be meant, by, *Be not many Masters?* v. 1.

**A.** Dr. Bull ha's a Sermon upon it; in which, having first recited the common Gloss, *Be not Rash, Hasty, Censorious & Malicious Judges on the Actions of other Men*; he rather prefers that Exposition, which makes it a Caution against a rash Undertaking of the *Pastoral Office* in the Church of God.<sup>55</sup> Except we take, *Masters*, for, *Pastors*, why is the Word, *many*, used? If it meant *Rash Judges* in general, *one* would be too many; The Multiplicity of them would not be the thing mainly culpable. But now the Paraphrase of *Erasmus* runs very smooth; *Ne ambiatis esse Magistri*; – lett not Pastors or Teachers be too vulgar, too common, too cheap among you.<sup>56</sup> *Drusius's* Gloss is agreeable; *Quò Pauciores sunt Magistri, eò melius agitur cum Populo. Nam ut Medicorum olim Cariam, ità Doctorum et Magistrorum nunc, Multitudo perdit Rempublicam. Utinam vanus sim.*<sup>57</sup> Besides, the Word used here, *διδασκαλοι*, does most literally signify, *Teachers*.<sup>58</sup> And the Syriac renders it by the Word *מוריִם* which is of the same Signification.<sup>59</sup> The Ancients also do generally follow this Interpretation.

The *Government of the Tongue*, the Subject unto which the Apostle is now proceeding, tho' it be a general Duty, yett the *Pastor* or *Teacher* is peculiarly concerned in it. The Ministers *Tongue*, as the Doctor observes, is the Chief Instrument of his Profession; that which he must, *ex Officio*,<sup>60</sup> often make use of. He lives under a Necessity of speaking much & often; and, *In the Multitude of Words there wanteth not Sin*. What Consideration can more powerfully deter from a rash Undertaking of the *Pastoral Office*? How extremely difficult is it, for a Man that speaks much and often, so to govern his Tongue, as to speak nothing amiss, for the Matter, or Manner, or Season of it? We may add an Observation |

[5v]

<sup>55</sup> Mather quotes the English theologian and Bishop of St David's, George Bull (1634–1710), *Some Important Points of Primitive Christianity maintained*, vol. 1 (1714), sermon 6 (“A Visitation Sermon, concerning the great Difficulty and Danger of the priestly Office”), p. 224.

<sup>56</sup> “Do not strive to become teachers.” Mather cites Bull, *Some Important Points*, vol. 1, sermo 6, p. 226. Bull cites Erasmus of Rotterdam, *Paraphrasis in epistolam Iacobi*, in *Uniuersas epistolas apostolorum ab ecclesia receptas* (1522), p. 385. Erasmus has: “ne passim ambiatis esse magistri.”

<sup>57</sup> “The fewer teachers there are, the better it is with the people. For just as the multitude of doctors once destroyed Caria, the multitude of scholars and teachers now destroys the state.” Bull, *Some Important Points*, vol. 1, sermo 6, p. 226. Drusius in the 1698 Amsterdam edition of Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (6:4466).

<sup>58</sup> From *διδάσκαλος* [didaskalos] “teacher/master.”

<sup>59</sup> From *מורה* [moreh] “master teacher.” However, this word is Hebrew, not Syriac (خلفه [malfane]); Compare Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (5:886).

<sup>60</sup> “by right of office.”

of *Grotius*; That the Admonition of the Apostle against the Vices of the Tongue, following the Text now before us, *Maximè directa est in rixosos Disputatores*: is directed chiefly against contentious Disputers.<sup>61</sup> Teachers, who abuse their Liberty of speaking; Disputatious Men, who vent their Spleen & Passion in their Disputations; Troublers rather than Teachers of the People; Men whose Tongue are indeed *cloven Tongues of Fire*, but not such as the Apostles were from Above endued withal; no, but serving to inflame & consume, rather than to enlighten, & kindle the Flames of Strife, rather than of Piety & Charity in the Church of God; These are very peculiarly concerned in the Admonition.

One observes, The *Jewish* Christians are in this Chapter dissuaded from the Ambition to be called *Doctors* and *Teachers*; & from that Spirit of Contemning, Reviling, Execrating & Calumniating, to which the *Jewish* Zelots, were so much addicted.<sup>62</sup>

|<sup>63</sup>

[6r]

**Q.** A Further Thought. What may be the Intention of the Apostolical Prohibition, *Be not many Masters?* v. 1.

**A.** J. *Marckius*, in his late Exercitation, reckons up the various Glosses of *many Masters* upon this Text. But at last he himself pitches upon this, as the most agreeable.

He saies, That the Greek, πολυς, answers to the Hebrew /רב/ and signifies, not only, *many*, but also, *mighty*; as indeed, *Multitude*, and, *Magnitude*, are not rarely involved in one another.<sup>64</sup> Accordingly, the Prohibition here is, *Be not mighty Masters*; on which our Author gives us this Paraphrase, *Non qui donis, aut dignitate verè tales sunt, sed qui Sapientiæ, Sanctitatis, et Eloquentiæ propriæ Persuasione turgidi, alios præ se temnerent, atque multa magnificè de se adversus alios effutirent, tam prompti ad loquendum quam tardi ad audiendum, atque auctoritate sua alios obruentes.*<sup>65</sup>

We know, that the *Masters* among the Jewes, did mightily swell, with the Title of Rabbi; a name which carried the very Signification of πολυς in it. A

<sup>61</sup> Mather's translation follows that of George Bull, *Some Important Points*, vol. 1, sermon 6, p. 229. Reference is made to Grotius, *Annotationes in Epistolas catholicas*, in *Opera* (2:1083) and in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (6:4468).

<sup>62</sup> The last paragraph is from Pyle, *A Paraphrase* (2:304–05).

<sup>63</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>64</sup> Greek πολυς [polys] means “many, much, mighty”; Hebrew רב [rav] “numerous, great.”

<sup>65</sup> “None who are truly such [i. e. doctors] on account of gifts or merit, but who are puffed up because they are [falsely] persuaded of their own wisdom, piety and eloquence, would be contemptuous of others in public, and would boastfully blurt out many things about themselves against others, being as willing to talk as slow to listen, and crushing others with their authority.” From the work of the Dutch Reformed theologian Johannes Marckius (Johannes a Marck, van der Mark, 1656–1731), *Exegeticae exercitationes ad quinquaginta selecta loca Veteris & Novi Testamenti* (1697), exerc. 49 (on Jam. 3:1), p. 784.

proud, vain, criminal Affectation of Greatness attended it; which occasion'd that Advice of R. Semajah; *love the Work, but hate the Rabbiship*.<sup>66</sup>

A Stroke of Heinsius is not very Remote from this of Marckius; *Ne quis temere Doctoris sibi Titulum assumat ac Nomen, aut magnus sibi videatur Doctor*.<sup>67</sup>

Briefly A, *magnus Magister*, is he (quoth Marckius) *qui altè sentit de se respectu Sapientiæ, Prudentiæ, Pietatis, facundiæ, et aliorum donorum, alios præ se spernens: qui seipsum eo Nomine apud alios commendat, atque alios continuò carpit*.<sup>68</sup>

It agrees admirably well with the Context.

**Q.** A perfect Man? v. 2.

**A.** The Hebrews have a Saying, *Tres sunt Transgressiones à quibus homo nullo Die immunis est, nempe Cogitationes, pravæ Aberratio attentionis in Oratione, et Lingua mala*.<sup>69</sup>

**Q.** That Passage, *The Tongue is a Fire, a World of Iniquity*: How may it be carried? v. 6.

**A.** The Syriac Interpreter seems to have had a Copy, wherein it ran thus; ἡ γλῶττα πῦρ τῷ κόσμῳ τῆς ἀδικίας *The Tongue is a Fire to a World of Iniquity*.<sup>70</sup> And Grotius much approves this Reading with a Confirmation to it, from the Words

<sup>66</sup> From Marckius, *Exegeticae exercitationes*, p. 785, Mather cites Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah*, Tractate Talmud Torah, cap. 3, Halachah 10. Touger translates (pp. 200–02): “Our Sages declared: ‘Whoever benefits from the words of Torah forfeits his life in the world.’ Also, they commanded and declared: ‘Do not make them a crown to magnify oneself, nor an axe to chop with.’ Also, they commanded and declared: ‘Love work and despise Rabbinic positions.’ All Torah that is not accompanied by work will eventually be negated and lead to sin. Ultimately, such a person will steal from others.”

<sup>67</sup> “So that no one groundlessly assumes for himself the title or name of doctor, or wants to appear as a great doctor.” From Marckius, *Exegeticae exercitationes*, p. 787, Mather cites Daniel Heinsius, *Sacrae exercitationes ad Novum Testamentum*, p. 590.

<sup>68</sup> “A great doctor [is he] who thinks highly of himself with regard to his wisdom, prudence, piety, and eloquence, and other gifts, while he despises others openly: who commends himself to others by this name [i. e. doctor], and who continuously criticizes others.” From Marckius, *Exegeticae exercitationes*, p. 787.

<sup>69</sup> “There are three transgressions from which man is never safe: crooked thoughts, of course, distraction of attention during a speech, and foul language.” This entry is drawn from Cartwright, *Mellificium Hebraicum*, lib. 3, cap. 7, in Pearson (1698), *Critici Sacri* (8:355). Cartwright refers to the Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Baba Bathra 164b (Soncino, p. 717). For more on this source, see below at 5:14.

<sup>70</sup> Mather provides a translation of the phrase ἡ γλῶττα πῦρ τῷ κόσμῳ τῆς ἀδικίας [he glotta pyr to kosmo tes adikias]. From Grotius’s annotation in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (6:4470), Mather cites a Greek interpretation of the Peshitta. A modern English translation of the Peshitta would be: “the tongue is a fire, and the sinful world [like a forest.]” See *Holy Bible: From the Ancient Eastern Text* (1985), p. 1208.

of the Son of *Syrach*, *sicut exiguus ignis multos frugum acervos consumit ità nihil est quod magis devastat Mundum, quàm mala Lingua.*<sup>71</sup>

**Q.** How is the *Tongue*, a *World of Iniquity*? v. 6.

**A.** The Word, κόσμος, doth not only signify, *The World*, as it is the System of Heaven & Earth and all things therein contained; but it also denotes *Decoramentum, Ornamentum, Exornationem*;<sup>72</sup> and in that Sense tis very applicable to an ungodly *Tongue*; for the Design of such a *Tongue*, is to putt a *Beauty* upon Wickedness. When *Saul* Rebelled against God what a *beautiful* Gloss did his unholy *Tongue*, putt upon his foul Action? And with what subtil Palliations do's the Tongue of the *Whore* in the Proverbs go to *Beautify* her impious Dalliances? *Lingua ornat Iniquitatem, dum Ornatu quodam Verborum, quod est Iniquum, efficit, ut æquum videatur.*<sup>73</sup>

Or, if we read, *A Word of Iniquity*, we must add, by Way of Paraphrase, as Dr. *Whitby* does; *Is kindled by it*;<sup>74</sup> or, as the *Æthiopic* does; *Is contained in it.*<sup>75</sup> But the *Syriac* makes it run so; *And the wicked World is as the Wood.*<sup>76</sup>

2265.

**Q.** How does the *Tongue Defile the whole Body*? v. 6.

**A.** [Eccles. 5.5.] *Grotius* answers, *Nempè cùm ex blanditiis ad Adulteria venitur.*<sup>77</sup>

*Quære*, will not *Miriam* give an Instance of the *Tongue* bringing a *Defilement* on the *whole Body*?

4520.

**Q.** The Comparison of the *Tongue*, to a *Fire*; first *Blackning*, and then *Wasting*, the *whole World*, (or, *Wood*.) from whence might it be taken? v. 6.

**A.** It is taken partly, from some Scriptures in the Old Testament. We read of the *Froward Man*; Prov. 16.17. *In his Lips there is a Burning Fire.* [Compare a Passage in the *Apocrypha*; Eccles. 28.10. *According to the Wood of the Fire, so*

71 "As a very small fire consumes many piles of crops, so there is nothing which devastates the world more than an evil tongue." From Grotius, reference is made to Ecclesiasticus 8:4 and 28:13. See Appendix A.

72 "decoration"; "ornament"; "embellishment."

73 "The tongue beautifies iniquity, when – by a certain ornament of words – it makes that which is crooked appear to be straight."

74 Mather cites Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:146).

75 From Whitby, Mather refers to the Ethiopic version. Compare Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (5:888).

76 From Whitby, a reference to the Syriac Peshitta. Compare Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (5:886).

77 "Certainly when one comes from flattery to adultery." Grotius in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (6:4470).



*it burneth, and the stronger they are that contend, the more they will be inflamed. Thus Ben-Syra saies; An Hasty Contention kindles a Fire, the Fire burning kindles great Heaps: which is thus explained; As a little Fire consumes great Heaps of Wood, so nothing more wasts the World than an Evil Tongue.*<sup>78</sup>

The *Course of Nature*, which the *Tongue sett on Fire*, may be rendred, *The Wheel of our Nativity*, & may mean, *The whole Course of our Lives* {wasted as Fire forever.}

[\*\*\*\*]

**Q.** A Note on that Clause; *sett on Fire of Hell?*

[\*\*\*\*]

**A.** Mr. *Strong* ha's one; Tis this; *Lust* in a Mans Heart, is not only compared unto *Fire*, that must be fed with *Fewel*; and so it sooner burns. But it is a *Fire*, that feeds itself without *Fuel*; and therefore called, *The Fire of Hell*.<sup>79</sup>

[\*\*66]

**Q.** *The Tongue can no Man Tame*: What? Not his own? v. 8.

**A.** It means, Another Mans *Tongue*.<sup>80</sup>

[6v]

|  
4521.

**Q.** *Curse we Men.*] What Remarkable Instance? v. 9.

**A.** The unbelieving Jewes did this remarkably towards the Christians; *Cursing* and *Anathematizing* of them in their *Synagogues*; as *Justin Martyr* often testifies to the Face of *Trypho* the Jew.<sup>81</sup>

4522.

**Q.** *Who then is a wise Man, & endued with Knowledge among you?* To what may it refer? v. 13.

**A.** The *Jewes* were great Pretenders to *Knowledge*: [Rom. 2.18.] And they gloried in the Title of *Chachamim*, or, Wise-Men. [1. Cor. 1.20. & 3.18.]

<sup>78</sup> From Grotius, Mather cites a Latin paraphrase of a proverb 14 in the *Alphabet of ben Sirach* and translates it. The *Alphabet of ben Sirach* is an anonymous medieval compilation of Jewish proverbs, partly in Aramaic, partly in Mishnaic Hebrew.

<sup>79</sup> From the work of the English Puritan minister and Westminster Divine, William Strong (d. 1654), *Heavenly treasure, or man's chiefest good* (1656), p. 290.

<sup>80</sup> From Grotius in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (6:4470).

<sup>81</sup> From Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:146), a reference to Justin Martyr, who mentions the cursing against Christ and the Christians in Jewish synagogues in *Dialogus cum Tryphone Judaeo*, cap. 16, 47, 96, and 137 [PG 6. 512, 577, 704, 792; *Patristische Texte und Studien* 47].

Hence their Divines are called, as *Buxtorf* tells us /חכמי האמת/ *wise Men as to Truth*.<sup>82</sup>

**Q.** On that, *easy to be entreated*? v. 17.

**A.** The German Translation is a very Instructive one, Läßt ihr sagen, or, *patiens Admonitionis*, willing to take an Admonition.<sup>83</sup>

4523.

**Q.** The *Wisdom from Above*, is *full of Mercy*? v. 17.

**A.** *Josephus* tells us, *This, of all good Passions, was most lost among the Jewes.*  
οὐδεν οὕτως ἀπολώλει χρηστον πάθος ἐν ταῖς τότε συμφοραῖς, ὡς ἐλεος De Bell.  
Jud. l. 4. c. 22.<sup>84</sup>

4524.

**Q.** And, *without Partiality*?

**A.** The Word signifies, without putting a *Difference*, betwixt Men of their own, & other Nations; as the Jewes did, counting all other Nations as *Dogs*, and *Unclean*, and not fitt to be conversed withal. As *Tacitus* observed of them; *Apud ipsos, Fides obstinata, Misericordia in promptu, adversus omnes alios Hostile Odium*.<sup>85</sup> We find from our Saviours *Parable* of the *Samaritan*; They confined Brotherly Love, to Men of their own Nation. When they broke into Parties, they had the same Hatred unto those of their own Nation, who would not think & do, as they did. The Zealots, & those that were for *War*, were violently sett against those that were for *Peace*, and, as *Josephus* tells us, treated them as no better than Heathen.<sup>86</sup>

<sup>82</sup> From חָכָם [hakhmah], “skillful, wise (men)”; אֱמֶת [’emeth] “faithfulness, truth.” From Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:146), a reference to Johannes Buxtorf’s famous *Lexicon Chaldaicum, Talmudicum Et Rabbinicum* (1639), p. 751.

<sup>83</sup> From an unknown source, Mather cites Martin Luther’s translation. In his 1546 edition of the *Deutsche Bibel*, Luther had replaced his antiquated translation from 1522 “[die Weisheit ist] gelencke” with the phrase “lesst jr sagen” (*WA DB* 7:394–95). In the modern German edition (LUT), this has become: “[die Weisheit] lässt sich etwas sagen.”

<sup>84</sup> The half-sentence οὐδεν οὕτως ἀπολώλει χρηστον πάθος ἐν ταῖς τότε συμφοραῖς ὡς ἐλεος [ouden houtos apololei chreston pathos en tais tote symphorais hos eleos.] translates: “... none of the nobler emotions was so utterly lost amid the miseries of those days, as pity.” From Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:147), Mather cites Josephus, *Jewish War*, 4.6.384; transl.: *LCL* 487, p. 268.

<sup>85</sup> “[The Jews are] extremely loyal toward one another, and always ready to show compassion, but toward every other people they feel only hate and enmity.” From Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:147), Mather cites the Roman historiographer and politician Publius/Gaius Cornelius Tacitus (c. 55–120 CE), *Histories*; transl.: *LCL* 249, pp. 180–83.

<sup>86</sup> From Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:147), Mather cites Josephus, *Jewish War*, 4.3.131–32; *LCL* 487, p. 196.

409

**Q.** You know what the Apostle writes about, *The Wisdome which comes not from Above?* v. 17.

**A.** Greatly emphatical,<sup>87</sup> and explicating, are the Words of *Gregory*, whom they call, *The Great*, upon it.

“Young People, saies he, are trained up in it. It obliges its Disciples to Court the Highest Honours; To Enjoy with Ostentation those which they have already acquired; To Repay with Interest Injuries received; To Yield, if they can, to none of their Opposers, and if they are not strong enough to compass their malicious Design to cover all under the Disguise of a peaceable, good-natured Temper. *The Wisdome of the Just* excludes Dissembling, makes our Words to answer our Mind, loves Truth, and avoids lying, does good willingly, suffers but never offers any Evil, is a Stranger to Revenge, & counts as Gain to suffer for the Truth. But this is laugh’t at, as a foolish Simplicity & Vertue is esteemed Madness by these *wise Men* of the World.”<sup>88</sup>

4525.

**Q.** *The Fruit of Righteousness, how is it sown in Peace, of* [or, for, or, to,] *them that make Peace?* v. 18.

**A.** The *Reward of Righteousness*, is them who make it their Business, to live *peaceably* themselves, & inclined others unto it, is here sown happily & quietly by the Preachers of the *Gospel, of Peace*, declaring it unto the World, and shall hereafter be assuredly Reaped by them.

Or thus; These *Fruits of Righteousness*, now sown by the Christian endued with their Heavenly Wisdom, will yeeld an Happy Harvest, unto them who are Promoters of *Peace*.<sup>89</sup>

<sup>87</sup> Mather later inserted the word “Greatly,” apparently in order to create the pun on “Gregory the Great.”

<sup>88</sup> From Hippolyte du Chastelet de Luzancy (Hippolyte Châtelet de Beauchâteau, d. 1713), *A Treatise of the two Sacraments of the Gospel, Baptism, and the Lord’s Supper* (1701), pp. 89–90, Mather takes this free English translation of Gregory the Great (Gregory I, Gregorius Magnus, c. 540–604), *Moralia in Iob*, lib 10, cap. 16 [PL 75. 947; CCSL 143]. Luzancy was an Anglican vicar of uncertain background who claimed to have been a former French Jesuit or Carmelite and, after his conversion, became publicly known as a preacher against Catholicism. Born into Roman aristocracy, Gregory embraced the life of Christian monasticism and later became the first monk on the papal throne (590–604). During his papacy he steered the city of Rome and the Western church through a time of dramatic changes and multiple crises, accomplishments for which he was widely venerated in the medieval period and beyond as one of four Latin Church Fathers. Gregory also authored many exegetical, homiletical, and hagiographic works (RGG).

<sup>89</sup> From Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:147).

**Q.** What were the *Wars* and *Fightings*, whereof the Apostle complains? v. 1.

**A.** The broils of the *Philadelphian* Jewes against those of *Peræa*; and the Factions of the Sons of *Judas the Galilean*; & the things mentioned by *Josephus*, in his Twentieth Book, seem to have been intended by the Apostle.<sup>90</sup> It is likely, that many Nominal *Christians*, were carried away with those Contentions; & the Apostle recommends the Gospel, for the Cure of them.

As Dr. *Whitby* notes; This Epistle seems to have been written, about the eighth Year of *Nero*; before which time, the Jewes had great *Wars* and *Fightings*, not only with their Neighbours: [Mat. 24.6.] But also among themselves, in every City and Family; (as *Josephus* tells us,) not only in *Judæa*, but in *Alexandria* and *Syria*, and many other Places.<sup>91</sup>

4526

**Q.** *Yee lust.*] After what? v. 2.

**A.** First; After *Liberty*. *Josephus* tells us, They were continually clamouring, *To have the Tributes taken away*. The *Zealots*, and the *Banditi*, and the *Magicians*, press'd them to *Fight* for their Liberty, from the *Roman Yoke*.<sup>92</sup>

Secondly; After *Dominion*. They expected a *Messiah*, to be a Temporal Prince, that should bring them to lord it over the Gentiles. The Hope of this Dominion encouraged them to *Fight*.

[▽Insert from 8r–8v]

4179.

[▽8r–8v]

**Q.** How does the Judicious *Witsius* carry the Text, by which Expositors have been so cruciated? *Do yee think the Scripture speaketh in Vain, The Spirit that dwelleth in us lusteth to envy?* v. 5.

**A.** *Witsius* would have the latter Clause look'd on, as an Interrogation.<sup>93</sup> *Is the Spirit which dwelleth in us, carried away to Envy?* No, by no Means. There is nothing more contrary to that Holy *Spirit*, than such a Diabolical Temper. That

<sup>90</sup> From Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:148), Mather summarizes Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, 20.1.1–9; transl.: *LCL* 456, pp. 2–6.

<sup>91</sup> From Whitby, Mather refers to Josephus, *Jewish War*, 4.3.131; transl.: *LCL* 487, pp. 194–96.

<sup>92</sup> From Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:149), Mather refers to Josephus, *Jewish War*, 2.1.4 and 2.8.264; transl.: *LCL* 203, pp. 323 and 426.

<sup>93</sup> This entry is derived from Hermann Witsius, *Meletemata Leidensia* (1703), diss. 12, pp. 445–48.

Holy Spirit gives more Grace, where He takes Possession of the Heart. He so disposes the Christian, that he does not *Envy* at, but *Rejoice* in, the good Things that a Neighbour enjoys; he would add unto the Heap of them, if he could. And more than so, This Disposition of good Will towards a Neighbour, in the Christian himself, does not at all abate the good Things which he himself enjoys; No; but God, in a way of Recompence, bestowes the more Blessings upon him.

In the Interpretation, as *Witsius* notes, *ex facili fluunt omnia*.<sup>94</sup>

Well, but where does the *Scripture* speak, any thing of this Matter? No where more fully than in the Eleventh Chapter of *Numbers*. This is observed by *Junius*, by *Piscator*, by *L. Capellus*, & by *Gataker*, as well as *Witsius*.<sup>95</sup>

[8v] When extraordinary Gifts of the Spirit, were fallen upon *Eldad* and | *Medad*, we know how *Joshua* expressed himself on that Occasion.<sup>96</sup> *Moses* had more of the Holy Spirit in him, than any Man then living in the World. Whither did the Spirit which dwelt in him, now carry him? To *envy* what was done for these Persons? No; saies he; *enviest thou for my Sake? I would to God, that all the Lords People were Prophets, & that the Lord would putt His Spirit upon them*. He wished, that God would give more of that Grace unto all His People.

The Paraphrase of *L. Capellus*, is to this Purpose; *Annon videtis, Mosen Dei Spiritu motum atque ductum, similem non fuisse reliquo Populo, qui prava motus fuit rerum Carnalium concupiscentia, adeoque ne Invidia quidem ulla tactum fuisse, adversus eos qui Spiritu Dei acti prophetabant, licet contrà eos excitaretur à Josua? Quàm ergò vos, o mundani, Adulteri et Adulterae, dedecet, consimiliter Populo illi Rebelli concupiscere Carnalia et Mundana hæc bona; adeoque ista aliis invidere, et pro Virili ereptum ire, Pugnis et litibus et concertationibus mutuis? Quum Moses, homo Dei, et Spiritu eius ductus, ne quidem inviderit Eldado et Medado partem Spiritus illius, quo a Deo donatus fuerat, quæque ab ipso in eos translata fuerat.*<sup>97</sup> *Witsius* adds; *Imo verò majora melioraque, non ipsis modò, sed et universo Populo, ex animo optaverit.*<sup>98</sup>

[△] [△Insert ends]

<sup>94</sup> “[In this interpretation] everything flows easily.”

<sup>95</sup> From *Witsius*, Mather refers to the annotations on James 4:5 in Franciscus Junius, *Sacrorum parallelorum libri tres, Appendix*, parallelus 3, col. 1255, in *Opera theologica*, vol. 1; the work of German Reformed theologian and Bible translator Johannes Piscator (Fischer, 1546–1625), *Commentarii in omnes libros Novis Testamenti* ([1589–1597] 1658), p. 737; in Louis Cappel, *Observationes in novum testamentum* (1657), pp. 131–32; and in Thomas Gataker, *Opera Critica* (1698), vol. 1, pp. 636–39.

<sup>96</sup> See Num. 11:27–29.

<sup>97</sup> From *Witsius*, Mather cites Cappel, *Observationes in novum testamentum*, pp. 131–32.

<sup>98</sup> “Or don’t you see, that *Moses*, moved and guided by the spirit of God, has not been like the rest of the people, which was moved by a bad desire for carnal things, and that he was not even touched by the slightest envy against those who, moved by the spirit of God, made prophecies, even though he was incited against them by *Joshua*? Is it not equally unseemly for you, o you worldly people, you adulterers and adulteresses, just like that rebellious nation, to covet those carnal and mundane goods? Yes, even to begrudge other people those things, and

**Q.** How do you understand those Words of the Apostle, *Do yee think that the Scripture saith in Vain, The Spirit that dwelleth in us, lusteth to envy? But Hee giveth more Grace?* v. 5, 6.

**A.** Here are Two Difficulties: The First, Where the *Scripture saies* these things: The Next, How the *Spirit lusteth unto Envy*?

Now, Monsieur *Claude* hath helped us, to a notable Illustration upon both of these Passages.<sup>99</sup>

As to the First, without staying upon the many Sentiments of *Interpreters*, wee may rather think, that here is no Allegation in this Verse at all; but it is thus to bee rendred, *Think yee, that the Scripture speaks in Vain?* and it is to bee joined unto the Words of the Verse præceding? It ha's relation unto what had been said from the Beginning of the Chapter hitherto, where wee have the Sense of many Things, that are found in the Book of *Job*, and the *Psalms*, & if you will, in the *Gospel* itself. The Word *λεγει*, is as well rendred, by, *speaketh*, absolutely, as by *saith*, relating to what followes.<sup>100</sup> Many things had been *spoken*, as drawn from the Scripture, which are here turned into a powerful Exhortation, whereof the Conclusion is, *Think yee that the Scripture speaketh in Vain?*

As to the Next, wee will thus change the Version; *The Spirit which dwelleth in us, lusteth Against Envy. But Hee giveth more Grace; wherefore Hee saith, God Resisteth the Proud, & giveth Grace to the Humble.* The *Spirit* of Christ, which ha's been given to us, forms in us Motions contrary to those of Envy, which perswades us, that wee are worthy of more than wee have, & that the favours of Heaven are not æqually dispensed, inasmuch as the less Worthy have more than wee. The *Spirit* of Christ, combates these foolish Imaginations, and causes us to acknowledge ourselves most unworthy of what wee have already Received, humbling ourselves both before God & before our Neighbours. Now, here by wee obtain *more Grace*: God crowns the Humilitie with *New Blessings*. *Envy* does not enjoy its Desires; the greatest good Things fly from the Lust thereof; because God will *Resist the Pride*, which makes us to præsume of ourselves more than wee ought. But *Humility*, with which the *Spirit* of Christ Inspires us, arrives to that, from which it putt itself, at the most of Distance. *Envy* reaches forth after Blessings, & cannot attain them; whereas the *Spirit*, which represses this *Envy*,

---

to get, as much as possible, carried away by fights and conflicts and disputes? Since Moses, a man of God and guided by His spirit, did not even begrudge Eldad and Medad a part of that spirit with which he had been endowed by God and which was transferred by himself to them. [Witsius adds,] On the contrary, he wished, from the bottom of his heart, greater and better things, not only for them but for all the people."

<sup>99</sup> Mather translates a passage by the French Reformed theologian Jean Claude (1619–1687), *Les oeuvres posthumes de Mr. Claude* (1689), vol. 5, *Lettre IX à Mademoiselle D. L. S.*, pp. 28–30. Claude was the most important orthodox theologian of the Huguenots and a well known controversialist. After the Edict of Nantes was revoked in 1685, he had to flee from France to the Netherlands (*BBKL*).

<sup>100</sup> From λέγω [lego] "tell, say, speak."

does attain them, in a very contrary Way; that is, by Annihilating ourselves, with Confessions, of our being too little for the least of the Divine Benefits. Tis very certain, That πρὸς φθόνον here, is more commodiously, and grammatically translated, *Against Envy*, than, *Unto Envy*, as Interpreters have commonly translated it.<sup>101</sup>

Yea, and now wee can find *the Scripture* expressly *speaking* what is here before us. Wee find, in Gal. 5.17. *The Spirit lusteth against the Flesh*; and among the *Works of the Flesh*, are *Hatred, Variance, Emulations, Wrath, Strife, Envyings*.

1750.

**Q.** But can you not find a Sense wherein the good *Spirit*, which *dwelleth in us*, *lusteth to Envy*? v. 6.

**A.** Yes. I find one *Mauritius Bohemus*, make this Gloss upon it.<sup>102</sup> “The whole Scripture, all along doth speak aloud, that those that are acted by the *Spirit* of God will rather desire to bear the *Envy* of the World, than fawn upon the World, for its *Favour* and *Friendship*. Hee is a Saint, of a noble & divine *Spirit*, that is Ambitious of Suffering for Christ, the *Envy*, and Malice, and Reproach of the whole World. It should bee the Christian *Motto*, επιποθῶ φθόνον.”<sup>103</sup>

1176.

**Q.** *Resist the Diavel, & hee shall flee from you*. Many Tempted Souls do think, they sadly find it otherwise. Their Temptations, are after much *Resistence*, with Fierceness Renew’d upon them; & they are e’en ready to say, *where is the Promise of His Fleeing?* v. 7.

**A.** Lett the Christian observe, & in our Christian *Warfare*, this Observation is of no little Consequence; That for all the *Fierce Temptations* of the *Diavel* upon us, there is a *Time* limited. An Hour of Temptation. Now, during this *Time*, the Diavel may but grow the more furious upon us, the more wee do *Resist* him. Wee must *Resist*, until the præfixed *Time*, which is to us *unknown*, shall bee expired. And then wee shall find it, a *Law*, in the *Invisible World* strictly kept unto, That if the Soul bee found *Resisting* until such a *Period*, tho’ perhaps with many Intervening Foysls, the *Diavel* will be gone. Yea, whether hee will or no, hee *must* bee gone. There is a *Law* for it, which obliges him to a *Flight*, and a *Flight* that carries *Fright* in it; a *Fear*, from an Apprehension, that God, with His *good Angels*, will come in, with terrible Chastisements upon him, if hee præsume to continue

<sup>101</sup> The phrase πρὸς φθόνον [pros phthonon] means either “toward jealousy (jealously)” or “against jealousy.” With the preposition “πρὸς” these two interpretations are both possible. Modern Bible translations (e. g. ESV) prefer “jealously.”

<sup>102</sup> Mather cites Mauritius Boheme (Bohemus, fl. 1646–1662), *A Christians Delight, or, Scripture Meditations* (1654), cap. 5, p. 18. Boheme was born in Pomerania and served in England as a clergyman until his ejection by Act of Parliament in 1660 (ODNB).

<sup>103</sup> The phrase επιποθῶ φθόνον [epipotho phthonon] means “I yearn after a jealousy.”

his *Temptations*, one Moment longer than the Time that had been allow'd him. There is a Curiositie in this Observation.<sup>104</sup>

|  
1423.

[7v]

**Q.** Unto that Passage, *Resist the Divil, & hee shall flee from you*, why is there added that Passage, *Draw nigh to God, and Hee shall draw nigh to you?* v. 8.

**A.** I suppose, that in these Passages, there may bee some Reference and Allusion unto the Experience of our Lord Jesus Christ, in the Dayes of His *Temptation*.

Our Lord, being especially Twice, after a more than ordinary Manner *Tempted* by the Divil, Hee *Drew Nigh to God*, with extraordinary Prayer. And the event both Times was This; Math. 4.11. *The Divil leaveth Him, & behold! Angels came and ministred unto Him:* And Luk. 22.43. *There appeared an Angel unto Him, from Heaven, strengthening Him.* When Angelical Assistences, and Consolations, are most sensibly communicated, there is a peculiar *Drawing Nigh of God*, in them. And, that which our Lord Jesus Christ, experienced in this regard, is a very *sensible*, tho' usually a less *visible*, Ensignment vouchsafed unto His People, that prayerfully wade thro' sore *Temptations*.<sup>105</sup>

4527.

**Q.** *Cleanse your Hands.*] What Occasion for this Exhortation? v. 8.

**A.** We learn from *Josephus* That the Hands of the *Jewes*, and especially of the *Zealots* among them, were full of *Murders* and *Rapines*. Compare; Chap. 5.4, 6.<sup>106</sup>

4528.

**Q.** What were the Occasions upon which the Apostle took notice, that they *spake evil one of another?* v. 11.

**A.** The Unbelieving *Jewes*, and the Judaizing *Beleevvers*, were prejudiced against the Beleaving *Gentiles*, That they *observed not their Feasts, & were not circumcised*. For this Cause, they *spoke evil* of them, as differing little from the *Heathen Idolaters*.

But the *Law* itself did not Require these Things of the *Gentiles*. Thus, the *Evil-Speaker* condemned the *Law* as defective; and to take upon himself the Office of the great *Lawgiver*, who alone *is able to save & to destroy*, & who by

<sup>104</sup> From the work of Thomas Goodwin, *Christ the Mediator*, bk. 5, ch. 17, in *Works*, vol. 5, pp. 322–23. Mather also used this material in his *Magnalia Christi Americana* (1702), bk. 3, ch. 17 (“The Life of Mr. William Thompson”), p. 119. For more on Goodwin, see the Introduction.

<sup>105</sup> Similarly, Increase Mather, *Angelographia*, pp. 57–58.

<sup>106</sup> From Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:149), Mather refers to Josephus, *Jewish War*, 4.9.560–61; transl.: *LCL* 487, p. 322.



not requiring those things of the *Gentiles*, declares, He will *Save* them without them, and not *Destroy* them for neglect of them. So the *Targum*, on Ezek. 13.18. brings in God so speaking to the False *Prophets*; *can you kill, or make alive, the Souls of my People?*<sup>107</sup>

2518.

**Q.** Why is it said, *He that Speaketh evil of his Brother, & Judgeth his Brother, Speaketh evil of the Law, & Judgeth the Law?* v. 11.

**A.** On this Account; The *Law* expressly forbids us to *Speak evil of our Brother, & Judge him*; If we do *it*, we thereby reflect on this *Law*, as not *Holy & Just & Good*, & not worthy to be obey'd.

Or, on this Account. Men did then *Speak evil of their Brethren, & Judge them*, for things that God had left Indifferent; they proceeded meerly, by their own Sense, & Will, & Humour, without any Warrant from the Word of God, in condemning one another. This now was to condemn the *Law*, as not perfect, not exact, but wanting to be peeced up with Institutions of our own. *To make more Sins than God ha's made is to Reproach the Law of God.*<sup>108</sup>

**Q.** The Apostle ha's directed us, to a particular Clause of Resignation, where-with all the good things of this World are to bee promised, or expected; that is, *If the Lord will*. What Illustrations of that Clause have you mett withal? v. 15.

**A.** 'Tis well-known, that the pious Jewes rarely undertook anything without this Holy Parenthesis *אם יחפוץ האל* *If God please*; or, *אם ירצה השם* *If the Name like it*, or, *אם יגזור השם*, *If the Name Determined so*; By which *Name* they meant the great *Jehovah*. And this was a Phrase of so common Speech among them, that they contracted it into that Abbreviation, *איה*, using only a Letter for a Word.<sup>109</sup>

Thus, you rarely meet with a Book written in the Arabick, but it beginneth *Bismillahi*, or, *In the Name of God*: and as for the *Alcoran*, even every *Surah*, or Chapter, of that Mock-Scripture beginneth so.<sup>110</sup> They likewise make a common Use of this very Expression, *If God will*; or, as *Nassyr Eddyn*, in his Commentaries upon the Arabic *Euclid* has it, *If the High or Almighty God will.*<sup>111</sup>

<sup>107</sup> From Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:149), a reference to the *The Targum of Ezekiel* on Ezek. 13:18.

<sup>108</sup> From Manton, *A Practical Commentary*, p. 493.

<sup>109</sup> Mather cites these Hebrew phrases from John Gregory, *Notes and Observations*, in *The Works*, ch. 20, p. 99, but the translations he offers (largely correct) differs somewhat from Gregory's.

<sup>110</sup> Reference is made to the Islamic formula of invocation "Basmala," *bi'smī llāhī l-rahīmānī l-rahīmī*, also called *tasmīya* (to pronounce the [divine] Name). A common translation is: "In the name of God, the Clement, the Merciful." The "Basmala" occurs twice in the text of the Qur'an but is recited before each sutra and plays a central role in Muslim worship and devotional life. See the entry in *The Encyclopedia of Islam*.

<sup>111</sup> Also from Gregory, Mather refers to the famous Persian philosopher, Islamic theologian, mathematician, and scientist Nasir al-Din Tusi (1201–1274), who wrote a commentary on

And the Arabic Nubian Geographer, begins his Book, *In the Name of the merciful and compassionate God, from whom is Help.*<sup>112</sup>

Now from the Oriental Parts of the World, this Manner of Speech is received among all other People; thus the Greeks have their  $\Sigma\upsilon\nu\ \Theta\epsilon\omega$ , the Latins have their *Deo Volente*; whereof, *Brissons de Formulis*, will tell you more.<sup>113</sup>

And now, what if our Apostle here, should refer to a memorable Saying of *Ben Sira* an old Sage among the Jewes, beleev'd by them to be the Nephew of the Prophet *Jeremy*?

You shall take the Passage, English'd from the Hebrew *Perush*, thus:

*Let a Man never say [Hee will do] any thing, without this Exception [If God permitt.] There was a Man who said, To morrow I will sitt with my Bride in the Bride-Chamber, and will converse with her there. They said unto him, say [If God will.] Hee said unto them, whether [God] will or not, to morrow I will sitt with my Bride in my Bride-Chamber. So hee did; hee entred with his Bride, into the Chamber, & sate with her all day; but in the Evening they both of them Dy'd, before the Consummation of their Marriage. When they found these Persons thus dead, they said; the Saying of Ben Sira, was true [The Bride went up into the Bride-Chamber, but knew not what was to befall her.] Upon this they said, whoever hath a Purpose to do anything, hee ought to say [If God permitt;] otherwise hee is not like to prosper.*<sup>114</sup>

The Words of *James* do bear a full Respect, methinks, to this Tradition; and especially those Words, *wee shall live & do this or that.*

[8r–8v inserted into their designated place]

---

Euclid's *Elements*; *Euclidis Elementorum geometricorum libri tredecim* (1594). Nasir al-Din Tusi was the author of approximately 150 books in Persian and Arabic, edited the Arabic versions of Greek philosophers, and, through his astronomical models, is probably one important inspirator of Nicolaus Copernicus (1473–1543) (*EB*).

112 From Gregory, Mather mentions the Muslim geographer from Morocco, who lived at the Norman king's court in Salerno, Sicily, Ash-Sharif al-Idrisi (1100–1165/6). Al-Idrisi's most famous book was *Kitab nuzhat al-mushtaq fi ikhtirāq al-afaq* ("The pleasure excursion of one who is eager to traverse the regions of the world"), printed first in 1592 in Rome, later translated into Latin under the title *Geographia nubiensis* (*EB*).

113 The phrase  $\sigma\upsilon\nu\ \theta\epsilon\omega$  [syn theo] signifies "with God," *Deo Volente*, "God willing." From Gregory, Mather refers to the French politician and jurist, Barnabé Brisson (Barnabas Brissonius, c. 1531–1591), *De formulis et sollemnibus populi Romani verbis* (1583), lib. 1, p. 77, on "si Dij volent."

114 From Gregory, Mather takes a passage, which cites a proverb (nr. 11) from the *Alphabet of ben Sirach*: "The bride enters the bridal chamber and, nevertheless, knows not what will befall her" (*JE*).

4529.

**Q.** What were the Miseries, that came upon the *Rich Men* of the Jewish Nation? v. 1.

**A.** *Josephus* must be our Expositor, who in his History, reports the Slaughter and Spoiling of the *Rich Jewes*, throughout *Galilee* and *Judea*. He informs us, That *none were spared by the Zealots, but such as were, ταπεινοὶ δια τύχην poor and low in Fortune*.<sup>115</sup> And they were so insatiably Rapacious that they searched all the Houses of the *Rich*, Murdering the Men and Abusing the Women.<sup>116</sup> The *Jewes* had Wars about the same Time also, in many Places of their Dispersions, with the *Gentiles*. Particularly, when the *Alexandrians*, in the Reign of *Nero*, had impeached Three of their Brethren, as *Enemies* and *Spies*, ἡρθη παν το ιουδαικον επι την αμυναν *All the Jewes there rose up to their Aid*: and *Tiberus Alexander*, the Governour of the City, commanded the *Roman Legions* to slay them; και τας κτησεις αυτων διαρπαζειν και τας οικιας καταφλεγειν *and to sieze upon their Goods, & burn their Houses*: which they did, killing Fifty Thousand of them on the Spott. The *Jewes* likewise Invading the Cities and Villages of *Syria*, the *Syrians* fell upon them in all their Cities, and were especially moved thereto by Covetousness; τας γαρ ουσιας των αναιρεθεντων αδεως διηρπαζον *For they fell boldly on the Substance of the Slain*. Behold, a sufficient Account of their Wars and Tumults, mentioned in the former Chapter; and their *Riches* being corrupted, and their *Flesh* eaten by Fire, in this.<sup>117</sup>

4530.

**Q.** How did their *Gold* and *Silver*, eat their *Flesh*, as it were Fire? v. 3.

**A.** It was most punctually fulfilled, in the Destruction of the Jewish Nation, by their own Seditions, and the *Roman Wars*. Among the Seditious, it was Crime

<sup>115</sup> The phrase ταπεινοὶ διὰ τύχην [tapeinoi dia tychen] means “[those who are] inconsiderable on account of (ill) fortune” – Mather’s paraphrase stresses a paradoxical meaning of τύχη, see below. From Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:151), Mather paraphrases Josephus, *Jewish War*, 4.6.365; transl.: LCL 487, p. 262.

<sup>116</sup> From Whitby, Mather paraphrases Josephus, *Jewish War*, 4.9.556–65; transl. LCL 487, pp. 320–22.

<sup>117</sup> The phrase ἡρθη δὲ πᾶν τὸ Ἰουδαϊκὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀμυναν [erthe de pan to ioudaikon epi ten amynan] means “all the Jews rose to the rescue”; καὶ τὰς κτήσεις αὐτῶν διαρπάζειν καὶ τὰς οἰκίας καταφλέγειν [kai tas ktiseis auton diarpazein kai tas oikias kataphlegein] “and to plunder their property and to burn down the houses”; τὰς γὰρ οὐσίας τῶν ἀναιρεθέντων ἀδεῶς διήρπαζον [tas gar ousias ton anairethenton adeos dierpazon] “for they would with impunity plunder the property of their victims.” From Whitby’s introduction to James in *A Paraphrase* (2:133–34), Mather paraphrases Josephus, *Jewish War*, 2.18.457–512; transl.: LCL 203, pp. 500–20.

enough, to be *Rich*, and their Insatiable Avarice induced them still to make τῶν πλουσιῶν οἰκῶν ἐρευνᾶν *A Search into the Houses of the Rich*.<sup>118</sup> Yea, both their *Substance*, and their *Flesh*, were devoured by the *Flames* which consumed the *Temple* and the *City*, & burnt up their *Dead Bodies*, with their *Wardrobes* and other Possessions.<sup>119</sup>

4531.

**Q.** *Grudge not*, [groan not,] *one against another*. How and why did they do so? v. 9.

**A.** It is the Observation of *Justin*, That the Converts among the *Gentiles*, were, πλείονας καὶ ἀληθεστέρους χριστιανούς not only *More*, but also *Better Christians*, than among the *Jewes* and *Samaritans*.<sup>120</sup> The Jewish Converts were leavened with an Expectation of a Temporal Kingdome, and of Liberty from the Roman Yoke, and a Dominion over all Heathen Governours. Hence tis, that the Apostle so often enjoins them, to be *subject unto every Higher Powers*, to be *subject unto Principalities and Powers*, and to be subject unto every *Humane Ordinance*. These lived intermixed with the unconverted *Jewes* and *Zealots*, who were still grudging, and contending against all that would not stand up for Liberty, and fight for this Temporal Kingdome; *Accounting them* (as *Josephus* tells us) *no better than Heathen*, on this account. And these may be the *Grudgers* here intended.<sup>121</sup>

**Q.** Lett *the Sick*, call for the *Elders of the Church*, and lett them pray over him, *Anointing him with Oyl*, in the Name of the Lord. The Meaning of this Action? v. 14.

**A.** The Text is Difficult:

Wee find in the Jewish Writing, That *Anointing with Oyl*, was a medicinal and ordinary Application, to the *Sick*. Wee find Passages, about *Rabbi's*, who permitted, *Anointing with Oyl*, for the *Head-ache on the Sabbath*, and; *The Mingling of Wine and Oyl*, for such *Anointing*.<sup>122</sup> Quære, whether the Apostle

<sup>118</sup> The Greek τῶν πλουσιῶν οἰκῶν ἐρευνᾶν [ton plousion oikon ereunan] means “a search [accusative] for the rich houses.” Mather paraphrases Josephus, *Jewish War*, 4.9.560; transl.: LCL 487, p. 322.

<sup>119</sup> From Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:152), Mather paraphrases Josephus, *Jewish War*, 6.5.281–87; transl.: LCL 210, p. 258, and several passages of *Jewish War*, bk. 7, e.g. 7.9.389–401; transl.: LCL 210, pp. 416–18.

<sup>120</sup> In its original context, the phrase πλείονας καὶ ἀληθεστέρους χριστιανούς [pleionas kai alethesterous Christianous] translates: “Christians [from Gentiles are] more numerous and more true [than those among the Jews and Samaritans].” Mather paraphrases Justin Martyr, *Apologia prima*, cap. 53 [PG 6. 405–06; SC 507].

<sup>121</sup> From Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:153), Mather cites Justin Martyr, *Apologia prima*, cap. 53 [PG 6. 405–06; SC 507], and Josephus, *Jewish War*, 7.8.255–56; transl.: LCL 210, pp. 378–80.

<sup>122</sup> From John Lightfoot, *The Harmony of the New Testament* (Works 1:333). Lightfoot refers to the Jerusalem Talmud, Tractate Shabbath 14:3 (Jacob Neusner, ed., *The Talmud of the Land Israel* (1991), vol. 11, p. 390). Neusner translates: “It has been taught: They may anoint a sick

here, may not, somewhat synecdochically, direct, *The Use of Means*, in Conjunction with, *The Prayers of the Elders*, for the Sick; and advise, that *Natural* and *Spiritual* Physic should go together. As if one Writing on our Time, should say, *lett the Elders* pray over the Sick and then lett 'em take *Treacle*, or the Remedy most commonly above others noted, in the Practice of the Physicians.<sup>123</sup>

Moreover, wee find that the Jewes did not only, practise, *Anointing with Oyl*, upon the Sick, but frequently made their *Charms* for to accompany it. The *Talmuds* mention those, who *charm*, & putt Oyl upon the Head: Yea, they mention one, who *charmed over a sick Person, in the Name of Jesu Pandira*.<sup>124</sup> Now, instead of the *Charms*, which the wicked Jewes annexed unto their good *Physic*, the *Anointing with Oyl*, the Apostle exhorts them, to take the *Prayers* of their *Elders*, as more lawful, more laudable, more effectual.

I suspect, whether these *Illustrations*, do quite come up to the Case. Wherefore, if upon *further Thoughts*, hereafter, I find more satisfactory Curiosities, about this Matter for you, you shall have them.

4069.

**Q.** Give another however, tho' it should not be more satisfactory.

**A.** I find one *Lawson*, offering this as an Exposition.<sup>125</sup>

"The *Name of the LORD*, is a precious *Ointment*. [Cant. 1.3.] Consolatory Speeches, uttered in the *Lords Name*, & from the *Lords Word*, are as Healing & Medicinable as any *Ointment*."

**Q.** On that, *call for the Elders of the Church?* v. 14.

**A.** In *Baba Bathra*, tis mentioned as the Saying and Counsil of R. *Phineas Ben Chamas*. *Quisquis domi suae habet ægrotum, adeat Sapientem, ut Misericordiam*

---

person on the Sabbath with aromatic water [or wine, oenanthe]. Under what circumstances? When one has made the mixture on Friday. But if one did not make the mixture on Friday, it is forbidden to do so. They do not mix wine and oil for a sick person on the Sabbath." Lightfoot also refers to the passages on anointing in the Jerusalem Talmud, Tractate Ma'aser Sheni 2:1–2 (*The Talmud of the Land of Israel*, vol. 8, pp. 41–54), and in the Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Yoma 77b (Soncino, p. 377), referring in fact not to Shabbath but to the Day of Atonement: "It is forbidden to anoint part of the body [as it is forbidden to anoint] the whole body. If, however, one was sick or had scabs on his head, he may anoint himself in his usual way without any fear."

<sup>123</sup> Treacle is uncrystallized syrup made during the refining of sugar and was used for medicinal purposes. On Mather's program of integrating natural and spiritual "physic," see his medical handbook *The Angel of Bethesda*.

<sup>124</sup> Lightfoot, *The Harmony of the New Testament* (Works 1:333). Lightfoot refers to the Jerusalem Talmud, Tractate Shabbath 14:3–4 (*The Talmud of the Land of Israel*, vol. 11, p. 388). See the similar passage in the Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Abodah Zarah 27b (Soncino, p. 137). Whether "Jesus Pandira" in the Talmud refers to Jesus Christ or not is a point of debate among modern scholars. For the seventeenth-century discussion on anti-Christian polemic in the Talmud, including the meaning of "Pandira," see Buxtorf, *Lexicon chaldaicum, talmudicum et rabbinicum* ([1621] 1639), col. 1458–61 ("Stada").

<sup>125</sup> The source of this entry could not be identified.

*pro eo imploret; juxtà id quod dicitur, Prov. XVI. 14. Ira Regis est multiplex nuncius Mortis, sed Vir sapiens eam expiabit.*<sup>126</sup> Buxtorf cites these Words in his *Florilegium*, & compares them with the Text in *James* now before us.

**Q.** Mr. Pyle's Paraphrase, on *Anointing with Oyl*? v. 14.

**A.** "When any Christian is visited with Sickness, especially any Disease inflicted on him for some notorious Sin; lett no Charms and Conjurations be used over him, as the Jews are now adayes wont to do, when they anoint their Sick with Oyl. But lett the Christian Ministers be sent for, to intercede with God by fervent Prayer. They may indeed use the *Anointing* as a *Natural Remedy*; but not in a superstitious Way. Lett them lay the Stress on the devout Prayers."<sup>127</sup>

|

[9v]

**Q.** What is that *Prayer* of the *Righteous*, which our Translation calls, *An Effectual Fervent Prayer*? v. 16.

**A.** You know the Qualifications of a prevailing Prayer; *cum Boni petant Bonum, Benè et ad Bonum.*<sup>128</sup>

Such a Prayer, is here called, a Δεσις Ενεργουμένη;<sup>129</sup> which the French Version, very much to my Satisfaction, renders, *La Priere faite avec Vehemence.*<sup>130</sup>

Tis evident, that an *Energy*, or *Fervency*, is here ascribed unto such a Prayer; yea, but the Word here being a *Passive*, it implies that the *Energy*, or *Fervency* must bee *Inwrought* in him that partakes of it.

And yett, I take an Higher Hint here, than all of This. An *Energumen*, you know, is a *possessed* Person. Lett mee now mind you, That there is a *Possession* of the *Divine Spirit*, as well as of the *Wicked Spirit*. The *Mind*, the *Tongue*, and all the Faculties of a Man, are Employ'd & Apply'd by the *Divel*, in the Way that hee pleases, when a Man is *possessed* by him. On the other Side, lett a Man seriously

<sup>126</sup> "Whoever has a sick person in his house should call on a wise man so that he invokes mercy for that person; according to what is said, Prov. 16. 14. The wrath of the king is the manifold messenger of death, but a wise man will expiate it." This entry is drawn from Cartwright, *Mellificium Hebraicum*, lib. 3, cap. 7, in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (8:1358). From Buxtorf, *Florilegium hebraicum*, p. 197, Cartwright takes a passage from the Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Baba Bathra 116a (Soncino, p. 478), which cites Prov. 16:14. The Soncino ed. translates: "R. Phinehas b. Hama gave the following exposition: Whosoever has a sick person in his house should go to a Sage who will invoke [heavenly] mercy for him; as it is said: *The wrath of a king is as messengers of death, but a wise man will pacify it.*"

<sup>127</sup> From Pyle, *A Paraphrase* (2:340).

<sup>128</sup> "With the good they may pray for the good, by [means of] the good and to the good." Mather cites Grotius in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (6:651). Grotius reads: "Περὶ παντὸς πράγματος] Universalis vox ex rei natura restringenda est, si boni petant bona bene ad bonum."

<sup>129</sup> The Greek δέσις ενεργουμένη [deesis energoumene] literally signifies "a prayer being made effective"; while the French means: "The prayer made with vehemence."

<sup>130</sup> The French Protestant Geneva Bible (*Bible de Genève*, orig. 1535) by Pierre Robert Olivétan in its 1687 Amsterdam ed. (*La Bible*) translates James 5:16 (p. 110b): "... car la prière du juste faite avec véhémence est de grande efficace."

& frequently *Resign* himself unto the *Influences* of Heaven and by a circumspect Walk watchfully *conform* himself to those *Influences*; thus hee will come to bee *possessed* by the *Holy Ghost*. When this *Possession* ha's proceeded unto the Degrees which are observable, not in *Common*, but in *Lively*, Christianitie, the *Holy Ghost*, after a most wonderful Manner Directs, Quickens, Enflames the *Prayers* of the Christian, and there is indeed something singularly *efficacious*, I had almost said, *prophetical*, in *Prayers*, that are thus produced.<sup>131</sup>

4532.

**Q.** How does he that *converts a Sinner, hide a Multitude of Sins*? v. 20

**A.** Dr. *Whitby* thinks, It seems meant not meerly of the *Sins* of the Person thus converted, but of the *Sins* of him that converts him. This charitable Work, will be Rewarded by the Lord, with the *Covering* of *many Sins* of that Person, which might else have been exposed.<sup>132</sup>

I do not much commend unto you, this Illustration; However, for some Reasons, I thought it not unworthy to be mentioned.

<sup>131</sup> This reflection on the supernatural efficacy of prayer also appears in almost identical language in Mather's autobiography, *Paterna*, sixth lustre, pp. 102–03. Here it is part of a larger discussion of prayer and instances of what Mather calls “Particular Faith,” i. e. special assurances, foreknowledge, or impressions from heaven, which he thought were often given by angelic mediation. The section (which in turn draws on various diary entries) culminates in a description of Mather's visitation by an angel in his study (pp. 104–06). This section of *Paterna* is assumed to have been originally written around 1699–1702. See also Mather's thoughts on the same topic in the biography of his father *Parentator* (1723), pp. 189–92.

<sup>132</sup> Mather cites Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:155).

1052.

**Q.** When the Apostle *Peter* inscribes his Epistle, To the *Elect*, what special Thing might hee have in his Eye? v. 2.

**A.** When *Cyrus*, allowed the Jewes, after the seventy Years Captivity, to Return into their own Land, Multitudes of them, found themselves to bee so sweetly Seated, & so firmly Rooted, in *Babylonia*, that they would still continue there. In Time, they grew to so considerable a Nation, That they had, *A Prince of the Captivity*, even one of their own Blood over them, and they had Three famous Universities, *Nehardea*, *Pumbeditha*, and *Soria*, from whence, many Scholars of great Renown, were yielded.

Now, as Dr. *Lightfoot* observes, In the Employment of the Three *Ministers* of the *Circumcision*, *Peter*, *James*, and *John*, here fell *Peters* Lot; and from *Babylon* itself,<sup>1</sup> the very Center of those Parts, hee sends this Epistle. Hee directs it, unto the Dispersed Jewes in *Pontus*, *Galatia*, *Cappadocia*, *Asia*, and *Bythinia*, in which Regions, the *Apostasy* from the Faith, had been exceeding prevalent, & accordingly the *Persecution* of the Faith, very outrageous. And when hee In-scribes it, unto the *Elect*, hee seems to have his Eye upon those Words of His Master, about this very *Apostasy*, in Math. 24.24. *They shall Deceive, if it were possible, the very Elect.*<sup>2</sup>

|

854.

[1v]

**Q.** I have observed, that Four Sorts or Names of Influence, are in the Scripture of God, assigned unto the *Spirit* of God. There is that of *Water*; [Joh. 3.5.] And, *Fire*; [Math. 3.11.] And, *Oyl*; [1. Joh. 2.20.] And, by the Apostle *Peter*, there is *Blood* also, brought into the Number; The *Sprinkling of the Blood of Jesus Christ*, seems to bee mentioned as an Effect of the *Spirit*. Now, whence this Fourfold Expression? v. 2.

<sup>1</sup> The majority of interpreters in Mather's day thought that "Babylon" referred to Rome and that Peter sent the letter from there to fellow Jewish Christians in the dispersion. See Hammond, *A Paraphrase* (4:401), and Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:156–58). Contrary to a long tradition of Catholic expositors who argued that the epistle was written in 44 CE, these Protestant exegetes thought that it was written in the mid-60s with a view to the possibility of Peter's death by persecution and the imminent destruction of Jerusalem.

<sup>2</sup> Mather draws this passage from John Lightfoot, *The Harmony, Chronicle, and Order of the New Testament* (1655) in *Works* (1:335).



**A.** Our Preachers ordinarily content themselves, with the ordinary *Resemblances* that can bee fitted unto this Matter; they find some common Analogies, between the *Spirit* of the Lord Jesus Christ, and, *Water, Fire, Oyl, and Blood.*

But the Matter is to bee further pursued. Wee are to Remember, that the ceremonial *Purifications*, under the Law, were performed by one of these Four Things; *Water, Fire, Oyl, or, Blood.* And wee are now taught, that the Vertue of a True *Purification*, is in the *Spirit* of our Lord Jesus Christ; this Holy *Spirit* alone, makes the faithful Partakers of the *Purification* which is the Antitype & Intention of all the *Mosaic* Ceremonies about the *Unclean.*

But now, the *Sprinkling of Blood* happens to bee mentioned, wee may in this Place, take Occasion to observe, That the *Law*, was, as wee may say, all written in *Blood*; there were especially seven kinds of Actions, which were thereby solemnized. The first *Passeover* was attended, with a *Sprinkling of Blood*, on the Posts of the Doors. When the Article of the *Covenant*, between the Lord, & His People were published, there was a *Sprinkling of Blood*, first on the Altar, then towards the People. The *Consecration* of the *Tabernacle*, & of the *Priests*, was with a like *Sprinkling of Blood.* Without the *Sprinkling of Blood*, there were no *Sacrifices* accepted, whether *eucharistical*, or, *expiatory.* The general *Atonement* made once a Year, was made with a manifold *Sprinkling of Blood.* There was likewise a *Sprinkling of Blood*, for the Purification of the *Unclean.* And by the *Sprinkling of Blood*, was the *Leper* purified. Behold, the Vertue of the Holy *Spirit*, applying the *Blood* of the Lord Jesus Christ! By this one Thing, Hee does more than answer all of these Intentions.<sup>3</sup>

[2r] | <sup>4</sup>

**Q.** What is intended, by the, *Trial of our Faith much more valuable than that of Gold?* v. 7.

**A.** Old Mr. *Dod* would frequently say, *sanctified Afflictions* are *spiritual Promotions*: Quoting for it the Passage in 1. Pet. 1.7. Δοκιμιον πιστεως, which *Trial of Faith*, hee took to bee, the *Affliction* which *Tried the Faith*; hee said the Word should rather bee rendred, *exploratorium*, than, *exploratio*; rather, the *Trier*, than the *Trial.*<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Possibly a summary of the typological readings of the above-mentioned ceremonies in the work of Cotton Mather's uncle, Samuel Mather (1626–1671), an Independent pastor in Dublin and exegete, *The Figures or Types of the Old Testament* ([1683] 1705), pp. 200–02, 281–90, 306–12, 321–22, 420.

<sup>4</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>5</sup> A more literal translation of τὸ δοκιμιον ὑμῶν τῆς πίστεως [to dokimion hymon tes pisteos] would be “the tested genuineness of your faith” (ESV). The difference discussed by Mather is between the means of trial, or the instrument of testing (*exploratorium*), and the act of trial, the “test” itself (*exploratio*). Mather quotes a saying by the famous English Puritan divine John Dod (1549–1645), whose teachings “were collected, copied, circulated, printed and even pasted onto the walls of godly householders long after those with first-hand memories of this godly

Not meerly the *Metal*, but, the very *Crucible*!<sup>6</sup>

1993.

**Q.** That Passage, *which Things the Angels desire to look into*: Is there any thing in the Jewish Writings to favour it? v. 12.

**A.** I Remember, a Passage they have. “As R. *Joshua*, and R. *Josæ*, the Priests were walking together, they said one to another, lett us Discourse of the *Mercavah*, or *Chariot*. [i.e. their mysterious Philosophy, so called from the Vision of *Ezekiel*, where they think, it was mystically taught,] R. *Joshua* began, (and it was upon the Day of the Summer Solstice,) presently the Heavens were covered with Clouds, and then appeared a kind of a Bow in a Cloud and the ministring *Angels* were crowding to Hear, as Men use to do at the Solemnities of the Bridegroom & the Bride.”<sup>7</sup>

**Q.** The Illustrious and Magnificent Object of the *Angelical Studies*, here sett before us, lett us a little consider what it is? v. 12.

**A.** The sacred Oracles have advised us of a glorious *Kingdome* to be administered by the *Messiah*, at His Coming; of the Share which the True *Israel* of God<sup>8</sup> shall have in the Comforts of that Kingdome; yea, of an *Heavenly City*, whereof the Raised Saints are then to be the Inhabitants.

When our Saviour was Dead, the *Hopes* of His Disciples for this His Kingdome dyed with Him. Said His Hopeless Disciples, *we trusted, this was He that should have delivered | Israel*. But when they saw Him *Raised from the Dead*, this again *Raised His Hope*. They were now *Begotten again to a lively Hope, by the Resurrection of Jesus Christ from the Dead*. Even to the *Hope* of His promised Kingdome.

[2v]

figurehead had died.” Andrew Cambers, *Godly Reading: Print, Manuscript and Puritanism in England, 1580–1720* (2011), p. 172. Dod’s personality and preaching influenced many Puritans, including John Cotton. Mather mentions this in his *Magnalia Christi Americana*, bk. 3, ch. 1, § 17, p. 19, § 24, p. 24, § 25, p. 25. The quotation in this context appears to be derived from the work of the English minister and biographer of many important Puritans, Samuel Clarke (1599–1683), *A generall Martyrologie ... whereunto are added, the Lives of sundry modern Divines* (1651), p. 407 (“The Life of Master John Dod”).

<sup>6</sup> The last sentence seems to have been added later.

<sup>7</sup> From the unpaginated preface of vol. 1 of Lightfoot’s *Works*, Mather cites the Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Hagigah 14b (Soncino, pp. 89–90). The Merkava (Hebrew: chariot) of God in Ezek. 1 became the object of visionary contemplation for a school of early Jewish mystics, the Merkava or Merkabah mysticism (ca. 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BCE–11<sup>th</sup> cent. CE). Scholars assume that before his conversion the Apostle Paul was associated with this movement.

<sup>8</sup> Instead of the “True Israel of God,” Mather originally ascribed a special share to the “Israelitish Nation.” The revision likely followed his change of opinion concerning the eschatological conversion of the Jews. See Appendix A.

That State of things, is called, *An Inheritance Incorruptible, and Undeified, that fadeth not away, reserved in Heaven* for us.<sup>9</sup> All these excellent Properties, are opposed unto the earthly *Canaan*, which had been given & called, as the *Inheritance* of the People of God; but, alas, had suffered horrible Pollutions, and was now *fading away*. It is the *Rest* which *David* expected, as being still to come, after *Canaan* had been enjoy'd for several Ages.<sup>10</sup> The *Inheritance* here does not mean, the *Paradise*, to which the *Soul* of a good Man goes, when he dies. No, tis a State, which the *Israel* of God waits for, as a thing to be *Reveal'd in the last Times*. And for which they are kept by a *Faith* which is the *mighty Power of God* working in Man; the thing so recommended by the Apostle *Paul* unto the *Hebrewes*, for the Overcoming of all Difficulties in the Way of *Salvation* waited for.<sup>11</sup> This *try'd Faith*, will be Considered, Acknowledged, Recompensed, at the *Appearing of our Lord & Saviour Jesus Christ*, which is the Time when the *Salvation* so waited for shall arrive. Tho' it be styled here, *The Salvation of the Soul*, yett it cannot be what the *Soul* receives at the Death of the *Body*: For it is the Grace to come unto us, at the Coming of our Saviour; and the thing of which the *Prophets* have *enquired and searched diligently*.

These Hints, (lett it be from what Quarter you please, that they are offered unto us,) are very good ones; and being well presented will presently lead us into noble Thoughts of the *Inheritance* intended for us.<sup>12</sup>

**Q.** A Remark on that Clause, *Redeemed not with Silver & Gold, but with the precious Blood of Christ, as of a Lamb?* v. 18, 19.

**A.** We read concerning *Jacob*; Gen. XXXIII.19. *He bought a Field, for an Hundred Peeces of Silver*. The Hebrew runs; *For an hundred Lambs*.<sup>13</sup> It is thought,

<sup>9</sup> 1 Pet. 1:4.

<sup>10</sup> Ps. 95:8–11.

<sup>11</sup> See Mather's annotations on Heb. 4:10.

<sup>12</sup> This entry appears to be derived from the work of the Devon minister John Seager (d. 1656), *A Discoverie of the World to come according to the Scriptures* (1650), sect. iv, p. 65 (on the true meaning of the future *Canaan*) and sect. xvii, p. 253 (on the incorruptible inheritance of the elect). Seager's tract argues that the New Heaven and the New Earth are identical with the world to come after the destruction of the old sinful world upon the return of Christ for judgment. While real in the physical sense and to be ruled by Christ as a "Personal-Humane Kingdom, wherein he shall reign bodily in his Humane Nature" (134), this world to come would be perfect, without sin or death. Seager was no millenarian, however. He thought that this New Heaven and New Earth would be the eternal dwelling place of Christ and his people. Mather thus appropriated *A Discoverie* very selectively. But Seager's work seems to have played an important role in changing Mather's opinion on the conversion of the Jews, the conflagration, and the nature of the New Heaven and Earth during the millennium. See *Trip paradisus*, third paradise, sect. x and xi. Seager is mentioned in *Trip paradisus* as "an honest Man" who rebuked those interpreters who falsely expected a national restoration and conversion of the Jews (310).

<sup>13</sup> The commentary here is derived from the work of the Anglican divine, mathematician, and geographer Edward Wells (1667–1727), D.D., rector of Cotesbach, Leicestershire, *An*

the Way of Buying & Selling then was, by Exchange of Cattel; or else that the Money then used, had on it, the Stamp of some *Cattle* or other. Agreeably hereto, the Word for *Money*, among the Latins, is, *Pecunia*, which seems derived of, *Pecus*. Thus it was a proverbial Expression, βους ἐπὶ γλῶττι *A Beef on the Tongue*, applied unto one, who had been bribed with the *Money* that had the Stamp of that *Cattle* upon it.<sup>14</sup> Unto the old Money used among the *Israelites*, which had the Stamp of a *Lamb* upon it, it is thought our Apostle might have a most elegant Allusion in the Passage now before us. The more you consider it, the more you will be affected with the Elegancy of it.

It may not be amiss here to insert a philological Curiosity, observed by *Schickard*; That the Hebrew / דם / signifies both, *Blood*, and, *Money*, too. He remarks it on, Prov. XXX.33.<sup>15</sup>

Both the *Greek* and the *Latin* humour this Ambiguity. Thus *Antiphates* in *Stobæus*

Τὰργυριον ἐστὶν αἷμα καὶ ψυχὴ βροτοῖς<sup>16</sup>

Thus the *Master* chasing the *Servant* in *Augustin*, saies, *Nescis, quia Sanguinem meum pro te numeravi*.<sup>17</sup>

[▽Insert from 3r]

[▽3r]

**Q.** A Remark upon *Redemption* by the *Blood* of our Saviour. v. 19

**A.** The Life of a *Creature*, as tis well observed by our *Staynoe*, cannot possibly be insisted on, as a Compensation made unto the Justice of GOD. The *Life* and *Being* of every Creature is His, antecedent unto such an Offering. To offer a meer *Creature* unto GOD, as a *Price*, is paying of the *Debt* with His own

---

*historical Geography of the Old Testament* (1711–1712), vol. 1, ch. 7, p. 273. Wells seems to follow the LXX translation of Gen. 33:19 which translates: “And from Hemmor, Sychem’s father, he acquired for one hundred lambs the portion of the field, there where he had set up his tent, and there he set up an altar and invoked the God of Israel.” Thus, the LXX renders Hebrew בְּמַעֲהָ קֶשֶׁט (beme’a qesita) “for a hundred pieces of money,” ESV as ἑκατὸν ἀμνῶν ([hekaton amnon] “one hundred lambs” *NETS*).

14 Following Wells, Mather comments on the meaning of Latin *pecunia* (“wealth, riches, money”) and *pecus* (“cattle”). The proverb βους ἐπὶ γλῶττι or βους ἐπὶ γλῶσση indeed translates as “an ox on the tongue.” See Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, 36; transl.: *LCL* 146, pp. 6–7.

15 The basic meaning of Hebrew דָּם [dam] is “blood.” Modern translators do not recognize the ambiguity that Mather’s interlocutor wants to see in Prov. 30:33. Mather cites the German astronomer, mathematician, and Hebraist, Wilhelm Schickard (1592–1635), *Jus regium hebraeorum* ([1625] 1674), cap. 4, theoria 15, p. 279. This last section is a later addition.

16 In context, Τὰργυρίον ἐστὶν αἷμα καὶ ψυχὴ βροτοῖς [Targyrioron estin haima kai psyche brotois] translates as: “Money is blood and soul for mortals. [The man who does not have it and has not acquired it, strolls around as a dead man amongst the living.]” Mather cites the annotations of the Lutheran churchman Johann Benedict Carpzov (1639–1699) in the edition of Schickard, *Jus regium hebraeorum*, cap. 4, theoria 15, p. 280. Carpzov refers to Johannes Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, 4.31a.16. See Wachsmuth/Hense (1912), p. 738.

17 “You don’t know that I have counted my blood for you.” From Carpzov in Schickard, Mather cites Augustine, *Sermones de Scripturis*, sermo 21 [PL 38. 146; CCSL 41].

Money. From this very Argument, GOD in the fiftieth Psalm, does reject the ancient *Sacrifices*. The *Satisfaction* given to GOD by our SAVIOUR, is an unanswerable Demonstration, that He must be very GOD.<sup>18</sup>

[△] [△Insert ends]

**Q.** What is meant by the *Incorruptible Seed*, whereof Beleevers are *Born Again*? v. 23.

**A.** The Words of the Apostle are, *Being born again, not of Corruptible Seed, but of Incorruptible, by the Word of God*. Where Interpreters ordinarily reckon the *Seed*, & the *Word*, the same; & the Latter the Explication of the Former: But the several *Præpositions* in the *Greek* Original, intimate unto us otherwise. The *Seed* here is the Holy *Spirit* of God. Compare 1. Joh. 3.9. and Joh. 3.8. The *Regeneration* of a Christian, is like the *Generation* of Christ Himself. The Redeemer was *generated*, in such a Sort, that the Holy *Spirit* of God was instead of that Substance, or *Spirit*, with which a *Father* supplies a Natural Generation. The Beleever is thus *Regenerated*; Hee is Born of God, and the Holy *Spirit* is the *Seed*, that inspires and actuates the Formation of a *New Creature*, in his *Regeneration*.<sup>19</sup>

**Q.** What may be one special thing hinted at, when it is said, *The Grass withers, & the Flower thereof fadeth away; but the Word of the Lord endureth forever*? v. 24, 25.

**A.** Man cannot hinder; all his Opposition comes to nothing, when the *Spirit* of God shall please to exert His Operations, and make His *Word* proceed with a powerful Progress thro' the World.

You may take *Pyle's* Paraphrase on the Context. "Those Priviledges of Natural *Descent* the *Jews* so much boast of, the Succession in Rich & Noble Families, by any civil Relation or Institution, are meer External & Fading Blessings. But the Blessing of being taken into *Gods Church*, by embracing the Revelation of Jesus Christ, is of the utmost & everlasting Consequence unto us. And thus the *Gospel* we preach to you, is truly what *Isaiah* defined it, *The Word of the Lord that endureth forever*."<sup>20</sup>

[3r inserted into its designated place]

[3v] | [blank]

<sup>18</sup> Mather paraphrases the work of the minister of Christ Church in London (since about 1688), Thomas Staynoe, *Salvation by Jesus Christ alone* (1700), vol. 1, ch. 3, p. 46.

<sup>19</sup> Similarly, Staynoe, *Salvation by Jesus Christ alone*, vol. 2, ch. 8, pp. 210–13, and ch. 9, pp. 258–59. See Appendix A.

<sup>20</sup> From Pyle, *A Paraphrase* (2:350). This paragraph appears to be a later addition.

4533.

**Q.** What is the λογικον γαλα, *The Milk of the Word*? v. 2.

**A.** The *Milk* which *Rational Creatures* feed upon. As, λογικη λατρεία, is the *Service performed by Rational Creatures*.<sup>21</sup>

It is here declared, That the *New Birth*, is ever attended with an *earnest Desire* (so the Greek Word signifies,) after the Preaching of true evangelical Doctrines.<sup>22</sup>

**Q.** On that, of having, *Tasted that the Lord is gracious*? v. 3.

**A.** Tis *Pyle's* Paraphrase; "The Graces of a gentle, meek, and kind Disposition, are fully recommended by Christ, our merciful Redeemer & great Exemple."<sup>23</sup>

Compare it with Psal. XXXIV.8. and as Dr. *Knight* observes, it is proved & plain, That our JESUS is Jehovah.<sup>24</sup>

**Q.** What might the Apostle *Peter* have in his Eye, when he writes, *To whom coming as unto a living Stone, yee also as lively Stones, He built up a spiritual House*? v. 5.

**A.** The Apostle seems to have his Eye upon those Words of our Saviour unto him, in Matth. 16.18. *Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock I will build my Church*.

Tis true, *Peter* and the rest of the Apostles, were so many *Rocks*, which the Church was *Built* upon. Hence tis said, Eph. 2.20. *Yee are of the Houshold of God, and are Built upon the Foundation of the Apostles & Prophets*.

Compare, Rev. 21.14.<sup>25</sup>

And *Peters* Testimony of our Lords *Resurrection* (confirmed by his Sanctity, and Miracles, and Sufferings,) was of a very particular Use, in Laying the *Foundation* of the *Christian Religion*; and of the Church *Built* upon it.

Nevertheless, This very *Peter* leads us to the True & Main *Foundation* of all; even the Lord Jesus Christ Himself.

<sup>21</sup> See Rom. 12:1: τὴν λογικὴν λατρείαν [ten logiken latreian]: "spiritual worship" (ESV). From Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:166).

<sup>22</sup> This sentence appears to be a later addition.

<sup>23</sup> From Pyle, *A Paraphrase* (2:352).

<sup>24</sup> Mather refers to James Knight, *Eight Sermons*, sermo 7 ("Christ's Divinity proved from Redemption"), pp. 260–61.

<sup>25</sup> See Samuel Mather, *The Figures and Types of the Old Testament*, "The Gospel of Solomon's Temple," p. 345.

**Q.** Our Lord Jesus Christ, in what Sense is Hee by *Peter* called, *A cheef Corner-Stone?* v. 6.

**A.** And since tis *Peter* calls Him so, how much would he blush (as in the famous Picture of him) if he were now at *Rome*, to see his pretended Successors ascribing to *himself* this glorious Title!<sup>26</sup>

Nor, because under a Building there are more *Corner-Stones* than one, may wee thence infer, that the Lord Jesus Christ is not the *whole Foundation* of the Church, but needs the Copartnership of others with Him. The Expression is *Figurative*; the *chief Part* being taken for the *whole Foundation*: and herein the admirable Strength of our Lord, in bearing the *Sins* and *Hopes* of His Church, is intimated.

But my learned Friend Mr. *Lee*, craves leave to present a New Conjecture.

Our Blessed Saviour is the only and compleat Foundation of His Church; and yett being mentioned under the Name of, a *Corner-Stone*, in the singular Number, one may consider, whether, altho' generally other Buildings have many *Stones* laid for their *Foundation*, yett this mystical & spiritual Building of the Church, may not be conceived, like that admirable Temple of *Latona*, in *Buto*, a City of *Egypt*, near the *Sebennitcal* Mouth of the River *Nile*; concerning which *Herodotus* (as an Eye-Witness) testifies, that it was framed ἐξ ἐνὸς λίθου, *of one vast and entire Stone*.<sup>27</sup> In like Manner one may conceive the *Foundation* of the spiritual Temple, to be *one, huge, four-square Stone*, supplying the whole Extent of the *Bottom* of the Building. This, by reason of the choicest Office of a *Foundation*, to Support all the *Angles*, is called by *Peter*, λίθος ἀκρογωνιαίος, *The cornering Stone*; or, the *Stone* which in its *Four Angles*, respects and supports, all the *Four Corners* of the Edifice. They who build on such a *Stone*, (such the infinite Strength in the Merits of our Lord!) shall not need to *make Haste* away from it, as Men do from boggy Grounds, where they find their *Foundation* failing them.

<sup>26</sup> In his *Magnalia Christi Americana*, bk. 3, ch. 10, p. 96, Mather tells an anecdote with strong anti-Catholic inflections about the famous Italian High Renaissance painter Raphael (Raffaello Sanzio da Urbino, 1483–1520): “No doubt, as Raphael Urbine, the famous painter, being taxed, for making the face in the picture of Peter too red, replied, He did it on purpose, that he might represent the apostle blushing in heaven, to see what successors he had on earth . . .” The picture of Saint Peter is probably one of the seven “Raphael Cartoons” (completed by 1516) commissioned by Pope Leo X for the Sistine Chapel tapestries for the Sistine Chapel in the Vatican Palace showing scenes from Paul’s and Peter’s life, e.g. the scene “Christ’s Charge to Peter” (Matt. 16:16–19) (*EB*).

<sup>27</sup> This entry comes from Samuel Lee, *Orbis miraculum, or, the Temple of Solomon, pourtrayed by Scripture-Light* (1659), p. 202. Lee cites Herodotus (*Histories* 2.155; *LCL* 117, pp. 466–67). Herodotus speaks of the shrine of Leto at the “Sebennytyc arm of the Nile” as having walls “all made of a single stone slab; each wall has an equal length and height, namely, forty cubits. Another slab makes the surface of the roof, the cornice of which is four cubits broad.” Samuel Lee (1625–1691) was a Puritan divine in England who migrated to New England in 1686. In 1691, after the Glorious Revolution, he tried to return, but was captured with his ship and died at St. Malo a few weeks later. His daughter Lydia became the third wife of Cotton Mather in 1716.

**Q.** *A peculiar People?* v. 9.

**A.** Λαός περιουσιος. *Jerom* saies, That he could learn, *A Nullo Sæcularium Linguarum perito*, what the Word περιουσιος might signify. But he learnt it, from, Deut. VII.6.<sup>28</sup>

Some derive it, from the Word, περιεimi *Præsto, Antecello*.<sup>29</sup>

But, περιουσια, signifies, *An Abundance*.<sup>30</sup> It intimates, the *Treasures*, the *Jewels*, the *Ornaments*, which People of an affluent Wealth lay up, with a Value for them.<sup>31</sup>

It answers to the Hebrew, *Segullah*. And it is thought by *Drusius*, that *Peter* in this Translation of the *Segullah*, may refer to Mal. III.17. *when I make up my Jewels*.<sup>32</sup>

|  
4534.

[4v]

**Q.** In what Sense, would the Apostle have the Christians, to be, *As Free, but not using their Liberty, for a Cloak of Maliciousness?* v. 16.

**A.** He would have them, *with Well-doing to putt to Silence the Ignorance of Foolish Men*; that is, of those Gentiles, who took their æstimate of them, from the Turbulent Jewes, & represented them also, as εθνος δυσαρκτον και δυσπειθες φύσει προς τους βασιλεας. (as *Josephus* ha's it,) *A People naturally averse from Subjection to Kings*.<sup>33</sup>

But then, the *Zealots* among the Jewes, were notorious for the Doctrine, of being *Free* from Subjection to Superiours, and they were notoriously Practising of it, at the Time of Writing this Epistle.

<sup>28</sup> Greek λαός περιούσιος [laos periousios] means “a chosen people.” The Latin phrase translates: “By no one well versed in non-biblical languages.” From Hermann Witsius, *De oeconomia foederum Dei cum hominibus* ([1677] 1694), lib. 3, cap. 12, sec. 7, p. 444, Mather refers to Jerome, *Commentarii in Epistolam ad Titum* [PL 26. 587–88; CCSL 77C]: “Græci dixerunt περιουσιασμόν ἑαυτῶ. Deut.VII.6.” See Deut. 7:6: “For you are a people holy to the Lord your God. The Lord your God has chosen you to be a people for his treasured possession, out of all the peoples who are on the face of the earth” (NETS). The LXX has λαὸν περιούσιον for “treasured possession.”

<sup>29</sup> The verb περιεimi [perieimi] indeed means “to excel, to outmatch.”

<sup>30</sup> As Mather suggests, the noun περιουσία [periousia] signifies “abundance, surplus.”

<sup>31</sup> From Witsius, a reference to Clement of Alexandria, *Protrepticus*, cap. 1 [PG 8. 60; GCS 12; *Supplements to Vigiliæ Christianæ* 34] and other classical authors.

<sup>32</sup> From Witsius, Mather refers to Johannes Drusius. The remark on *segullah* in connection with Mal. 3:17 is found in *Observationum libri XII* (1584), lib. 3, cap. 11, pp. 68–69, and in *Annotationes in Cobelet* (1635), p. 23, on Eccles. 2:8.

<sup>33</sup> From Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:165). This is a modified citation from Flavius Josephus, *Jewish War* (2.6); The original δὲ τοῦ ἐθνους τό τε δυσαρκτον καὶ τὸ δυσπειθὲς φύσει πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεῖς. [de tou ethnous to te dysarkton kai to dyspeithes physei pros tous basileis]; transl.: “[an accusation] of the national character, impatient of all authority and insubordinate towards their sovereigns.” See *LCL* 203, pp. 356–57.



They held *God alone, as their only Lord and Governour, in Opposition to Cæsar, & all Kings which were not of their own Nation, and did not govern them, by their own Lawes, or His Immediate Appointment.* And they, many of them Rebelled against the *Romans*, and against the Governours that were sent by them on this Principle, that *they were a free People, & ought to preserve their Liberty.* These were they, who *used their Liberty, for a Cloak of Maliciousness.*

**Q.** The Apostle speaking to *Servants*, ha's this Passage, *By the Stripes of Christ, yee were Healed, Yee were as Sheep going astray:* where lies the *Emphasis* of this Discourse? v. 24, 25.

**A.** *Stripes* were not of old inflicted on any, but *Servants*, and *Villians*. *Mastigia*, (one liable to *Stripes*,) and an Abject *Slave*, are all one. Our Lord-Redeemer took on Him, the Form of a *Servant*: so they scourg'd Him, like a *Runaway Servant*.<sup>34</sup>

Behold, a strong Obligation upon *Servants*, glorify the Lord Jesus Christ, and not *Run away* from their Masters, but serve them faithfully. All wee had *gone astray like Sheep*, and been *Run-away Servants*. For this Cause were *Stripes* inflicted on our Lord Jesus Christ. The *Stripes* of our Lord, infinitely oblige us, to avoid *Sins*, worthy of *Stripes*.

<sup>34</sup> Derived from Thomas Goodwin, *Christ the Mediator* (1692), bk. 5, ch. 11, pp. 270–71. *Μαστιγίας* [mastigias] indeed means “one that wants whipping, a rogue” (LSJ).

2208.

**Q.** What may bee the *Fear* intended in that Passage; *They behold your chaste Conversation coupled with Fear?* v. 2.

**A.** The Word, *coupled*, is not in the Original; & the Sense is perfect without it. It may bee read thus *when they behold your chaste Conversation with Fear*. A wicked Man cannot without some *Fear*, look upon the godly Conversation of a Christian. The Severity of a Christian Life, makes a wicked Man to *Tremble*. Natural *Conscience* payes Homage to the Image of God, upon His People. So *Herod Feared John*.<sup>35</sup>

4535.

**Q.** Some Remark upon, the *Plaiting of Hair*, & other Ornaments of the Female Sex, decried by the Apostle? v. 3.

**A.** These are, in the Words of *Clemens of Alexandria* το εταιρικον καλλωπισμα, *The Ornaments of Whores*: and such as demonstrate, το σοβαρον, και θρυπτικον, και αβροδιατον· *Their Arrogance, and Softness, and Lasciviousness*. The *Plaiting of the Hair*, he saies was a *Sign of corrupt Women*; and they that use it, he saies, were εταιρικως κοσμουμενοι *Attired like Whores*.<sup>36</sup>

And for the *Wearing of Gold*, it is a Passage of *Iamblichus*, in the Life of *Pythagoras*, το χρυσον ελευθεραν μηδεμιαν φορειν, μοναν δε τας εταιρας· *That no Free Women wore Gold, but Whores only*.<sup>37</sup>

The *precious Apparel*, is the thing, which all the *Comedians* mention as the *attire* affected by that Sort of Women.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>35</sup> From Thomas Manton, *LXIV Sermons on the Eleventh Chapter of Hebrews*, sermon xxxviii, in *A Third Volume of Sermons Preached by the Late Reverend and Learned Thomas Manton D. D.* (1689), p. 318.

<sup>36</sup> From Daniel Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:173), Mather refers to Clement of Alexandria, *Paedagogus*, 2.13 and 3.11 [PG 8. 546–47, 637–38, 641–42; *GCS* 12; *Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae* 61]. The expression το εταιρικὸν καλλώπισμα [to hetairikon kallopisma] translates as “the ornament of whores”; το σοβαρόν, καὶ θρυπτικόν, καὶ ἀβροδιατόν [to sobaron, kai thryptikon, kai habrodiaiton]: “the haughtiness, the effeminateness and the luxuriousness”; and εταιρικῶς κοσμούμενοι [hetairikos kosmoumenoi]: “adorned like whores.”

<sup>37</sup> From Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:173), Mather cites the Syrian Neoplatonist, Iamblichus (c. 250–c. 330), *On the Pythagorean Way of Life*, cap. 31. See the edition of Deubner, p. 187: τὸ χρυσὸν ἐλευθέραν μηδεμίαν φορεῖν, μόνας δὲ τὰς ἐταῖρας [to chryson eleutheran medemian phorein, monas de tas hetairas]. Whitby offers a valid translation.

<sup>38</sup> From Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:173), a summary reference to various Greek texts mentioned by Clement of Alexandria (see above), e.g. Aristophanes’s comedy *Thesmophoriazusae*. See the comments on women’s apparel in Aristophanes, *Fragmenta*, 321.1–9.

These things, while used for such Marks of Distinction, are forbidden unto chaste Women. But, as Dr. *Whitby* observes, They may be worn by Christian Women, when they cease to be so; provided they do it, without Pride, or much concern about them; and still remembering that *Gravity* in Apparel is more honourable; and that the Ornament of the Mind, which are not subject unto Corruption, are much to be preferred before them.<sup>39</sup>

The Sum of what is here proposed, is, That Women should strive to recommend themselves unto the Affections of their Husbands, not by the Nicety and Sumptuousness of their Dress, & outward Gaiety of their Persons; but by the Vertue of their Lives, & the Sweetness of their Tempers.

**Q.** *Afraid with Amazement?* v. 6.

**A.** Alluding to Gen. XVIII.15. *Sarah Afraid*.<sup>40</sup>

4536.

**Q.** What may be the Meaning of that Exhortation, unto Husbands, *To Dwell with their Wives according to Knowledge, giving Honour to them, as the weaker Vessel, & as being Heirs together of the Grace of Life?* v. 7.

**A.** You know the ordinary Interpretations; I shall not recite them.

All the Ancients, refer the Exhortation to that Relation, and those Duties, which we more strictly call, *conjugal*; and

ἐπὶ τῆς γαμικῆς χρήσεως<sup>41</sup>

Butt *Whitby*, thinks, that since συνοικέω signifies,<sup>42</sup> To contract Matrimony, the Words may be thus paraphrased: “Likewise yee Men, Be yee joined in Marriage with the Women, as you find them endued with the *Knowledge* of Christianity; they being the *weaker Vessels*, and so more subject without this *Knowledge*, to miscarry; giving Preference in your Choice, to such as be *Heirs together with you of the Grace of Life*, that thro’ Difference in Religion, your *Prayers* be not cutt off.”

**Q.** What is meant by the *Following of that which is good?* v. 13.

<sup>39</sup> Mather cites the passage from *Whitby, A Paraphrase* (2:173).

<sup>40</sup> *Whitby, A Paraphrase* (2:172).

<sup>41</sup> From *Whitby, A Paraphrase* (2:173–74), Mather refers to the *Expositio in epistolam prior S. Petri* at 1 Pet. 3:7 [PG 125. 1224] by the Greek archbishop Theophylact of Ohrid but traditionally attributed to the tenth-century bishop Oecumenius of Tricca. The phrase ἐπὶ τῆς γαμικῆς χρήσεως [epi tes gamikes chreseos] is translated by *Whitby* as “of the conjugal use of one another.”

<sup>42</sup> The discussion from *Whitby* is about the phrase from 1 Pet. 3:7 ἄνδρες ὁμοίως συνοικούντες κατὰ γνώσιν [andres homoios synoikountes kata gnosis]: “live with your wives in an understanding way” (ESV). The verb συνοικέω [sunoikeyo] means “to dwell with, live in wedlock, cohabit with.”

**A.** *Followers* here, may bee Read, *Imitators*: the Word is μιμηταί.<sup>43</sup> And so, whereas, *Following*, is either of a *Pattern*, or of a *Design*; the former must bee meant here, by the Natural Importance of that Word. Hence also, by, *That which is good*, must not bee understood, created *Goodness*; it is not enough to *Imitate* that Goodness; wee must *Have* it, wee must *Bee* it. I read it then, *Him that is good*; or, which is all one, *The Good*. Thus *Plato* and his Followers, used the Expression τ' αγαθον, fully according the Sense of Math. 19.17. *None good but God*.<sup>44</sup> Wherefore in short, the Rule here is, *Imitate the Exemple of the Lord Jesus Christ*.

**Q.** A Gloss upon that; *sanctify the Lord God in your Hearts?* v. 15.

**A.** Make a *Sanctuary* for Him there; Provide and Afford an Holy Apartment for Him.

|

3070.

[5v]

**Q.** That most obscure and puzzling Text, *By which He went and preached unto the Spirits in Prison, which sometimes were Disobedient, when once the Long-Suffering of God waited in the Dayes of Noah*; How may we understand it? v. 19, 20.

**A.** It were easy to ostentate abundance of Reading here, by quoting an huge *Variety* of Expositions. Among all which, methinks, there is none that gives a greater Contradiction to the rest, than that of the excellent *Calvin*, who reads, φυλακη, not, *A Prison*, but *A Watch-Tower*, and understands it of *Heaven*, where

<sup>43</sup> See 1 Cor. 11:1: μιμηταί μου γίνεσθε καθὼς καὶ γὼ Χριστοῦ [mimetai mou ginesthe kathos kago Christou]. ESV: “Be imitators of me, as I am of Christ.” The entry is derived from the work of the English Puritan divine and chaplain to Oliver Cromwell, John Howe (1630–1705), *The Blessedness of the Righteous* (1668), in *The Works of John Howe*, vol. 1 (1862), p. 109.

<sup>44</sup> Reference is probably made to Plato, *Politeia*, 2.379b1–6:

“[The] god is, of course, good in reality and must be spoken of as such?”

“What do you mean?”

“Well no good quality is harmful, is it?”

“I don’t think so.”

“Can what is not harmful cause any harm?”

“Of course not.” Transl. adapted from *LCL* 237, pp. 200–03.

Reference could also be made to *Timaeus*, where the reason for the existence of the world is given: see Plato (*Timaeus* 29d6–30e4; *LCL* 234, pp. 54–55): “Let us now state the Cause wherefor He that constructed it constructed Becoming and the All. He was good [ἀγαθός agathos], and in him that is good no envy ariseth ever concerning anything; and being devoid of envy He desired that all should be, so far as possible, like unto Himself. This principle, then, we shall be wholly right in accepting from men of wisdom as being above all the supreme originating principle of Becoming and the Cosmos.”

Matt. 19:17 reads: “And he said to him, ‘Why do you ask me about what is good? There is only one who is good [εἰς ἐστὶν ὁ ἀγαθός heis estin ho agathos]. If you would enter life, keep the commandments’” (ESV).

our Ascending Lord, found the Saints of the *old World*, very Intent on the vast affair, of the Working out our Salvation by the Lord Jesus Christ.<sup>45</sup>

But, I wave them all, and only offer you the Sense of our *Edwards*, who has bestow'd great Pains in a Distinct *Enquiry* upon it.

By the *Spirits in Prison*, he understands the *Unbelievers*, in the very *Dayes* of the Apostles, the very Persons unto whom the Apostles preached, *which sometimes were Disobedient. Spirits*, (or *Souls*) are the same with *Persons*: of which we have an Instance, in the *eight Souls* mention'd in the very Text now before us. All ungodly Men are *in Prison*; their *Ignorance* and *Wickedness* holds them, as in a *Prison*. [Act. 8.23. Prov. 5.22. 2. Tim. 2.26.] They are *miserable*, & unable to help themselves out of their *Misery*. The *Conversion* of Men, is a bringing of them out of *Prison*. [Isa. 42.7. and 49.9. and 61.1.] The Lord Jesus Christ *went and preached* unto the Unbelievers in this Condition; by *His Holy Spirit*, in His Apostles. [Compare Eph. 2.17. and Act. 3.26.]

The main Difficulty that remains is, How this was done, *In the Dayes of Noah*? *Episcopus* and *Limborch* solve it so; The whole Race of unbelieving Gentiles in all Ages are considered as *one Body*. Thus; the Wretches that *lived in the Apostles Dayes*, were *Disobedient in the Dayes of Noah*. These were a Part of the same Community and Society, with *Them*. Nevertheless, if this content not, we have another Solution. There is an *Ellipsis* in these Words; a Figure very frequent in the *Phraseology* of the *Bible*. The Greek Word, *ως*; or, *καθως*, or *ωσπερ* is to be inserted. Read it, *As when once the Patience of God waited in the Dayes of Noah*. It is intimated, That the Patience of God in the Time of the Apostles was *like* what He used in the Times of *Noah*. And a *Comparison* between the State of Things in those two Ages, might be illustrated in many Particulars & with many Elegancies.<sup>46</sup>

*Quære*, what fell out upon the Jewish Nation, in the remarkable Period of 120 Years, from our Saviour? The Flood of Desolation, by the Sword of *Adrian*.

<sup>45</sup> The entry is based on John Edwards's discussion of the "spirits in prison" of 1 Pet. 3:19–20 in *An Enquiry into four remarkable Texts of the New Testament* (1692), *The fourth Text*, sec. 2, pp. 209–66, here p. 233. The phrase under discussion here is *ἐν φυλακῇ* [*en phylake*] which can indeed mean "in prison" or "on the watch-tower." Edwards refers to John Calvin, *Commentarii in Epistolam Petri priorem* ([1551] 1667), in *Opera* (7:23–24), on 1 Pet. 3:19: "Mihi quidem φυλακῇ potius speculam significat in qua aguntur vigiliae, vel ipsum excubandi actum ... Neque enim dubium est quin ad hunc scopum sancti Patres tam in vita, quam post mortem, suas cogitationes direxerint."

<sup>46</sup> From Edwards, *An Enquiry*, p. 236 and pp. 252–53, where it reads: "The Greek word *ως*, or *καθως*, or *ωσπερ* is to be inserted before the word *ἔτι* ... ." The three Greek words *ως* ([*hos*] "like as," "just as" [LSJ 2038–2040]), *καθως* ([*kathos*] "even as" [LSJ 857]), and *ωσπερ* ([*hosper*] "like as, even as" [LSJ 2040]) can be used as conjunctions or simply as words that show the likeness of two things. They basically have the same meaning although *ωσπερ* and *καθως* are stronger than *ως*. Edwards cites two Dutch Remonstrant theologians: Philipp van Limborch (1633–1712), *Theologia christiana* (1686), vol. 3, lib. 3, cap. 13, p. 233, and the systematizer of Arminianism, Simon Episcopus (Biscop, Bishop, 1583–1643), *Institutiones theologiae in quatuor libros distinctae* in *Opera theologica* (1650), lib. 4, sec. 2, cap. 30, pp. 329–30.

1053.

**Q.** What the Apostle teaches, about the *Saving Efficacy of Baptism*, what is the Scope, and the Sense of it? v. 21.

**A.** Hee represents the *Christian Baptism*, as a Badge and Pledge for the Præservation of those that adhæred unto it, from the Vengeance that was coming upon the *Jewish Nation*. [Compare, Math. 3.7.] Hee distinguishes it, from *Circumcision*, and from all the Levitical and Pharisaical *Washings*, which were a *Putting away the Filth of the Flesh*; by telling us, That it is a *conscientious Asking* after the Wayes of Salvation, by the *Messiah*, even Salvation from the Courses, and Ruines of an *untoward Generation*. The Apostle saies, T'was the *Spirit of the Messiah*, who strove with the *old World*. And the Jewes themselves tell us, *The Generation of the Flood have no Portion, in the World to come*.<sup>47</sup> The *old World* that was Disobedient unto the *Spirit of Christ*, preaching in the Mouth of *Noah*, perished: And what would then become of those, who were Disobedient unto the *Spirit of Christ*, preaching in the Mouth of His Apostles, yea, Visibly & Audibly, in His own Person? But *Noah*, with his Family hearkening unto the Lord, while others *said to God, Depart from us*; was præserted. Even so, saith hee, do's *Baptism* now *save* us, that are the *Antitype* of that *Figure*. And this very Text, by the way, does afford an Argument for Infant-Baptism tho' some absurdly therefrom fetch an Argument against it. For, if the Parents coming to bee *Baptised*, sought thereby to bee præserted from the *Wrath to come*, they would, as Dr. *Lightfoot* observes, bee careful, to bring their Children under the same Security.

**Q.** How is it said of *Noah*, and the *Souls with him, They were saved by Water*? v. 20.

**A.** In a cursory Reading one would think, That *Water* were here mentioned as the Instrument of *saving* them; whereas indeed, it had a contrary Tendency to their *Destruction*.

Read more attentively, and you will consider, That the Persons in the *Ark*, were not *washed* by the *Water of the Flood* at all, it was the *Ark* only that was *washed* in that *Water*. The *Salvation of Noah*, & his Family was by the *Ark*. What we render, *By Water*, [δια υδατος] is to be more properly rendred, *Thro' the Water*. They were *saved* from the Flood & carried safe *thro' the Water*; As we read, Act. 14.22. *Thro' much Tribulation to enter into the Kingdome of God*: the Particle is the same. Yea, as Dr. *Goodwin* observes δια υδατος is rendred, 2. Pet.

<sup>47</sup> From *Lightfoot, The Harmony, Chronicle, and Order of the New Testament in Works* (1:336), Mather cites the Mishnah in the Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Sanhedrin 107b (Soncino, p. 737). The Soncino edition translates as: "The generation of the flood has no portion in the future world, nor will they stand at the [last] judgment, as it is written, [and the Lord said,] my spirit will not always enter into judgment with man: There will be neither judgment nor [my] spirit for them." See also Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:176).

3.5. *In the Water*, or, *in the Midst of the Water*. So then, these Words; [*The like Figure whereunto*,] refer not unto the Word, *Water*, but unto the Word, *Ark*. As the *Ark* saved the Family of *Noah*, in the *Midst of the Water*, so *Baptism*, or the Christ into whom we are Baptised, saves us from the Flood of Divine Vengeance now threatning of the World. It may refer indeed unto the Matter of the whole foregoing Sentence; q. d. our Salvation by *Baptism*, the Salvation by Christ sealed unto us in our *Baptism*, answers in Similitude unto the Salvation of *Noah's* Family in the *Ark*.<sup>48</sup>

Δι' ὕδατος, is, *Out of the Water*, or, *From it*.

After all, Mr. Sykes appears to have given us the right Gloss on the Text.

*Righteousness*, or, the *Answer of a good Conscience towards God*, now saves us, by Means of the *Resurrection* of our SAVIOUR, as *Righteousness* formerly saved the eight Persons, by means of the *Ark*, during the Flood.

The Word, *Antitype*, here signifies only a general Similitude; and the Particle, *whereunto*, refers not unto the immediate Antecedent, *Water*, but unto *all* that præcedes.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>48</sup> The issue here is the final phrase of 1 Pet. 3:20 κατασκευαζομένης κιβωτοῦ εἰς ἣν ὀλίγοι, τοῦτ' ἔστιν ὅκτῳ ψυχαὶ διεσώθησαν δι' ὕδατος [kataskeuwomenes kibotou eis hen oligoi, tout' estin okto psychai diesothesan di' hydatos], which the KJV renders "while the ark was a-preparing, wherein few, that is, eight souls were saved by water." Drawing on Thomas Goodwin, *A Discourse of Election* (1683), bk. 1, ch. 4, pp. 76–77, who references 2 Pet. 3:5 (δι' ὕδατος [di' hydatos]), Mather argues for an alternative translation similar to what several modern translations offer: "were brought safely through water" (ESV); "were saved from drowning in that terrible flood" (NIV).

<sup>49</sup> From the Church of England clergyman and religious controversialist, Arthur Ashley Sykes (c. 1684–1756), *An Essay upon the Truth of the Christian Religion: wherein its real Foundation upon the Old Testament is shewn* (1725), cap. 12, pp. 182–83. This paragraph was a later addition.

**Q.** *Let the Time past suffice us*, Does not the Apostle speak as if he had bin one of the Gentiles? v. 3.<sup>50</sup>

**A.** The true Reading in the Greek should be υμιν & not ημιν as it is in many of the most ancient printed Editions. It is so also in the *Complutension* M.D. XV.

Or else, which Mr. *Jones* beleeves the true Reading, we should insert neither υμιν nor ημιν.<sup>51</sup> For neither of the Words are in the ancient Manuscripts or Versions, as we see in Dr. *Mill*.<sup>52</sup>

**Q.** On, *Walking in Revellings, Banquettings?* v. 3.

**A.** In *Bereshith Rabba*, there is a Saying of the Hebrews. *In omni Loco ubi invenitur Comessatio et Compotatio; ibi Satan accusat.*<sup>53</sup>

<sup>50</sup> This entry was written in a different, ornamental handwriting style similar to that found in other parts of the “Biblia.”

<sup>51</sup> The entry is derived from the work of the Independent minister and biblical scholar, Jeremiah Jones (1693/4–1724), *A new and full Method of Settling the canonical Authority of the New Testament* ([1726–1727] 1798), vol. 2, part 3, ch. 39, p. 433. The Textus Receptus has ἀρκετός γὰρ ἡμῖν ὁ παρεληλυθὼς χρόνος τοῦ βίου [arketos gar hemin ho parelelythos chronos tou biou], which the KJV renders: “For the time past of our life may suffice us.” Drawing on the *Complutensian Polyglott* (the earliest complete polyglot Bible published at Alcalá under the supervision of Cardinal Francisco Ximénez de Cisneros between 1514 and 1517), Jones argues “that the true reading in the Greek of this place either should be ὑμῖν, not ἡμῖν (i. e. *the time past of your life may suffice you*, &c. and not *the time past of our life may suffice us*), as it is in several of the most antient [sic!] printed editions (e.g. the Complutensian printed A.D. MDXV. and that of Simon Colinæus printed at Paris in MDXLIII.) and manuscripts . . . .” The *Complutensian Polyglott*, p. 1249, indeed reads: ἀρκετός γὰρ υμῖν ὁ παρεληλυθὼς χρόνος [arketos gar hymin ho parelelythos chronos].

<sup>52</sup> From Jones, *A new and full Method of Settling*, vol. 2, pars 3, cap. 39, pp. 433–34, Mather makes the argument that a reading without the possessive pronoun is to be preferred. This is also how NA 28 now reads it: ἀρκετός γὰρ ὁ παρεληλυθὼς χρόνος [arketos gar ho parelelythos chronos], which the ESV renders: “For the time that is past suffices.” Reference is made to John Mill’s critical apparatus in his *Novum Testamentum graecum, cum lectionibus variantibus MSS* (1707), p. 715. The Anglican theologian John Mill (1645–1707) used the biblical text of Robertus Stephanus or Estienne (1550), but added such a great number of new manuscripts and Oriental version readings from his own examinations that his NT edition became one of the most influential sources for modern text criticism. Mill’s various readings were attacked by Daniel Whitby as destroying the validity of the biblical text (*EB*).

<sup>53</sup> “Wherever you find eating and drinking, there Satan finds fault.” Probably from Johannes Buxtorf (the Younger), *Florilegium hebraicum* (1648), p. 53, Mather cites the *Midrash Rabbah*, *Genesis*, on the Tower of Babel (Gen. 11:2).



*Aben Ezra* has a Saying; *Qui Comessionibus et Compotanonibus deditus est, numquam erit sapiens.*<sup>54</sup>

**Q.** On that, *They think it strange, that you run not with them into the same Excess of Riot?* v. 4.

**A.** We read of the *Nazarite*, He *separates himself unto the Lord*. The Word / יפליא<sup>55</sup> signifies, *Mirificabit*, He shall *wonderfully* separate himself. A Christian must be a *Nazarite*; He is to *separate himself unto the Lord*, from the Pollutions of a Dissolute World. Such a *Separation* is a thing to be *wondred* at. Wicked Men *wonder* at those who do not run with them into the same (as here it may be read) *Confusion of Luxury*.

**Q.** How may we understand that obscure Text, *The Gospel was preached also to them that are Dead, that they might be Judged according to Men in the Flesh, but live according to God in the Spirit?* v. 6.

**A.** Wee must not understand it, of those that were *Dead*, when the *Gospel was preached*, but of those that were *Dead*, when the Apostle now wrote. [So Ruth. 1.8.]

Christ was preached unto those that are now *Dead*. Therefore, He will *Judge*, not only the *Quick*, but also the *Dead*. Otherwise, in *Vain* was Hee *preached* unto them; in *Vain* did they *Beleeve* in Him, & *Suffer* for Him.

They were indeed *Judged according to Men in the Flesh*. That is to say; Men *judged* them to *Dy*, as far as they could, which reached no further than *the Flesh*. [Compare Mat. 10.28.] *Stephen* and *James*, and others had already been the Instances of it. But, *according to God*, that is, according to the Power & the Promise of God, they are to *live again in the Spirit*; they shall have a *Resurrection from the Dead*. To *live in the Spirit*, means to live such a Life, as we shall have in the *Spiritual Body*, after the *Resurrection*. [See 1. Cor. 15.46.]<sup>56</sup>

**Q.** A further Thought upon it? v. 6.

**A.** Sir *Norton Knatchbul* observes, That the Expressions are a little elliptical, and the Article, [o] is to be understood:

<sup>54</sup> "Whoever is given to feasting and drinking will never become wise." From Buxtorf, *Florilegium hebraicum*, p. 53, Mather quotes Ibn Ezra, who comments on Eccles. 7:3. Compare Michael Friedländer's translation in context in *Essays on the Writings of Abraham ibn Ezra* (1877), p. 37: "It is known that as long as the bodily desires are strong, the soul is weak and powerless against them, because they are supported by the body and all its powers; hence those who only think of eating and drinking, will never be wise."

<sup>55</sup> Hebrew פלא [pala'] in the Hifil form signifies to "make wonderful, do wonderful deeds." The entry is drawn from Robert Gell, *An Essay toward the Amendment of the last English- Translation of the Bible*, sermon 6, p. 181.

<sup>56</sup> Mather here translates Grotius's annotation in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (6:4550).

*That they might be Damned, [who were] according to Men in the Flesh, but that they might live [who were] according to God in the Spirit.*<sup>57</sup>

You have an Explication of the Expressions, Rom. 8.5.

Mr. Pyle, gives this Paraphrase, which takes in both of the Two most Natural Interpretations.

“Remember the blessed Advantages, you *gentile* Christians, who were *Dead in Trespasses & Sins*, now enjoy by the Gospel-Revelation, engaging you to condemn & mortify your former vicious & sensual Habits, and live a New & Divine Life. A Thing which, tho’ your *Heathen* Neighbours may Reproach & Condemn you for, yett the present Comforts of this spiritual Life, and the Assurance of being raised to an Immortal Happiness, by the Power of the Divine Spirit, will demonstrate *Your* Wisdome & *Their* Folly.”<sup>58</sup>

**Q.** How will *Charity cover a Multitude of Sins*? v. 8.

**A.** A Kind, Charitable, Hospitable Temper in those Christians, free of all partial Distinctions, and Animosities against such as are not of their Opinion, would make some *Reparation* for the Miscarriages herein, whereof they had been guilty, while the Spirit of the *Jewish* Zealots acted them, & would also procure them the Divine Protection from the Miseries now coming on their obstinate Nation.<sup>59</sup>

**Q.** On that, *lett him speak as the Oracles of God*? v. 11.

**A.** As the Two Tables of the Law, are called by *Stephen*, *The lively Oracles*;<sup>60</sup> Tis a Term, which belongs also, to the Sacred Writings of both Testaments; to the Canon we have in our Bible.

Dr. *Arrowsmith* inclines, to take this as an Admonition unto public Preachers, That they be careful to deliver *Scripture-Truths* in *Scripture-Words*. The Particle [ως] here, is a Note, not of Similitude, but of Identity; As, Joh. I.14: *The Glory AS of the only begotten of the Father*; it is not meant of a Glory *like* His, butt the very *same*. Thus, *lett him speak AS the Oracles of God*; that is, the self-same Things that God hath spoken in His Word.

<sup>57</sup> From Norton Knatchbull, *Animadversiones in libros Novi Testamenti*, p. 319. With Knatchbull, Mather assumes that the relative pronoun οἱ [hoi] is implied before μέν κατὰ ἀνθρώπους σαρκί ([men kata anthropous sarki] “according to men in the flesh”) and κατὰ θεὸν πνεύματι ([kata theon pneumati] “according to God in the spirit”). Modern translations of 1 Pet. 4:6 do not support this reading. The ESV, for instance, has: “For this is why the gospel was preached even to those who are dead, that though judged in the flesh the way people are, they might live in the spirit the way God does.”

<sup>58</sup> From Pyle, *A Paraphrase* (2:365–66).

<sup>59</sup> From Pyle, *A Paraphrase* (2:366).

<sup>60</sup> See Acts 7:38. The entry is derived from John Arrowsmith, *Armilla catechetica*, aphor. 2, exerc. 3, pp. 85–86.

The Word, λογία, whereby Heathen Writers had been wont to express their Oracles, [chiefly such as were uttered in Prose, while such as were delivered in Verse went under the Name of χρησμοί] is enfranchised by the Holy Spirit,<sup>61</sup> & applied unto the Holy Scripture; to intimate, that these Books are to be of like Use unto Christians, as those *Oracles* had been unto Infidels; To be Consulted, Valued, Followed, & Præserved, as much as *they*.

1605:

**Q.** Why is *Persecution* called, *The Fiery Trial*? v. 12.

**A.** Turn to the Third Chapter of *Daniel*. The *Fiery Furnace* there will Illustrate the *Fiery Trial* here: And by comparing them, you will have a notable Key, to open several Treasures in this Context.<sup>62</sup>

[6v]

|  
4537:

**Q.** The Occasion for those Admonitions; *lett none of you suffer, as a Murderer, or as a Theef, or as an Evil-Doer, or as a Busy-body in other Mens Matters?* v. 15.

**A.** In Reading *Josephus*, we shall find there was the greatest Cause Imaginable, to give these Cautions unto the Jewish Nation. It prodigiously abounded with *Robbers*, which were continually employ'd in *Murthering*, their own Brethren, as well as the Heathen.

They were, *Evil-Doers*, to such a Degree, that he saies, *They practised all Manner of Injustice and Wickedness that ever was committed, or could be thought of*. And they were αλλοτριεπισκοποι,<sup>63</sup> Men who would have the *Government of other Mens Consciences*, & over-rule their Actions; especially the *Zealots* were so.<sup>64</sup>

**Q.** On, *Judgment beginning at the House of God?* v. 17.

**A.** In *Baba Kama*, tis treated as a Saying of R. *Jonathan*. *Supplicium non venit in Mundum, nisi cum impii sunt in Mundo; nec incipit nisi in Justis*. Buxtorf

<sup>61</sup> Mather uses the word “enfranchise” in the archaic sense of “to naturalize” (cf. *OED*), implying that the Holy Spirit naturalizes the heathen term *logia* to mean the Holy Scriptures. Cf. 1 Pet. 4:11: εἰ τις λαλεῖ, ὡς λόγια θεοῦ ([ei tis lalei, hos logia theou] “whoever speaks, as one who speaks oracles of God”).

<sup>62</sup> See Dan. 3:8–25.

<sup>63</sup> This is the plural form of a term from 1 Pet. 4:15: ἀλλοτριεπίσκοπος [allotriepiskopos] “busybody, meddler, infringer on the rights of others.” The NAU has: “Make sure that none of you suffers as a murderer, or thief, or evildoer, or a troublesome meddler [ἀλλοτριεπίσκοπος].” Literally, the term means “overseer of the belongings or matters of others.” The entry is derived from Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:179).

<sup>64</sup> From Whitby, Mather refers to Josephus’s *The Jewish War*, which reports about the atrocities committed by the Zealots in several places, including 4.5.3, 4.6.1, and 4.6.3. See *LCL* 487, pp. 252–53, 260–61, and 266–69.

reciting the Sentence in his *Florilegium*, adds /לְטוֹבָתָן/ *In Bonum ipsorum*.<sup>65</sup> They prove it from that; Exod. XXII.6. *A Fire breaks out, & catches in Thorns, and the Stacks of Corn are consumed*. It is there also mentioned as a Note of R. Joseph, on Exod. XII.22. *Cum Potestas data est Destructori, nullum Discrimen facit, inter Justos et Impios*.<sup>66</sup>

There is one *Pyle*, who gives us a good Paraphrase on this Paragraph. “The Time is now come, when even the *Christian Church* itself, is to undergo the sharp Discipline of present Trials and Afflictions. And, if the *Beleeving Part* of the *Jewish Nation*, be permitted by Divine Wisdome, to suffer such things, how dreadful must be the Judgment upon the *Infidel* and *Obstinate Part* of that People? And if their Destruction will be so General and Terrible, that the very *Christian Members* are likely to escape it, only by a *special Act* of Mercy & Providence; what must be the Condition of those, upon whose Heads these Judgments are intended principally to fall?”<sup>67</sup>

<sup>65</sup> “Punishment will not come upon the world unless there are impious people in the world, but it will always begin with the righteous.” As the Latin (“*In Bonum ipsorum*”) suggests, the Hebrew word לְטוֹבָתָן [letovathan] means: “for their own good.” From Buxtorf, *Florilegium hebraicum*, entry “Poena, punier,” p. 268, Mather cites the Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Baba Kamma 60a (Soncino, p. 348), with reference to Ex. 22:5–6.

<sup>66</sup> “Once permission has been granted to the destroyer, he will not distinguish between the righteous and the wicked.” From Buxtorf, *Florilegium hebraicum*, p. 268, Mather cites the Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Baba Kamma 60a (Soncino, p. 348), which references Ex. 12:22 and Ezek. 21:8.

<sup>67</sup> Mather cites Pyle, *A Paraphrase* (2:368).

4538.

**Q.** What might be the Meaning of that Passage; *Not as Lords over Gods Heritage?* v. 3.

**A.** Dr. *Whitby* offers a Conjecture of this Importance. Των κληρων, may be rendred, *of the Possessions of the Church*. It was the Custome then of many, to sell their *Heritages*, and give the Money to the Governours, & Bishops, of the Church, to be distributed unto the Use of poor Christians; and the Money of these Inheritances were styled, κληροι. Both the *Scriptures* and the best Greek Authors, use it for a *Patrimony* or Heritage obtained by *Lott* as was the Inheritance among the *Jewes*. The Word is often used in the Books of *Joshua* and the *Judges*. The *Bishops* into whose Hands, this Money was committed, are commanded here to act, not as the *Lords*, but as the *Stewards* of it, & so as to be Exemples unto others, of a Freedom from Avarice, and of Diligence in relieving the Poor, the Sick, & the Needy.<sup>68</sup>

But lett us keep to the Received Sense of the Word:<sup>69</sup>

*Vatablus* explains it; *Cleros vocat Greces, qui illis velut sorte gubernandi contingerent.*<sup>70</sup>

Here is an Important Hint given to the Ministers of the Gospel, and very particularly to the Candidates of the Ministry. A *Lott* is a thing whereof the *whole Disposal is of the Lord*. Syrs, your *Flocks* fall to you by *Lott*. All Opportunities to do good, are at the *Disposal of the Lord*. What *Flocks* are to fall under your Feeding, is entirely at His *Disposal*. Your Dependence on *Him*, and your Contentment with *Them*, is to be accordingly.

<sup>68</sup> From Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:181–82). At issue is the phrase μηδὲ ὡς κατακυριεύοντες τῶν κληρῶν [mede hos katakyrieuontes ton kleron], which the KJV renders: “Neither as being lords over God’s heritage.” Drawing on the use of the word κληρος [kleros] in, among other places, the LXX of Josh. 12:7, Whitby suggests this alternative translation, which, however, is not supported by modern translators. The ESV, for instance, renders it: “not domineering over those in your charge.”

<sup>69</sup> The following was Mather’s original entry on vs. 3, but subsequently he incorporated it into the new entry drawn from Whitby.

<sup>70</sup> “He calls the inheritances flocks that fall under their governance by lot.” The word *clerus* derives from Greek κληρος [kleros], a word that originally meant shard or a shard used as a lot. Later it also came to signify an inheritance or portion to which one comes by lot. Mather cites the Bible annotations of the French Catholic humanist scholar, Hellenist, and Hebraist, François Vatable (Franciscus Vatablus, c. 1495–1547) in *Critici Sacri* (6:4555). This is also found in Gell, *An Essay toward the Amendment of the last English-Translation of the Bible*, sermon 9, p. 454.

355.

**Q.** What, and where, the Emphasis of that Exhortation, *Bee clothed with Humility*? v. 5.

**A.** This Morning as I was reading the Life of Mr. *Trench*, I mett with an Illustration of this Passage, thus expressed; “His Humility was very Remarkable; Hee was *clothed with it*, as with a *Livery*, and an *Honourable Badge*, to discover his Relations, to his Humble Condescending Saviour, as hee used to Interpret that Place, 1. Pet. 5.5. *Bee clothed with Humility*.”<sup>71</sup>

I will annex Dr. *Whitbyes* Remarks. The Word signifies, a *Frock* putt over the rest of our Cloathes; and it imports, that this *Humility* should be visible in us, above all other Christian Vertues in our whole Conversation. It also signifies, a *Belt*, which girds about our Garments, and so it imports, that we should tie it fast unto us, & have those Considerations alwayes fixt upon our Spirits, which may still keep us in an humble Frame of Soul.<sup>72</sup>

|  
521

[7v]

**Q.** What was that *mighty Hand of God*, under which the Apostle advised the Christians of his Dayes, to *Humble themselves*? v. 6.

**A.** I have sometimes thought, why might it not bee *Nero*?

You know, That *wicked Men* are [in our Translation of *Psal.* 17.14.] called, *The Hand of God*. There was a very *wicked Man*, which was now become a *mighty Man*; and it was the *Hand of God*, which both *exalted* that Man, and *employed* that Man, to Afflict His own People. It now became them to *Humble* themselves under this *mighty Hand* and *Humbly* to confess the Wisdome, the Justice, the Sovereignty of God in ordering this Affliction for them, not flying out into any Disorderly Action for their own Releef.<sup>73</sup>

896

But upon further Thought, there is another Sense of these Words, whereto I am a little Inclined.

It is our Blessed Lord Jesus Christ, that *is the mighty Hand of God*. How often is Hee called, *The Arm of the Lord*. In Him, yea, By Him, the *Power* of God, is most gloriously discovered. – And it was a most seasonable Thing, to

<sup>71</sup> Mather quotes from the funeral sermon for the Puritan preacher Edmund Trench (1643–1689) in his biography *Some remarkable Passages in the holy Life and Death of the late Reverend Mr Edmund Trench* (1693), p. 105.

<sup>72</sup> See Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:182).

<sup>73</sup> The same note on 1 Pet. 5:6 and Nero also appears in Mather's *The Wonders of the Invisible World* (1693), p. 41.

urge this upon the Jewes, that they should Humble themselves under *Him*; or, own their Infinite Need of such a Lord-Redeemer, & submitt unto *His* Lawes.<sup>74</sup>

**Q.** *A Faithful Brother unto you, as I suppose?* v. 12.

**A.** *I suppose*, refers to, *unto you*. q. d. (as *Pyle* paraphrases,) “of whose Integrity, I præsume you all have a great Opinion.”<sup>75</sup>

4539.

**Q.** *The Church in Babylon.*] What Place may be there meant by *Babylon*? v. 13.

**A.** You shall have Dr. *Whitby's* Conjecture.

That *Babylon* here means *Rome*, is an Opinion that was early delivered by *Papias*; and afterwards it generally obtained, as we learn from *Eusebius*, from *Jerom*, from *Oecumenius*.<sup>76</sup> The Apostle must at the Writing of this Epistle, be at *Rome* figuratively called *Babylon*, or at some City properly called so. Now it is uncertain, whether *Peter* ever was at *Babylon* in *Chaldaea*, or in *Egypt*; and very improbable that he ever made any considerable Stay there; and especially, that he should now do it, so near his End.

But what should be the Reason why *Rome* is thus covertly represented by the Name of *Babylon*? *Oecumenius* tells us, it was, διὰ τὸ ἐπιφανές: *Because it was advanced unto as great Eminency, as Babylon ever had been.*<sup>77</sup> If this were the Reason, there was no need of Disguising the Matter. We may rather think it so styled, Because it resembled that City in *Idolatries*, & in *Persecutions*; or, Because it was to be Destroy'd forever, as the Prophets foretold of that City: which tho' the Primitive Christians did generally *Beleeve*, (as we find in *Tertullian*,<sup>78</sup>) yett it was their Wisdome to *conceal*. Thus *Jerom* saies, The Prophet *Jeremiah* covertly spake of *Babylon*, under the Name of *Sesack*, that he might not incense against him the *Babylonians* who besieged *Jerusalem*.<sup>79</sup> And the Apostle *Paul* speaks of

<sup>74</sup> See Appendix A.

<sup>75</sup> From *Pyle*, *A Paraphrase* (2:372).

<sup>76</sup> From *Whitby*, *A Paraphrase* (2:182), Mather refers to Eusebius of Caesarea, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 2.15 [PG 20. 171–74; SC 31]; Jerome, *De viris illustribus*, cap. 8 [PL 23. 621]; and Oecumenius Episcopus, *Commentarius in Apocalypsin*, cap. 9, sec. 8–19 [*Traditio Exegetica Graeca* 8], the first continuous Greek commentary on Revelation (*RGG*). See the English transl. by John N. Suggit (*FC* 112:145–54). All three authors refer to the apostolic father and bishop, Papias of Hierapolis (2<sup>nd</sup> cent. CE), whose works are preserved only in fragments by other writers.

<sup>77</sup> The Greek phrase διὰ τὸ ἐπιφανές [dia to epiphanes] means “because of the glorious [magnitude].” From *Whitby*, *A Paraphrase* (2:182), a reference to Oecumenius, *Commentaria in epistolas catholicas*, on 1 Pet. 5:13 [PG 119. 575–76].

<sup>78</sup> From *Whitby*, *A Paraphrase* (2:182), Mather refers to Tertullian, *Adversus Judaeos*, cap. 9 [PL 2. 620; CSEL 70; CCSL 2] and *Adversus Marcionem*, lib. 3, cap. 13 [PL 2. 339; CSEL 47; CCSL 1].

<sup>79</sup> From *Whitby*, *A Paraphrase* (2:182), Mather refers to Jerome, *Commentarii in Jeremiam*, lib. 5, on Jer. 25:26 [PL 24. 838–39; CSEL 59; CCSL 74]. The use of the name Shēshak as a reference to Babylon (see Jer. 25:26 and 51:41) is taken by most scholars to be an example of

the *Roman* Empire, under the Name of, το κατεχον, *That which letteth*;<sup>80</sup> because he would not provoke the Rage of the Pagans who esteemed the Roman Empire, *Imperium sine Fine*.<sup>81</sup>

But after all, I think, it may be proved, That *Peter* never was at *Rome*.<sup>82</sup>

---

Atbash. Atbash (A[leph]T[av]B[eth]S[hin]) is a hermeneutical device which involves a substitution of successive letters of a word by letters from the opposite end of the alphabet. It is rule number 30 of the Baraita of 32 rules for interpreting Scripture. See “Baraita of 32 rules” in the *Encyclopedia Judaica* (4:194–95). “Thus bbl (‘Babel,’ ‘Babylon’) becomes sh sh k. The second letter of the alphabet b is replaced by the second to last, sh, and the l by the k.” See Mather at Jer. 25:26 (*BA* 5:911).

**80** Drawing on Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:182), who again cites Jerome, *Commentarii in Jeremiam*, lib. 5, on Jer. 25:26 [PL 24. 839], Mather makes a cross-reference to the vision of the “man of sin” and the “mystery of lawlessness” in 1 Thess. 2:7–8, which is said to be already at work, “only he who now letteth *will let*, until he be taken out of the way.” Modern translations render the κατέχων ([katechon] from κατέχω [katecho] “hold fast,” “hold back,” “withhold” [*LSJ* 926]) as “restraining [it].”

**81** Translation with context: “[For these I set no bounds in space or time; but have given] empire without end.” From Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:182), Mather cites the Roman poet Virgil (Publius Vergilius Maro, 70–19 BCE), *Aeneis*, 1.278–79; transl.: *LCL* 63, pp. 280–81. Whitby seems to take the quotation from the work of the German antiquarian and Lutheran theologian, Johannes Rosinus (Johann Roßfeld, 1551–1626), *Antiquitatum romanarum corpus absolutissimum* ([1585] 1663), lib. 1, cap. 2, p. 9.

**82** This sentence appears to be a later addition.



Some Remarks on the Second Epistle of *Peter*, and the Epistle of *Jude*.<sup>1</sup>

Others besides *Grotius* and *Huet*, have observed unto us, That some of the Anciens did not look on the Second Epistle of *Peter* to be genuine because of some *Difference in the Style* of it, from the former Epistle; Tho' *Eusebius* who mentions that Suspicion, (after *Origin*, who was the First that mention'd it) yett says, *Appearing unto the Generality to be an useful Peece, it was used jointly with the other Scriptures*.<sup>2</sup> It appears not that this Doubt had infected *whole Churches*, or that there were *any Churches* that rejected the Epistle.

We are now to subsist upon the Remarks, which Dr. *Thomas Sherlock* ha's made upon the Matter.

The whole Doubt, is founded on a Piece of *Criticism*. And yett when we have criticized never so much, we shall find this *Difference of Style* extend no further, than the *second* of the *three* Chapters, which compose the *Second Epistle*. This Chapter is indeed full of pompous Expressions; and it is a Description of the *False Teachers* infesting the Christian Church, that seems an Extract from some Ancient *Jewish Writer*, who so described the False Prophets of his own, or perhaps earlier Times. Where is the Wonder then, that a Passage transcribed from another Author, should something differ from the Style of the Writer, in the rest of his Writings? The very Beginning of the Chapter, shews, that *Peter*

1 In the following passages, Mather summarizes Thomas Sherlock, *The Authority of the second Epistle of St. Peter*, contained in *The Use and Intent of Prophecy in the several Ages of the World* (1725), pp. 199–230. With Sherlock, Mather asserts the authenticity of 2 Pet. as an inspired writing of the Apostle Simon Petrus. Whitby likewise defends this position against Grotius in *A Paraphrase* (2:183–84).

2 From Sherlock, *The Authority*, p. 200, Mather refers to the criticism of Hugo Grotius, *Opera* (2:1113), and of the French Catholic philologist and theologian, Petrus Daniel Huetius (Pierre Daniel Huet, 1630–1721), *Demonstratio Evangelica* (1679), prop. 1, cap. 13, p. 21. Grotius and Huetius both doubted that the Apostle Peter (to whom the eponymous Epistles were traditionally ascribed by most interpreters) could have been the author of 2 Pet., at least not the third chapter. They understood the text's vision of a fiery desolation in ch. 3 as alluding to the destruction of Jerusalem in the year 70. Assuming that Simon Petrus had died under Nero between 65–67 CE, presumably as a martyr in Rome, this, to them, ruled out his authorship. Grotius therefore speculated that Simeon, second Bishop of Jerusalem, who was martyred in 107, was likely the author and penned the text after the event. Long before these historical-contextual debates, some of the early Church Fathers had also expressed skepticism about the authenticity of 2 Pet. on account of its great stylistic differences to 1 Pet. and its seeming dependence on Jude. Sherlock and Mather make reference to the earliest recorded mentioning of such doubts in Eusebius of Caesarea, *Ecclesiastical History*, 3.3. [PG 20. 215–20; SC 31]: "Of Peter, one epistle, that which is called his first, is admitted, and the ancient presbyters used this in their own writings as unquestioned, but the so-called second Epistle we have not received as canonical, but nevertheless it has appeared useful to many ... ." Transl.: LCL 153:191–93. On this issue, see also Mather's *Triparadisus*, p. 155.

had the Image of some Ancient False Prophets before him, in describing the False Teachers against which the People of God were now to be warned. So like is the Epistle of *Jude* unto the Epistle of *Peter*; & the Images & the Instances in both, are so much the same that it is commonly thought, *Jude* copied after *Peter*. And yett the Words & Expressions have so different a Turn; yea, and the Choice of the Matter, is in Part so different; that it is much more probable, they both copied from the same Original & they drew from it as they found themselves directed. *Peter* speaks of the *Angels* that *sinned*. *Jude* gives an Account what was their Sin; which is not mentioned any where else in the Bible. It is not likely, he would have added this, if he had no more than the single Word of *Peter* before him. Thus also *Jude* adds to what *Peter* says, of *Sodom*. And upon what *Peter* says of the *Angels*, not bringing in a *Railing Accusation*, *Jude* adds the particular History of *Michael the Archangel*. It looks as if *Jude* had Recourse to the same Original that *Peter* had before him; and not unto the Epistle of *Peter*.<sup>3</sup>

If we compare the different Manners of Expressing the same Thing, in the Two Epistles, we shall hardly imagine, that *Peter* and *Jude* had the same Language before them to transcribe. Tis much more probable, that they transcribed from some old Hebrew Monument; which will account for the Difference of Language between them, and yett the great Agreement of their Ideas. The Language of *Jude* is plainer & simpler than *Peters*. Their *Sentiments* are the same; their *Expressions* very different. Had one transcribed from the other, or had both copied from the same Greek Author, the Language of our Epistle had more nearly answered the Language of the other; And yett the Notions are so much the same, that we must needs think, the Two Writers followed one & the same Copy. And if we suppose this Copy to have been in the Jewish Language, & that each Writer translated for himself, this will answer for the whole Appearance, and account as well for their Difference as their Agreement.

That *Jude* had the *Old Book* before him, and copied not from the Epistle of *Peter*, is evident, because he expressly quotes *Enoch*; meaning either a Book of such a Title, or, more probably some Ancient Book of Jewish Traditions, which had certain Prophecies of *Enoch* recorded in it. And in telling us, whence *he* had *his* Description of the False Prophets, he informs us at the same time, whence *Peter* had the *Materials* of the Chapter now before us. It is remarkable, *Peter* has an Instance that is not found in *Jude*, and *Jude* has an Instance that is not found in *Peter*. *Jude* quotes the Prophecy of *Enoch*,<sup>4</sup> whereof *Peter* says nothing. And *Peter* quotes the Prophecy of *Noah*,<sup>5</sup> whereof *Jude* says nothing. Both of the Prophecies relate also to the same thing. If one were only a Transcriber from the

<sup>3</sup> Sherlock, *The Authority*, pp. 202–09.

<sup>4</sup> See Jude 14–15.

<sup>5</sup> 2 Pet. 2:5.

other, tis not easy to account for this Variation. But if we suppose them to be  
 [1v] both recorded in the one Book, from which they both Transcribed, all is easy.<sup>6</sup> |

As for that spurious Book that goes under the Name of *Enoch*, it made a very early Appearance in the Christian Church; and is quoted by *Irenaeus*, and *Origen*; and others.<sup>7</sup> It is no Wonder, that some Ancient Christians, who imagined that *Jude* quoted that Book, made it an Objection against his Epistle. It was a Romance & full of Idle Inventions, written by some Hellenistical Jew. But there is not the least Evidence, that this Book was extant in the Days of the Apostles; nor indeed, that *Jude* quotes a Book that was called, *Enoch*. It is more likely, that he quoted some Ancient Book, which contained the Traditions of the *Jewish Church*, which has long since been lost; & probably contained many other things relating to the ancient Patriarchs & Prophets as well as *Enoch*. The Loss of this was miserably supplied by forging Books under the Names of the Patriarchs. To this we owe, the *Life of Adam*, the *Book of Seth*, the *Testaments of the Patriarchs*,<sup>8</sup> and many others of the like nature, which were spread abroad in the very early days of Christianity. What the True Book was that *Jude* quoted, no Mortal can tell. We only know, The *Jewish Church* did not receive it as one of their canonical Books. But lett the Book be supposed of as little Authority as you please, yett if it gave a true Description of the Ancient False Prophets, why might not *Peter* and *Jude* make use of the Description, as well as *Paul* quote the Heathen Poets? Was it ever an Objection against the Second Epistle of *Paul*

6 From Sherlock, *The Authority*, pp. 212–22, Mather refers to the prophecy of Enoch from Jude 14–15, which is indeed adapted from the Book of Enoch, contrary to what Sherlock and Mather assert. The Book of Enoch is one of the early Jewish apocalyptic writings which never became canonical in Judaism and most Christian churches (with the Ethiopian Orthodox Church being the exception), but had great impact on the rabbinical tradition and early Christian literature, for example through the story of the fallen angels. For the literary history, see J. C. VanderKam and W. Adler, eds., *The Jewish Apocalyptic Heritage in Early Christian Literature* (1997).

7 Mather cites Sherlock, *The Authority*, p. 215, who here draws on the work of the German classical scholar Johann Albert Fabricius (1668–1736), *Codex pseudepigraphus Veteris Testamenti* (1713). Irenaeus refers to the Book of Enoch in *Adversus haereses*, 4.16 [PG 7. 1016; SC 100] and uses Enochic motifs in several passages, for example the story of the fallen angel in *Adversus haereses*, 1.10, 1.15, and 4.36 [PG 7. 549–52, 627–28, 1093; SC 100]. Origen discusses the Book of Enoch in *Contra Celsum*, 5.52–55 [PG 11. 1261–70; SC 147] and mentions it several times, e.g. in *Commentaria in Evangelium Ioannis*, on John 6:25 [PG 14. 273–74; SC 157].

8 From Sherlock, *The Authority*, p. 216, Mather refers to several early Jewish pseudepigraphic writings, passed down in several ancient languages (e.g. Greek, Latin, Ethiopic) which never became canonical in Judaism or Christianity but had an enormous impact on later religious literature, including the Qur'an. Mather mentions *The Life of Adam and Eve* (c. 20 BCE–70 CE), the *Apocryphal Book in the Name of Seth* (which is known only from a longer quotation in *Opus imperfectum in Matthaeum*, a spurious Latin commentary on Matthew) and the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs* (probably late 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. CE).

to *Timothy*, that in it, he quotes an ancient Apocryphal Book, for the Story of *Jannes and Jambres*?<sup>9</sup>

As there is a Passage in *Jude*; [v. 17.] *Remember ye the Words, which were spoken before, of the Apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ*; so there is a Passage in *Peter*, [ch. III.2.] which ought to be rendred; *Remember ye the Commandment of the Apostles of our Lord & Saviour*; And it looks a little singular, for an *Apostle* to appeal unto the Authority of *Apostles*. But it may be well supposed, That the *Apostles* had a Meeting upon the great Case of the New False Teachers; and upon Deliberation, with common Consent, they jointly gave *Præcepts*, proper unto the Occasion, to be communicated unto all the Churches. No single *Apostle* would call this Direction or Injunction, *His Commandment*; But would certainly call it, *The Commandment of the Apostles of our Lord*. Tho' *Paul* were an *Apostle*, it was no Disparagement unto him, to carry the *Decree of the Apostles* at *Jerusalem* unto the Churches, and call them so. Probably there were *Circular Letters*, more than once sent upon the Occasion of the Troubles & the Dangers from the *False Teachers*; and the Epistles of *Peter* and *Jude*, might be some of that Sort; and being drawn on the same Occasion, there is no Wonder in their Harmony. *Peters* Word εντολη seems to point out a Distinguished & Particular Præcept, even the εντολη παραδοθαισα the *Delivered Commandment*, mentioned in the Close of the foregoing Chapter, for their Guard against the *Corruptions* of the *False Teachers*.<sup>10</sup> The Intention of *Jude* was, to have written on the *common* Doctrines of *Salvation*; but he desisted from what he intended, being under a *Necessity* to write unto them, to contend for the Faith delivered unto the *Saints*, in Opposition to the *False Teachers* who had stolen in among them. The κοινή σωτηρία and the παραδοθαισα πιστις must not be confounded.<sup>11</sup> The *common Salvation*, means, the Doctrines of the Gospel published unto all the World, without any special Eye to different Seasons, or the present Corruptions. The παραδοθαισα πιστις, is the same with the παραδοθαισα εντολη of *Peter*; the *Form of sound Doctrines* sent abroad among the Churches, by the *Apostles*, in Opposition to the *False Teachers* there appearing.<sup>12</sup>

|<sup>13</sup>

[2r]

9 From Sherlock, *The Authority*, p. 217, Mather refers to 2 Tim. 3:8, where the Jewish tradition of Jannes and Jambres is mentioned. The story is based on the Egyptian magicians in Ex. 7:10–12, 22 and is mentioned in some early Jewish writings, but a *Book of Jannes and Jambres* is only attested to in few quotations within other works.

10 From Sherlock, *The Authority*, p. 226, Mather refers to 2 Pet. 2:21, which speaks of εντολή [entole], meaning “[God’s] commandment,” and παραδίδωμι [paradidomi], meaning “hand over/down.” The ESV offers: “from the holy commandment delivered to them.”

11 The phrase κοινή σωτηρία [koine soteria] means “common salvation” and παραδοθείσα πίστις [paradotheisa pistis] “delivered faith.” See Jude 1:3.

12 See Sherlock, *The Authority*, pp. 226–27. Reference is made to the warning about “false teachers” in 2 Pet. 2:1.

13 See Appendix B.

4540.

**Q.** What Relation ha's *precious Faith* here, unto the *Righteousness of God*? v. 1.

**A.** It should be read, *Faith in the Righteousness of God, & our Saviour Jesus Christ.*

Compare, Rom. 1.17.<sup>14</sup>

**Q.** *Promises*, – that by these ye might be *Partakers of the Divine Nature*? v. 4.

**A.** *Promises* there had been, to the Christian Church, of being *Inspired* with the *Holy Spirit*.<sup>15</sup>

4541.

**Q.** Have you elsewhere mett with the Phrase, *Partakers of the Divine Nature*? v. 4.

**A.** Yes. *Philo* represents them who had the *Gift of Prophecy*, as having τὴν ψυχὴν θειάζουσιν, *A Soul inspired by the Deity*, & by the Holy Spirit dwelling in them made *Divine*.<sup>16</sup> *Josephus* tells of one *Papias*, renowned for his Wisdom and Foresight, That he did θείας μετασχηκεναι φύσεως *partake of the Divine Nature*.<sup>17</sup>

**Q.** *Partakers of the Divine Nature*: – Do you read it so? v. 4.

**A.** Mr. *Fleming*, among others, proposes, that we read it, *Partakers of a Divine Nature*, rather than, *The Divine Nature*; – which, he saies, laies the Foundation of a very gross Notion, as if good Men did really partake of the Incommunicable Nature or Essence of God; whereupon some wild Enthusiasts have blasphemously talk'd, of their being *Godded with God*, and *Christed with Christ*, by their Beleeving the Promises.<sup>18</sup>

1814.

**Q.** When wee are commanded, *Add unto your Faith, Vertue*, and the rest; what is to bee understood by, *Vertue*, and the rest? v. 5, 6.

<sup>14</sup> From Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:187).

<sup>15</sup> From Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:187).

<sup>16</sup> The phrase τὴν ψυχὴν θειάζουσιν [ten psychen theiazousan] means “the [divinely] inspired soul.” From Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:187), Mather refers to Philo of Alexandria, *On the Change of Names*, ch. 22, sec. 128; *LCL* 275:206–09.

<sup>17</sup> The phrase θείας μετεσχηκεναι φύσεως [theias meteschekenai physeos] literally translates as “to be partaking of a divine nature.” From Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:187), Mather refers to Flavius Josephus, *Against Apion* (1.231–32); *LCL* 186:256–59.

<sup>18</sup> Mather takes this passage from the work of the Scottish Presbyterian minister Robert Fleming the Younger (c. 1660–1716), *The Certainty and Wonderfulness of God's Dwelling with Men on Earth*, pp. 69–70, in *Discourses on several Subjects* (1701). Similar sentiments and formulation can also be found in a sermon on 2 Pet. 1:4 by the Archbishop of Canterbury, John Tillotson (1630–1694), *Sermon XLIV*, in the two-volume edition *The Works of the Most Reverend Dr. John Tillotson* ([1712] 1722), vol. 1, p. 303.

**A.** The Word, Ἀρετῇ, *Virtue*, rarely occurs in the New Testament. *Valla* indeed mistook, when hee affirmed, that it occurs not at all there; and *Laurentius* mistook, when hee suppos'd, that it occur'd but Thrice. But wee may venture to say, That it is no more than *Four Times* to bee there mett withal; Namely, Phil. 4.8. and 1. Pet. 2.9. and 2. Pet. 1.3. and 2. Pet. 1.5.<sup>19</sup>

Tis true, wee commonly take *Virtue*, to signify, a certain *Probity of Mind*, or, *Disposition to do well*. But wee are wholly beholden to the Schools of the *Philosophers* for that Signification of it. In the New Testament, it is never to bee *expounded*, as it hath hitherto been *vulgarly understood*.

Lett Phil. 4.8. bee narrowly viewed, and wee shall see Cause to render it, as the *Syriac* ha's done, Any Work that is *Glorious* or *Honourable*.<sup>20</sup>

In 1. Pet. 2.9. it means, *The powerful Workings* of Christ, who hath wrought a Blessed Change in us.

And here, It plainly signifies, a Disposition distinct from, *Temperance*, and *Patience*, and *Godliness*, and *Charity*.

I choose therefore to take it as intending, *Fortitude*; which is very agreeable to the Derivation commonly given, of Ἀρετῇ, from, Ἄρης *Mars*, *Bellum*, – or, *War*.<sup>21</sup>

**Q.** *Add to your Faith*. On the Particle, *To?* v. 5, 6.

**A.** Why should we not read it rather, [IN?] So the Intimate Cohærence of these *Graces*, may be more livelily expressed; Their being as *Ingredients* to one another.

Then, we shall not be barren in the ACKNOWLEDGMENT of our Lord & Saviour.

|

[2v]

**Q.** The Word, [Add?] v. 5.

<sup>19</sup> Mather paraphrases the work of the Scottish Presbyterian minister, Jacobite conspirator, and pamphleteer Robert Ferguson “the Plotter” (c. 1637–1714), *A sober Enquiry into the Nature, Measure and Principle of moral Virtue* (1673), pp. 8–10. Ferguson refers to the Italian humanist, philosopher, and literary critic Lorenzo Valla (1405/7–1457). See his annotations on this verse in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (7:1133). The word ἀρετή [arete] “excellence (of character)” indeed occurs four times in the NT and in the places indicated by Mather.

<sup>20</sup> From Ferguson, *A sober Enquiry*, p. 9, Mather refers to the Peshitta, which indeed reads “glory (ܐܘܪܝܬܐ [šuvḥa])” in place of ἀρετή in Phil. 4:8. See Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (5:794), where the Latin translation of the Syriac offers “opera gloriosa.”

<sup>21</sup> Reference is made to Ἄρης [ares], the Greek god of war and destruction. From Ferguson, *A sober Enquiry*, p. 9, Mather refers to Hammond, *A Paraphrase* (4:429), on 2 Pet. 1:3. Similarly, Grotius in *Critici Sacri* (6:4574).

A. Επιχορηγεῖν· properly signifies, *Chorum ducere*.<sup>22</sup> Now in a *Chorus* of old, συνεπλέκοντο ἀλλήλοις· *complicabantur invicem*.<sup>23</sup> Homer tells us,

Ὠρχευντ' ἀλλήλων ἐπὶ καρπῷ  
χειράς ἐχοντες·

*Saltabant tenentes Manus invicem per Volam*.<sup>24</sup>

Our Apostle may here allude unto the Custome. You may behold here, a *Gratiarum Chorus*. Faith leads in it; *eique invicem complicatæ famulantur reliquæ Gratia sese mutuò sustinentes*.<sup>25</sup>

Q. Upon that of adding *Patience* unto *Temperance*? v. 6.

A. There is a Thought of *Gregory the Great*, in his *Pastoral Care*, which may be of some Use to us in our *Christian Ascetics*.

As on the one Side, the *Captain of the Guard*, who broke down the Walls of *Jerusalem*, was in his Bible, *Princeps Cocorum*; on which he thus glosses. *Princeps Cocorum venter est, cui magna Cura obsequium a Cocis impendit, ut ipso delectabiliter Cibis impleatur. Muri autem Hierusalem Virtutes sunt Animæ, ad Desiderium supernæ Pacis elevata. Dum venter ingluvie tenditur, Virtutes animæ destruuntur*.<sup>26</sup> So on the other Side; Here is an Intimation of a Watchfulness, which Men that are much given to *Religious Abstinence* have much Occasion for. *Mentes Abinentium plerumque Impatientia à sinu Tranquillitatis excutit*. Men who Fast much, & use much *Religious Abstinence* too easily fall into fretful, froward, waspish Expressions of Impatience. The Holy Spirit here, *Deesse Abinentibus Patientiam prævidit*.<sup>27</sup>

22 In 2 Pet. 1:5, the verb is ἐπιχορηγέω [epichoregeo], meaning to “supply” or “furnish” (LSJ 673). The Greek word for “leading a chorus” – which is also the translation of the above-cited Latin expression “*Chorum ducere*” – is χορηγέω [choregeo]. This word also has the meaning of to “defray the cost of bringing out a chorus” (LSJ 1998).

23 As suggested by the Latin translation, the Greek phrase συνεπλέκοντο ἀλλήλοις [synplekonto allelois] signifies “[they] were conjoined with each other.” Cited from Knatchbull, *Animadversiones in libros Novi Testamenti* (1677), p. 186.

24 The phrase Ὠρχευντ' ἀλλήλων ἐπὶ καρπῷ χειράς ἐχοντες [orcheunt' allelon epi karmo cheiras echontes] literally translates: “they were dancing, holding hands upon the wrist of one another.” The Latin translation closely follows the Greek, except for exchanging “upon the wrist” (καρπός [karpos]) with “by the palm [of the hand]” (vola). From Knatchbull, *Animadversiones*, p. 186, Mather refers to Homer, *Iliad*, 18.590–98; transl.: LCL 171, pp. 330–31.

25 “A choir of graces. [Faith leads in it], and conjoined with one other, the other graces support it [sc. the choir] by sustaining each other.” Mather again cites Knatchbull, *Animadversiones*, p. 186.

26 “For the chief of the cooks is the belly, to which the cooks pay observance with great care, that it may itself be delectably filled with food. But the walls of Jerusalem are the virtues of the soul, elevated to a longing for supernal peace. [W]hen the belly is distended with gluttony, the virtues of the soul are destroyed.” From an unidentified source, Mather cites Gregory the Great, *Regula pastoralis*, pars 3, cap. 19 [PL 77. 81; SC 382]; transl. mod. from NPNFii (12:666). Gregory refers to 2 Kings 25:10.

27 “[I]mpatience commonly shakes the minds of the abstinent out of the bosom of

Is not here a further Intimation, how *Patience* is to be exercised? With *Godliness*, under Afflictions from GOD. With *Brotherly Kindness & Charity*, under Injuries from Man. This is honest Mr. *Thomas Whites* Remark.<sup>28</sup>

4542.

**Q.** In what regards does the Apostle represent the slothful Man, as *One that is Blind & cannot see afar off*? v. 9.

**A.** He is *Blind* in regard of his Ignorance; He is blinded with sensual Passions; He cannot see, either the Designs, or the Rewards of Christianity.

The Following Word, *μωπαζων*, is by our Translators rendred, *One that cannot see afar off*. Agreeably hereto, by *Aristotle* they are said, *μωπαζειν*, who from their *Birth* are, *τα μεν εγγυς βλεποντες, τα δε εξ αποστασεως ουχ ορωντες*. *Men who can only see things near, not those that are Remote*.<sup>29</sup> Such an One is ordinarily called *Blind*, as being indeed comparatively so, and as to many things. To such a Sense we are led by the next Clause, *They cannot look back* to their Purgation of old. But *Bochart* saies, The Word here signifies, *To close the Eyes against the Light*.<sup>30</sup>

**Q.** How, *forgotten that he was purged from his old Sins*? v. 9.

**A.** He has forgotten the very End, & Design, of his *Baptism*.<sup>31</sup>

| 32

[3r]

**Q.** On that, *Give Diligence to make your Calling & Election sure*? v. 10.

**A.** Dr. *Whitby* observes, That many Mss. & many of the Ancients add, *Δια των καλων εργαων*. *By good Works*.<sup>33</sup> Mr. *Culverwel* in a Sermon on this Text, which he

tranquillity”; “provides the patience which the abstinent lack.” Mather cites Gregory the Great, *Regula pastoralis*, pars 3, cap. 19 [PL 77. 81; SC 382]; transl. mod. from *NPNFii* (12:666).

<sup>28</sup> This section was a separate addition. Mather mentions the Presbyterian divine and author of devotional literature, Thomas White (d. 1672). See for example White’s remarks about patience in *The Treatise of the Power of Godliness* (1658), pars 1, cap. 13, pp. 61–63.

<sup>29</sup> From *μωπαζω* [myopazo] “to be shortsighted”; the phrase *τὰ μὲν ἐγγὺς βλέποντες, τὰ δὲ ἐξ ἀποστάσεως οὐχ ὁρῶντες* [ta men engys blepontes, ta de ex apostaseos ouch horontes] signifies “indeed seeing the things that are near, not, however, the things that are remote.” From Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:188), Mather actually seems to cite the work of the Greek medical writer Oribasius (c. 320–403 CE), *Synopsis ad Eustathium filium*, 8.54. Whitby’s reference to Aristotle appears to be a mistake as nothing to that effect could be identified in the *Corpus Aristotelicum*.

<sup>30</sup> From Whitby, Mather cites the French Huguenot scholar Samuel Bochart (1599–1667), *Hieroicoicon* (first ed. 1663), pars 1, lib. 1, cap. 4 (“De serpentibus”), pp. 31–32. The *Hieroicoicon* is a massive compendium on biblical animals that Mather frequently uses throughout the “Biblia.”

<sup>31</sup> Mather cites Pyle, *A Paraphrase* (2:375).

<sup>32</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>33</sup> Mather cites Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:188), who correctly translates the phrase *διὰ τῶν καλῶν ἔργων* [dia ton kalon ergon].



calls, *The White Stone*, ha's these Words. "The Papists interpose, δια των καλων εργαων, in this Verse. And *Beza* sais indeed he found it in Two Ancient Copies.<sup>34</sup> [By the Way, one of them is the *Alexandrian*, which the Learned, as Dr. *Grabe* sais, deservedly prefer to all other Manuscripts,]<sup>35</sup> But tho' it be left out in the Letter, yett we include it in this Sense."

[3v] | [blank]

[4r] | <sup>36</sup>

**Q.** The Blessed Apostle, knowes that hee shall *shortly Dy*; upon this Occasion, I would enquire, why the Beleever, is to *Dy*, since *Death* is the *Punishment* of our Sin, and the *Satisfaction* of our Lord ha's Released us, from this Punishment? v. 14.

**A.** Many a Sentence of Scripture will bee Illustrated, by a due Answer to this Enquiry; and I do therefore most cheerfully endeavour to Answer you.<sup>37</sup>

It is to bee granted, That had it not been for *Sin*, *Death* had not come upon the Body of a Saint; and that the Dissolution, & the Desolation of the Body by *Death*, is a thing on many Accounts very undesirable. But the following Positions, will a little clear this Matter up.

First, The true *Life*, the Comfort, the Welfare of a Saint is exceedingly promoted, by the Destruction which *Death* makes of his Body. Tis *Gain*, to a

<sup>34</sup> Mather cites the posthumously published work of the English philosopher and theologian, Nathaniel Culverwell (Nathanael Culverwel, bap. 1619, d. 1651), *The white Stone*, in *An elegant and learned Discourse of the Light of Nature* ([1652] 1654), p. 98. Culverwell is often associated with the "Cambridge Platonists," a group of scholars (c. 1630–c. 1680) who wanted to restore Christian Neoplatonic philosophy, but he actually disagreed with that school on some central ideas concerning human reason and faith (*ODNB*). Culverwell refers to the work of Theodore Beza, *Annotationes majores in Novum Dn. Nostri Jesu Christi Testamentum* (1594), p. 584. Beza here mentions the incorporation of the phrase δια των καλων εργαων [dia ton kalon ergon] in the translation of the VUL and "in duobus manuscriptis codicibus Graecis," but does not say which ones. This reading of the verse supports Beza's interpretation of assurance, according to which good works as the fruits of the Spirit can be signs of one's election and calling: "Firma rest igitur in sese election, sed in nobis quotidie confirmanda est. Confirmatur autem ex effectis fidei, id est, Spiritus fructibus in nobis."

<sup>35</sup> Mather refers to the German patristic and biblical scholar, John Ernest Grabe (Johannes Ernst Grabe, 1666–1711). Grabe was a Lutheran professor at the University of Königsberg until 1694. After getting involved in the Syncretistic Controversy surrounding Georg Calixt, he began to doubt Lutheranism, moved to England in 1697, and finally converted to Anglicanism, which he regarded to be in Apostolic succession. Among his works were editions of works of Irenaeus and Justin Martyr as well as a new critical edition of the Septuagint based on the Codex Alexandrinus (*ADB*). For his textual critical discussion of the *Codex Alexandrinus*, see e. g. the *Prolegomena* in his edition *Septuaginta interpretum* (4 vols., 1707–1720), no pagination, or his *Dissertatio de variis vitiis LXX interpretum versioni* (1710).

<sup>36</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>37</sup> The following passages summarize and paraphrase a chapter in the work by the great Dutch exegete Campegius Vitringa the Elder (1659–1722), *Observationes sacrae* ([1683–1708] 1712), vol. 1, lib. 2, cap. 8, pp. 366–84.

Servant of the Lord Jesus Christ; hee may long to bee Absent from the *Body*, and so to bee delivered from this *Body*, which is to *Dy*. [Thus I understand Rom. 7.24.] For, in a Word, the *Body* of a Regenerate Man, is the principal Seat of *Sin* unto him. [Consider to this Purpose Rom. 6.6, 12, and Rom. 7.23, 25.] Tis true, Tis the *Mind* that sins; but it is also true, that the *Body*, wonderfully united unto it, administers to the Mind its Occasions of Sin, seduces it, irritates it, so much to sin, that there is no possible Avoiding of it. By our *Natural Generation*, the Body ha's a Propensity to those Motions whereto if the Mind obeys without Reason and Judgment, Sin is committed; and an Unregenerate Man continually obeys those Motions. Hence arises, even in those that are *Born again*, a *Languor* at all Religious Devotions, but a *Fervour* of Concupiscence towards the enchanting Vanities of this World. It is for this Cause that the Principle of *Sin*, in us is called *Flesh*, in the Word of God; but there is in the *Soul* of a Renewed Man, a perpetual Principle to glorify God, even then, when Sin do's captivate him unto the doing of other things. From hence proceeds that Combate between *Flesh* and *Spirit* in the Godly, the *Flesh* impelled and enflamed by *Satan* & the *Soul* sanctify'd by the *Spirit* of our God. An Holy Man, cannot possibly shun, these *Violences* of Sin, but by putting off the *Body*, from whence they do arise upon him. The *Soul* dismissed from the *Body*, cannot sin but *ἐκουσῶς* *voluntarily*, but with *Malice*, but with *Design*; this the *Devils* did, when & whence *God cast them off forever*.<sup>38</sup> Whereas the *Soul* that ha's been Changed & Blessed, by the Grace of God, cannot now sin at a rate so Diabolical. Well, tis nothing but *Sin*, that really Incommodes our *Life*; but by *Death* wee shake off *Sin*. So wee *Dy* to *Live*. [These things will expound 2. Cor. 4.16. and 2. Cor. 5.2. and Rom. 6.7.]<sup>39</sup> For this Cause tis, that the *Resurrection* is called, *The Redemption of the Body*, in Rom. 8.23. because the *Body* which had been the Instrument of *Sin*, shall bee *Redeemed* then from all its Disposition to things that are not for the Glory of God. And for this Cause tis, that wee find in Col. 2.11. about, *putting off the Body of the Sins of the Flesh, by the Circumcision of Christ*. Our *Mortality* is our *Circumcision*; the Parting with our *Body* is that which perfects our Deliverance.

Secondly, The Destruction made upon the Body of a Saint by *Death*, proceeds as a glorious Fact from the Condemnation which God the Judge passed upon *Sin*, in the *Death* of the Lord Jesus Christ. [Behold now an Explication of Rom. 6.10. and Rom. 8.3. and Rom. 8.10.] The God of Heaven, by the *Death* which Hee inflicted on the *Body* of our Lord, unto the great Affront of the Divel, declared, That Satisfaction being made unto His Justice for *Sin*, *Sin* ought forever to bee Abolished in His Chosen. The *Death* of our Lord, was a Sentence of *Death*, upon *Sin*. Yea, but *Sin* so Rivetted into the *Body* of the Christian, will

<sup>38</sup> The word ἐκουσῶς [ekousios] signifies "voluntarily, willingly." Mather incorrectly puts a spiritus asper on the word.

<sup>39</sup> Vitringa, *Observationes sacrae*, vol. 1, lib. 2, cap. 8, p. 368.

never wholly *Dy*, until, or without the *Death* of that Body; so then, the *Death* of such a Man becomes but a comfortable Effect of our *Lords Death* unto him, & his Investiture with the Benefits which our *Lords Death* had purchased. O marvellous Alteration of things, to the Faithful, in the New Covenant! The Children of God, have Distinguished between *Themselves*, and, *Their Bodies*. [Tis done Rom. 7.17.] and accordingly may say, *Tis no more I that Dy*, but *Sin which will dwell in mee, till I Dy*. They will not count Their *Bodies*, as far as the Spring of *Lust* is there, any Part of *Themselves*, but rejoice in a Rescue from an unavoidable Source of sinful Inclinations. Our *Body* is become our *Prison*, and our *Lords Death* ha's been paid as a *Price* for our being sett at Liberty from the *Chains* of Wretchedness; and by our *Death* it is, that wee are sett at Liberty. Every Man, who is the *Seed of a Woman*, must bee stung to Death, by the *Serpent*; the Lord *Jesus Christ* is to bee stung, that by His Death, a perfect Satisfaction may bee made for all our *Sins*. Wee are to bee stung, that by Communion with Him in His Death, wee may have a final Deliverance from all our *Sins*. The Apostle elsewhere, seems to intimate that hee would not have us think, eternal Damnation to have overtaken all that perished in the *old Flood*; for, saies hee, [1. Pet. 4.6.] *They were Judged according to Men in the Flesh, but live according to God in the Spirit*; God by the Waters of the *Flood* (herein a Symbol of our *Lords Blood*) cutt off their *Bodies*, but saved their *Spirits* forever. Briefly Take *Philip Melanchthons* Apprehension of it, *Quanquam in Animâ Inchoata est Lux, et Vita eterna, per Verbum et Spiritum Sanctum, adhuc tamen in Massâ carnali hæret Peccatum; ideò destrui Massum carnalem oportet, ut postea in Resuscitatione induamur Corpore prorsus purificato. Sicut ad Corinthios scriptum est, super induamur, si tamen non Nudi reperiemur.*<sup>40</sup> It is true, our God could sanctify our Bodies without making such a terrible Havock of them; *Enoch* found it so, *Elias* found it so,<sup>41</sup> many thousands of good Men shall yett find it so: but another Cause is to bee given for His doing otherwise.

Thirdly. The *Glory* of the Lord *Jesus Christ*, is very much promoted, by Gods glorifying the Saint, by the Destruction, made by Death upon his *Body*. The *Power* of our Lord *Jesus Christ*, will bee more Illustriously display'd, in His *Recovering* of an *Incinerated Body*, than in His *Translating* of a *Living One*. Hence

<sup>40</sup> "Although light and eternal life have begun in the soul through the Word and the Holy Spirit, yet in his fleshly mass man is still the heir of sin. This is why the fleshly mass must be destroyed, so that later in the resurrection we will be robed with a thoroughly purified body. Thus it is written in the Epistle to the Corinthians, we shall even be robed, but if we are not found naked." From Vitringa, *Observationes sacrae*, vol. 1, lib. 2, cap. 8, p. 375, Mather cites Philip Melanchthon, *Enneratio epistolae Pauli ad Romanos*, at cap. 8. See *Annotationes in Epistolas*, in *Opera Quae Supersunt Omnia* (15:952). Through Melanchthon, Mather refers to 1 Cor. 15:37: "And what you sow is not the body that is to be, but a bare kernel, perhaps of wheat or of some other grain" (ESV).

<sup>41</sup> From Vitringa, *Observationes sacrae*, vol. 1, lib. 2, cap. 8, p. 375, Mather refers to Enoch's rapture in Gen. 5:22 and Heb. 11:5 and to Elijah's rapture in 2 Kings 2:1–18.

for the Display of this *Power*, Hee chose to lett *Lazarus* ly Four Dayes in his Grave, even till Putrefaction. [Ponder 1. Cor. 15.54, 55. & Phil. 3.20.] | To make *Death* itself the Instrument of Illuding *Sin* and *Satan*, the Causes of *Death*, what a glorious Thing is this. Moreover, the *Sustaining* of Beleevers, the mean while, in the Midst of all the Snares & Fights, and all the Temptations of this Life, and helping of them to little Anticipations of their Victory over their Enemies, here, is a further Manifestation of His *Glory*. [Ponder again, 2. Cor. 4.7, 8, 9, 10. and 2. Cor. 12.9. and 2. Cor. 13.4. and Col. 1.11.] Add, The *Goodness* of our Lord Jesus Christ, is notably exercised & manifested in this thing, that Hee Pitties, Preserves, and at last Rescues His Called Ones, in all their Conflicts, with the *Body of Sin*. Their Faith is a continual Triumph, which His *Goodness* gives Beleevers over there Adversaries; and when at last, *they are Conquerors, & more than Conquerours*, loosing nothing by their hottest Battels, how will this *Glory* of His appear! [Ponder once more, 1. Joh. 4.4. and Rom. 8.37. and Rom. 7.25.] Besides, Tis the *Wisdome* of God, not only thus to perfect Beleevers by *Degrees*, but also to give no Disturbance unto His Law, by the Constitution whereof, *Concupiscence must produce Corruption*; and in this Way, to take away all Occasions of Pride and Boast, from sinning Man forever. Nor should it bee reckoned any other, than a Proof of the Divine *Wisdome*, that wee must *enter into Glory*, by the same Steps that carried our Saviour unto it. Finally, The *Holiness* and *Righteousness* of the Lord, is testify'd by this Manner of Proceedure. Hee will have all Men to know, that our Impure *Flesh and Blood cannot Inherit the Kingdome of God*. Nor is it at all contrary unto the *Justice* of God, that the *Inheritance purchased* for us, by our Lord Jesus Christ, bee obtained thorough and after manifold *Contentions*, with these unhappy Circumstances, of Remaining *Sin*, which Naturally and Necessarily adhære unto us, while wee remain in a World circumstanced as ours is.

That I have this Morning entertained you, with so long a Discourse, is not only because by those Meditations, I have opened you a *Fountain of Expositions* for no Inconsiderable Part of both Testaments, but chiefly, because my Soul, now ready to *take Wing*, after One and Thirty Years Residence upon this little *Ant-hill*, is too deeply engaged in these Meditations, to dismiss them Immediately, when once I am upon them. I Bless God, that ever I litt upon the *Sacred Observations*, of the learned and pious *Vitringa*, which have assisted mee in these *Meditations*.

| <sup>42</sup>

**Q.** We have here before us, a Passage that has been very much perplexed by Glosses upon it; And there have been many Disquisitions, How the *Word of Prophecy*, can be a more *sure Evidence* to the Truth of the Gospel, than the

[4v]

[5r]

<sup>42</sup> See Appendix B.

*Miracles* of our SAVIOUR & His Apostles, and what occur'd in His *Transfiguration* before several *Ey-Witnesses*? v. 19.

**A.** If we consider the main Design of the Epistle, all will be clear'd up immediately.

The *Truth of the Gospel* is not the Point here in quæstion. Our Apostle is instructing & comforting of the Faithful, with an Expectation of a *Salvation ready to be reveled*, and the Purpose of our SAVIOUR to come for it, and with it. Tho' what they had seen in the *Miracles*, & the *Transfiguration* of our SAVIOUR, were enough to prove that He is the SAVIOUR of His People, and that He could appear anon for them, yett it was not a Proof, that He would so appear. This being a *Thing to come*, it admitted no *surer Evidence* than the *Word of Prophecy*; which yett our Apostle tells us, was only a *Light shining in a dark Place*. But the *Gospel*, was not a *Thing Ready to be Reveled*; it had long since been *Revealed*. The *Gospel* was not as a *Light shining in a Dark Place*, but was a *marvellous Light*, into which they been called *out of Darkness*.

To this Purpose, Dr. *Tho. Sherlock*.<sup>43</sup>

**Q.** How is the *Word of Prophecy*, a *Light that shines in a Dark Place*? v. 19.

**A.** Tho' the *Prophecies* may seem *Dark* and *Obscure*, yett by applying them to CHRIST, they will become *Clear* and *Plain*.

Compare, 2. Cor. III.14, 15, 16, 17, 18.

Or, The *Dark Place* may be the same with the *Darkness*; Joh. I.5. *The Light shineth in Darkness, & the Darkness comprehended it not*.<sup>44</sup>

[5v] |  
1732:

**Q.** *We have a more sure Word of Prophecy, whereto you do well, that yee take heed, as unto a Light that shineth in a dark Place, until the Day dawn, & the Day-Star arise in your Hearts.* Your Sense of this? v. 19.

**A.** The Apostle *Peter*, is here proving that *Jesus* is the true *Messiah*; the Proof hee brings is, what had passed in the *Transfiguration* of our Blessed *Jesus*; of this *Transfiguration*, there were no more than *Three Witnesses*: nor did nor might, these *Witnesses* give their Testimony, till after the Resurrection of our Lord: the *Jewes* would therefore suspect the *Truth* of this *Testimony*; if they did so, then saies our Apostle modestly, *They have a more sure Word*; more sure unto *Them*, tho' not unto *Us Three*: They can have no Suspicion of what the Prophets have written: what wee translate, *Word of Prophecy*, may bee as well translated, *Word of the Prophets*: Those Persons look upon the *Word of the Prophets*, as unquæstionable, who yett will quæstion the Report of us *Three Disciples*: you will do

<sup>43</sup> From Sherlock, *The Use and Intent of Prophecy*, discourse 1, on 2 Pet. 1:19, p. 25.

<sup>44</sup> From Sherlock, *The Use and Intent of Prophecy*, discourse 2, pp. 29–52.

well to take heed unto this Word, until the Day dawn, & the Daystar arise in your Hearts; that is to say, until your Minds are Illuminated with the Characters and Mysteries of the Messiah therein contained, and until you are satisfied, that our Jesus is that Messiah. This is the plain Sense of this Passage; here is not a Syllable to countenance, that vain Idol, of the Quakers, *The Light within*.<sup>45</sup>

1568:

**Q.** Besides the other *Interpretations* commonly given, give us one more, of that famous Passage, *No Prophecy of the Scripture, is of any private Interpretation?* v. 20.

**A.** You are to consider, that there is to be expected, (according unto the *Prophecy* particularly of *Daniel*,<sup>46</sup>) *An everlasting Kingdome, of our Lord & Saviour, Jesus Christ*. Of this *Kingdome*, saies, our Apostle, there was a Demonstration, and a Prelibation, in our Lords *Transfiguration*; wherein, saies hee, wee were *Eyewitnesses of His Majesty*. Until the Arrival of this *Kingdome*, the World is a *Dark Place*; and the *Darkness* of the *Anti-Christian Apostasy*, is most of all deplorable. But all along the Time of this *Darkness*, the People of God, have the *Prophecy of Scripture* to Comfort them, and Assure them, concerning the great *Revolution*, which is to be waited for. Ere long, the *Day of God* will dawn; and our Lord Jesus Christ, the *Day-Star*, will *shine upon the Hearts* of those that are looking for Him. In the mean Time, wee must keep an Eye upon the *Light of Scripture-Prophecy*, to see where wee are, what must come, & when will be the *Time of the End*. Now, for our Encouragement, wee are to know, That *Scripture-Prophecy*, is not of *private Interpretation*; it is not a *Secret*, which cannot be penetrated into; it is of a public, and open, & a free *Interpretation*; the Faithful People of God, throughout the World, may have Access to the True Meaning of it, if by Humble Prayer, & Study, they seek it.<sup>47</sup>

4543.

**Q.** A further Interpretation if you please, of this, that *Prophecy* is not of *private Interpretation?* v. 20.

**A.** *Prophecy* comes not, from the Prophets own Suggestion, but from the Inspiration of the Holy Spirit. That this is the true Sense of the Words, appears,

<sup>45</sup> From the work of the Calvinist Anglican divine, John Stalham (d. 1681), *The Reviler rebuked: Or, A Reinforcement of the Charge Against the Quakers* (1657), p. 37. For a very similar apologetic argument derived from 2 Pet. 1:19, see Charles Leslie, *A Short and Easie Method with the Jews* ([1689] 1727), pp. 105–06.

<sup>46</sup> Dan. 2:44; 7:14.

<sup>47</sup> Much of this entry appears to also have been derived from Stalham, *The Reviler rebuked*, pp. 37–38, but Mather adds the reference to Daniel and the millennialist twist, drawing on Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:189).

Because it is the Sense, which the Apostle himself gives of them. He adds, *It comes not by the Will of Man.*

Moreover, in *Phavorinus* and *Suidas*, ἐπιλυσις, is as much as ἐφοδος, *Accession*, or, *Incitation*. The Word ἰδια added, must therefore signify, That Prophecy is not from a *Mans own Impulse*.<sup>48</sup> Whence the Expression used by the Prophets, is generally this, ἐπῆλθεν ἐπ' ἐμὲ, *The Spirit came upon me*. [Num. 24.2. 1. Sam. 10.10. 2. Chron. 15.1. & 24.20.]<sup>49</sup>

Finally; This was the Nature of the Thing, and the constant Opinion of the *Jewes* about it. You have it in *Philo*; That a *Prophet speaks nothing of himself, but he is the Organ of God, in what he speaks; God speaking in him and by him*. Whence, to speak of *himself*, or of *his own Heart or Mind*, is alwayes made a Sign of a *False Prophet*, not sent of God. [Num. 16.28. & 22.18. & 24.13. Jer. 23.16, 26. Ezek. 13.17.]<sup>50</sup>

It is a very odd Inference of *Estius* from hence, That the Reformed must not Interpret the Scriptures according to their own Judgments.<sup>51</sup>

4736.

We will go on a little further!<sup>52</sup>

Mr. *Fleming* chuses to render it, *No Prophecy is of private Invention*.

Ἐπιλύω signifies, To send.<sup>53</sup>

48 From Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:190), Mather refers to the Byzantine lexicon *Suda* (10<sup>th</sup> century CE), falsely attributed to an author named *Suidas*. See *Suidae Lexicon* (1854), p. 403: ἐπιλυσιν <an ἐπήλυσιν> ἐφοδον. Mather also refers to the Italian bishop and humanist scholar, Varino Favorino (c. 1450–1527/37), and his Greek dictionary *Etymologicum magnum, sive thesaurus universae linguae Graecae ex multis variisque autoribus collectus* (1523). Reference is made to the Greek words ἐπιλυσις [epilysis] “release, solution, interpretation”; ἐφοδος [ephodos] “approach, attack”; ἰδιος [idios] “one’s own.” The philological explanation offered by Whitby seems questionable. While the word (ἐπ)ήλυσις [epelysis] “approach, assault” is derived from ἤλυθον [elython] from ἔρχομαι [erchomai] “come/go” and has a similar meaning to ἐφοδος, the word (ἐπ)ιλυσις is actually derived from λύω [lyō] “release, unbind” and has a rather different meaning (see above). The mistake seems to come from *Suidae Lexicon*, where ἐπιλυσις is equated with ἐφοδος.

49 The phrase ἐπῆλθεν ἐπ' ἐμὲ [epelthen ep' eme] signifies “he/she/it came upon me.” Here Whitby and Mather again interpret the word ἐπιλυσις as ἐπήλυσις (= ἐφοδος, see above).

50 From Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:190), Mather cites Philo of Alexandria, *Who Is the Heir of Divine Things?*, p. 259; *LCL* 261, pp. 416–17.

51 From Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:190), Mather refers to an anti-Protestant remark in the work of the Dutch Catholic exegete and Chancellor of Douai, Willem Hessels van Est (*Estius*, 1542–1613), *In omnes divi Pauli apostoli epistolas ... in quinque epistolas catholicas commentaria* ([1614–1615] 1616), vol. 2, p. 788.

52 This was originally a separate entry which Mather then merged with the preceding one by canceling the “Q,” and “A.”

53 The verb ἐπιλύω [epilyō] basically signifies “to set free, release.” From Robert Fleming, *Christology*, vol. 1, lib. 2, cap. 1, p. 147, Mather cites a translation from Hammond, *A Paraphrase* (4:436) on 2 Pet. 1:20.

Yea, and it also signifies, *To open*; As, *To open the Mouth, by way of giving or taking leave to speak*. In *Sophocles*, he does, ἐκλueiv στόμα, who, præpares to speak.<sup>54</sup> *Ovid* has, ora Sono resolvus, and, solvere Linguam.<sup>55</sup> He that may not speak, has his *Tongue Tied*. To *open the Mouth*, is to have leave to speak.

The Apostles Meaning here, is; The Prophets did not *open their Mouths*, according to their own *Fancy*, or from any *Design* of their own; but according to the *Command* of God.

Here is nothing against *private* Mens using their own Judgment, in studying the Scriptures for themselves.<sup>56</sup>

| [6r]  
**Q.** Another Interpretation of *Prophecies* not being of *private Interpretation*? v. 20.

**A.** Consider Sir *Norton Knatchbull*. *Omnis Prophetia Scripturæ propriâ Interpretatione non fit*.<sup>57</sup>

Prophecy is not accomplished in the meer *Literal Interpretation*; which is ordinarily the *Proper Interpretation* of the Scripture. The *Typical, & Mystical Interpretation* is to be attended unto.

*Until*, as the Context expresses it, *The Day dawn, & the Day-Star arise in your Hearts*. A glorious CHRIST, covered under the *Literal Interpretation* of the Scripture, is the *Light shining in a dark Place*. When we don't stick there, but come to discern what of a glorious CHRIST is intended, then the *Day dawns, & the Day-Star arises in our Hearts*.<sup>58</sup>

| [blank] [6v]

<sup>54</sup> The phrase ἐκλueiv στόμα [eklyein stoma] signifies “to relax (set free) a mouth.” From Fleming, *Christology*, vol. 1, lib. 2, cap. 1, p. 147, Mather refers to Sophocles, *Ajax*, 1225; *LCL* 20, pp. 144–45, where it is said about Agamemnon “that he will open his mouth in jarring speech” (ἐκλύσων στόμα [eklyson stoma]).

<sup>55</sup> From Fleming, *Christology*, vol. 1, lib. 2, cap. 1, p. 147, Mather refers to Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 13.126–27 and 3.261; *LCL* 42, p. 236 and p. 142. In the first passage we read, “he broke silence with his words” (“resolvit ora sono”), and in the second passage it is said about Juno that “words of reproach were rising to her lips” (“dum linguam ad iurgia solvit”).

<sup>56</sup> From Fleming, *Christology*, vol. 1, lib. 2, cap. 1, pp. 147–48.

<sup>57</sup> From Knatchbull, *Animadversiones in libros Novi Testamenti*, p. 187, Mather refers to the VUL version of 2 Pet. 1:20, which literally translates: “No prophecy of scripture is made by private interpretation.”

<sup>58</sup> Knatchbull, *Animadversiones*, p. 187.



**Q.** In what Sense, might the Authors of the *Damnable Hæresies*, whereof the Apostle complains, come under that Character, *Denying the Lord that bought them?* v. 1

**A.** The Apostle here fetcheth diverse Expressions, from the Song of *Moses*, in the Thirty Second of *Deuteronomy*. Tis worth your While, to compare: but therewithal Remember, that the Song was now going to bee executed. Now, there you have this Passage, in Deut. 32.6. *Is not Hee thy Father that Bought thee?* The Meaning is not, that these Wretches being *Redeemed* by Christ, upon the Cross, yett were such Wretches as to *Deny* the Lord: but by the *Buying* here mentioned, is meant their being *Bought* out of *Egypt*, for a *peculiar People*. They mightily stood upon this Priviledge; That *the Lord, was their Father, who thus Bought them*: Nevertheless, by the profane Principles of Idolatry & Fornication, which they Introduced, they *Denied* the True God.<sup>59</sup>

4544.

**Q.** *They bring themselves swift Destruction?* v. 1.

**A.** Our Saviour elsewhere threatens the like unto those *Nicolaitans*. [Rev. 2.16.] Accordingly, Church-History informs us, That they were extinct, λόγου θάπτον *in a very little time*.<sup>60</sup>

**Q.** Their *pernicious Wayes?* v. 2.

**A.** Instead of ἀπολειαίς, many Copies read, ἀσελγειαίς *Their lascivious Wayes*. And *Jude* seems to confirm this Reading, for he begins his Description of these Persons, with, *Their Turning the Grace of God, εις ἀσελγειαν, into Lasciviousness*.<sup>61</sup> This agrees too well with the Jewish *False Teachers*, whose *Exhortation* was of *Uncleanness*, & *who practised the Hidden Things of Shame*. And it was more emphatically, the Character of the *Nicolaitans*; who were, saies,

<sup>59</sup> From Lightfoot, *The Harmony, Chronicle, and Order of the New Testament*, p. 151. See Deut. 32:1–43.

<sup>60</sup> The phrase λόγου θάπτον [logou thatton] literally means “quicker than a word.” From Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:192), Mather quotes Eusebius of Caesarea, *Historia ecclesiastica*, lib. 3, cap. 29 [PG 20. 275–78; SC 31]: “At this time the so-called sect of the Nicolaitans made its appearance and lasted for a very short time.” Transl.: *NPNFii* (1:344).

<sup>61</sup> *Textus Receptus* at 2 Pet. 2:2 reads ταῖς ἀπωλείαις [tais apoleiasis], meaning “their destructive ways” (Mather has an omicron instead of an omega). The variant ταῖς ἀσελγείαις [tais aselgeias] signifies “their licentiousness.” The argument about this alternative reading comes from Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:192). Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (5:908), lists this variant for the *Textus Receptus*. However, in most modern editions this actually is the preferred reading, and neither *Editio Critica Maior* IV, pp. 222–28, nor *NA* 28 cite any variants that read ἀπώλειαις instead of ἀσελγείαις.

*Oecumenius*, περι μεν δογματος ασεβεστατοι, περι δε βιον ασέλγεστατοι. *most ungodly in their Principles, and most lascivious in their Lives.*<sup>62</sup> *Tertullian* speaks of their, *complexus et permixtiones execrabiles, obscænosque conjunctus, et quedam ex ipsis adhuc turpiora.*<sup>63</sup> *Clemens Alex.* tells us, πανδημον Αφροδιτην κοινωνιαν μυστικην αναγορευουσιν.<sup>64</sup> *Damascen* tells us, την αισχροουργιαν αμα τοις αλλοις επιτελειν τους εαυτου μαθητας εδιδαξεν.<sup>65</sup> In the *Pseud-Ignatius*, we have them truly called, ακαθαρτους Νικολαιτας. *Immundissimos Nicolaitas, amatores Libidinis.*<sup>66</sup> *Austin* calls them, *Sectam turpissimam.*<sup>67</sup> *Timotheus* tells us, *Among all the Masters of Heresy, none taught such filthy and abominable actions.*<sup>68</sup>

4546.

**Q.** *Thro' Coveteousness?* v. 3.

**A.** Compare, 2. Cor. 11.20. and, 2. Tim. 3. and, Tit. 1.10, 11. there you have a *Key* to it. *Irenæus* informs us of the *Valentinians*, That they *would not impart their*

<sup>62</sup> Mather offers a correct translation of the phrase περι μεν δόγματος ἀσεβέστατοι, περι δὲ βίον ἀσελγέστατοι [peri men dogmatos asebestatoi, peri de bion aselgestatoi]. From Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:193), Mather cites *Oecumenius Episcopus, Commentaria in epistolas catholicas*, cap. 3, on 2 Pet. 2:2 [PG 119. 592].

<sup>63</sup> “Conjunctions of execrable and obscene embraces and permixtures, and certain yet baser outcomes of these.” From Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:193), Mather cites *Tertullian, De præscriptionibus adversus hæreticos*, cap. 46 [PL 2. 63; CSEL 70]; transl.: *ANF* (3:1447).

<sup>64</sup> In context, πάνδημον Αφροδιτην κοινωνίαν μυστικὴν ἀναγορεύουσιν [pandemon Aphroditēn koinonían mystikēn anagoreuousin] translates as “[there are] people who call [an orgiastic worship of] Aphrodite Pandemos [*Venus vulgivaga*] a mystic communion.” From Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:193), Mather cites *Clement of Alexandria, Stromata*, 3.1.45 [PG 8. 1103–04; GCS 52].

<sup>65</sup> In context, τὴν αἰσχροργίαν ἅμα τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπιτελεῖν τοὺς αὐτοῦ μαθητὰς ἐδίδαξεν [ten aischrouργian hama tois allois epiteleîn tous autou mathetās edidaxen] translates as: “[*The Nicolaitans* stem from Nicolas, who was ordained to serve by the Apostles. Because of jealousy for his own wife] he has taught his disciples to practice immorality with each other.” From Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:193), whose source is the work of the French Catholic theologian and Patristic scholar, Jean-Baptiste Cotelier (Johannes Baptista Cotelierius, 1629–1686), *Ecclesiae graecae monumenta* (1677–1686), vol. 1, p. 286, Mather cites the Syrian theologian and Eastern monk, John of Damascus (John Damascene, Ioannes Damascenus, c. 675–749), *De haeresibus*, sect. 25 [PG 94. 693; SC 383]; transl. adapted from *FC* (37:117–18).

<sup>66</sup> In context, the Greek phrase ἀκαθάρτους Νικολαῖτας [akathartous Nikolaitas] translates as: “[Flee also the] impure Nicolations.” The Latin translates: “the most impure Nicolations, lovers of pleasure.” From Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:193), Mather cites *S. Ignatii epistolae interpolatae, Epistola ad Trallianos*, sect. 11 [PG 5. 795–96] by Pseudo-Ignatius, an unknown writer from the fourth century who modeled his writing on the original letter to the church in Tralles by the Syrian Apostolic father, bishop, and martyr Ignatius of Antioch (Ignatius Theophoros, d. c. 110) [PG 5. 683–84; SC 10]; transl. adapted from *ANF* (1:195).

<sup>67</sup> “A most ignominious sect.” From Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:193), Mather cites Augustine, *De haeresibus ad Quotvultdeum* [PL 42. 26; CCSL 46].

<sup>68</sup> From Cotelier, *Ecclesiae graecae monumenta*, vol. 3, p. 381, Whitby cites a work of Timothy of Constantinople (Timotheus Presbyterus, before 622), *De iis qui ad ecclesiam accedunt, sive, de triplici receptione haeticorum* (“*Nicolaitae*”) [PG 86. 17–20]. According to Cotelier, Timothy was presbyter in the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople. See Migne’s *Notitia* [PG 86. 9–12].

*Mysteries to all, but to them only, who were able to pay great Summs for them.*<sup>69</sup> The *Pseud-Ignatius* calls them, *covetous of what belongs to others, & violent Lovers of Riches.*<sup>70</sup>

**Q.** *Whose Judgment now of a long time lingreth not?* v. 3.

**A.** Compare, Jude. 4. Dr. *Whitby* thinks, The Words are best rendred, *To whom the Judgments pronounced of old, lingreth not.*<sup>71</sup>

[▽ 8r–8v] [▽ Insert from 8r–8v]<sup>72</sup>  
4449.

**Q.** *The Angels that sinned, God cast them down to Hell: what Hell?* v. 4.

**A.** *Ταρταρωσας*· is the Word.<sup>73</sup>

*Phavorinus* tells us, *Tartarus* is *αἴρ υπογαίος καὶ ἀνήλιος*, *The subterrestrial Air, where the Sun comes not.*<sup>74</sup> But *Suidas* tells us, It also signifies, *τον περι τα νεφη τοπον* *The Place about the Clouds.*<sup>75</sup> Hence, *ταρταρον ηεροεντα*, and, *ζοφον ηεροεντα*, in *Homer* to intimate,<sup>76</sup> That *Tartarus* was the *Dark Air*, as *Crates* tells us, in *Stephanus*.<sup>77</sup> These *Angels* being placed in the Bright Regions of the Heavenly Light and being chased away from thence into the Regions of a Darker Air; tis therefore said of them, They are cast into *Tartarus*.

Accordingly, both *Jewes* and *Pagans* of old held, that the *Air was full of Demons*. And the *Ancient Fathers*, were mightily of this Opinion.<sup>78</sup>

<sup>69</sup> From *Whitby, A Paraphrase* (2:194), Mather cites Irenaeus of Lyon, *Adversus haereses*, lib. 1, cap. 4 [PG 7. 483–84; SC 264].

<sup>70</sup> From *Whitby, A Paraphrase* (2:194), Mather cites Pseudo-Ignatius, *S. Ignatii epistolae interpolatae, Epistola ad Magnesios*, sect. 9 [PG 5. 769–70].

<sup>71</sup> Mather quotes *Whitby, A Paraphrase* (2:194).

<sup>72</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>73</sup> The word *ταρταρόω* [tartaroo] means “cast into Tartarus or Hell.”

<sup>74</sup> Mather offers a sound translation of the phrase *αἴρ ὑπόγαιος καὶ ἀνήλιος* [aer hypogaios kai anelios]. From *Whitby, A Paraphrase* (2:194), Mather refers to Varino Favorino and his Greek dictionary *Magnum ac perutile dictionarium* (1523).

<sup>75</sup> Mather correctly translates the phrase *τὸν περὶ τὰ νέφη τόπον* [ton peri ta nephe topon]. From *Whitby, A Paraphrase* (2:194), Mather cites the Byzantine lexicon *Suda*. See *Suidae Lexicon* (1854), p. 1009.

<sup>76</sup> While *Τάρταρον ἡερόεντα* [Tartaron eeroenta] means “[into] murky Tartarus”; *ζόφον ἡερόεντα* [zophon eeroenta] means “[into] murky darkness.” From *Whitby, A Paraphrase* (2:194), Mather cites *Homer, Iliad*, 8.7–17 and 12.240.

<sup>77</sup> From *Whitby, A Paraphrase* (2:194), Mather cites the grammarian *Stephanus of Byzantium* (*Stephanus Byzantinus*, fl. early 6<sup>th</sup> cent CE), *De urbibus* (1678 ed.), pp. 638–39, who cites the Stoic philosopher, grammarian, and cartographer *Crates of Mallus* (fl. early 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BCE). *Crates*’s most important work was a commentary on *Homer*, and he is said to have made one of the first globes bearing a map of the earth (EB).

<sup>78</sup> From *Whitby, A Paraphrase* (2:306), on Eph. 2:2, Mather refers to *Diogenes Laertius, Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, 8.1 (*Life of Pythagoras*), 34; LCL 185, p. 346, where the spirits of the air are mentioned. As his Jewish source, *Whitby* references *Pirke Avoth*. Yet, *Pirke Avoth* does not discuss spirits of the air. In *Pearson, Critici Sacri* (5:653), on Eph. 6:12, however, *Drusius*

Jerom, commenting on the Passage of Paul, about *spiritual Wickednesses* ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις, he saies, That is, in the Air; For, saies he, *this is the Opinion of all the Doctors, that the Air which divides between the Earth & Heaven, is full of contrary Powers.*<sup>79</sup>

Oecumenius tells us, *He is called, The Prince of the Power of the Air, because he is the Prince of the evil Spirits, that are in the Air.*<sup>80</sup>

And that the Ancients had generally such a Sense of the Matter, Petavius will satisfy you. [*De Angelis*. l.3. c.4.]<sup>81</sup>

Hence, tho' the Diuel and his Angels are at present Banished from the Divine Presence and now suffer the Punishment of the Loss of the Beatific Vision; Tho' they are, as Tertullian expresses it, *Prædammati ad Iudicii Diem*; or, as Austin expresses it, *Prædestinati supplicio sempiterno*; or, as Origen expresses it, *Reservati in Diem Iudicii*; which is Peters Expression here; and Judes is, *Kept in Chains of Darkness to that Day*. And Beleeving this, they cannot but Tremble, and be in unspeakable Horror: yett the Doctrine of Rupertus is highly probable; That at present, they are not suffering in the Infernal Flames, but have their Residence in the Dark Air; from whence they shall, at the Day of Judgment, be præcipated into the Fire, prepared for the Diuel and his Angels.<sup>82</sup>

This was the Opinion of all Christian Antiquity, for Five whole Centuries together: It is well represented by Tatianus; That *the Lord of all things permitts them to expatiate, or insult, until the Time of the Dissolution of the World, & until the Judge comes.*<sup>83</sup> And by Tertullian; That *their Desperate Condition, on the ac-*

cites a Latin passage from “unus ex autoribus commentariorum supra librum Aboth,” fol. 83, p. 2, which says that from the earth to the firmament everything was filled with spirits. Drusius seems to have translated one of the many medieval Hebrew commentaries on Pirke Avot, which was then cited by Whitby.

<sup>79</sup> The phrase ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις [en tois epouraniois] signifies “in the heavenly places” (ESV) and comes from Eph. 6:12. From Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:194), Mather cites Jerome, *Commentarii in Epistolam ad Ephesios*, lib. 3, on Eph. 6:12 [PL 26. 546].

<sup>80</sup> From Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:194), Mather refers to *Commentaria in epistolas Pauli*, cap. 3, on Eph. 2:2 [PG 118. 1188], attributed to Oecumenius Episcopus.

<sup>81</sup> From Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:194), Mather mentions the work of the learned French Jesuit theologian, historian, and editor of Patristic literature, Denis Pétau (Dionysius Petavius, 1583–1652), *De Angelis*, in *Dogmata theologica*, vol. 3 (1644), lib. 3, cap. 4, pp. 183–92, where Petavius summarizes the most important Church Fathers on this topic.

<sup>82</sup> “Pre-condemned for the day of judgment”; “predestined for eternal punishment”; “reserved unto the day of judgment.” From Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:194), Mather cites Tertullian, *Apologeticus*, cap. 23 [PL 1. 415; CSEL 69; CCSL 1]; Augustine, *Epistola CII, Ad Deogratias, sex quaestiones contra paganos*, quaestio 3 [PL 33. 378; CCSL 31B]. The PL reads “prae destinata est supplicio sempiterno”; Origen, *Homiliae in Ezechielem*, homil. 4 [PG 13. 697; SC 352]; Rupert of Deutz (Rupertus Tuitiensis, 1075–1129), *Commentarii in Genesim*, cap. 17 [PL 167. 214; CCCM 21].

<sup>83</sup> From Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:195), Mather cites Tatian the Assyrian, *Oratio ad graecos*, cap. 12, in *Opera* (1636 ed.), p. 151 [*Patristische Texte und Studien* 43, p. 29].

count of their being fore-condemned, receives some Comfort, from the Delay of their Punishment.<sup>84</sup>

Remarkable is the Expression of Maldonate, (In Matth. 8.29.) *Mirum quanto Consensu plerique Veteres Doctores docuerint Dæmones ante Diem Judicii non torqueri.*<sup>85</sup>

The Quæstion which the *Divels* putt unto our Saviour, *Art thou come to torment us before the Time?* obliged the Ancients to suppose, That *not this present Age, but the Future, was the time, when these evil Spirits were to be punished.*<sup>86</sup>

[8v]

Q. But are the *evil Angels* already cast into Hell? v. 4.

A. Dr. *Sherlock* observes,<sup>87</sup> That this Passage is very Ill Translated. For if they were *cast down into Hell*, how are they *Reserved for the Day of Judgment*? Or, what worse *Judgment* can they undergo, than to be *cast into Hell*? The Words are *σειραῖς ζοφου ταρταρώσας*, *casting them down into Chains of Darkness*. *ταρταρουν* signifies only, *To cast down*.<sup>88</sup> Those *Angels*, who formerly inhabited more *Ætherial Regions*, where they enjoy'd perpetual *Light*, were for their Sin *cast down* into our more Darksome Air; where the clearest *Light* is but Smoke & Darkness, in Comparison of those Bright Regions, from whence they fell. Here they are in *Chains of Darkness*; because they can go no further; they cannot Ascend again to those Regions of Light; Here they are kept until the *Day of Judgment*.

An Additional Remark.

In *Homers* Nineteenth Iliad, we find a *Dæmon* created by GOD, & wholly taken up in the doing of Mischief. The Pagans had a Tradition, about a *Dæmon* of Discord in *Heaven*, – *Fated to infest the race of Mortals*, – and præcipated from thence unto the *Earth*.<sup>89</sup> *Justin* will have *Homer* to attain unto the

<sup>84</sup> From Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:195), Mather cites Tertullian, *Apologeticus*, cap. 27 [PL 1. 434; CSEL 69; CCSL 1].

<sup>85</sup> “With remarkable unanimity most of the ancient doctors would teach that the evil spirits are not tortured before the day of judgment.” From Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:195), Mather cites the Spanish Jesuit and biblical scholar, Juan (de) Maldonado (Ioannes Maldonatus, 1533–1583), *Commentarii in quatuor evangelistas* ([1596–1597] 1601), p. 197, on Matt. 8:29.

<sup>86</sup> From Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:195), Mather refers to Origen, *Homiliae in Exodum*, homil. 8 [PG 12. 359–60; SC 321] and *Homiliae in Numeros*, homil. 13 [PG 12. 674; SC 442]. Whitby also refers to Jerome, *Commentarii in Evangelium Matthaei*, lib. 1 [PL 26. 54; CCSL 77].

<sup>87</sup> Mather cites the work of the Anglican theologian and dean of St. Paul’s, William Sherlock (c. 1641–1707), *A practical Discourse concerning a future Judgment* (1692), cap. 2, sec. 1, p. 164.

<sup>88</sup> Mather offers a literal translation of the phrase *σειραῖς ζοφου ταρταρώσας* [seirais zophou tartarosas].

<sup>89</sup> Mather here quotes from Alexander Pope’s annotations in his translation of *The Iliad of Homer* ([1715–1720] 1743), vol. 5, pp. 135–36; Pope’s gloss is on Ate, outcast daughter of Zeus and goddess of discord, in *Iliad*, 19.90–95. Pope (1688–1744) would become one of the most celebrated writers of English neoclassicism, which was in ascendancy in Mather’s later days, making his own baroque style appear more and more outdated. During the “Augustan Age,”

Knowledge of this in *Egypt*; and from the reading of the XIV Chapter in *Isaiah's* Prophecies.<sup>90</sup> But *Homer* lived more than an Hundred Years before that Prophet. As M. *Dacier* observes, He bears authentic Witness to the Truth of the Story, of an Angel thrown from Heaven, above an hundred Years before *Isaiah's* alluding to it.<sup>91</sup>

[△Insert ends]

[△]

[7r resumed]

**Q.** *Hee saved Noah the eighth Person, a Preacher of Righteousness: why is Noah called, The eighth Person?* v. 5.

**A.** Hee is not called *so*, but, *The eighth Preacher*. Here is an Evidence contributed unto the Act of Divine Justice, in Drowning the *Old World*. Tho' *eight* eminent *Preachers of Righteousness* had been employ'd in order to promote a Reformation among them, yett they neglected them all, and entertained their Advice with Derision. These *eight* were *Enos, Cainan, Mahaleel, Jared, Enoch, Mathusalah, Lamech, Noah*.

Wee reckon *Enos* the first of these, because wee read, [for so wee may read it,] *Then Preaching began in the Name of the Lord*. [Gen. 4.26.] The Word *קרא* may very well admitt of this Interpretation.<sup>92</sup> | [See John. 3.2.] It hath a plain Affinity unto the *Chaldee* *כרז* from whence, *κηρυξ*, *A Preacher*, is derived; And it is in the LXX expressed by *κηρύσσειν* [Gen. 41.43. Exod. 32.5. Prov. 8.1.]<sup>93</sup>

[7v]

Pope gained fame as an epical and epigrammatic poet, a satirist, translator of Homer, and critical editor of Shakespeare. Mather was deeply ambiguous about Homer and even more so about the poetry of his own day. See his *Manuductio*, pp. 39–42. On the one hand, Mather saw the worldview and morals informing the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* as antithetical to Christianity and called Homer a “*Universal Corrupter*.” On the other hand, he did admire his art and saw great value in these most ancient works as sources of “*Knowledge of Antiquities*.” In particular, he, like many other scholars of the era, thought that Homer had knowledge (albeit much corrupted) of the earliest Hebrew Scriptures and offered “in a Disguise and Fable, the History of the *Old Testament*” as well as “many Illustrations of the sacred *Scriptures*,” p. 40.

<sup>90</sup> From Pope, *The Iliad of Homer*, vol. 5, p. 136, Mather refers to (Pseudo-)Justin Martyr, *Cohortatio ad Graecos*, cap. 28 [PG 6. 295–96; SC 528].

<sup>91</sup> From Pope, *The Iliad of Homer*, vol. 5, p. 136, Mather refers to the work of the French scholar, translator of classical Greek and Latin literature, and writer of philosophical polemical treatises, Anne Le Fèvre Dacier (1654–1720), *Préface de l'Illiade* ([1699] 1771) in *Les œuvres d'Homère*, vol. 1, pp. 53–54. Madame Dacier, wife of the great scholar and classicist André Dacier, came from a Huguenot family and converted to Catholicism in 1685. Her major works, the translations of Homer's *Iliad* (1699) and *Odyssey* (1708) with scholarly annotations, brought her renown throughout Europe, influenced a widespread dispute concerning the merits of modern and ancient authors in comparison, and created a new neoclassical French style (*EB*).

<sup>92</sup> From קרא' [qara'] “call, proclaim.”

<sup>93</sup> From the posthumous work of the Anglican divine John Templer (d. 1693), *A Treatise: Relating to the Worship of God* (1694), p. 148, Mather references the biblical Aramaic word כרז [keraz] “preach, announce.” Its derivative כרוז [karoz] actually means “herald.” However, modern philology does not acknowledge a connection to the Greek word κηρυξ [keryx] “herald, crier” (*HALOT*, p. 1902). Nor does it acknowledge the relation between Hebrew קרא (see

Indeed, that which our translation ascribes to Men in general, the Greek and Latin assigns to *Enos* only; *Then Enos began to preach in the Name of the Lord*; namely, concerning the Desolation that would come upon the World, except Repentance prevented it.

4550.

But if we understand: *The Eighth*, here to mean, *The eighth Person*, it must mean, *The Eighth* of them that were saved from the Flood. So *Plutarch* saies of *Pelopidas*, That he came, εἰς οἰκίαν δωδεκατος, unto his House, *The Twelfth*; that is, with eleven more.<sup>94</sup> And *Polybius* of *Dionesidorus*, That, τριτος απενήξατο, *He swam out the Third*; that is, with Two more.<sup>95</sup> This we know, The Hill where the *Ark* rested, is called, *The Hill of the Eighth*, or, *Themanius*: And a Village by it, bears the same Name.<sup>96</sup>

**Q.** In what special Sense, was *Noah*, a *Preacher of Righteousness*? v. 5.

**A.** Dr. *Edwards* proposes, that we take it, as a *Proclaimer of Judgment*. He was the godly Herald, sent to give Warning of the Divine Vengeance, before the fatal Overthrow of the World by the Deluge.<sup>97</sup>

**Q.** To what may refer, *The Speaking Evil of Dignities*? v. 10.

**A.** It may refer either to their Vilifying of their *civil Governours*; A Thing whereto the *Jewish* Zealots were very incident. Or the Base, Vile, Wicked Notions, which the ancients tell us, the Hereticks vented about the *Angels*, & Heavenly *Spirits*.<sup>98</sup>

---

above Footnote 48) and the Aramaic term כְּרִישָׁא. The word κηρύσσω (κηρύσσειν) [kerysso/kerysein] signifies “proclaim, to be a herald.”

<sup>94</sup> The phrase εἰς οἰκίαν δωδεκατος (κατελθών) [eis oikian dodekatos (katelthon)] literally means “[coming] to a house as the twelfth one.” Thus it can be interpreted as “[coming] to a house with eleven others,” as Mather argues. From Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:196), Mather cites Plutarch, *Lives, Pelopidas*, 14.278; transl: LCL 87, p. 372. Mather cross-references this entry in his annotation on Gen. 4:26 (see BA 1:531–32).

<sup>95</sup> The phrase τρίτος ἀπενήξατο [tritos apenexato] literally translates as, “He escaped by swimming as the third one (= with two others, see footnote above).” From Whitby, *A Paraphrase and Commentary* (2:196), Mather cites the Greek historian Polybius (ca. 200–118 BCE), *Histories*, 16.3.17; LCL 160, p. 10.

<sup>96</sup> From Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:195), who refers to Hammond, *A Paraphrase* (4:436), Mather mentions a remark about the Hebrew word “Themanim” from the Arabic Christian historian, George Elmacin (Georgius Elmacinus, Girgis Al-Makin, Ibn-Amid, c. 1223–1274) and similar remarks from other ancient authors. Elmacin is the author of a history of the Saracens from the time of Mohammed until 1118, which was published in Arabic and Latin in 1625 (EB). The remark is from *Historia saracenicæ*, lib. 1, cap. 1, p. 17.

<sup>97</sup> Mather cites John Edwards, *The Preacher*, part 3, p. 126.

<sup>98</sup> From Pyle, *A Paraphrase* (2:381).

4551.

**Q.** *They Despise Governments.* Who, and Whom, and How? v. 10.

**A.** We do not find it charged on the *Nicolaitans*, That they despised the Authority of Magistrates. But then, as Dr. *Whitby* notes, it may be noted, That κυριότητες καὶ δόξαι, *Dominions* and *Glories*, in the New Testament, often signify, *Angelical Powers*. [Compare, Eph. 1.21. and Col. 1.16.]<sup>99</sup> Accordingly of such do the Fathers understand the Matter now before us. For, the Apostle *Peter* here asserts, *They Blaspheemed in things of which they had no Knowledge*. And the Apostle *Jude*, saies, *They Blaspheemed things they knew not*.<sup>100</sup> This very well agrees with their bold Assertions touching the *Angels*, in which they did, as *Paul* saies, [Col. 2.18.] *Intrude into those things which they had not seen*. The Apostle adds, That whereas these Men did not Tremble to *BlaspHEME these Dignities*, the Holy Angels, *durst not use Blasphemous Words against them*. Now they whom *Michael* and his good Angels durst not BlaspHEME, were, as we read in *Jude*, the *Divel and his Angels*;<sup>101</sup> whom also the Scripture calls, *Principalities and Powers, & the Rulers of the Darkness of this World*.<sup>102</sup>

Now both *Irenæus* and *Epiphanius* aver, That when the Offspring of the *Nicolaitans* practised their most vile Impurities, they invoked some of the *Angels*; to whom they did ascribe that Work, saying, when they performed it, O Angel, καταχρῶμαι σου τὸ ἔργον O Power, πρᾶττω σου τὴν πράξιν *I am employ'd in thy Service*. What can this be, but to *BlaspHEME these Dignities*?<sup>103</sup> *Tertullian* also, and *Epiphanius*, inform us, That the *Nicolaitans* made the *Angels* to be the Offspring of an Obscene and Filthy *Æon*. And other Stuff, too nasty to be repeated.<sup>104</sup>

4552.

**Q.** What Construction would you give the *Twelfth Verse*? v. 12.

**A.** *Jude* will countenance the Construction.

<sup>99</sup> From κυριότης [kyriotes] “dominion”; δόξα [doxa] “notion/opinion, glory.” Mather cites Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:196).

<sup>100</sup> Jude 10.

<sup>101</sup> Jude 8–9.

<sup>102</sup> Eph. 6:12.

<sup>103</sup> The phrase καταχρῶμαι σου τὸ ἔργον ... πρᾶττω σου τὴν πράξιν [katachromai sou to ergon ... pratto sou ten praxin] literally means: “I am thoroughly doing your work ... I am practicing your practice.” From Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:197), Mather cites Irenæus, *Adversus haereses*, lib. 1, cap. 31 [PG 7. 705; SC 264] and Epiphanius of Salamis, *Panarion*, lib. 1, tom. 3, haeresis 38, *Adversus Caianos* [PG 41. 655–56; GCS 31].

<sup>104</sup> From Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:197), Mather cites Tertullian, *De praescriptionibus adversus haereticos*, cap. 46 [PL 2. 63; CSEL 70] and Epiphanius of Salamis, *Panarion*, lib. 1, tom. 2, haeresis 25, *Adversus Nicolaitas* [PG 41. 327–28; GCS 25].



*But these Blaspheming in things of which they have no Knowledge, shall perish in their own Corruption; as do the natural Brute-beasts made to be taken & destroyed.*<sup>105</sup>

Indeed, they were like to these, in *making all Women common*, and pleading, as did *Carpocrates* and his Son *Epiphanes*; That the Marriage of one to one was a *Violation of the Community ordained by God, & exemplified in other living Creatures.*<sup>106</sup>

That of the Brute-Beasts may be read, *made for Rapine and Destruction.*

4553.

**Q.** Who were they, who did *Riot in the Day*? v. 13.

**A.** This is exactly true of the *Nicolaitans*, who practised their Impurities by *Day* as well as by *Night*; and held, That *if a Man was not lascivious every Day, he was miserable.*<sup>107</sup>

4554.

**Q.** How did they *sport* themselves, *when they Feasted*? v. 13.

**A.** *Irenaeus* tells us of the Hereticks. They were accustomed at their *Suppers*, to *play by Lott*; perhaps to determine, what Women they should committ Lewdness with; or, who should provide the next Supper;<sup>108</sup> which being ended, there followed, as *Justin Martyr* tells us, The Putting out of the Candle, and their *promiscuous Lusts.*<sup>109</sup>

4555.

**Q.** What was *the Error of the Reward of Balaam*? v. 15.

**A.** The Error, which the Children of *Israel* committed thro' the Council that *Balaam*, gave to *Balak*: For which Council, the Wretch actually received a *Reward*. [See Deut. 23.4. and, Neh. 13.2.] This more confirms the Application of the Text unto the *Nicolaitans*. [Compare, Rev. 2.14.]<sup>110</sup>

<sup>105</sup> Jude 10.

<sup>106</sup> From Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:197), Mather refers to Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*, 3.1.60 [PG 8. 1107–08; GCS 52].

<sup>107</sup> From Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:197), Mather refers to Jerome, *Dialogus contra Luciferianos* [PL 23. 178; CCSL 79B] and to Epiphanius of Salamis, *Panarion*, lib. 1, tom. 2, haeresis 25, *Adversus Nicolaitas* [PG 41. 321–22; GCS 25].

<sup>108</sup> From Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:197), another reference to Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses*, lib. 1, cap. 13 [PG 7. 585–86; SC 264].

<sup>109</sup> From Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:197), Mather refers to Justin Martyr, *Apologia prima*, cap. 26 [PG 6. 369–70; SC 507]. Justin mentions accusations against some heretical groups concerning immoralities and even cannibalism but admits that he does not know if they are true.

<sup>110</sup> Mather paraphrases Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:197–98).

4556.

**Q.** *Swelling Words of Vanity*. What? v. 18.

**A.** Barbarous Names, *Quibus terreant Auditores*, as *Austin* expresses it.<sup>111</sup>

Or, those proud Words, That they are the *spiritual*, the *perfect*, the *Seed of Election*, & Men who have *perfect Knowledge of God*; and have Grace, as *Irenæus* expresses it, *From the ineffable, and not to be named Conjugation*; and who *being spiritual, cannot receive Corruption by any evil Actions*.<sup>112</sup>

4558.

**Q.** The Proverbs of the *Dog*, and the *Swine*? v. 22.

**A.** One is taken from, Prov. 26.11. The other is common among the Writers, *De Re Rusticà*. See *Schotts Adagia Sacra*.<sup>113</sup>

The Fathers applied them to *Julian*.<sup>114</sup>

<sup>111</sup> “Through which they wished to frighten the listeners.” From Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:198), Mather cites Augustine, *De haeresibus ad Quotvultdeum* [PL 42. 26; CCSL 46].

<sup>112</sup> From Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:198), Mather summarizes Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses*, lib. 1, cap. 6 [PG 7. 503–12; SC 264].

<sup>113</sup> From Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:199), Mather refers to the Antwerpian Jesuit scholar, theologian, professor of Greek, and translator André Schott (Andreas Schottus, 1552–1629), *Adagialia sacra Novi Testamenti græco-latina* (1629), p. 148. Schott lists a number of classical Roman authors on agriculture who use the proverb, e.g. Lucretius (c. 99–c. 55 BCE), *On the Nature of Things*, 6.977; LCL 181, p. 566; Pliny, *Natural History*, 8.77.207; LCL 353, p. 144; Marcus Terentius Varro (116–27 CE), *On Agriculture*, 2.4.6; LCL 283, p. 350; and Lucius Junius Moderatus Columella (4 BCE–70 CE), *On Agriculture*, 7.9.7; LCL 407, p. 294.

<sup>114</sup> From Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:199), Mather refers to Julian “the Apostate,” who was Roman Emperor from 361 to 363. During his reign, Christianity lost its privileged status and Julian aimed to restore Hellenistic polytheism as the state religion.

**Q.** There is doubtless, a profound *Philosophy*, in those Words of the Apostle, *By the Word of God, the Heavens were of old, and the Earth standing out of the Water, & in the Water: whereby the World which then was, being overflow'd with Water, perished: But the Heavens and Earth, which are now, by the same Word are kept in Store, Reserved unto Fire.* A Few Remarks upon the present Condition of this *Terraqueous Globe*, and its main *Phenomena*, would notably Illustrate this Oracle of God? v. 5, 6, 7.

**A.** You shall have them: after I have acknowledged my Obligations, to Dr. *John Woodward*, for his late Illuminating & Experimental Essay, towards the *Natural History of the Earth*.<sup>115</sup>

Know then, That there is a vast *Collection of Water*, inclosed in the *Bowels of the Earth*; and on the Surface of this Huge Orb, are expanded the Terrestrial *Strata*, of several Sorts, lying originally, in the Order, of sinking, according to the Lawes of *Gravity*. These *Layers*, whereof the uppermost is that *Mould*, whereof the Bodies of all *Vegetables*, (and therefore of all *Animals* also,) are composed, were at first more even, than they are now, since the Flood ha's broken them, and carried Innumerable Ruines of other Creatures, (*Trees*, and *Shells*, and *Bones*, and other things) into the Midst of them. This *Collection of Water*, is the same that *Moses* calles, *The Abyss*; and the ancient Gentile Writers, *Tartarus* and *Erebus*.<sup>116</sup> The Water of this *Abyss* communicates, with that of the *Ocean*, by certain Chasms, passing between it, and the Bottom of the *Ocean*.<sup>117</sup> They have indeed, the same common Center, around which, the Water of both is arranged in such a Manner, that the ordinary Surface of this *Orb*, is not level with that

<sup>115</sup> The following essay summarizes (with many verbatim citations) sections from John Woodward's *An Essay towards a Natural History of the Earth* ([1695] 1723), pt. 3, pp. 131–62 and pt. 4, pp. 219–31. Woodward (1665/8–1728) was professor of physics at Gresham College, a famous natural historian of the period, and a leading member of the Royal Society. He was also a correspondent of Mather, and many of the “*Curiosa Americana*” were addressed to Woodward. Collecting and studying fossils, John Woodward developed a new theory of the earth, trying to synthesize his views on geology and medicine with orthodox Christian theology (*ODNB*). Mather greatly admired Woodward's works and also drew on them in other parts of the “*Biblia Americana*,” notably in his commentary on Genesis (*BA* 1:490–91). Here, Mather draws on Woodward to explain the fiery destruction of the globe, when “the elements shall melt with fervent heat, [and] the earth also and the works that are therein shall be burned up” (2 Pet. 3:10).

<sup>116</sup> From Woodward, *Natural History*, pt. 3, p. 132, Mather refers to the names of two Greek primordial deities, Tartaros and Erebus, which in ancient mythology also personify two separate regions of the underworld. Tartarus was considered the deepest abyss located far below Hades, used as a dungeon of torment and suffering for the wicked and as the prison for the Titans. Sometimes the two names were also used as synonyms for Hades (*NP*).

<sup>117</sup> In this passage, Mather paraphrases Woodward, *Natural History*, pt. 3, pp. 131–32.

of the *Ocean*, or at so great a Distance from the Center, as that is; being for the most Part restrained by the *Strata* of *Earth* lying upon it; but wherever the *Strata*, are either so broken, or so porose, that the Water can pervade them, there the Water of the said *Orb*, does ascend, and fill up all the Fissures, whereinto it can gett Entrance; and saturate all, quite up to the Level of the Surface of the Ocean.

In our *Atmosphere*, there is a perpetual *Circulation of Water*. It Rises from the Globe, in the Form of a *Vapour*; & falls down again in *Rain*, *Dew*, *Hail*, and *Snow*. The Quantity of Water thus Rising and Falling is *equal*; as much Returning to the Globe, as was Exhaled, and as much Exhaling as is Returned. Yett by the Sailing of the Clouds to and fro in the *Atmosphere*, and the Floating of the Vapours, the Water is not Restored perpendicularly on the same Tract of Land or Sea, from whence it rose; Hence this or that Region may not have an *Equality*, in this Matter, tho' the Quantity Rising and Falling, on the whole Globe is *equal*. Now, The *Rain*, which falls on the Surface of the Earth, partly runs off into *Rivers*, and thence into the *Sea*; and partly sinks down into the Earth, insinuating itself into the Interstices of the Sand, Gravel, or other Matter, of the upper *Strata*: whence, some of it passes on into *Wells* and *Grotts*, and stagnates there, till tis by Degrees exhaled; some of it glides into the perpendicular Intervals of the solid *Strata*; where, if there bee no *Outlet*, or Passage to the Surface, it stagnates, as the other; but if there bee any such *Outlet*, it is thereby refunded with the ordinary Water of *Springs* and *Rivers*; and the rest, only saturates the *upper Strata* of the Earth, and in time remounts with Vapour into the *Atmosphere*.

But *Springs* and *Rivers*, (tho' thus Augmented) have another Original. That great Subterranean Magazine, the *Abyss*, with its Partner, the *Ocean*, is the standing *Fund*, and *Promptuary*, that supplies *Water* to the Surface of the Earth, as well *Springs* and *Rivers*, as *Vapours* and *Rain*.<sup>118</sup>

What I have now to add, calls for your more particular Attention, as nearly concerning the Occasion of all this Discourse.

Know then; That there is a nearly uniform, and perpetual *Fire*, (or, *Heat*) that is Disseminated throughout the Body of the Earth, and especially the *Interiour Parts* of it; whence tis, that the Bottoms of the Deeper Mines are very *sultry*. Wee say, *Fire*, or *Heat*, because *Heat* and *Fire*, differ but in a little Circumstance; *Heat* is *Fire*, only in a lesser Quantity. *Fire* is a Fluid, consisting of Parts extremely small and light, and consequently very Subtile, Active, and Susceptive of Motion. An *Aggregate* of these Parts in such *Number*, as to bee *visible* to the Eye, is what wee call, *Fire*, and *Flame*; a Lesser, Thinner, and more Dispers'd Collection, is *Heat*, and *Warmth*.<sup>119</sup>

<sup>118</sup> Mather summarizes Woodward, *Natural History*, pt. 3, pp. 132–35.

<sup>119</sup> Almost verbatim from Woodward, *Natural History*, pt. 3, pp. 135–36.

Now, tis this *Heat*, which evaporates and elevates, the Water of the *Abyss*; buoying it up indifferently on every Side, and towards all Parts of the Surface of the Globe: It pervades, not only the Fissures and Intervals of the *Strata*, but the very *Bodies* of the *Strata* themselves, permeating the Interstices of the Sand, Earth, or other Matter, whereof they consist, yea, even the Densest Marble and Sand-Stone: even these are found saturated with it, & therefore they are softer, when they are taken first out of the Quarries, than after they have lain in the Air, to cool them.<sup>120</sup>

[9v] This *Vapour* passes up directly towards the Surface of the Globe, on all Sides, as | near as possible, in *Right Lines*, unless Impeded by the Interposition of such denser *Strata*, as admitt it, but in a lesser Quantity, and very slowly. And when tis thus Intercepted in its Passage, the *Vapour*, which cannot penetrate the *Stratum* diametrically, some of it glides along the lower Surface of it, permeating the Horizontal Interval, which is between that *Stratum*, and what lies underneath it: The rest, passing the Interstices of the Mass of the subjacent *Strata*, whether of Layer Stone, of Sand, of Marle, or the like, with a Direction parallel to the Site of the *Strata*, till it arrives at their perpendicular *Intervals*. The Water thus Approaching to these *Intervals*, in Case the *Strata*, whereby the Ascending *Vapour* was collected and condensed into *Water*, happen to bee raised above the *Level* of the Earths ordinary Surface, as the *Strata*, whereof Mountains consist, then the *Water* likewise gott above the said *Level*, flowes forth of those *Intervals*, or Apertures, and, if there bee no Obstacle without, forms *Brooks* and *Rivers*: but where the said *Strata*, are not higher than the mean Surface of the Earth, it stagnates at the Apertures, and forms only *Standing Springs*.<sup>121</sup>

Tho' the *Supply*, from this great *Receptacle* below, bee continual, and nearly the same at all Times and in all Parts, yett, when it arrives near the *Surface of the Earth*, where the *Heat* (the Agent which bears it up) is not so constant & equal, as is that Resident within the Globe; it hence happens, that the Quantity of *Water* at the *Surface of the Earth*, is various, and uncertain, according to the *Heat*, then reigning there; at some Seasons and in some Countreyes, the *Springs* full & *Rivers* High: when elsewhere tis the Contrary. When the *Heat* in the *Exterior Parts* of the *Earth*, & in the Ambient *Air*, is as *Intense* as that in the *Interior Parts* of it, all that Water, which passes the *Strata* directly, mounting up in separate Parcels, or in the form of a Vapour, does not stop at the *Surface*. But this *Heat*, here takes it, and bears it up; a Part of it immediately out at the Surface of the Earth; the rest, thro' the Tubes & Vessels of the *Vegetables* which grow thereon, & along with it, a Sort of a Vegetative Terrestrial Matter, which it detaches from out of the uppermost *Stratum*, wherein these are planted: This it deposits in them, for their Nutriment, as it passes thro' them; and issuing out at

120 Almost verbatim from Woodward, *Natural History*, pt. 3, p. 136.

121 Mather summarizes and paraphrases Woodward, *Natural History*, pt. 3, pp. 136–38.

the Tops of them, it still marches on, and is elevated up into the Atmosphere, to such an Heighth, as that the *Heat* being there less, it becomes condensed, unites & combines into small Masses, and at Length falls down again, in *Rain*, *Dew*, *Hail*, or *Snow*. And for the *other Part* of the *Water*, which was condensed, at the Surface of the Earth, & sent forth collectively, into *Standing-Springs*, and *Rivers*, this also sustains a Diminution from the *Heat* above, being evaporated more or less, according to the *Intenseness* of the *Heat*, & extent of the Surface of the *Water* so sent forth. As these *Evaporations*, are *greater* at some Times, according to the *greater Heat* of the *Sun*, so wherever they alight again in *Rain*, tis as much superior in *Quantity* to the Rain of *colder Seasons*, as the *Suns Power* is the superior to its Power in those Seasons. Hence are those mighty *periodical Rains*, in some Countreys, falling like *Rivers* rather than *Rains*, and causing the periodical *Inundations* of the *Rivers*; To which *Inundations*, the Land owes much of its Fertility: Because *Rain Water* is plentifully saturated with a *Terrestrial Matter*, and indeed that *peculiar Matter* out of which the Bodies of all *Vegetables* and consequently *Animals*, are formed, nourished, & augmented whereof the *Water* is the common Vehicle, to distribute it, unto all the Parts of those Bodies.<sup>122</sup>

When the *Heat* in the Exterior Parts of the *Earth*, & of the Ambient *Air*, is less than that of the *Interior*, the *Evaporations* are likewise less; and the *Springs* and *Rivers* are thereupon augmented. But the *Water* thus dispensed unto the *Earth*, and its *Atmosphere*, by the *great Abyss* being by *Rains* and *Rivers* carried down into the Ocean, it is by that Means Restored unto the *Abyss*; whence it returns again in a continual Circulation.

The *Final Cause* hereof is, the *Propagation* of the *Vegetable*, and so of the *Animal Kingdome*. *Vegetables*, which are but so many *Machines*, to derive a fit Matter from the Earth, and to digest it for the Food of *Animals*, being always fixed unto one Place, it was necessary that the Matter proper for their Increment shall bee brought unto *Them*; & that there should bee some Agent thus ready in every Place, to do them that Office,<sup>123</sup> Behold, how wonderfully this Case is provided for.<sup>124</sup>

This *Vapour*, or *subtile Fluid*, as {was} on the *Surface* of the Earth, as in the *Bowels* of it, is instrumental, not only to the *Formation* of Bodies, but also the *Destruction*; and the Corrosion of even the most solid Bodies, which is vulgarly ascribed unto the *Air*, is caused meerly by the Action of this *Fire* upon them: The *Air* being so far from Injuring the Bodies it environs, that it contributes to their Security & Præservaion, by obstructing the Action of the Fiery Matter.<sup>125</sup>

<sup>122</sup> Mather summarizes Woodward, *Natural History*, pt. 3, pp. 138–42 and pp. 145–46.

<sup>123</sup> Mather summarizes and paraphrases Woodward, *Natural History*, pt. 3, pp. 142–44.

<sup>124</sup> This physico-theological flourish was added by Mather.

<sup>125</sup> Mather paraphrases Woodward, *Natural History*, pt 3, pp. 148–49.

[10r] The subterraneous *Heat*, or *Fire*, which thus elevates the *Water* out of the *Abyss*, being in any Part of the *Earth stop'd*, and so diverted from its ordinary Course, and preternaturally Assembled, in a greater Quantity than usual, into one | Place, it causes a great Rarefaction and Intumescence, of the Water of the *Abyss*, and putts it into very great Commotions: And making, at the same Time, the like Effort upon the *Earth*, which is expanded upon the face of the *Abyss*, it occasions that Agitation of it, which wee call, *An Earthquake*. So vehement is this Effort, in some *Earthquakes*, that it Splitts, Tears, Rends the *Earth*, and makes *Cracks* or *Chasms* on it, of whole Miles in Length, which open at the Instants of the Shocks, & close again, in the Intervals betwixt them; nay, sometimes it plainly forces the superincumbent *Strata*, and breaks them all throughout, & perfectly undermines the Foundations of them; so that these Failing, the whole Tract, when the Shock is over sinks down to rights, into the Abyss underneath; and being thereby swallowed up, the Water immediately Rises, & forms a *Lake*. Thus whole Cities & Mountains have been totally swallowed up! In this Effort, the *Fire* Diluting and Expanding on all hands, and Endeavouring proportionably unto the Strength of it, to make its Way thro' all Obstacles, falls as foul upon the *Water of the Abyss* beneath, as upon the *Earth* above, and forces it forth, which Way soever it can find any Passage; as well thro' its ordinary Exits, Wells, and Springs; and Outlets of Rivers, as thro' the *Chasmes* newly then opened; thro' the Spiracles of *Etna*, or other near *Vulcano's*, and those *Hiatus's* at the bottom of the Sea, whereby the *Abyss* below communicates with it. The Water of the *Abyss*, is in all Parts of it, stored with a considerable Quantity of *Heat*, and more especially in those where extraordinary Aggregations of this *Fire* happen: so likewise is the Water, which is thus forced out of it, insomuch, that when thrown forth, and mix'd with the Waters of Wells, and Springs, and Rivers, and the Sea, it renders them very sensibly hott. It is usually expelled, in vast Quantity, & with great Violence: It spouts to an Incredible Heighth; It swells Rivers to mighty Inundations when there ha's not a drop of Rain, or any other Water come at them: It sends huge Floods forth at the Tops of the Volcano's: It crones thro' the *Hiatus's* at the bottom of the Sea, with such Vehemence, as to give it all the Perturbation Imaginable, even when there is not the least Breath of Wind stirring, and make it rage, and roar, and raise the Surface into prodigious Waves, and oversett Ships in their Harbours, & express a thousand other Outrages. A wondrous Addition is hereby made unto the Water of the Sea, by which it overwhelms adjacent Countreys, breaks the Cables of the Ships, & strands Whales, and makes whole Miles of Desolation. Among the Ancients, *Neptune* was frequently called, Σεισίχθων, Ἐνοσίχθων, Ἐνοσίγαιος, and Τινακτορογαίης; by all which *Epithits*, they denoted his Power of *Shaking the Earth*; because they rightly enough concluded, That *Earthquakes* were caused by Fluctuations of *Water*, in the Bowels of the *Earth*.<sup>126</sup>

126 From Woodward, *Natural History*, pt. 3, p. 154, Mather references these Greek epithets

And, concluding, that the Foundations of the *Earth* were laid on *Water*, they called him, Γαίηχος, or, *The Supporter of the Earth*, and, Θεμελιοῦχος, or, *The Sustainer of its Foundations*.<sup>127</sup> And considering him, as having Power to compose the *Water*, as well as Disturb it, and the *Earth* by Means of it, they gave him the Name of Ἀσφάλιος,<sup>128</sup> or, *The Establisher*: under which Name, several *Temples* were consecrated unto him, and *Sacrifices* offered, whenever an *Earthquake* happened.<sup>129</sup>

The *Fire* itself, which being thus Assembled and Confined, is the Cause of all these Perturbations, makes its own Way forth also, by whatever Passages it can; as thro' the Spiracles of the next *Volcano*; thro' the Cracks of the opened Earth; thro' the Apertures of Springs, especially those of the *Thermæ*; or any other Way, it can find or make. And being thus discharged, the *Earth-quake* ceaseth, until the Cause return. Sometimes there is in Commotion, a Portion of the *Abyss*, to that vast Extent, as to shake a considerable Part of the Globe, with a Shock felt at once in diverse remote Countreys, tho' perhaps parted by the Sea between them: Nay, there want not Instances of such an *universal Concussion* of the whole Globe, as must needs imply an Agitation of all the *Abyss*. Indeed no Countrey can bee wholly exempted from the Dangers of this Matter; but yett the principal and usual Dangers are in Countreys that are *mountainous*, and consequently *cavernous*; especially where the Caverns open into the *Abyss* & freely entertain the *Fire*, which naturally goes where it finds the freest Entertainment. But above all, Those Places, which yeeld Store of *Sulphur* and *Nitre*, are of all, the most Incommoded by *Earthquakes*, for those Minerals constitute in the Earth a Sort of Natural *Gunpowder*, which, taking Fire, at the Approach of it, occasions that murmuring Sort of Noise of subterranean Thunder, which is heard Rumbling in the Bowels of the Earth during Earthquakes, & by the Assistance of its explosive Power, it renders the Shock much greater, so as to make a miserable Havock. *Etna*, *Vesuvius*, *Hecla*, and the other *Volcano's*, are only so many *Spiracles*, that serve, to discharge the *subterranean Fire*, when preternaturally Assembled: And there are scarcely any Countreys much annoy'd with *Earthquakes*, that have not one of the Fiery Vents, which are constantly all in Flames, whenever any | *Earthquakes* happen; they disgorging the Fire, which, whilst underneath, was the Cause of them; and were it not for these Exits, it would rage in the Bowels of the Earth much more furiously, & make sadder Desolations. They are therefore very beneficial to the Territories that have them!

[10v]

of Poseidon (Latin: Neptune) that all signify “earth-shaker,” namely σεισίχθων [seisichthon], Ἐνοσίχθων [Evosichthon], and Ἐν(ν)οσίγαιος [en(n)osigaios]; so does the word Τινακτορογαίης [Tinaktorogaiēs] (τινάκτωρ [tinaktōr] “shaker” + γαῖα [gaia] “earth”). However, *LSJ* and *TLG* do not list the word. It might be a coinage from a later date.

<sup>127</sup> From γαίηχος [gaieochos] “earth-moving (epith. of Poseidon)”; θεμελιοῦχος [themeliouchos] “upholding the foundation (of Poseidon).”

<sup>128</sup> From Ἀσφάλιος [Asphalios] “securer (epith. of Poseidon).”

<sup>129</sup> In this passage, Mather paraphrases Woodward, *Natural History*, pt. 3, pp. 149–55.



All *Hot-Springs*, owe their Heat unto that *subterraneous Fire*; yea, all Springs have in them a Degree of *Heat*, which is the Cause why they Freeze not in the severest Frosts: only the diverse Dispositions of the *Strata* of the Earth not æqually favouring the Ascent of the *Heat* unto the Surface, it is accordingly dispensed unto the Springs in greater or lesser Quantity. But it is observed, That wherever there are any extraordinary discharges of the *subterraneous Fire*; there the neighbouring *Springs* are hotter than ordinary.<sup>130</sup>

Lett it bee added; That when the Vapour ascends, whereof the *Rain* is formed, it carries up with it, not only the lighter Terrestrial *Vegetative Matter*, but a *Mineral Matter* too. And the like Matter is carried up, in those Fiery Eructations, which burst forth, while *Earthquakes* are at Work. The *Heat* then discharged, brings forth *Nitre*, and *Sulphre*, and other Mineral Matter with it; which is the Cause, why extraordinary Mortalities do so ordinarily succeed them. Yea, the *Heat* of the Sun alone, is enough to draw forth much of that Matter, by which many *pestilential Diseases* are produced; especially, where *Arsenical*, or other more Noxious Minerals are lodged underneath. But *Sulphre* and *Nitre*, and other more Active Minerals, being exhaled up into the *Atmosphere*, and there exploded, are the Cause of *Thunder* and *Lightning*. And these Minerals being belch'd forth, of the Earth, at the Time of *Earth-quakes*, (whereto the Countreyes most abounding with these *Minerals* are much exposed,) in such plenty as to thicken and darken the Air, constitute there a Kind of aërial Gun-Powder, and are the Cause of the Terrible *Thunder* and *Lightning*, which commonly attend Earth-quakes; even when all was, till then, calm and clear, and not the least Sign, Symptom, or Presage of any such Thing before the *Earth-quake* begun.<sup>131</sup>

These Few Thoughts, will furnish you with *Philosophy* enough, to Illustrate very many Texts of Scripture, wherein the *Phænomena* of the *Creation* are mentioned. And having this *Idea* of the Frame of this Globe, in your Mind, you will bee able more particularly, to Apprehend the Meaning of what our Apostle *Peter* saies concerning it. Butt you will bee much more Able; when our excellent *Woodward* hath obliged the World, with his more exact Account (which hee ha's promised) of the *Origin*, and *Oeconomy*, of the *subterranean Fire*.

[11r] | <sup>132</sup>

**Q.** The *Conflagration* foretold by our Apostle *Peter*, why may it not mean, the *Fiery Destruction*,<sup>133</sup> coming on the *Church & State & City* of the *Jews*; and by

<sup>130</sup> Mather summarizes and paraphrases Woodward, *Natural History*, pt. 3, pp. 155–62.

<sup>131</sup> Mather summarizes several sections from Woodward, *Natural History*, part 4, pp. 219–31.

<sup>132</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>133</sup> Except for the final paragraph, the entry following this introductory sentence was written in a different, more ornamental hand, which also occurs in other places of the “Biblia

the *New Heavens* and the *New Earth* succeeding thereupon, why may not be meant, the *new Administration* of Things under the Gospel? v. 7.

A. No; this Exposition will certainly prove some of the *Stubble*, that is to be burnt in the *fire* to be enkindled.

I should wonder to find *One* very learned Man, once & again quote *This*, as a notable Invention of *another*, if such *Hallucinations* were not so frequent among learned Men, that they are to be no longer wondred at.<sup>134</sup>

THAT the *Day of GOD*, wherein *Fire* is to *dissolve* the *Heavens* & the *Elements*, cannot be the mere *Burning of Jerusalem*, one would think should be a little evident from *This*. The People of *GOD* are directed not only to *look*, but also to *long* for the *Day*.<sup>135</sup> Our Lord himself *wept* at the Forethought of the lamentable & formidable *Day*; and shall we reckon it as a Direction of Importance in Christianity to *long* for it? If this were a Thing & a *Day* to be *longed* for, it must be (as the Anhelations for the *Coming* of the Lord, which will bring the *Burning* of the World, are,) in View of a marvellous *Felicity* to succeed unto the *Christians* upon it. Now the Condition of the *Christians* after the *Burning of Jerusalem*, had no *Felicity* at all in it, which it had not before. The

---

Americana." The final paragraph is in Mather's hand. The whole passage was also incorporated into *Trip paradisus*, pp. 157–58.

134 The entry argues against various preterist interpretations of 2 Pet. 3. John Lightfoot, to cite a prominent example, read the vision of ch. 3 as having reference exclusively to God's judgment on the Jews in the fiery destruction of Jerusalem. See his *Hebrew and Talmudical Exercitations* and the sermon on 2 Pet. 3:13 in *Works* (2:626 and 1073–78). According to Hugo Grotius's annotations on the chapter, the apocalyptic vision of 2 Pet. 3 was to be understood in the context of the destruction of Jerusalem and its immediate aftermath. Only after that destruction, Grotius argued, would the early Christians have expected the end times and the Second Coming of Christ. Regarding these eschatological expectations, as Grotius emphasized, the epistle admonished its audience to be patient if it did not come as soon as they desired. While Grotius did not deny that 2 Pet. 3:7 spoke of the final dissolution of the world, the early Christians had obviously been wrong to look for it in connection with the fall of Jerusalem. See Grotius, *Opera* (2:1113), and in *Critici Sacri* (6:5603–05). Henry Hammond (see his *Paraphrase*, 4:426–29, 441–44) agreed with Lightfoot, asserting that 2 Pet. 3 had to be understood in completely retrospective as well as allegorical terms. The Petrine conflagration, Hammond argued, "belong[s] all to that judgment of the Jews and not to the day of universal doom or destruction of the whole world," p. 428. The prophecy had nothing to do with the end times and was long fulfilled. Mather fiercely rejected this view and, accordingly, here defends a literalist and futurist reading of the Petrine conflagration. Against these preterist interpretations, Mather asserts a futurist millennialist reading in basic accordance with Joseph Mede's *A Paraphrase and Exposition of the Prophecies of St. Peter Concerning The Day of Christ's Second Coming: Described in the Third Chapter of the Second Epistle*, in *The Works of Joseph Mede* ([1644] 1677), vol. 1, bk. 3, pp. 609–19. Whitby, too, rejected the preterist interpretations of Grotius and Lightfoot in *A Paraphrase* (2:184). Among contemporary interpreters, Mather's reading of 2 Pet. 3 was especially influenced by the work of the celebrated English naturalist, fellow of the Royal Society, and millenarian John Ray (1628–1715), *Three Physico-theological Discourses* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed. 1713), discourse 3 on *The Dissolution of the World, and Future Conflagration*, pp. 296–456, which also engages in a detailed refutation of Hammond.

135 2 Pet. 3:12–13.

Infidel *Jews* did employ more horrid Cruelties & Massacres upon the *Christians* after the *Burning of Jerusalem*, than they did before. And when *Adrian* finally suppressed them, & finish'd the Enervation of the Infidel *Jews*, the *Christians* were stil as far from *Felicity* as they were before; They continued still a Prey of *other* Infidels;

Besides, If this had been the *Day*, about the *Delay* whereof the Apostle was not a little sollicitous, to satisfy the Minds of the People of GOD, what Need he have offered Considerations, upon the Supposal of its being a *thousand Years* off?<sup>136</sup> This *Day* was at the Writing of this Epistle, within *three or four Years* of its Arrival.

More over, the *New-Earth* of *Peter* is doubtless the same with the *New-Earth* of *John*.<sup>137</sup> But the *new Earth* of *John* takes not Place til after the Destruction of *Antichrist*, nor til the *new Jerusalem* comes down from GOD out of *Heaven*; and there is to be seen a *great City*, whereinto there enters *nothing that defileth*, and there is no *night* there, or any *Death* or *Pain* or *Sorrow*.

Add this; In the *new Earth* of *Peter*, there dwells *Righteousness*. The *mean Attainments* of the Christian Church in *Righteousness*, at its *best Estate* hitherto under the Gospel, & its *quick Apostasies* to what is infinitely the *Reverse* of it, will by no Means agree to that Character.

Our SAVIOUR did not come (in the Sense, his *Coming* is to be look'd for) at & for the Destruction of *Jerusalem*. No; [Matth. XXII.7.] *HE SENT FORTH his Armies*. This tremendous Dispensation, was a *Type* indeed of his *Coming*; but it was not the *Thing*.

To argue, that it must intend only what was just going to be executed on the *Jewish Nation*, Because it was a Thing to have its *peculiar Influence on the Men of that Generation*, seems as if one had forgotten the last Verses in the Thirteenth Chapter of *Mark*.<sup>138</sup>

That the *Promise* in the LXV. Chapter of *Isaiah*, concerning the *New Earth*, is only a Prophecy of such Times as *we now see* under the Gospel, has been by some affirmed. But it is an utter Mistake.<sup>139</sup>

<sup>136</sup> 2 Pet. 3:8.

<sup>137</sup> Rev. 21. In asserting this connection, Mather goes directly against Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:203).

<sup>138</sup> Mark 13:35–37.

<sup>139</sup> Mather is here arguing against Grotius's preterist reading of Isa. 50:17–18, *Opera* (1:339), and Samuel White's similar interpretation in *A Commentary on the Prophet Isaiah, wherein the literal Sense of his Prophecy is briefly explain'd* (1709), p. 455. White (1678–1716) was a fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and served as chaplain to Hans Willem Bentinck, 1st Earl of Portland (1649–1709). White followed Grotius's historical-contextual approach and asserted that this prophecy of Isaiah in its literal sense was solely about the Jews in captivity, promising "those who tremble at the Word of God, a joyful restoration," while "threatening as certain destruction to the Idolaters." Christians could find a spiritual sense in this prophecy by allegorically interpreting it as a vision of the gospel dispensation and church age.

An excellent Person may say, that *Peter* calls the Time of the Destruction of the *Judaical Church and State*, expressly, *the Day of Judgment & Perdition of ungodly Men*. But it is from GOD *Raining Snares* on the World, that such valuable Authors write not only so *fancifully*, but so very *dangerously*.

The *Primitive Christians*, even *all the Orthodox*, who lived soonest after the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, renounced this Exposition. And there are few learned Men at this Day, but what explode it.

I will add, on this Occasion; The *Pagans* vilified & persecuted the *Christians*, for their Expectation of the *Conflagration*. Yea, *Nero* made it his Pretence for Condemning of the *Christians* to the *Flames*. But how blind, how brutish, how Barbarous their Malice! T'was the Doctrine of their own best, & most admired *Philosophers*. Their *Seneca*, their *Antonines*, all their *Stoicks* held it.<sup>140</sup> It was a general Tradition of the *East* and *West*. The *Druids* affirm'd, That *Fire* must once prevail over the World, tho' not so as finally to destroy it. We have it plain, in *Lucretius*, and in *Ovid*.<sup>141</sup>

| [blank]

[11v]

| <sup>142</sup>

[12r]

**Q.** We are here bidden, *To hasten the Presence of the Day of God*: (for so it may be rendred:) How is this to be done? v. 12.

**A.** Not only by our *Supplication* for the Coming of the Day, but also by our *Contemplation* on the Circumstances of it, which may render it as *present* with us; and by our *Conformity* to such a State & Pitch of Holiness, as is then to be expected.

<sup>140</sup> Mather refers to the Stoic teaching about a cyclical “conflagration” or ἐκπύρωσις (ekpyrosis) of the world, which, however, is followed by a cosmic regeneration. The allusion to Seneca probably points to his *Natural Questions*, 3.29.1; *LCL* 450, p. 286. Several interlocutors of Mather point out that there were many ancient philosophical traditions about the dissolution of the world that can be read as affirming the Petrine conflagration. Grotius in his notes on 2 Pet. 3:7 actually has a long list similar to that of Mather. See in *Opera* (2:1122); see also John Ray, *Three Physico-theological Discourses*, discourse 3 on *The Dissolution of the World, and Future Conflagration*, pp. 303–37, which has a long catalogue of Stoic and Epicurean philosophers, as does the work of the famous English theologian and naturalist, Thomas Burnet (1635–1715), *Sacred Theory of the Earth* ([1690] 1697), pp. 246–64. Compare the section on “Traditions of the Conflagration, with all Nations, in All Ages,” in Mather’s *Tripuradisi*, pp. 199–201.

<sup>141</sup> Reference is made to Strabo’s account of the teachings of Gallic Druids in his *Geography*, 4.4.4–5; *LCL* 50, p. 245; reflections on the dissolution of the world in Lucretius, *On the Nature of Things*, 5.109; *LCL* 181, p. 378; and an allusion to Lucretius’s teaching on this topic in Ovid, *Amores*, 1.15.23; *LCL* 41, p. 378.

<sup>142</sup> See Appendix B.

[12v]

|  
4559.

**Q.** What are the *Elements*, that shall be affected in the *Conflagration*? v. 12.

**A.** A learned Man attempts, to prove, That the Στοιχεῖα, are the *Planets*; for this, he brings the Testimonies of *Justin Martyr*, and *Theophilus of Antioch*, and *Polycrates*, and other Ancients.<sup>143</sup>

Thus, Ενεργεῖα στοιχείων [Wisd. 7.18.] is, *The Influence of the Stars*.<sup>144</sup>

But, *Ulterius inquirendum*.<sup>145</sup>

4560.

**Q.** *Our Brother Paul ha's written to you.*] Where? v. 15.

**A.** Dr. *Whitby* thinks, in Rom. 2.4.<sup>146</sup> *The Goodness of God leads thee to Repentance*. And, Rom. 11.26, 32 *All Israel shall be saved. For God hath concluded them all in Unbeleef, that He might have Mercy upon all.*

**Q.** *In ALL his Epistles.*] What? In ALL; O Thou Righteous & Humble Servant of God! What? In the Epistle to the *Galatians* too? v. 16.

**A.** A good Remark may be made upon it.

**Q.** Tis said of some, *They wrest the Scriptures*. How? v. 16.

**A.** The Greek Word, στρεβλοῦσι, is, q.d. They putt them on the *Rack*, to extort from them, what is not Really in them.<sup>147</sup>

It is a Saying of *Jerom*, *Interpretis Officium est, non quid ipse velit, sed quid censeat ille, quem interpretatur, exponere*.<sup>148</sup> Some Interpreters forgett this Duty; and so, *wrest the Scriptures*.

<sup>143</sup> The word στοιχεῖον [stoicheion] “element” has different meanings: “element of speech or proof, elementary principles, and (in plural) the stars, esp. the planets,” as Mather argues. From Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:202), Mather refers to Joseph Mede, *A Paraphrase and Exposition of the Prophecies of St. Peter*, in *Works*, pp. 615–17, who mentions Justin Martyr, *Apologia secunda*, cap. 5 [PG 6. 451–52; SC 507]; Theophilus of Antioch, *Ad Autolycum*, lib. 1, cap. 4, and lib. 2, cap. 15 [PG 6. 1029–30 and 1075–76; SC 20]; and Eusebius of Caesarea, *Historia ecclesiastica*, lib. 3, cap. 31 [PG 20. 279–80; SC 31], who cites a letter by the Bishop Polycrates of Ephesus (c. 130–after 195).

<sup>144</sup> A reference to the apocryphal Book of Wisdom 7:17. A more literal translation of the phrase ἐνεργεῖα στοιχείων [energeia stoicheion] would be “operation of the elements.”

<sup>145</sup> “Further to be inquired.” See Appendix A.

<sup>146</sup> Mather cites Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:200).

<sup>147</sup> The word στρεβλόω [streblōō] signifies “twist, stretch on the wheel or rack, (metaph.) pervert or distort words.”

<sup>148</sup> “It is the duty of the exegete to set forth not what he himself wants but what the one he interprets believes.” Possibly from the work of English Presbyterian clergyman and popular religious author, John Flavel (1630–1691), *Planetologia, a succinct and seasonable discourse of the occasions, causes, nature, rise, growth, and remedies of mental errors* (1691), p. 51, Mather cites Jerome, *Epistulae*, epist. 48 (49), *Apologeticus ad Pammachium pro libris contra Jovinianum* [PL 22. 507; CSEL 54].

**Q.** Is there nothing that a Traveller may find in any ancient Manuscripts, to direct ones Thoughts, about the Subjects to whom the *first Epistle of John*, was directed?

**A.** Dr. *Patin* in his Travels, tells us, That being admitted into the Library at *Geneva*, hee observed in a great manuscript Bible, of *Jeroms* Translation, the Title of the *first Epistle of John*; *Incipit Epistola ad Spartos*.<sup>1</sup> Hee adds, Tis præsumed, that the Transcriber was mistaken, and that instead of *Spartos*, he ought to have putt *Sparsos*, i. e. the *Dispersed*: As *Peter* directs his First Epistle, *Electis advenis dispersionis*.<sup>2</sup> Or, *Parthos*, in regard that *Augustin* (l. 2. Quæst. Evangel. 39.) makes mention of an Epistle of *John*, *Ad Parthos*, to the Parthians, which is the same of which wee now treat; and he cites, 1. John. 3.1. *Dilectissimi nunc Filii Dei sumus*.<sup>3</sup>

**Q.** That Passage; *That which we have look'd upon; and our Hands have handled, the Word of Life*: To what may the Apostle allude in that Passage? v. 1.

**A.** Dr. *Goodwins* Observation is very emphatical.

We read concerning the Parts and Vessels of the Sanctuary, That the *Levites*, might neither *Touch* them with their *Hands*, nor *See* them with their *Eyes*; Num. 4.15. *They shall not touch any Holy Thing, lest they Dy*. And, v. 20. *They shall not go in to see, when the Holy Things are covered, lest they Dy*.

But the Case is altered with us, under the *New Testament*; as we see in the Passage now before us. The Apostle had such familiar Converse with Him, whom the *Sanctuary* shadowed. And a glorious CHRIST is exposed unto the spiritual Senses of all Beleevers. *Faith* ha's in it, the Actions of all the Senses.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "It begins the epistle to the Spartans." The entry is based on the work of the French physician and numismatist, Charles Patin (1633–1693), *Quatre relations historiques* (Basel, 1673), pp. 335–36.

<sup>2</sup> Mather cites the VUL at 1 Pet. 1: "Petrus apostolus Iesu Christi electis advenis [dispersionis Ponti Galatiae Cappadociae Asiae et Bithyniae]"; "to the strangers dispersed through [Pontus, Cappadocia, Asia and Bithynia], elect."

<sup>3</sup> 1 John 3:2 in the VUL: "Dearly beloved, we are now the sons of God." From Patin, Mather refers to Augustine, *Quaestiones Evangeliorum*, lib. 2, cap. 39 on Luke 17:5–10 [PL 35. 1353; CCSL 44B], and cites Augustine's gloss on 1 John 3:1–2: "Secundum sententiam hanc etiam illud dictum est a Joanne in Epistola ad Parthos: *Dilectissimi, nunc filii Dei sumus* ... ." Like Grotius, in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (6:4608–09), and Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:204), Mather thus thinks that the letter was directed to Jewish Christians dispersed across diverse provinces of the Parthian empire, collectively referred to as the Parthians.

<sup>4</sup> Mather summarizes a passage from Thomas Goodwin, *Christ our Mediator* ([1692] 1863), lib. 6, cap. 6, p. 409.

[1v]

|

**Q.** What is, *walking in the Light*? v. 7.

**A.** You have a Key to this in Psal. CXIX.105. *Thy Word is a Light unto my Path.*  
It is, to walk, & to act, & love, according to the *Word* of God.  
The *Sons of Light*, are those who keep close to the *Word* of God.<sup>5</sup>

**Q.** On that; *If we say, we have no Sin, we deceive ourselves*? v. 8.

**A.** The Jews have a Proverb of this Tendency, cited by *Drusius*. *Negatio Iniquitatis, duplex est Iniquitas*.<sup>6</sup>

In *Sanhedrin*, c. 6. §. 2. there is a Saying, *solent omnes qui Capitali supplicio afficiuntur, confiteri; omnibus enim qui confitentur est Pars in futuro Sæculo*.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup> See John 12:36, Eph. 5:1, 8, 11, and 1 Thess. 5:4–5.

<sup>6</sup> “The denial of an iniquity is twice the iniquity.” This entry is drawn from Christopher Cartwright, *Mellificium Hebraicum*, lib. 3, in *Critici Sacri* (8:1360), citing the work of Johannes Drusius, *Adagia Hebraica* (1660), decur. 1, adag. 7.

<sup>7</sup> “For such is the practice of all who are executed, to confess; for to all who confess belongs a portion in the world to come.” This entry is drawn from Cartwright, *Mellificium Hebraicum*, lib. 3, in *Critici Sacri* (8:1360), citing the Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Sanhedrin 43b (Soncino, p. 10).

160.

**Q.** Is there any peculiar, and significant Emphasis, in the Appellation of, *my little Children*, which the Apostle here begins his Addresses withal? v. 1.

**A.** The Apostle is here supposing, that the Faithful may *Fall* into Sin: *If any Man sin, wee have an Advocate with the Father*. And yett hee charges them, to Take all possible Heed lest they *Fall*: *I write unto you, that yee sin not*. Now the Term of *little Children*, comes in here, with an Incomparable Aptness. For, *little Children*, are very prone to *Fall*, and it is proper to call upon them to *take heed* that they do not; and for them, to have a *Father* that will pittie them in their *Falls*, is a very agreeable Consolation.<sup>8</sup>

|

[2v]

**Q.** In the Repetition of the *Addresses* to the *Three Ages*, why are the *little Children* left out? v. 14.

**A.** The Occasion of the Repetition, seems to be, a New Exhortation. The Apostle had exhorted us, to *walk as Christ walked*, and in our *Love* to one another, imitate the *Love* which had been gloriously exemplified in His *Walk*. There are notable Arguments for it, couch'd in each of the Three Addresses. But he now exhorts us, to watch and guard against the *Love of this World*. The Reason why *little Children* are here omitted, may be, because they are not so likely Subjects, to be overtaken with the *Love of this World*. This *World*, & the Inordinate *Love* of it, is more likely to gain upon, *old Men*, and *young Men*, than upon *little Children*. This is an Hint, which Mr. *Cotton* (my Grandfather) ha's in his Exposition on this *Epistle*.<sup>9</sup>

707.

**Q.** Why is the Lust of *Pride*, call'd, *The Pride of Life*? v. 16.

**A.** Some think, that it is for the same Reason, that it is here mentioned, after the *voluptuous* Lust of the *Flesh*, & after the *coveteous* Lust of the *Eye*: even because, when every other Lust is mortified, this will still *outlive* them all; *Pride* will stick by us, as long as *Life* itself.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Compare Grotius in *Critici Sacri* (6:4621).

<sup>9</sup> Mather refers to the work of his maternal grandfather John Cotton (1585–1652), *A practical Commentary, or an Exposition with Observations, Reasons, and Uses upon the first Epistle generall of John* (1656), p. 142.

<sup>10</sup> Similarly, the English divine and Dean of Rochester, Nathaniel Hardy (1618–1670), in his *The first General Epistle of St. John the Apostle, unfolded and applied* ([1659] 1865), p. 267.



**Q.** That Passage, *ye have received an Unction from the Holy One*; is there any History relating to it? v. 20.

**A.** There is a Tradition, that the Emperour *Domitian*, aim'd at breaking a Jest on these Words; & therefore cast our Apostle, into a Caldron of boiling *Oyl*; out of which when he came unhurt, he was by the same Emperour banished into the Isle of *Patmos*.<sup>11</sup>

4561.

**Q.** How and why is it said unto them that have received the *Anointing*, *you need not that any Man should teach you*? v. 28.

**A.** Miraculous Effusions of the *Holy Spirit* were then dispensed. These enabled the Faithful to distinguish, who preached the Truth, and who did not so. And yett even in these times, the Saints had need of *Teaching* by *Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists, Pastors* and *Doctors*.

Wherefore, Dr. *Whitby*, observes, The Apostle does not absolutely say, *They need not that any one should Teach them*; but only, *They need not that any one should teach them but as this Unction taught them*.<sup>12</sup>

---

<sup>11</sup> The earliest version of this story is found in Tertullian's *The Prescription Against Heretics*, ch. 36 [PL 2. 49; CSEL 70]. From this source, it is retold by Jerome in *Against Jovinianus*, bk. 1, ch. 14 [PL 23. 217].

<sup>12</sup> Mather cites Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:217).

**Q.** An Illustration, if you please, on those Words, *Behold, what Manner of Love, the Father has bestowed upon us, that we should be called, The Sons of God!* And what followes? v. 1, 2.

**A.** The Jewes were styled, *The Children of God*, because they owned God as their Father, and entred into a Covenant with Him, to love Him & serve Him.

[Deut. 14.1.]

And now we also become the *Children of God* thro' Faith in Jesus Christ.

[Gal. 3.26. and, Joh. 1.12.]

The Land in which the *Jewes* dwelt, was called, *The Lords Land*. And they, as being the *Children of God*, had it given to them as an Inheritance.

[Hos. 9.3. and, Exod. 4.22.]

But we being upon Higher Accounts, the *Children of God*, are therefore His *Heirs*, and *Joint-Heirs* with Jesus Christ, as being those that Reign with Him, in His Heavenly Kingdome.

[Rom. 8.17.]

The *Jewes* in that Land enjoy'd the *majestic Presence* of God, who dwelt among them, saying, *The Land is mine*.

[Lev. 25.23.]

We, as the *Children of God*, shall be admitted into His *caelestial Presence*, where we shall *see Him as He is*.

[Context. v. 2.]

The Enjoyment of *Canaan*, was to the Faithful among the *Jewes*, a Type of the Enjoyment of the Heavenly Countrey; and therefore they look'd on themselves, as no better than *Strangers* and *Sojourners with Him*, in it.

[Heb. 4.9. and Heb. 11.13, 16.]

Now because they could not enjoy the Heavenly Countrey, without a *Resurrection*, the Evangelist informs us, they were the *Sons of God*, as being *Sons of the Resurrection*. The Redemption of our Bodies from Corruption & the *Ἀναβίωσις*,<sup>13</sup> *Reviviscence* of that which once died, and saw Corruption, This is the Consequence of this our *Adoption*. So our Saviour proves the *Resurrection* [Matth. 22.32.]

These Thoughts, I borrow of Dr. *Whitby*.

<sup>13</sup> The word *ἀναβίωσις* [anabiosis] signifies "return to life." The entry is derived from Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:219).

[3v]

|  
4563.

**Q.** How is it said, *He that is Born of God, doth not committ Sin; For His Seed* [The Word of God, Mat. 13.3. 1. Pet. 1.23.] *remaineth in him?* v. 9.

**A.** The learned *Gataker* shall answer the Quæstion.

*Vitam à Peccato immunem quantum potest, sibi proponit, nec Peccato unquam sponte dat Operam: si aliquandò præter animi propositum deliquerit, non in eodem persistit, sed Errore agnito ad insitutum Vitæ pristinum, quamprimum quantumque potest, Festinus revertitur.*<sup>14</sup>

---

<sup>14</sup> “As much as possible, he aspires to a life untouched by sin, and he never deliberately commits a sin. If he strays from his intention against his desire, he does not rest, but, having recognized his fault, diligently returns to his former way of life as fast and as far as he is able to.” From Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:221), Mather cites Thomas Gataker, *Adversaria miscellanea, in quibus Sacrae Scripturae primo, deinde aliorum Scriptorum locis aliquam multis lux redditur* (= *Adversaria miscellanea posthuma*, ed. Thomas Gataker Jr., 1659), cap. 33, p. 346.

**Q.** How can it be said, *Hereby know yee the Spirit of God; every Spirit that confesseth, that Jesus Christ is come in the Flesh, is of God?* Wee know, that many an *evil Spirit* will make, & hath made, this *Confession*? v. 2.

**A.** *Sharrock*, in his learned Book, *De Officijs, Secundum Naturæ Jus*, ha's furnished you with an Answer.

*Hæc una est quæ mihi suppetit Ratio*,<sup>15</sup> – “This is the only Reason, that I can give, – such was the Storm of that Age, that it was necessary for those to be brought into Trial, and Hazard of their *Lives*, whosoever they were, that made this *Confession*; and it was impossible for them who had a Mind to follow Christ, not (as our Saviour Himself had often forewarned them) to *Deny themselves*. (And the more that Men *Deny themselves* for another, the greater is their *good Will* unto them) They that openly made *Profession* of no more than this one Article, from their Courage in their Dangers, were seen to overcome the World, & cast away all *Fear*, and they obtained many other Praises of a Mind that was truly *great*. The State of Things is now changed: such a *Profession*, Men may now make with *Safety* and *Profit*: Hee that shall *now* Judge himself a sound Christian, meerly because hee professes Christ, without any *remarkable Self-Denial* in the Doing of it, will miserably Deceive himself, and putt a Cheat upon his Conscience.”<sup>16</sup>

2772.

**Q.** That Passage, *every Spirit that confesseth not, that Jesus Christ is come in the Flesh, is not of God; and this is that Spirit of Antichrist*: may need some Illustration? v. 3.

**A.** The Epistle of *John* was written principally & originally, as it should seem, unto the *Christian Jewes*, that lived not among the *Romans*, but among the *Parthians*, in the Places beyond *Euphrates*, (as at *Neardas*, and *Nisibis*, and elsewhere) where there was a vast Multitude of them. *Grotius* thinks, this is the Cause, why this Epistle ha's not the Name of the Apostle unto it, nor any Apostolical Salutations or Valedictions. For the Epistle being sent by the *Ephesian* Merchants, into Places, that were in Hostility against the *Romans*, this epistolary Intercourse (tho' very Innocent;) if it had been discovered by the *Romans*, might have been a Damage unto the *Christians*. This Divine Letter seems to

<sup>15</sup> More literally: “This is the only reason that is sufficient to me.” Mather cites the work of the Anglican minister and natural historian, Robert Sharrock (bap. 1630, d. 1684), *De officiis secundum naturæ jus* (1660), cap. 10, num. 4, p. 250.

<sup>16</sup> Mather summarizes and translates a passage from Sharrock, *De officiis secundum naturæ jus*, cap. 10, num. 4, pp. 250–51.

have been written (a very little before the Destruction of *Jerusalem*) especially for Two Ends: First, that the Christians of those Parts might maintain *Peace* and *Love*, among themselves, and not suffer themselves to be involved in the *Factions*, which the *Jewes* of that Age were fallen into, but by their Concord among themselves, distinguish themselves from the Infidel Part of their Nation: secondly, That the Report of Persons rising in the Land of *Judæa*, with Pretences of *Messiahship* and Promises of Deliverance, for their Nation, might not have Impression upon them, to make them fall in with the rest of their deluded Countreymen, in countenancing those Impostures; but that they might hearken to None, who did not preach the Lord Jesus Christ as the *only Saviour*.<sup>17</sup>

Well, In Pursuance of this Design, it is here given, as the Mark of Men acted by the Spirit of God; *A Confession that Jesus Christ is come in the Flesh*. The Acknowledgment of *Jesus* to be the *Christ*, was then Inconsistent, with the Claims of those Wretches, who then deluded the Jewes, with setting up *others* as the Redeemers of their Nation. But the Apostle makes that Article, *Jesus coming in the Flesh*, a necessary Ingredient of that *Confession*, which was then to bee look'd upon. You must therefore Note, That *Flesh*, not only among the *Hebrewes*, but also in the *New Testament*, [Heb. 2.14. and 5.7. 2. Cor. 4.11. Gal. 4.13.] signifies a Condition of *Meanness*, and *Lowness*, and *Fragility*, as well as *Humanity*. Wherefore, saies the Apostle, you must consider *Jesus* as the *Christ*, tho' He came in a mean and low Condition, in an abject State, subject unto much Calamity, and at last unto the Death of the *Cross*, and came not in Pomp, Splendor, Grandeur, with vast Armies following Him, & the Glories of an earthly Monarch. This is added by the Apostle, with a World of Reason; because the Offence which the unbelieving Jewes of those times took against our Lord, was the *Flesh*, & obscuring there He appeared; and the *False Christs* which then started up, did betray their Followers, by the magnificent Circumstances wherein they show'd themselves. | Lett it be moreover observed, The Words may be read thus; *That JESUS is the CHRIST come in the Flesh*.

[4v]

[▽5r–5v] [▽Insert from 5r–5v]  
4733.

**Q.** This Passage, *every Spirit that confesses not, that Jesus Christ is come in the Flesh is not of God*: lett us bestow a little further Consideration upon it? v. 3.

**A.** A contemplative Gentleman, one Mr. *Walter Hilton*, in a Book entituled, *The Scale of Perfection*, ha's many notable Hints, about the *Spirits* of the *Invisible World*, applying themselves to any of our *Senses*; and the Methods of Trying, whether they be *good* or *evil Spirits*.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Mather here gives a summary translation of Grotius's preface to his commentary in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (6:4608–09).

<sup>18</sup> The following passages come from the work of the English mystic and devotional writer, Walter Hilton (c. 1340–1396), *The Scale (or Ladder) of Perfection* ([1494] 1659), bk. 1, pt. 1,

Because I would not leave out of this Work, any Entertainment, with which wise and good Men may be edified, I will transcribe one Passage of *Hiltons*; and this in his own Words, because I will not make myself Responsible for it.

“If it be so, that this Manner of *Feeling*, lets not your Heart from spiritual Exercises, but makes you more Devout, & more Fervent to pray, more wise to think spiritual Thoughts; and tho’ it be so, that it astonishes you in the Beginning, nevertheless afterwards, it turns and quickens your Heart, to more Desire of Vertues & increases your Love more to God, & to your Neighbour; also it makes you more Humble in your own Eyes: By these Tokens, you may know, it is of *God*, wrought by the Presence and Working of a *good Angel*, & comes from the Goodness of God, either for the Comfort of simple Devout Souls, to increase their Trust and Desire towards God, | to seek thereby the Knowing & Loving of God more perfectly, by means of such Comforts; or else, if they be perfect, that feel such Delight, it seems to them, to be an Earnest & as it were a Shadow of the Glorifying of the Body, which it shall have in the Bliss of Heaven. [5v]

Of this Way of Discerning the Working of *Spirits*; speaks St. *John* thus; 1. Joh. 4.3. *omnis Spiritus qui solvit Jesum, hic non est ex Deo*,<sup>19</sup> That is, *every Spirit that looses, or unknitts, Jesus, he is not of God*. This *Knitting* and *Fastning* of JESUS to a Mans Soul, is wrought by a good Will & a great Desire to Him, only to have Him, & see Him in His Bliss spiritually. The greater this *Desire* is, the faster is JESUS knitt to the Soul; and the less this *Desire* is, the looser is He knitt. Whatsoever *Spirit* therefore, or, *Feeling* it is, which lessens this *Desire*, & would draw it down from the stedfast Minding of JESUS CHRIST, & from the kindly Breathing and Aspiring up to Him, this *Spirit* will unknitt *Jesus* from the Soul; and therefore, it is not of God, but it is the Working of the Enemy. But if a *Spirit*, or a *Feeling*, or a *Revelation* make this *Desire* more, knitting the Knotts of Love and Devotion faster to *Jesus*, this *Spirit* is of God.”

[△Insert ends]

[△]

4564.

**Q.** A Paraphrase, on that, *They are of the World?* v. 5.

**A.** Dr. *Whitby's*.

ch. 11, pp. 14–15. The original manuscript of *Scala perfectionis* was likely finished in the 1380s; it was first printed in 1494. Even before entering into print, the work had established itself as a devotional classic and remained popular throughout the sixteenth century and beyond (*EB*). Possibly, Mather cites Hilton from the work of the English physician, geologist, and fellow member of the Royal Society, John Beaumont (1650–1731), *An historical, physiological and theological treatise of spirits: apparitions, witchcrafts, and other magical practices. Containing an account of the genii ... With a refutation of Dr. Bekker's World bewitch'd; and other authors* (1705), pp. 212–14.

<sup>19</sup> From Walter Hilton, *The Scale (or Ladder) of Perfection*, bk. 1, pt. 1, ch. 11, p. 14, Mather cites the VUL at 1 John 4:3 and provides a literal translation.

*They* [These Antichrists and False Prophets,] *are of the World*; [sett up to be Temporal Princes, & to give the Jewes Dominion over the Gentile World:] *Therefore speak they of the World*: [of that Temporal Dominion over the Heathens, which the carnal Jewes expect, when their Messiah shall appear:] *And the World*, [or, worldlyminded People,] *heareth them.*<sup>20</sup>

A Gentleman who has written a Notable Treatise entituled, *Episcopal Delusions*, gives us an Illustration, which the last Quoted would not have been so ready at.<sup>21</sup>

*They speak of the World*; εκ του κόσμου,<sup>22</sup> *out of, or, from the World*. Behold, what *False-Teachers* do. They enquire and observe, how matters go in the *World*, that so they may know how to promote their worldly Interest; and they frame the Conduct of their Ministry accordingly.

4565.

**Q.** What means the Apostle, when he saies, *God is Love*? v. 8.

**A.** The Apostle intends not to express, what God is in His *Essence*; or to say, as the Schools do, That God is *Love essentially*; and Love *causaliter*, as being the Cause, or, *Objective*, as being the Object of our *Love*: But that he is so, *Demonstrative*, and ενεργητικως,<sup>23</sup> expressing a wondrous *Love* to Men, in all His Dealings with them.

And yett, it is remarkable,<sup>24</sup> That *Plato* in his *Symposiacks*, calls the great God, by the Name of, LOVE; and adds, *That Love ha's no Parents*; By which he means, That God is of Himself.<sup>25</sup> *Orpheus* in one of his Hymns, makes *Love* the Origin of all things; and in his *Argonauticks*, he place's *Love* in the Bosom of the *Chaos*, whence all things were formed.<sup>26</sup> It seems, that *God*, is the *Love*, whereof the ancient Sages, *Hesiod* and others, tell us, It erected the World.<sup>27</sup> *Hieroches* also saies the same; and adds, in more plain Terms; *There can be no other rational Cause assigned of the Creation of all things, than the substantial Goodness of God.*<sup>28</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Mather cites Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:222).

<sup>21</sup> Mather cites a passage from a work by an anonymous author (initials: "C. W."), *Common-Prayer-Book Devotions, episcopal Delusions; or, the second Death of the Service-Book* (1666), p. 9. The book is found in the Mather family library. Whitby, of course, was an Anglican and a defender of the episcopacy.

<sup>22</sup> The phrase εκ του κόσμου [ek tou kosmou] signifies "from the world."

<sup>23</sup> The word ενεργητικως [energetikos] means "actively." Mather cites Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:224).

<sup>24</sup> The following paragraph is derived from John Edwards, *Theologia Reformata: or the Body and Substance of the Christian Religion* (1713), p. 88.

<sup>25</sup> Reference is made to Plato, *Symposium*, 178a-b; *LCL* 166, pp. 99–101.

<sup>26</sup> Reference is made to the Orphic *Argonautica*, 419–25. See the ed. by Colavito, pp. 16–17.

<sup>27</sup> Reference is made to Hesiod, *Theogony*, 116–22; *LCL* 57, p. 13.

<sup>28</sup> Reference is made Hierocles, *In Carmen aureum*, 13. 462–65.

**Q.** What is the *Fear*, that is *cast out*, by *perfect Love*? v. 18.

**A.** No *Love* that wee have to our Lord Jesus Christ in this Life, is free from *Imperfection*. Yett there is a Degree of *Love*, which is more *perfect*, or *well-grown*, than what is in many Christians. Now, this *Love* will embolden a Man to appear for the Lord Jesus Christ, whatever Dangers hee may therein encounter withal. Tis here thus described v. 17. *Herein is our Love made perfect, that we may have Boldness in the Day of Judgment*. Our *παρρησία*,<sup>29</sup> our bold, free, open & fearless Confessing of the Lord Jesus Christ, in the face of Dangers, does argue a more *perfect Love*. Hee had newly said, *Hee that confesseth, that Jesus is the Son of God, God dwelleth in him*. Now, tis not every Confession, but such a Confession, as hazards eminent Sufferings, that shoves the *Perfection* of *Love*. Tis expressed by, a *Boldness in the Day of Judgment*: which *ἡμέρα κρίσεως*<sup>30</sup> does not mean the Final Judgment of the World, but when wee are brought before the Tribunal of *Men*, to bee *Judged*, for our Faithfulness unto our Lord Jesus Christ. *Because, as Hee is, so are Wee in this World*: As Hee was exposed unto Sufferings in this World, so are Wee: and our *Love* to Him, should carry us cheerfully thro' the Sufferings, as His Love to us, did Him. Tis added; *there is no Fear in Love, but perfect Love casteth out Fear*. This Love makes us *Fearless* of Sufferings & Valiant for our Lord Jesus Christ; it will keep us from *fearfully* declining any Cross, when our Lord shall call us to bear it. Thus *Tertullian* explained this Text, Fourteen hundred Years ago. *John*, saes hee, denies that there is *Fear* in *Love*; *Quem Timorem intelligi præstat, nisi negationis Authorem*.<sup>31</sup> What *Fear* is to bee understood, but that which causes the Denying of our Lord? *Quam Dilectionem perfectam nisi fugitricem Timoris, et Animatricem confessionis*.<sup>32</sup> What *Perfection* of *Love*, but that which banishes *Fear*, and animates a Confession of the Lord?

Or, *Fear* may be, The *Fear* of missing the Heavenly Blessedness.<sup>33</sup>

**Q.** That Passage, *He that loveth not his Brother, whom he hath seen, how can he love God, whom he hath not seen?* Where lies the Force of it? v. 20.

<sup>29</sup> The word *παρρησία* [parresia] can signify "outspokenness, freedom of speech" but also "openness to the public," "a state of boldness and confidence," or "courage," especially in the context of the NT. The entry is probably derived from Hammond, *A Paraphrase* (4:460–62), on 1 John 4.

<sup>30</sup> The phrase *ἡμέρα κρίσεως* [hemera kriseos] means "day of judgement."

<sup>31</sup> "What fear would it be better to understand than that which gives rise to denial?" Reference is made to Tertullian, *Scorpiace adversus Gnosticos*, cap. 12 [PL 2. 147A]; transl.: *ANF* (3:1438). The PL text has: "Quem timorem intelligi præstat, nisi negationis auctorem?"

<sup>32</sup> "What love does he assert to be perfect, but that which puts fear to flight, and gives courage to confess?" Another reference to Tertullian, *Scorpiace adversus Gnosticos*, cap. 12 [PL 2. 147A]; transl.: *ANF* (3:14389). The PL text has: "Quam dilectionem perfectam affirmat, nisi fugitricem timoris, et animatricem confessionis?"

<sup>33</sup> The last sentence is a later addition.



A. I have read a Letter about, *The Love of God*, written by an Ingenious and Accomplished young Gentlewoman; which ha's in it a Passage, that I will transcribe in the very Words of it.

"The Scripture makes a peculiar Character and special Effect of *Divine Love*, to be, *the Love of our Neighbour*. The Reason seems to be This. GOD, by the Prærogative of His Nature, His infinite Beneficence and Love to us, having a Right to all our *Love*, whether it be, *Love of Desire*, or, *Love of Benevolence*; but withal, being no proper Object of the latter, by reason of His infinite Fulness, ha's therefore thought fitt to devolve all his Right, to *that Love*, on our Neighbour; and so require a strict Payment of it to His Proxy, as if He were capable of Receiving it Himself. By this Notion, we may fairly understand St. *Johns* Reasoning, in his I Epist. ch. 4.20. A Text, which those Expositors I have mett with, give, methinks, but a crude Interpretation of."<sup>34</sup>

---

<sup>34</sup> Mather cites the correspondence of Mary Astell (1666–1731) with the Anglican clergyman and philosopher John Norris (1657–1712), published as *Letters concerning the Love of God* (1695), pp. 269–70. A promoter of equal educational opportunities for women and marriage reform, Mary Astell is today considered an important early feminist author, widely noted for her *Serious Proposal to the Ladies for the Advancement of their True and Greatest Interest* (1694), which presents a plan for an all-female college where women could pursue a higher education. She also debated the major philosophical questions of her time with famous intellectuals such as John Locke, George Berkeley, and Shaftesbury. Astell argued for a Cartesian dualism of mind and body, which helped her to promote the idea that women had the same ability as men to reason and the same capacity for intellectual progress on their way to "the absolute good" (ODNB).

[▽Insert from 9r]<sup>36</sup>

[▽9r]

519

**Q.** How take you those Words of the Apostle, concerning our Lord, *This is Hee that came by Water and Blood; even Jesus Christ: Not in Water only, but in Water & Blood?* v. 6.

**A.** The Phrases are *Levitical*. Conceive the Meaning of them thus. The First *Adam* came indeed *by Water* only; that is in a spotless, a sinless, a perfect Cleaness, in Purity and Sanctity as to all that the Commandment of God required of him. Whereas, our Lord Jesus Christ came, not *by Water* only, or in such Purity and Sanctity as fully answered His Demands of the Law; but Hee came also *by Blood*; that is, Hee came in a Way of satisfactory Sufferings, to make Atonement for our Sins against the Commandment.<sup>37</sup>

I will add, *Pyle's* Paraphrase on this Place.

“Nor are the Effects & Influences of this Great Truth, more Excellent and Noble, than the Ground and Foundation of it, Strong and Certain. The Testimonies given our JESUS at His *Baptism*, when God by a Vow from Heaven, declared Him to be, *His Beloved Son, the Saviour of Mankind*: [*The Water.*] The *Miracles*, at His Crucifixion, when at the Shedding of His Innocent Blood, the *Sun* was darkened, the *Earth* trembled, and the *Veil* of the *Temple* was rent; [*The Blood.*] The Signs and Wonders done by *Him*, and by others in His *Name*: [*The Spirit.*] are all, I say, Testimonies of the Authority of His *Person* and *Mission*, most unexceptionable, as being Evidences of that *Holy Spirit* that cannot deceive us.”<sup>38</sup>

[△Insert ends]

[△]

[▽Insert from 8r–8v]<sup>39</sup>

[▽8r–8v]

**Q.** A further Consideration of the famous Text, of the *Three in Heaven that are One*. About which there has been so great a Struggle? v. 7.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>35</sup> The manuscript pages with Mather's commentaries on 1 John 5 are out of order and might have been bound together incorrectly. It appears that Mather started his annotations on what the edition now counts as 9r and 9v and at a later point added 6r–8v and 10r. I have put the entries in the order of the verses on which they comment.

<sup>36</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>37</sup> From the work of Nathanael (or Nathaniel) Mather, *The Righteousness of God Through Faith Upon All Without Difference who Believe* (1694), p. 13.

<sup>38</sup> From Pyle, *A Paraphrase* (2:385–86).

<sup>39</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>40</sup> In this entry, Mather defends and interprets the so-called *comma Johanneum* (Johannine Comma), i. e. the short passage of 1 John 5:7b–8a that says: “... in heaven, the Father,

A. We have already discussed the Matter in our *Illustrations* on Joh. I.14. But it shall now be a little further considered.<sup>41</sup>

Cyprian we know quotes this Passage more than once; once in his Book, *De Unitate Ecclesiae*. And another time in his Epistle to *Jubaijanus*. And Cyprian lived long before Arius was born.<sup>42</sup>

The Passage is found in most ancient *Greek Copy* found in *England*, cited by Beza.<sup>43</sup> Robert Stephens found it in Nine of his Copies. And inserting it in his Edition, 1549. (before he had made the Distinction of Verses) he says, *Nullam omnino Literam secus esse pateremur quàm plures, iique meliores tanquam Testes comprobarent*.<sup>44</sup>

---

the Word, and the Holy Spirit, and these three are one. [8] And there are three that testify on earth.” *Textus Receptus*: [εν τῷ οὐρανῷ, ὁ πατήρ, ὁ λόγος, καὶ τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα· καὶ οὗτοι οἱ τρεῖς ἐν εἰσιν 8] καὶ τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῇ γῇ, [en to ourano ho pater ho logos kai to Hagion Pneuma kai houtoi oi treis hen eisin hoi martyrountes en te ge]. The authenticity of this passage, which seems to clearly assert the biblical nature of the doctrine of the Trinity, was widely debated in the early modern period. The *comma Johanneum* does not appear in any extant Greek manuscripts before the fourteenth century. Its first appearance in Vulgate manuscripts dates to the ninth century. It is now widely assumed by scholars that the clause was inserted into the Latin text based on a gloss on that text; the gloss itself may date to as early as the third or fourth century. The passage is therefore either not included or marked as a later addition in most modern editions of the Bible (RGG). The Bible editions Mather used, however, generally still included it. Walton did so as well, but noted that the verses were missing in older Greek manuscripts in the “Variantes Lectiones”-section; see *Biblia Polyglotta* (5:922 and 6:34, 36). While scholars had argued over the *comma Johanneum* since the days of Erasmus, who thought that it originated with Jerome, see *Critici Sacri* (6:4652), and left it out of the first ed. of his Greek New Testament, the debate reached a new level in Mather’s time with the rise of modern Arianism, Socinianism, and Deism and the further development of historical-textual criticism. On this, see the Introduction.

<sup>41</sup> See Mather’s essay-length annotations on John 1:14, where he treats the Trinity at length.

<sup>42</sup> The following arguments for the authenticity of the *comma Johanneum* come from the work of Cotton Mather’s brother, the Congregationalist minister in Witney, England, Samuel Mather (1674–1733), *A Discourse concerning the Necessity of Believing the Doctrine of the Holy Trinity* (1719), ch. 5, p. 62. From there, reference is made to Cyprian of Carthage (Thascius Caecilius Cyprianus, after 200–258), *De Unitate Ecclesiae*, 1.6 [PL 4. 519; CCSL 3]. Mather also refers to Cyprian, *Epistle to Jubaijanus* (Ep. 72), cap. 12 [PL 4. 411–12]; *ANF* (5:907): “For if any one could be baptized among heretics, certainly he could also obtain remission of sins. If he attained remission of sins, he was also sanctified. If he was sanctified, he also was made the temple of God. I ask, of what God? If of the Creator; he could not be, because he has not believed in Him. If of Christ; he could not become His temple, since he denies that Christ is God. If of the Holy Spirit; since the three are one, how can the Holy Spirit be at peace with him who is the enemy either of the Son or of the Father?”

<sup>43</sup> From Samuel Mather, *A Discourse*, ch. 5, p. 62, reference is made to Theodore Beza’s *Novum Jesu Christi Domini nostri Testamentum* (1559), p. 816.

<sup>44</sup> “We will not suffer the loss of any letter when most of the codices, and in fact the better ones, confirm it.” From Samuel Mather, *A Discourse*, ch. 5, pp. 62–63, Mather cites the preface of the 1550 Bible edition by the classical scholar, Parisian printer, and convert to Protestantism, Robert Etienne (Étienne, Robertus Stephanus, prob. 1503–1559), *Novum testamentum ex bibliotheca regia* ([1550] 1566), p. 3.

If it be omitted in *Luthers* Edition, *Brockmand* apologizes for him, that it was by the Iniquity of the Times that *Luther* had a Copy, wherein the Verse was wanting. The *Lutherans*, tis very sure, do all maintain the *Verse* to be genuine.<sup>45</sup>

It was from *Erasmus's* Authority, that it was for a While inserted with a different Character in *Tyndals* Bible. But *Erasmus* restored it, in his Translation as well as in the Greek Testament, out of which it was drop'd, in Two of his Editions.<sup>46</sup>

But then, what is offered by Dr. *Wallis*, and improved by my Brother *Samuel Mather* in his very valuable *Discourse concerning the Necessity of beleeving the Doctrine of the Holy Trinity*, may finish the Debate.<sup>47</sup>

Be it so, that the Words are wanting, in some Translations or some Ancient Copies. But so are some whole Epistles, and so are some considerable Parts of other Chapters: which yett we do not cast away, as not being genuine.

Before the Convenience of *Printing* was found out, when Copies were to be singly transcribed one from another, & even those but in very few Hands, it was very Possible, yea, hardly Avoidable for a Transcriber sometimes to skip a Line; especially (which is the Case here,) when some of the very same Words do recur after a Line or two.

Whensuch Variety of Copies happens, that Words be found in some, that are wanting in others, this must be either by a *casual Mistake*, or by a *wilful Falsification*.

As to the Words in Quæstion, if the Difference of Copies happened at first, by a casual Mistake (as the *Doctor* thinks,) it is very easy for a Transcriber

<sup>45</sup> From Samuel Mather, *A Discourse*, ch. 5, p. 63, Mather refers to the work of anti-Jesuit polemical divinity by the Danish Lutheran theologian and Bishop of the Diocese of Zealand, Jesper Rasmussen Brochmand (1585–1652), *Succincta sed solida causarum* (1634), p. 87. The issue here was that Luther had not included the *comma* in his translation of the New Testament; it was only added to editions of the *Lutherbibel* after his death.

<sup>46</sup> From Samuel Mather, *A Discourse*, ch. 5, p. 63, Mather alludes to the fact that Erasmus of Rotterdam did not include the *comma* in his critical edition of the Greek NT before the third edition of 1522. See Erasmus, *Novum Instrumentum omne* (1516), p. 183, the second ed. (1519), pp. 522–23; the third ed. (1522), p. 522, which includes the *comma Johanneum*. The third ed. was used by Luther for his translation of the New Testament (first ed. 1522) and by Tyndale for the first English New Testament (1526). It also served as the basis for Etienne's improved edition of the New Testament that was then used by the translators of the Geneva Bible and King James Version of the English Bible.

<sup>47</sup> From Samuel Mather, *A Discourse*, ch. 5, p. 63, Mather refers to the work of the English Presbyterian minister, mathematician, and cryptographer John Wallis (1616–1703), *Theological Discourses, containing VIII Letters and III Sermons concerning the blessed Trinity* (1692), pp. 58–60, in a postscript following the *Third Letter*. One of the most important English mathematicians before Isaac Newton, the Savilian professor Wallis is known for being one of the contributors to the development of calculus. He also invented the symbol  $\infty$  for infinity. In his *VIII Letters and III Sermons*, he used a mathematical analogy in order to defend the Trinitarian doctrine against the Unitarians, explaining trinity by a cubical body with three dimensions (*ODNB*).

unawares to *leave out* a Line; but not *putt in* a Line. And in such a Case the Fuller Copy is most | likely to be the *Truer*.<sup>48</sup>

If here were a *wilful Falsification*, it is by far the more likely, that the *Arians* did *wilfully omitt* this Passage in some Copies, than that the *Orthodox* did *wilfully Insert* it. If the Change had been but *Newly Inserted*, the *Arians* would have presently detected it, with the loudest Vociferations upon it. Nor was there any such great Advantage to be made of it by the *Orthodox*; inasmuch as the Godhead of our SAVIOUR, which was then the Quæstion was abundantly proved unto them from the *Gospel of John, I and the Father are One*;<sup>49</sup> as from the *Epistle of John, These Three are One*. When *Athanasius* and others, urged this Text, against the *Arians*, we do not find, that they ever objected, as ours do, That it was an *Interpolation*.<sup>50</sup>

Tis the more likely to be genuine, because the *second Person* here is called, λογος which is *Johns Language*;<sup>51</sup> and, *Quære*, whether not peculiar to him. Indeed, the *second Person* may be called, *The Word of GOD*; [Heb. II.3. 2. Pet. III.5, 7.] But for to call Him simply, *The Word*, without any Addition; *Quære*, whether This be not peculiar to *John*.

But finally, The *Antithesis* here, carries the Matter on, even to Demonstration. *There are Three that bear Witness IN HEAVEN; And there are Three that bear Witness ON EARTH*. The Words, ON EARTH, would be wholly Redundant, wholly Superfluous, of no Use at all; if they were not by *Antithesis*, to answer the Words, IN HEAVEN, which are in the Passage that our *Arians* would have to be discarded. The latter Clause appears lame without the former; but it forever secures the Station which we may now challenge for.

We need not now be beholden to *Cyprian*, for his Quotation.<sup>52</sup> But since we are upon that Sort of Arguments, I will add, There was one who lived before *Cyprian*, and this was (his Master!) *Tertullian*. And he in his Book, Against

<sup>48</sup> This is also the argument made by Hammond, who, contrary to Grotius's thesis about an Arian insertion (see above), also defended the Johannine comma in his *A Paraphrase* (4:464).

<sup>49</sup> John 10:30.

<sup>50</sup> See the *Disputatio contra Arium*, purportedly written by Athanasius at the Council of Nicea (325), where reference is made to the verse: "Likewise is not the remission of sins procured by that quickening and sanctifying ablution, without which no man shall see the kingdom of heaven, an ablution given to the faithful in the thrice-blessed name. And besides all these, John says, And the three are one" [PG 28. 500]. This text is now widely believed to be a pseudograph ascribed to Athanasius.

<sup>51</sup> Reference is made to the use of λογος [logos], "the word (of God)," in the prologue of the gospel of John 1:1–18.

<sup>52</sup> From Samuel Mather, *A Discourse*, ch. 5, p. 66, another reference to Cyprian, *De Unitate Ecclesiae*, 1.6 [PL 4. 519; CCSL 3]; transl.: ANF (5:983): "The Lord says, 'I and the Father are one;' and again it is written of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, 'And these three are one.'"

*Praxeas* c. 25. not only quotes this Passage, *These three are one*, but also parallels it with that other, *I and the Father are one*.<sup>53</sup>

What if some of the Fathers might happen to have a Copy, in which this Passage is wanting? or, what if they should content themselves with that; *I and my Father are one*; when the Controversy on foot, was not about the *Trinity* in the *Godhead*, but about the *Deity* of our Saviour?<sup>54</sup>

Here is enough to hinder the *Arians* of our Days, from wresting out of our Hand a *Thunderbolt*, which forever destroys their Hæresy!

**Q.** On what account is it said, *There are Three that bear Record in Heaven?* v. 7.

**A.** The Endeavours of the *Socinians*, to gett a *Writt of Ejectment* for this Text, & have it cast out of the Bible, we have elsewhere considered.

The Thing here plainly asserted is, *That from the Three Persons in our One GOD, we have an Heavenly Testimony to the Character & Religion of our admirable Saviour.*

We may say, The Discovery which our Saviour ha's made unto us, of the *Trinity* in the *Godhead*, This is one Testimony, that He is the *Messiah* of God, & our *only Saviour*.

See our Illustrations, on Matth. 28.19.<sup>55</sup>

But that which we may rather insist upon, is, That there ha's been a Time, when each of the *Three Persons in GOD*, have together Testified from Heaven, that the Blessed JESUS, is the Son of God, & our Saviour. The more special Thing propounded unto us, to be Beleeved, (v. 5.) is, *That Jesus is the Son of God*. Now there was once, the Testimony of all the *Three Persons in God*, appearing together, to assert this Grand Article of our Faith. It was at the *Baptism* of our Lord. [Matth. 3.16, 17.] God the *Father*, by the Vow of God the *Spirit*, then Testified from | Heaven, concerning the Blessed Jesus, *This is my Beloved Son*. In the primitive Time, unto them who doubted the Mystery of the *Trinity*, it was a Conviction sometimes used, *Go to Jordan, o Man, and thou shalt see the Trinity!* The like Testimony was repeated at the *Transfiguration* of our Lord. I make no doubt, That our Apostle particularly referr'd unto this famous Matter, when he said, *There are Three that bear Record in Heaven*. [6v]

<sup>53</sup> From Samuel Mather, *A Discourse*, ch. 5, p. 66, reference is made to Tertullian, *Adversus Praxean* (c. 210), cap. 25 [PL 2. 188], where a Trinitarian view is implied in the quotation of John 10:30: "Thus the connection of the Father in the Son, and of the Son in the Paraclete, produces three coherent Persons, *who are yet distinct* One from Another. These Three are, one *essence*, not one *Person*, as it is said, 'I and my Father are One,' in respect of unity of substance not singularity of number." Transl. from *Against Praxeas*, in *Systematic Theology: Roman Catholic Perspectives* (2011), p. 159.

<sup>54</sup> A summary of Samuel Mather, *A Discourse*, ch. 5, pp. 66–67.

<sup>55</sup> Mather here refers to a long entry on the doctrine of the Trinity and its scriptural foundation at the very end of his commentary on the Gospel of Matthew (BA 7).

We may add one thing more. The *Method* of our *Salvation*, brought about, by GOD in *Three Persons*, is a Notable Testimony to the Truth of Christianity. The very *Vitals* of *Christianity* ly in this Mystery. Our *Salvation* by the Blessed JESUS, is accomplished by *God in Three Persons*. Tis a Proof, That our JESUS is the *Son* of GOD, and that *Christianity* is the *Truth* of God; The Scheme of our *Salvation* by *One God in Three Persons*, no Man could be the Author of it. So exquisite, so consummate, is the *Contrivance* of our *Salvation* in this Way; so full of Wisdome, & Beauty, & Majesty; Tis all over worthy of a GOD; None but GOD could be the Contriver of it! Our *Destination* to *Salvation* by God the *Father*; the *Impetration* of our *Salvation* by God the *Son*; The *Application* of our *Salvation*, by God the *Spirit*; This *Oeconomy* of our *Salvation*, is a *Testimony* from Heaven, to the Religion, which is the *Grace of God that bringeth Salvation*. You have the Summ of the Matter, Eph. 2.18. *Thro' Christ we have an Access by one Spirit unto the Father.*<sup>56</sup>

**Q.** What are the *Three Witnesses on Earth: The Water, the Blood, & the Spirit?* v. 8.

**A.** Dr. Calamy at last fixes upon this Interpretation.

“By *Water*, (which is what we commonly make use of, in cleansing from Bodily Defilements) we may understand the Purity of CHRIST'S Doctrine & Life, which was very conspicuous, & a great Argument of His Divinity; And the *Baptism* which was brought in by *John*, and continued by our SAVIOUR, as a Profession of, & Obligation to, a peculiar Purity, becoming the Followers of such a Leader, & the Expectants of an Happiness that was to ly in a Perfection of Holiness. And by the *Blood*, we may understand, the Sufferings & the Death of our Lord JESUS, whose *Blood* was shed upon the Cross, in an Ignominious Manner, when He offered up Himself a Sacrifice, to make Atonement for the Sins of Mankind; which was a great Evidence, that He was in Truth the *Son of God*, as He pretended. For had He not been so, tis inconceivable He would have lost His Life in defence of it. And by the *Spirit* we may understand the many Miracles, Wonders, & Signs, which JESUS wrought; together with His wonderful Resurrection to Life again, after He was Crucified, Dead, & Burried; which fully proved Him to be in Reality the *Son of GOD*; It not being possible, that if He was not so, He should either work such Miracles as we have an Account of, or, be so highly & gloriously advanced, after such ignominious Treatments as He mett withal.”<sup>57</sup>

<sup>56</sup> From the work of the London Presbyterian minister and historian, Edmund Calamy (1671–1732), *Thirteen Sermons concerning the Doctrine of the Trinity: preached at the Merchant's-Lecture, at Salter's-Hall; together with a vindication of that celebrated text, 1 John v. 7 from being spurious* (1722), sermon 4, pp. 557–58. This lecture series was held in response to the Salters's Hall controversy. On this, see the Introduction.

<sup>57</sup> Mather cites another passage from Calamy, *Thirteen Sermons*, sermo 4, pp. 542–43.

| 58

[7r]

**Q.** What may be meant by the *Three Witnesses on Earth*, namely, the *Spirit*, the *Water*, and the *Blood*? v. 6, 7, 8.

**A.** Dr. *Edwards* ha's an *Exercitation*, upon it: and from thence I will fetch the Thoughts, that are to be our present Entertainment.<sup>59</sup>

The Thing here testified, is, The Truth of Christianity, or, of the Report which the Gospel ha's brought unto us.

*Luther* thought, that by the *Spirit*, is meant the Office of Preaching; and *Water* and *Blood*, the *Baptism* and the *Supper* of the Lord.<sup>60</sup> But there are other Exercises of Religion, besides *Preaching*, that are performed by the Assistance of the Holy *Spirit*.

*Episcopus* thinks, that by the *Spirit*, we may understand the *Miracles* done by the Apostles, with the Help of the *Holy Spirit*; and the Ministry of *John Baptist* is meant by *Water*; and the Death of the *Martyrs*, by *Blood*.<sup>61</sup> But there is a Distinction between the *Witnesses in Heaven*, and the *Witnesses on Earth*. Now the *Spirit*, was one of the *Three Witnesses in Heaven*; wherefore the *Spirit* here, must be something else. And indeed, it is barely said, *The Spirit*; which may intimate, that it is distinguished from, *The Holy Spirit*, in the former *Classis* of *Witnesses*.

*Grotius* and *Patrick*, do go the same Way to Work; but still, the Difference, between the Two Distinct Sorts of *Witnesses*, is not preserved, by this Exposition.<sup>62</sup>

And there lies the same Objection, against *Hammonds* Exposition: That the *Spirit* here, means the *Holy Spirit* testifying to the *Purity* and *Innocence* of our Saviour at His Baptism.<sup>63</sup>

For the same Reason, we cannot accept the Exposition of them, who will have the *Spirit* here, to signify, the *Holy Spirit witnessing the Truth of Christianity in the Hearts of Beleevers*; or, to signify, the *Spirit of Prophecy*.

<sup>58</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>59</sup> The following passages summarize John Edwards, *Exercitations critical, philosophical, historical, theological on several important Places in the Writings of the Old and New Testament* (1702), exerc. 9, pp. 371–95.

<sup>60</sup> From Edwards, *Exercitations*, exerc. 9, p. 374, Mather refers to *Doctoris Martini Lutheri Colloquia Mensalia*, ch. 17, pp. 251–53; see *Tischreden* (WA 4:519).

<sup>61</sup> From Edwards, *Exercitations*, exerc. 9, p. 375, Mather refers to the Dutch Arminian theologian and representative of the Remonstrants at the Synod of Dort, Simon Episcopus (Simon Bisschop, 1583–1643), *Institutiones theologicarum*, lib. 4, sect. 2, cap. 32, in *Opera theologica* (1650), vol. 1, pp. 333–34.

<sup>62</sup> From Edwards, *Exercitations*, exer. 9, p. 376, Mather refers to Grotius's annotation in *Critici Sacri* (6:4663); and the work of the Bishop of Ely and Latitudinarian biblical exegete, Simon Patrick (1625–1707), *The Witnesses to Christianity, or, the Certainty of our Faith and Hope. In a Discourse upon 1 S. John V. 7,8* ([1675], 1703), esp. ch. 1, p. 3.

<sup>63</sup> From Edwards, *Exercitations*, exerc. 9, p. 377, Mather refers to Hammond, *A Paraphrase* (4:463).



That we may arrive at a more satisfactory Interpretation, we must observe; That there is, first, a *Literal* and *Historical* Sense of the Words, which relates to our Saviours Passion, and what happened at it. And then, there is a *Mystical* and *Spiritual* Sense, an higher Meaning, than the Words at the first View present us withal.

According to the *Literal* and *Historical* Sense of the Words, a very considerable Part of what attended the Death of our Saviour, may be here intended. The Thing to be testified, is, That our Lord Jesus Christ really Died, and by *Death* finished the *Work of Redemption*. *The Spirit*, which was one of the *Witnesses* thereof, is to be understood of *the Spirit* which our Lord yeilded up, when He expired on the Cross. He came into the World, that so He might lay down His precious Life, on our account. His doing so, was an Evidence of His being the True *Messiah*, and of the Reality and Efficacy of what He undertook for us; namely, to Rescue us from the Wrath of God, which could not be accomplished, without the Death of the *Messiah*. Tis most frequently inculcated in the Sacred Writings; *He died for us*. Tis a principal Article of the Christian Faith, That He did Really *Dye*; that here was a Real *Separation* of His *Spirit* and *Body*; that He underwent a Real Dissolution. *The Spirit*, which our Lord gave up, or sent forth, from His *Body*, at His Death, is a Witness of this. It is a thing particularly Recorded, and very signally, by every one of the Evangelists; *He gave up the Ghost*.

The *Water* and *Blood*, refer to the same *History*. [see Joh. 19.30, 34.] *John*, in the Part of his *Epistle*, refers to his own *Witness* and *Record* in that Part of his *Gospel*; where it is said; Joh. 19.35. *He gave up the Spirit, and there came out of His Side, Blood and Water; He that saw it, bare Record, and his Word is true, and he knoweth that he saith Truth*. Behold, The *Three Witnesses* together; and this Inspired Writer, a *Witness* to them all. The *Water* and *Blood*, flowing from the *Side* of our Lord, attest the *Certainty* of His *Death*; & by Consequence, His being the true *Messiah*; which depends on the Discharge of His *Office*; and that was, To *Dye* for us, & to make Satisfaction for our Sins.<sup>64</sup>

We will not hearken, unto what has been suggested by a modern Anatomist, namely, *Thomas Bartholinus*; That this *Blood* and *Water*, were only a *Serum* collected in the *Breast* of our Saviour, from the sleepless Nights He underwent, or from His excessive Agonies; which made its Way thro' the *Orifice* now made in His *Side*, & received a Tincture from the *Wound*; and it is called, *Water* and *Blood*, not because it was a *mixt Liquor*, but a bloody *Serum*, or a *waterish Humour* lightly discoloured with *Blood*.<sup>65</sup> No; The Evangelist relates the Matter, in that Order; *Blood* and *Water*; which intimates, that the Quantity of the *Blood*

<sup>64</sup> Mather summarizes Edwards, *Exercitations*, exerc. 9, pp. 377–83.

<sup>65</sup> From Edwards, *Exercitations*, exerc. 9, p. 383, Mather refers to the work of the Danish physician, mathematician, and theologian Thomas Bartholin (1616–1680), *De latere Christi aperto dissertatio* (1646), cap. 14 (“An distincti fuerint liquores thoracis, vel confusi?”), pp. 192–200.

might be as considerable as the *Water*. The *Phenomenon* is best solved, by them who ascribe it unto the Rupture of the *Pericardium*. This membranous Covering over the *Heart*, keeps it in | its Right Scituation; & defends it from Injuries. [7v] Within it, there is a Thin *Lympha*, that serves to moisten the *Heart*, and promote the Motion of it. As the *Glandula Lacrymales*, afford an Humour to moisten and supple the *Eyes*; without which they would be Dry, and Stiff, and Unfit for Motion, so the Use of this *Lympha*, about the *Heart*, is much of the same Importance. Now, when the Barbarous Souldier with a *Spear*, penetrated the *Membrane*, the *Water* contained in it issued out. And the *Blood*, is doubly to be accounted for. There was a wide Wound made in the *Lungs*, by the *Spear*, which entred into them, to find its Way unto the *Pericardium*. The *Heart* itself was vulnerated by the *Spear*; this Entrail itself also was pierced; this *Fountain of Blood* was opened. It was impossible now to live any longer.<sup>66</sup> Dr. *Pearson*, on the Creed, ha's these Expressions upon it; "It was not out of Compassion, that the merciless Souldiers brake not His Legs, but because they found Him Dead, whom they came to dispatch. And being enraged, that their Cruelty should be thus prevented, with an impertinent Villany, they pierce His Side, & with a foolish Revenge endeavour to kill a Dead Man: Thereby becoming *stronger Witnesses*, than they would, by being *less Authors* than they desired, of His Death. For, out of His sacred, but wounded Side, there came *Blood* and *Water*, both evident Signs of His present Death."<sup>67</sup>

We find these *Three Witnesses*, the *Spirit*, and the *Water*, and the *Blood*, remarkably mett all together in *Johns History* of our Saviours Death. And who can doubt that we now meet them all together *again* in his *Epistle*? Yea, the very same *Order* is observed in both; First, The *Spirit*; and then the *Water* and *Blood*.<sup>68</sup>

But then there is also a *Mystical* and *Spiritual* Sense in the Words.

First, *The Spirit* which our Saviour *gave up*, represented very significantly, His *giving out* the *Holy Spirit* unto all true Beleevers. As the *Breathing* used by our Saviour, on His Disciples, was a *Sign* of the *Inspiration*, with which He communicated the *Holy Spirit* unto them: [Joh. 20.22.] And most of the external Acts done by our Saviour, had a *spiritual* Tendency & Intention in them: surely, the concluding Act of His Life, might well have a Signification in it, beyond what was obvious in the bare Surface of it: It might mean, That He would *give out*, the *Holy Spirit*, with His powerful Operations, to clear up the Truth unto them, and sanctify them wonderfully.<sup>69</sup>

The *Water* that sprang from the Side of our Saviour, ha's been variously applied. *Calvin* and *Beza*, make it an Emblem, of the Sanctity in the exemplary

<sup>66</sup> A summary of several passages from Edwards, *Exercitations*, exerc. 9, pp. 383–85.

<sup>67</sup> From Edwards, *Exercitations*, exerc. 9, p. 386, Mather cites John Pearson, *An Exposition of the Creed* (1723), p. 211.

<sup>68</sup> From Edwards, *Exercitations*, exerc. 9, p. 387.

<sup>69</sup> From Edwards, *Exercitations*, exerc. 9, pp. 389–90.

Lives of the Faithful; which is an eminent *Witness on Earth* of the Excellency and Efficacy of Christianity.<sup>70</sup> But it is well intimated, by *Grotius*, that the *Innocence* and *Purity* of our Lord Himself, may be denoted by, the *Water* here.<sup>71</sup> Our Lord appear'd the Son of God, by *Water*, that is, by His *pure Life*. [see Isa. 1.16 and, Ezek. 36.25.] The *Purity* of His *Doctrine*, and, His *Baptism*, also, may be meant, as *Patrick* apprehends.<sup>72</sup> All which are ample Testimonials to His *Messiah-ship*.

In the *Blood* also, there was a Mystery. Learned Expositors interpret it, of the *expiatory Sacrifice* of the *Blood* shed on the *Cross*. This *Expiation* is a *Witness*, to the *priestly Office* of our Saviour; & to Christianity itself, which is founded on it.<sup>73</sup>

*Gregory Nyssen* interprets, the *Water* & the *Blood*, as meaning the *Levitical Purifications*, which were made by *washing* & by *sprinkling*.<sup>74</sup> It is here said, *our Lord came by Water & by Blood*; that is, He fulfilled the *Law*; the *Ceremonies* of the *Law* were all accomplished in Him; He was the Substance of all the *legal Shadows*. Our *Lightfoot* thinks, the *Water* and the *Blood*, are the Antitype of the Old Covenant, made with *Water* and *Blood*. [Heb. 9.19.]<sup>75</sup>

But there is an Ancient Opinion, & some of the most considerable Fathers, namely, *Cyril*, and *Chrysostom*, & others, have advanced it; That the *Water* and the *Blood* issuing from the Side of our Saviour, do represent the Two Sacraments, of, The *Baptism*, and the *Supper*, of our Lord.<sup>76</sup> This Opinion is entertained by Dr. *Pearson*. These two *Sacraments*, are *Witnesses* to the Death of our Saviour, and constant *Remembrances* of it.<sup>77</sup>

This may be allow'd as a *secondary Sense*. But lett us go back, & place before it, those two Considerations, of, *Innocence* and *Purity*, and of *Expiation*. Our Lord *came by Water*; that is, with Holiness in Himself, and required of all His Followers. He *came also by Blood*; that is, with Sufferings that made Atonement

70 From Edwards, *Exercitations*, exerc. 9, pp. 390–91, Mather refers to annotations on 1 John 5:6 by John Calvin, transl.: in *Commentary on the Catholic Epistles* (1855), p. 256; and Theodore Beza in his annotated New Testament edition, transl.: *The New Testament of our Lord Jesus Christ* (1599), vol. 2, p. 109.

71 From Edwards, *Exercitations*, exerc. 9, pp. 390–91, Mather again references Grotius's annotation in *Critici Sacri* (6:4663).

72 From Edwards, *Exercitations*, exerc. 9, p. 391, Mather refers to several passages in Patrick, *The Witnesses to Christianity*, including ch. 9, p. 572.

73 Mather summarizes a passage from Edwards, *Exercitations*, exerc. 9, p. 391.

74 From Edwards, *Exercitations*, exerc. 9, p. 392, Mather refers to Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oratio*, 39 [PG 36. 354; SC 358].

75 From Edwards, *Exercitations*, exerc. 9, p. 392, Mather refers to John Lightfoot, *Horae hebraicae et talmudicae*, or, *Hebrew and Talmudical Exercitations on the Gospel of St. John*, in *Works* (2:619) on John 19:34.

76 From Edwards, *Exercitations*, exerc. 9, p. 392, Mather cites Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentarius in Ioannis Evangelium*, lib. 12, 19 [PG 74. 677–78]; and Chrysostom, *Baptismal Instructions*, 3.17. See the ed. in *The Works of the Fathers in Translation*, 31 (1993), p. 62.

77 From Edwards, *Exercitations*, exerc. 9, pp. 392–93, Mather refers to Pearson, *An Exposition of the Creed*, p. 211.

for us; & purchased the Pardon of our Sins. There was an Emblem, of these two Perfections of our Saviour, in the *Water* and the *Blood*, that flow'd from His pierced Side.<sup>78</sup>

| [9r]  
**Q.** An *Heresiarch* makes a Cavil, That the Sense of the Text here, must be confused, if the seventh Verse be allowed a standing in it. By Introducing the *Holy Spirit* as a *Witness*, both in *Heaven* & on *Earth*: and so reducing the *Six Witnesses* proposed, in reality to *Five*? v. 7, 8.

**A.** And, I pray, where is the Absurdity of supposing, that the *Holy Spirit* gives His Testimony, both in *Heaven* and on *Earth*? It is not said, That all the Witnesses on *Earth* are different from those in *Heaven*.<sup>79</sup>

But the Word, *Spirit*, has diverse other Senses in the N. T. It is observable, That in the seventh Verse, tis, Ἅγιον πνεῦμα: But in the eighth Verse, it is only πνεῦμα, without the Epithet of Ἅγιον.<sup>80</sup> And, some have observed upon it, That the *Gospel* itself is called, *The Spirit*, in Opposition to the *Law*, which is called, *The Letter*. [See, 2. Cor. III.6, 7, 8, 9.] They would have the *Gospel* to be here intended, An Entire and Standing Record upon *Earth*: which has a Testimony to our Blessed JESUS being the *Son of GOD*, running thro' the whole of it. The other Two, are not *Persons* but *Things*, and so the Joining of the *Gospel* to them, is not at all *Unnatural*, but much more *Agreeable*.

| [▽Insert from 10r]<sup>81</sup>

**Q.** That Passage, *If we know that He hears us, whatsoever we ask, we know, that we have the Petitions that we desired of Him*: seems it not at first, a little Tautological, or at least, Unintelligible; q. d. *If we know that He Hears us, we know that He Hears us*? v. 15.

**A.** No; A most admirable *Consolation of GOD* that should not be small unto us, is here sett before us.<sup>82</sup>

From the Words immediately præceding, it is evidently the SON of GOD, who is here spoken of. And we are encouraged from the Faith of His

<sup>78</sup> Mather summarizes the conclusion of Edwards's chapter in *Exercitations*, exerc. 9, pp. 393–95.

<sup>79</sup> This entry is derived from the anonymous work *Modern Pleas for Schism and Infidelity reviewed* (1716), vol. 2, pp. 256–57. The author is here arguing against Whiston, *An Account of Primitive Faith concerning the Trinity and Incarnation*, in *Primitive Christianity Reviv'd*, vol. 4, pp. 380–81.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. 1 John 5:7: Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα [Hagion Pneuma] “Holy Spirit”; and 1 John 5:8: τὸ Πνεῦμα [to Pneuma] “the Spirit.”

<sup>81</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>82</sup> Similarly, John Edwards, *Theologia Reformata: or the Body and Substance of the Chrifitian Religion*, vol. 2, pp. 138–39.

GODHEAD, greatly to comfort ourselves with an Assurance of our *Success* in our *Prayers*, and our having *the Petitions that we have desired of Him*. We address our *Prayers* unto the SON of GOD, in Conjunction with His eternal FATHER. If He were not very GOD, and of the same *Essence* with His FATHER, it would be a very Criminal and Horrible *Idolatry* to do so. It is a Thing of the greatest Consequence imaginable, that our *Prayer* find Acceptance with HIM. For, besides His being by *Nature* GOD, and so both Infinitely *Powerful* and Infinitely *Merciful*, He is also by *Office* our *Advocate* with the FATHER; and in *that Way* the *Success* of our *Prayers*, is admirably provided for. If HE be our *Advocate*, and *plead the Causes of our Souls*, and undertake the Prosecution of our *Petitions*, we cannot fail of *having the Petitions that we have desired of Him*, to obtain for us. Our *Causes* in the Hands of such an *Advocate*, cannot miscarry!

All the Quæstion is, *whether He HEARS us*; and whether the *Petitions* that are sent up to Heaven, from so many *Places*, and so many *Persons*, on the *Earth*, and all at once, can reach to His *Ear*, and come under His particular Cognisance. If we are but satisfied, That He HEARS us, we can have no Doubt for the rest. Such is His marvellous *Love* to us, that He will prosecute our *Petitions*. He who so lov'd us as to *Dy* for us, *while we were yett Sinners*,<sup>83</sup> will most certainly *Speak* for us, when we *Ask* according to His Will, and bring such *Petitions* as He has in His Word given us His Direction and Allowance for. And such is His Interest in His Almighty FATHER, that He cannot be *Denied* any *Petition* which He shall please to make *His own*, and putt into His ever-prevailing *Intercession*. Now, we may not suspect, whether our SAVIOUR do *Hear* us, or no, when we apply ourselves unto Him with our *Petitions*. But yett we cannot shake off that Suspicion, if we do not Beleeve Him to be the *Infinite* GOD. None but an *Infinite* GOD, and one of a Divine *Immensity* & *Omnipresence*, can HEAR all the *Petitions* of all the Beleevers at once made unto Him in all Parts of the World. None but an *Infinite* GOD may be so called upon, *o Thou that Heareth Prayer, when All Flesh comes unto thee*.<sup>84</sup>

[△] [△Insert ends]

**Q.** What may be the Meaning of that Passage? *If any Man see his Brother sin a Sin which is not unto Death, he shall ask, and He shall give him Life for them that sin not unto Death. There is a Sin unto Death; I do not say, that he shall pray for it.* v. 16.

**A.** It ha's been commonly thought, That the *unpardonable Sin against the Holy Ghost*, is here called, *A Sin unto Death*; and that the Persons guilty of that Sin, are here excluded from the *Prayers* of the Faithful. But it is hardly possible for us to know, who has *unpardonably sinned*, when it comes to a particular Application;

<sup>83</sup> Rom. 5:8.

<sup>84</sup> Ps. 65:2.

and it is against the Law of Charity to exclude these or those particular Persons out of our *Prayers*.

There is Mr. *Hales*, who ha's written a Tract, *Of the Sin against the Holy Ghost*; wherein, he ha's these Passages.<sup>85</sup>

"*Hierom* saith, That nothing else is here meant, but that a Prayer for a *Sin unto Death*, is very hardly or difficultly heard.<sup>86</sup> And this seems to be the truest Sense of this Place; for St. *John* saith, in the Verse immediately before, *We know, we have the Petitions we desire of Him*. Therefore, lest we should think this to hold true, in all Petitions, even for others, he adds, *If any Man see his Brother sin a Sin which is not unto Death, he shall ask*, – That is, lett him ask with Confidence, for he shall obtain. But if it be a *Sin unto Death*, that is, a great Sin, & such an one as is ordinarily punished with *Death*, *I do nott say, yee shall pray for it*; That is, I dare not promise, that you shall easily obtain; *I do not say, that you shall pray for it*, with that Confidence of Obtaining. For, often in such Cases, God hears not the Prayers of His Saints: as God saith, Jer. 7.16. –"

There is one *Pyle*, who gives us this Paraphrase.

"I must advise you in one Particular more, relating to such Offenders among you, as are struck with any extraordinary Sickness, as a divine Punishment for any notorious Sins. Now, where the Offence is not of our most wilful and obstinate Kind; & where by the Circumstances you gather, that the Punishment inflicted was not sent for his *Destruction*, but only to awaken the Person to a Sense of his *Miscarriage*, and you find him inclined to Repentance, in such a Case, lett the Christian *Ministers* attend upon him, interceding with God for him by earnest Prayer, which upon Repentance shall avail for the Pardon of his Sin, & for the restoring him to Health again. But if you know the Person so afflicted, to be struck from Heaven, for a Malicious, Habitual, & Incurable Degree of scandalous *Vice & Immorality*; or for wilful *Apostasy* from the Christian Religion; in that Case, you have no Obligation to throw away your *Prayers* upon him; but may justly leave such a Man to the Justice of God, as one that has defeated all Methods of Repentance & Salvation."<sup>87</sup>

**Q.** How understand you that Passage, *The whole World lies in Wickedness*? v. 19.

**A.** Tis by some of the Ancients rendred, *The whole World lies in the Wicked One*. The *Divel*, is a *Prince*, yea, a *God* unto all the Unregenerate; and there is, alas, *A whole World of them*. Such is the Influence of the *Divel*, the *Wicked One*, upon this *World* that it may bee said of them, *They ly in him*.<sup>88</sup>

<sup>85</sup> The following entry is derived from the work of John Hales, *A Tract concerning the Sin against the Holy Ghost*, pp. 15–17.

<sup>86</sup> From Hales, Mather refers to Jerome, *Against Jovinianus*, 2.30 [PL 23. 327].

<sup>87</sup> Mather cites Pyle, *A Paraphrase* (2:387–88).

<sup>88</sup> This is also how some modern translations render *καὶ ὁ κόσμος ὅλος ἐν τῷ πονηρῷ κείται* [kai ho kosmos holos en to ponero keitai], e.g. the ESV: "and the whole world lies in the power of

**Q.** What may be the principal Intention of that Passage; *keep yourselves from Idols*? v. 21.

**A.** Tis incomparably well observed by Mr. *Guise*. After the Apostle had called our Saviour *The SON of GOD* no less than Ten Times, in the Compass of a Few Verses, he concludes with this Interpolation of his Meaning, This *SON of GOD* is, *The True GOD*. And now, in the very Next Words, he gives a solemn Charge against making to ourselves, *False Gods*. *Idols* often signify the *False Gods* represented by *Images*, as well as the *Images* themselves. [See 1. Cor. VIII.4, 5. and, X.19, 20.] This Epistle ha's been thought written in Opposition to the *Ebionites* and *Corinthians*, who denied the *Godhead* of our SAVIOUR. Our Apostle having asserted His *Godhead*, with the vast Importance of it, closes the Whole with this Caution, *keep yourselves from Idols*. Tis a Caution most seasonably connected with & enforcing of what he had been delivering, *keep yourselves from Idols*; or, Take heed of such Debasing Thoughts of the *Son of GOD*, as to sink Him into an *Idol*. If you take away the *only True Deity* from Him, you thereby fling Him down unto the Rank of an *Inferiour Deity*, like the *Idols* of the Heathen; & your worshipping Him under the Inferiour Notion of Him, as one who is not by Nature the *True GOD*, is really to committ an *Idolatry* against the only *True GOD*. Whatever you do, don't make a contemptible *Idol* of this *True GOD* of the Christian Religion.<sup>89</sup>

[10r inserted into their designated place]

[10v] | [blank]

---

the evil one." The same note on 1 John 5:19 and the devil also appears in Mather's *The Wonders of the Invisible World*, p. 76.

<sup>89</sup> Mather paraphrases the work of the Independent minister in Hertford and London, John Guyse (bap. 1677, d. 1761), *Jesus Christ God-Man, or, the Constitution of Christ's Person, with the Evidence and Importance of the Doctrine of his true and proper Godhead* (1719), sermo 8, pp. 180–81. In this collection of sermons, the conservative Calvinist and author of several sermons and commentaries attacks Arianism (ODNB). A similar paraphrase of the passage from Guyse is found in the work of Cotton Mather's son Samuel Mather (1706–1785), *A Dissertation concerning the most venerable Name of Jehovah* (1760), sect. 7, pars 2, pp. 94–95.

4566.

**Q.** What is there observable on *Johns* calling him, *The Elder*? v. 1.

**A.** One observes, That he is the only Apostle, that affected to conceal his Name; & who in his Gospel, scarce ever, speaks of himself without some Circumlocution.<sup>1</sup>

**Q.** What might be the Name of the *elect Lady*, whereto *John* writt his Epistle? v. 1.

**A.** *Grotius* thinks, the *Ladyes* Name was, *Electa*; Εκλεκτη Her Hebrew Name, he thinks, was בְּחֻרָה *Bechurah*.<sup>2</sup>

But then, her Sisters Name, (v. 13.) *Grotius* thinks was Ευδεκτη *Eudecta*.<sup>3</sup>

4567.

**Q.** But who was the *elect Lady*? v. 1.

**A.** Dr. *Whitby* labours, with all the Demonstration of Reason he can, to prove, That it was the *Christian Church* of *Jerusalem*.<sup>4</sup>

The Phrase, of, *Her Children*, suits that Conjecture well enough. [Isa. 54.1. and, Gal. 4.25.]

Other Churches are styled Συνεκταί<sup>5</sup> *elected together with her*. [1. Pet. 5.13.]

She *received the Truth*, ἀπ' ἀρχῆς *From the Beginning*. [Compare. Act. 13.41.]<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:234). Whitby here and in his preface (2:231) argues against Grotius, who had called into question that the Apostle John had authored the second epistle. See *Critici Sacri* (6:4671). Hammond also rejected Grotius's arguments and defended the authenticity of 2 John. See his *A Paraphrase* (2:473–75).

<sup>2</sup> Grotius takes the epithets of the ladies addressed in 2 John 1:1 and 13 as their proper names. Εκλεκτή is a feminine form of ἐκλεκτός [eklektos] “elect”; as is the Hebrew בְּחֻרָה [beḥurah], a feminine-passive-participle (Qal) of בָּחַר [baḥar] “choose.” From Grotius in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (6:4671).

<sup>3</sup> See 2 John 1:13: τὰ τέκνα τῆς ἀδελφῆς σου τῆς ἐκλεκτῆς [ta tekna tes adelphes sou tes eklektes], “the elect lady and her children.” Grotius argues that some manuscripts have εὐδεκτῆς [eudektes] instead of ἐκλεκτῆς. See Grotius in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (6:4674).

<sup>4</sup> From Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:234).

<sup>5</sup> From συνεκλεκτός [syneklektos] “chosen together.” Mather skipped a κ here.

<sup>6</sup> The phrase ἀπ' ἀρχῆς [ap' arches] means “from the beginning.” The citation from Acts should be 13:46 (“... it was necessary that the word of God be spoken first to you ...,” ESV). The mistake is also in Whitby.



This Church being she from whom the Word came out unto all the rest, the Apostle of the Circumcision may well style her, κυρία, A *Lady-Mother*.<sup>7</sup> The Emperour *Justinus*, in an Epistle to Pope *Hormisda*, saies, That all Churches favour the Church of *Jerusalem* as being the *Mother of all Churches*.<sup>8</sup>

[lv] |  
4568.

**Q.** An *Heretick* must not be bidden, *God Speed*? v. 10.

**A.** This Præcept had something like it among the Jewes; who were forbidden to say, *God Speed*, unto a Man that was *excommunicated*, or was *doing any evil Action*. Hence, it is forbidden by their Canons, to say, *God Speed*, unto a Man that is *ploughing on the Sabbath-Day*. It was also forbidden, to come within *Four Cubits of an Heretick*, or of a Person *excommunicated*: and much more, to admitt him into their Houses.<sup>9</sup>

This does not forbid of showing *Humanity*, towards a Distressed *Heretick*; but it is only a Prohibition from doing any thing which imports an Approbation of his evil Actions.

<sup>7</sup> The word κυρία [kyria] signifies “lady.”

<sup>8</sup> From Whitby, a reference to a letter by Emperor Justinian in the corpus of forgeries produced by an unknown Carolingian cleric (using the pseudonym Isidorus Mercator) conventionally known as Pseudo-Isidore. See the *Collectio Decretalium* [PL 130. 1051].

<sup>9</sup> From Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:235).

**Q.** What singular Emphasis is there to bee observed, in that Expression of the Apostle, to *Gaius*, *Thy Soul prospereth*? v. 2.

**A.** The Apostle *Paul*, with his Companions, was now at *Rome*, employ'd in preaching the Gospel, to the Gentiles. The Apostle *John* was now at *Ephesus*, having *Timothy* with him there. *Timothy* was by *Paul* sent for, to *Rome*, & hee being to call at *Corinth* by the Way, that hee might thence take *Mark* with him, *John* sends from *Ephesus* this Letter unto *Gaius* there, with a Request, that hee would show all possible Kindness to these worthy Men.

This Clause, *Thy Soul prospereth*, is in the Original [Ευοδοῦται σου ἡ ψυχή] *Thy Soul Travels well*, or, *Thy Soul makes a good Journey of it*.<sup>1</sup> Now in this Passage, the very Errand of the Apostles Letter ha's an evident & an elegant Allusion made unto it; saies hee, *Do thou help the Ministers that call at thy House to Travel prosperously*; and his Argument is, *Thou owest this to that God, who ha's helped thy Soul to Travel prosperously, in its Progress towards another World*.

1062.

**Q.** Whom does the Apostle *John*, mean, by those, that *went forth, taking nothing of the Gentiles*? v. 7.

**A.** Wee can understand none, but *Paul*, and *Barnabas*, and their several Companies. Now if it refer to *Paul*, and his Company, for wee read not that *Gaius* was concerned with *Barnabas*, & his Company, wee may suppose that *John* sent this Third Epistle, to *Gaius* at *Corinth*, by *Timothy*, from *Ephesus*, who was travelling thence to *Rome*, upon being by *Paul* sent for thither: In which Travel, hee was to call at *Corinth*, & carry *Mark* from thence along with him. And of these, may this Advice of *John* bee understood.<sup>2</sup>

|  
1063.

[1v]

**Q.** The Apostle complains, that hee had *written to the Church*, but was not well entertained by *Diotrephes*. How and when? v. 9.

**A.** The *Church* written unto, probably was the Church of *Corinth*, whereto *Gaius* belonged. And the *Epistle* written to this Church, was the first Epistle of *John*. Alas, That an Epistle so full of *Love*, should bee *Unlovingly* entertained!

<sup>1</sup> The phrase εὐοδοῦται σου ἡ ψυχή [euodoutai sou he psyche] is translated “thy soul prospereth” (KJV) or “it goes well with your soul” (ESV). One of the lexical meanings of “εὐοδόμαι” [euodoomai] is indeed “have a prosperous journey,” just as Mather argues. The source of this entry could not be identified.

<sup>2</sup> Mather cites Pyle, *A Paraphrase* (2:395).

But may not the *Vulgar* and the *Syriac*, be right? Which render it, *I would have wrote*.<sup>3</sup>

q. d. "I was once minded to have writt at large, to your whole Church, to encourage all its Members, to pay a due Respect to their orthodox Ministers, & avoid the false & wicked Doctrines, of Heretical Teachers: But *Diotrephes*, who is one of them, and his Party, I find, are so prevalent that I considered, a *Letter* was not likely to have much Effect, and so resolved upon another Method, – To come & visit your Church in Person."

This is a Paraphrase of one Mr. *Pyle* upon it.<sup>4</sup>

4569.

**Q.** Who was *Diotrephes*? v. 9.

**A.** Tis wholly uncertain.

*Estius* conjectures, He was one of the *Jewish Zealots*, who held it necessary, that even the *Gentile-Converts* should be *circumcised*, & observe the Law; and who Rejected them that had asserted the Liberty of the Gentiles; as we find our Apostle *John* had fully done.<sup>5</sup> That there were Men in *Corinth*, and *Galatia*, who on this account opposed the Apostles, we learn from the Epistles.

<sup>3</sup> The VUL indeed has "scripsissem"; while the Latin translation of the Syriac Peshitta at this verse is simply rendered as "scripsi" in Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (5:927).

<sup>4</sup> Mather cites Pyle, *A Paraphrase* (2:396).

<sup>5</sup> From Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:238), Mather refers to the work of the Dutch Catholic exegete, Willem Hessels van Est, *Commentaria In Omnes Canonicas Apostolorum Epistolas* (1666), vol. 3, p. 1271.

**Q.** The Epistle of *Jude*, often writes the same Things in the very same Words, that wee have, in the Second Epistle of *Peter*. Is there any Instance of the like Agreement, in any other of the Inspired Writings?

**A.** The Epistle of *Jude*, is to the Second of *Peter*, as the Prophecy of *Obadiah*, is to the Forty ninth Chapter of *Jeremiah*.<sup>1</sup>

**Q.** Is there any thing observable, in the Place, where the Epistle of *Jude* stands in our Bibles?

**A.** It is a Passage of the Ingenious Dr. *Fuller*. “Remember what is written in the *prophetical Epistle* of St. *Jude*; placed last, & next unto the *Revelation*, as containing the Prædiction of such things, as should happen in the Church, towards the End of the World.”<sup>2</sup>

**Q.** In the Apostolical Apprecation of,<sup>3</sup> *Mercy*, and *Peace*, and *Love*, what may bee referr’d unto? v. 2.

**A.** Methinks, wee may here see, Three distinct Operations of the Trinity, concurring to our Happiness; *Mercy*, from God the *Father*, who is called, 2. Cor. 1.3. *The Father of Mercies*; *Peace*, from God the *Son*, who is called, Eph. 2.14. *our Peace*; And, *Love*, from God the *Spirit*, by whom, Rom. 5.5. *The Love of God, is shed abroad, in our Hearts*. As, in the præceding Verse, the Saluted, were described, from Three distinct Operations of the Trinity, in them; *sanctified by God the Father*, and, *præserved in Christ Jesus*, and, *called*, by the Holy Spirit; so, they are here addressed, with a Wish of Three Operations *for* them. Tis possible also, that in this Wish of the Apostle, there may bee a most apt Reference to the Times, which the Church was now fallen into. Because they were Times of *Cruelty* from their Persecutors, *Mercy* is wished for them; because they were Times of *Desolation* on their Neighbours, *Peace*, is wished for them; and because they were Times of *Contention* among Brethren, *Love*.<sup>4</sup>

1 Mather quotes Anthony Blackwall, *The Sacred Classics Defended and Illustrated*, pars 1, cap. 7, p. 343.

2 Mather cites the Church of England minister, prebendary of Salisbury, and historian Thomas Fuller (1607/8–1661), *A triple Reconciler, The second Reconciler* (on Acts 13:15) (1654), p. 102.

3 “Apprecation” signifies a prayer or devout wish (OED).

4 Mather quotes Thomas Manton, *A practical Commentary, or an Exposition with Notes on the Epistle of Jude* (1658), p. 70.

**Q.** Is not, *our Lord Jesus Christ* here distinguished from, *The only Lord GOD*? v. 4.

**A.** No. The True Translation of the Text is, *That only sovereign GOD and Lord of ours, JESUS CHRIST.*<sup>5</sup>

4180.

**Q.** *Wantonness*, Ἀσέλγεια, what is the special Signification and Original of the Word? v. 4.

**A.** Hear *Junius* upon it.

Ἀσέλγεια, *proprie est indesinens Lascivia, effeminata, cinædica, ea denique Intemperantia, qua homo Voluptatum omne Genus venatur et colit, atque in eis diffluit: dicta ex α intendenti significationis, et Nomine σέλγα: Fuit autem Selga Oppidum Cappadociae, vel potius Pisidia, Ulpiano teste, in finibus Cappadociae et Galatiae, cujus Cives Luxus et Perditionis Nomine fuerunt infames; maximè quod sua ipsorum Corpora contabescerent, enevarentque mutuis Libinidibus. Quamobrem, ut Vires amissas reciperent, nervosque debilitatos confirmarent, invenerunt Oleum nervis utile, quod de Nomine illorum Veteres appellaverunt Selgiticum; cujus meminit Plinius. Nat. Hist. lib. XV. cap. VII. et lib. XXIII. cap. IV.*<sup>6</sup>

4570.

**Q.** *Their proper Habitation.* τοῖς ἰδίον οἰκητήριον; v. 6.<sup>7</sup>

**A.** That which we are to *enjoy forever*, is in the Style of the Scripture, called, τοῖς ἰδίον *our own*: That which we are to leave unto others, τοῖς ἀλλοτρίον [compare, Luk. 16.16.]<sup>8</sup>

<sup>5</sup> From Manton, *A practical Commentary*, pp. 221–25.

<sup>6</sup> “Ἀσέλγεια actually means incessant wantonness, effeminate and shameless; in short, such an intemperance in which a person chases after and cultivates any kind of lust, and loses itself in them. It consists of an ἄ, meaning ‘from,’ and the name σέλγα. But Selga was a city of Cappadocia, or rather Pisidia and, as Ulpianus attests, within the boundaries of Cappadocia and Galatia, whose citizens were infamous for their reputation of being luxurious and pernicious. This was mostly so because they wasted away their own bodies and enervated each other in acts of concupiscence. Therefore, in order to regain their lost strengths and build up their weakened muscles, they invented an oil that was good for their muscles, which the ancients called after their [i.e. the citizens of Selga] name ‘Selgiticum.’ Plinius mentions it ...” Mather cites Herman Witsius, *Meletemata Leidensia* (1717 ed.), “Commentarius in Epistolam Judae,” p. 465. Witsius refers to Franciscus Junius’s “Notae in Epistolam Judae,” in *Opera theologica* (1607), pp. 1280–81. Reference is made to Pliny, *Natural History*, 15.7 and 23.4; *LCL* 370, pp. 308–09, 392, 418–19. Modern philology does not support Mather’s etymology (ultimately based on Pliny) of ἀσέλγεια [aselgeia]. Provisional suggestions are rather: “ἄ = ἐν + σέλγ = θελγ- (strike)” or “ἄ + root tvelg- (strut),” cf. O. Bauernfeind, *TDNT* I, p. 490.

<sup>7</sup> Jude 6: τὸ ἰδίον οἰκητήριον [to idion oiketerion] signifies “their proper dwelling” (ESV).

<sup>8</sup> From ἀλλότριος [allotrios] “belonging to another,” cf. above ἴδιος [idios] “one’s own.” The entry is derived from Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:242). Whitby correctly cites Luke 16:12 as a reference.

[▽Insert from 1v]

[▽1v]

**Q.** *They speak evil of Dignities.* What may be learn't from the Word here used for *Dignities*? v. 8.

**A.** The Word, is, Δοξας, *Glories*.<sup>9</sup> From whence one observes; Men in eminent Stations ought to be the *Glories* of the Places, where they are *station'd*.

It is also true, that these Hereticks, not only were ungovernable, and of sufficient Arrogance under Temporal Authority; but they had Notions very Disgraceful to, & highly Reflecting on,<sup>10</sup> the Dignity of *Heavenly* and Superiour Beings.<sup>11</sup>

But it is well observed by Mr. *Bradbury*. It may be translated, *They blaspheme Glories*. And if it had been so translated, it would not have been found easy to interpret that noble Title, of the Heathenish Governours. Tis harsh, he sais, upon any honest Ear, to say, that GOD hath given the Name of *Glories*, to Tyrants and Infidels, who have done all the Mischief they could, unto His People, and are the most intemperate Enemies of His Gospel. Nor does it often fall in with the Character of the Sinners which here we read of, That they are uneasy with wicked Rulers.

But the *Glories*, which they do not fear to *speak evil* of, are either the *People* of GOD, who are called, *The Glory of CHRIST*: or, the *Graces* of the Holy Spirit; which they Oppose in themselves and Ridicule in others: or, the Divine *Institutions* of the Gospel, which they defile, having *polluted the Table of the Lord*, & counted the *Fruit of it contemptible*. This is foretold as the Great Abomination in the New Testament. Which a vile Sect of Priests would be guilty of. Ezek. XLIV.7.<sup>12</sup>

[△Insert ends]

[△]

4571.

**Q.** *Filthy Dreamers?* v. 8.

**A.** ενυπνιαζομενοι, is *Dreamers of vain Things*. We do not find, ενυπνιαζω, bear an Impure Sense, as ονειρωττω sometimes does. It refers to the delirious fancies of the Nikolaitains.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>9</sup> The word δόξα [doxa] signifies "honor, glory."

<sup>10</sup> "Reflecting" is used in an archaic sense denoting disparaging, insulting, injurious (*OED*).

<sup>11</sup> From Pyle, *A Paraphrase* (2:436). This paragraph was added later.

<sup>12</sup> From the work of the English Independent minister and religious controversialist, Thomas Bradbury (1676/7–1759), *The primitive Tories, or, three Precedents, of Persecution, Rebellion, and Priestcraft, consider'd. In a Sermon preach'd November 5. 1717* (1718), pp. 5–6. Bradbury was an outspoken and popular defender of religious liberty against tyrannical state authority. This sermon against the Tory ministry in the Anglican church, which had put new pressure on Dissenters through the Occasional Conformity Act (1711) and the Schism Act (1714), was one of many highly political sermons held by Bradbury every November the fifth, the anniversary of King William's landing in England and of the Gunpowder Plot (*ODNB*). The last two paragraphs appear to be in a different ink and were presumably added later.

<sup>13</sup> From ενυπνιαζω [enypniazo] "dream"; and ονειρωττω [oneirotto] "dream" or "have

**Q.** What was the Contention, between the Archangel,<sup>14</sup> & the Divel, about, *The Body of Moses?* v. 9.

**A.** I will mention an Exposition that was given of this Matter, either by an *Angel*, or by a *Divel*; not that it should bee Received on the Account of the Spirit from whence it came; but that it might bee considered on the Account both of That, & of its own Agreeableness. Mr. *Baxter*, was acquainted (as hee saies in his Book of *Apparitions*) with one Major *Wilky*, who had a strange Conversation with Spirits. Hee had a *Genius*, who told & foretold a thousand strange Things unto him; and among other things, that *Genius* expounded unto him, the Contention about the Body of *Moses*. Hee said, That when *Moses* was exposed in his Ark of Bulrushes, the Divel would fain have drowned him to prevent the great Services which hee might have afterwards to do; but the Arch Angel then Interposed for his Deliverance.<sup>15</sup>

4572.

But we will consider what is offered by Dr. *Whitby* upon the Matter! That *Moses* was not buried by the Jewes, we learn from the Scripture. [Deut. 34.6.] And therefore *Philo* saies, He was buried, *χερσιν ου θνηταις, αλλ' αθαναταις δυναμεσιν* Not by *Men*, but by *Angels*.<sup>16</sup> That there was an Altercation, betwixt *Michael* the Archangel, and *Samael* the Prince of *Divels*, about the Body of *Moses*, we learn from the Traditions of the *Jewes*: And it is most probable, it was not only, that the Sepulchre might be unknown, lest it might afford the Jewes a Temptation to *Idolatry*, but also about the Ascent of it, into Heaven; He being taken away, as *Enoch* and *Elias* were. The Jewes tell us, *Ascendit administrendum excelso*.<sup>17</sup> And *Philo* saies, God brought him, *πλησιον εαυτου; near to Himself*.<sup>18</sup>

[1v] | Some do make this Passage refer to, Zech. III.2.

---

an emission of semen during sleep.” The Nicolaitans were a religious sect in Ephesus and Pergamum whose members are denounced in Rev 2:6, 15, for eating food sacrificed to idols and for sexual license. The Church Fathers considered them followers of Nicolaus of Antioch and founders of libertine Gnosticism, an association that modern scholars regard as questionable (*HCB*D).

14 See Appendix A.

15 Mather draws this story from the work of the famous Nonconformist divine Richard Baxter (1615–1691), *The Certainty of the World of Spirits Fully Evinc'd* (1691), pp. 178–80.

16 From Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:244), Mather cites Philo of Alexandria, *De vita Mosis*, 2.291; *LCL* 289, pp. 594–95: *χερσιν ου θνηταις αλλ' αθανατοις δυναμεσιν* [chersin ou thnetais all' athanatois dynamesin]; “[buried with none present, surely] by no mortal hands but by immortal powers.”

17 “He ascended to administer to the highest [God].” From Whitby, a reference to Oecumenius, *Commentaria in epistolas catholicas*, on Jude 9 [PG 119. 713–14].

18 From Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:244), Mather cites Philo of Alexandria, *De sacrificiis Abelis et Caini*, 3.8; *LCL* 227, p. 99 has “beside himself” for *πλησιον εαυτου* [plesion heautou] but Whitby’s “near to himself” is the more literal translation.

[▽Insert from 2r]<sup>19</sup>

[▽2r]

According to Monsr. *Le Clerc*, The Writer here opposes the Pretences of certain *Jews* (perhaps the Followers of *Judas the Gaulenite*) who held, *That no Obedience was to be rendred unto Gentile Magistrates*. To restrain that wild Notion, he quotes to them the Passage in *Zechariah*; which he explains after this Manner. *Joshua* the High-Priest, is contradicted by *Satan*. The Word, *Satan*, is collective, and signifies generally, *An Adversary*. So it is to be understood in the CIX Psalm. In the Prophecy of *Zechariah*, it intends, the Governours, whom the Kings of *Persia* sett over Provinces that were scituated on the West of *Euphrates*. It appears of the Sacred History, that those Governours vehemently opposed the Re-Establishment of the *Jews*. The *Angel* takes the Part of the *Oppressed*, but still regards the Dignity of the *Oppressors*. He refers the Enemies of the *Jews* to the Judgments of God, instead of Judging them himself; and says no more, but, *may the Lord give a Defeat unto your Designs!* Now the *Roman* Magistrates were, in relation to the *Jews*, who lived in the time of *Jude*, the same as the *Persian* were in relation to the *Jews* that were contemporary with *Zechariah*.<sup>20</sup>

Monsr. *Saurin* prefers this Commentary, to any he had mett with. But then he says; It cannot be denied, That *Jude*, by him whom he calls, *The Devil*, understood, that great Enemy of Mankind, on whom we usually bestow that Appellation. And so, *Satan*, must imply the same thing, in the Style of the Prophet. He therefore proposes This. When the great God reveled any Events unto the Ancient Prophets, He communicated unto them in a Vision, Objects that had some Analogy to the Thing, which He had intended they should be made acquainted with. It is not necessary, in order to explain the Vision, grammatically or literally to refer every Term unto the Event it represents; 'Tis enough, if that which is offered unto the Mind, relates the *main End* for which the Vision is exhibited. God would make the *Jews* understand, that the *Persians* would raise great Obstacles unto their being Re-established. He sends this Vision to *Zechariah*; and in it, He makes him see *Joshua* accused by the *Devil*, and an *Angel* of the Lord pleading the Cause of the *High-Priest* against all the Attempts of such a Formidable Adversary. This Vision answers its End; tho' *Satan* should

<sup>19</sup> [2r] is a single piece of paper attached to [1v]. See Appendix B.

<sup>20</sup> From the work of the Huguenot theologian and preacher in London and later in The Hague, Jacques Saurin (1677–1730), *Dissertations, historical, critical, theological and moral, on the most memorable Events of the Old and New Testament*, vol. 1 (1723), diss. 70, p. 648, Mather paraphrases Jean Le Clerc, *A Supplement to Dr. Hammond's Paraphrase and Annotations on the New Testament* (1699), pp. 626–28. Saurin's *Dissertations* were first published in French as *Discours historiques, critiques, théologiques et moraux sur les Événements les plus mémorables du Vieux et du Nouveau Testament* (1720–1728). Mather made ample use of this work throughout his annotations. As Smolinski found out, Mather was one of the original subscribers to the English edition (*BA* 2:123).



not grammatically & literally import the *Persians*, who were Enemies of the *Jews*. *Jude* quotes the Text, unto the Purpose we are apprised of.<sup>21</sup>

By, *The Body of Moses* may be meant, *The Church of the Jews*; As the *Christian Church* is called, *The Body of CHRIST*.

[△] [△Insert ends]

**Q.** An agreeable Remark; on the affair and Conduct, of the *Archangel*? v. 9.

**A.** It is a Note of Piety, which I have somewhere mett withal!

An *Archangel* affronted by a *Divel*, answered with *Silence*, rather than *Railing*.<sup>22</sup> Heaven proclames this Vertue of the *Archangel* in all the Churches upon Earth; and one special Circumstance in the Reward of this Vertue is, That the very Name of the *Archangel* is putt into *Fames* Trumpet; and made *Famous* throughout the World; MICHAEL. Whereas, tis a rare thing for the Name of an *Angel* to be mentioned. You may note upon it; when a Servant of God patiently suffers and concocts Abuses,<sup>23</sup> the Recompence that Heaven sometimes gives in that Case, is, A *Name known*, and Honoured, and Precious, in the Churches of God.

**Q.** What close Hint may bee given in the Treble Character; *Wo unto them! for they have gone in the Way of Cain, & ran greedily after the Error of Balaam for Reward, and perished in the Gainsaying of Core*? v. 11.

**A.** As you have the Threefold Office of our Lord Jesus Christ, in Joh. 14.6. *The Way, the Truth, and the Life*; the *Way*, in His *Priestly* Office; the *Truth*, in His *Prophetical*; the *Life*, in His *Kingly*: so you have *Antichrist* here (as Mr. *Herle* thinks) in his *Types*, Invading all those Three Offices. *Cain* usurped the *Kingly* Office of Christ, by challenging the Power of *Life* and *Death* over his Brother. *Balaam* usurped His *Prophetical* Office: and *Core*, His *Priestly*.<sup>24</sup>

4573.

**Q.** Why are the Wretches called, *Spotts* in the *Feasts*? v. 12.

**A.** *Phavorinus* tells us, That Σπιλας, is, πετρα τις *A Rock*.<sup>25</sup> The Lexicons tell us, That Σπιλαδες are, *Rocks which are τοις πλεουσιν ολεθριοι pernicious to Sailours*,

<sup>21</sup> Mather summarizes this passage from Jacques Saurin, *Dissertations, historical, critical, theological and moral*, vol. 1, diss. 70, pp. 648–50.

<sup>22</sup> From Pyle, *A Paraphrase* (2:437).

<sup>23</sup> Mather uses “concoct” in the archaic sense of “putting up with, enduring, bearing” (*OED*). The final sentences are not in Pyle.

<sup>24</sup> Mather paraphrases the Anglican clergyman and political theorist, Charles Herle (1597/8–1659), *Wisdom's Tripes* (1670), treatise 3 (“Of Christian Wisdom”), ch. 6, p. 246.

<sup>25</sup> The word σπιλάς [spilas] means “rock over which the sea dashes”; πέτρα τις [petra tis] “any one rock,” but freq. of cliffs. From Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:245), Mather cites the work of Guarino da Favera (Guarinus Phavorinus, 1450–1537), Bishop of Nocera in Italy, *Dictionarium*

who fall upon them unawares.<sup>26</sup> These Persians are compared hereto, because they bring ἀνελπιστον κακον an *unexpected Mischief*, upon them that *Feast* with them.<sup>27</sup>

[2r inserted into their designated place]

| [blank]

[2v]

| <sup>28</sup>

[3r]

**Q.** What were those *Feasts of Charity*, which are mentioned in the Writings of the Apostles, & the Ancients? v. 12.

**A.** They that have consulted *Maimony's* Treatise of the *Sabbath*, and the Gloss upon it, will find, That the Jewes had near to their Synagogues, a public *Xenodochion*, or, a Receptacle for Strangers, where Travellers were entertained, at the Charges of the Congregation. [Compare Act. 18.7.]<sup>29</sup> And this laudable Custome was Transplanted into the Christian Churches of the primitive Ages. [Compare Hebr. 13.2. and Act. 15.4.] Altho' others have thought otherwise, and thought, indeed, I know not what; it is well if they knew what themselves; of the *Agape*, or *Love-Feasts*, usual among the Ancient Beleevers; Dr. *Lightfoot*<sup>30</sup> will take *them* to have been these charitable Entertainments. Accordingly, the *False-Teachers* travelling abroad the World undiscovered, had Opportunity, at these Entertainments, to do, a World of Mischief; which is the thing meant in the Text now before us. Thus also *Gaius*, was the *Host of the whole Church*; that is, the Church of *Corinth* employ'd him as the cheef Officer, & Overseer, of this their Charity. Whereas, likewise, there must bee *Women* sometimes used in that Service, therefore wee read about *Phæbe*, a *Servant of the Church at Cenchræa*; and, *Mary bestowing much Labour*. and, see 1. Tim. 5.9, 10.<sup>31</sup>

---

*magnum illud ac perutile multis variisque ex autoribus collectum, totius linguae Graecae commentarius ...* ([1538] 1801), p. 604.

<sup>26</sup> The phrase τοῖς πλέουσιν [tois pleousin] literally means “those sailing”; ὀλέθριος [olethrios] “destructive, deadly.”

<sup>27</sup> From ἀνέλπιστος [anelpistos] “unexpected”; κακός [kakos] “bad, evil.”

<sup>28</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>29</sup> From Lightfoot, *The Harmony, Chronicle, and Order of the New Testament in Works* (1:315), on Rom. 16:23–24, Mather refers to, *Mishneh Torah*, *Zemanim* (bk. 1, “Times”), Tractate *Shabbat*, ch. 29, Halachah 8, and to one of several medieval and early modern rabbinic commentaries on the *Mishneh Torah*, which were often printed as glosses within the editions. Touger (p. 320) translates it as: “[The mitzvah of] *kiddush* [may be fulfilled] only in the place of one’s meal. What is implied? A person should not recite the *kiddush* in one house and eat his meal in another. One may, however, recite *kiddush* in one corner and eat one’s meal in another. [One might ask:] Why is *kiddush* recited in the synagogue? Because of the guests who eat and drink there.”

<sup>30</sup> See Appendix A.

<sup>31</sup> Mather takes the passage from Lightfoot, *The Harmony, Chronicle, and Order of the New Testament in Works* (1:315), on Rom. 16:23–24. See also Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:245).

4185.

**Q.** We are not absolutely obliged unto Dr. *Lightfoots* Opinion. And therefore give us from others, a fuller Description of the ancient *Agape*? v. 12.<sup>32</sup>

**A.** They were Fraternal Entertainments of the Christians, the *Poor* as well as the *Rich*, in a public Meeting-Place, made for the maintaining and exciting of mutual Charity.

They seem to have had their Original from Feasts, both civil and sacred, celebrated both among *Jewes* and *Gentiles*. It was the Custome in *Greece*, to have a πανδαισια, to which every one contributed as he pleased, & all fed at it, with an *equal Right* unto it.<sup>33</sup> They had also their *Feasts*, which were called, φιλινια, and φιλητικα.<sup>34</sup> Akin to those, were the *public Dinners* instituted by *Lycurgas*, among the *Lacedæmonians*; called συσσιτια, because everyone paid his Part; and afterwards, as *Plutarch* tells us, called φιδιτια, because of the φιλια (the Letter δ being changed into λ) or Friendship, expressed in them.<sup>35</sup> Consult *Stuckius* about these Antiquities;<sup>36</sup> and add, That the *Græcians* made use of their *Temples*, for these Entertainments; χρωνται τοις ιερειοις προς ευωχίαν.<sup>37</sup> How t'was among the *Romans*, we learn from *Valerius Maximus*; There was a Feast instituted by their Ancestors, he saies, called, *Charistia*, at which a whole Kindred mett; and if they had any Quarrels among them, they were ended there.<sup>38</sup> This Festivity was held on the second of the *Kalends of March*; whereof, *Ovid* sings;

*proxima cognati dixere Charistia Patres;  
et venit ad Socios turba propinqua Deos.*<sup>39</sup>

<sup>32</sup> The following entry is derived from Witsius, *Meletemata Leidensia*, "Commentarius in Epistolam Judae," pp. 490–95.

<sup>33</sup> The word πανδαισία [pandaisia] means a "complete banquet."

<sup>34</sup> Possibly from φιλητικός [philetikos] "disposed to love, affectionate."

<sup>35</sup> Witsius has φιλινια [philinia] but obviously φιλιτια [philitia] is intended, meaning "public or common meal." Mather copied the mistake. The word συσσιτια [syssitia] means "eating together or in common"; φιδίτιον [phidition] also signifies "common meal"; φιλια [philia] "friendship." Witsius and Mather derive this etymological explanation from Plutarch, *Life of Lycurgus*, 12.1; transl.: *LCL* 46, pp. 236–37.

<sup>36</sup> From Witsius, Mather refers to the work of the Zurich theologian and classicist, Johann Wilhelm Stucki (Stuck, Stuckius, 1542–1607), *Antiquitates convivales* (1582), lib. 1, cap. 31, pp. 108–09. Witsius gets most of his classical references for this passage from Stuckius. Stuckius in turn refers to Niels Krag (Nicholaum Cragium), *De Republica Lacædaemoniorum* (1593), lib. 1, cap. 9.

<sup>37</sup> The phrase χρωνται τοις ιερειοις προς ευωχίαν [chrontai tois hierieiois pros euochian] means "[and] made a feast of the victims [i.e. the sacrificed animals]." From Witsius, Mather cites Josephus, *Against Apion*, 2.13; transl.: *LCL* 186, p. 347.

<sup>38</sup> From Witsius, Mather refers to the Roman historian and moralist, Valerius Maximus (fl. during the reign of Tiberius 14–37 CE), *Facta et dicta memorabilia*, 2.1.8; *LCL* 492, pp. 132–34.

<sup>39</sup> "The next day received its name of Caristia from dear (*cari*) kinsfolk. A crowd of near relations comes to meet the family gods." Mather cites Ovid, *Fasti*, 2.617–18; *LCL* 25, pp. 102–03. The Loeb text has "*Caristia cari*," not "*Charistia Patres*."

The *Israelites* also did use, with the *Levites*, to Feast before the Lord. [Deut. 12.18. and 26.12.] *Josephus* and *Philo*, called the Entertainments then celebrated, *Συνδειπνῶν*.<sup>40</sup> Our Saviour celebrated the *Paschal-Supper* with His Disciples; and præscribes unto us, [Luk. 14.13.] Entertainments for the *Poor*.

The *Agapæ* of the primitive Christians, were an *Imitation* of those things, with a *Reformation* of what they saw amiss in any of them. They were held at stated Seasons; especially on the *Lords Dayes*, in the Evening. The *Græcians* had then the *Lords Supper*, at the Beginning; the *Jewes* had it in the Conclusion of them; Tho' these did not alwayes go together. In *Justin Martyr*, the, τῆς εὐχαριστίας μετοχή, *Fellowship of the Eucharist*, had no *Agape* accompanying of it.<sup>41</sup> And *Clemens Alexandrinus*; and *Tertullian*, describe the *Agapæ*, without any *Eucharist* at them.<sup>42</sup> However they were seasoned with Exercises of Devotion. *Pliny* writes to *Trajan*, *stato Die coivisse, ad capiendum Cibus promiscuum, et innoxium*.<sup>43</sup> *Tertullian* describes [Apol. c. 39.] the *Frugality*, the *Piety*, the *Modesty*, with which they were carried on.<sup>44</sup> But even in the Apostles Times, we find Complaints of the *Luxury* that began to infect them.

At last, the *Carpocratians*, horribly depraved them. *Socrates* tells us, of it;<sup>45</sup> but much more *Tertullian*; who, De Jejun, c. 17. ha's this Passage, *Agape, per hanc adolescentus tui cum Sororibus dormiunt*.<sup>46</sup> The *Gnosticks*, as *Epiphanius* tells us, Hær. 26. brought it unto that Pass; *Surge, Soror, et fac Agapen cum Fratre*.<sup>47</sup> For this, & such Causes, the *Agapæ*, were wholly Removed out of the Church. Several Councils, as that of *Laodicea*, that of *Trullo*, that of *Carthage*, decreed

<sup>40</sup> The word σύνδειπνον [syndeipnon] signifies "common meal." See Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, 14.8; transl.: LCL 489, p. 117; and Philo of Alexandria, *Legatio ad Gaium*, 40; LCL 379, pp. 157–58. Witsius here draws on Grotius's annotations on Matt. 26:26 in *Critici Sacri* (6:794–95).

<sup>41</sup> The phrase τῆς εὐχαριστίας μετοχή [tes eucharistias metochē] means "participation in the Eucharist." From Witsius, Mather refers to a passage about the practice of weekly worship from Justin Martyr, *Apologia prima*, cap. 67 [PG 6. 429; SC 507].

<sup>42</sup> From Witsius, Mather refers to Clement of Alexandria, *Paedagogus*, 2.1 [PG 8. 388; GCS 12; *Supplements to Vigiliæ Christianæ* 61], to Tertullian, *Apologeticus*, cap. 39 [PL 1. 474; CSEL 69; CCSL 1], and to Tertullian, *Ad martyres*, cap. 2 [PL 1. 623; CSEL 76; CCSL 1].

<sup>43</sup> "that they assembled on a fixed day to take food of an ordinary, harmless kind." From Witsius, Mather cites Pliny the Younger, *Letters*, 10.96.7; transl.: LCL 59, pp. 288–89.

<sup>44</sup> From Witsius, Mather refers to Tertullian, *Apologeticus*, cap. 39 [PL 1. 474; CSEL 69; CCSL 1].

<sup>45</sup> Reference is made to the work of the Byzantine church historian Socrates (of Constantinople, Scholasticus, c. 380–450), *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 1.5.22. [PG 67. 635], who here discusses the Gnostic sect of the Carpocratians.

<sup>46</sup> "[but of greater account is] 'love,' because that is the means whereby your young men sleep with their sisters." From Witsius, Mather refers to Tertullian, *De jejuniis*, cap. 17 [PL 2. 977; CCSL 2; CSEL 20]; transl.: ANF (4:262).

<sup>47</sup> "Get up, sister, perform the Agape with your brother." From Witsius, Mather cites Epiphanius, *Panarion (Adversus haereses)*, lib. 1, sec. 2, cap. 26 [PG 41. 337–38]. In the original, it is a husband ordering his wife to have an incestuous relation with her brother.

against them; tho' we find them still sometimes used in the Dayes of *Chrysostom*, & of *Austin*.<sup>48</sup>

4175.

**Q.** Why are *False Teachers* compared unto, *Clouds without Water*? v. 12.

**A.** They often pretend unto *High* and *Lofty* Notions, but there is no *Truth*, no *Weight*, no *Substance* in them. They will use a *Religious Canting*, and offer us things which they call, *Seraphic Notions*: But *Error* is all this While taking Shelter in the Dark. The *False Teachers* cast a Mist before the Eyes of Men, to Amuse them, and Delude them. One saies, "These *Dark-Lantern* Divines we may justly fear, have some strange Plotts, and Treasonable Conspiracies, against Christianity."<sup>49</sup>

**Q.** How, *carried about the Winds*, and, *Raging Waves of the Sea*? v. 12.

**A.** The Slanders of the Conversation, are as blasting as a Tempest. They vent their shameful & malicious Calumnies, as plentifully as the Sea throws out its foam in stormy Weather. So *Pyle* paraphrases.<sup>50</sup>

**Q.** *Wandering Stars*? v. 13.

**A.** The Jewish Doctors were styled, *Lights*, and, *Stars*.<sup>51</sup>

[3v] |  
19\*\*

**Q.** Might not *Enochs* Prophecy have a Twofold Fulfilment? v. 14.

**A.** Why not? For there was a Remarkable Fulfilment of it, at the Giving of the *Law* upon Mount *Sinai*. Then did the *Lord come with His Holy Myriads*, (compare, Deut. 33.2.) *To give Judgment against all Men, and convince all the Ungodly among them, of all the ungodly Deeds, which they have ungodlily committed*. He did it, in giving the *Law*, which condemns all *Ungodliness*. But then there will be a more illustrious Fulfilment of it, at the Lords Coming to Judge Men for their Violation of that *godly Law*.<sup>52</sup>

48 From Witsius, Mather refers to John Chrysostom, *Homiliae XLIV in Epistolam primam ad Corinthios*, homil. 27 [PG 61. 227], and to Augustine, *Contra Faustum Manichaeum*, lib. 20, cap. 20 [PL 42. 383; CSEL 25].

49 From Witsius, *Melatemata*, "Commentarius in Epistolam Judae," p. 495.

50 From Pyle, *A Paraphrase* (2:438).

51 From Pyle, *A Paraphrase* (2:438).

52 The next two entries appear to be derived from Heidegger, *Rashe 'avot, sive de historia sacra patriarcharum exercitationes select*, vol. 1, exerc. 6 ("De Cainitis et Sethitis"), pp. 226–28 and exerc. 10 ("De Prophetia Enochi"), pp. 264–78.

**Q.** What and where will you find the Prophecy of *Enoch* about the Coming of our Lord and why is that *Enoch* here called *The Seventh from Adam*? v. 14.

**A.** There was a notable Prophecy in the very Name which *Enoch* putt upon his well-known, his long lived Son; *Methusela*. That Name was in Signification, *morturi ac tunc missum est* that is, *Hee dies & then it comes*,<sup>53</sup> a Prophecy that immediately upon his *Death*, should come the all-devouring Flood. By the same Token, the Pagans confounding *Enoch* & *Methusela* together, had a Story among them that one *Annacus* threw the People all into *Tears*, by telling them of a general Destruction to come upon them, in the Year that hee should bee taken away; which *Tears* on that Occasion have made a famous Proverb to bee found as else-where, so in *Erasmus* his *eternal* Work of *Adagies*.<sup>54</sup>

But that was not the Prophecy here spoken of. I say then, That there were in the Hands of many among the ancient People of God, little *Scrolls*, wherein were convey'd unto Posterity, the Knowledge of Weighty Matters, from their Ancestors. And I make no quæstion that several Books in the Historical Part of the Bible, as *Genesis*, and *Job* in particular were Extracts from those Memoirs Directed and Adjusted by the Inspirations of the Almighty. Thus doubtless there were larger Histories of *Joseph*, and of *Moses* as well as *Enoch* than those in the *Pentateuch* & perhaps out of those the *Pentateuch* was collected. In those there was the Mention of *Josephs* Fetters; & in those the Oppositions of *Jannes* and *Jambres* unto *Moses*; and the Words of *Moses* before the Mount.<sup>55</sup> Now many of those famous Traditions, from whence diverse Penmen of the *New* Testament have transcribed several Passages, *Paul* several, *Peter* several, and *Jude* several which were omitted by the Penmen of the Old. Either they are wholly lost except *such* of them as the Inspired Writers did so afterward see fitt for the *Canon*; or else they are confounded with various & fabulous Additions where-with perhaps many Authors one after another in transcribing did Interpolate them. This was the Fate of *Enochs* Prophecy; whereof the Apostle here gives us the true Copy; but the primitive Christians had it among them swelled into a small Book that went under the Name of Ἀποκάλυψις Ἐνώχ.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>53</sup> More literally: "Of him who will die and then it comes to pass."

<sup>54</sup> From Heidegger, Mather refers to Samuel Bochart, *Geographia sacra*, pars 1, lib. 2, cap. 13, pp. 100–01. Bochart cites the famous collection of Greek and Latin proverbs compiled by Erasmus of Rotterdam between 1503 and 1533, *Adagia*, Chil. 2, Cent. 8, Prov. 19, in *Opera Omnia* (2:643).

<sup>55</sup> Beginning with "Thus doubtless ..." and ending with "before the Mount," this is a marginal insertion. It comes from the work of the dissenting cleric, lecturer of Christ Church, and rector of Blackfriars, William Jenkyn (1612–1685), *An Exposition Upon the Epistle of Jude: Delivered in Christ-Church* ([1653] 1839), p. 301.

<sup>56</sup> Ἀποκάλυψις Ἐνώχ [apokalypsis enoch] "apocalypse of Enoch." Reference is made to the Ethiopic Book of Enoch, an ancient Jewish apocalyptic writing that was ascribed by tradition to Enoch, the great-grandfather of Noah. Modern scholarship assumes that the oldest sections date back to the third century BC. Several copies of the earlier sections of 1 Enoch were preserved among the Dead Sea Scrolls. The book is not part of the Jewish canon, nor of that of

You'll find that Book cited, by *Origen*, by *Irenæus*, by *Tertullian*,<sup>57</sup> and others; you'll have many Curiosities out of it, mentioned by *Scaliger* which I suppose, might bee bold Additaments made by these & those Transcribers.<sup>58</sup>

But then for the other Part of your Quæstion, why *Enoch* should here bee distinguished as, *the Seventh from Adam*; I answer, It may bee *partly*, to difference this *Enoch* from another of the Name; even from *Enoch* the Son of *Cain* & so the *Third from Adam*. The Lord would have it signified, of what pious Family, our *Prophet* was. But, it may bee *chiefly*, to intimate the *Enoch*-like things, which are to come to pass, at the Coming of our Lord. As *Death* which cutt off the six first Patriarchs, by no Means touch the *Seventh*, so in that *Seventh Age* of the World wherein a *Sabbatism remains for the People of God*, the People that survive the Conflagration, shall bee like *Enoch*; they shall *walk with God*, on the *New Earth*, whereon shall *dwell Righteousness*, and in Gods Time shall bee *Translated* into the *New Heaven* where our Lord Jesus Christ shall bee with His *New Jerusalem* of Raised Saints during the expected *Thousand Years*.<sup>59</sup>

**Q.** But for *Enoch the Seventh from Adam*, is there no more of Curiositie concerning him, to bee fitly produced on this Occasion? v. 14.

**A.** Abundance more. But I will in this place limit my Reflections, only take notice of one or two *Remarkables*.

*Enoch* was the *Seventh* from the Creation. And hee was the first Subject on whom wee find a *Miracle* wrought, even his *Escaping of Death*; how be it wee read not of any *Miracle* wrought *by* this Renowned Man.

I might now burnish this Observation by adding, That *Moses*, was the *Seventh* from *Abraham*, in whom wee had the next *Miracle*, of *Isaac* born from a

---

most Christian churches. Some of the authors of the New Testament were familiar with at least parts of the Book of Enoch, and some might have considered it authoritative scripture (HCBD). Jude 1:14–15 cites section 1 of Enoch (1:9) and is attributed there to “Enoch the Seventh from Adam” (1 En. 60:8), who prophesies, “Behold, the Lord cometh with ten thousands of his saints, To execute judgment upon all, and to convict all that are ungodly among them of all their ungodly deeds which they have ungodly committed, and of all their hard speeches which ungodly sinners have spoken against him.” In line with a long Christian tradition, Mather and his interlocutors read this prophecy as referring to the Second Coming of Christ.

57 See Irenæus in *Adversus haereses*, lib. 4, cap. 16 [PG 7. 1016; SC 100] and Origen in *Contra Celsum*, lib. 5, cap. 52–55 [PG 11. 1261–70; SC 147] and, e.g., in *Commentaria in Evangelium Ioannis*, on John 6:25 [PG 14. 273–74; SC 157]. Tertullian, as the first Western theologian writing about the letter of Jude, mentions the Book of Enoch, rejecting the biblical Enoch as its authentic author in *De cultu feminarum*, lib. 1, cap. 3 [PL 1. 1307–08; CSEL 70; CCSL 1].

58 Mather mentions the work of the Dutch Renaissance scholar Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540–1609), *Thesaurus temporum, Eusebii Pamphili Caesareae Palaestinae episcopi* ([1606] 1658), pp. 404–06.

59 Cf. Mather, *Trip paradisus*, p. 282, and his commentary on Isa. 65:20 (BA 5:849–51). Mather probably draws this last section from the work of the English Independent theologian and Hebraist, Nathanael Homes (1599–1678), *Apokalypsis Anastaseos: The Resurrection revealed* (1653), bk. 3, sec. 3, pp. 125–26.

Dead Womb. And *Moses* was the first Man which wrought *Miracles*; tho' wee read of no Dead Raised by this *Thaumaturgus*.

The *Seventh*, and the *Last*, of those who wrought *Miracles* under the Old Testament was *Elisha*, who *Raised the Dead*, but was not himself *Raised from the Dead*.

But the *Seventh* of those that were miraculously *Raised from the Dead*, since the Beginning of the World, was the Lord Jesus Christ, who wrought more *Miracles* than all that went before, & Raised the *Dead*, yea, Himself when *Dead*. And Hee was the *Seventy Seventh* in His Genealogy.

Shrewd Intimations, that in the *Sabbath* of the World, at the Kingdome of our Lord Jesus Christ, there will bee a most glorious Return of *Miracles*. *Miracles* are the *Powers of the World to come*.

As for *Enoch*, I subjoin this Remark: The {wicked} World would not aright consider his Translation to *Heaven*, after *Three hundred & sixty five Years* of [\*] Holy Walk, & so the Lord condemned them to ly as it were in *Hell*, just *Three hundred & sixty five* Dayes under the Water.

| <sup>60</sup>

[4r]

**Q.** How had they *Mens Persons in admiration because of Advantage*? v. 16.

**A.** To gratify their worldly and sensual Principles, they caressed & flattered, and join'd in with the Worst of Men.<sup>61</sup>

436.

**Q.** The *Mockers* of the *last Day*, to Rise in our *last Dayes* [foretold, 2. Pet. 3.3] *How* do they show themselves to bee so? v. 18.

**A.** They *walk after their own ungodly Lusts*; thats *Mockage* enough: They that are acted in their *Lives*, by their *Lusts*, are in the Interpretation of God, *Mockers* at the Doctrine of the *Day of Judgment*. They are ἐμπαίικται, or, such as make *Childrens Play* of it; for the simple Verb, παίζειν, signifies properly, to play ὡς παῖς.<sup>62</sup>

437.

**Q.** What is the special Character intended in that Brand upon ungodly Men, *separating themselves*? v. 19.

**A.** I do not oppose the vulgar Acceptation of this Passage; as intimating, a *Schismatical Dispositon*, to break the Communion or Affection among the People of God, upon Insufficient Pretences.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>60</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>61</sup> Mather cites Pyle, *A Paraphrase* (2:439).

<sup>62</sup> From ἐμπαίικτης [empaiktēs] “mocker”; see 2 Pet. 3:3; παίζω [paizo] “play like a child”; ὡς παῖς [hos pais] “like a child.” From Jenkyn, *An Exposition Upon the Epistle of Jude*, p. 229.

<sup>63</sup> For this entry, Mather draws on Jenkyn, *An Exposition Upon the Epistle of Jude*, p. 337.



But what think you of this Interpretation? The Greek Word here is, Αποδιορίζοντες.<sup>64</sup> Now διορίζω signifies *To sett bounds unto a thing*, and the Præposition ἀπό added unto it, may signify, the *Taking away* of those *Bounds*.<sup>65</sup> Well then, I'll suppose these Persons, to bee such as would *make themselves Boundless*; a Generation of *Libertines*, that would not bee kept within any *Bounds* of Restraints by Scripture, Government, or Discipline. And because you know, that you have the Greek *Term of Art*, for a *Definition*, in this Word, if you should further say *They are Persons Impatient of a Definition*; you would therein have but a further Character of the *Seducers*, which here are stigmatized.

4574.<sup>66</sup>

Well, but if we keep to the term, of, *separating themselves*?

The *Jewish Zealots* did so, from all that would not be circumcised. [Act. 11.3. Gal. 2.12.]

Of the *Nicolaitans* indeed, we read no such thing. And yett even those also distinguished themselves from others,<sup>67</sup> as being more perfect: and as φῦσει πνευματικοί, *By nature spiritual*;<sup>68</sup> treating other Christians, as being only ψυχικοί *Animal Men*.<sup>69</sup> This might provoke the Apostle, to return the Character upon them.

[4v]

460

**Q.** The Apostle directs, *Build yourselves*, and, *Keep yourselves*; but between both, hee putts in this Direction, *Pray by the Holy Ghost*. Why so? v. 20, 21.

**A.** To Intimate, that altho' the active Concurrence of our Endeavours, in this Matter bee called for, [Phil. 2. 12, 13.] yett, our Dependence upon the Assistance of the *Holy Spirit* must bee acknowledged. Yea, wee are not only unable to *Build* and *Keep* ourselves, without the Assistance of Heaven, but wee are also unable so much as to *Ask* the Assistance of Heaven except wee are Assisted by the *Holy Spirit* of God, in the doing of it. Moreover tis not unprobable that the Apostle writing of these things; in this Order might have in his Eye, the Words

<sup>64</sup> The word οἱ ἀποδιορίζοντες [hoi apodiorizontes] literally translates “those who want to distinguish themselves or want to draw a boundary.”

<sup>65</sup> From διορίζω [diorizo] “draw a boundary through, distinguish”; ἀπό [apo] “from, away from.”

<sup>66</sup> Mather here deleted the “Q.” and “A.” obviously having intended this passage as a separate entry.

<sup>67</sup> Mather draws on Whitby, *A Paraphrase* (2:246), who refers to Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses*, lib. 1, cap. 6 [PG 7. 505; SC 264].

<sup>68</sup> From φύσις [physis] “origin, the natural form of a person or a thing”; πνευματικός [pneumatikos] “of spirit.”

<sup>69</sup> From ψυχικός [psychikos], which can signify both “of the soul or life” and “of the animal life.” Following his sources, Mather invokes this second, negative meaning.

of the Psalmist in Psal. 127.1. *Except the Lord BUILD the House, they labour in vain, that Build it. Except the Lord KEEP the City, the Watchman waketh but in vain.*<sup>70</sup>

**Q.** *Others save with Fear, pulling them out of the Fire; Hating even the Garment spotted by the Flesh.* What is the Meaning of this Advice? v. 23.

**A.** The former Part of the Advice, directs a *Vehemency*, in our Admonitions to our sinful Neighbors. It is an Allusion to that in Gen. 19.16. The Angels hurrying *Lot* out of the *Fire*, falling upon *Sodom*. It notes, that ungodly People, are in utmost Hazard of perishing by *Fire*. And that wee should by Setting that utmost Hazard before them, endeavour to Terrify them into better Courses.

The latter Part of the Advice, directs a *Vigilancy* in our Admonitions. It is an Allusion to that in Lev. 15.17. The *Garments* of the *Unclean* were *so* too. It notes, that when wee Deal with ungodly People, wee must beware lest they Defile and Infect us. Wee must *Avoid* in ourselves the Sins which wee *Reprove* in others; yea, wee must Avoid, all that Borders, the very *Garments*, on them.<sup>71</sup>

This Matter may be pursued with a further Thought?<sup>72</sup>

The *leprous Garment* was to be *Burnt*, if the *Leprosy* of it were Incureable. Unto this may *Jude* here allude. q. d. save them out of the *Fire*, with Setting before them, the *Fear* of their being thrown into the *Fire*, if they continue in their Uncleaness.<sup>73</sup>

<sup>70</sup> From Jenkyn, *An Exposition Upon the Epistle of Jude*, p. 340.

<sup>71</sup> From Jenkyn, *An Exposition Upon the Epistle of Jude*, pp. 353–55.

<sup>72</sup> Mather here deleted the “Q.,” “A.,” and verse number, obviously having intended this passage as a separate entry. It also appears in a different ink.

<sup>73</sup> Perhaps Mather draws loosely from John Trapp’s commentary on Lev. 13:47 in *A clavis to the Bible. Or A new comment upon the Pentateuch: or five books of Moses* (1649), pp. 138–39.

**Q.** A Curiosity relating to the Præservation of The Book of the REVELATION?

**A.** I will give it you, in the Words of Dr. *Arrowsmith*:

“*Solomons* philosophical Treatises, which the World had no Spleen against, but a Liking of, are long since lost; whereas his canonical Writings are extant still. When the Earth clave asunder, to swallow up *Korah* and his Company, there are that think, some of *his Children* were taken up, by the Hand of God into the Air, till the Earth closed again; & then sett them down without having received any Harm. How often ha’s Persecution opened her Mouth from Age to Age, and swallowed up Millions both of Men & Books! Yett the Bible ha’s been continued still by the over-ruling Hand of Heaven. Yea, which makes it more Remarkable, God hath so befooled the Divel herein, as to præserve his own Book many times, by the Hands of His, and Its Enemies. It is too well known, how small Friends the Jews are, and have heretofore been, to the Truth contained in the Old Testament; yett of them did the Lord make use to keep it, and they proved careful Feoffee’s in Trust, for making over the Assurances of Life to us Gentiles.

Concerning one Book of the New Testament; viz. The *Apocalypse*: it is very observable; That when the Authority thereof was quæstioned of old, the Church of ROME struck in with her Testimony and was a special Means to have it kept in the Number of *canonical Books*: not without a special Providence. GOD, who made *Pharaohs* Daughter, a second Mother to *Moses*, whom He had appointed to bring Destruction afterwards upon her Fathers House & Kingdome; did then make the *Romish Church* a drie Nurse, to præserve this Book (whose Meaning she knew not) that it might bring Desolation upon herself and her Children afterwards.”<sup>1</sup>

4593.

**Q.** Is there no Observation, that may be as a *Key* to the whole Book of *Revelation*?

**A.** Monsr. *Jurieu* gives us this as the *Key* of the *Revelation*. That this whole Book, is but a *Paraphrase*, on what we have in the *Seventh* Chapter of *Daniel*, about the *Fourth Beast* in the Visions of that admirable Prophet; that is to say, The *Roman Empire*. No Notice is taken of Events that happen without the Bounds of the *Roman Empire*; because God Reveals not Events, but with respect unto His *Church*, which is the Object of His peculiar Love. Now the *Church* was

1 From John Arrowsmith, *Armilla Catechetica*, pp. 106–08.

to be enclosed within, or very near within, the Bounds of the *Roman Empire*. The Church had no Occasion to know what should befall the *Persians*, or the *Tartars*, the *Mogul*, or *China*. The Empire of the *Saracens* and of the *Turks*, would not have come in, but with reference to the *Fourth Monarchy*.<sup>2</sup>

4594.

**Q.** May not the Distinction of the *Fourth Monarchy*, into two Remarkable Periods, be a further *Key* to the *Revelation*?<sup>3</sup>

**A.** Doubtless. The *Fourth Monarchy*, which is without Comparison the Greatest, and in the Prophecies, the most Distinguished; it is Divided into Two Great Periods.

The first Period is, from the Birth of *Rome*, *Ab Urbe condita*.<sup>4</sup> This was the grand *Epocha* of the *Romans*, until the Partition of the *Roman Empire*, into *Ten Kingdoms*; which was after the Death of *Valentinian* | the Third; about the Year, 455. [1v]

The second Period, is, from the Division of the Empire among *Ten Kings*, and the Re-Union of those Kings under one sole *Head*, that calls himself, *Universal Bishop*, to the Coming of the *Fifth Monarchy*, which is that of our Lord JESUS CHRIST.

It is Remarkable, That these Two Periods, are very near of the same Length; A little more than *Twelve Hundred Years*. Our Lord JESUS CHRIST came into the World, about the Year, *Ab Urbe condita*, 754, or 752, as *Dionysius Exiguus* pretends. The Empire was Divided into *Ten Kingdoms*, about A.D. 455. Or, about, the Year, *Ab Urbe condita*, 1209, or 1207. Since that time, under the *Roman* and *Gothish* Kings, the Counting *Ab Urbe condita* was continued until the Time of *Dionysius* the Lesser, a *Roman* Abbot, a *Scythian* by Nation, who died in the Year 540, according to *Baronius*, and who made his Paschal Cycle, in the Year 527.<sup>5</sup> 'Tis about the Year 530, that the *Christian Æra* began to be in Use. Men left off counting, *Ab Urbe condita*, when they had used that *Epocha*, about 1280 Years. And then, from the time when the Empire was broken into

2 Drawn from the work of the Huguenot scholar and minister to the French refugee church in Rotterdam, Pierre Jurieu (1637–1713), *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies, or, The Approaching Deliverance of the Church* (1687), ch. 3, “The Key of the Revelation,” pp. 28–29. For more on Jurieu, see the Introduction. Compare also *Tripuradisi*, p. 333.

3 From Jurieu, *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies*, pp. 30–31.

4 “From the founding of the city [of Rome].”

5 Via Jurieu, Mather refers here to the famous work of the Italian church historian Cesare Baronio (1538–1607), *Annales ecclesiastici a Christo nato ad annum 1198* ([orig. 12 vols., 1588–1593] 38 vols., 1738–1759 ed.), vol. 9, pp. 602–15 [in the 1738 ed.]. Baronius refers to Dionysius Exiguus (c. 470–540 CE), a Scythian-born monk who, after his move to Rome, worked as a translator of Greek works into Latin and as a compiler of early ecclesiastical canons. He is best known as the inventor of the Anno Domini era, which he used to identify the different Easters in his Easter table. Omitting the years of the Diocletian persecutions from his chronology, he placed his own time in the year 525 since the incarnation of Christ.

Ten Kingdomes, to the Time of the End, there must also be somewhat above 1200 Years.

Now *John* wrote the *Revelation*, about the Year 850 *Ab Urbe condita*. Above Two Thirds of the *first Period* of the *Fourth Monarchy*, was past and gone. But he had before him, the whole entire *second Period* of 1260 Years. Wherefore, tis not strange, that he enlarges much more on the Later Part, than on the Former. We find not properly more than Two Chapters, the Sixth, & the Eighth, which respect the First Period.

In the mean time,<sup>6</sup> ecclesiastical History ha's reported it unto us, That a renowned Martyr at the Stake, seeing the Book of THE REVELATION thrown, by his no less Profane than Bloody Persecutors, to be burnt in the same Fire with himself, he cried out, *O Beata Apocalypsis; quàm benè tecum agitur, qui tecum comburor!*<sup>7</sup> Said he, *How blessed am I in this Fire, while I have thee to bear me Company!*<sup>8</sup> Tis a Comfort and an Honour unto the Church of God, that while it ha's been such a *Burning Bush*, it ha's had the Book of, THE REVELATION, with it.

The Emperor *Otto* III. ha's the Book of THE REVELATION, wrought in his Garment. Little are the Princes of *Europe* aware, how much the Accomplishments of this Book, are Inwrought into their Administrations.

I conclude with the Words of *Jerom*, to his *Paulina*. *Apocalypsis Johannis, tot habet Sacramenta, quot Verba. Parum dixi. In singulis Verbis multiplices latent Intelligentiæ et pro merito Voluminis laus omnis inferior est.*<sup>9</sup>

<sup>6</sup> The next three paragraphs were all written with different pens and inks, suggesting that they were added at different times.

<sup>7</sup> "Oh blessed apocalypse! How well it is with me that I am being burned with you!"

<sup>8</sup> From the work of the English Reformation author and initiator of the KJV, John Rainolds (1549–1607), *De Romanæ ecclesiæ idolatria* (1596), lib. 1, cap. 3/8, Mather cites the Latin translation of the final words of a man named Stile (burned during the reign of Henry VIII), whose story is also recounted in John Foxe's famous *Acts and Monuments*, ([1563], 1583), bk. 8, p. 1303. Mather used the same quotation in his *Wonders of the Invisible World*, p. 2.

<sup>9</sup> "The apocalypse of John has as many mysteries as words. But I have said little. All praise of it is inadequate; manifold meanings lie hid in its every word." Mather cites Jerome, *Epistolæ*, epist. 53, cap. 8 [PL 22. 548–49; CSEL 54]; transl. adapted from: *NPFii* (6:269). The letter is actually addressed to Paulinus, Bishop of Nola.

**Q.** Who was the Writer of the Book of the *Revelation*? v. 1.<sup>10</sup>

**A.** *Justin Martyr*, and *Irenæus*, and *Tertullian*, and, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and *Origen*, and *Cyprian*, & many others of the Ancients, declare themselves, to be sufficiently satisfied, That it was the APOSTLE JOHN.<sup>11</sup> The Reason, why some suspected, it might be another *John*, whom they distinguish by the Name of *Presbyter*, seems to be this. *This Book* was for a while, not made so publick, as the other Books of the *Holy Scriptures*; because the Prophecy plainly describes the City of *Rome*; & had it been published & every where divulged, it might have contributed unto the *Storms*, which the Persecutors, were on all Occasions then ready to raise against the Christians.

The Title of, *The Divine*, putt upon *John*, in the Title of this Book, was not by himself; but by some Fathers of the Church; who, as *Peganius* expresses it, justly esteemed this Title which the *Platonick* Philosophers had given to *Orpheus*, belong'd unto *John*, as much as to any Man in the World.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>10</sup> This entry is drawn from the work of the German Christian Hebraist and Kabbalist, Christian Knorr von Rosenroth (1631–1689), *A Genuine Explication of the Visions of the Book of Revelation* (1679), pp. 52–53. The German original *Erklärung über die Gesichter d. Offenbarung S. Johannis/Völl unterschiedl. neuer Christl. Meinungen* appeared in 1670 and, like the English translation, was published under the pseudonym A. B. Peganius. Peganius, aka von Rosenroth, is a frequent source throughout Mather's commentary on Revelation. For more on von Rosenroth, see the Introduction.

<sup>11</sup> The authorship of the Book of Revelation was debated as early as the second century. A majority of the early Church Fathers thought that the author, who identifies himself as "John," was identical with John the Apostle, to whom were also ascribed the eponymous gospel and letters of the NT. From Peganius, reference is made to Justin Martyr, *Dialogus cum Tryphone Judæo*, cap. 81, p. 4 [PG 6. 670; *Patristische Texte und Studien* 47]; Irenæus, *Adversus hæreses*, lib. 4, cap. 20, p. 11 [PG 7. 1039–41; SC 293/94]; Tertullian, *De præscriptione hæreticorum*, cap. 33 [PL 2. 45–46; CSEL 70]; Clement of Alexandria, *Quis Dives Salvetur?*, sec. 42 [PG 9. 647–48]; Origen, *Commentaria in Evangelium Joannis*, lib. 5, sec. 3 [PG 14. 189–90]. There seems to be no explicit discussion of Johannine authorship in Cyprian's works. But Cyprian likely ascribed the book to John the Apostle, and, considering the number of citations from Revelation, there can be little doubt that he considered the text authoritative. Other Fathers, however, rejected this identification, including Dionysius of Alexandria, Cyril of Jerusalem, Gregory of Nazianzus, and John Chrysostom. The debates over the book's apostolic authorship were one important reason why Revelation's inclusion in the canon was so controversial. In the third century, Bishop Dionysius of Alexandria rejected the apostolic authorship, but accepted the book's canonicity. Dionysius believed that the author was another man also named John: John the Presbyter, teacher of Papias, Bishop of Hieropolis. Eusebius of Caesarea was ambivalent about the question but later agreed with Dionysius. See Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, 3.25 and 39; and 7.25 [PG 20. 267–70; 295–98; 695–704; SC 31].

<sup>12</sup> Peganius, *A Genuine Explication*, p. 53.

**Q.** *Blessed are they that keepeth the things written in this Prophecy.* Have you mett with any Criticism, on the, *Keeping*, here Spoken of? v. 3.

**A.** The Incomparable Mr. *Boyl*, in a little Book of his, quoting this Passage, does choose rather to read it, *Observe*, or, *Watch*, or *Mind*, than, *Keep*; upon a Criticism suggested unto him, hee saies, by an eminent Mathematician, who took Notice, that the Word *τηρεῖν*, is used by the Greeks, as a *Term of Art*, expressing the Astronomical Observation of *Eclipses*, Planetary Conjunctions; Oppositions, & other Cælestial *Phænomena*.<sup>13</sup>

In the mean time, lett not the Difficulty of the Apocalyphtical Studies discourage us. Austin ha's well told us; *Verbi Dei Altitudo exercet Studium, non denegat Intellectum*.<sup>14</sup>

**Q.** *Him which is, and which was, and which is to come.* Why is the Term ο *ερχομενος* used? v. 4.<sup>15</sup>

**A.** To use *ερχομενος* for *εσομενος*, is very agreeable to the Hebrew Style; wherein sometimes /*עתיד*/ is used alone; *Futurum*: but oftener /*עָתִיד לְבוֹא*/ *Futurum Venire*,<sup>16</sup> especially, as *Elias Tisbites* tells us, in the End of a Sentence.<sup>17</sup>

Thus, the Name /*אֵהְיָה*/ is in *Schemoth rabba*, thus explained,

אני שהייתי ואני חוא עכשיו ואני הוא לעתיד לבוא

*Ego fui, et ego sum nunc, et ego sum venturus*.<sup>18</sup>

13 Lexically, the word *τηρέω* [tereo] can mean an act of observing natural phenomena, and Aristotle indeed uses it to talk about the observation of stars (“*τοὺς ἀστέρας*,” [tous asteras]) in *On the Heavens*, bk. 2, LCL 338, p. 204). However, in the context of this biblical verse, such a translation seems rather unlikely. Mather gets this explanation from the marginalia in Robert Boyle, *The Excellency of Theology compar'd with Natural Philosophy* (1674), p. 59. Boyle (1627–1691), the Anglo-Irish natural philosopher and Fellow of the Royal Society, is known today for his work in chemistry, but he was also a devout Anglican and produced many theological works. Mather greatly admired Boyle and refers to him across the “Biblia” and in many other writings.

14 “The depth of God’s word excites continuous study; it does not deny the intellect.” Mather cites Augustine, *Sermones de Scripturis*, sermo 156, cap. 1 [PL 38. 849].

15 Mather draws this entry from the Huguenot exegete in Dutch exile, Antonius Grellothus (Anton Grelot; fl. 1670), *Prodromus In D. Joannis Apocalypsin: In quo hactenus minus bene intellectæ explicantur, dum Opus integrum paratur* (1675), p. 6. Grellothus is Mather’s main source for rabbinic interpretations throughout the commentary on Revelation.

16 Via Grellothus, Mather takes note of the fact that *ὁ ἐρχόμενος* [ho erchomenos], “who is to come,” is a participle-present form, not a participle-future of “be” (*ἐσόμενος* [esomenos], “who will be coming”). He interprets this usage as a Hebraism (see below). The word *עָתִיד* [‘atid] is the term for future in Hebrew grammar. The Latin *futurum* can either mean “the future” or “will be coming.” The phrase *עָתִיד לְבוֹא* [‘atid lavo] means the “future (to come).”

17 See Math. 17:11–12.

18 Reference is made to the divine name in Exod. 3:14 *אֵהְיָה אֲשֶׁר אֵהְיָה* [‘ehyeh ‘asher ‘ehyeh]: “I AM WHO I AM.” The LXX translates it with “ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ὢν” [ego eimi ho on] (participle-present of “be”). However, the imperfect aspect of the Biblical Hebrew can indicate that an action in the present is not complete, or that an action will occur in the future. Thus the Midrash Rabbah on 2. Moses (*Schemot Rabbah*), at Exod. 3:14 cited by Mather expands: *אֲנִי לְבוֹא עָתִיד* *וְאֵהְיָה* *וְאֵנִי חוּא עַכְשָׁיו* *וְאֵנִי הוּא* [‘ani šehayiti wa’ani hu [sic] ‘akhšav wa’ani hu le’atid lavo] (Following his source, Mather once misspells the word “הוּא”). See the Soncino ed.

Q. On that, *He has washed away our Sins in His own Blood.* v. 5.

A. In *Midrash Shir Hashirim*, on that, Cant. I. 5. *I am black but comely*, the Synagogue of *Israel* is introduced speaking thus; *Nigra fui in Ægypto*; Ezek. XX. 10. *Sed Decora fui in Ægypto, Sanguine Paschatis*.<sup>19</sup> Now in the Blood of our Saviour, we have our *Passeover*.

Q. *He hath made us Kings and Priests?* v. 6.

A. *Kings.*] Maimon in *Mischnas Sanhedrin*, fol. 119. col. 1. reckoning up the Opinions of their Masters, about the future *Blessedness*, the Second that he mentions is this; The Good expected in the Days of the *Messiah* is, *Illo Tempore fore בני אדם כלם מלאכים* *Filios Hominum omnes Angelos*.<sup>20</sup> Dr Pocock reads it rather, *מלכים/ Reges*.<sup>21</sup>

*Priests.*] Compare, Exod. 19.6. *Yee shall be unto me a Kingdome of Priests.* Onkelos the Paraphrast, renders it, as here, *Kings and Priests*.

There is a Promise concerning all the Faithful, at this Time; Isa. 61.6. *Yee shall be Named, The Priests of the Lord*.<sup>22</sup>

Q. When it is said, *every Eye shall see Him*, is there not something more than a meer corporal *Sight* intended? v. 7.

A. If you will consult *Kimchi* and others, you will find, That in the Hebrew Language, from whence the Expression here is taken; *Respicere ad aliquem*, is, *In aliquo Spem collocare*. When we expect *Help* from one, we *Look* to Him.<sup>23</sup>

*Midrash Rabbah, Exodus*, p. 64. Grellotus's Latin paraphrase translates: "I was, and I am now, and I am the one who will be coming." Thus, Grellotus and Mather contend a Hebraism (בוא [bo]) of the phrase of ἐρχόμενος [erchomenos].

19 "I was black in Egypt"; "But I was comely in Egypt by the blood of the Pesach." From Grellotus, *Prodromus*, p. 7, reference is made to the *Midrash Rabbah* on the Song of Songs (*Schir Ha-Schirim*) at Cant. 1.5.1. See *Midrash Rabbah, Esther, Song of Songs*, pp. 51–52.

20 "That in this time all the sons of men will be angels." From Grellotus, *Prodromus*, p. 7, a reference to Maimonides's early commentary on the Mishnah, Tractate *Sanhedrin*, ch. 10 (Perek Helk), in which he summarizes five different rabbinic opinions about recompense in the future age. Ironically, Maimonides rejects this literal-corporeal interpretation of the future bliss awaiting the faithful. See the ed. by Fred Rosner, *Moses Maimonides' Treatises on Resurrection* (1997), pp. 25–28.

21 The word מֶלֶךְ [melekh] signifies "king." The Latin is "kings." From Grellotus, a reference to the annotated Latin edition of Maimonides's *Porta Mosis* (1655) by Edward Pococke, p. 135.

22 From Grellotus, a reference to the Targum Onkelos at Ex. 19:6. For a modern ed., see Etheridge, ed., *The Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan Ben Uzziel on the Pentateuch, with the fragments of the Jerusalem Targum* (1968), vol. 1, p. 388.

23 "To look to another"; "to place hope in another." From Grellotus, *Prodromus*, p. 8, a reference to the glosses of David Kimchi on Isa. 17 and 31. Radak's annotations, together with those of Rashi, Ralbag, Ibn Ezra, and others, were incorporated into the first print editions of the *Mikraot Gedolot* ("Great Scriptures") or "Rabbinic Bible." First published in 1524–1525 by the Christian publisher Daniel Bomberg in Venice, the *Mikraot Gedolot* was edited by the masoretic scholar Yaakov ben Hayyim. It contained the text of the Tanakh according to the



**Q.** Some Remark upon that Passage of our Lord, *I am Alpha and Omega*? v. 8.

**A.** The Cabalists among the Jewes of those Times, did use to describe the great GOD after that Manner. In their Book *Zohar*, & others of their ancient Books, you'll find א ב mystically standing for the Name of GOD. This *Ath*, is the first Letter, & the last Letter, of the *Hebrew Alphabet*. This agrees, with the A and Ω of the Greek; which the Arabian Interpreter at this Place translates thus; *I am the First Letter & the Last*. It means, *The Beginning & the End* of all things.<sup>24</sup>

[▽3r–3v] [▽Insert from 3r–3v]<sup>25</sup>

**Q.** Who is it, that speaks these Words; *I am Alpha and Omega, the Beginning and the Ending, saith the Lord, which is, & which was, & which is to come; the Almighty*? v. 8.

**A.** These Words, heard by *John*, when thus *caught up to Paradise*, be sure, are *Words which it is not lawful for a (meer) Man to utter*. But surely, 'Tis our Blessed JESUS that *utters* them; even the JESUS whose awful Appearance unto the

---

masorah, masoretic notes on the text, Targumim, and canonized rabbinic commentaries (*JE*). The Hebrew text of the Old Testament in the *Biblia Rabbinica* served as the basis (*Textus receptus*) for the translation of the Old Testament of the King James Version (KJV 1611). See the modern ed. *Mikraoth Gedoloth, Isaiah*, (1:146 and 2:256).

24 From Grellotus, *Prodromus*, pp. 8–9, a reference to the *Book of Zohar*, probably from the “Essay on Letters” in the Preface. See the ed. by Michael Berg, vol. 1, pp. 19–20, 27–28. Similarly, Grotius in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (6:4712). The *Sefer ha-Zohar* (“Book of Splendor”) is the most important text of the medieval Kabbalah, an esoteric movement that first emerged within twelfth-century Judaism and subsequently developed into numerous, very different schools and strands, including Christian appropriations. Following the groundbreaking studies of Gershom Scholem, modern critical scholarship has largely agreed that the main body of the *Zohar* was written in what is an eccentric form of Aramaic sometime during the late thirteenth century by Rabbi Moses de León (Moses ben Shem-Tov, c. 1250–1305), leader of an early kabbalistic circle in northern Spain. However, orthodox believers still affirm the attribution of authorship that the text itself makes, which presents itself as the narrative of the early second-century sage Rabbi Simeon ben Yohai (Shimon bar Yochai), who is said to have hidden in a cave for thirteen years before being inspired by the prophet Elijah to produce the *Zohar*. Over time, the *Zohar* became something of a library of different texts, as tracts were added and insertions made. From different manuscripts in circulation, the body of the *Zohar* was first printed in Cremona in 1559 (as a one-volume edition), and in Mantua in 1558–1560 (as a three-volume edition). Volume and page numbers of the Mantua edition still serve as reference points for citations today.

In their use of the *Book of Zohar*, Grellotus and Mather, as well as von Rosenroth, exhibit the typical traits of early modern Christian Kabbalah, that is, a highly selective and free-wheeling appropriation of the *Zohar*, whose teachings are integrated with Christian theology, philosophy, science, and magic. The beginnings of the Christian Kabbalah lie in the Florentine academy of the Renaissance scholar, Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499) and his disciple, Count Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463–1494), who used the *Zohar*, alongside the *Corpus hermeticum* (“Hermetic writings”) and Neoplatonic works, to demonstrate what they regarded as the eternal truths of Christianity. Another main conduit of kabbalistic ideas was the German humanist and Hebraist, Johannes Reuchlin (1455–1522), whose *De arte cabalistica* (1517) became a textbook of Christian Kabbalists for two centuries. See Dan, *Kabbalah*, pp. 63–71.

25 See Appendix B.

Judgment of the World, is described in the Words immediately præceding. To strike us with the greater Awe of His *Coming with Clouds*, He Himself steps in, with this Description of what an one they have to look for.

GOD the FATHER, who was never *Seen*, is not once *Heard* speaking in all the *Apocalyptic* Visions. And these Incommunicable Attributes of the Infinite GOD, [and such, as in the Fourth Verse are ascribed unto GOD the FATHER] are Immediately & Incontestibly ascribed unto our Blessed JESUS. He who says, *I am Alpha and Omega, the First & the Last*, is the very same that says, *I was Dead, & behold, I am Alive forevermore*.

Now, He that says and claims these Things, is one who also adds, *I am the Almighty*. Certainly *The Eternal*, may challenge | the Glory of being, the [3v] *Almighty*.

Behold, Christians, another very Plain Passage of the Sacred Scriptures, asserting your SAVIOUR, to be no less than the *Most High GOD*. HIS own glorious Mouth requires, in express Terms, to own Him, as, The ALMIGHTY.<sup>26</sup> [△Insert ends] [△]

**Q.** Some Remarks upon *Patmos*? v. 9.

**A.** M. *Tournefort* in his Voyage to the Levant, saies, “The Isle of *Patmos*, is one of the basest Rocks in all the *Archipelago*. It is bleak, uncovered, without Wood, & very barren.

It is but eighteen Miles in Compass.

St. *John* was banished thither, in the Persecution of *Domitian*; which began *Anno*. 95. The next Year, *Domitian* was killed; The Senate having annulled, what he had done; *Nerva* recalled those that were banished. His Exile lasted but eighteen Months.”<sup>27</sup>

[3r–3v inserted into their designated place]

| <sup>28</sup>

[4r]

**Q.** *Patmos*, where? v. 9.

**A.** In the *Archi-pelago*, about forty Miles from the Continent of *Asia*, towards *Ephesus*, in the Sea next unto the Churches which he wrote unto.

It ha’s been observed, That as *Ezekiel* and *Daniel* had their Visions when they were in Captivity, so *John* must receive this Prophecy, in a Place of Exile.

<sup>26</sup> Similarly, Samuel Mather, *A Discourse*, pp. 26–27 and Calamy, *Thirteen Sermons concerning the Doctrine of the Trinity*, serm. 2, p. 41.

<sup>27</sup> Mather draws from Joseph Pitton de Tournefort (1656–1708), *A Voyage into the Levant* ([1718] 1741), vol. 2, pp. 123–24, 126. Tournefort was a French botanist, and this particular publication (published posthumously) chronicles his journeys through Greece and the present-day Eurasian region of Georgia in pursuit of his botanical interests. It was first published as *Relation d’un Voyage du Levant* (1717).

<sup>28</sup> See Appendix B.

Restraint, Recess, Retirement from a wicked World, afford the most likely Dispositions, & Opportunities, for Divine Communications.<sup>29</sup>

**Q.** The Apostle saies, *I was in the Spirit*. What are the Circumstances of one under such a Dispensation? v. 10.

**A.** *Grelot*, in his *Prodromus* on the *Apocalypse*, (whom I may often consult; for his *Jewish* Curiosities,) observes, That *Kimchi*, in his Præface to his Exposition of the *Psalms*, expresses himself, as if he were even describing our Apostle, in his present Circumstances.

*Si vigilanti alicui obtigerit Prophetia, facultates ejus sensibiles omnes cessant, et is ab omnibus Negotiis hujus Mundi abstrahitur, videturque aliquis in Visione prophetica secum loqui, eique hoc vel illud dicere. Aut apparent illi Species in Visione istâ; aut nulla quidem Species apparet, sed Vocem audit secum loquentem.*<sup>30</sup>

**Q.** What Remarkable, in the Time of our Saviours *Coming* to *John*? v. 10.

**A.** There is one, who very well conjectures, That the main Destruction of the Enemies of the Church, must be at and by and after the *Second Coming* of our Saviour. But then He also supposes, that this Passage, of *Johns* Receiving the Visions of our Saviour, on, *The Lords Day*, may have some Relation to that Saying of His; Joh. 21.23. *If I will that he tarry till I come*. – He does now accordingly *come*. And the *Revelation* being made on *The Lords Day*, intimates, that the grand Execution shall be in, *The Day of the Lord*.

**Q.** To what may allude that Expression, of, *Being in the Spirit on the Lords day*? v. 10.

**A.** It may bee an Allusion, to a Manner of Speaking among the *Hebrewes*, who say, That a Man, besides the *Soul* which hee is ordinarily endued with, has

<sup>29</sup> Mather here draws on *The Book of the Revelation Paraphrased; with Annotations on Each Chapter*, first published anonymously in 1693. By 1715, the work had gone through fifteen editions. Its author was subsequently identified as the Church of England clergyman, vicar of St. Sepulchre's in London (1683), and Canon of Winchester (1690), Edward Waple (1647–1712). Waple also served as dean and president of Sion's College, Oxford. He was buried in St. John's College, Oxford. *The Book of the Revelation* is a frequent source throughout Mather's annotations on this part of the Bible.

Waple refers to Iōsēph Geōrgarinēs, *A description of the present state of Samos, Nicaria, Patmos, and Mount Athos* (1678), p. 71. This account by the Greek bishop was translated by Henry Denton (1633?–1681) and constitutes his best-known and most widely regarded work.

<sup>30</sup> “If prophecy comes to someone who is awake, then all his sensory faculties are suspended and he is drawn away from all affairs of this world; and during a prophetic vision a man seems to talk with himself and seems to say this or that to himself. Either images appear to him in that vision; or no image [at all] appears, but he just hears a voice speaking to him.” From *Grelotus, Prodromus*, p. 10, Mather cites these reflections on prophecy from Radak found in the preface to his annotations on the *Psalms*, first published in 1487 and translated into Latin by Ambrosio Janvier in 1666 under the title *Commentarius Rabbi Davidis Kimchi in aliquot Psalmos Davidicos*.

another Spirit given to him on the Sabbath, which they style, *An excellent Soul*.  
נפש יתרי/

You have it mentioned, in *Menasseh ben Israels Reconciliations*; and in  
*Buxtorfs Synagoga Judaica*. c. 11.<sup>31</sup>

335

**Q.** If the *First Day of the Week* bee divinely acknowledged for, *The Lords Day*, it must bee acknowledged, as, *Holy to the Lord*: but how shall I bee sure, that it is our *First Day of the Week*, which was called, *The Lords Day*? v. 10.

**A.** Just the same Way, that you are sure, L and O and R with D, spells, LORD, or D and A and Y, spells DAY.<sup>32</sup> There are certain *præliminary Determinations*, which unquæstionable *Tradition* is to make, relating to the Points of Religion, Reveled in the written Word of God. And this is one of those Points, which unquæstionable *Tradition* is to Determine. That the *First Day of the Week*, is by Institution become, *The Lords Day*, this is an Article of Revelation; but that the *First Day of the Week* is meant, when wee read of, *The Lords Day*, wee have only a *Tradition* to assure us, but one as, unquæstionable, as that ἡμέρα κυριακή, signifies, *The Lords Day*.<sup>33</sup>

There is in the New Testament, a Place called, *Rome*, and there is at this Day, a Place in *Italy*, called, *Rome*. It ha's been so called all along, and wee know not of any other eminent City, so called; therefore, till something appear to the contrary, wee may presume the *Rome* in *Italy*, to bee the same *Rome* that is meant in the New Testament. Wee find in Scripture, there is an Island of the Mediterranean, called *Melita*, or *Malta*, where *Paul* suffered Shipwreck, not far from another Island called *Crete*. Now wee hear also, that there is in the *Mediterranean*, an *Island* at this Day called, *Malta*, & another Island not far from thence, called *Crete* or *Candy*. Wee may then take it for granted, until wee see something unto the contrary; that the Islands now so called, are the Islands intended in the Scripture.

31 Reference is made to the rabbinical concept of a Sabbath-soul, נפש יתרה [nefeš yeterah], “an extra or excessive soul” that pious Jews are given on the eve of Sabbath and that is taken away from them after Sabbath. The spelling with a Yud at the end is odd; it should be He. From an unknown source, a reference to Manasseh ben Israel, *Conciliador o de la conveniencia de los lugares* (1632–1651), vol. 2, quaestio 106, p. 221; in the two-volume English edition *The Conciliator of R. ben Israel* (1842), vol. 1, quaestio 110, p. 177. Reference is also made to Johannes Buxtorf's, *Synagoga Judaica: das ist Jüden Schul* (1603), cap. 11, pp. 361–62.

32 The following entry is derived from John Wallis, *A Defense of the Christian Sabbath* (1693), pt. 1, pp. 48–49. Wallis wrote this work in response to Thomas Bampfield's plea for a Saturday-Sabbath. See also the work of Benjamin Keach (1640–1704), *The Jewish Sabbath abrogated, or, The Saturday Sabbatarians confuted in two parts* (1700), pp. 244–45.

33 This is the only place in the NT where the term κυριακή ἡμέρα [kyriake hemera], “Lord's Day,” appears, which gradually replaced the Sabbath in Early Christianity (cf. 1 Cor. 16:2, Acts 20:7).

For the very same Reason, wee are to Beleeve, That the Day called by *John*, *The Lords Day*, was, the, *First Day of the* (Jewish) *Week*.

Inasmuch as, those very Writers, which could not be unacquainted with *Johns* Meaning and Manner of Speech, did still call this Day, by that very Name; as well as all succeeding Ages.

*Ignatius*, was *Johns* Contemporary, & His Disciple: *John* wrote his *Revelation*, in or near the A. C. 96. on *Patmos*, [after which, hee wrote his Gospel, upon his Return from his *Patmos*, to *Ephesus*:] and hee died in the Year 98 or 99, under *Trajan*. *Ignatius* dyed a Martyr under the very same Emperour; about the Year of our Lord, 107. Well; How long before his Death, *Ignatius* wrote his Epistle to the *Magnesians*, is not material; but in that Epistle, according to Dr. [4v] *Ushers* genuine Edition | <sup>34</sup> hee doth earnestly exhort them, that they would not *Judaize*, but live as *Christians*.<sup>35</sup> [*Si enim usque nunc secundum Judaismum vivimus, confitemur gratiam non recepisse*. And as to the Sabbath in particular, *Non amplius Sabbatizantes, sed Secundum DOMINICAM* (the LORDS DAY) *viventes, in quâ et Vita nostra orta est*.]<sup>36</sup> Thus, within Eight or Ten Years of *Johns* writing, *The Lords Day*, signify'd, the *First Day of the Week* on which our Lord *Rose again*, the Day, which hee would have then observed, in

<sup>34</sup> See Appendix A.

<sup>35</sup> Mather continues to draw on Wallis, who in this section references Bishop James Ussher, "A Letter to Dr. Twiss, Concerning the Sabbath, and Observations of the Lord's Day," in a tract entitled *Of the Sabbath*, in *The Whole Works of the Most Rev. James Ussher, D. D.*, vol. 12, p. 584. In this tract, James Ussher (1581–1656), archbishop of Armagh and a prolific scholar, drew on the Epistles of the early second-century martyr St. Ignatius of Antiochia. Prior to the seventeenth century, the Ignatian letters had only been known in a version (Greek and Latin) now known as the Long Recension, which had long been suspect of being a forgery or containing them. But in 1628, Ussher found two manuscripts in England with Latin translations of a different Greek manuscript tradition (now known as the Middle Recension) that he deemed genuine. Ussher attributed the Latin translation he discovered to the thirteenth-century English bishop of Lincoln, Robert Grosseteste, because Grosseteste's quotations of the letters in other writings matched the Latin in the manuscripts and because before this time Ignatius was only cited through other sources in medieval England. In 1644, Ussher published an edition of the Ignatian letters together with the Epistle of Polycarp as *Polycarpi et Ignatii Epistolae, una cum vetere vulgata interpretatione Latina*. It contained the text of the Long Recension collated from three manuscripts, plus that of the Middle Recension of the two rediscovered manuscripts. While some scholars continued to doubt the authenticity of the Ignatian letters, others accepted Ussher's "ancient version," even though it was not the Greek original. Part of the reason why Protestants quarreled over Ignatius's writings was also his ecclesiology, which emphasized one catholic church under the rule of diocesan bishops. In Mather's time, for instance, the Anglican John Pearson at Cambridge published *Vindiciae Epistolarum S. Ignatii* (1672), which defended the authenticity of Ignatius's letters against attacks by Jean Daillé (1594–1670), a French Huguenot minister who thought them spurious. See Madeline McMahon, "Making a Case for Bishops' Authority in the Second and Seventeenth Centuries" (online).

<sup>36</sup> "For if we have lived according to Judaism until now, we admit that we have not received God's gracious gift"; "no longer keeping the Sabbath but living according to the Lord's Day, on which also our life arose." Mather cites Ussher's edition of Ignatius of Antiochia, *Ad Magnesios* (8:1, 9:1); in *Polycarpi et Ignatii Epistolae*, p. 203; transl.: LCL 24, pp. 248–51.

Contradistinction to the Jewish Sabbath. Passages to this Purpose, in his Epistle, *Ad Trallianos*, I quote not; nor the further Testimonies of *Polycarp*, a Disciple of *John*, who collected and published these Epistles of *Ignatius*.<sup>37</sup> However, I chuse to wave this Quotation; because I am not satisfied that the *Epistles* which go under the Name of *Ignatius* are not Impostures. But I'll add, a Passage out of *Justin Martyr*, who was converted, about Thirty Years after the Death of *John*. His Words, in his second Apology are, *On that Day, commonly called, Sunday*, [τῇ τοῦ ἡλίου λεγομένη ἡμέρᾳ] *there is held a [συνέλευσις] Congregation, of all Inhabitants, whether of City, or Countrey; and there are publicly Read the [τὰ απομνημονεύματα] Memorials or Monuments of the Apostles, or the Writings of the Prophets*.<sup>38</sup>

And again, *The Day called, Sunday, wee do all in common make the Meeting Day; for that the First Day is it, on which God from Darkness and Matter, made the World, and our Saviour Jesus Christ on the same Day Rose from the Dead*. Behold then, the undoubted Meaning of, *The Lords Day*! Besides, *Clemens, Ireneus, Origen; Tertullian*, whole Councils, and all Church-History, have all along thus understood it.<sup>39</sup>

**Q.** Why, *The Lords Day*? v. 10.

**A.** All the World knowes; Because of our *Lords Resurrection* accomplished on this Day. Among the Jewes it was a Noted Thing; That *Notable Dayes* received their Denomination from *Notable Things* happening on them. Thus in the *Jewish Kalender*, you have, *Nicanors Day*.<sup>40</sup>

**Q.** Mentioning the Translation of the *Sabbath* unto the *First-Day of the Week*, I pray, what special Agreeableness can you see in this Day of the Christian Sabbath? v. 10.

**A.** Some have thought it much to bee observed, That the *Sabbath* Instituted in Paradise, was the *Seventh* in Order, after six *Working Dayes*; and was herein suited unto that State, wherein Man was more under the *Covenant of Works*, that promises a blessed Rest and Life, after perfect *Works of Righteousness* wrought by us. [Rom. 10.5.] But the *Christian Sabbath* is the *First Day* of the Week, before our six *Working Dayes*; and is therein suited unto the *New Covenant*, which promises Rest and Peace, to the Conscience of Beleevers before hee does the *Works of Righteousness*.

<sup>37</sup> The following sentence is a marginal insertion written in a different ink and thus likely added later.

<sup>38</sup> The passage from Justin Martyr cited by Mather (via Wallis) actually comes from *The First Apology in Defense of the Christians*, ch. 67 [PG 6. 429; SC 507]; transl. ANF (1:187): "And on the day called Sunday there is a meeting in one place of those who live in cities or the country, and the memoirs of the apostles or the writings of the prophets are read as long as time permits."

<sup>39</sup> From Wallis, *A Defense of the Christian Sabbath*, pp. 49–50.

<sup>40</sup> From Grelotus, *Prodromus*, p. 11.

God that would not have us *weary in Well-doing*, yett commands us on the *Sabbath*, to *cease from our own Works*; whereupon Calvin well notes, *Nonnè eo ipso pronunciat, omnia Opera nostra mala esse?*<sup>41</sup>

**Q.** Why is the *Lords Day*, so particularly mentioned, as the Season of the Vision here exhibited? v. 10.

**A.** A Nameless Writer, published in the Year 1694. *The Book of the Revelation paraphrased; with Annotations on each Chapter.*<sup>42</sup> In this Work, there are many valuable Things; which, I design thankfully to bring into these our Illustrations, as we go along.

He observes, That the *Day* is here punctually expressed (which also is exactly observed by *Ezekiel* and by *Daniel*, for the Benefit of the Church, which is to take Notice of *Times & Seasons*,) to shew, That these Visions commence from the *Resurrection* of our Saviour. To that End chiefly is the Mention of this Day proper to this Prophecy; on which He might very truly style Himself, *The First Begotten of the Dead; and He that was Dead, & is Alive*.

And from its being said, That the Apostle was *in the Spirit* on this Day, it may be conjectured, That as the very *Numerical Day* of our Saviours Rising, was now represented unto the Apostle, as the *Beginning of Time* allotted for the Actions of the whole ensuing Representations, so, the *Day of Pentecost*, on which our Saviour gave the Gifts of the Spirit, was joined in Repræsentation with it.

I will add another Conjecture. It may be to intimate, That when the grand Period whereto those Visions bring us does arrive, the Holy *Spirit* of God will visit the World, & marvellously take Possession of Mankind. *Joels* Prophecy shall be fully accomplished, yea, God will *dwell with men*, and even *in them* too.<sup>43</sup>

[5r] | <sup>44</sup>

**Q.** In what Sense is it said, *I am the First and the Last*? v. 11.

**A.** Compare Isa. 44.6. and, 48.12.

The Author of the Book, *De Fundamentis*, quoted by *Joseph de Voisin*, thus explains the Phrase; *Nihil est ex omnibus iis quæ sunt, quod nuncupari possit Primum et Ultimum, præter me.*<sup>45</sup>

<sup>41</sup> "Does he not make it known by these very words that all our works are worth nothing." Calvin, *De Libro Arbitrio Responsio Contra Pighium* (1534), in *Opera*, vol. 5: *Tractatus theologici minores*, col. 393.

<sup>42</sup> A reference to Waple, *The Book of the Revelation*, p. 11. On Waple, see the annotation on Rev. 1:9.

<sup>43</sup> This last conjecture seems to be Mather's.

<sup>44</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>45</sup> "There is nothing in all the beings that exist which could be spoken of as the first and the last, except me." From Grelletus, *Prodromus*, p. 11, a citation from the work of the French Hebraist, Joseph de Voisin (d. 1685), *Theologia Iudaeorum* (1647), lib. 2, cap. 9, p. 276, who refers to Moses Maimonides, *Hilkhot Yesode ha-Torah*, which was published by Willem Henricus

*Maimonides* in his *More Nevochim*, speaks more fully to it. *Quandò in Scripturà de Deo dicitur, quòd sit Primus et Ultimus, eadem Ratione id sit, quòd ipsi Aures et Oculi attribuuntur; ad docendum nempè, nullam in ipsum cadere Mutationem, nihilque in ipso innovari, vel de ipso oriri; nequaquam verò quod Tempori subjiciatur, ità ut proportio aliqua sit extra [inter] ipsum, et aliud quid extrà ipsum; Tempus scilicet, cujus respectu sit Primus et Ultimus. Omnia enim ista Nomina, ipsi attribuuntur, secundùm Linguam Filiorum Hominum, et κατ' ἀνθρωποπαθειαν*<sup>46</sup>

**Q.** Why are Churches called, *Golden Candlesticks*? v. 12.

**A.** Not only to intimate the *Excellency* of the Church, but (as *Grellot* notes) to signify, that the Church will endure in the *Fire* of Affliction, and that nothing of it will be *lost*. We need not quote *Pliny* for it; *uni Auro nihil Igne deperire*.<sup>47</sup>

[▽Insert from 5v]<sup>48</sup>

[▽5v]

**Q.** Why is it here said of our Lord, *His Head, & His Hairs, were white like Wool and Snow*? v. 14.

**A.** Our Lord appears in the Habit of the *High Priest*. *Peganius* observes, The *Sacerdotal Bonnet* on the *Head* of the *High-Priest*, was Twisted of *white Wool*. In Imitation thereof, the pagan Priests, wore *woollen Coverings* on their *Head*. So you will find in *Servius*, on *Virgil's* eighth *Æneid*. This Vision may have some respect unto that Matter. It intimates a Mind, not stained with the least Impurity.<sup>49</sup>

Vorstius in 1636 with a Latin translation and notes as *Constitutiones de fundamentis legis Rabbi Mosis F. Maiemon*, lib. 2, cap. 18, p. 50.

<sup>46</sup> “When in the Scripture it is said about God that he is the first and the last, then this happens in the same manner as when ears and eyes are attributed to him: undoubtedly to teach that no change befalls him and that nothing in him becomes new or even arises from him. He is in no way subject to time, so that there might be any comparison between him and any other being or something outside of him. Indeed, it is time in regard to which he is the first and the last. For all these attributes are given to him according to the language of the sons of men, and in a way that ascribes human feelings to him [κατ' ἀνθρωποπαθειαν].” From *Grellotus*, a citation from the Latin edition of *Maimonides's* famous work *More Nevochim, Doctor Perplexorum* (1190), edited in 1629 by *Johannes Buxtorf the Younger*, pars 1, cap. 57, p. 95. Copying *Grellotus's* mistake, *Mather* writes “proportion aliqua sit extra ipsum” instead of “proportion aliqua sit inter ipsum” as it is in the original and needs to be in order to make sense. The translation follows *Buxtorf's* Latin.

<sup>47</sup> “Gold alone is not deprived of any substance through fire.” From *Grellotus, Prodromus*, p. 12, a reference to *Pliny the Elder, Natural History*, lib. 33, cap. 19, sec. 59; cf. *LCL* 394, pp. 46–47. See Appendix A.

<sup>48</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>49</sup> From *Peganius, A Genuine Explication*, p. 70, a reference to the late fourth-century and early fifth-century Roman grammarian, *Maurus Servius Honoratus*, who wrote a commentary on *Virgil's Aeneis*. At 8.664, where “lanigeros apices” (“woolen caps of priests”) are mentioned, *Servius* provides the above-cited marginal explanation. See *P. Vergilii Maronis opera* (1561), p. 154.



**Q.** Why are the *Feet* of our Lord compared unto, *Fine Brass, as if they burned in a Furnace?* v. 15.

**A.** *Grellot* ha's a curious Thought upon it. Our Lord arrives to all the *Glory* here described, by and on the Suffering of *Death*. Our Lord passed thro' a *burning Furnace* of Afflictions, that so He might come to His *Glory*.

The *Jewes* themselves write horrible Things, about, *The Afflictions of the Messiah*.<sup>50</sup>

**Q.** To what may allude, *Seven Stars in the Right Hand?* v. 16.

**A.** They are the *Teachers* of the Church. *Stars* and *Gems*, are for their Brightness not unlike to one another. Writers often use the Name of the one for the other. The Expression, *To have Stars in the Hand*, signifies, as *Peganius* observes, the same as, *To wear Gems sett in Rings on the Hand*. It intimates an high Esteem of a thing, & a safe Keeping of it. Compare, Jer. 22.24. and, Hag. 2.24.<sup>51</sup>

*Quære*; whether any Allusion to the sweet Influences of the *Pleiades*?<sup>52</sup>

[△] [△Insert ends]

**Q.** Our glorious Lord saies, *I have the Keyes of Hell, and of Death*. What is the *Hell*, whereof tis here said, That Hee ha's the *Keyes*? v. 18.

**A.** My Honoured Friend, Mr. *John Howe*, in a Discourse on this Text, hath demonstrated, that the *Hades* here spoken of, is to bee Translated, *The Invisible World*, and it is rendred *Hell*, very unreasonably, and with a Debasing Limitation.<sup>53</sup>

The Design here is, to speak the *Greatness* of our Lord; and now to represent Him, as only the Jailour of *Divels*, and their Companions, is very unaccountable.

ἄδης, literally signifies, *what we see not*, or, *what is out of our Sight*: And the Word, of which it is compounded, signifies also, to *know*, as well as to *see*; intimating a State of things, which lies without the Compass of our *Knowledge*;

<sup>50</sup> *Grellotus, Prodromus*, pp. 23–24.

<sup>51</sup> From *Peganius, A Genuine Explication*, p. 71.

<sup>52</sup> See Job 38:31: "Canst thou bind the sweet influences of Pleiades" (KJV). The Hebrew word translated "sweet influences," מַעְדָּנוֹת [ma'adhannoth], is used only once in the Bible. Its basic meaning seems to be "cluster."

<sup>53</sup> The following entry is derived from John Howe's *A Discourse concerning the Redeemer's Dominion over the Invisible World* (1699), pp. 7–15. The issue here is that in the English translation "hell" is used for two different words/concepts: ᾗδης [hades] and γέεννα [geenna], the first, as Howe and Mather argue, referring to the gathering-place of all departed souls, the second to the place of torment for the wicked. Mather also preached a sermon on Rev. 1:16 at the funeral of Wait Winthrop (1642–1717) in which he treats the same subject: *Hades look'd into: The Power of our great Saviour over the Invisible World, and the Gates of Death which lead into that World* (1717).

and about which, wee *know* little but what is *Reveled* unto us, and *walk by Faith*, not *by Sight*.<sup>54</sup>

The Greek Poets, Philosophers, Historians, and other Writers, that have made only occasional Mention of this Word, ἄδης, or, of the Words next akin to it, αἰς or αἰδής, and *Lexicographers* that have purposely given an account of it, from Authors that best understood the Tongue; and generally all such as have not been engaged in a Controversy, that obliges Men usually to torture Words unto their own Sense, or, to serve the Hypothesis which they had espoused; have been very remote from confining this Word, unto such a *narrow Sense*, as only to signify a *Place or State of Torment for Bad Men*; but they took it, as comprehending also, the *Felicity of the Good*.

Can wee think, that *Homer*, in the Beginning of his First *Iliad*, when hee sings of the ἰφθιμοὶ ψυχῶν, the *brave Souls* of his *Hero's*, which his *Trojan War*, had sent [αἰδὶ προΐαψεν] into *Hades*, he ever dream't they were promiscuously dispatch't away into a *Place of Torment*?<sup>55</sup> In other Passages, *hee* uses ἄδης to the like Purpose.<sup>56</sup> It would be tedious to recite others, from the other Poets. But there can be nothing fuller, than that one, quoted by *Clemens of Alexandria*, (Str. l. 5.) from *Diphilus*, (tho' others, who also quote it; ascribe it unto *Philemon*.)

καὶ γὰρ καθ' ἄδην δύο τριβους νομιζομεν,  
Μίαν δικαίων, χατέραν ἀσεβῶν ὁδὸν.

*In Hades, we reckon there are two Paths, the one of the Righteous, the other of the Wicked.*<sup>57</sup> This plainly shewes, That *Hades* contained *Heaven* as well as *Hell*.

*Plato*, in his *Phædo*, tells us, That he who comes into *Hades*, ἀμύητος καὶ ἀτέλεστος, not *Initiated*, and duely *Prepared*, is thrown into Βορβορος, (a stinking Lake,) but he that comes into it, fitly purified, shall dwell with the Gods.<sup>58</sup> In the

<sup>54</sup> There are several variants of the word ἄδης ([hades], signifying the Greek god of the under-world and/or his abode where departed souls reside), including Ἄιδης [Hades], αἰδής [aidēs], and αἰς [ais] (Homer). One etymological explanation for the word is that it is derived from α (as negative particle) and ἰδεῖν ([l]idein), from εἶδω [eido] “to see”; often in Homer gen. αἰδαο [aidao] and αἰδεω [aideo], thus literally signifying “the unseen,” or “that which makes unseen” (*LSJ*).

<sup>55</sup> Mather's translation for ἰφθιμοὶ ψυχῶν [iphthimoi psychai] is valid. The term προΐαψεν is derived from προΐαπτω [proiapto] “to send forth.”

<sup>56</sup> See Homer, *Iliad*, l.1. For other references to Hades in Homer, see, most importantly, bk. 11 of the *Odyssey*.

<sup>57</sup> From Howe (who provides a valid translation), Mather refers to a set of iambic verses preserved in several patristic sources, including Clemens of Alexandria, *Stromata*, 5.14.121, 1–3 [PG 9. 180b; *GCS* 17], who attributes them to the fourth-century comic poet Diophylus. However, Pseudo-Justin, *De Monarchia*, 3 [PG 6. 317]; transl.: *ANF* (1:290), identifies the verses as a fragment of Philemon. Charlesworth (*The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, p. 828) explains this as a case in which “a Jewish author has taken verses congenial to Jewish belief and interpolated further material which is unmistakably Jewish.”

<sup>58</sup> From Howe, a citation from Plato, *Phædo*, 69c: ὅτι ὃς ἂν ἀμύητος καὶ ἀτέλεστος εἰς Ἅιδου ἀφίκηται ἐν βορβόρῳ κείσεται, ὃ δὲ κεκαθαρμένος τε καὶ τετελεσμένος ἐκείσε ἀφικόμενος μετὰ θεῶν οἰκήσει [hoti hos an amyetos kai atelestos eis Hadou aphiketai en borboro keisetai, ho de kekatharmenos te kai tetelesmenos ekeise aphikomenos meta theon oikesei]: “that whoever

Dialogue, entitul'd *Axiochus*, tho' supposed none of *Plato's*, yett written by one that well knew the Meaning of the Word, wee are told, *That when Men Dy, they are brought into the πεδιον ἀληθείας, Field of Truth, where sitt Judges, that examine, τίνα βίον, what Manner of Life every one lived, while he dwelt in the Body;* That they who, while they lived, were inspired by a good Spirit, go into the Region of the Pious, but such as led their Lives wickedly are hurried by Furies up & down in the Region of the Wicked.<sup>59</sup> *Plato*, in his Third Book, De R. P. blames the Poets, that they represent the State of Things in *Hades*, too frightfully, when they should μάλλον ἐπαινέειν, *praise it rather*.<sup>60</sup> *Plutarch* brings in *Plato*, speaking of *Hades*, as *benign & friendly* to Men, & therefore sure, not a meer *Tormentor* of them.<sup>61</sup> *Cælius Rhodiginus*, quoting this Passage of *Plutarch*, takes notice, that our Saviour speaks of the State of *Torment*, by another Word, not *Hades*, but [5v] *Gehenna*.<sup>62</sup> *Pausanias* in his *Arcadica*, speaking of *Hermes*, as Διὸς διάκονον, who | led Souls ὑπὸ τὸν ἄδην, could not be thought to mean, they were then universally miserable.<sup>63</sup>

Accordingly, Dr. *Ushers* Judgment was, That this Word properly signifies, the *other World, the Place or State of the Dead; so that Heaven itself may be comprehended in it*.<sup>64</sup> *Grotius*, on Luk. 16.23. makes both *Paradise* and *Hell*, to be in *Hades*. In him, you'l find, the Sense of the *Poets*, the *Essenes*, and the *Fathers*,

---

arrives in Hades without initiation and enlightenment will wallow in the mud, while he who arrives cleansed and initiated will dwell among the gods"; transl.: *LCL* 36, pp. 338–39.

59 Greek πεδιον ἀληθείας [pedion aletheias] means "fields of truth" and τίνα βίον [tina bion] "what kind of life." From Howe (who provides solid translations), a reference to Pseudo-Plato, *Axiochus*, 371b. *Axiochus* is a dialogue between Socrates, Clinias, and Axiochus that was attributed to Plato but has long been considered spurious and is believed to have been written in the first century CE by a Platonic or Neopythagorean author.

60 The phrase μάλλον ἐπαινέειν [mallon epainein] means "rather praise it," as Mather indicates. From Howe, Mather cites Plato, *The Republic*, 3.386b; transl.: *LCL* 237, pp. 222–23.

61 From Howe, Mather alludes to Plutarch, *On Superstition*, 13e. Plutarch was probably referencing Plato's *Cratylus*, 403a–04b.

62 Cælius Rhodiginus (Lodovico Ricchieri, 1469–1525) was a professor of Greek and Latin in Italy. Reference is made to his best-known work, entitled *Antiquarum Lectionum Libri XXX* (1530), lib. 13, p. 200.

63 Original: τῷ μὲν Διὸς τε αὐτὸν διάκονον εἶναι καὶ ὑπὸ τὸν Ἅδην ἄγειν τῶν ἀπογινομένων τὰς ψυχὰς [to men Dios te auton diakonon einai kai hypo ton Haden agein ton apoginomenon tas psychas]: "that [he] is the minister of Zeus and leads the souls of the departed down to Hades." From Howe, a reference to the Greek traveler and geographer, Pausanias Periegetes (c. 115–180 CE), *Description of Greek, Arcadia*, 32.4; transl.: *LCL* 297, pp. 64–65.

64 From Howe, a reference to James Ussher, *An Answer to a Challenge Made by a Jesuit from Ireland*, "Of Limbus Patrum and Christ's Descent into Hell," in *Works* (3:278–419).

upon it.<sup>65</sup> *Camero* thinks, it never signifies only *Hell*, except *once*.<sup>66</sup> Peruse *Martinius's Lexicon* upon the Word.<sup>67</sup>

Upon the whole then, it being most evident, that *Hell* is but a *small* and *mean* Part of what is meant by *Hades*, it will be very unreasonable to represent the *Power* here ascribed unto our Lord, according to that *Narrow Notion* of it: And it would be such an Incongruity, as if, to magnify a Person of the Highest Dignity, in the Court of a mighty Prince, one should say, *Hee is Keeper of the Dungeon*.

I will add; That when our Saviour here challenges, *the Keyes of Hades*, or Power over the State & Place of separate Souls, to recall them, or to retain them, when departed from the Body; *and of Death*; to keep us from it, & therefore to Raise us again, if we were actually Dead; it looks with a Full Eye on the *First Resurrection* in the XX of the *Revelation*.<sup>68</sup>

**Q.** The *Angels* of the *Churches*? v. 20.

**A.** The *Ministring Spirits* which attend on God, are called, *Angels*, for their being employ'd as *Messengers*, in Serving of Him. The *Pastors* of the Churches have this Denomination, from the like Office of delivering the *Messages* of God unto the People.

The *Jewish Priest* is called, Mal. II.7. *The Angel of the Lord of Hosts*. *Angel* is there taken collectively (as tis confess'd by Dr. *Pocock*) for the whole *Jewish Priesthood*, comprehended there, under the Name of *Levi*, their Father, & spoken of as one Person, because they were of the same Stock, and had one Function.<sup>69</sup>

<sup>65</sup> From Howe, a reference to Grotius's annotation on Luke 16:23 in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (6:1410–11).

<sup>66</sup> From Howe, a reference to John Cameron's annotation on Luke 16:23 in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (6:1402).

<sup>67</sup> From Howe, Mather refers to the entry on "infernus" in the work of the German Reformed theologian and professor at Herborn and Bremen, Matthias Martinius (1572–1630), *Lexicon philologicum praecipue etymologicum et sacrum* ([1623] 1655), unpaginated.

<sup>68</sup> From Waple, *The Book of the Revelation*, p. 14.

<sup>69</sup> From Waple, *The Book of the Revelation*, p. 16, a reference to Edward Pococke's annotation on Mal. 2:7 in *The Theological Works of the Learned Dr. Pocock* (1:128–29).

**Q.** Interpreters have generally confessed the Book of *Revelation* to be full of Difficulties and Obscurities;<sup>70</sup> *Dionysius* of *Alexandria* may perhaps be no proper Authority to quote for this Confession, because of the Design which he wrote upon; otherwise we might relate how he calls the Book, *Ἀγνωστον καὶ ἀσυλλογιστον* and saies, That it is not indeed, *A Revelation*.<sup>71</sup> We will rather consider the Speech of *Jerom* concerning this Book, that it ha's, *Tot Secreta quot Verba*.<sup>72</sup> *Ansbertus* in his Prayer before his Commentary on this Book, styles the Oracles of it, *Obscura ænigmatum Itinera*; and in his *Præface*, he saies, *Intellectu nostro altiora sunt; ad quæ contemplanda pertingere nitimur, ultrà Vires nostras sunt, ad quæ consideranda progredimur; ingenio nostro difficilia sunt, ad quæ enodanda transire cogimur*.<sup>73</sup> And *Ribera* in his Proem to his Commentary, saies, That the *Apocalypse*, is, *Mare magnum et spaciosum, plenum Procellis et Tempestatibus; in quo omnis Sapientia humana devoratur*.<sup>74</sup> Nevertheless, It will be a fault in us, to count all Study on this Part of the *Holy Scripture*, *unprofitable*. There is a *Blessedness* promised unto them who duly study it: and I know not why, it should be thought a *Point of singular Praise*, in those Commentators, who durst not meddle with it. *Chrysostom* saies well, The *Truth* in the Scriptures may ly *Obscure*, but not altogether *Hidden*; it so lies, not that they who *Seek it*, but that they who *Seek it not*, should not *Find it*.<sup>75</sup> There is nothing to hinder us, but that, as a famous Expositor expresses it, *Nos quoque suppliciter Divinæ Sapientie*

<sup>70</sup> The following entry is derived from Hermann Witsius, *Miscellaneorum sacrorum libri IV*, lib. 3, cap. 1 "De Sensu Epistularum Apocalypticarum," pp. 640–49.

<sup>71</sup> From Witsius, a reference to *Dionysius the Great*, Pope and Patriarch of *Alexandria* from 248 until 264, in *Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History*, 7.25.2. *Ἀγνωστον καὶ ἀσυλλογιστον* [agnoston kai asyllogiston] means "unknowable and illogical."

<sup>72</sup> "As many secrets as words." Mather cites *Jerome*, *Epistolæ*, epist. 53, cap. 8 [PL 22. 548–49]; transl. adapted from: *NPNFii* (6:269).

<sup>73</sup> "An obscure sequence of riddles"; "They are too high for our intellect. We struggle to contemplate them, and they are above our abilities; we overreach ourselves to understand them. To our mind they are difficult, but we are compelled to go beyond our limits for their explication." From Witsius, a reference to a work produced by an eighth-century Frankish Benedictine monk named *Ambrosius Ansbertus* or *Autpertus* (730–784), which was printed in 1536. See *Autpertus, In sancti Iohannis apostoli & euangelistæ Apocalypsim libri decem* (1536), p. 11, of the "Præfatio" and "Oratio."

<sup>74</sup> "A great and wide ocean, full of storms and tempests, in which all human wisdom is swallowed up." Mather refers to *Francisco de Ribera* (1537–1591), a Spanish Jesuit exegete and premillennialist. His best-known work was a commentary on the Book of *Revelation* entitled *In Sacrum Beati Iohannis Apostoli, & Evangelistæ Apocalypsin Commentarij* (1590). In this work, he defended the Catholic Church against Protestant interpretations that identified it with the Antichrist.

<sup>75</sup> From Witsius, a reference to *Chrysostom*, *Homiliae LXXXVIII in Joannem*, homil. 11 [PG 59. 79].

*Fores pulsemus, et Pia quadam, ac Religiosa fidelis Mentis audacia, ad Amicorum omnium optimum, Christum, eamus, qui dedit hanc Apocalypsin Servo suo Johanni palam facere servis suis, et mediâ Nocte obscuræ hujus et Sacratæ Caliginis panes Intelligentiæ petamus, quos vel nostro Sæculo (si Deus ita voluerit) vel futuris approbamus.*<sup>76</sup>

Now, among the many Articles, which have puzzled Interpreters on this Book, one is, The Intention of the *Seven Epistles*, to the *Seven Churches* in the lesser *Asia*. There are some, that with *Brightman*, and *Forbes*, and *Cocceius*, will have these *Epistles*, to be *Prophecies*; & suppose a *sevenfold*, and *successive* Estate of the Church, until the Second Coming of our Saviour, therein delineated.<sup>77</sup> Others will affix no more than an *Historical Sense* unto these *Epis-*

<sup>76</sup> “We should also knock on the doors of divine wisdom like supplicants and with the kind of pious and devout audacity peculiar to the faithful mind. We should approach Christ, the best of all friends, who gave this Apocalypse to his servant John to have him make it plain to his servants, and in the midnight hour of this obscure and sacred darkness we should ask for the bread of knowledge, which we bend our knees to implore for our age (if this is God’s will) or for a future one.” From de Ribera, *In Sacrum Beati Ioannis Apostoli*, preface.

<sup>77</sup> A student and fellow of Queen’s College, Cambridge, Thomas Brightman (1562–1607) was an Anglian clergyman with strong Puritan leanings, a millennialist, and an avid biblical exegete. His commentary on the Book of Revelation was first published posthumously in Latin as *Apocalypsis Apocalypseo, idest Apocalypsis D. Joannis analysi et scholiis illustrata* (Frankfurt, 1609), before an English translation came out in Amsterdam under the title *A Revelation of the Revelation* (1611). No editions were printed in England until the 1640s due to the work’s strong criticism of the national church. *A Revelation of the Revelation* interprets the Church of England as the lukewarm Laodicean church (Rev. 2–3) and the exemplary Philadelphian church as the Reformed churches of Switzerland, France, and the Kirk of Scotland. Underlying this criticism was Brightman’s hope to reform the church according to a Presbyterian model. The book was widely influential among the Puritan movement of the Stuart age. In part, Brightman wrote it in direct response to de Ribera (see above) and attempted to prove beyond doubt that Rome was indeed the Antichrist, whose reign of 1260 days or years was drawing to a close. While highly influential with futurist millenarians like Mede, Brightman was still a preterist, who, in fact, posited a dual millennium: one from 300 to 1300 and the second being the reign of the saints that started in 1300 and would continue past the apocalyptic destruction of the Turks and the papal Antichrist and the conversion of the Jews, which he expected to take place in the late seventeenth century.

Patrick Forbes (1564–1635) was prominent clergyman of the Church of Scotland and served as Bishop of Aberdeen from 1618 until his death in 1635. His commentary on the Book of Revelation was published as *An Exquisite Commentarie upon the Revelation of Saint John* (1613); in 1614 a revised edition was published as *An Learned Commentarie upon the Revelation of Saint John*. Johannes Cocceius (1603–1669) was a Dutch theologian and trained philologist who was born in Bremen and became a professor of theology at the University of Leiden in 1650. Among his many exegetical works, Cocceius published a commentary on the Book of Revelation, his *Cogitationes de Apocalypsis Johannis* (1665). Brightman, Forbes, and Cocceius all took a historico-prophetic approach to the seven churches mentioned in Rev. 2–3, interpreting them as prophetic symbols representing successive states or dispensations of church history. In the following, Mather offers a more literal-contextual reading of Rev. 2–3, drawing on Witsius, *Miscellaneous sacramentorum libri IV*, lib. 3, cap. 3, “Argumenta pro sensu Historico,” pp. 670–71. However, both Witsius and Mather allow for a secondary allegorical sense relating to “the Condition of the Church in every succeeding Age.”

ties; yett granting at the same Time, that the Condition of the Church in every succeeding Age, may be considered in that of the *Seven Churches*. To which of these, do you incline? v. 1.

**A.** To the latter Opinion.

I know very well, the Flourishes of the Interpreters, who make the *Seven Epistles*, to be *Prophecies*, of the same Character with the *Seven Seals*, and the *Seven Trumpets*, and the *Seven Vials*. But really to me, they appear so *Arbitrary*, and (if I may be allow'd so to speak) so *Injudicious*, that I cannot prevail with myself so much as to Recite them.

Instead thereof, I will from the excellent *Witsius*, (one of the greatest Men in this Age) bring some Thoughts to maintain the meer *Historical Sense* of the *Seven Epistles*; that is to say, to argue for the *literal Accommodation* of the *Epistles*, unto the particular Churches whereto they were directed; but, by no means exclude the Interests which the Faithful & the Churches of all Ages have therein; as they have in the other *Epistles* of the New Testament.

And in the First Place; every Man must know, That no Prophecy of the Scripture, is, ἰδίας ἐπιλύσεως, *of private Interpretation*; [2. Pet. 1.20.] that is to say, *sic ut Mortali cuicumque liceat nodos illius pro arbitrato suo solvere*.<sup>78</sup> What the Apostle calls, ἐπιλυσις is to the Hebrewes, / פִּתְרוֹן / and in Dan. 5.16. *To make Interpretations, & dissolve Doubts*.<sup>79</sup>

Men may not at their own meer Will and Pleasure, coin Expositions, which never were intended by the Spirit of God. The Curiosity of discovering *Allegories*, where they never were intended, may easily be carried farther than it should be; and we know how *Jerom* censured it in *Origen*;<sup>80</sup> and how *Basil* compared it unto the *Oneiracriticks*, wherein People interpreted the *Phantasms* of their Dreams, προς τον οικειον σκοπον, *Ad eum quem sibi ipsi finem proposuerunt*.<sup>81</sup> There must be more than a bare little *Similitude*, for to warrant our Opinion that the Holy Spirit intended this Thing to be a Type of That. We may not say, That *Pharaoh* was a Type of *Philip*. II. the King of *Spain*, or that *Solomon* was a Type of *M. Antoninus* the Emperour; tho' there was much of a

<sup>78</sup> "So that it would be permitted to every mortal to solve its knots at will." See 2 Pet. 1:20: ὅτι πᾶσα προφητεία γραφῆς ἰδίας ἐπιλύσεως οὐ γίνεται [hoti pasa propheteia graphes idias epilyseos ou ginetai], "that no prophecy of Scripture comes from someone's own interpretation" (ESV).

<sup>79</sup> The Greek term ἐπιλυσις [epilysis] means "dissolution, explanation," while the word פִּתְרוֹן [pithron] signifies "meaning, interpretation." In Dan 5:16, an Aramaic cognate פֶּשֶׁר [pešar] meaning "interpretation" occurs.

<sup>80</sup> From *Witsius*, a reference to *Jerome's* attacks on *Origen's* tendency toward arbitrary allegorization ("allegoricus semper interpres, et historiae fugiens veritatem"; "ingenium suum facere Ecclesia sacramenta") in his *Commentarii in Jeremiam*, lib. 5, at Jer. 27:9 [PL 24. 884; CSEL 59; CCSL 74] and *Translatio Homiliarum Origines In Visiones Isaiae*, preface [PL 24. 335–36; CCSL 73A].

<sup>81</sup> Both the Greek and the Latin mean "to make them serve their own ends." From *Witsius*, *Mather* cites *Basil the Great*, *Homiliae in Hexaameron*, homil. 9, cap. 1 [PG 29. 188; SC 26]; transl.: *NPNFii* (8:345).

Similitude between them. *Cocceius* very well observes, *Non possumus asserere hoc illius Typum et Figuram esse, nisi quatenus Conformitas ex Scripturarum Comparatione demonstratur.*<sup>82</sup> |

[6v]

We will declare the *Lawes* of *Allegorical Expositions*.

I. Sometimes God Himself ha's declared, That He ordained one thing as a *Type* of another. The *Brasen Serpent* is one Instance; and there are many others.

II. Sometimes the Lord ha's not so particularly declared this of any one Thing; but He ha's asserted it, in general, of *that Kind* which this Thing belongs unto. Thus the *Mosaic Ceremonies*, are called, *The Shadowes of Things to come*, whereof *Christ* is the Body and Substance.

III. Sometimes the Lord speaking of a *spiritual* Thing, uses an Expression evidently allusive to some corporeal & material Thing heretofore occurring in the History. Thus, The New Condition of things, whereto our Lord brings His Church, is called, *A New Creation*; which intimates, that the first Chapter of *Genesis* had *Mystery* in it, as well as *History*.

IV. The Holy Spirit seems to suppose it, as a Thing allowed & beleev'd among His People, that the memorable Persons in the Old Testament, who had *something extraordinary* befalling of them, were Types of evangelical Matters. Thus He does, when He argues from the Typical Aspect of *Hagar* and *Sarah*.

V. Finally, sometimes there is prædicated of such or such a Subject, something that is not so fully accomplished in that Subject; and then we must look a little further for an *Antitype*. It was by this Rule, that the Apostle applies what the *eighth Psalm* saies about, *The Son of Man*, unto our Saviour.

Without these *Lawes* in our Eye, if we make *Allegories* in the Scriptures, we shall, as *Jerom* expresses it, *In Scripturis lymphatico versari errore.*<sup>83</sup> By none of these *Lawes* can we bring the *Apocalyptical Epistles*, under *Allegorical Expositions*.

Briefly, The Commission given to *John* was, Chap. 1.19. *Write the Things which thou hast seen, and the Things which are, and the Things that shall be hereafter.* The first Article, he performs in the First Chapter; The Second Article, he performs, in the Two Next; The Third he pursues in all the rest. In the State of the *Asiatic Churches* we have, *The Things which then were.* The *Trichotomy* is Accurate; and it may be quæstioned, whether they discharge the Duty of good Interpreters, who go to Disturb it, & Confound it; & Mingle the *Things which then were*, with the *Things which were to be afterwards*. There was indeed an admirable Wisdome in this thing; First of all to Instruct, & Reprove, & Reform the Churches then existent, that so they might be præpared for the

<sup>82</sup> "We cannot claim that this is a type or figure of that, unless a conformity is demonstrated from the Scriptures by comparison." From Witsius, a citation from Cocceius, *Commentarius in Isaiam*, at Isa. 22:14, in *Opera omnia* (3:248).

<sup>83</sup> "wander around in the Scriptures in frantic delusion." From Witsius, a citation from Jerome, *Commentarii in Isaiam*, lib. 5, at Isa. 13:19 [PL 24. 159A; CSEL 59; CCSL 74]. The PL version has: "lymphatico in Scripturis vagantur errore."



Communication of the Divine Counsels, in the ensuing Prophecies. [Consider, Psal. 25.14. and Joh. 14.21.] *Abraham* is first of all, to be an eminent Saint of God, and then God will *Hide nothing from him*.

It agrees with all *Church-History*, that *John* in his old Age, after the Death of *Paul*, took a special Charge & Care of the Churches in the *Lydian Asia*. There may be this Reason given, as well as that of the Divine Sovereignty dispensing such Matters where it pleases, why *John* should *write* unto the Churches, unto which he had so often *preach'd*.

It could not but be the Duty of each of the Churches thus addressed unto, to consider themselves as particularly *Reprehended*, or *Admonished*, or *Encouraged*, according to the several Inscriptions of the several Epistles. The Church at *Laodicea*, was more concerned in the Admonitions about their *Lukewarmness*, than the Church at *Philadelphia*, and were not to imagine, that it was only a Matter of Prophecy about the Church of *England* sixteen hundred Years after.

Nor is there indeed any thing in these Epistles, but what admirably suited the Condition of the Churches then existing, to which they were directed.

The *Labours* commended in the Angel of the Church at *Ephesus*, were notably exemplified, in *Paul*; [Act. 20.19, 20, 21.] and in *Timothy*. [2. Tim. 4.2, 5.] and in the Church itself, animated by their Examples. [Act. 19.18, 19, 20. Eph. 1.15, 16.] Their *Patience* may be understood, when we consider their Vexations, from the Worshippers of *Diana*; [Act. 19.23. 2. Cor. 1.8.] and from the Disciples of *Apollonius Tyaneus*, who continued long at *Ephesus*, almost adored by the People, in the Dayes of the Emperour *Domitian*; εκπεπληγμένης της Εφεσου, *Stupentibus Ephesis*.<sup>84</sup> Their *Zeal against False Apostles*, was the very Thing whereto the Apostle had with his Præmonitions advised them. [Act. 20.29, 30.] Every body knowes the Contests that *John* had, with *Ebion* and *Cerinthus*, and their Followers. *Ignatius*, in his Epistle to the *Ephesians* commends them for their εν θεω ευταξία the *good Order* among them, and their *Living according to the Truth*, and in that, εν υμιν μηδεμία αιρεσις κατοικει, *No Heresy dwelt among them*, and they *heard none but Jesus Christ speaking the Truth unto them*.<sup>85</sup> And saies he, *I know some that came among you, εχοντας κακην διδαχην, having Ill Doctrine; whom you would not allow, [ους ουκ εασατε σπειραι εις υμας] to sow their Seed among you, but you shutt your Ears, that you might not receive*

<sup>84</sup> The Greek εκπεπληγμένης τῆς Ἐφέσου [ekpeplegmenes tes Ephesou] and the Latin mean “(for) the city Ephesus has been amazed.” Mather refers to the biography of the philosopher Apollonius of Tyana by the Greek sophist and versatile author, Flavius Philostratus the Athenian (c. 170–c. 245 CE), *Vita Apollonii*, 8.26; LCL 17, pp. 412–13.

<sup>85</sup> The phrase τὴν ἐν θεῷ εὐταξίαν [ten en theo eutaxian] means “for being so well ordered in God”; ἐν ὑμῖν οὐδεμία αἵρεσις [en hymin oudemia hairesis] “no heresy resides among you.” From Witsius, a reference to Ignatius, *Letters, To the Ephesians*, 6.2 [PG 5. 649]; transl.: LCL 24, pp. 224–25.

what they had sown.<sup>86</sup> | The Decay of their *First Love*, might arise, partly from [7r] the tiresome Oppositions which they suffered from Jewes and Gentiles together united against them; and partly from the Efficacy which the præstigious Managements of *Apollonius* of *Tyana* had among them; & partly from the Absence of *John*, and the Want of his lively Prayers and Sermons, who was now banished into *Patmos*. *Witsius* adds, and it is worth noting; *Partim ex Prudentiâ Humanâ, nescio quam Moderationem suadente, ne præfractiori Zelo adversantium animi magis exasperarentur.*<sup>87</sup> There is mention also of the *Nicolaitans* nesting in this Church; of whom all Antiquity agrees to relate, That they denied the *Deity* of our Saviour; & that they indulged the most cursed *Whoredomes*, & that they would eat *Idolothytes*, & practice the other Superstitions of the Gentiles. *Ignatius* calls them, ἀκαθάρτους Νικολαιτας, τοὺς φιληδόνους, τοὺς συκοφάντας, *most Impure Nicolaitans, Lovers of lustful Pleasures, & Authors of all Calumnies.*<sup>88</sup> *Oecumenius* and others, take them to be the same, that are described by the Apostle *Peter*: [2. Pet. 2.10, 13, 14, 15.] and *Jude*. [v. 4, 8, 12.] And it would be no strange Thing to find Luxury, in such a City as *Ephesus*.<sup>89</sup>

*Poverty* might well be mentioned as the Condition of the Church at *Smyrna*, who suffered the *Spoiling of their Goods* for the Cause of Christianity. Histories tell us, That an horrid Storm of *Persecution* befell the Church of *Smyrna*; which was at Length asswaged by the Martyrdom of their Aged Pastor *Polycarp*. An Epistle of the *Smyrnians* themselves, recited by *Eusebius*, elegantly & pathetically paints out that Persecution unto us; How cruelly the Martyrs were scourged until a great Part of their Flesh was torn from their Bones, and then they were thrown upon the Ground covered with Shell and Gravel; and how after many other Torments, they were cast unto the wild beasts to be devoured.<sup>90</sup> These things were pushed on, by the Envy and Slanders of the *Jewes*, as well as by the savage Fierceness of the *Gentiles*. These were no longer to be esteemed *Jewes* (or a People for the Praise of God,) but the *Synagogue of Satan*. The Book of the *Acts*, frequently mentions the raging Malice of the *Jewes*, as exciting of Persecution against the *Christians*. [Compare 1. Cor. 11.24. and 1. Thess.

<sup>86</sup> The phrase ἔχοντας κακὴν διδασχὴν [echontas kaken didachen] means “on their way from there with an evil teaching”; οὓς οὐκ εἰσάσατε σπείραι εἰς ὑμᾶς [hous ouk eiasate speirai eis hymas] means “to sow any seeds among you.” From *Witsius*, another reference to *Ignatius, Letters, Letter to Ephesians*, 9.1. [PG 5. 652]; transl.: *LCL* 24, pp. 228–29.

<sup>87</sup> “partly out of human prudence, and because he somehow advised moderation, so that the spirits of their adversaries would not get more worked up because of a more confrontational zeal.” Mather cites *Witsius, Miscellaneorum sacrorum libri IV*, lib. 3, cap. 3, sec. 70, p. 684.

<sup>88</sup> From *Witsius*, a reference to (Pseudo-)Ignatius, *Letter to the Trallians* (with fourth-century interpolations), 11.1. [PG 5. 684]; transl.: *ANF* (1:203–04): “Flee also the impure Nicolaitans, falsely so called, who are lovers of pleasure, and given to calumnious speeches.”

<sup>89</sup> From *Witsius*, a reference to the first Greek commentary on Revelation by *Oecumenius, Commentarius in Apocalypsin*, cap. 2.9. See the ed. by Marc De Groote, p. 85.

<sup>90</sup> From *Witsius*, a reference to *Eusebius, Ecclesiastical History*, bk. 4, ch. 15 [PG 20. 340]; cf. *LCL* 153, pp. 338–41.

2.14, 15, 16.] *Justin Martyr*, in a grave Oration, recited by *Eusebius*, upbraids the *Jewes*, for sending their calumnious and mischievous Agents from *Jerusalem*, into all Parts of the World, furnished with Reproaches against the *Christians*, & furnishing Mankind with all the Occasions of Oppression and Injustice against them that can be imagined.<sup>91</sup> The *Smyrnians* complain of this in their Letter; And when *Polycarp* openly & constantly, declared himself a *Christian*, the *Jewes* bore a special Part, in making the Clamour upon which he was murdered; the *Jewes* were very active in making the Pile on which he was burned; the *Jewes* were they, who after he was burned, pressed the Præsident, that his Friends might not have the Reliques of his Body delivered unto them.

*Satan* had a *Seat* at *Pergamus*. Not so much, because, as ha's been said by some, the Proconsul of *Asia*, had his Residence there; (which he rather had at *Ephesus*;) as because there was in this Place a most famous Temple and Oracle of *Æsculapius*; unto which they sent their Presents, from the remotest Parts of the World. The Action of *Earinus* (for Instance) related by *Statius Papinius*, is thus mention'd by *Martial*:

– *Dulcesque Capillos*

*Pergameo posuit dona sacrata Deo.*<sup>92</sup>

Hither also *Apollonius Tyanæus* repaired, Instructing such as worshipped *Æsculapius*, how they might obtain Divine *Dreams* from him. *Herodian* likewise tells us, of *Antoninus Caracalla's* repairing hither, to obtain *Dreams* and *Cures* from the God here adored.<sup>93</sup> *Æsculapius* did very odd Wonders in this Place; the *Divel* spoke in the Idol of *Æsculapius*, & received the Worship of the Idolaters. Horrid *Serpents*, & fearful *Dragons*, were fed in this Temple at the public Charge; true Images of the *Divel*; who to maintain his *Throne*, stirred up his Worshipers unto cruel Persecutions against the *Christians*. *Arethas* gives this as the Meaning of *Satans having a Throne* in this Town, *ως κατειδωλον ουσαν υπερ την Ασian πασαν* *As being more given to Idolatry, than all the rest of Asia.*<sup>94</sup> The Tradition of the later Ages, about *Antipas* here martyred, was, That when he preached *Christ* publicly & by the Name of *Christ* putt the *Divels* to flight, the Governour of the City enclosed him in a *Brasen Bull*, & therein burnt him to Death. A. C. XCIII. Which *Brasen Bull* was afterwards translated unto

<sup>91</sup> From Witsius, another reference to *Eusebius*, *Ecclesiastical History*, bk. 4, ch. 18 [PG 20. 376]; cf. *LCL* 153, pp. 370–73.

<sup>92</sup> Translation in context: “[The boy, his master’s favorite in all the palace, whose name means springtime, has dedicated his mirror, beauty’s counselor,] and his sweet locks as hallowed offerings to the god of Pergamum.” From Witsius, a citation the Roman poet Marcus Valerius Martialis (*Martial*, c. 38/41–c. 103/4 CE), *Epigrams*, 9.16; transl.: *LCL* 95, pp. 224–25.

<sup>93</sup> From Witsius, a reference to the Greek historiographer of the Roman Empire, *Herodian* (c. 175–250 CE), *History of the Empire*, 4.8; cf. *LCL* 454; pp. 414–15.

<sup>94</sup> From Witsius, a reference to the work by the Archbishop of Caesarea, *Arethas* (d. after 944), *Commentarius in Apocalypsin* at Rev. 2:13 [PG. 106. 536]. Mather provides a valid translation.

Constantinople, and lodged in the Temple of the Apostles. *Cornelius à Lapede*, will give you his Authors for the Story.<sup>95</sup> 'Tis all uncertain, and some of it seems to be Fabulous. We must confess, that no ancient History makes mention of *Antipas*; no more than of many other Persons & Matters in that *First Age* of Christianity. But surely, the Authority of the Sacred Scriptures is enough to build upon. |

[7v]

Shall any Man Doubt, whether there were such Men at *Rome*, as those whom the Apostle salutes in the *sixteenth Chapter* to the *Romans*; because we don't find in profane History the Remembrance of them? Would the præsumptuous Criticks of the Age, endure to have the Faith of their own beloved *classic* Authors, upon so little Reason doubted of? *Boethius* had cause enough to cry out, *Quam multos clarissimos suis Temporibus Viros, Scriptorum inops delevit oblivio?*<sup>96</sup> The *Nicolaitans* were the *Balaamites*, who seduced some Christians of *Pergamus*, to be present at the Feasts of *Idols*, on Pretence of their Christian Liberty, and that they might prudently divert a Storm of Persecution, which their Idolatrous Adversaries might be provoked otherwise to raise upon them. Their Endeavour was to turn the *Sheep* of our Lord into *Swine*; & as *Jerom* expresses it, *Gehennæ succideam nutrire*; To prepare *Fitches of Bacon for Hell*.<sup>97</sup> Their *Festivities* led unto *Fornications*, both *spiritual* and *corporal*. [Hence, Act. 15.29.] Our Lord fought against these Wretches with the *Sword of His Mouth*. With His *Word* He declared Himself their Enemy; He Detected them, Convinced them, Confounded them; & then in His Providence He executed the Judgments, which His *Word* had pronounced upon them. Unto those, who Religiously Refused at all to bear a Part in the *Feasts of Idols*, *quæ sine Pompa Diaboli, sine Invitatione Dæmonum non sunt*, as *Tertullian* has it;<sup>98</sup> how appositely does our Lord promise, that they shall *eat of the Hidden Manna*? The Lord will *Feast* them with Heavenly and Eternal Enjoyments, *quorum Suavitatem nemo ritè æstimare novit, nisi qui gustavit*.<sup>99</sup> It is called, *Hidden Manna*, alluding to what was reserved in the *golden Pott*, in the *most Holy Place*; because the Blessedness

<sup>95</sup> From Witsius, a reference to Cornelius à Lapede, *Commentaria in Apocalypsin* ([1627] 1698), p. 45. Cornelius à Lapede, or Cornelis van den Steen (1567–1637), was a Flemish Jesuit and professor of Hebrew at Louvain and at Rome. He wrote extensive and learned annotations on almost all the books of the Bible, which remained among the most popular Catholic commentaries well into the nineteenth century.

<sup>96</sup> “Now, how many men, most famous while they lived, are altogether forgotten for want of writers!” From Witsius, Mather cites the famous work of the Neoplatonic philosopher and theologian, Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius (c. 480/85–c. 525), *The Consolation of Philosophy*, 2.7 [PL 63. 711b]; LCL 74, pp. 214–15.

<sup>97</sup> Literally: “To feed/raise bacon for hell.” From Witsius, a citation from Jerome, *Contra Jovinianus*, lib. 2, cap. 36 [PL 23. 334].

<sup>98</sup> “that are not without the pomp of the devil, without invitation of demons.” Tertullian, *De spectaculis*, cap. 12 [PL 1. 645; CSEL 20]; transl.: ANF (3:85).

<sup>99</sup> “[W]hose sweetness no one knew to rightly estimate, unless he tasted it.” Mather cites Witsius, *Miscellaneorum sacrorum libri IV*, lib. 3, cap. 3, sec. 81, p. 692.

intended, is reserved with our Lord in Heaven; & because the Excellence of the Blessedness is unknown unto all, until they actually arrive unto it; and because it will be *perpetual*, as the *Manna* in the *golden Pott*, was liable to no Corruption. And, whereas these Religious People exposed themselves unto the *Harred*, & *Malice* of their Neighbours, and were unjustly *condemned* by them, our Lord most agreeably promises unto them, *A white Stone*; which means a Joyful Sense of their Justification; and the favour & friendship of God. Or, is here an Allusion to the *Græcian Combates*, in the Promises thus made unto the *Overcomers*? In those, they who *overcame* had given to them εἰσελαστικά, *Fruementations*, or certain *Revenues*, whereof we read in *Pliny*.<sup>100</sup> And they received a *Token*, on which there was inscribed the Quantity, which they were to demand.

In what is written unto *Thyatira*, there appears little Difficulty, æcept what concerns the *Jezabel* there spoken of. No other History that we know of, does directly speak of her. The Woman was of the *Nicolaitan* Party; probably a Professor of Christianity, and a Pretender to extraordinary Revelations; but an enchanting Promoter of *Idolatries* and *Adulteries*. The Gift of *Prophecy*, was yett continued in the Church; and *Women* as well as *Men*, were sometimes adorned with it. [Act. 21.8, 9.] Some famous Handmaids of the Divil sometimes had a Counterfeit of it; and *Jerom* saies, That almost all *Heresies* were by *Women* propagated.<sup>101</sup> All Men have heard about, the *Helena* of *Simon Magus*, the *Marcellina* of *Carpocrates*, the *Philomene* of *Apelles*, [and they will needs add] the *Priscilla* & *Maximilla* and *Quintilla* of *Montanus*. *Marcion*, as we are informed by *Simeon Metaphrastes*, dispatched a Woman before him, unto *Rome*, to prepare the People for the Deceits, which he was bringing among them. *Arius* undid the World, by getting the Sister of the Emperour into his Interests. *Donatus* made use of *Lucilla* to do his business in *Africa*. And *Agape* led *Elpidius* into the Ditch. The Impurities taught by this *Jezabel* are called, *The Depths of Satan*. She & her Disciples made an Ostentation of mighty *Mysteries*, and certain Secrets in Religion, which the Gospel commonly taught, had not Revealed. *Gregorius* ha's well expressed it, *Verbum absconditum Hæretici audire se simulant, ut auditorum Mentibus quandam Prædicationis suæ reverentiam obducant. Communem Scientiam habere refugiunt, ne cæteris æquales æstimentur. Occulta vel Nova semper exquirunt, quæ dum alii nesciunt, apud imperitorum Mentis ipsi de Scientiæ Singularitate gloriantur*.<sup>102</sup> But the Lord makes over these Mysteries to

<sup>100</sup> The adjective εἰσελαστικός [eiselastikos] signifies "celebrated by a triumphal entry," referring to the winning athletes who were to be rewarded prizes on the day of their triumphal entries into town. From Witsius, a reference to Pliny the Younger, *Letters*, 118 (Letter to Trajan); cf. *LCL* 59, pp. 310–11.

<sup>101</sup> Jerome, *Epistolæ*, epist. 133 (*Ad Ctesiphon*), cap. 4 [PL 22. 1152–53].

<sup>102</sup> "A secret word" the heretics pretend to hear that they may bring a certain reverence for their preaching over their hearers' minds. And hence they preach with a secret meaning, that their preaching may seem to be holy in proportion as it is at the same time hidden. Now they are loath to have a common sort of knowledge, lest they should be placed on a par with the

*Satan*; He owns them not. At last, the Woman that had made so many *Beds* for profane and wanton *Feasts*, is herself, by the Vengeance of God, cast into a *Bed* of mortal Sickness. Her *Children*, whether *Natural* or *Mystical*, take the same Fate with her. [Tis an Allusion, to, 2. King. 10.6, 7.] And they that were Partakers of her Impurities, partook with her in her Calamities. There seems to have been some horrible Mortality sent among them. [Compare 1. Cor. 11.30.] The, *Power over the Nations*, and, *The Morning Star*, here promised unto the *Overcomer*, are Promises to be fulfilled in the World to come. |

[8r]

Lett us pass over to *Sardis*. Here we have nothing, but what may be plainly & highly satisfied, with an Historical Interpretation. The *Sardians* had a *Name to live*, in regard of their Acquaintance with, and Profession of, the Truth. But their ungodly Manners proclaimed them to be *spiritually Dead*. Yett there were some, who *Defiled not their Garments*, with any Participation in the *Nicolaitan* Impurities. [Jude. 23.] Of these, tis promised, That they should *walk with the Lord in white*. *L. De Dieu* supposes,<sup>103</sup> that in this Passage, there is an Allusion to the Jewish Proceeding; when there was any Quæstion about the *Birthright* of a *Priest*, he that was Rejected because his Claim was not good, was ordered to go out, covered with *Black*; but the Genuine and Approved, remain'd cloath'd in *White*, for to minister among his Brethren.

*Philadelphia* was every Way *little*, & had but a *little Strength*. But our Lord assures His People here, that He would be to them, all that wherein *Eliakim*, in the Prophecy was a Shadow of Him; [Isa. 22.21, 22. and Isa. 9.5.] having the *Key of David*, as *Eliakim* the Governour of the Kings House of old, the Badge of whose Office was, *A Key wrought & weav'd in his Hood*. They lived scattering abroad in the Fields, fearing the *Earthquakes* that frequently shook the Town; but the Lord engages to protect them in this exposed Condition; and therewithal to give them an *open Door*, or an Opportunity to spread the Gospel in their Neighbourhood. He would also Convince and Reduce the *Nicolaitan* Faction at such a rate, that they should humbly come to the Church, and ask the Pardon of their Offences. And, in fine, He would save them from the *Hour of Temptation*, which was to *come upon all the World*, in *Trajan's* Persecution; and indeed the *little Figure* which this Church made in the World, caused the *less Notice* to be taken of it. There are Passages in the Epistles of *Ignatius*, which may give some Light, unto these things. When *Ignatius* was brought unto *Troas*, the Bishop of *Philadelphia* mett him there, whom *Ignatius* admires, not only

---

rest of their fellow creatures; and they are ever making out new things, which whilst other know nothing of, they plume their own selves on the preeminence of their knowledge before inexperienced mind." From Witsius, *Miscellaneorum sacrorum libri IV*, lib. 3, cap. 3, sec. 84, p. 694, Mather cites Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Job*, lib. 5, cap. 23 [PL 75. 703C; CCSL 143]; transl.: *Morals on the Book of Job* (1:275).

<sup>103</sup> From Witsius, a reference to the work of the Dutch Reformed theologian and orientalist, Ludovicus de Dieu (Lodewijk de Dieu, 1590–1642), *Critica Sacra, sive Animadversiones in loca quædam difficiliora Veteris et Novi Testamenti* (1693) on Rev. 3:4, p. 761.

for his Constancy, but also for his *Mansuetude*; τὴν ἐπιεικειαν, ὅς σιγῶν πλείονα δύναται τῶν ματαίᾳ λαλούντων, *Mansuetudinem, qui silens plura potest his qui Vana loquuntur*; and, τὸ ἀκίνητον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀοργητὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιεικείᾳ θεοῦ ζώντος, *Immobile ejus et Inirascibile, in omni Mansuetudinæ Dei vivere*. He describes the Church, as finding Propitiation, and established, ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ θεοῦ, *In Concordia Dei*;<sup>104</sup> and Triumphant in the Sufferings of Christ, and Assured of His Resurrection. By this, tis evident, how they were preserved in the *Hour of Temptation* then come upon the World. And it is there also intimated, That some *Jewes*, who had been very Troublesome unto them, were not only converted unto Christianity, but also became the zealous Preachers of it.

*Laodicea* is by *Tacitus*, and *Strabo*, and others, represented as a wealthy City;<sup>105</sup> and by its Wealth quickly recovering out of the Earthquakes which made fearful Desolations upon it. Its Riches lay especially in the fine and black *Wool*, which the *Sheep* in the adjacent Countrey yeilded; a Commodity whereof they made mighty Advantage. The Riches of the People here, plunged the Church into Slothfulness, and Luxury, and Security; from whence arose a gross Want of Self-Examination, and a very perfunctory Performance of all Religious Duties; but yett an High Conceit of themselves. The Lord Rebukes them for these Corruptions; and Exhorts them to look after a better Sort of *Riches*, than those which they were so taken withal. Certainly, the *white Raiment* which the Lord had for them, was better than the fine and black *Wool*, which was of so much account among them.

Upon the whole, all things run so Naturally in the *Historical* Sense; and they that go to make the *Seven Epistles*, to be the *Prophecies* of *Seven Periods*, are putt upon such cruel Strains, and their Fancies are so very Arbitrary, and *Witsius* ha's demonstrated, what *Coincidences* and *Confusions*, & *unproportionate Proceedings*, they run into; that I rather chuse to wave all Attempts to offer any of those prophetical and symbolical Expositions.

[8v] | [blank]

<sup>104</sup> The phrase τὴν ἐπιεικειαν, ὅς σιγῶν πλείονα δύναται τῶν ματαίᾳ λαλούντων [ten epieikeian, hos sigon pleiona dynatai ton mataia lalounton] means "[I have been amazed] at his gentleness; by being silent he can do more than those who speak idle thoughts"; τὸ ἀκίνητον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ἀοργητὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιεικείᾳ θεοῦ ζώντος [to akineton autou kai to aorgeton autou en pase epieikeia theou zontos] "[along with] his solid and anger-free character, manifest in all gentleness, which comes from the living God." From Witsius, a reference to Ignatius, *Letters, To the Philadelphians*, 1–3 [PG 5. 697]; transl.: *LCL* 24, pp. 284–85. The phrase ἐν ὁμόνοια θεοῦ [en homonoia theou] translates as "through God's unity."

<sup>105</sup> From Witsius, references to Tacitus, *The Annals*, 14.27; and Strabo, *Geography*, 12.8.20.

**Q.** The Seven famous *Asiatic* Churches, to whom our Lord sent His Epistles, tis worth while to know, what is become of them? v. 1.

**A.** The Condition of those Places at this Day, is by Travellers thus repræsented. In *Ephesus*, there are now only a few Cottages, & not so much as one Christian dwelling there.

*Smyrna*, is a Place of considerable Trade, but it hath no settled Inhabitants that wear the Name of Christian, except a few superstitious Greeks.

In *Pergamus*, there are about Fifteen Families professing a Græcian & Wretched Christianity; but infinitely miserable in Spirituals as well as Temporals.

In *Thyatira*, the Turks have eight *Moschs*, but very few Christians reside in it.

*Sardis*, once the Metropolis of *Lydia*, is now a beggarly Village. Wars, Fires, & Earthquakes, have overwhelmed it, with hideous desolations; there is nothing like a Church in that City.

In *Philadelphia*, there is a great Number of Men calling themselves *Christians*; there are Two Hundred Families of them; nevertheless, they are miserable Idolaters, in Slavery to the Turks, who are no Idolaters.

As for *Laodiceæ*, which was once a magnificent Place, it is now utterly destroy'd; it ha's not so much as one Inhabitant; the Doleful Creatures of the Desert, are all that live in it.<sup>106</sup>

I will here transcribe the Words of M. *Tournefort*, in his *Travels to the Levant*.

“Of the Seven Churches in the *Apocalypse*, *Smyrna* is the only one, which remains in any Reputation. The other Cities, that St. *John* counsell'd by our Lords Command, are either miserable Villages or utterly Ruined.”<sup>107</sup>

2830.

**Q.** What *Mysteries* may there be, in the *Seven Churches* of the *Lydian Asia*, being chosen to be written unto?

**A.** There may be many *Mysteries*.

The First I will give you, shall be This: The Glory of the House of *Shem*, was now expiring, in the Rejection of the *Jewes*. The Sons of *Japhet* are now to be *Blessed*. In the lesser *Asia* it was, that the Sons of *Japhet* first settled. And as

<sup>106</sup> From the work of the English scholar expelled Fellow of Magdalen college, Oxford and non-juring divine, Thomas Smith (1638–1710), *Remarks upon the Manners, Religion and Government of the Turks, together with a Survey of the Seven Churches of Asia* (1678), pp. 98–99, 219, 231, 240–44, 250–56.

<sup>107</sup> From de *Tournefort*, *A Voyage Into the Levant* (2:374).



*Japhet* had *seven Sons*, thus there are *Seven Churches* of our Lord Jesus Christ, in that *Asia*, now considered.<sup>108</sup>

1535.

**Q.** What Sort of *Overcomer* is it, that the Promises in the Epistles, are made unto?

**A.** Some have made this Devout Remark upon it; that the Promises are made, (as wee may render it,) *unto him that is overcoming*. It seems, the Participles being in the *present Tense*, may intimate somewhat of the *Divine Grace* unto us.<sup>109</sup>

[9v] |  
2925.

**Q.** Give us a good moral Observation upon the *Seven Churches*?

**A.** It is observable, That of the *Seven Churches* we read of in the *Revelation*, there are only *Two*, of whose *Troubles* there is no mention. *Sardis* is one of them; of whom tis said, *They had a Name to Live, and were Dead*. *Laodicea* is the other of them; of whom tis said, *They were neither Hott nor Cold*. From whence we see, That Hypocrisy, Formality, Indifferency in Religion, is the Way to escape *Troubles* in the World.<sup>110</sup>

**Q.** A Remark on our Lords, *walking in the Midst of the Churches*? v. 1.

**A.** Dr *Knight* observes; It is the same as to say, He is the *GOD of the Churches*. As it is written, *I will walk among you*, [or, in the Midst of you; Lev. XXVI.12.] *and will be your GOD, and ye shall be my People*.

Thus, *He holds* the Angels of the Churches *in His Right Hand*. It is the same that we read of the great GOD; Deut. XXXIII.3. *All His Saints are in thy Hand*.<sup>111</sup>

**Q.** The Church of *Ephesus*, not *bearing them which were Evil*? v. 2.

**A.** That Church was noted, for a zealous Execution of *Discipline*.

See 1. Cor. V. 1. 1. Tim. I.20. Tit. III.10. 2. Joh. 10.<sup>112</sup>

<sup>108</sup> Joseph Mede discusses the settlement of Asia by the seven sons of Japhet in "Discourse L" on Gen. 10:5 and the typical significance of the seven churches in *Short Observations on some passages of the Apocalypse*, ch. 10; see *Works*, bk. 1, pp. 276–85 and bk. 3, pp. 905–06. It is not clear, however, whether this is Mather's immediate source.

<sup>109</sup> From the work by the Presbyterian clergyman of King's Lynn, Charles Phelpes (fl. 1629–1709), *A Commentary: Or an Exposition with Notes on the Five First Chapters of the Revelation of Jesus Christ* (1678), at Rev. 2:7, p. 227.

<sup>110</sup> From the work of the Puritan divine and champion of Independency at the Westminster Assembly, Jeremiah Burroughs (ca. 1600–1646), *Moses His Choice, With his Eye fixed upon Heaven* (1650), p. 15. Burroughs might be drawing on Thomas Brightman, *A Revelation of the Revelation*, pp. 130–34.

<sup>111</sup> From James Knight, *Eight Sermons*, serm. 6, p. 222.

<sup>112</sup> From Waple, *The Book of the Revelation*, p. 19.

**Q.** Their *Trying* of the *False Apostles*? v. 2.

**A.** Such were foretold by the Apostle *Paul*, in his Admonition to the Church of *Ephesus*. Act. XX.29, 30.

From this Place, it seems that the *Canon* of the *Scripture* was already settled.<sup>113</sup>

**Q.** What might be meant by the *First Love*, which the *Ephesians* are blamed for *leaving*? v. 4.

**A.** Why not, the *Love*, that should be placed *First*? It is *Peganius's* Observation; That the Kernel of *Judaism*, at this time, lay in zealously fulfilling the *Mosaic Law* according to the *Letter* of it. By this, it came to pass, That the *Love* of *God* & our *Neighbour* was *post-pon'd*. *Love* did not stand *First*, in the regards of them, that professed Religion. Our Saviour often complains of this in the *Gospel*. [See Matth. 23.23.] Wherefore, He calls the *Commandment of Love*, both a *New Commandment*; [Joh. 13.34.] and *His own Commandment*. [Joh. 15.12.] *Love*, is become the genuine Mark of Christianity. [Joh. 13.35.] Never in any Religion, were the Poor so well provided for, as among the *First Christians*; as the *Acts of the Apostles*, and the *Epistles of Paul* do testify. It was the *First Love* also in this regard. Briefly, To *leave the First Love*, was, to leave the strict Rules of Christianity, & fall back to loveless, unlovely *Judaism*.<sup>114</sup>

I will add; *Grotius* thinks, That *Love*, and, *Desire*, may by Way of Allusion, be signified by the Word, *Ephesus*. The Greek Word here used for, the Remission of it, [ἀφεγκας] may have something of the like Allusion in it. [As, Mic. I.13, 14. & Rom. II.28, 29.]<sup>115</sup>

**Q.** The *Nicolaitans*? v. 6.

**A.** A Sort of Impure Hereticks, who, much about the Time of *Cerinthus*, A. C. 80 taught, That it was lawful to eat things sacrificed unto *Idols*; & that *Marriage* was a meer *Humane Institution*, which did not oblige the Conscience; and that *Fornication* & other Impurities were lawful.

This Church was yett free from the Opinions & Practices of these *Nicolaitans*: Tho' it afterwards fell into some of them. Yea, there were already some who *Forbad Marriage*. And this was a Step towards the *Nicolaitan* Pollution.<sup>116</sup>

<sup>113</sup> From Waple, *The Book of the Revelation*, pp. 19–20.

<sup>114</sup> From Peganius, *A Genuine Explication*, pp. 79–81.

<sup>115</sup> The word ἀφεγκας ([aphhekas] from ἀφίημι [aphiemi]) means “you have abandoned (the love).” From Grotius, in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (6:4723). See also Waple, *The Book of the Revelation*, p. 21.

<sup>116</sup> From Waple, *The Book of the Revelation*, p. 25.

[10r] | <sup>117</sup>

**Q.** The Promises to the *Overcomers*? v. 7.

**A.** Tis observable; They are taken from the Descriptions afterwards given in the latter Part of this Prophecy, of the *New Jerusalem*, or the *Kingdome of our Saviour*; which as they have *promoted*, so shall be their *Reward*.<sup>118</sup>

**Q.** The Circumstances of *Smyrna*? v. 8.

**A.** *Smyrna* is Northward from *Ephesus*; & about Forty Miles distant from it. It is now reckoned a metropolitical See. Yett it has no more than Two small Churches of *Greeks* in it, & one or two of *Armenians*.<sup>119</sup>

**Q.** That Expression, *They say they are Jewes, & are not*; have you mett with any Imitation of it in the Jewish Writings? v. 9.

**A.** In their Book *Nizzachon*, the Jewes have this Passage; *Fides* [quæ verum Judæum facit] *non consistit in Circumcisione, sed in Corde; qui non credit ut oportet, Circumcisio ejus non facit eum Judæum; qui verò credit ut oportet, ille est Judæus, etiamsi non sit circumciscus*.<sup>120</sup>

**Q.** Why does our Lord call them, *The Synagogue of Satan*? v. 9.

**A.** The Jewes putt very High Terms upon their *Synagogue*. It was called קהלא קדושה *Synagoga sancta*; And עדת קדושה *Congregatio sancta*; And בית אל *Domus Dei*. Behold, How our Lord Retunes their vain Præsumption!<sup>121</sup>

<sup>117</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>118</sup> From Waple, *The Book of the Revelation*, p. 26. Interestingly, Mather leaves out Waple's emphasis on overcoming the evils of state-churches.

<sup>119</sup> From Waple, *The Book of the Revelation*, p. 27.

<sup>120</sup> "Faith [that makes a true Jew] does not consist in circumcision, but in the heart. He who does not believe as he should, circumcision will not make a Jew. But he who believes as he should is a Jew, even if he is not circumcised." From Grellotus, *Prodromus*, pp. 31–32, a reference to a Latin translation of the thirteenth-century rabbinic apologetic text *Sefer Nizzachon Yashan*. The actual citation comes from the work of the Catalan Dominican friar, orientalist, missionary, and Christian controversialist Ramón Martí or Raymond Martini (c. 1220–1285), *Pugio Fidei, Observationes Ios. De Vosin in Proeumium*, p. 131. Composed around 1280, the *Pugio Fidei* ("Dagger of Faith") is a massive work of anti-Jewish apologetics that seeks to prove the truths of Christian doctrine from readings of the Talmud, the Midrash, and other rabbinic writings. In the early modern period, it was rediscovered by Justus Scaliger and published in a new and annotated edition by the Hebraist Joseph de Voisin under the title *Pugio Fidei Raymundi Martini Ordinis Predicatorum adversus Mauros et Judæos* (Paris 1651). In 1687, the Lutheran churchman Johann Benedict Carpzov published another edition in Leipzig and Frankfurt with an anti-Jewish preface (*JE*).

<sup>121</sup> Mather cites here an unusual mixture of Aramaic and Hebrew. The meaning of the terms are clear, however: The Talmudic phrase קהלא קדושה דבירושלם [qehala qeddiša debirualayim] signifies "the holy community which (is) in Jerusalem" (Mather's Latin translation thus leaves out "Jerusalem" and adjusts the adjective to the next phrase); while עדת קדושה ['edah qedušah] means "holy assembly." From Grellotus, *Prodromus*, p. 32, a reference to the Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Berakoth, 9b (Soncino, p. 49), and Jerusalem Talmud, Tractate Maaser

1413.

**Q.** Our Lord Jesus Christ, forewarns the Primitive Church, of, *A Tribulation for Ten Dayes*. What peculiar, & unobserv'd Sense may ly in the Præmonition? v. 10.

**A.** The Distinction of *Ten* primitive Persecutions, from the Pagans, is notorious to all the World.<sup>122</sup>

But I have somewhere mett with a further Curiosity, which, tho' it may look *little*, yett may have *something* in it. In *Ten Dayes*, there are Two Hundred & Forty *Hours*; and the Measure of Time in prophetical Scripture, by *Hours*, is often signalized. Now, from *Nero's* Persecution, to *Dioclesians*, there were Two Hundred and Forty Years; And from the Sixty Sixth Year of our Lord, there were Two Hundred & Forty Years, unto the Reign of *Constantine*.

Moreover, the *Tenth Persecution*, according to the Accurate Computation of Mr. *Pagi*, began Feb. 23. A. D. 303. and ended, Jun. 13. A. D. 313. when the Famous *Epocha* was instituted, of, *The Churches Freedom from Persecution*; which is mentioned by *Eusebius*, in his *Chronicon*; and by the Author of the *Alexandrian Chronicon*.<sup>123</sup>

**Q.** The Circumstances of *Pergamos*? v. 12.

**A.** *Pergamos* is Northward from *Smyrna*, about five hundred & forty furlongs. There are in it now, but a few Families of miserable Christians; tho' it was anciently the most famous & chief City of *Asia the Lesser*, & had been the Seat of the *Attalidæ*, who were potent Kings; & of the *Roman* Proconsuls.<sup>124</sup>

**Q.** The *Doctrine of Balaam*? v. 14.

**A.** Messieurs *Beausobre*, and *L'Enfant*, offer it as a very probable Supposal, That the Followers of the *Doctrine of Balaam* were the *Nicolaitans*. It is observable, that *Balaam* the Hebrew Name, signifies the very same, that *Nicolas* the Greek Name signifies; that is, *A Conqueror of the People*. These Gentlemen say, There is no Manner of Reason, to suppose that *Nicolas*, the Deacon mention'd in the *Acts*, was the Founder of this Filthy Sect; tho' it be asserted by *Ireneus*: and tho' they boasted of it, grounding themselves on an Ambiguous Expression, which

Scheni, 2.10. See *Talmud Yerushalmi*, 1,7/8, p. 209. בֵּית אֵל [bet 'el] is a term for the temple and also a toponym often used in the Hebrew Bible. At first, it was a place where Jacob dreamt of seeing angels and God, which he therefore named Bethel, meaning "House of El" or "House of God."

<sup>122</sup> From Peganius, *A Genuine Explication*, p. 88.

<sup>123</sup> From the work of the French Catholic church historian, François Pagi (1654–1721), *Breviarium historico-chronologico-criticum* (1717–1727), vol. 1, pp. 62–63. Pagi cites Eusebius, *Chronicon*, lib. 8; *Chronicon Alexandrinum* (*Chronicon Paschale*, c. 630) in the 1615 Greek-Latin ed. of Matthias Rader, *Chronicon Alexandrinum idemque astronomicum et ecclesiasticum*, p. 605. This last paragraph is in a different ink and seems to have been added later.

<sup>124</sup> From Waple, *The Book of the Revelation*, p. 16.

they say was used by *Nicolas*. But *Clemens of Alexandria* has clear'd him from this Imputation. The *Nicolaitans* quickly came to nothing.<sup>125</sup>

[10v]

Q. On that, *I will fight against them with the Sword of my Mouth?* v. 16.

A. It seems an Allusion unto the Slaughter of the *Idolatrour Israelites*, at the Command, (or, *by the Mouth*) of God; for joining themselves to *Baal-Peor*, upon the Instigation of *Balaam*. Num. XXV.4, 5.<sup>126</sup>

Q. Some Illustrations upon, *The Hidden Manna?* v. 17.

A. The Book *Zohar*, speaks wondrous Things about the *Manna*, reserved for the Life to come; saying, *De illo Manna comesturi sunt Justi in Sæculo futuro*.<sup>127</sup>

*Nachmanides* discourses more fully on it; *Quod filii Futuri Sæculi habeant Subsistentiam seu Sustentationem suam per Elementum vel Principium Mannæ; quod est Lux Superna et divina; sicut ajunt: In futuro Sæculo, neque edunt, neque bibunt, sed justi, sedent cum Coronis in Capitibus suis, et aluntur splendore Majestatis Divine. Fruuntur autem, vel sustentantur à Gloriâ Majestatis Divine, dum adhærent Deo, et conjunguntur cum eo*.<sup>128</sup>

<sup>125</sup> Mather cites the annotations on Rev. 2: 14–15 in the New Testament translation of Isaac de Beausobre and Jacques Lenfant, *Le Nouveau Testament de notre seigneur Jesus-Christ* (1718), vol. 2, p. 640. Isaac de Beausobre (1659–1738) and Jacques Lenfant (1661–1728) were Huguenot ministers forced into exile. While de Beausobre first went to Rotterdam and then to Berlin (where he served as a court preacher and subsequently became the superintendent of French churches in Brandenburg), Lenfant moved to Marburg and then completed his theological education in Heidelberg. He was ordained as a minister of the French Protestant church in 1684. In 1689, he became minister of a French church in Berlin. Their commentary was published in English in 1726 as *A New Version of all the Books of the New Testament, with a Literal Commentary on all the Difficult Passages* (1726). In *Adversus hæreses*, lib. 1, cap. 26 [PG 7. 685–87; SC 153], Irenæus argues that the sect of the Nicolaitans (Νικολαιτῆς) were followers of Nicolaus of Antioch, a proselyte who was among the seven men chosen to serve the Jerusalem congregation (Acts 6:5), who had forsaken true Christian doctrine. While Clement of Alexandria defended Nicolaus by insisting that his followers had misunderstood him, he observed that the Nicolaitans engaged in excessive sensual pleasures. See *Stromata*, 2.20 [PG 8. 1061–64; GCS 17].

<sup>126</sup> A summary of Grellotus, *Prodromus*, p. 33.

<sup>127</sup> “The righteous will be eating of this manna in the future age.” From Grellotus, *Prodromus*, p. 34, a reference to the *Book of Zohar*, 63a, on Ex. 16; see the Soncino ed. (1984), vol. 3, p. 196.

<sup>128</sup> “That the sons of the future age shall have their subsistence or sustenance by the element or principle of manna; which is a supernal and divine light, as they say. In the future age, they neither eat nor drink, but the righteous sit with crowns on their heads and are nourished by the splendor of the divine majesty. However, they delight in and are nourished by the glory of the divine majesty, as they adhere to God and are connected to him.” From Grellotus, *Prodromus*, p. 34, a citation from Ramban (Rabbi Mosheh ben Nahman, Nahmanides, 1194–1270) at Ex. 16, probably from his commentary on the Talmud *Chiddushei haRamban*.

Doubtless, the *Hidden Manna* alludes to that Reserved in the *Pott*, in the *Tabernacle* of old. This was, Exod. 16.33. *To be kept for your Generations*. In *Mekhilta*, tis thus expounded; *Pro diebus Messiae*.<sup>129</sup>

**Q.** The *white Stone*? v. 17.

**A.** It is thought, an Allusion to the Ancient Custome, of *Acquitting* the Accused, by a *white Stone*. They voted for Acquitting or Condemning, by *White* or *Black Stones* putt into an *Urn*. Or, that of giving such an one to *Conquerors*, in the *Games*, with their *Name*, & the Value of their *Prize* written on it, which none was to look on, but he that wun it. But because Allusions in this Prophecy are generally made unto Jewish Customes, & unto Passages in the Old Testament, one thinks, there may be an Allusion to the Stones on the *oracular Breast-Plate* of the *High-Priest*, which had the *Names* of the Children of *Israel* engraven on them for a Memorial. *High-Priest* is alwayes mindful of His People, & putts His Father in Remembrance of them. He will herewith secure to them a Part in His Kingdome of the *New Jerusalem*.<sup>130</sup>

**Q.** The Circumstances of *Thyatira*? v. 18.

**A.** *Thyatira* is distant from *Pergamus*, about *Forty Eight* Miles; And there is not now so much as one Christian Church in it. It was once called *Pelopea*, and *Semiramis*; but afterwards *θυγατειρα* and *Thyatira*, by *Seleucus Nicator*, upon the Newes he received there, of the Birth of a Daughter. The Term hitts well with a *Daughter* of *Jezabel*, here considerable.<sup>131</sup>

**Q.** *Jezabel*, the Prophetess? v. 21.

**A.** It is very probable, that old *Jezabel*, was a Prophetess of *Baal*. See, 1. King. XVIII.19. It was usual for those who ministred unto the Prophets, to be siezed with their *Enthusiasms*.<sup>132</sup>

**Q.** What may be the special Intention and Emphasis of that Passage, *I am He that searches the Reins*? v. 23.

<sup>129</sup> “For the days of the messiah.” From Grelletus, *Prodromus*, p. 35, a reference to *Mekhilta*, an early Midrash of Exodus attributed to Rabbi Jischmael ben Elischa (c. 70–135 CE), *Parascha Bo*, 16.13, at Ex. 16:33; for a German transl., see *Mekhilta. Ein tannaitischer Midrasch zu Exodus* (1909), p. 58.

<sup>130</sup> From Waple, *The Book of the Revelation*, p. 39.

<sup>131</sup> From Waple, *The Book of the Revelation*, p. 40. *Θυγατειρα* [Thygateira] is a variant of *Θυατειρα* [Thyateira], a city in northern Lydia, present-day Akhisar. It was anciently called *Pelopeia*, *Euhippa*, and *Semiramis*. See Pliny, *Natural History*, 5.31. Stephanus Byzantinus, *De urbibus* (1678 ed.), pp. 312–13, mentions that it previously existed under other names and relates that Seleucus Nicator gave it the name of Thygateira or Thyateira on being informed that a daughter (*θυγάτηρ* [thygater]) was born to him. Seleucus I Nicator (c. 358–281 BCE) was a Greek general under Alexander the Great and one of the Diadochi.

<sup>132</sup> From Waple, *The Book of the Revelation*, p. 42.

**A.** The Knowledge of the *most secret Things* in Man, is here challenged by our Lord. For, the *Reins* ly hid behind all the Bowels, and are the most secret of our secret Parts. *Anatomy* itself comes not at them, without abundance of Difficulty, and until many Parts are first removed out of the Way. When they are come at, they are found covered with a Fatt, which still will not lett them easily come into the Sight of the Discoverer. A little *Anatomy* would notably illustrate the Expression of, *searching the Reins*.<sup>133</sup>

And the libidinous Occasion of here using the Expression, adds to the Emphasis of it.

**Q.** Who are meant by, *The Children of Jezabel*? v. 23.

**A.** Her *Disciples*. It was a thing very usual in the Jewish Academies, for the *Disciples* of the *Prophets*, to be called בני נביאים/ *The Sons of the Prophets*. Yea, *Maimonides* will tell you, *Qui alium docet rem aliquam, vel qui Sententiam aliquam alicui communicat, habetur ac si genuisset ipsum*.<sup>134</sup>

<sup>133</sup> Mather seems to derive this entry from an aside on “searching the reins” in the description of the kidney in Thomas Bartholin, *Bartholinus Anatomy: Made from the Precepts of His Father, and from the Observations of All Modern Anatomists* (1668), p. 45.

<sup>134</sup> Mather offers a valid transl. of the Hebrew [bene hanevi'im]. Latin: “He who teaches another person something or who communicates an opinion to someone is looked at as if he had authored it himself.” From Grelotus, *Prodromus*, p. 36, a reference to Buxtorf’s Latin edition of Maimonides, *More Nevochim, Doctor Perplexorum*, pars 1, cap. 7, p. 11.

**Q.** The Circumstances of *Sardis*? v. 1.

**A.** *Sardis*, or *Sardes*, is distant about *Thirty three* Miles from *Thyatira* southward. It was anciently, as it appears by its Ruines, a magnificent, splendid, & superb City. It was the Seat of King *Cræsus*. It is now a most miserable Village; inhabited only by *Shepherds* and *Herdsmen*, & a few Ignorant Christians, without Church or Priest among them!<sup>135</sup>

**Q.** *A Few Names*? v. 4.

**A.** It may be a Metaphor; either from the *Names* of the Children of *Israel* taken by *Moses*. [Num. III.40, 43.] or, from the *High-Priest* bearing their *Names* on the Stones of His *Breast-Plate*; which being the Foundation-Stones of the *New Jerusalem*, the Names written on them, signify Excellent & Apostolical Members of the Church.<sup>136</sup>

**Q.** *A Name not blotted out of the Book of Life*? v. 5.

**A.** See Exod. XXXII.32. Psal. LXIX.28.

It seems a Phrase taken from the Custome recorded, Ezr. II.62, 63. where, the Jewes kept *Registers* of the Genealogies of their *Priests*; in which, if a Man were not found, he was putt from the *Priesthood*, as polluted. Or, it may be an Allusion, to an ancient Custome, of *Enrolling the Names of Citizens*, and *Blotting them out* of the public Registers, when they had forfeited their Priviledge. Whence also the Custome of *Blotting Names* out of the *Diptychs* of the Church.<sup>137</sup>

**Q.** The Circumstances of *Philadelphia*? v. 7.

**A.** *Philadelphia* is distant about Twenty seven Miles from *Sardis*. It is noted by *Strabo*, that it was never very populous nor famous, because very subject unto Earthquakes. Yett it withstood the Fury of the *Turks*, with great Constancy & Bravery, when all the rest of *Asia* submitted; and it ha's now in it, *Four Churches* of *Greeks*, and about *Two Thousand Christians*.<sup>138</sup>

**Q.** The *Key of David*? v. 7.

**A.** The Expression is taken from, Isa. XXII.22. where *Eliakim*, [one who was a Type of our Saviour, and whose Name signifies, one *Raised or Settled by*

<sup>135</sup> From Waple, *The Book of the Revelation*, p. 50. Interestingly, Mather omits Waple's (and Brightman's) reading of Sardis as a type of the churches of the Reformation.

<sup>136</sup> From Waple, *The Book of the Revelation*, p. 53.

<sup>137</sup> From Waple, *The Book of the Revelation*, p. 54.

<sup>138</sup> From Waple, *The Book of the Revelation*, p. 55, a reference to Strabo, *Geography*, 12.8.



God] has the *Key of the House of David* given unto him. A *Key* is an Ensign of Government. The House or Court of *David*, is the Church; especially in the *New Jerusalem*, the City of *David*. Our Saviours Government over the Church, is here intimated.<sup>139</sup>

**Q.** What may be meant by the *little Strength*, ascribed unto the Church at *Philadelphia*? v. 9.

**A.** A *little Strength*, is, as *Peganius* observes, a small Number of People. The Signification of it, is to be fetch'd from the Hebrew, חֵיל/ *Copia*.<sup>140</sup>

**Q.** The Meaning of that, *To come and worship before thy Feet*? v. 9.

**A.** There seems to have been a Type of what is here foretold, Gen. XLII.6. XLIV.14. when *Josephs* Brethren, who had been the Authors of his Afflictions, came & bowed down before him to the Ground, after his Exaltation to the Government of *Egypt*.

It was also the Custome for Scholars, to *sitt at the Feet* of their Masters. To worship at their *Feet*, may note their Learning of them; and, tho' in an inferior Degree, joining with them in their Worship.

It seems to be taken from, Isa. LX.14. The Words may be also carried thus, – *come and worship* [God] *before thy Feet*. See 1. Cor. XIV.25.<sup>141</sup>

**Q.** Our Lords *New Name*, to be written on His Servants; A little Illustration upon it? v. 12.

**A.** *Grellot* observes; That the Prophets all along foretel for the People of God, a *New Name*, to be derived from the *Messiah*.

Particularly, Psal. 72.17. *Filiabitur Nomen ejus*; which both the Chaldee Paraphrast, & *Kimchi*, apply to the *Messiah*.<sup>142</sup> It may have this Paraphrase; *Nomen Messiæ propagabitur, ut fieri solet per Filios, a Patre Nomen accipientes*.<sup>143</sup>

<sup>139</sup> From Waple, *The Book of the Revelation*, pp. 55–56.

<sup>140</sup> From חֵיל [hayil] “power, wealth, army.” Latin “abundance, troops.” From *Peganius, A Genuine Explication*, p. 111.

<sup>141</sup> From Waple, *The Book of the Revelation*, p. 59.

<sup>142</sup> “His name shall be continued by male succession.” From *Grellotus, Prodrumus*, p. 40, a reference to the Targum on Ps. 72:17 (“His name shall endure for ever; KJV); but cf. the Latin Targum in Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:198) that does not have this messianic interpretation: “Erit nomen ejus semper memorabile” (“whose name shall ever be remembered”); reference is also made to the gloss of *Kimchi* on that verse in his commentary on Psalms; see the Latin ed. *Rabbi Davidis Kimchi Commentarii in Psalmos Davidis* (1666), p. 314, which explains: “ut sit verbum passivum significans, filiabitur, quasi diceret, sicut filius est memoria patris, ita eius nomen perpetua erit memoria bonorum ejus operum quae est facturus” (“that the passive verb, *filibatur*, may signify, as it were, just as the son is the memory of the father, so his [the father's] name shall ever be remembered by his [the son's] good works that are going to be performed [by him]”).

<sup>143</sup> “The name of the Messiah shall be propagated – as it usually happens through the sons who receive their name from the father.”

Compare, Isa. 62.2. *Thou shalt be called by a New Name, which the Mouth of the Lord shall Name.* Grellot understands it of the Name, *Christian*.

The *Talmuds*, on Isa. 43.7. have this Remark; *Justos nominandos de Nomine Sancti Benedicti*; i. e. Dei.<sup>144</sup> |

[11v]

The *Name* here is written on those who were *Pillars*. Here may be an Allusion to the Inscriptions which were usually made upon *Pillars*. The Title of the sixteenth Psalm, in the Greek is, *An Inscription on a Pillar*. And *Absaloms Pillar*, [2. Sam. XVIII.18.] might probably have his Name engraven on it.<sup>145</sup>

**Q.** The Circumstances of *Laodicea*? v. 14.

**A.** It was once a City of great Riches and Renown. It is now only an heap of Ruines, inhabited by none but Wild-beasts. Monsr. *Spon*, after all his Search, could not find out where it stood; our Lord ha's utterly *spewed it out of His Mouth*.<sup>146</sup>

**Q.** What Emphasis is there in our Lords *Counsel* unto the *Laodiceans*, To Buy of Him? v. 18.

**A.** Our Lord is called, Isa. 9.6. *A Counsellour*.

The *Laodiceans* were a very merchandising Sort of People; *Terrenorum Mercimoniis quàm par erat, addictiores*.<sup>147</sup> Our Lord calls them off to the Heavenly *Merchandise*. The Things which are bestow'd by Him *gratis*, are here proposed to be pursued, under the Notion of *Merchandise*. Of this, the Jewes have a Notable Saying; *Is negotiatur fœliciter, qui Caducum vendit pro æterno*.<sup>148</sup>

**Q.** On that Expression, *I will sup with him, and he with me*? v. 20.

**A.** 'Tis what the Holy One did with His People of old, in the Ancient *Sacrifices*. The Consideration of the *Sacrifices*, wherein our SAVIOUR will *Feast* with His People, may here lead us into Views that may be full of Instruction to us.

<sup>144</sup> "[T]hat the righteous shall come to be named after the Holy Blessed One, i. e. God." From Grellotus, a reference to the Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Baba Bathra, ch. 5, 75b (Soncino, *Talmud Nezikin*, vol. 2, pp. 302–03).

<sup>145</sup> From Waple, *The Book of the Revelation*, p. 61. This paragraph was added later.

<sup>146</sup> From Waple, *The Book of the Revelation*, p. 62, a reference to George Wheeler and Jacob Spon, *Journey Into Greece* (1682), bk. 3, p. 264. Jacob Spon (1647–1685) was a French doctor and archeologist. He made a name for himself exploring monuments in the Mediterranean world and Asia Minor. He was the author of numerous pamphlets recounting his voyages published in French, English, Dutch, Latin, and German.

<sup>147</sup> "More beholden to earthly goods than one should be." From Grellotus, *Prodromus*, p. 41.

<sup>148</sup> "A man makes a fortunate deal who trades the perishable for something eternal." Grellotus draws on Johannes Buxtorf, *Florilegium hebraicum*, p. 232.

**Q.** What is intended, in the *Vision* that *John* had of the *Throne*, and the *Four Animals*, [our Word, *Beasts*, is too coarse a Translation:] and the *Twenty four Elders*? v. 1.

**A.** This *Vision*, may be a Representation of the *Church*, on Earth in all Ages. It is here exhibited, according to the Instituted Pattern, of a *Church*, into which all the *Saints* on Earth, should be moulded.

The *Church* is the *Theatre*, on which the great Things that follow, are to be Acted. The Members of it, are the *Chorus*, who upon solemn Occasions give their Acclamations of Glory to God.

But here is an Allusion to the *Temple* of old, carried on. Here God sits on a *Throne*, as there on the *Mercy-Seat* in the *Holy of Holies*. Here are seven *golden Lamps*, as there the *Candlesticks*. Here is a *Sea of Glass* to wash in, as there one of *Brass*. *Altars* are here, as there were in that.<sup>149</sup>

For the whole *Vision*, you must attentively compare, the First Chapter of *Ezekiel*.<sup>150</sup>

**Q.** *I saw a Throne*.] To what alludes it? v. 2.

**A.** 'Tis an Allusion to what was in the *Holy of Holies*, in the *Temple*. Compare Isa. 6.1. and Ezek. 43.7.

The *Throne* is in the Midst of the *Elders*, and the *living Creatures*; to signify, the Lords Dwelling in the Midst of His *Church*.

Dr *Goodwin* observes hereupon; To sett up a *Church*, is to sett up God and Christ a *Throne*.<sup>151</sup>

Upon the *Door opened in Heaven*, I will make no Reflections; for I expect little Service from the Traditions of the Jewish *Cabala*, about the *Two Gates of Heaven*, /מגדין/ *Megadin*, and /גבולון/ *Gabbelon*.<sup>152</sup>

<sup>149</sup> This entry is drawn from Thomas Goodwin, *An Exposition of the Revelation* (1639), at Rev. 1 in *The Works of Thomas Goodwin, D. D.*, vol. 3 ([1681–1705] 1861–1866), pp. 1–3. Influenced by Brightman and Mede, Goodwin wrote his commentaries on Revelation during the 1630s but first delivered them in 1639 as sermons while in exile in the Netherlands. They were published for the first time in 1683 as part of the posthumous edition of Goodwin's works. For more on Goodwin's millennialism and its significance for Mather, see the Introduction.

<sup>150</sup> This last sentence is a later addition.

<sup>151</sup> From Goodwin, *An Exposition* (*Works* 3:3).

<sup>152</sup> From Grelotus, *Prodromus*, p. 43, a reference to the *Book of Zohar*, 2, 209b, where a special heaven above the land of Israel is mentioned. The opening, called *Gavlon*, marks the middle of this heaven, while the outer border or gate is called *Magdon*. In the translation of Daniel Matt, *The Zohar*, Pritzker Edition, vol. 6, p. 194: "In the middle of all those heavens lies one opening called Gavlon, and beneath this opening are seventy other openings, with seventy princes keeping guard at a distance of two thousand cubits, approaching no closer. That

4598.

**Q.** Who sits on the *Throne*?

**A.** God in Christ; *Reconciled* (as the *Rainbow* intimates,) unto His Church. Compare, Ezek. 1.26.

Tho' *He who sits on the Throne*, and the *Lamb*, seem distinct, yett they are together mentioned.<sup>153</sup>

4599.

**Q.** Who may be meant by the *Twenty Four Elders*? v. 4.

**A.** Why not, The *Church*; which is not now, as under the Old Testament, like *Children under Age*; And which ought to maintain all possible *Gravity*, in their Assemblies and Proceedings?

They are *Twenty Four*, in Allusion to the *Twenty Four* Heads of those Orders of *Levites*, who were *Porters* and *Singers*, established by *David*.

It may intimate the *Increase* of the Church under the New Testament; in which the Heads of the *Twelve Tribes* are multiplied unto *Twenty Four*.<sup>154</sup>

One ha's this Thought upon it. The Church of *Israel*, as it shall be advanced by *Christ* in His Kingdome, are plainly called, The *Ancients*, or the *Elders* of the Lord; Isa. XXIV.23. Why then, may not this be more peculiarly a Representation of that Church, & of its being brought peculiarly near to our Lord, in His Kingdome?<sup>155</sup>

4600.

**Q.** What Remarks upon their Circumstances?

**A.** They are *cloathed in white Rayment*; which signifies; That they are *Priests*.

They have *Crowns of Gold on their Heads*; which signifies, That they are *Kings*.

They are *Round about the Throne*; which may intimate, that the meanest Saint is as near and dear to God, as the greatest. Thus, the Word for the *Table*, where the Saints do sitt, with the Lord, is, Cant. 1.12. *A Round Table*.<sup>156</sup>

---

opening extends higher and higher until reaching the supernal Throne, and from that opening extend all directions of heaven until the gateway called Magdon, which marks the border of the land of Israel."

153 From Goodwin, *An Exposition* (Works 3:3).

154 From Goodwin, *An Exposition* (Works 3:4).

155 From Waple, *The Book of the Revelation*, p. 71. This entry reflects Mather's long-time view of the special role that natural Israel would play in the millennium, a view which he changed toward the end of his life, as reflected in many revisions across the "Biblia."

156 From Goodwin, *An Exposition* (Works 3:4).

[12v]

|  
4601.

**Q.** What are the *Thundrings* and *Lightnings*, and *Voices*, proceeding out of the *Throne*? v. 5.

**A.** The *Thundrings* and *Lightnings*, are the Judgments of God. [Compare, Ps. 18.13, 14.] These Judgments come from God, sitting in His *Church*, and concern'd for it. [Compare, Amos. 1.2.]

The *Voices*, intimate, *Promises* of these Judgments; and Answers of *Prayers* in them.<sup>157</sup>

**Q.** What intimates, *The Sea of Glass like unto Christa*? v. 6.

**A.** It is an Allusion to the *Sea*, that *Solomon* made. But this appears purer, than *that*, which was only of *Brass*. [consider, Heb. 10.22. and 1. Cor. 6.11. & Tit. 3.5.]

The Blood of our Saviour stands in the Church, as the *Sea*, in which we must *wash*: And this very particularly when we come to worship.<sup>158</sup>

**Q.** Who are meant by the *Four living Creatures, full of Eyes before and behind*? v. 6.

**A.** They seem to denote the *Officers* of the Church. For, their Scituation is between the *Throne* and the *Elders*. And they *lead* the *Praise*; they are the *Mouthes* of the Congregation. The *Throne* is *Four-Square*; They are *in the Midst*; that is, *between every Angle*. They should look every Way, to all the Necessities of the Church.

They are *Full of Eyes*; because they are to be *Overseers*. And they have *Eyes within*, as well as *without*; being to see to their own Hearts, as well as to others.<sup>159</sup>

Too fine and too strain'd (for me,) are the Speculations of those Gentlemen, who try to find, each of the Church-Officers, answered in the several *Animals*.<sup>160</sup>

**Q.** We may carry on our Speculation?

**A.** Why should not these *Four Animals* have some Respect unto the *Four Monarchies*, by which the Church is oppressed in the World? This is *Grellots* Notion.<sup>161</sup> These may be the *Angels* that præside over those *Monarchies*, & defend the Church from their Oppressions. Those *Monarchies* are the *Four Horns* in the Visions of *Zachariah*; so *Kimchi*, & the other Jewish Interpreters understand

<sup>157</sup> From Goodwin, *An Exposition* (Works 3:4–5).

<sup>158</sup> From Goodwin, *An Exposition* (Works 3:2).

<sup>159</sup> From Goodwin, *An Exposition* (Works 3:5).

<sup>160</sup> See, for instance, Brightman, *A Revelation of the Revelation*, pp. 181–82, where such a reading is offered.

<sup>161</sup> From Grellotus, *Prodromus*, p. 51.

them.<sup>162</sup> These *Four Animals*, may be the same, with the *Four Smiths*, which there take those *Horns* under their Restraining Influences.

**Q.** And yett, if you please, a little further Speculation?

**A.** Mr. *Brightman* thinks, That the *Four Animals* may denote Four successive States of the Church. The *Lion* setteth forth the State of the Church in the primitive times; They had *Lion*-like Spirits, that were able to encounter the rage of persecuting Emperours, to endure all kind of torments without having their Hearts daunted at all.<sup>163</sup> Thus Mr. *Burroughs* improves the Notion. The Second State of the Church was the *Oxe*. Antichrist prevailing, they were like the *Oxe*, an heavy & dull Creature, fitt to bear Burdens. But then the Third is the *Man*. A Man enquires after the Reason of Things, & understands them, and affects Liberty. At the Beginning of the Reformation, the Church entred into such a State; Men would not now take the Yoke of Antichrist, as they did before; they had been led like *Beasts*, but now they will be *Men*, & understand what they do. And then, the Fourth is that of the *Eagle*; namely, for High Flights of Christianity. The Church must come into a Condition, wherein Men shall be of Heavenly Minds, and sore up like the *Eagle*, in their Dispositions.<sup>164</sup>

| 165

[13r]

**Q.** Some general *Idea* of the *Revelation*, would be very agreeable at our Entrance upon it?

**A.** Without any Confinement unto his Expression, I will keep somewhat near unto the *Idea* which Dr *Goodwyn* has offered of it.<sup>165</sup>

We have here, as on a *Theatre*, a Vision, of what shall befall the World, and the Church in the World, from the Time of our Lords Ascension, to the Time of His Coming to Judgment. It is the History of the Kingdome of our Lord JESUS CHRIST, and the Removal of the several Difficulties, that ly in the Way of His Coming to it.

First, we have the *Theatre* erected, in the *Fourth* Chapter; A Representation of the *Universal Church*, not without a Pattern for an *Instituted Church*.

<sup>162</sup> From Grellotus, a reference to Kimchi's commentary on Zech. 1:21 [Zech 2:1 Heb] in *Mikraoth Gedoloth, Twelve Prophets*, p. 323.

<sup>163</sup> A reference to Brightman, *A Revelation of the Revelation*, pp. 182–86.

<sup>164</sup> Mather cites Jeremiah Burroughs, *Jerusalem's Glory breaking the forth into the World* (1684), "The Third Sermon," pp. 105–07.

<sup>165</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>166</sup> In this section (and to the end of his analysis of chapter 4), Mather quotes and paraphrases the work of Thomas Goodwin, *A Brief History of the Kingdom of God. Extracted Out of the Book of Revelation*, included as an epilogue to his *An Exposition of the Revelation* (1639), in *The Works of Thomas Goodwin* (3:207–18). Mather's purpose with this final question also seems to be in accord with Goodwin, who wrote, "This tract is merely a Synopsis, or Table of Contents, of the *Exposition of the Revelation* . . ."

Then comes the *Prologue*, in the *Fifth* Chapter; our Lords Undertaking, to be the *Commissioner*, that should both exhibit, and execute, all that was going to be exhibited; And the Acclamations of the *Chorus* thereupon.

The Place where all is to be acted, is, *The Roman Empire*.

The Story follows; at the *Sixth* Chapter.

The Government of our Lord JESUS CHRIST over the World is to be discovered and administred; First, In Putting down all opposite Power, that stands in the Way; And, Then, in Assuming the Kingdome visibly to Himself, and the Saints; Accordingly, we have here the Story, how the Lord Putts down all the Essayes of Power in the *Roman Empire* one after another, that opposed His Kingdome; in several Successions, until He ha's worn out all that stand in the Way of His Coming to His Kingdome. But it Ends in a glorious Kingdome, which our Lord Setts up under the whole Heaven, and Employes His Holy Ones in the Management of it.

Our Lord ascending to the Heavens, at the Time, when the *Roman Monarchy* in its *pagan* Character, extended both East and West, where our Lord was to have His Church, and the World was wholly under the Dominion of *Satan, the God of this World*; HE begins with Overthrowing this Empire of Satan, and with Distressing the Roman Monarchy, until it, and the Emperours of it are converted unto Christianity. This is the Business of the *Sixth* Chapter; and of that which we may call, *The Seal-Prophecy*. And the *Twelfth* Chapter of the *Book-Prophecy* gives us an Abridgment of this great Event.

But after the Empire was thus far *Christianized*, yett the Rebellion against the Kingdome of our Lord continued; especially in the *Arian* Persecutions.<sup>167</sup>

A Ruine must therefore be brought upon the civil Power of the Empire. This is the Business of the *Trumpetts*, in the *Eighth* and *Ninth* Chapters. The *Western* Part of the Empire, must fall by the *Four First Trumpetts*, and the *Gothic* Troubles. | The *Eastern* Part of the Empire, must Fall by the *Saracens* first, and then by the *Turks*.

Only, an 144000 Christians, must be first secured, that a Profession of True Christianity may be præserted under all these Calamities.

The *Western* Part of the Empire, being by the *Goths* broke into *Ten Kingdomes*, they all with one Consent Resign themselves unto the Command and Conduct of the *Pope*, who becomes the Successor to the Emperours of the *West*, and *Possessor* of their Empire, & *heals the Wound* that had been given to the *Roman Monarchy*.

The *Thirteenth* Chapter describes this Beast, and the *Seventeenth* expounds it.

<sup>167</sup> A reference to the persecution of non-Arian Christians conducted by the Arian emperor Valens (364–378) in the East.

Under His Antichristian Tyranny, our Lord preserves another Company of 144000 Christians; by whom He maintains His Church here as His Inheritance; And they are called *Virgins* in Opposition to the *Scarlett-Whore*; of their Circumstances we read in the *Fourteenth* Chapter.

Our Lord being by such Enemies kept as far off His Kingdome as He was before, He setts Himself to overcome the Remaining Difficulties, by pouring out His *Vials* upon these Enemies; whereof we read in the *Fifteenth* and *Sixteenth* Chapters.

Then ensues a *Funeral Song* of Triumph, over the Ruine of the *Antichrist*; in the *Eighteenth* Chapter.

And then the *Gathering* of both *Jewes* and *Gentiles* to serve the Lord; and the Descent of the *New Jerusalem* from Heaven, and that Kingdome of the Lord, which is to continue for a *Thousand Years*.

This is the Summ of the Matter.



**Q.** Many & obvious Reasons are given why the Book exhibited unto *John*, is a *sealed Book*. But may we not add one, which has not been commonly observed? v. 1.

**A.** The *sealed Book*, is a Prophecy relating to the *civil Government* of the Empire. *Peganius* thinks, That the Proposing of these Matters, as under a *Seal*, carried with it an Instruction unto the Christians, to keep them secret; Because, if they should come to be known by the Heathen Magistrate, it might raise a Persecution against them.<sup>168</sup>

4709.

**Q.** Why is our Lord JESUS CHRIST called, *The Root of David*? v. 5.

**A.** The Denomination is fetch'd from, Isa. 11.10. But we may putt a Quæstion, like what our Saviour putt of old; How could He be called, *The Root of David*, if He were, *The Son of David*? Indeed our Lord is the *Root of David*, & of all the Saints. He was the *Root* of His Ancestors, and the Father of His Mother.

We may add; The *Root* of any Family, is in the Scripture putt for the *eldest Son* in it, who is as the *Root* of the rest. So we read; Isa. 14.30. *I will kill thy Root with Famine*; that is, thy First-born, the *Root* of the House: In Opposition it is said, *The First-born of the Poor shall be fed*. [Mal. 4.1.]

Our Lord is the *David*, who is the *Root*. This is as much as to say, *He is the First-born among many Brethren*. [Compare, Rom. 8.29. and, Psal. 89.27.] The *Root of David* is, *The First-born of every Creature*.<sup>169</sup>

4710.

**Q.** Why is our Lord called, *The Lion of the Tribe of Judah*?

**A.** It is a manifest Allusion to the Prophecy in the Forty ninth of *Genesis*. It warrants the Application of the Prophecy, to the *Messiah*.

*Judah* was called, *A Lion*, because of the worthy and valiant Men, [who, as the Expression is, 2. Sam. 17.10. had *Hearts like Lions*;] belonging to this Tribe; as, *Joshua*, *Othniel*, *David*, who were Types of our Lord JESUS CHRIST. A *Lion* is also the Emblem of a *Kingdome*; and *Judah* had the *Kingdome*. The Land likewise was taken as a *Prey*, by the *Hero's* of *Judah*, doing the Part of a *Lion*; whereupon they *couched*, and had Rest, in the Dayes of *Solomon*. Our Lord Jesus Christ ha's been Resembled in these things. He ha's overcome the Enemies that kept us out of our Inheritance. Having *led Captivity captive*, He sits down

<sup>168</sup> From Peganius, *A Genuine Explication*, pp. 124–25.

<sup>169</sup> From Goodwin, *An Exposition of the Revelation* (Works 3:9).

at Rest, in the Heavens, till the Day of Judgment. Then being *Roused*, how wonderfully will He *leap upon the Prey!* The *Gatherings of the People* shall then be to Him; and His Kingdome shall be, [Mic. 5.8.] *As of a Lion among the Beasts.*<sup>170</sup>

I will only add this. Tis a surprising Passage, in a Letter from the King of *Morocco*, to a late King of *England*, [*Charles*, the Second;] “Your great Prophet, CHRIST JESUS, was, *The Lion of the Tribe of Judah*, as well as, *The Lord and Giver of Peace*: which may signify unto you, That he which is a Lover and Maintainer of *Peace*, must alwayes appear with the Terror of his *Sword*; and wading thro’ *Seas of Blood* must arrive to Tranquillity.”<sup>171</sup>

Upon this Hint [from a most unlikely Author truly!] methoughts, In our Lords being styled, *The Lion of the Tribe of Judah*, we might see an Intimation of the *Tearing Dispensations*, which a sinful World must undergo, before the promised Kingdome of our Lord, be effectually and universally sett up in the World.

|

[14v]

**Q.** The *Messiah* is here exhibited as a *slain Lamb*; it may be worth our while to hear the Confession of the *Jewes*, concerning that Matter? v. 6.

**A.** Their *Jalkut* out of *Pesikta*, [on Isa. 60.] has this astonishing Passage, about the *Sufferings of the Messiah*.

*Quia portassi Iniquitates filiorum nostrorum, et transiverunt super te afflictiones duræ, quales nec super Priores, nec super Superiores transiverunt, erisque in Irrisionem et Subsannationem inter Gentes, propter Israelem, sedebis in Tenebris et Caligine, neque Oculi tui videbunt Lucem, et adhærebit Cutis tua Ossibus tuis, et Corpus tuum erit aridum instar Ligni, Oculi tui caligabunt à jejunio, et Virtus tua exarescet sicut testa; omniaque tibi evenient propter Peccatum filiorum nostrorum.*<sup>172</sup>

4711.

**Q.** Why does *John* see our Lord stand a *Lamb as it had been slain*? v. 6.

<sup>170</sup> From Goodwin, *An Exposition of the Revelation* (Works 3:9–10). Mather added the quote from Mic. 5:8 himself.

<sup>171</sup> Mather seems to be quoting a short pamphlet, published in London, that reproduced the text of a letter sent by Isma'il, Sultan of Morocco to King Charles II of England. Isma'il, Sultan of Morocco (d. 1727), *The King of Morocco's Letter by his Ambassador to the King of England* (1682), p. 2.

<sup>172</sup> “Because you carried the iniquities of our sons, and overcame hard afflictions the like of which were not overcome by earlier or superior men, you will be ridiculed and mocked among the gentiles on account of Israel; but you will stay in shadows and darkness, and your eyes will not see light, and your skin will not be attached to your bones, your body will be as dry as wood; your eyes will darken from exhaustion, and your strength will dry out like a brick of clay. All these things will happen to you because of the sin of our sons.” From Grelotus, *Prodromus*, p. 72, a reference to a Midrash on Isa. 60 in a ninth-century collection of Aggadic Midrashim, *Pesikta Rabbati*, Piska, 36.1 (Braude, vol. 2, pp. 678–79).

**A.** Our Lord is called, *A Lamb*, in Allusion, to the *Sacrifices* of the Old Law.<sup>173</sup>  
[See Num. 28.3.]

The *Kingly* Office of our Lord, was considered, in calling Him, *A Lion*. His *Priestly* Office, in calling Him, *A Lamb*. *Moses* called Him, *A Lion*; *Isaiah* call'd Him, *A Lamb*. He is all that the Old Testament represented Him.

He is in the *Midst of the Throne*.] Nearer than the *Four Animals*. He is the *Mediator* between God and His Church.

*As it had been slain*.] That is, As if He were *newly slain*. His Blood remains Fresh, as if He had been *slain* but yesterday.

And yett He is only, *AS* He had been *slain*. He does not remain *slain*. *Behold, He is Alive forevermore*.<sup>174</sup>

4712.

**Q.** What are the *Seven Horns of the Lamb*?

**A.** *Horns* note *Kingly* Power. [Compare, Rev. 17.12.] *Seven*, is a Number of Perfection. A Perfection of *Kingly* Power, is here ascribed unto our Lord.

*Seven Seals*, and *Seven Trumpetts*, and *Seven Vials*, occur in the *Apocalypse*. Our Lord having *Seven Horns*, ha's Power to fulfill all of these.

The Church need not fear *Antichrist*, with his *Two Horns*. The *Lamb*, with *Seven Horns*, will be too hard, for *Antichrist*. Yea, and for the *Ten Horns* that receive their Power one Hour with *Antichrist*. Yea, and for the Divel, the *Roaring Lion* too.

The Reflections are Dr. *Goodwins*.<sup>175</sup>

**Q.** What are the *seven Eyes of the Lamb*?

**A.** Why do they not intimate the *Providence* of the Lord, & the Perfection of His *Knowledge* and *Wisedome*, in the Managing of it? He ha's *Eyes* to guide all things, as well as *Horns*, to Do what He will.

[Compare, Zech. 4.10. and, 2. Chron. 16.9.]<sup>176</sup>

**Q.** Upon what Accounts, may the Titles of a *Lamb*, and a *Lion*, in Conjunction be here given to our Lord?

**A.** In relation to the Work of *Redemption* anon to be celebrated, there was necessary. First, A *Price* to be paid for us. This is done by the slain *Lamb*: Secondly, A *Power* to rescue us from the Chains that held us; This is the Part of the *Lion*.

Again, In relation to the *Opening* of the *Book*, & the *Fulfilling* of the *Affairs* contained in it. As a *Lamb*, our Lord was to Dy for the Purchase of this. Every

<sup>173</sup> See Appendix A.

<sup>174</sup> From Goodwin, *An Exposition of the Revelation* (Works 3:10–11).

<sup>175</sup> From Goodwin, *An Exposition of the Revelation* (Works 3:11).

<sup>176</sup> From Goodwin, *An Exposition of the Revelation* (Works 3:11).

*Revelation* cost the same that our *Salvation* did. And as a *Lion* He must have the Courage to encounter the Wrath of God, & break thro' a *consuming Fire*; and *overcome Death* itself. They say, A *Lion* sleeps the First Three Dayes after he is brought forth, but then being Rowed by the Roaring of the old Lion, he after that sleeps the least of any Creature.<sup>177</sup>

**Q.** Is there not a Point of Holy *Imitation*, to be learnt, from our Lords being Resembled unto a *Lamb* having *Seven Horns*, & *Seven Eyes*?

**A.** Yes. Behold the wonderful Patience of our Lord JESUS CHRIST; continued even in His *Exaltation*. Tho' He hath *Seven Eyes*, even a full View of all the Affronts, which a foolish & forlorn World give unto Him; and He hath *Seven Horns*, even Ability enough to Revenge all those Affronts; yett He is a *Lamb* still; He bears all with infinite Patience.

| <sup>178</sup>

[15r]

**Q.** On our Saviours *Taking the Book out of the Hand of Him that sate on the Throne?* v. 7.<sup>179</sup>

**A.** We are to take Notice, that the *Book* is now *sealed*; For the *Kingdome* was not yett to appear, but by *Steps* and *Degrees*, according to the *Opening of the Seals*, until the *Seventh Trumpet* of the *Seventh Seal*. During which Time, our Saviour is to sitt in the Expectation of His *Kingdome*, at the *Right Hand of God*, until His Father make His *Foes* become His *Footstool*. [Psal. CX.1. and, 1. Cor. XV.25, 27.]<sup>180</sup>

4715.

**Q.** Lett us consider the *Doxologies*, upon our Lords obtaining to have the Book of the *Revelation* opened?

Why do the *Twenty Four Elders*, and the *Four Living Creatures*, begin the Song? v. 8.

**A.** They both *Begin* it, and *Conclude* it. The *Church* seems to be intended by them. The *Church* is principally concerned in the *Matter* of the Song: And Gods greatest Work, even that of *Redemption*.<sup>181</sup>

4716.

**Q.** Why are *Harps*, & *golden Vials full of Odors*, assign'd unto them? v. 8.

**A.** Tis an Allusion to the *Levitical Service* in the *Temple*; where they had *musical Instruments*, and *Incense in Bowls*, which were called, *The Bowls of the Altar*.

<sup>177</sup> From Goodwin, *An Exposition of the Revelation* (Works 3:11–12).

<sup>178</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>179</sup> See Appendix A.

<sup>180</sup> Similarly, Hammond, in *A Paraphrase* (4:541).

<sup>181</sup> From Goodwin, *An Exposition of the Revelation* (Works 3:13).

These were Types of the *Prayers* and *Praises* of the Saints. And accordingly, they are so explained here.

*Hearts* having in them that *Faith*, which the Apostle saies, is *more precious than Gold*, are *golden Vials*.

And, why not *Harps* also? *Corda*, and, *Chordæ*, are near akin.<sup>182</sup>

4717.

**Q.** Why is their *Song* here called, *A New Song*? v. 9.

**A.** When *David* had a *New Occasion*, in a *further Degree*, to praise God, He saies, *I will sing a New Song*. Here is a *New Occasion*.

The *Elders*, in the former Chapter, had a *Song* for the Work of *Creation*. They now have a *Song* for the Work of *Redemption*. A Commandment of the *Gospel*, is called, *A New Commandment*; so here.

But besides all this; They had the *New Jerusalem* in their Eye; and the State when *all things are to be made New*.

Tis a *New Song*; Tis for the Instalment of a *New King*. [Compare, Psal. 96.1]<sup>183</sup>

[15v]

4718.

**Q.** Paraphrase it?

**A.** Accompany me.

Worthy Thou art, O Glorious One,  
To *Know*, to *Do*, to *Show*,  
All GOD has purpos'd to be done  
For His dear Church below.

Since Thou hast Bought us by *thy Death*,  
From *Death*, due for our Sins,  
From the *Lawes* Curse, and the *Lords* Wrath,  
And *Satans* deadly Sins.

From every *Kindred* graciously  
And from each *Language* there,  
Each *People* and each *Nation*, we  
*Chosen* and *Called* are.

Thou Heav'nly *Lion* hast præferr'd  
Us to be *Kings* with Thee;  
Thou Heav'nly *Lamb* hast us præpar'd  
*Priests* of our God to bee.

<sup>182</sup> From Goodwin, *An Exposition of the Revelation* (Works 3:13).

<sup>183</sup> From Goodwin, *An Exposition of the Revelation* (Works 3:14–15).

When Thou shalt the *curst Earth* Renew  
 And *Reign* and *Judge* on it,  
 Then we, O Lord most Just and True,  
 On *Thrones* by Thee shall sitt.<sup>184</sup>

4718.

**Q.** What is there observable in this; *Thou hast made us Kings & Priests?* v. 10.  
**A.** Our Lord had newly been sett forth as a *Lion*, and as a *Lamb*; a *King* and a *Priest*. Behold, our glorious Conformity to Him!<sup>185</sup>

4719.

**Q.** And in this; *we shall Reign on Earth?*  
**A.** Tis Dr. *Goodwins* Observation; “That the Kingdome of Christ *on Earth* to come, is a far more glorious Condition for the Saints, than what their Souls have now *in Heaven*. Their Thoughts overlook *That*, and fly hither for Comfort.”<sup>186</sup>

**Q.** As there are *Seven Eyes*, and *Seven Horns* ascribed unto the *Lamb*, thus there is a *sevenfold Praise* ascribed unto Him; namely, 1. *Power*. 2. *Riches*. 3. *Wisdom*. 4. *Strength*. 5. *Honour*. 6. *Glory*. 7. *Blessing*. What may be the special Intention of these Articles? v. 12.

**A.** We will endeavour to Paraphrase the Song. This brief Paraphrase may give us the *Meaning* of the *Song*, yea, bring us into the *Comfort* of it.

Thou *Lamb* of God, and very GOD,  
 Thy *Seven Eyes* of *Providence*,  
 And *Horns* of *Puissance*, have show’d,  
 Thou givest Law to all Events.

(1) The *Keyes* of all *Authoritie*  
 Lodge in thy Hand; *Thou Lord of All*.  
 (2) All *Heaven* and *Earth* belong to thee;  
 And all does Thee its *Owner* call.<sup>187</sup>

(3) The deepest *Secrets* Thou dost know,  
 And the *whole Counsel* of the Lord.  
 (4) Thou mighty Arm of God canst Do  
 All that thou wilt, All with a *Word*.

<sup>184</sup> These appear to be two unpublished scriptural hymns by Mather. They are not contained in the edition of *Cotton Mather’s English Verse* (1989). Stylistically they are very similar to the hymn on “Isaiah XXVI” or “The Song of the Pardoned,” “Good Inferences,” and “The Lessons of the Gospel,” which Mather published in the appendix to *Hymns and Spiritual Songs of the Old and New Testaments* (10<sup>th</sup> ed., 1702) and *The Everlasting Gospel* (1700), pp. 74–76.

<sup>185</sup> From Goodwin, *An Exposition of the Revelation* (*Works* 3:15).

<sup>186</sup> From Goodwin, *An Exposition of the Revelation* (*Works* 3:15).

<sup>187</sup> See Appendix A.

- (5) *Homage* to thee all *Creatures* Pay;  
 (6) Thou thy Great Fathers *Brightness* art.  
 (7) Thy Thankful *Saints* thee *Bless*, and say,  
*Take Thou all this!* with all their Heart.

LORD, If Poor we have any *Pow'rs*,  
*Riches*, or *Witt*, or *Strength*, or *Crown*  
*Glory* or *Blessing*, reckon'd ours,  
 Oh! Take it; Justly tis *Thy own*.

To Thee, Mans Blessed *Sacrifice*,  
 O *Lamb*-like Saviour, meek and good,  
 We render *All*, Bought with a *Price*,  
 No less than Thy most *precious Blood*.

The Truth is, The Thought that we having any of these things, ought to *employ* them for the *Lamb of God*; this is a Noble Sense of His being *worthy to Receive them*.<sup>188</sup>

---

<sup>188</sup> This last sentence is a later addition written with a different pen.

**Q.** Lett us enter upon the Vision of the *Seals*. And lett us first consider, after what Manner *John* had the Vision exhibited unto him? v. 1.

**A.** You must suppose a Book, of *Leaves*, written, both on the *Inside*, and on the *Backside*: This Book Rolled up, in a *cylindrical* Form, & Seven *Labels*, fastned with Seven *Seals*.

Then suppose, the *First Seal* opened, and the *First Label* removed. Under the *First Label* had *John* the Vision of the *First Rider*, and so on, till the *Seventh Seal* was opened: each of the Sculptures being enlarged with *Visions* and *Voices* to Illustrate it.

All these being thus Opened and Removed, the *Book* might be unrolled; Then the First *Six Trumpets*, with their Circumstances, appeared on the *Backside* of the Book.

The *Book* was then *eaten*; and the *Beasts* Kingdome, not visionally exposed in it, until afterwards the *Inside* of the Book itself comes to be *unfolded*.<sup>189</sup>

**Q.** The Judgments of God upon the *Roman* Empire, while *Pagan*, why do they come to us, with *Seals* upon them? v. 1.

**A.** The Book which Reveals them will not be *opened* and understood, *until the Time of the End*.

Compare, Dan. 12.4.

The *Revelation* was not understood in any Measure, until the *Seals* were passed.<sup>190</sup>

Moreover; There were *Decrees* of God for these *Judgments*. What is inevitably, and unalterably *Decreed*, is said to be *Sealed*. [See, 2. Tim. 2.19. and Deut. 32.34.]

The *Judgments* were also *Sealed*, inasmuch as they were *Hidden*; and the World was not Aware of the Meaning of them. We find in the Apologies of *Tertullian*, and *Cyprian*, and *Arnobius*, that the Pagans observing these Judgments, did exceedingly wonder at the Reason of them, and lay all on the New Sect of the Christians.<sup>191</sup>

<sup>189</sup> Mather seems to have derived this entry from an anonymous tract: *A Calendar of Prophetic Time, Drawn by an Express, Scripture-Line; From the Creation to the New Jerusalem* (1684), p. 37.

<sup>190</sup> Mather could have paraphrased this section of his answer from the English polymath and Baroque music theorist, John Birchensha (1664–1672), *The History of Divine Verities* (1655), “The Fourth Part of the History of Divine Verities, Chapter I: Of the Coming of Christ,” p. 19.

<sup>191</sup> From Goodwin, *An Exposition of the Revelation* (*Works* 3:38–39). Reference is made to Tertullian’s *Apologeticus* written in 197 and Cyprian’s, *Ad Demetrianum* written during the persecutions of the early 250s; as well as Arnobius’s *Adversus nationes*, written around 300



4605.

**Q.** What may be the Intention of the *Four First Horsemen*, which successively appear, upon the Opening of the *Four First Seals*? v. 1.

**A.** The *Four Men*, appearing on *Horseback*, are Persons in Authority; and Warriours too. An *Horse* is a Creature Designed for such.

It is also to be observed, That the *Four Living Creatures*, call for these *Horsemen* from the *Four Quarters* of the World, according to their Scituation. The *First*, of these *Living Creatures* was in the *East*; the *Second*, in the *West*; the *Third*, in the *South*; and the *Fourth* in the *North*. You shall anon see it accomplished, with most admirable Circumstances!<sup>192</sup>

4606.

**Q.** Who was the *First Horseman*? v. 2.

**A.** The *First Living Creature*, placed in the Vision towards the *East*, causes a King to come forth from that Quarter, sitting on a *White Horse*; having a *Crown* on his *Head*, and a *Bowe* in his *Hand*; and he comes forth to *conquer*. They will generally have This to be our Lord JESUS CHRIST Himself. But *Jurieu* objects, That the Appearance is not magnificent enough, to represent that glorious LORD; nor has it any of the splendid Circumstances, wherewith He elsewhere appears in the *Revelation*. Tis true, The Colour of the *Horse* is *white*; But *white* is an Emblem of *Prosperity*, as well as of *Sanctity*. And seeing the rest of the *Horsemen* will be found *Roman Emperours*, why should we putt our Lord JESUS CHRIST at the Head of them?

Lett us then apprehend *Vespasian*, with his Son *Titus*,<sup>193</sup> as here exhibited unto us. He sits on a *White Horse*. They were Tolerable Princes; The Empire was pretty peaceable under them; They had no great *Wars*; Not a *Sword*, but only a *Bowe*, is by the Holy Spirit here given unto them. The *Horseman* comes from the [16v] *East*. *Vespasian* was in the *East*, when he was proclaimed Emperour. He | comes forth to *conquer*. Tis with respect unto the *Jewish Nation*; and their *City*, and *Temple*, which was Ruin'd by *Vespasian*. While the *Mosaical Worship* subsisted, it was a great Obstacle to the Establishment of Christianity. This Destruction of *Jerusalem*, was a great Victory, on the behalf of our Lord JESUS CHRIST.<sup>194</sup>

I don't know, whether it be worth the while, here to relate an Act of *Witekindus*, one of the Dukes of *Saxony*, who flourished in the Ninth Century.

---

during the Diocletian persecutions, all of which defend Christianity against, among many other things, the accusation that their refusal to worship the Roman Gods and the Emperor had caused various calamities.

192 From *Jurieu, The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies*, pp. 44–45.

193 After his triumphs over the Jewish insurrectionists, Titus Flavius Vespasian was made Emperor in 69 and ruled until 79 CE. His son Titus ruled for two more years. Jerusalem was captured and the temple destroyed under Titus's command.

194 From *Jurieu, The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies*, pp. 45–47.

After his Renouncing of Paganism, and Receiving the Faith of the Gospel, he caused the *Black Horse*, which he had formerly born in his Military Colours, to be laid aside, and instead thereof a *White Horse* to be born, in testimony of his triumphant Joy for so happy a Change. Among the Romans, they used such coloured Steeds in their Triumphs. Dr. *Arrowsmith* saies, This putt him in Mind of the VI of the *Revelation*, and the second. And indeed, it may serve a little to Illustrate the *Colour* of the *Horse* in the Vision before us.<sup>195</sup>

**Q.** What may be intended by the *Second Horseman*? v. 3.

**A.** The *Horse* is *Red*; and *Power* is given unto the *Rider*, to take Peace from the Earth, & that they should kill one another; and there was given to him a great Sword.

A great Slaughter, a great Effusion of Blood, is here intimated. The Empire of *Trajan*, and his Successor *Adrian* is pointed at.<sup>196</sup> In their Time, the Jewes Revolted in almost all Places where they were dispersed; in *Libya*, in *Cyrene*, in *Egypt*, in *Cyprus*, in *Mesopotamia*, in *Palestine* itself, and in all the East, under the Conduct of their False Messiah, *Barchocheba*. In the Beginning, they made such an horrible Slaughter of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, that there were by Computation above six hundred Thousand Butcheries. *Dion* relates prodigious Things about their Cruelties. But they were paid home. History affirms, That *Adrian* killed no less than Twelve Hundred Thousand in the whole Extent of the Empire. The Jewes confess, That this War cost the Jewes Twice the Number, of Persons, that went out of *Egypt*. Under the Reign of *Trajan* and *Adrian*, there were more than Two Millions of poor People destroy'd by the Sword! There had never been such an horrible Slaughter in the World before. It could not be better express'd, than by a *Red Horse*, and a *Great Sword*, and *Mens killing one another*, a Phrase that carries a *Civil War* in it.<sup>197</sup>

This *Rider* comes out of the *Western Quarter*. Tis notable, *Trajan* was a Native of *Spain*, which was the *Western Part* of the *Roman Empire*.

| 198

[17r]

[4\*\*\*]

**Q.** Lett us proceed unto the *Third Horseman*? v. 5, 6.

**A.** He sits on a *Black Horse*, and ha's a *Pair of Balances* in his Hand: And a

<sup>195</sup> From John Arrowsmith, *The Covenant Avenging Sword Brandished* (1643), p. 21. Reference is made to Wittekind or Widukind, a leader of the Saxons and the chief opponent of the Frankish king Charlemagne during the Saxon Wars from 777 to 785.

<sup>196</sup> Trajan ruled as Emperor from 98 to 117; Hadrian from 117 to 138 CE.

<sup>197</sup> From Jurieu, *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies*, pp. 47–48. Reference is made to Cassius Dio (155–235 CE), who was a Roman statesman and a historian. The numbers on the revolt of Simon bar Kochba between 132 and 135 CE come from Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, 69.12–14.

<sup>198</sup> See Appendix B.

Voice is heard say, *A Measure of Wheat for a Penny, and Three Measures of Barley for a Penny, and see that thou hurt not the Oyl, nor the Wine.*

Doubtless, the *Black Horse* intimates an Empire, that hath in it something of *Severity* and *Sadness*; but not *Slaughter*.

A Reign of *Justice* is here also signified; Everything being done, by *Weight*, and *Measure* and *Balance*.

And, finally, a Reign of *Plenty* too, wherein, by the Care of the Prince, *Wheat*, and *Barley*, and *Oyl*, and *Wine*, do abound.

The Reign of *Septimius Severus*, and of *Alexander* the Son of *Mammaea*, seems here pointed at.<sup>199</sup>

*Severus* was an *African*, a *Tripolian*. Wherefore, the living Creature of the *South Quarter*, here calls him in.

These Emperours, were *severe* Protectors of Justice; and sworn Enemies unto all Theeves, private or publick; & unto all that were unfaithful in their Offices. They made strict Searches after them, and *severely* punished them. Their very Souldiers lived in so great a Discipline, that they durst not take an Hen, or an Apple from any Peasant. And they both of them, gave admirable Orders, for the Distributing of *Corn*, and *Wine*, and *Oyl*; that all the World might have them; that there might no where be any Want of them. Historians take much notice of it. *Aurelius* writes of *Severus*, That he made many *Just Lawes*; was *Ir-reconcilable to Offenders*.<sup>200</sup> *Spartian* writes of him, That of *Corn*, which he found but in small Quantity, he provided so great Store, that at his Death, he left Provision for seven Years; and there could every Day be measured out 75000 *Bushels*.<sup>201</sup> And he supplied the People of *Rome*, with *Oyl*, for their daily Occasions for nothing. *Lampridius* writes the like of *Alexander*. And *Eutropius* confirms it.<sup>202</sup>

**Q.** The *Rider* here appears with *Scales*, to sell *Corn* by *Weight*, and not by *Measure*; And he sells a *Chenix* of *Corn*, or as much as might yeeld *Bread* unto a Man for one Day, for a *Penny*, or the English Sevenpence half-Penny: with a Charge not to hurt the *Oil* and the *Wine*. Mr. *Mede* thinks, the admirable *Justice*

<sup>199</sup> Born in Leptis Magna (Roman Libya), Septimius Severus was Emperor from 193 to 211; Severus Alexander from 222 to 235 CE.

<sup>200</sup> From Jurieu, *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophetesies*, pp. 48–49, a reference to the chapter about Severus Alexander in the history of the Roman emperors by Sextus Aurelius Victor (c. 320–c. 390 CE), *Liber de Caesaribus* or *Historiae Abbreviatae*, 24.

<sup>201</sup> From Jurieu, a reference to the *Historia Augusta, Life of Septimius Severus*, 8; transl.: LCL 139, pp. 388–89. The *Historia Augusta* is a late Roman compilation of biographies attributed to six different writers (collectively known as “Scriptores Historiae Augustae”) of which Aelius Spartianus is one. Historians still debate whether the *Historia* was really the work of one anonymous author or redactor.

<sup>202</sup> Aelius Lampridius is also one of the “Scriptores Historiae Augustae.” Reference is made to *Historia Augusta, Life of Severus Alexander*, 21; transl.: LCL 140, pp. 218–19; and to the work of the Roman historian Flavius Eutropius (fl. 363–387 CE), *Breviarium Historiae Romanae*, 8.23.

of the Roman Emperours, about this Time, to be celebrated. But Dr. *Goodwin*, considering that *Judgments* operating towards the Ruine of the Empire, are the Business of this Prophecy, he cannot apprehend, that a moral Vertue in the Roman Emperours, would be inserted among those *Judgments*. He thinks, The *Scarcity* here foretold, being only of *Corn*, and not of *Oil* and *Wine*, might be slipt over by Historians. However, lett us a little search into History about it?<sup>203</sup>

A. We find, that in *Commodus* his Time, A. C. 190. there was a Commotion made for *Bread*, by the poorer People in the City of *Rome*. *Herodian* tells us, *Fames Romanos afflixit*. *Cleander* the great Favourite of *Commodus*, detained the *Corn* from the common People; they mutiny'd upon it, and grew so obstreperous, that *Commodus* was forced to sett his Head upon a Pole, & to destroy his Children, to quiet them.<sup>204</sup> Yea, in those very Words, which Mr. *Mede* quotes, for *Septimius Severus* his Justice, and his Care about *Oil*, there is an Intimation of a *Famine*; *Rei Frumentariæ quam minimam reperibat, ita consuluit*.<sup>205</sup> – There is the like Intimation in the Words which he quotes for the Care of *Alexander Severus* [A. C. 118.] That it was occasion'd by *Heliogabalus's*, having overthrown the public Stock of *Corn*: (*Frumenta evertisset*).<sup>206</sup>

We have this Matter further confirmed by *Tertullian*, who lived, A. C. 203. In his Apology for the Christians, he mentions the usual Calumny of the Pagans: *If it Rain'd not, and if Nilus did not overflow*, (the Granary of the Empire,) from whence a *Famine* ensued, *statim Christianos ad Leones*.<sup>207</sup> He instances in *Famine* chiefly. And pleading for the Christians, how they Fasted in times of Judgments, he instances only in *Famine*; saying, *If Famine be threatned by want of Rain, so that their Provision of Corn were in danger to be spent, then the Christians Fast*,

203 From Goodwin, *An Exposition of the Revelation* (Works 3:36–37). Reference is made to Joseph Mede, *The Key of the Revelation, searched and demonstrated* (1643), “Of the Seals,” p. 45. Mede’s work was first published as *Clavis apocalyptica* in 1627. The translation into English was done by order of the House of Commons in 1642, reflecting the great influence of Mede’s thought on the Puritan movement. On Mede’s tradition of millennialism, see the Introduction.

204 “Famine afflicted the Romans.” From Goodwin, Mather refers to the Greek historian Herodian’s (late 2<sup>nd</sup>/first half 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. CE) *History of the Empire*, 1.12–13; cf. LCL 454, pp. 74–87. Marcus Aurelius Cleander was a Roman freedman who gained extraordinary power as chamberlain and favorite of the Emperor Commodus, who ruled jointly with his father Marcus Aurelius from 176 until his father’s death in 180 and solely until 192 CE.

205 Transl. in context: “finding the grain-supply at a very low ebb, he managed it so [well that on departing this life he left the Roman people a surplus to the amount of seven years’ tribute].” From Goodwin, another reference to the *Historia Augusta, Life of Septimius Severus*, 8; transl.: LCL 139, pp. 388–89.

206 Transl. in context: “[He greatly improved the provisioning of the populace of Rome, for, whereas Elagabalus] had wasted the grain-supply, [Alexander, by purchasing grain at his own expense, restored it to its former status].” From Goodwin, another reference to the *Historia Augusta, Life of Severus Alexander*, 21; transl.: LCL 140, pp. 218–19.

207 Transl. in context: “[If the Tiber rises as high as the city walls, if the Nile does not send its waters up over the fields, if the heavens give no rain, if there is an earthquake, if there is famine or pestilence, straightaway the cry is,] ‘Away with the Christians to the lions!’” Mather cites Tertullian, *Apologeticus adversus gentes*, cap. 40 [PL 1. 479–80; CSEL 69]; transl.: ANF (3:92).

while others of the Romans abandon themselves to all Licentiousness. And in his Apology to *Scapula*, he shewes, that no Cityes, which persecuted the Christians, did go unpunished; and the instances, how lately under the Præsidentship of *Hilarian* the Predecessor of *Scapula*, a wett Season had spoiled all their Corn. Upon Cruelties offered unto the Christians, he saies, *statim hæc Vexatio subsecuta est*.<sup>208</sup>

*Origen* speaks more clearly, [About, A. C. 226.] *Frequenter Famis Causâ Christianos Cultores culparunt Gentiles*; which argues the Plague in those Times to have been very frequent.<sup>209</sup>

Indeed a *Black Horse* carries *Famine* in his Aspect.

Compare, Lam. 4.6, 7.

And so does, *Corn* by *Weight*.

Compare, Levit. 26.26.

Moreover,<sup>210</sup> *Septimius Severus* being the first Emperour that came from *Africa*, why may not that unusual Choice be hinted by the *Black Horse* he rode on. *Bochart* observes, *Horses* of that Color are extremely valued by the *Africans*, out of a Resemblance to their own Complexion, as well as the *Strength* of the Creature. And as for the *Balances*, it may be remembred, that this was the *Age of Lawyers*. Now it was that *Papinian* and *Ulpian* flourished.<sup>211</sup>

4609:

**Q.** And now lett us take some Notice of the *Fourth Horseman*? v. 6, 7.

**A.** It must be with Horror.

He sits on a *Pale Horse*. His Name is *Death*. *Mors Pallida*. *Hell* follows him. He ha's *Power* given him over a *Fourth Part of the Earth*, to kill with *Sword*, and with *Hunger*, and with *Death*, and with the *Beasts of the Earth*.<sup>212</sup>

<sup>208</sup> "He was immediately overtaken by those troubles." From Goodwin, reference is made to Tertullian, *Ad Scapulam*, cap 3 [PL 1. 702B]; transl. adapted from *ANF* (3:218). Sometime after 201, the Roman emperor Septimius Severus forbade conversion to Christianity or Judaism, and in 203, the governor of Carthage, Hilarian, enforced this edict, executing numerous Christians in that city.

<sup>209</sup> "For the heathens oftentimes laid the fault of their being afflicted by famine upon those of the Christian religion." From Goodwin, Mather refers to Origen's commentary on Matt. 24 (bk. 28). Books 10–17 on Matt. 11:36–22:33 are preserved in Greek and contained in the PG edition; an old Latin translation comprises the commentaries on Matt. 16:13 (starting at bk. 12:9) to Matt. 27:66; see *Origenes: Der Kommentar zum Evangelium nach Mattäus*, p. 110.

<sup>210</sup> The rest of this entry is a later marginal insertion. In this final paragraph, Mather paraphrases Waple, *The Book of the Revelation*, pp. 91–92. Waple references Samuel Bochart, *Hieroicoicon, sive, bipertitum opus De animalibus Sacrae Scripturae* (1663), lib. 2, cap. 7, pp. 103–115.

<sup>211</sup> Papinian (142–212) and Ulpian (c. 170–223? 228?) are both celebrated Roman jurists, and among the five jurists whose recorded views would later be incorporated into the *Codex Theodosianus* and the *Corpus Juris Civilis*.

<sup>212</sup> "Pale death." From Goodwin, *An Exposition of the Revelation* (Works 3:37).

Tis a Reign loaden with all sorts of Calamities, Plagues, Wars, Famines, Massacres, Tyrannies, and Violences. Tis the Character of the Reign of *Maximin*, and his Successors, to *Aurelian*.<sup>213</sup>

The *Fourth Living Creature* calls this *Horseman* from the *North*. *Maximin* came from thence; he was a *Thracian*.

He deserved the Name of *Death*; For he was the most cruel of all Tyrants. They did of old call him, *Cyclops*, and *Busiris*, and *Phalaris*, and *Typhon*, and *Gyges*, and what not? He made | Men to be Flay'd, and Crucified Alive; He [17v] buried Living Men in the Bodies of Beasts; He massacred People of all Sorts without any Distinction; He Destroy'd Thousands by all Sorts of Punishments.

*Gallienus*, who was included in this Period, made himself Remarkable by his Cruelties. Oftentimes he made the Throats, of Three or Four Thousand be cutt in a Day.

In this Time, a *Plague* raged for Fifteen Years together.<sup>214</sup> It began in *Ethiopia*, and ran thro' the Empire. *Lipsius* acknowledges, that History speaks not of any that comes anear it.<sup>215</sup>

There was also an horrible, general, universal *Famin*. *Civil Wars* raged so, that in the Space of thirty three Years, there were Ten Emperours killed.<sup>216</sup>

The *Barbarians* of the East, now also made fearful Havock on the Empire.

At last, there arose near *Thirty Tyrants*, in the Extent of the Empire; who caused, (as you'l read, in *Trebellius Pollio*, *de Triginta Tyrannus*,) incredible Desolations.<sup>217</sup>

**Q.** May we not be yett a little more critical on the *Colour* of the *Horse*, which we call, *The Pale Horse*?

**A.** The Greek Word, *Χλωρος*, is the same that the Latin calls, *Gilvus*: a *Flesh*-Colour, or an *Ash*-Colour; a middle Colour between *White* and *Red*.<sup>218</sup> This is a *Colour* for an *Horse*, observed by *Virgil*, to be, *Color Deterrimus*.<sup>219</sup>

213 This and the next five paragraphs are from Jurieu, *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies*, pp. 49–50. Maximinus Thrax was Emperor from 235 to 238; Aurelian from 270 to 275 CE. This is the period of crisis dominated by the “soldier emperors” who seized power by virtue of their military strength. Beginning with Maximinus Thrax, there were approximately fourteen soldier emperors in 33 years. Gallienus ruled from 253 to 268.

214 See Appendix A.

215 Reference is made to the work of the famous humanist and neo-stoicist, Justus Lipsius (1547–1606), *De Constantia Libri Duo*, *Qui alloquium praecipue continent in Publicis malis* (1547), lib. 2., cap. 23, pp. 151–54.

216 This and the next paragraph (marginally inserted) are derived from Waple, *The Book of the Revelation*, p. 96.

217 From Jurieu, Mather refers to the book *De Triginta Tyrannus* ascribed to the fictional author Trebellius Pollio in the *Historia Augusta*, *The Thirty Pretenders*; cf. LCL 263.

218 The word *χλωρός* [chloros] signifies “yellowish-green or pale, greenish gray.” This entry is derived from Grelletotus, *Prodromus*, p. 83.

219 “The worst color.” Reference is made to Virgil, *Georgics*, 3.81–82; transl.: LCL 63, pp. 182–83.

4725.

**Q.** May there not be something observable in it, That the Holy Spirit, foretels these *Plagues*, as accompanying the Contempt of the Gospel offered in the *Roman Empire*, while it was yett *Pagan*?

**A.** Tis observable. The *Pagans* of those Times made it their great Objection against Christianity, That since the Christian Religion began in the Empire, *Wars*, and *Famines*, and *Pestilences*, raged more than ever they did in former Times; They laid all on the Christians, for contemning the Roman Gods. *Tertullian*, and *Cyprian*, and *Arnobius*, and the rest, wrote their *Apologies* for the Christians, on Purpose to answer, & to take off this Objection.<sup>220</sup> *Cyprian* saies, *To wipe off this Calumny; was the sole Motive & Occasion that putt me upon Writing*. Saies he; *I held my Peace, till they laid all these Plagues upon us, as the Cause of all*.<sup>221</sup>

How properly does our Lord now single out those very *Plagues*, which the *Pagans* in their Clamours most insisted on; and fortel them, and threaten them, as the Revenges of Heaven upon the *Roman Empire*, for the Contempt of Christianity?

The true Causes were *sealed* indeed, & *concealed* from the Pagans. But God Raised up Instruments & Officers in His Christian Churches, (answerable to the *living Creatures* here in the Visions) to instruct His People therein.

It is Remarkable; *Cyprian* who lived under the *Fourth Seal*, speaks in the very Language of it. *Cum dicas, plurimos conqueri quòd Bella crebrius surgant, quòd Lues et Fames sevant, ultrà tacere non oportet*.<sup>222</sup> He plainly declares, These *Plagues*, *Non eveniebat Casu*, but they were the Vengeance of God, for the Persecutions of the Pagans on the Christians. And he tells them, If they *Repent* not, HELL WILL FOLLOW. *Manet postmodum Carcer aternus, jugis Flamma, et Pœna perpetua*.<sup>223</sup> The very Language of the *Fourth Seal*, tho' the Author himself never thought of it.

[18r] | <sup>224</sup>

**Q.** What is produced at the Opening of the *Fifth Seal*? v. 9, 10.

<sup>220</sup> The following entry is derived from Goodwin, *An Exposition of the Revelation* (*Works* 3:38–39). Reference is made to Tertullian's *Apologeticus*, written in 197, and Cyprian's, *Ad Demetrianum*.

<sup>221</sup> From Goodwin, Mather cites Cyprian, *Ad Demetrianum*, argumentum 2 [PL 4. 545].

<sup>222</sup> "When you say that very many are complaining that to us it is ascribed that wars arise more frequently, that plague, that famines rage, it is not fitting that I should be silent any longer." From Goodwin, Mather cites Cyprian, *Ad Demetrianum*, argumentum 2 [PL 4. 545]; transl. adapted from *ANF* (5:1062).

<sup>223</sup> "did not happen accidentally"; "there remains after all the eternal prison, and the everlasting fire, and the never ending punishment." Another citation from Cyprian, *Ad Demetrianum*, argumentum 9 [PL 4. 550]; transl. adapted from *ANF* (5:1065).

<sup>224</sup> See Appendix B.

A. There are *seen under the Altar*, the *Souls of them that were slain for the Word of God*; crying, *O Lord, How long?*

Behold, a Period brought on, wherein the Church suffers a cruel Persecution. Tis that which was caused by *Dioclesian*, and his Bloody Successors.<sup>225</sup> It was more Cruel, and more Dreadful, and lasted Longer, than all the Nine Others taken together. *Orosius* tells us, That for Ten Years together, they kept repeting of Massacres, with all the Punishments that could be imagined.<sup>226</sup> In *Egypt* alone there were one hundred and forty four Thousand murdered. Hence arose, the *Æra Diocletiana*, and, the *Æra Martyrum*, famous in the History of the Church.<sup>227</sup>

Q. Why are the *Slain* repræsented here, as *under the Altar*?

A. *Martyrdome* is a *Sacrifice*.

Compare, 2. Tim. 4.6. and Phil. 2.17.<sup>228</sup>

Q. What are the *white Robes* given to them?

A. Tis an Allusion to the bringing of the *Priests* first into the *Temple*, when their *Thirty Years* were expired; who were then *cloathed in white*.

The Saints had been *Sacrifices*. Now they shall be *Priests*.

Compare, Esth. 6.11.

Dr. *Goodwin* observes by the way; That the *Souls* in *Paradise*, pursue their Interests on *Earth*.<sup>229</sup>

225 The reign of Diocletian (284–305 CE) and the other Augusti and Caesars of the tetrarchy marked the final and most intense period of persecution of Christians in the Roman Empire. Starting in 303, Diocletian issued a series of edicts rescinding Christians legal rights and demanding that they comply with traditional religious practices. Later edicts targeted the clergy and demanded universal sacrifice, ordering all inhabitants to sacrifice to the gods. The tetrarchy had been created by Diocletian by first dividing the Empire into an Eastern and Western realm ruled by two Augusti (Diocletian in the East and Maximian in the West) and then appointing two Caesars as vice-rulers: Galerius and Constantius Chlorus. The Augusti retired in 305, making Constantius and Galerius the new Emperors. They in turn appointed two new Caesars – Severus in the West under Constantius and Maximinus Daia in the East under Galerius. After the death of Constantius in 306, a civil war broke out, which only ended with Constantine I's (son of Constantius) victories over his rivals, making him the sole emperor of the Roman Empire in 324. The persecution of Christians came to an end with Galerius's Edict of Serdica and Constantine's Edict of Milan in 313.

226 From Jurieu, *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies*, p. 51. Jurieu draws on Scaliger, *Opus de emendatione temporum* ([1583] 1629), lib. 5, pp. 494–99, who cites the Roman priest, historian, theologian, and a student of Augustine of Hippo, Paulus Orosius (c. 375/385–c. 420), *Historiarum adversum paganos*, 7.25.

227 From Jurieu, *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies*, p. 51.

228 From Goodwin, *An Exposition of the Revelation* (Works 3:40).

229 From Goodwin, *An Exposition of the Revelation* (Works 3:41–42).



4248.

**Q.** The Judgments, for which the Blood of the *Martyrs* does here cry to Heaven, must not be executed, until the *Rest of their Brethren* were killed. How was this accomplished?

**A.** It suits very well, with the Continuance of the Persecutions of the Church, (as Dr. *Cressener* observes) in several Parts of the Empire, after the End of the horrid Storm in the Reign of *Dioclesian*, yea, and after the Conversion of *Constantine*. We find, *Maximinus* and *Maxentius*, and after them *Licinius*, did exercise very barbarous Cruelties against the Church, after that Time. The accurate *Petavius* saies of *Maximinus* alone, *That he martyred an Innumerable Multitude*.<sup>230</sup>

Then came on the Judgments of the *Trumpets*.

4611.

**Q.** At the Opening of the *Sixth Seal*, what are we entertain'd withal? v. 12.

**A.** The Down-fall of *Paganism*. 'Tis offered unto us, under Images and Expressions, that are borrowed, from the Coming of the Lord Jesus Christ, unto the Judgment of the World, at the Down-fall of *Antichrist*. This being a Figure and an Earnest of that wonderful Revolution, it is most agreeably done, to give it us in such Phrases, as would putt us in Mind of *that*.

Soon after *Dioclesian's* Resignation, *Constantine* ascended the Imperial Throne. The *Christian Religion* soon became the Religion of the Empire, and *Paganism* vanished.<sup>231</sup>

[18v]

4612.

**Q.** What may be meant, by the *great Earthquake*, at the Opening of the *Seal*? v. 12.

**A.** In the Style of the Prophets, an *Earthquake* ever signifies, a great Change upon the Face of Affairs in the World. An *Earthquake* uses to change the Face of the Natural World. And can there be imagined a greater Change, than what

<sup>230</sup> From the work of the Anglican vicar of Soham in Cambridgeshire and fellow of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, Drue Cressener (bap. 1642, d. 1718), *A Demonstration of the First Principles of the Protestant Applications of the Apocalypse* (1690), p. 295. Reference is made to the work of the French Jesuit theologian and historian, Denis Pétau, *Rationarium temporum* ([1633] 2 vols., 1652), tom. 1, pars 1, lib. 2, p. 248. *Rationarium* was an abridgment of Petavius's 1627 *Opus de doctrina temporum*, in which he attempted an improvement of Scaliger's *De Emendatione temporum*. The synopsis was frequently re-issued and expanded and widely used as a textbook of history.

<sup>231</sup> From Jurieu, *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies*, p. 51. Constantine declared himself Augustus in 306; in 311, his title was officially recognized. In 313, after his victory over Maxentius and his conversion to Christianity, Constantine issued the Edict of Milan, granting to Christians and others "the right of open and free observance of their worship."

happened upon the Reign of *Constantine*? The Church that had been under perpetual Destructions and Massacres, all on the Sudden, Behold, It becomes the Mistress of the World! And stately Temples to our Saviour are erected, when the Temples of Idols are overturned.<sup>232</sup>

**Q.** Why is that Similitude here used; *The Heaven departed as a Scrol, when it is rolled together?* v. 14.<sup>233</sup>

**A.** The *Heathen Priesthood*, was the right στερεώμα, (as *Peganius* observes,) by which the *Idols* of Heathenism, were confirmed in their State.<sup>234</sup>

And it is exceeding remarkable, that it is represented, as *departing like a Scrol that is rolled together*. Tis hereby signified, That the *Priesthood* was not abolished all at once, but by Degrees. It came to pass. *Constantinus*, and *Constantius*, and *Valentinianus*, and *Valens*, refused any more to execute the *High-Priesthood*; which was a Dignity belonging to the *Imperial*.<sup>235</sup> Yett they still retained the *Name*. Afterwards *Gratianus* putt away from him, both the *High-Priestly* Title and Garment; and when the *Priests* presented both to him, he refused both, as not becoming any *Christian*. Still something remained of this Heaven, that was not quite *rolled up*. At last, *Theodosius* totally abolished the whole *sacerdotal Tribe*, and all the remaining *Priests*, and by a public Edict appropriated all their Revenues, to the Imperial Chamber.<sup>236</sup>

As for the *Temples*, *Constantine M.* only shutt them up. *Theodosius* afterwards rased most of them to the Ground. The Pagan *Zosimus* tells us, *The sacred Temples of the Gods were stormed in all Towns & Villages; & every one was in danger, who beleaved only, that there were Gods*.<sup>237</sup> Many *Temples* were yett left. *Martian* by an Edict forbad the Opening any of them for Worship. *Arcadius* &

<sup>232</sup> From Jurieu, *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies*, pp. 52–53.

<sup>233</sup> Mather wrote “v. 17” and accordingly misplaced this entry in the sequence of his annotations. It is located on [19r].

<sup>234</sup> Rev. 6:14 has οὐρανός [ouranos] for “heaven.” The word στερεώμα [stereoma] basically means “solid body,” from which further meanings derive such as “foundation” but also “the sky as a supporting structure/firmament.” Mather thus plays on this lexical ambiguity in using στερεώμα as a key to unlock a further symbolic meaning of οὐρανός. From *Peganius, A Genuine Explication*, p. 328.

<sup>235</sup> Constantinus (or Constantine II) and Constantius II were the sons of Constantine I, whom they succeeded jointly, reigning from 337 to 340 and 337 to 361 CE, respectively. Valentinian I reigned from 364 to 375; his brother Valens from 364 to 378 CE.

<sup>236</sup> From *Peganius, A Genuine Explication*, pp. 328–29. Gratian reigned jointly with Valentinian I and then as senior Augustus for the West from 367 to 383; Theodosius I reigned as Augustus for the East from 379 to 395 CE. Their reigns marked decisive steps in the suppression of traditional Roman religious practices and toward the consolidation and uniformization of Christianity as the new state religion.

<sup>237</sup> Reference is made to the work of the Greek historian Zosimus, who lived in Constantinople during the reign of the Eastern Roman Emperor Anastasius I (491–518), *Historia Nova*, 4.33.

*Honorius gave the Edict, sicut Sacrificia Templorum prohibemus, ita volumus publicorum Operum Ornamenta servari.*<sup>238</sup>

4728.

**Q.** The Phrases here fetched from a *Dissolution of Nature*, are they to be Exemplified & Illustrated from any thing in the Old Testament? v. 17.

**A.** Consider, how the Overthrow of the Jewish State, by the *Chaldeans*, is described; Joel. 2.8, 9, 10, 11.

Consider, how the Overthrow of *Edom*, is described. Isa. 34.4.

Compare, Jer. 4.23.<sup>239</sup>

The Prophets, in describing of great Mutations and Distractions, used peculiar Manners, vehement Figures, of Speaking. Indeed, all the *Oriental*s do so. *Maimonides* tells us, The *Arabians* will say of a Man, when a grievous Disaster ha's befallen him; *His Heaven is changed into Earth*; or, *His Heaven is fallen unto Earth*.<sup>240</sup>

4613.

**Q.** What is meant, by the Mutation then coming on the *Sun*, and *Moon*, and *Stars*? v. 17.

**A.** The Sovereign, & the Powers of the Empire, are treated of, when such Terms are mentioned.

The Empire here is that of the *Red Dragon*, or the Divil. The *Sun*, who is the Sovereign of the Empire, is the Divil himself.

The *Moon* may be the Pagan Religion, which borrow'd all its Power from the Divil; as the *Moon* takes all its Light from the *Sun*.

The *Stars* may be the *Priests* of Paganism.

All these underwent a great Eclipse, and were Destroy'd by the Christian Emperours; and *fell to the Ground*, like the *untimely Figs*, of a *Figtree shaken with a mighty Wind*.<sup>241</sup>

<sup>238</sup> "Even as we prohibit temple sacrifices, we want the ornaments of public works to be saved." From Peganius, *A Genuine Explication*, p. 330, reference is made to legislation by Constantine I and his successors on public worship collected in the fourth-century *Codex Theodosianus*, 16.10 (*Codex de Paganis Sacrificiis et Templis*). In Mather's time, these laws would have been available in the edition of Jacques Godefroy, *Codex Theodosianus cum perpetuis commentariis* (1665), vol. 5, pp. 250–99. The sons of Theodosius I, Arcadius and Honorius, reigned from 383 to 408 and 393 to 423 CE, respectively.

<sup>239</sup> From Goodwin, *An Exposition of the Revelation* (*Works* 3:43).

<sup>240</sup> From Peganius, *A Genuine Explication*, p. 325. Reference is made to Maimonides, *More Nevochim*, *Doctor Perplexorum*, pars 2, cap. 29, pp. 264–74. Peganius cites this from Joseph Mede, *Commentationum Apocalypticarum*, lib. 3, in *Works*, p. 448. This last section is a later addition.

<sup>241</sup> From Jurieu, *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies*, p. 53.

We may add, with *Peganius*; The cheef Names of the Idols, under which the *Divel* was worshipped in Heathenism, were by the Ancients interpreted of the *Sun*; as both *Vossius* and *Selden* will satisfy you.<sup>242</sup> The *Darkening* of the *Sun* here, signifies, That *Jupiter, Apollo, Adonis, Mars, Hercules*, under all which Names the *Sun* had been worshipped, should no more be esteem'd for *Gods*. By the *Moon*, may be meant the *Goddesses* of the Heathen. And for the *Stars*, we know the Number of the Heathen Idols, has been called, *The Host of Heaven*. [See, 2. King. 21.3, 5. and Chap. 23.4, 5. & 2. Chron. 33.2, 5.]

**Q.** What may be meant by *every Mountain and Island removed out of their Places*? v. 17.

**A.** Why not, the *Temples*, and *Idols*, and the Places peculiarly consecrated unto the Devotion of Pagan Divinities? The Superstition of these, was now Abolished. The Hand of God now fell heavily, on the Gods of the *Romans*, as once on the Gods of the *Egyptians*.<sup>243</sup>

*Peganius* observes, That the *Idolatry* of old was committed on *High-Places*. Hence we read of *Mountains & Hills*. [Hos. 4.13. and Jer. 2.20. & 3.6.] Yea, They are the very names of *Idolatrous Temples*. [Jer. 3.23.] Great and Brave Houses, that stand apart, are *Islands*. *Temples* were such formerly.<sup>244</sup>

**Q.** What signifies the *Hiding in Rocks and Caves*? v. 17.

**A.** Great Shame, Confusion & Calamity. Compare the Condition of *Idolaters* made Ashamed, as you have it, in Isa. 2.19. and, Hos. 10.8.<sup>245</sup>

**Q.** What may be meant, by the Terror of the Kings, and of other People of all Conditions, on this Occasion? v. 17.

**A.** One might have seen a Thousand Times more than the Prophet here expresses, if one could have seen the Commotions in the *Invisible World*, among the *Demons*, at the Fall of *Paganism*.

The *Divel* thought, he had entirely Ruined the Empire of our Lord JESUS CHRIST, by *Dioclesians* Persecution. But, he beholds his own Empire suddenly fallen into wonderful Ruines; & the Empire of JESUS CHRIST advanced there-upon. It is easy to conceive, That the Commotions and Confusions of the evil Spirits, on this Occasion, were inconceivable.

<sup>242</sup> From *Peganius*, *A Genuine Explication*, p. 135. General reference is made to the works of the Dutch classical scholar and theologian, Gerardus Joannes Vossius (Voss, 1577–1649), *De theologia gentili et physiologia christiana* ([1641] 1668) and John Selden's *De diis Syris syntagmata II* (1617). Both works offered comparative interpretations of pagan mythologies within a biblical framework.

<sup>243</sup> From Jurieu, *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies*, p. 53.

<sup>244</sup> From *Peganius*, *A Genuine Explication*, p. 329.

<sup>245</sup> From Goodwin, *An Exposition of the Revelation* (Works 3:49).

And who can doubt, that the vast Body of the Pagan Priests and Ministers, felt a prodigious Consternation, when *Constantine* turned Christian, and when afterwards the Temples of the Idols were demolished?

History tells us enough of this; But had History told nothing, it were easy to imagine, that the Images here made use of, are not at all too lively to represent the Disturbances among the *Priests* and *People*, of the Pagan Religion, on this great Occasion.

Besides all this; consult the History of the Madnesses, & the Diseases, of those great Emperours, *Dioclesian*, and *Maximinian*, giving over the Government unto the Astonishment of the World, thro' the *Wrath of the Lamb* upon them: The Victories over *Maxentius*, and *Maximinus*, and then over *Licinius*, to introduce Christianity; you will have an admirable Commentary.<sup>246</sup>

[19r] | <sup>247</sup>  
4730.

**Q.** The Consternation of the *Kings*, upon the Opening of the *Sixth Seal*, may have yett a further Illustration.

**A.** The Greek Tongue, ha's no other Name for, *Emperours*. The Distraction and Confusion of the *Roman Emperours*, in the Revolution, which was now made, is a Matter whereof History is not silent.<sup>248</sup>

It was the Amazement of the whole World, to see *Dioclesian* and *Maximinian*, (the greatest Persecutors the Church ever had in the World, until the Appearance of our *Lewis XIV*,<sup>249</sup>) in the very heighth, the high ruff of all their Imperial Glory, to give up their Authority, and Retire, and *hide themselves from the Face of the Lamb*.

*Maxentius*, being sett up by the *Romans*, as a Defender of the Heathenish Cause; but being vanquished by *Licinius*, he threw away his Imperial Robes, and fled, and *lay Hid*, and by a Decree acknowledged our glorious CHRIST; but his Flesh was eaten of Worms.

*Licinius* fell in afterwards with the Pagan Side; *Constantine* overcame him; and he and his Complices, at the Place of Execution, acknowledged CHRIST to be God.

But what was most Remarkable,<sup>250</sup> was the Fate of *Maximinus*. And because it will be an excellent Commentary upon the Text before us, we will

<sup>246</sup> From Goodwin, *An Exposition of the Revelation* (Works 3:49–51).

<sup>247</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>248</sup> From Goodwin, *An Exposition of the Revelation* (Works 3:49–51).

<sup>249</sup> A reference to the French king Louis XIV (1638–1715), widely reviled in the world of Protestantism for revoking the Edict of Nantes in 1685 and the persecution of French Protestants.

<sup>250</sup> The rest of this entry comes from an English edition of Lactantius's *De mortibus persecutorum* [PL 7. 270–72; FC 43] ("Of the manner in which the persecutors died"), translated by Gilbert Burnet and published with a learned introduction in 1687 under the title *A*

transcribe the Words of *Lactantius*, in his (lately recovered) Book, about, *The Deaths of the | Primitive Persecutors*.

[19v]

“Whilst *Licinius* was pursuing after *Maximin*, he still *Fled* before him, & possessed himself of the Narrow Passages of Mount *Taurus*, where he built Forts to stop them up, that so it might not be possible for *Licinius* to pass them: But he took a Passage to the Right Hand; And when *Maximin* saw, that there was now nothing to stop him, he fled to *Tarsus*: But being like to be shutt up there, both by Sea and Land, and seeing no Possibility of Escape from those Evils, with which GOD was pursuing of him, He first Eat and Drunk to a great Excess, as is ordinary for those to do, who reckon it is their last Meal that they eat; and then he took *Poyson*: But his Stomach being so overcharged, made, that the *Poyson* had not a present Operation on him; instead of killing him out-right, it threw him into a lingering Torment, not unlike the Plague; by which his Life was so far lengthened out to him, that he felt his Misery long. The *Poyson* began now, to work violently on him; it burned his Vitals so much, that his unsufferable Pains threw him into a Phrensy; so that for Four Dayes Time, he Eat Earth, which he Dug up with his Hands, and Swallowed it up very greedily. The Rages of his Pain were so intolerable, that he ran his Head against a Wall, with such Force, that his Eyes started out of the Ey-holes. But as he lost the Sight of his Eyes, a *Vision* represented himself to his Imagination, as Standing to be Judged by GOD, who seem’d to have Hosts of Ministers about Him, all in white Garments.

At this Sight he cried out, as if he had been putt to the Tortures, and said, That it was others, & not he, that were to blame; yett afterwards he confessed his own Guilt, being as it were forced unto it, by the Torments that he suffered.

He called upon JESUS CHRIST, and with many Tears he begg’d, that He would have Pitty on him. He Roar’d and Groan’d, as if he had been inwardly burnt up: And thus did he breathe out his Defiled Soul, in the most dreadful Manner that can be imagined.

Thus (adds *Lactantius*) did God destroy all the Persecutors of His great Name, both *Root* and *Branch*.”

---

*Relation of the Death of the Primitive Persecutors*. The passage Mather cites can be found in vol. 1, pp. 161–63. There is only one eleventh-century manuscript of this work in Paris, which was rediscovered and first edited in 1679 by Stephan Baluzius.

**Q.** Who may be intended by the 12000 *Sealed Ones*, out of every *Tribe* of *Israel*? v. 4.<sup>251</sup>

**A.** The Persons are called, *Servants of God*; and that shewes, that they are True Beleevers on JESUS CHRIST.

That they are called, *Israel*, tis but agreeable to the Style of the Scripture; according to which, the Beleeving *Gentiles* are the *surrogate Israel*.

[Consider, Gal. 6.16.]

They are Numbred by *Thousands*, in allusion to, *The Thousands of Israel*: A Phrase occurring in the *Mosaic Writings*.<sup>252</sup> It intimates, that the People of God will be multiplied into a great Multitude.

They are *sealed*, in allusion to the *Sealing* of the *Mourners*, who were to be præserted from Destruction, when the Miseries of the *Babylonish* Captivity were coming on.

[Consider, Ezek. 9.4.]

Now, in Dr. *Goodwins* Judgment, which I am now to offer you; The 144000 in the *Seventh* Chapter, is a Company Different from the 144000 in the *Fourteenth* Chapter. He thinks, That those there do not remain in their Dark State, until the Arrivall of the *New Jerusalem*; They do before *That* break forth into a Separation from *Antichrist*, and sett up glorious Temples. But these continue in a State of Darkness, until the very Approach of the *New Jerusalem*, and then they are newly come out of the *great Tribulation* of long and sore Bondage.

It is Dr. *Goodwins* Opinion, That the 144000 *Sealed Ones* here, are the Christians of the East, among whom Christianity is præserted, under the *Mahumetan* Tyranny and Oppression.

These 144000 are like the 7000, who did not bow the Knee to *Baal*, under *Ahabs* Tyranny.<sup>253</sup>

We have them reckoned up, not in a Round Number, but in Parcels, or by 12000 out of every Tribe. The *Twelve Tribes* of *Israel*, did live apart; and at Length we read, Jam. 1.1. of, *The Twelve Tribes which are scattered abroad*. Thus these Christians of the *Greek Faith*, are in a very *scattered* Condition. But they are multiplied by *Twelve*, to show, that they are of the *Apostolical* Breed and Kind.

It is mention'd, as a very strange Thing! And indeed so it is; even beyond humane Expectation and Imagination; That there should be præserted such a

<sup>251</sup> The following is derived from Goodwin, *An Exposition* (Works 3:57–63).

<sup>252</sup> Num. 1:16, 10:4, 10:36, and 31:5.

<sup>253</sup> 1 Kings 19:18.

vast Body of *Christians*, under such Temptations to Apostasy, among the Tyrannizing *Mahometans*.

The *Great Tribulation* out of which these do come at last, must be (as Mr. *Forbes* thinks,) the Danger of the *Locusts*, & the following *Horsemen*, in the *Fifth* and *Sixth* of the *Trumpetts*.<sup>254</sup>

The *Angel* who *seals* them, comes from the *East*. This drawes us thither, to look for the *Sealed* Ones.

Dr. *Goodwin* here looks with an Eye of great Respect, on the *Grecian* and *Armenian* Christians; as having the Knowledge and Profession of Christ, and more of Truth than the Church of *Rome* | ha's had in the Dark Times of it; which God sanctifies to some of them. [20v]

The Professors of Christianity in the *Mahometan* Dominions, are as many as the Professors in *Europe*.<sup>255</sup> And can we think, That the Prophecy would wholly pass them over in Silence? Now, they are here, or no where.

Dr. *Goodwin* is particularly affected, with the *Confession of Faith* sett forth by *Cyril*, a late Patriarch of *Constantinople*; A. C. 1629. and saies, *you may with Joy, find it in all Fundamental Points, as our own Confession is*.<sup>256</sup>

Had I not thought, this Exposition of Dr. *Goodwins*, worth considering, I would not have mention'd it.<sup>257</sup>

254 From Goodwin, *An Exposition* (*Works* 3:61), Mather refers to the work of Patrick Forbes, *An Learned Commentarie upon the Revelation of Saint John* ([1613] 1614), pp. 79–80.

255 During the rapid expansion of the Ottoman Empire in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Syria, Egypt, large parts of Eastern Europe, the Balkans, and Greece were conquered, culminating in the capture of Hungary in the Battle of Mohács and the first siege of Vienna in 1529. This brought millions of Eastern and Oriental Orthodox Christians under Islamic dominion.

256 Reference is made to the Greek prelate and theologian Cyril Lucaris or Loukaris (1572–1638), who intermittently served as the Greek Patriarch of Alexandria (as Cyril III) and Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople (as Cyril I) between 1620 and 1638. He has gone down in church history for his attempts to reconcile Orthodoxy and Reformed Protestantism. Lucaris was born on Crete (then under the dominion of the Republic of Venice) and as a young man (and again later on) traveled through Europe, studying in Venice and Padua, but also in Wittenberg and Geneva, where he became sympathetic to Protestant and specifically Reformed theology. When he later rose to the office of Patriarch, he sought to create alliances with Protestant powers, including England (in 1616, he entered into correspondence with the Archbishop of Canterbury), and to reform the Orthodox Church in the spirit of Calvinist Protestantism. In 1629, he published his famous *Confessio fidei* in Geneva, which was theologically modeled after the *Confessio Belgica* but followed as far as possible the creedal language of the Orthodox Church. It appeared the same year in two Latin editions, four French, one German, and one English, to which Goodwin refers. These activities eventually led to Cyril's downfall. Favoring an alliance with Rome, his opponents had him condemned and convinced the Ottoman Sultan Murad IV that he was engaged in high treason, for which he was killed (*RGG*).

257 The following section also appears in Mather's apocalyptic interpretation of the fate of the Greek Churches published as *American Tears upon the Ruines of the Greek Churches* (1701), pp. 34–36. On this, see William P. Hyland, "American Tears: Cotton Mather and the Plight of Eastern Orthodox Christians."



But I will now further cultivate it, with observing; That the stable *Perseverance* of the *Greek Churches*, in so much of Christianity as is left among them, notwithstanding their being *sore broken in the Place of Dragons*, by the Indignities and Oppressions with which the *Mahometans* are alwayes treating them, and notwithstanding the Simplicity of the poor People, and their Incapacity and Inability to argue in Defence of their *Mysteries*, and notwithstanding the *Riches* and *Honours* proposed unto them, who shall become *Renegado's* from *Christianity*, tis a thing truly admirable. Some Judicious Men, that have pondered this *Perseverance* of the *Greek Churches*, have express'd no little Astonishment at it; For they have said, *They could not attribute this Constancy unto the meer Force of Education*; inasmuch as the *Turks* not only dwell with the *Greeks*, oftentimes in the same *Street*, yea, the same *House*, but their *Children* are bred up together, and have almost the same *Customes* and *Manners*. And yett the Numbers of the *Christians* under the *Turkish*, (not to mention the other *Mahometan*) Dominions, amount unto several Millions. The *Patriark* of *Constantinople* alone has Thirteen *Arch Bishopricks* under him. In that one City, there are *Twenty Churches* of *Christians*; and there are *Thirty* in *Saloniki*. The *Christians* only in the little *Islands* of the *Archipelago*, are near *one hundred & fifty thousand* Souls. In Mount *Athos* alone, which they call, *The Holy Mountain*, there are *Twenty* Monasteries, and Six Thousand *Kaloiros*.<sup>258</sup>

Now, that there should be such Numbers of *Christians* præserv'd under the Blasting Influences of the *Turkish Moon*, Truly, *Tis the Lords doing, & it may well be marvellous in our Eyes!* And that which is yett more notably, *The Lords Doing*, is, That sometimes *Christians* who have been *Renegado's*, & for some Years carried on their Heads the Badge of *Mahometans*, have been smitten with Remorse of Conscience for their *Apostasy*, and nothing ha's been able to appease or assuage the Torment of their Conscience, till they have *confessed* the Lord JESUS CHRIST in the very Place where they have *Renounced* Him; and in the very Face of the *Turks*, who have made it *Capital*, they have owned their Conversion, and have trampled their *Turbanes* or *Sashes* under their Feet, & have suffered *Martyrdom*, and undergone Death as cheerfully & courageously as the *Primitive Martyrs* themselves.

Verily, I suspect, the *seventh Chapter* of the *Revelation*, lies at the Bottom of this wonderful Matter!

<sup>258</sup> An important source of information for Mather here was the work of the British diplomat and historian Paul Rycaut FRS (1629–1700), *The Present State of the Greek and Armenian Churches, Anno Christi 1678* (1679). Kaloiros are Greek Orthodox priests who are members of the monastic orders.

| 259  
3121.

[21r]

**Q.** There is a Jewish Writer, who charges the Apostle with Forgetfulness, in leaving the Tribe of *Dan* unmentioned, & putting *Menasseh* instead thereof, tho' he were otherwise included in the Mention of *Joseph*. He (tis R. *Isaac*) hence concludes, That the Writer of this Book, whom he infamously calls, *The Writer of Dreams*, did not so much as understand, what Children commonly do, The Names of the Tribes of *Israel*? v. 8.<sup>260</sup>

**A.** But say, Thou saucy *Jew*; Did not *Moses* understand the Names of the Tribes of *Israel*? And yett, when he undertakes to Bless them, he makes no Mention of Simeon. Wilt thou now charge *Moses* with being Forgetful, or Ignorant?

And what tho' *Menasseh*, included in *Joseph*, be putt by *John* instead of *Dan*? *Moses* reckons *Joseph*, and yett he expressly putts in *Menasseh*, and *Ephraim* too.

The Author of the first Book of the *Chronicles*, gives us a Catalogue of the Sons of *Israel*. [Ch. 2.1, 2.] He names *Dan*, and mentions not *Ephraim* and *Menasseh*. But when he proceeds to give us a Distinct Account of their Families, as he does in the following Chapters, he gives an Account of every one of them excepting *Dan*; he gives an Account of *Ephraim* and *Menasseh* instead of *Dan*. And more than this; the Mention of *Joseph*, in the second Chapter, did not exclude his Two Sons afterwards.

The True Servants of God are here *marked*, in Order to their being *saved*. This is repræsented under the Names of the Sons of *Israel*, (a *Type* of all Gods People that were to come,) and on a *Number* also that was much endeared unto that People. The Divine Author of this Book, might now look upon *Dan*, as not fitt for a *Type* of the sincere Worshippers of God, because of his *Apostasy* and *Idolatry*. One of *Jeroboams* Calves was sett up in *Dan*. *Levi* may be agreeably putt in his Place, for his eminent Zeal in the Worship and Service of God. *Ephraim* is not unduly omitted; for *Ephraim* had an Ill Name betimes for *Apostasy*, and *Idolatry*; and afterwards *Ephraim* gave a Name to the Schismatics of the Ten Tribes, who forsook the Temple of God.

|  
887.

[21v]

**Q.** But pursue this Matter a little further.<sup>261</sup> Why is the Tribe of *Dan* left out, when the Twelve Tribes are sealed? v. 8.

259 See Appendix B.

260 The entry is derived from Richard Kidder, *A Demonstration of the Messias*, pt. 2, p. 95. Reference is made to the work of anti-Christian polemics *Chizuk Emunah* by the Karaite rabbi, Yitzchak bar Avraham of Troki (Trakai, Lithuania), first published in 1681.

261 This sentence was added later to create a transition, indicating that the preceding entry was composed after this one.

A. A *surrogate Israel* is here to be Represented: (and so do some understand, *The Twelve Tribes scattered abroad*, which are elsewhere spoken of,) a True Church of *Gentiles*, is here exhibited.<sup>262</sup> Now it seems proper herein to leave out so *Apostate* a Tribe, as that of *Dan*, which, from the Days of *Micah*, to the Captivity, worshipp'd Idols, & were made a patriarchal See of Idolaters, in the Days of *Jeroboam*. A Just *Curse* followed this Tribe, for their Defection; for they were brought unto sore Circumstances by the perpetual Incursions of the Enemy. Whence they were, in Process of Time, so much diminished, that the whole *Tribe*, is omitted, in the Recital of the Jewish Genealogies, in the *Chronicles*. And *Grotius* thinks, this was foretold, in Amos. 8.14. *They that swear, & say, Thy God, O Dan, liveth, shall fall, & never Rise up again*. Accordingly, hee tells us, from the Tradition of the Jewes, That this Tribe was reduced unto one Family, namely, that of *Hussim*; & from *Johannes Antiochenus*, That those few of them that remained, at last left their own Inheritance, taking Shelter among the *Phenicians*. And wee may observe, that even *Ephraim* is not here personally mentioned, but instead of him, the Tribe of *Joseph*, because the *Ephraimites* were also Infamous for their Apostasy, & their Idolatry. But in stead of *Dan* is *Levi* added: for the Roundness of the Number *Twelve*; and perhaps for another mysterious Reason, of Differences taken away by the Lord Jesus Christ.<sup>263</sup>

Q. On the *Palm-bearers*? v. 9.

A. In the *Feast of Tabernacles*, the Jews judged themselves obliged by the Law of *Leviticus*, to carry in one of their Hands, a *Citron*; which they understand by, *The Fruit of goodly Trees*. All the Jews follow the *Targum* of *Jonathan* in this Interpretation. In the other Hand, they carried a Kind of a Nosegay, of the Twigs of *Palms*, and the *Myrtle-trees* (which they understand by the *Thick Trees*) and *Willows* or *Osiers*. This being tied well together with a golden, or silver, or

<sup>262</sup> Mather quotes an anonymous author from the work of the English bookseller and author, John Dunton (1659–1733), *A Supplement to the Athenian Oracle* (1710), pp. 258–59. This publication was part of the second life cycle of Dunton's famous *The Athenian Mercury*, the first major popular periodical in England, which appeared (with intermissions) between 1691 and 1697. After Dunton had sold the enterprise in 1703, the new owner Andrew Bell brought out selected and abridged parts of previous issues in four larger volumes called *The Athenian Oracle* (1703–1704 and 1710 with multiple reprints). Reference is made to Grotius's annotation on Rev. 7:5–8 in Pearson, *Criticis Sacri* (6:4766). Grotius cites the *Historia chronike* of the seventh-century historian John of Antioch.

<sup>263</sup> Mather here canceled an entry that reads this prophecy as referring solely to the actual tribes of natural Israel, suggesting that it might be best “to lay aside the Thoughts of a *surrogate Israel* from among the *Gentiles*.” “Doubtless,” he wrote, “the proper Israelitish Nation, to be reserved for the Glory of the Latter Dayes, is intended in this Vision, & Prophecy.” When Mather's thinking on this matter shifted and he no longer expected an eschatological conversion and restoration of the Jewish nation in the context of the millennium, this interpretation was no longer acceptable to him. See Appendix A.

silken Thread, they called, /לולב/ *Lulab*.<sup>264</sup> They also fetch'd every day a Twig of a *Willow* from near a Brook, & coming into the Temple, they laid their Twigs round the *Altar*, and with the *Palm-twigs* in their Hands, they cried *Hosanna*; the Priests in the mean while sounding their Trumpetts. This was a Ceremony, which they observed with more than ordinary Solemnity, on the *seventh Day*; when they went round the *Altar*, *seven Times* crying out, *Hosannah*. This they called, The Great HOSANNAH; and their Branches from hence gott the Name of *Hosannoth*. This Custome, as it leads us into a true Elucidation of our SAVIOURS Enting into *Jerusalem*, so, it is by some learned Men thought, that in this Vision of the *Palm-bearers*, there is an Allusion to what was thus done at the *Feast of Tabernacles*.

|<sup>265</sup>

[22r]

**Q.** Upon the Vision of the victorious *Palm-bearers*,<sup>266</sup> What Sentiment have they that expect a {distinct?} Condition & victorious Distinction of the Israelitish Nation in the Kingdome of GOD? v. 9.

**A.** According to them, this Vision, is a Repræsentation of what is to befall the *Israelitish Nation*. It repræsents the Condition of that Nation, both during the *Times of the Gentiles*, wherein they are sadly dispersed, but strangely præserted, and also after their *Deliverance* at the *Time of the End*, in the *millennial Happiness*, that is to ensue upon it.

The *Four Angels*, in the Beginning of the Vision, seem unto Mr. *Grellot*, allusive unto those *Four Angels*, which the Jewes call, *The Angels of Death*; or, *of Damage*. Their Names in the Jewish Writings are, *Samael*, and *Azazel*, and *Azael*, and *Mahazael*.

The *sealing Angel arising from the East*, seems to be that mystical *Elias*, whom the Jewes expect, as the *Forerunner* of the *Messiah*. Tis their Tradition, and not altogether an unscriptural one; יבא בקבוץ הגליות *Elias veniet in Congregatione exiliorum*.<sup>267</sup> From him, they look for a Restoration of the Dis-

<sup>264</sup> The Hebrew word לולב [lulav] signifies the closed frond of the date palm tree. It is one of the four species used during the Jewish holiday of Sukkot (Feast of the Tabernacles). The other Species are the *hadas* (myrtle), *aravah* (willow), and *etrog* (citron). When bound together, the *lulav*, *hadas*, and *aravah* are commonly referred to as “the lula.” See Lev. 23:34–43. Mather appears to paraphrase Grellotus, *Prodromus*, p. 91. Possibly, Mather also uses Thomas Godwin, *Moses and Aaron*, bk. 3, ch. 6 (“Feast of the Tabernacles”), pp. 117–20.

<sup>265</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>266</sup> See Appendix A. Mather here canceled several sentences and revised the way he posed his question and framed the answer. As a result, the following speculations on the eschatological restoration and distinction of the Jewish tribes now appear as the “sentiments” of some interpreters (rather than his own views), which need to be treated with skepticism. These changes again reflect Mather’s altered position on this subject.

<sup>267</sup> The Hebrew and Latin translates: “Elijah will come to the congregation of the exile(s).” From Grellotus, *Prodromus*, p. 91.

inction of their Tribes which is now lost; and such a Distinction we presently find here intimated unto us.

*The East* from which he comes, may be *Paradise*; which the Ancients did assign unto that Part of the Heavenly World. The Words of *Austin* on this Occasion, are worth reciting; *Elias ante adventum Judicis non immeritò speratur esse venturus; qui etiam nunc vivere non immeritò creditur; curru namque igneo raptus est de rebus humanis, quod evidentissimè Scriptura testatur. Cum ergò venerit, exponendo Legem spiritualiter, quam nunc Judæi carnaliter sapiunt, convertet Cor Patris ad filium, id est, Corda Patrum ad Filios, cum intelligentiam Patrum perducet ad intelligentiam Filiorum.*<sup>268</sup> The Christian Fathers were generally of the Beleeif, That the Jewes are to be converted by the Preaching of *Elias*.

*Chrysostom* would prove,<sup>269</sup> that the *Jewes* are one day to be called, from the Vision of the *Tribes*, which we find *sealed* here. And *Jerom* observes, That the Tribe of *Levi*, is to supply the Room of *Dan*.<sup>270</sup>

The *Palms* here born, by the Restored *Israelites*, may not only be a Badge of their victorious Condition, but also they may be an Allusion to their Usages at the *Feast of Tabernacles*.

They come now to *serve God Day and Night in His Temple*. It is as much as to say, *They shall be Priests*. A peculiar Dignity is promised unto the Restored Nation of the *Israelites*, in this regard.

[22v] The Distinction between the *New Heavens* and the *New Earth*, must come in to help us here. In the | *New Jerusalem*, which is the Heavenly City of the *Raised Saints*, come down from Heaven, there is no *Temple*, and no *Night*. But in the *New Jerusalem* Rebuilt on Earth, among the converted Jewes, there will be a *Temple* wherein they shall *serve Him Day & Night*.

There they shall *hunger and thirst no more*. By *Hunger* and *Thirst*, we understand with *Maimonides*, that propheticall Scripture understands, *De Privatione Sapientiæ et Apprehensionis*.<sup>271</sup>

*Neither shall the Sun light on them*. Fetch a Key to this, from *Matth. 13.6, 21*.

<sup>268</sup> “For not without reason it is expected that *Elias* will come before the advent of the Judge, since there is reason to believe that he is living even now; for, as Scripture most clearly bears witness, he was carried up from the world of men in a fiery chariot. When, then, he shall come, by explaining in a spiritual sense the law which the Jews now understand in a carnal sense, ‘he shall turn the heart of the father toward his son,’ that is, the hearts of the fathers toward their children . . . .” From *Grellotus, Prodromus*, p. 92, Mather cites *Austin, De civitate Dei*, lib. 20, cap. 29 [PL 41. 704; CSEL 40]; transl. adapted from: *LCL* 416, pp. 432–33.

<sup>269</sup> Mather here originally had “demonstrates,” again showing his change in perspective.

<sup>270</sup> From *Grellotus, Prodromus*, p. 92, Mather cites John *Chrysostom, Homiliae in Matthaum*, homil. [PG 58. 559]; and *Jerome, Against Jovinianus*, 1.40 [PG 23. 281].

<sup>271</sup> “Of a lack of wisdom and understanding.” From *Grellotus, Prodromus*, p. 97, Mather cites *Buxtorf’s* Latin edition of *Maimonides More Nevochim, Doctor Perplexorum*, pars 1, cap. 30, p. 37.

Is it not an Allusion to the *cloudy Pillar*, which defended the *Israelites* in the Wilderness?<sup>272</sup>

What are the *Fountains of living Water*, whereto the *Lamb* shall then *lead them*?

In the *Talmuds* we read of a Place called /בית שואבה/ which *Maimonides* tells us, was the Place which the *Jewes* devoted unto their *Joyes* at the *Feast of Tabernacles*. Here may be an Allusion to that Place; as well as in Isa. 12.3. *With Joy yee shall draw Waters out of the Wells of Salvation*.<sup>273</sup>

The *Holy Spirit* in His precious Influences, is eminently concerned here: And the *Doctrine* and *Gospel* of our Salvation is not unconcerned.

*Kimchi* gives us an Exposition of *Jonathan*. *Doctrina Sapientiae confertur Aquis; et Doctores sunt instar Fontis; ac Discipuli sunt haurientes*.<sup>274</sup>

I will add; Tho' *Paraeus* in his Commentaries on this Prophecy, incline to a more Allegorical Interpretation of this Prophecy, yett in his Exposition on the XI to the *Romans*, he gives another Determination. *Quod Oraculum ad Literam de Conversione Judeorum planè intelligendum videtur; quoniam Israelitiæ signati in frontibus ibi disertè discernuntur a Signatis Gentibus, Populis, et Linguis reliquis*.<sup>275</sup>

But this Matter deserves a further Examination.

I incline to think after all, we must be satisfied with a surrogate *Israel*.<sup>276</sup>

<sup>272</sup> This sentence is a later insertion.

<sup>273</sup> The Hebrew signifies "the place of water-drawing," which actually shares the same root (שואב [sha'av]) with the verb (to draw water) used in Isa. 12:3, as Mather, relying on Grellotus, *Prodromus*, pp. 98–99, rightly argues. The source is Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah, Zemanim* (bk. 1, "Times"), Tractate *Shofar ve-Lulav ve-Sukkah*, bk. 3, ch. 4 (Gandz, pp. 380–96).

<sup>274</sup> "The doctrine of wisdom is compared to water. And the teachers are like a fountain, and the pupils are those who draw water." From Grellotus, *Prodromus*, p. 99, Mather cites a Latin translation of R. Kimchi's (Radak) exposition of the Targum Jonathan at Isa. 12:3. See *Mikraoth Gedoloth Isaiab*, Isa. 55:1, p. 436.

<sup>275</sup> "It is obvious that the prophecy in its literal sense is to be understood of the conversion of the Jews; for the Israelites that are sealed in their foreheads can be clearly distinguished from the other sealed people, nations and tongues." The citation comes from the commentary on Romans ("Dubium XVIII" at Rom. 11) by the Heidelberg theologian David Paraeus (Wängler, 1548–1622), *In Divinam Ad Romanos S. Pauli Apostoli Epistolam Commentarius* (1613), p. 1168. Further reference is made to Paraeus's commentary on Rev. 7:4, *In Divinam Apocalypsin S. Apostoli Et Evangelistae Johannis Commentarius* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 1622), which was also translated into English as *A Commentary Upon the Divine Revelation of the Apostle and Evangelist John*, p. 143. Here Paraeus (arguing against Ribera) rejects a reading of the prophecies of Rev. 7 as literally referring to the tribes of Israel and their eschatological conversion. Possibly, Mather cites Paraeus via the millennialist tract of Robert Maton, *Christ's Personall Reigne on Earth, One Thousand Yeares with his Saints, containing a Reply to A. Petrie* ([1646] 1652). Here the citations appear on the third page of an unpaginated preface.

<sup>276</sup> The last two sentences are later additions and reflect Mather's altered position on the subject matter (see above).

[23r] | <sup>277</sup>

**Q.** We read of some, who have *washed their Robes, made them white in the Blood of the Lamb*. Wee know, *Blood* will spott and stain that which is *white*. *Made white in Blood* seems truly but an Harsh Kind of a *Metaphor*? v. 14.

**A.** Yes; but what will you say when I tell you, (with Monsr. *Déspaigne*.) Tis not a *Metaphor*, but a *Metonymie*.<sup>278</sup>

The Expression of *Robes made white*, is an Allusion to the Habit of the *Priests* under the Law of old; who putt on *white Robes*, when they entred into the *Temple*. The Meaning of the Text before us, is, That the Persons here spoken of were now made *Priests* unto God, *serving* Him (as it followes) *Day & Night in His Temple*. Well, but what Influence ha's the *Blood of the Lamb*, upon their *Priesthood*? The *Consecration* of the ancient *Priests*, was by the *Blood* of the *Sacrifices* then required; (yea, we read *Exod. 29.21.* and *Lev. 8.30.* of, *Blood sprinkled on their Garments*.) The Short of it, is, That by Vertue of the *Blood* of the Lord Jesus Christ applied unto us, we are made *Priests* unto God, & capable of wearing the *white Garments* of an Heavenly *Priesthood*. Wee come to have *white Garments*; How? The *Blood of the Lamb* ha's purchased this Dignity for us.

And yett we may allow, that the *Robes* may be represented here, as made *Shining* by the *Blood*; As *Wool* receives a Shining and a Noble Colour, by being died in *Purple*.

Here may be an Allusion unto *Joshua's* changing his *Filthy Garments*.<sup>279</sup>

[23v] | [blank]

<sup>277</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>278</sup> Mather here draws on the work of the Jean D'Espagne, *New Observations upon the Creed* (1647), pp. 166–68. D'Espagne (1591–1659) was a Huguenot theologian who served as pastor in Orange and The Hague before he moved to London in 1657, where he became minister to a French congregation in the city. He published on a variety of subjects, and some of his works were translated into English.

<sup>279</sup> See *Zech. 3:3*. This sentence and the prior sentence were later additions.

4616.

**Q.** What was the Mystery of the *Seven Trumpetts*? v. 1.

**A.** At the Opening of the *Seventh Seal*, we should now have seen the *Kingdome* of our Blessed Lord JESUS CHRIST, after so many confounding Judgments upon its Adversaries. But the Servants of God in the *New Jerusalem*, are still to have a *Seal* upon them; and the Christian Emperours must now afford a Disguise for the *Antichrist*, which was to Rise and Reign, for *Twelve Hundred and Sixty Years*.

Wherefore in the Opening of the *Seventh Seal*, we have *Seven Trumpetts*, all sounding the Alarms of the Divine Vengeance against the World, for their continued Indisposition unto the Kingdome of our Lord JESUS CHRIST. The Blood of the *Martyrs* formerly shed, and the Antichristian *Superstitions* in Worship, and *Impositions* on Conscience, already on foot among the Christians, loudly called for further Vengeance.<sup>280</sup>

It is to be observed, That the *Four First Trumpetts*, bring Ruines on the *Western Part* of the *Roman Empire*; by the *Goths* and *Vandals*. The *Two Next*, bring Ruines on the *Eastern Part*, by the *Mahometan Arms*, which bring more bitter Calamity and Embondagement on the World, than what went before them.<sup>281</sup>

*Trumpetts* were used in the Removes & Journeys of the Camp in the Wilderness. The *Trumpetts* here attend the Motions of the Church thro' its Wilderness-Condition.<sup>282</sup>

*Maimonides* also observes, *Trumpetts* were sounded for *Fasting & Prayer*, because of the Enemies of *Israel*.<sup>283</sup>

<sup>280</sup> See Goodwin, *An Exposition* (*Works* 3:30–32).

<sup>281</sup> The Vandals and Alans captured and plundered Rome in 455; twenty years later the Western Empire collapsed amidst the turmoil of successive invasions and migrations by various Germanic peoples. Under the second Caliph Omar (634–664), Arab Muslims rapidly conquered Byzantine Palestine/Syria (636) and Egypt (639–642), where Alexandria had to be handed over. Subsequently, Constantinople was besieged (674–678, 715–718) but not captured. The decline of the Byzantine Empire continued with the loss of Anatolia to the Turko-Persian Seljuks in the eleventh century and climaxed in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries under the Ottoman Turks who finally captured Constantinople in 1453.

<sup>282</sup> The preceding paragraphs summarize Goodwin, *An Exposition* (*Works* 3:53–55).

<sup>283</sup> From Waple, *The Book of the Revelation*, pp. 122–23, Mather refers to Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah, Avodah* (bk. 8, “The Book of Temple Services”), Tractate *K’lei HaMikdash* (“Vessels of the Sanctuary”), ch. 3, Halachah 5 (Lewittes, p. 51), with a reference to Num. 10:9–10.



**Q.** Who may be the *Seven Angels* here standing before God?

**A.** Compare, Tobit. 12.15. for the Illustration of this Passage.

It is a Passage of *Clemens Alexandrinus*; *septem sunt [Angeli] quorum est maxima Potentia, primogeniti Angelorum, principes, per quos Deus omnibus hominibus providet.*<sup>284</sup>

The Hebrewes call them מלאכי השרת *Angelos Ministerii.*<sup>285</sup>

*John* uses here the Article, which invites us to read it, *The Seven Angels.*

**Q.** The *Voices*, and *Thunderings* and *Lightnings*, and *Earthquake* here? v. 5.<sup>286</sup>

**A.** The other *Seals* opening with some notable Events in the *Roman Empire*; why may we not here suppose a very special Reference to the Victory of *Theodosius* over *Eugenius*, and Paganism; A. D. 395. This perfected what was begun by *Constantine* under the former Seal. The Vengeance of God, then fell extraordinarily on the Pagans. *Claudian*, the Heathen Poet, confesses, the Defeat which the Tempest gave them, was miraculous.<sup>287</sup> And the Souldiers, who were present in the Battel, told Austin so.<sup>288</sup> How naturally expressed by, an *Angel casting Fire from Heaven upon Earth!*

4617.

**Q.** What is it that falls out, at the *Sounding* of the *First Trumpett*? v. 8.

**A.** *Hail and Fire mingled with Blood, & cast on the Earth, and a Third Part of the Trees burnt up, and all green Grass burnt up.*

The *First Trumpett* begins, where the *Sixth Seal* ended. The *Sixth Seal* brings us to the Total Fall of *Paganism*, under the Two *Theodisus's*.

Then sounds the *First Trumpett*. *Hail mingled with Fire, and Blood, falling on the Earth*, is a lively Representation of the Barbarous People, who in the Dayes of the younger *Theodosius* came pouring down upon the Empire, out of *Thracia* under the Conduct of *Alaricus*, and ravaged, *Macedonia*, *Thessaly*, *Greece*, *Achaia*, *Corinth*, *Argos*, *Sparta*, *Epirus*, and *Italy* itself.<sup>289</sup> Afterwards, and about the same Time, the *Vandals*, the *Alanes*, the *Marcomans*, the *Herules*, the

<sup>284</sup> "Seven are the angels, who have the greatest power, the first-born princes of the angels, through whom God looks after all men." From Grelletus, *Prodromus*, p. 100, Mather cites Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromata*, lib. 6, cap. 16 [PG 8. 369–72; GCS 52]; transl. adapted from *ANF* (2:1093).

<sup>285</sup> Both the Hebrew and the Latin signify "angels of service." From Grelletus, *Prodromus*, p. 100.

<sup>286</sup> Derived from Waple, *The Book of the Revelation*, p. 120.

<sup>287</sup> Waple refers to the Graeco-Latin poet Claudian (Claudius Claudianus, c. 370–c. 404 CE), *Panegyric on the Third Consulship of the Emperor Honorius*, 96–98; *LCL* 135, pp. 276–77.

<sup>288</sup> A reference to Augustine, *The City of God*, 5.26; *LCL* 412, pp. 270–71.

<sup>289</sup> Reference is made to Alaric I (Alaricus; c. 370–410), the first king of the Visigoths, from 395 to 410, who led the sack of Rome in 410.

*Sueves*, the *Allemans*, with horrible Destructions possessed themselves of *Gaul*, and *Spain*, and *Africa*.

They fell on, like a Storm of *Hail*, suddenly, & with Violence. They carried *Fire* every where, and bathed the Earth with *Blood*. [Compare, Isa. 28.2. and, 30.30. and, 32.19.]<sup>290</sup>

That I may be a little more particular. The *Goths* (which seems to be a general Name for these Barbarous People) were originally a People of *Scythia*; who coming from thence, and having seated themselves in *Scanzia*, or *Scandia*, (a Name comprehending *Suiden* and *Norway*, and the vast Countreyes adjoining,) in Process of time, about three hundred Years before the Incarnation of our Saviour, on the usual Occasions for the Transmigrations of Nations, left the Countrey; and after long *Wanderings* (from whence they were afterwards called, *Vandals*, that is, *Wanderers*;) thro' *Germany* and *Sarmatia*, as far as the *Palus Meotis*,<sup>291</sup> one Part of them settled there, and were called, *Getæ*; and the other, but the greatest Part of them, returned from thence, & took up their Habitation in *Dacia* and *Thracia*; from whence they seem to have made their First Incursions, about A. D. 251. After several Fights, which diverse Emperours had with them, immediately on the Death of *Theodosius M.* they fell in, like a mighty Torrent, upon the Roman Empire.<sup>292</sup>

|  
4618.

[24v]

**Q.** Why is it here called, *A Third Part of the Trees*, which the Desolations of the *First Trumpett* fall upon? And thus, tis, *A Third Part*, that appears in the other *Trumpetts*?

**A.** Monsr. *Jurieu* takes the Reason of the Expression, to be, Because the *Roman Empire* here intended, was a *Third Part* of the World. The World was Divided into *Three Parts*, namely, *Europe*, and *Asia*, and *Africa*. The *Roman Empire* took up *Europe*. If it be said, That the *Roman Empire* extended itself into *Asia* and *Africa*, it may ballance against it, That in *Europe* there was a great Extent of Northern Countreyes, not possessed by the *Romans*. What they had in other Parts of the World, was but an æquivalent unto these. *Europe* was also the Seat of the *Roman Empire*, in this regard, that both *Rome* and *Constantinople* are both of them seated in *Europe*. And, lastly, it was *Europe* chiefly, that was harassed by the Inundations of the Barbarous People. So then, *A Third Part of the Trees*, is as much as to say, *The Trees of the Third Part of the World*. These Desolations,

<sup>290</sup> The preceding paragraphs are from *Jurieu*, *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies*, pp. 56–57.

<sup>291</sup> The Maeotian Swamp or Maeotian Marshes was a name applied in antiquity variously to the swamps at the mouth of the Tanais River in Scythia (the modern Don in southern Russia) and to the entire Sea of Azov, which it forms there.

<sup>292</sup> The last section is from *Waple*, *The Book of the Revelation*, p. 123.

touched the *Trees* only. The Barbarians contented themselves with the Spoils of the Fruits of the Earth, and Mens Goods. The following Storms made more terrible Desolations.

But we shall elsewhere more fully Declare the Meaning of, *The Third Part*, mentioned in the Visions of the *Trumpetts*, and admire the Exactness of the Prophecy in it.<sup>293</sup>

In this Place, I will only add; It is Mr. *Medes* Opinion, That by the *Fourth of the Earth*, [Chap. VI.8.] is meant, almost all the *Roman Empire*, which upon due Compute, was, as Dr. *More* observes, then *One Third Part of the Earth*.<sup>294</sup> But there is a Worthy, tho' a Nameless Writer, who offers another Conjecture, not unworthy to be considered. The *Roman Empire* is called, *The Fourth Part of the Earth* [Chap. VI.8.], while it had its Imperial Seat fixed at *Rome*, which was then the Head of the *Fourth Kingdome*. But after *Constantine* removed the Seat of the Western Empire to *Constantinople*, it is called, *The Third*, because its Imperial Seat was then in the Greek Part of the *Roman Empire*, which was the *Third Kingdome of the Earth* in the Visions of *Daniel*. From this time, *Constantinople*, or *New Rome*, was become the chief Seat of the *Civil Empire*, and *Old Rome* was abandoned unto the New *Ecclesiastical Empire* of the Pope; The Western Emperours came seldome at it, & by Degrees left it entirely to them.

[25r] | <sup>295</sup>  
4619.

**Q.** What is done at the Sounding of the *Second Trumpet*? v. 8, 9.

**A.** *A great Mountain burning with Fire, is cast into the Sea, and the Third Part of the Sea becomes Blood; and the Third Part of the Creatures in the Sea, died, and a Third Part of the Ships were destroy'd.*

The *Sea*, is an Emblem which all the Prophets use, to signify, the People. [Compare, Jer. 51.36, 44. Ezek. 31.4. Isa. 19.5.]

In all Languages, the Style of the Vulgar, as well as of the Orators and Prophets, makes a *Sea of Blood* always to signify, a very great Slaughter.

*Italy* was to the *Roman Empire*, what the *Sea* is to the *Rivers*; even the Center thereof, and that whereto all pay their Tribute.

<sup>293</sup> From Jurieu, *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies*, pp. 56–76.

<sup>294</sup> From Waple, *The Book of the Revelation*, pp. 125–26, reference is made to Mede, *The Key of the Revelation*, pt. 1, p. 52; and the work of the rationalist theologian and Neoplatonist philosopher Henry More (1614–1687), *Apocalypsis Apocalypseos, Or, The Revelation of St. John the Divine* (1680), p. 73. More was the main representative of a politically conservative, Anglican strand of English millenarianism that after the Restoration interpreted the apocalyptic prophecies to authorize, endorse, and promote the established Church and monarchical government of England. See Warren Johnston, *Revelation Restored: The Apocalypse in Later Seventeenth-century England* (2011), pp. 132–43. The “Nameless Writer” is Waple.

<sup>295</sup> See Appendix B.

Here, *Alaricus* and his *Goths* fell in, like a Burning Mountain. He takes and sacks the City of *Rome* itself; and *Italy* is now filled with Slaughter.

It is observable, That fearful Confusions, are so represented; Psal. XLVI.2. *Mountains carried into the Midst of the Sea.*<sup>296</sup>

4620.

**Q.** What is done, at the Sounding of the *Third Trumpett*? v. 10, 11.

**A.** A *Great Star* falls from *Heaven* as a *Burning Lamp*, and it falls on the *Third Part of the Rivers*, and upon the *Fountains of Waters*. And the *Name of the Star* is called, *Wormwood*; and the *Third Part of the Waters* became *Wormwood*, and many died of the *Waters*, because they were made *Bitter*.

The *Fire* abates. What was like a *Mountain*, becomes now like a *Lamp*.

*Alaricus* having taken *Rome*, and made a New Emperour called *Attalus*, with whom he went to besiege *Honorius* in *Ravenna*, he gave Peace to *Honorius*, he quitted *Italy*, he retired among the *Gauls* where, with his *Goths*, he established himself.<sup>297</sup> The *Vandals* possessed *Spain*. The *Burgundians* continued on the *Rhone*. The *Huns* inhabited *Pannonia*. Then the *Fountains* and the *Waters*, the People which depended on *Rome*, felt the Force of this *Fire* of the Judgment of God. But this *Fire*, did not turn the *Waters* into *Blood*, because then the *Slaughter* ceased; the *Opposition* ceasing, the *Barbarians* then saw themselves Masters. But they turned the *Rivers* and *Fountains*, into *Wormwood*; that is, they reduced the *Roman* Provinces into a *Bitter Servitude*. The Name of *Wormwood* is given to this *Fire*; because this Judgment, tho' less than the former, was yett so great as to make the People to live in *Bitterness*. The *Goths* horribly spoiled them, of all their comfortable Possessions.<sup>298</sup>

**Q.** To what alludes a *great Star burning as a Lamp*?

**A.** A Comet. Quære, whether, *Augustulus* may not be the *Comet*?<sup>299</sup>

|  
4705.

[25v]

**Q.** May not the *Fall of a great Star from Heaven* at -this time, lead us to the Consideration of some other Event, that was very Remarkable?

<sup>296</sup> Mather draws on Jurieu, *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies*, pp. 56–63; and Waple, *The Book of the Revelation*, pp. 127–28.

<sup>297</sup> This chronology seems off. Following his invasion of Italy, Alaric failed to reach an agreement with Emperor Honorius, and so, in 409, proclaimed a leading senator, Priscus Attalus, as a rival emperor, who, however, was quickly disposed of again the next year, when Alaric decided to sack Rome. Alaric died in northern Italy in 411.

<sup>298</sup> From Jurieu, *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies*, pp. 59–62.

<sup>299</sup> Compare Waple, *The Book of the Revelation*, pp. 130–31. Romulus Augustus (c. 460–after 476), referred to derisively as Augustulus, was Emperor of the West from 475 until 476. He is traditionally known as the last Western Roman emperor.

A. The Author of the, *New System of the Apocalypse*, thinks, That the *Great Star*, must needs be some very eminent *Pastor*; and in short, the Bishop of *Rome*.<sup>300</sup> And here, yett more particularly, it will first of all, fall upon *Gregory the First*.<sup>301</sup> It is remarkable, That he was called, *The Great*; And, how he *fell from Heaven*, he does himself give an Account, in the *Fifth Epistle* of his *First Book*, writing to *Theotista* the Emperours Sister; *Under the Colour of a Bishoprick*, saies he, *I am sunk into the World; and I am become more enslaved unto the Cares of the Earth, than ever I was, when but a laick Person. Since I was outwardly Advanced, I am inwardly Fallen; And I bewail my own State, as being thus driven from the Presence of my Creator.* He writt the same to *Anastasius*, Bishop of *Antioch*; Namely, *That he was so depressed by the Load of Multiplicity of Affayrs, that he could not Raise his Mind to Heavenly Things*.<sup>302</sup> This *Fall* of *Gregory the Great*, is the more observable; Because it was he who changed the *Service* of the Church, into that which from his Name is called to this Day, *The Gregorian*. It was he who æquall'd the Four First *Councils* to the Four *Gospels*. It was he, who brought the Beleeof of *Purgatory* into the Church.

But then, the *great Star* will also collectively take in all the Bishops of *Rome*, since they first began to depart from the Truth, & from Christian Humility. That they did so, was pretty notably proclaimed, when the greatest Persons among the Heathen, coveted the Grandeur of the *Popes*; and the Pagan *Prætextatus* being designed Consul, offered unto *Damasus* to turn *Christian*, upon Condition he might be made the Bishop of *Rome*.

4621.

Q. What is done at the Sounding of the *Fourth Trumpett*? v. 12.

<sup>300</sup> The entry is derived from the anonymously published *A New System of the Apocalypse; or, Plain and Methodical Illustrations of all the Visions in the Revelation of St. John* (1688), pp. 169–70. Remarkably, in his annotation on Rev. 12:15, Mather identifies the author of this work as a “Monsr. Philipot.” Several later sources falsely ascribed *A New System* to the English poet and scholar Thomas Philipot or Philipot (d. 1682), including the 1824 *Bibliotheca Britannica, Or a General Index to British and Foreign Literature* (2:755c). However, the French original *Eclaircissements sur l’Apocalypse de S. Jean* appeared in Amsterdam in 1687 (also anonymously) and has been identified as the work of Jacques Philipot (life dates unknown), Huguenot minister at Clairac, who fled to the Netherlands in response to the renewed persecutions of French Protestants in France.

<sup>301</sup> Reference is made to Gregory the Great’s letter of September 590 in *Registri Epistolarum*, 1.5 [PL 77. 448–50; SC 381].

<sup>302</sup> Reference is made to Gregory, *Epistolae*, 1.7 [PL 77. 453]; see the *Letter to Anastasius*: “For indeed such great burdens of business press me down that my mind can in no wise lift itself up to heavenly things. I am tossed by the billows of a multitude of affairs, and, after the ease of my former quiet, am afflicted by the storms of a tumultuous life, so that I may truly say, *I am come into the depth of the sea, and the storm hath overwhelmed me* (Ps. lxxviii. 3),” *NPNFii* (12:706).

**A.** A *Third Part of the Sun* is now *smitten*, and a *Third Part* of the *Moon*, and a *Third Part* of the *Stars*; and the *Day shines not* for a *Third Part* of it, and the *Night likewise*.

The *Sun*, *Moon*, and *Stars*, use to signify the Powers of a State. The *Heaven* of the political World, is the *superiour Region of Dignities*, that shed Influences, Good or Bad, upon the People.

The *Sun* here may be the *Roman Emperour*; the *Moon* may be the *Imperial Dignity*; the *Stars* may be the *Grandeess* of the Empire.

The Extinction of the Roman Empire in *Italy* is here foretold. It wonderfully came to pass, A.C. 455. after the Death of *Valentinian, III.* when *Gensericus* arriving from *Africa*, with his *Vandals*, took *Rome*, and sackt it fifteen Dayes one after another. After this, the Empire was torn among *Ten Kings*, according to the Prophecies. The Year, when *Genseric* took *Rome*, was by some styled, *The Year of Vengeance*.<sup>303</sup>

---

<sup>303</sup> From Jurieu, *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies*, pp. 63–64. Reference is made to Genseric or Gaiseric (Gensericus, c. 389–477), King of the Vandals and Alans (428–477). He captured and plundered Rome in 455, an event that contributed much to the collapse of the Western Roman Empire.

**Q.** At the *Sounding of the Fifth Angel*, a *Star falls from Heaven to Earth*. What means the *Falling of the Star*? v. 1.

**A.** Monsr. *Jurieu* thinks, it comes in, only as a *Præsa*ge of some great Event. He does not understand any *Grandee*, or *Prophet*, by the *Star*; For the *Star* does nothing, and appears no more. It is not the *Star*, but the *Angel*, that has given unto him *the Key of the Bottomless Pitt*. The *Falling of a Star*, he takes to be a *Præsa*ge of some great Insurrection against the God of Heaven.<sup>304</sup>

It is argued, That *Mahomet* can not be the *Star*; because he never had any Place in *Heaven*. Tho' tis true, at the Time of the Falling of the *Star*, the *Locusts* come out, and the *Mahometan Saracens* make their Appearance. This was A. D. 622. Now, it was but about sixteen Years before this, that *Boniface* took the Title of, *Universal Bishop*, and, *The Head of all Churches*.<sup>305</sup> Albeit *Gregory* the Great, had just before condemned him, who should usurp such a Title, as the *Fore-runner of Antichrist*; and an Imitation of *Lucifer*, *exalting his Throne above the Stars of God*. These Words were a Prophecy of their *High-Priest*, who *spake not this of himself*; but as being *High-Priest that Year*, he foretold the Fall of an eminent *Star from Heaven*, to a worldly Dominion.<sup>306</sup>

**Q.** What was the *Smoke*, that now *arose out of the Bottomless Pitt*? v. 2.

**A.** What? But the unhappy Religion of *Mahomet*; which fills the World with the Thick Darkness of Error.

<sup>304</sup> From *Jurieu*, *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies*, pp. 65–66.

<sup>305</sup> Pope Boniface, or Bonifatius III, was the bishop of Rome from February 607 until his death in November that year. Despite its short duration, his pontificate is significant in that Boniface obtained a decree from Emperor Phocas in the East, which restated that “the See of Blessed Peter the Apostle should be the head of all the Churches.” This ensured that the title of “universal bishop” belonged exclusively to the Bishop of Rome and effectively ended the attempt by Patriarch Cyriacus of Constantinople to establish himself as “universal bishop” (CE). 607 was a key date in the schemes of many a Protestant millennialist, as it was interpreted as an essential step toward securing “the papacy’s false and arbitrary claims to jurisdiction over all of Christendom. This event was often interpreted as coincident with the star falling from heaven in the description of the fifth trumpet, and also as a significant step in the beast’s rise,” Johnston, *Revelation Restored*, p. 47.

<sup>306</sup> From Waple, *The Book of the Revelation*, pp. 136–37. Reference is made to one of the letters that Pope Gregory I wrote to John IV, Archbishop of Constantinople from 582 to 595, in the controversy over the latter’s assumption of the title “ecumenical patriarch.” The comparison with Lucifer is made in *Epistolae*, 5.18 [PL 77. 738–43]; see the transl. of Letter XVIII in *NPNFii* (12:167–68).

*Mahometism* indeed had its Original, in the Darkness, and Error, and Filthy Practices, which then covered the World; and may well be called, *The Smoke of the Bottomless Pitt*.<sup>307</sup>

*Hottingers* Account of the State of the World, at this time, ought to be consulted.<sup>308</sup>

4626.

**Q.** What are the *Locusts*, that rise out of the *Smoke of the Bottomless Pitt*, and come upon the Earth? v. 3.

**A.** The *Arabians*, the *Saracens*, uniting under the Impostor *Mahomet*.

The *Arabians* may well be represented by *Locusts*; first, because of their Innumerable *Multitude*. Hence, long before this, we read in the Book of *Judges*; *The Midianites and the Amalekites, and all the Children of the East*, [By the Way, The Children of the East, or, Easterlings, is the very English of the Name *Saracens*:] *were in the Valley, as Locusts for Number*. Secondly; Tis from *Arabia*, that those Inundations of *Locusts* often come, that cover *Egypt*, and *Ethiopia*, and the other Countreyes in the Neighbourhood. Thirdly; The Swiftmess of the *Saracens* in their Conquests, is admirably represented by the Clouds of *Locusts*, which fall on the Fields in a Night, and at once carry all before them. Lastly; The Desolations made by the *Saracens* everywhere, are well enough represented by the hideous Condition, which the Fields are in, when the *Locusts* have been upon them. Consider, Joel. II.

It may also be remarked here; That vast Numbers of *Locusts*, have been frequently seen appearing, before the Approach of great Armies. This is frequently noted by *Abul Pharajai*, and by *Du Fresne* in his Notes, at the End of *Cinnamus*.<sup>309</sup>

The *Arabians*, are mentioned under the Name of *Saracens*, by none (that we remember) before *Pliny*. They are placed by him, & by *Ptolomy*, in *Arabia Felix*. And indeed *Meccha*, is a City in that Countrey.<sup>310</sup>

<sup>307</sup> From Jurieu, *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies*, p. 67.

<sup>308</sup> From Waple, *The Book of the Revelation*, p. 140, reference is made to Johann Heinrich Hottinger, *Historia Orientalis: Quae, Ex Variis Orientalium Monumentis Collecta* (1650), lib. 2, cap. 2 ("De Status Christianorum et Judæorum tempore orti Muhammedismi"), pp. 212–38.

<sup>309</sup> From Waple, *The Book of the Revelation*, p. 138, reference is made to the Latin edition of the work by the medieval Syrian polymath Bar Hebraeus (Arabic: Ibn Al-ʿIbrī or Abū al-Faraj; Latin name: Gregorius; 1226–1286), *Specimen historiae Arabum* [*Lumaʾ min abbar al-ʿarab*], which was translated and annotated by Edward Pococke in 1650. Mather also cites the Greek-Latin ed. of the work of the twelfth-century Byzantine historian Johannes Cinnamus, *Ioannu Kinnamu Basiliku Grammatiku Historiōn Logoi Hex*, transl. and annotated by Charles Du Fresne (1670), p. 530.

<sup>310</sup> From Waple, *The Book of the Revelation*, pp. 140–41, reference is made to Pliny, *Natural History*, 6.32; LCL 352, p. 457; and Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos*, 2.3.66; LCL 435, p. 145.



4627.

**Q.** Why is it commanded unto the *Locusts*, that they do not hurt the *Grass of the Earth, nor any green thing, but only those Men that have not the Seal of God on their Forheads?* v. 4.

**A.** Tis to shew, That the *Locusts* are *Men*, which are sent against other Men. For proper *Locusts* will fasten on every *green thing*.<sup>311</sup>

[26v]

4628.

**Q.** Why is it said of the *Locusts*, They should *not kill Men, but Torment them?* v. 4.

**A.** The *Saracens* had great Power given them to Torment and Harass the *Roman Empire*, as now divided into *Ten Kingdoms*, but not to Destroy it. They cruelly tormented both *Greeks* and *Latins*; but both the Empire of *Constantinople*, & the other Parts of the *Roman Empire* defended themselves against their Assaults.<sup>312</sup>

To *kill* a Body Politick, is to make it cease to be, either by *utterly destroying the People* of it, or by *subjecting it unto a New Authority*. The *Saracens* were not able to do either of these things; either in the *Eastern* or *Western Empire*. They often besieged *Constantinople*, but never took it. They Tortured *Rome*, they had not Possession of it. *Putean* remarks, Their Incursions into *Italy*, were like a *sudden Tempestuous Wind, which vanishes after it has done its Mischief*.<sup>313</sup>

4629.

**Q.** Why is the Duration of the *Locusts* limited unto *Five Months?* v. 5.

**A.** Monsr. *Jurieu* thinks,<sup>314</sup> Tis because the Reign of the *Locusts*, is in the *Five Months* of the Summer; *May, June, July, August, and September*; And this is their longest Reign; for oftentimes they last not so long; oftentimes in the Midst of the Summer a great Wind carries them away; oftentimes a long Rain makes them to burst. The Prophet therefore means, That the *Saracens* are to Reign as long as they could; That God would not abate any thing of it, in favour of the *Roman Empire*.

Mr. *Mede* thinks, There is yett more of Mystery in the *Five Months*. It contains, 150 Days; which in the Prophetical Style, are so many Years. He observes,

311 From *Jurieu, The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies*, pp. 67–68.

312 From *Jurieu, The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies*, p. 68.

313 The last section is from *Waple, The Book of the Revelation*, p. 144, who refers to the work of the Dutch humanist, Erycius Puteanus (Hendrick van den Putte, 1574–1646), *Historia insubricae sive barbaricae ab origine gentis* (1678), p. 115.

314 From *Jurieu, The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies*, p. 68.

That *Italy* was just so many Years afflicted by the *Saracens*; namely from the Year, 830, to the Year, 980.<sup>315</sup>

**Q.** Upon the *Saracens* here compared unto *Scorpions*? v. 5.

**A.** It is a very odd & strange Passage related by *Matthew Paris*, [A.C. 1191.] That our King *Richard*, in his Expedition upon the *Holy War*, took a *Saracen* Ship, wherein were not only fifteen hundred *Souldiers*, but also two hundred & fifty *Scorpions*, which were to be employ'd in the Poisoning of *Christians*. A marvellous Thing; and what had never been in the World before; A Shipload of Natural & Literal *Scorpions*!<sup>316</sup>

**Q.** The *Torment*, as that of a *Scorpion*? v. 5.

**A.** *Bochart* notes, That the *Torment* of a *Scorpion*, is extremely grievous, nothing more vexatious. Very Troublesome Persons are likened unto them. [Ezek. II.6. Eccles. XXV.15. XXVI.7.] He likewise observes, That they also, as well as the *Locusts*, hurt only for *five Months*.<sup>317</sup>

**Q.** Why the *Locusts*, like *Horses for the Battel*? v. 7.

**A.** Not only because of the prodigious, and almost incredible Speed, with which the *Saracens* made their Conquests. But *Bochart* observes, the *Locusts* very much resemble *Horses* in the Shape of their *Heads*. *Ludolphus* gives you the Figure in his *Æthiopic History*.<sup>318</sup>

**Q.** Why do we find *Crowns like gold* on the Heads of the *Locusts*? v. 7.

**A.** 'Tis Remarkable, That all the Empires, that at this Day take up the East came from the *Saracens*; That of the *Turks*, that of the *Persians*, that of the Great *Mogul*, and that of the *Tartars*, & now of the *Chinese*.<sup>319</sup>

**Q.** Why, their *Faces*, as the *Faces of Men*? v. 7.

**A.** They had seemingly Rational & Plausible Pretences. [See Dan. VII.4.]<sup>320</sup>

315 From Jurieu, a reference to Mede, *The Key of the Revelation*, pt. 1, p. 102.

316 Reference is made to the work of the Benedictine monk (based at St. Albans, Hertfordshire), cartographer, and chronicler Matthew Paris (Matthæus Parisiensis, c. 1200–1259), *Historia Anglorum*, at 1191 (June 6). In the modern, three-volume ed., the story appears in vol. 2, p. 23. It is not clear where Mather gets this from. Reference is made to Richard I (1157–1199), King of England and an important Christian commander during the Third Crusade.

317 From Waple, *The Book of the Revelation*, p. 146, a reference to Samuel Bochart, *Hierozoïcon* (1663), pars 2, lib. 4, cap. 29, pp. 639–42.

318 From Waple, *The Book of the Revelation*, p. 146, a reference to Bochart, *Hierozoïcon*, pars 2, lib. 4, cap. 5, vol. 2, p. 474, and the work of the German polymath and pioneer scholar of the Ethiopian language, Hiob Ludolf (Leutholf, Job Ludolphus; 1624–1704), *Æthiopic History* (1682), p. 177.

319 See Waple, *The Book of the Revelation*, pp. 155–56.

320 From Waple, *The Book of the Revelation*, p. 147.

**Q.** Why, *Hair as the Hair of Women?* v. 8.

**A.** *Bochart* notes, There are some *Hairy Locusts*. *Mr. Mede* notes, The Ancient *Saracens* were famous for their wearing *long Hair*, & having their *Heads attired like Women*. *Pliny*, and *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and *Jerom*, report it. But the chief Intent here may be, They were very *Insinuating*, *Deceitful*, & *Treacherous*. The *Saracens* are infamous for this in all History.<sup>321</sup>

**Q.** The Description of the *Locusts* is very Remarkable; *Their Faces, as the Faces of Men, their Hair as the Hair of Women, their Teeth as the Teeth of Lions, and the Sound of their Wings, as the Sound of Chariots?* v. 8.

**A.** That is to say, They are as great Women, with their Hair dishevelled, an hideous Countenance, & Wings on their Shoulders.

But it is very Remarkable indeed, That the Prophet here should seem to have Respect unto the Description which the Poet gives to the *Harpyes*.

*Tristius haud illis Monstrum, nec  
Sevior ulla  
Pestis, et ira Deum Stygiis sese extulit  
undis.  
Virginei volucrum Vultus, fœdissima  
Ventrīs  
Ingluvies, unæque Manus, et pallida  
semper  
Ora fame.                      Æneid. 3.<sup>322</sup>*

It is observable, That the Name of *Harpyes*, comes from the Hebrew Word, *Arbim*, or, *Arpim*, which signifies *Locusts*.<sup>323</sup> [And see we not *Arabians* also in the Signification?] They were the Terror of the *East*. The Poet makes them come up from Hell; *Stygiis sese extulit undis*.<sup>324</sup> Thus our Prophet sees them *Ascend out of the Bottomless Pitt*. The Prince of the Bottomless Pitt, was look'd on as *their* Prince, in the Pagan Theology. He was called, *Serapio*, meaning, *Serarpis*, or, *Sararpi*; that is, The *Prince of Locusts*: As he was by the *Phœnicians* called, *Belzebub*; inasmuch as *Flies* were a great Plague unto them; and *Pluto*

321 From Waple, *The Book of the Revelation*, pp. 147–48, another reference to *Bochart*, *Hierozyicon*, pars 2, lib. 4, cap. 5, vol. 2, p. 474; *Mede*, *The Key of the Revelation*, pt. 1, p. 103; *Pliny*, *Natural History*, 6.32; *LCL* 352, pp. 458–59; the work of the Roman soldier and historian *Ammianus Marcellinus* (c. 330–400), *History*, 31.16.6; *LCL* 300, pp. 500–01; and *Jerome*, *The Life of Malchus*, 4 [PL 23. 55]; transl: *NPNFii* (6:721–22).

322 “No monster more baneful than these, no fiercer plague or wrath of the gods ever rose from the Stygian waves. Maiden faces have these birds, foulest filth they drop, clawed hands are theirs, and faces ever gaunt with hunger.” From *Jurieu*, *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies*, pp. 69–70, *Mather* cites *Virgil*, *Æneid*, 3.214–18; transl.: *LCL* 63, pp. 362–63.

323 *Mather* makes reference to the Hebrew word אֲרֵבָה [‘arbe], signifying locust. However, there is no etymological connection between the Greek and the Hebrew, nor is there one between אֲרֵבָה [‘arbe] and עֲרָבָה [‘aravah], from which the name of the *Arabians* derives.

324 “rose from the Stygian waves.” The entire section is from *Jurieu*.

was thought to send them. The *Saracens*, in short, were to be, like those *winged Women*, which were called, *Harpyes*. They were indeed profess'd Thieves; and they devoured the East, more by *Plunder* than by *Slaughter*.

| 325

[27r]

**Q.** Why, the *Tails* of the *Locusts*, like *Scorpions*; and why *Stings* in their *Tails*? v. 10.

**A.** *Poison* is an Emblem of *False Doctrine*. It signifies, That the *Arabians* would not only carry Deadly Desolations every where, but also the Poison of a Detestable Religion. The Divel is called, *A Serpent*, and a *Dragon*, very much, for the False Religion, which he infuses into the World.<sup>326</sup>

Compare, Isa. 9.15. and you have a Notable *Key* to the Prophecy: *The Prophet that teacheth Lies, he is the Tail*.<sup>327</sup>

The Mahometan Doctors, or Priests, are their principal Judges, in Civil Causes, as well as Religious.

**Q.** The *King over the Locusts*? v. 11.

**A.** 'Tis hereby intimated, That they were not *Natural*, but *Mystical* ones. For, those have *no King over them*. Prov. XXX.27.<sup>328</sup>

**Q.** Who is the *Head* of the *Locusts*? v. 11.

**A.** The *Angel of the Bottomless Pitt*; who is called, *Abaddon*, in *Hebrew*, and *Apollyon* in *Greek*; that is to say, *A Destroyer*. Why may it not be a Description of *Mahomet*, a Monster arising out of Hell as well as the *Locusts*? An *Angel* signifies, a *Messenger*. 'Tis a Term used for *Pastors*. The Name *Angel*, in the *Revelation*, doth not signify alwayes, a Species of the *Spirits*, that are so called: The *Angel of the Bottomless Pitt* here, is a *False Pastor* ascended from thence.

He is called, *A Destroyer*, because, in truth, never any Man upon Earth, *Destroy'd* so many, Body and Soul, as that Man.<sup>329</sup>

**Q.** Why is the Name of *Mahomet*, given us, both in *Hebrew*, and in *Greek*? v. 11.

325 See Appendix B.

326 The preceding paragraphs are from Jurieu, *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies*, p. 70.

327 From Waple, *The Book of the Revelation*, p. 150.

328 From Waple, *The Book of the Revelation*, p. 150.

329 From Jurieu, *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies*, p. 71. Reference is made to Muhammad (570–632), founder of Islam, which to Mather and his peers was not only a false religion but also a divinely appointed instrument of punishment in that the expansion first of Arab and then of Turko-Persian Muslims played a key role in the fulfillment of the apocalyptic prophecies.

**A.** Tis Remarkable. Both *Jewes* and *Greeks*, were to undergo a Particular and Remarkable Oppression from him.

Here is also an Allusion to the Inscription on our *Saviours Cross*; which was written in Letters of *Greek*, and *Latin*, and *Hebrew*; To shew that the Kingdome of our Saviour was to be established thro' the whole World. Here, the Name of, *The Destroyer*, (most opposite unto JESUS) is not written in the Latine Tongue at all. He was to prevail over *Jerusalem*, the chief City of the *Jews*, & over *Constantinople*, the chief City of the *Greeks*. But *Rome*, the chief City of the *Latines*, was never to fall into his hands.<sup>330</sup>

[▽28r–28v] [▽Insert from 28r–28v]

**Q.** Some further Criticism, if you please, upon the Names of, *Abaddon*, and *Apollyon*? v. 11.

**A.** *Peganius* is pretty critical upon them.<sup>331</sup> Tis observable, he thinks, That the Prophet would rather chuse the Name *Abaddon*, than *Asmodi*, or, *Maschihith*; which are more frequently used, for such *Destroyers*. And that he chose to translate it, *Apollyon*, rather than, ὁλοθρευτής, or, ἐξολοθρευων.<sup>332</sup> Tis Remarkable, That *prophetical Names*, by reason of a *like Sound*, are often referr'd unto *Different Significations*. [Compare some notable Instances, in Jer. 1.11, 12. and, Amos. 8.2. and Matth. 2. Last.] Probably the Holy Spirit here, by the *Sound* of these *Names*, had some reference to some *other things*, that *Sound* very like unto them. Accordingly, The Word, Ἀπολλύων sounds very near,<sup>333</sup> Ἀπολλευων, which, according to the Judgment of Chrysippus, comes from, α, and, πολλος that is to say, *Not many*, but, *one*.<sup>334</sup> And the Word, *Abaddon*, sounds very like, *Obodas*, or, according to the *Arabian Pronunciation*, *Obodan*; which had been the Name of some *Arabian Kings* and *Gods*; & by a sleight Alteration, seems to be made up of, *Ab*, and, *Had*; that is to say, *one only Father*. *Macrobius* tells us, The *Assyrians* had a *God*, called, *Hadad*; or, *Had*, according to *Selden*; both

<sup>330</sup> From Waple, *The Book of the Revelation*, p. 150. See Luke 23:38 and John 19:20.

<sup>331</sup> The following is from *Peganius, A Genuine Explication*, pp. 341–42.

<sup>332</sup> The word ὁλοθρευτής [holothreutes] signifies “destroyer” and ἐξολοθρεύων [exolothreueon] “a (strong) destroyer”; it is a personified masculine participle of “ἐξολεθρεύω” “to destroy utterly” (*LSJ* 597).

<sup>333</sup> The word Ἀπολλύων [Apollyon] means “destroyer” (*hapax legomenon* in Rev. 9:11) and is derived from the verb ἀπόλλυμι or -ύω [apollymi / apollyo], to “destroy utterly, kill” (*LSJ* 207).

<sup>334</sup> Mather gets this spurious etymology of Ἀπολλύων (there is no recorded use of the word Ἀπολλευων) from *Peganius* who bases it – by principle of analogy – on an explanation of the name of the God Apollo by the Stoic philosopher, Chrysippus of Soli (c. 279–c. 206 BCE), which is reported by *Macrobius* in his *Saturnalia*, 1.17.7 (*LCL* 510, p. 211): “because he is not one of fire’s many [pollōn] lowly substances – for the first letter of his name keeps its negative force – ‘or because the sun is one and not many [polloī]’ – for Latin, too, called him ‘sun’ [sol] because he alone [solus] is so bright.” The Greek word πολλός/πολλόν [pollos/pollon] is the Ion. masc. and neutr. for πολύς, πολύ [polys, poly] meaning “much, a lot, many” (*LSJ* 1435).

of which do signify, as much as, *one only*.<sup>335</sup> Now, in this an Eye may be had, unto the *capital Doctrine* of the *Arabians*, and *Saracens*. | It imports, their worshipping, but *one God*. It is wonderful to see, with what Frequency, with what Insolence, they oppose *this* unto the *Christians*; who beleieve a *Trinity* in the *one Deity*. And yett they in truth, honour none but the *Destroyer* with it. They are as grossly Heathenish, as the *Greeks*, who worshipped *Apollo*, or as the *Assyrians*, who served, *Hadad*, or the old *Arabians*, who served *Obodas*, for their Gods. [△Insert ends] [28v] [△]

**Q.** And now, for the *Sixth Trumpett?* v. 13.

**A.** And what, but the Irruptions of the *Turks* upon the Roman Empire, can be thereby signified?<sup>336</sup> They were called, *Τυρκαί*, by *Herodotus*, and *Turcae* by *Mela* and *Pliny*.<sup>337</sup> A Northern People. [See Dan. XI.40.] Originally Natives of *Tartary*, which is called *Turchestan*, by the Eastern Writers. The *Turks* are descended from the Western Tartars; the Language of the *Turks* is grounded on theirs. Those that inhabit the *Crim Tartary* on the *Euxin Sea*, or, *Tartaria Pre-copensis*, [*Crim* signifies a great Bank with a Ditch, in the *Tartar* Language, as *Precop* does in the *Polish*,] are now mixed with the *Turks*, and their Prince is by Compact to succeed the Grand Segniour on the Failure of the *Ottoman* Line. The greatest & most famous Body of the *Turks*, came from the Regions beyond the River *Oxus*, & above the *Caspian* Sea. They first fell into *Chorasan*, a Countrey between *Persia*, & *India*. They assisted the *Persians* against the *Saracens*. They conquered *Persia*; and about A. D. 1050, they conquered *Bagdad*, & putt an End unto the Empire of the *Saracens* in those Parts of the World.

4636.

**Q.** What were the *Four Angels*, bound in the great River *Euphrates?* v. 14.

**A.** They can't be good *Angels*; for such are not *Bound*. They must be *Four Messengers* of the Angel of God; *Four* Instruments of His Justice; whose Violence

335 From Peganius, a reference to John Selden, *De diis Syris syntagmata II* (1617), lib. 1, cap. 6, p. 85; and from there to Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, 1.23.17; *LCL* 510, pp. 303–05: “To the god whom they revere as the highest and greatest they gave the name ‘Adad,’ which can be translated as ‘one one.’”

336 The entry is derived from Waple, *The Book of the Revelation*, pp. 152–54. The early Turkic peoples indeed inhabited Central Asia and began converting to Islam after the Muslim conquest of Transoxiana. Around 985, Seljuk, leader of the eponymous clan and founder of that dynasty, converted to Islam. During the eleventh century, the Seljuk Turks, who were influenced by Persian civilization in many ways, grew in strength and, under Tug̃rul Beg (1037–1063), succeeded in taking the eastern province of the Abbasid Empire. By 1055, the Seljuks had captured Baghdad and began to make their first incursions into Anatolia.

337 The Greek term *Τυρκαί* [*tyrkai*], which in later usage can mean the *Turks*, is an anachronistic interpretation of the people called *Ἰρκαί* [*Iyrkai*] in *Herodotus*, *The Persian Wars*, 4.22; *LCL* 118, p. 220. The “*Turcae*” are mentioned by Pomponius Mela in his *Description of the World*, 1.116, while Pliny the Elder mentions “*Tyrcae*” in his *Natural History*, 6.7; *LCL* 352, p. 351.

was, till this Time Restrained. They were the *Four Sultanies*, which the *Turks* established round about *Euphrates*. The Founders of these *Four Sultanies* had been kept behind *Euphrates* for some time. In the Tenth & Eleventh Age, they were lett loose, & overflowed the *Greek Empire*; and push'd on their Conquests as far as *Nice*, the capital City of *Bithynia*, almost unto the Gates of *Constantinople*. They afflicted all the Coasts of the *Mediterranean Sea*; and at last, they entirely destroyed the *Greek Empire*, by taking of *Constantinople*; A. D. 1452.<sup>338</sup>

In an Embassy from the *Scythian Turks*,<sup>339</sup> to *Justin Junior*, about A. D. 570. the *Turkish* Embassadors being asked by the Emperour concerning the State of their Kingdome;<sup>340</sup> they told him; *The chief Power was lodged in their King Disabulus; but their Kingdome was divided into Four* ἡγεμονίαι,<sup>341</sup> or, *Principalities*. At their memorable Passing the River *Euphrates*, they were under *Four Commanders*; *Otrogules* and his Three Sons; of whom *Ottoman* was one; who laid the Foundations of the mighty Empire.<sup>342</sup> *Leunclavius* ha's a particular Chapter, about their *Four Illustrious Families*. Yea, it seems, they were actually divided at this time, into *four Tetrarchies*, or *Sultanies*.<sup>343</sup>

[27v]

|  
4637.

**Q.** Why is it said, *They were loosed, to kill a Third Part of Men?* v. 15.

**A.** The *Turks* pierced into the very Heart of the *Roman Monarchy*, & established their Empire in one of its capital Cities. The *Men of this Third Part of the World*, underwent horrible Slaughters from them: All the Conquerors together, since the Beginning of the World, never shed so much Blood.<sup>344</sup>

<sup>338</sup> The first part of this entry is from Jurieu, *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies*, pp. 72–73. In 1067, the Seljuk Turks crossed the Euphrates and invaded Asia Minor. Then, hen under the dominion of the Byzantine Empire, they attacked Caesarea and in 1069 Iconium. After some successful counterattacks by Byzantine forces, the Seljuk Turks won the decisive Battle of Manzikert in 1071, which opened Anatolia but also the Levant and Fatimid Egypt for conquest. Jerusalem was captured in 1071. In 1097, the Seljuk Turks established the Sultanate of Rum from their new capital, Konya.

<sup>339</sup> The second part is from Waple, *The Book of the Revelation*, pp. 157–58.

<sup>340</sup> Waple here cites the Latin edition of Byzantine diplomatic accounts, *Excerpta de Legationibus* (1609), pp. 317–28. Reference is made to the Eastern Roman Emperor Justin II or Justin the Younger (d. 578).

<sup>341</sup> The Greek word ἡγεμονία [hegemonia] means “supremacy” or “principality” (*LSJ* 762).

<sup>342</sup> Reference is made to Ertuğrul (d. 1280/81), father of Osman I (“Ottoman”; d. 1323/24), founder of the Ottoman dynasty.

<sup>343</sup> From Waple, a reference to the work of the German Orientalist and historian of the Ottoman empire, Johannes Leunclavius (Löwenklau, c.1533/41–1594), *Historiae Musulmanae Turcorum* (1591), pp. 86–87.

<sup>344</sup> From Jurieu, *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies*, pp. 73–74.

4638.

**Q.** Why is it said, *The Number of the Army of the Horsemen, are two hundred thousand thousand?* v. 16.

**A.** The *Turks* are originally *Scythians* and *Tartars*; People that had nothing but *Horsemen* in their Armies. The *Infantry* of the *Turks*, and their formidable Order of *Janizaries*, was not instituted, until *Ottoman*, the Founder of the Empire which now possesses *Constantinople*, about A. C. 1300. introduced it. But prodigious were the Numbers of the *Turkish* Cavalry.<sup>345</sup>

4706.

**Q.** What further Intimation may there be in the representation of this Plague, by *Horsemen*?

**A.** The Holy Spirit probably alluded unto the Name of, *Perse*, which signifies, *An Horse*. The *Turks* came out of *Persia*. In the Visions of *Daniel*, the King of *Græcia* is called, *A Goat*; Because the *Græcians* were called, *Ægiades*, which is as much as to say, *wild Goats*.

It is observable, That the *Horses Tail* is carried before their chief Officers, as an Ensign of Honour and Authority. Tis a Declaration of their Strength consisting chiefly in *Horse*.<sup>346</sup>

**Q.** Why is it said of the Turkish Armies, That *they kill Men by Fire and Smoke and Brimstone issuing out of their Mouths?* v. 17.

**A.** Tis very observable truly! Very entertaining! What have we here, but a plain Description, and Prædiction, of *Gunpowder*? It is here signified, That the *Turks* would make their principal Desolations on the *Fourth Monarchy*, after the Invention of *Gunpowder*, and the *Fire-Arms* by which that Composition of smoking *Nitre* and *Sulphur*, is exploded. It wonderfully, punctually came to pass!<sup>347</sup> The *Turks* made Use of *Gunpowder* both Sooner, and more Terribly, than the *Christians* generally did. A *German Monk* having invented it, he discovered it unto the *Venetians*; and the *Venetians* communicated it unto the *Turks*. The *Turks* being very greedy to extend their Conquests, made all the Haste that was possible, to putt it in Execution. *Calcondylas* reports, that *Mahomet II.* besieging

<sup>345</sup> From Jurieu, *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies*, p. 74. Osman I or Osman Ghazi (d. 1323/4) was the leader of the Ottoman Turks and the founder of the Ottoman dynasty, which later established and ruled the Ottoman Empire.

<sup>346</sup> From *A New System of the Apocalypse*, p. 196.

<sup>347</sup> The preceding paragraphs are from Jurieu, *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies*, p. 75. The next paragraphs are from *A New System of the Apocalypse*, p. 198. Reference is made to the work of the Byzantine historian, Laonikos Chalkokondyles (Laonicus Chalcondyles, c. 1430–c. 1470), *Proofs of Histories* (Αποδείξεις Ιστοριῶν), translated into Latin as *De Origine et rebus gestis Turcorum libri decem* (1556), pp. 123–24, 204–06.



of *Constantinople* employ'd a Canon, that needed Seventy Yoke of Oxen, and Two Thousand Men, to Draw one of them.

The *Guns* discharged over the Heads of the *Horses*, makes the *Fire* and *Smoke* seem to come out of the *Mouths* of the *Horses* themselves!<sup>348</sup>

**Q.** What may be meant by their *serpentine Tails with which they do Hurt*?

**A.** They have this in common with the *Locusts* of the *Fifth Trumpett*; establishing the venomous Religion of *Mahomet*, in all Parts of their Dominion.

The *Serpents* do seem here to have Two Heads, like the *Amphisbæna*, for the Spreading of their venomous Religion.

Their Manner of Propagating it, is, by *Fire issuing out of their Mouthes*; that is, by Force of Arms.<sup>349</sup>

**Q.** Why is it said, *They that were not killed by these Plagues, yett Repented not of their Idolatries, & other Impieties?* v. 21.

**A.** It is accomplished unto Astonishment! First, It is marvellous to see, how the *Greek Church*, which yett survives and subsists after the *Turkish* Desolations, ha's not *Repented* of the *Idolatries* and *Impieties* which procured them.<sup>350</sup>

The History of the present State of the *Greek Church*, is a dreadful Commentary on this Text.

But then, secondly; The Condition and Corruption of the *Latin Church* carries on the Commentary. The Ruine brought on the *Eastern Part* of Christendome, ha's not been any effectual Warning unto the *Western*, to Reform those Abominations, which they have seen so terribly Revenged of God.<sup>351</sup>

[28r–28v inserted into their designated place]

[29r] | <sup>352</sup>

**Q.** Looking back upon the *Turkish* Affayrs, we find *Four Angels* concerned. The Number *Four* used on this Occasion, would lead one to consider, the Interest of that Number in the *Mahometan* Religion? v. 20.<sup>353</sup>

**A.** The Number, *Four*, is mystical in the *Mahometan* Religion, as the Number *Seven*, is in the *Christian*, and in the *Revelation*.

When the *Turks* had passed *Euphrates* they established *Four Sultanies*; That of *Casarea*, in *Cappadocia*; that of *Aleppo*; that of *Damascus*; and that of *Antioch*.

<sup>348</sup> The final part is from Waple, *The Book of the Revelation*, p. 162. Mehmed II, commonly known as Mehmed the Conqueror, was an Ottoman sultan who ruled from 1444 to 1446 and then later from February 1451 to May 1481. He conquered Constantinople in 1453.

<sup>349</sup> From Waple, *The Book of the Revelation*, p. 163. The amphisbaena is a mythological, ant-eating serpent with a head at each end.

<sup>350</sup> From Waple, *The Book of the Revelation*, p. 163.

<sup>351</sup> Mather elaborates on the same argument in his *American Tears*, pp. 45–55.

<sup>352</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>353</sup> This entry is from *New System of the Apocalypse*, pp. 196–97.

*Mahomet* boasted that he had *Four Councillours*; Two from Heaven, to wit, *Michael* and *Gabriel*; Two from Earth; namely, *Abubeker* and *Ohmar*.<sup>354</sup>

*Four False-Teachers* concurred in the Making of the *Alcoran*; *John* of *Antioch*, an *Arian*; *Barra* of *Persia*, a *Jacobite*; *Sergius*, a *Nestorian Monk*; and *Solam*, a *Jew*, who was an *Astrologer*.<sup>355</sup>

*Mahomet* left behind him *Four Successors*, whom he called, *The Four Cutting Swords of God*; *Abubeker*, (called also, *Abdalla*,) *Osman*, *Ohmar*, and *Haly*.<sup>356</sup>

These *Four Successors* began *Four Sects* in the *Mahometan Religion*.

There are *Four Religious Orders* among the Followers of *Mahomet*; the *Gemaliers*, the *Dervises*, the *Calenders*, and the *Torlaquis*.<sup>357</sup>

The Number *Four*, is to be found in their *Fasts*, in their *Ceremonies*, in their *Testaments*, in their *Marriages*, and almost in every thing.

The Holy Spirit, it is plain, would represent *Mahometanism*, as possessing the Place of the *Oriental Roman Empire*.

This Observation, in the, *New System of the Apocalypse*, may be further cultivated, & may need also a little to be Rectified. However, tis not amiss to mention it.

[29v]

**Q.** Why are the Objects, which are worshipped by the *Christians*, unto whom the *Turks* become such a *Wō*, called by the Name of *Divels*? v. 20.

**A.** I will offer you a good Thought of *Peganius* upon it.<sup>358</sup>

<sup>354</sup> Allusion is made to Abu Bakr (573–634) and Omar (584–644), the two closest companions and fathers-in-law of the prophet Muhammad who became his first and second successors or Caliphs.

<sup>355</sup> The references in these polemical disparagements of Muhammad and the Qur'an (in this context, for its false view of the nature Christ) are not entirely clear. Probably allusion is made to John I, Patriarch of Antioch (429–441), a supporter of the Nestorian party, and to Jacob Baradaeus, also known as Jacob bar Addai, Bishop of Edessa from 543/544 until his death in 578. Jacob is venerated as a saint in the Oriental Orthodox Church since his missionary efforts helped establish the non-Chalcedonian Syriac Orthodox Church, also known as the "Jacobite" Church after its eponymous founder. Further allusion is probably made to Sergius Bahīrā, an Arab Nestorian monk living in Syria around 600, who according to Arabic traditions (the so-called Bahīrā legend) foretold Muhammad's future as a prophet of God, and in Christian, anti-Muslim lore came to figure as one of the heretical teachers of Muhammad. See Barbara Roggema, *The Legend of Sergius Bahīrā* (2009).

<sup>356</sup> Abu Bakr and Omar were succeeded as Caliphs by Osman (579–656) and Ali (601–661).

<sup>357</sup> The terms "Giomailers, Calenders, Dervis & Torlaqui" were used to categorize different types of religious orders among the Ottoman Turks. They go back to Giovan Antonio Menavino's *Trattato de costumi et vita de Turchi* (1548), popularized by Nicolas de Nicolay's frequently reprinted *Navigations et peregrinations orientales* (1567). See Andreas Isler, *Alles Derwische? Anschauungen, Begriffe, Bilder. Zur Darstellung von islamischen Ordensleuten in westlichen Orientwerken der frühen Neuzeit* (2019), p. 22 and pp. 111–17, for a detailed explanation of these, from a modern point of view, spurious categories.

<sup>358</sup> The following is from Peganius, *A Genuine Explication*, pp. 341–47, who in turn draws on Mede, *A Key of the Revelation*, pt. 1, p. 119.

By, τα δαιμόνια,<sup>359</sup> two things may be understood; what these Adorers do worship in their Intention: And, what without the Knowledge of these Adorers, comes in really to be worshipped.

In the first Signification, by this Word are properly understood the *Spirits*, which dwell not in gross, thick, humane *Bodies*; but, either come not at all into them, as the *Angels*, or are departed out of them, as the *Souls* of the Dead. It is a Name well-known in the *Platonick School*. *Plato* saies, *Every Dæmon is something, that stands in the Middle, between the Divine and the Mortal Being*.<sup>360</sup> And *Apuleius* saies; *The Dæmons are intermediate Powers, by whom our Desires and Merits are presented before God, in such a Manner, that they convey this or that between the Mortals & the Cælestials; namely, the Prayers from hence, and the Gifts from thence; so that they may be called, as t'were, Interpreters between both, and Conveyers of Assistance*.<sup>361</sup> Christians have inconsiderably made such *Dæmons* of the *Spirits* in the *Invisible World*, and have done more Honour to them, than ever God Allowed, or than they themselves Desired. Consider, 1. Tim. 4.1, 2, 3. And now, without the Knowledge of the Adorers, other *Spirits* have substituted themselves, in the room of those better *Dæmons*, whom the Christians have so sinfully adored. *Evil Spirits*, the *Spirits of Pride*, have intruded themselves, by the Permission of God, & really received that Honour, which the Worshippers intended for the good Ones.

It is a dangerous thing, to attempt the Service and Worship of God, in an undue Manner. It can't please Him; Nor can the *good Spirits* in the Heavenly World be pleased with it; nor can they accept of any thing of this Nature, if it be offered unto *them*. *Satan* seeks Wayes to deceive Men in this Matter, and has often actually deceived them. He has introduced himself, & arrogated that Honour which was intended unto another. Hence the Idolatrous *Israelites*, who did not imagine so, yett really *sacrificed unto Divels*. [Lev. 17.7. Deut. 32.17. Psal. 106.37. 2. Chron. 11.15. 1. Cor. 10.20.] *Divels* are not far, from the Worship which is rendred unto *Saints*; They sieze on the Honour intended for these; and the Imprudent fall into the horrid *Idolatry*, here called, *A Worshipping of Divels*.

[30r] | <sup>362</sup>

**Q.** Lett us look back, upon the Vision of the *Trumpetts*; and particularly enquire, what may be the Meaning of, *The Third Part*, so often smitten under them? v. 21.

<sup>359</sup> Rev. 9:20 speaks of τα δαιμόνια [ta daimonia], which the KJV renders “devils,” while the ESV has “demons.” In the context of Christian theology, the basic meaning of the word τὸ δαιμόνιον [to daimonion] is a, usually evil, “spirit as inferior divine being” (LSJ 365).

<sup>360</sup> Reference is made to Plato, *Symposium*, 202d-e; LCL 166, p. 179.

<sup>361</sup> A reference to the work of the writer and Platonic philosopher, Apuleius (c. 124–c. 170 CE), *De deo Socratis*, 6; LCL 534, pp. 359–61.

<sup>362</sup> See Appendix B.

A. I will take Dr. *Cressener*, to accompany me, in these Reflections. His Book entituled, *The Judgments of God upon the Roman Church*, shall supply us, with some very valuable *Illustrations*.<sup>363</sup>

That Gentleman goes more *mathematically* to work, than your more Fanciful Writers upon the *Apocalypse* use to do; and is careful to write nothing, till he can show for it, something that looks very like a *Demonstration*.

Tis one of his *Theoremes*, That the *whole Time* of the Reign of the *Apocalyptical Beast*, is within the *Time of the Trumpetts*. For it Concludes by the *Wō* of the *Seventh Trumpett*, and it Begins with the Time of the *Sealing* of the 144000, which were to be preserved from the Evil of all the *Trumpetts*. But the Party of the *Beast*, have received their *Mark*, just before the Mention of the 144000 *sealed Servants* of God.

Wherefore, he infers, The *Kingdome of the Beast*, is an Object of the Plagues of the *Trumpetts*, during the whole Time of his Reign.

Tis another of his *Theoremes*, That the *main Body* of the *Christian Church*, is in a State of *great Corruption*, before the Time of the *Trumpetts*. Else there would not be 144000 Servants of God, chosen from thence, and *sealed*, that they may be preserved from the Judgments that are to come upon it. It is well known, That the Terms of the *Jewish Church*, are in Prophecy used for the *Christian Church*. If the *sealed* 144000 are *Christians*, then the rest, from whom they are distinguished, must be a *corrupt Part* of the *Christian Church*. But since the *Plagues* are to fall upon the *Followers of the Beast*, it will follow, that the Party of the *Beast*, must needs be a *corrupt Part of the Christian Church*.

It is also to be taken for granted, That the Plagues of the *Trumpetts*, are the most Heavy and Lasting Calamities, that happen in their Time, within those Parts of the Empire upon which they fall. For they do together take up as much Time, as the whole Reign of the *Beast*. Three of them, have their extraordinary Terrors express'd by a, *Wō, Wō, Wō*, with a loud Cry uttered before them. They are all brought in with Tragical Circumstances. And the Description of them, is fetched from the Plagues of *Egypt*, whereof it was said, *They were such, as the like had never been seen upon the face of the Earth*.

From hence, it may be inferred, That the *Saracen Vexations* of the *Roman Empire*, must needs be one of the Plagues of the *Trumpetts*. For they fell within

<sup>363</sup> In the following essay-length entry, Mather summarizes the work by Drue Cressener, *The Judgments of God upon the Roman Church* (1689), in particular the explications of his “Theorems” five to eleven, pp. 6–60, and the commentary on Rev. 9 on pp. 110–35. The work was dedicated to William III and interpreted the Glorious Revolution as a fulfillment of scripture prophecy, while asserting that it had been written before that event. Cressener understood his own time to be situated at the end of the interval of the fourth vial just before the onset of the fifth that would bring another heavy blow to the Roman church. He expected the final destruction of the beast to occur around 1800, to be followed by the millennium. See Johnston, *Revelation Restored*, p. 207.

the Time of the Reign of the *Beast*; and continued for 300 Years together. And then certainly, the *Turkish* Hostilities, must be the Business of another of the *Trumpetts*; which have continued longer than the former. If the *First* and the *Second Woes* were still to come, there would not be Time for the Execution thereof, before the Expiration of the Beasts Reign; for according to the latest Opinions, he cannot have much above one hundred Years to continue. Or, at least, they could not be in any Measure comparable to the *Saracen* and the *Turkish Woes*. And yett such a thing would be most contrary to the Apocalyptical Representations, That those *Woes*, are to be more considerable, than any that went before them. *Therefore*, the Conclusion will unavoidably follow; That those two, were the *First* and *Second Woes*.

This Conclusion, will prove a firm Foundation, to our Thoughts of many other Matters.

The *Saracens* could not be the *Second Wo*; Because, the *Third Wo* that comes quickly upon it, utterly Destroyes the *Power of Beast*. But we see no such Thing yett accomplished.

The *Turks* then must be the *Second Wo*. And it admirably agrees to them. The *Second Wo* must be some, that were Masters of *Euphrates*: for which none have been considerable, since the Empire of the *Saracens*, but only the *Turks*.

And if we have the *Second Wo*, in the Troubles from the *Turks*, then, *The Rest*, who *Repented not* of their Idolatries, must needs be the *Western Christians* of the Church of *Rome*. There is no other Part of the ancient *Roman Empire*, besides this, but what the *Turks* have destroy'd. Nor can there be found any other People besides this, near the Bounds of that Empire, that have had any *Idols of Gold* and *Silver*, since the *Turks* first appeared in the World.

Well; Behold, how we gain in our Demonstration!

Tis an unquæstionable Consectary, That the *Plagues of the First Four Trumpetts* must be executed on the *Roman Empire*, betwixt the End of the *Pagan Power of Rome*, and the Year, 631. For, tis beyond all Dispute, That the *Seals* which go before the *Seven Trumpetts*, bring us to the End of the *Pagan Power of Rome*. And the *Saracens* began their Invasions in the Year 631.

[30v] And now, Tis not likely, that the *Trumpetts* would bring in their *Plagues*, while the Empire was *Truly Christian*. These *Plagues* are a Revenge upon the *Roman Empire* (promised under the *Fifth Seal*) for the Blood of the *Christian Martyrs*; and therefore, they could not possibly | fall upon a *True Church* of our Lord Jesus Christ. The Cruelties of the Enemies of the Church, would not be Revenged on the Church itself.

Since then, the *Trumpetts* begin to do their Work, after the Empire ceases to be *Pagan*, or, *Truly Christian*, it must be after some horrible *Degeneracy* from *Christianity* in the Empire.

And the Allusions in the *Trumpetts*, to the *Plagues* upon *Egypt*, intimate, the Church to be now in a State of Bondage, under the *Roman Empire*. There

must be in the Empire, a Continuation of the same Spirit of Cruelty, for which the *Judgments* of these *Trumpetts* had formerly been promised.

They are *Trumpetts*, which declare *War* against the *Enemies* of the Church. And if you consider them well, and especially the *Shout* upon the *Fall* of the Kingdoms at the End of them, you will approve the Jesuite *Ribera's* Apprehension, That the *Seven Trumpetts* are an Allusion, to the March about the Walls of *Jericho* seven Dayes, with the Sound of *Trumpetts*, and the *Fall* of the Wall, with a *Shout* of the People, on the Last of those Dayes.<sup>364</sup>

Our surest Way of Proceeding will be, to go back in Order.

We have secured, the *Fifth Trumpett*.

At the *Fourth Trumpett*, a *Third Part* of the *Sun*, and *Moon*, and *Stars*, are *Smitten* and *Darkened*. The Thing that most answers this Representation, before the *Saracen* Inroads, was the Submission of *Rome* and *Italy* and that Part of the Empire, to the Barbarous Kings of the *Herules* and *Goths*; by which the Empire suffered a Terrible Diminution in the Dignity and the Majesty of it.

At the *Third Trumpet*, a *great Star falls from Heaven*, and a *Third Part of the Waters became Wormwood*. We have here, the Miseries of the *Romans*, upon the Fall of the Western Empire, about the Time of *Valentinian* the Third; whose Death is by Historians generally look'd on, as the Date of the Fall of the Western Empire, tho' it continued struggling for Life, among the Scuffles of several Competitors above Twenty Years after that.<sup>365</sup>

At the *Second Trumpett*, we have a *Great Burning Mountain cast into the Sea*, and the *Third Part of the Sea becoming Blood*, and the *Third Part of the Creatures* there dying; & the *Third Part of the Ships destroy'd*. It is the Expression which the Prophet *Jeremiah* uses, to signify, the Destruction of *Babylon*. [Chap. 51.25.] It will be sufficiently answered, in a Laying Waste the Territories of a Third Part of the Empire, by a vast Inundation of Barbarous Nations, who shared it among themselves, and like a *Sea*, swallow'd it up.

The *First Trumpet*, which brings a Storm of *Hail*, with *Blood*, and burns up a *Third Part* of the *Trees*, must note a bloody Storm of Enemies going before this; and it exactly represents the Invasions of the Empire by the Northern Nations (who came from the Region of *Hail*;) before their great Successes, to the utter Ruine of any *Third Part* of the Empire.

We shall have all this Matter cleared up, to Satisfaction, after the Notion of a *Third Part*, so often occurring in these Visions, is a little more clearly settled.

The *Third Part*, cannot meerly signify, the *whole Roman Empire*, as a *Third Part* of the known World, in the Time of the Apostle *John*; For in the *Sixth*

<sup>364</sup> From Cressener, *The Judgments of God*, p. 30, a reference to the commentary of the Spanish Jesuit exegete and premillennialist, Francisco de Ribera (1537–1591), *In sacram Beati Ioannis Apostoli, & Evangelistae Apocalypsin Commentarii* (1591), p. 124.

<sup>365</sup> Valentinian III (Placidus Valentinianus) was Roman Emperor in the West from 425 to 455.

*Trumpett*, there is a plain Distinction between, the *Third Part*, that were *slain*, and the *Rest*, who were not *slain*, but did not *Repent*.

Again; The *Saracens* in the *Fifth Trumpett*, are distinguished from the Plagues of all the *other Trumpetts* by Falling upon *all* in general; whereas all the rest, are confined unto a *Third Part*; so that if the *Third Part* in the rest, were the whole *Roman Empire*, the *Saracens* must have been the Conquerors of all the World; whereas, all their considerable Conquests, were upon the Parts of the *Roman Empire*.

Tis plain, (tho' I don't remember that any but our *Cressener* ha's observed it:) That this *Expression* of, *A Third Part*, must refer to some Real Division of the *Roman Empire* into *Three Parts*, before the Time of the *Trumpetts*.

History will give us Light about it. At the Death of *Constantine*, the Empire was divided unto his *Three Sons*. *Constantine*, the Eldest, had all the Western Part of it, the *Transalpine* Part, *Britain*, and *Gaul*, and *Spain*. *Constans*, the Second, had all the rest of *Europe*, with almost all *Africk*, and the Isles that lay between them. *Constantius*, the Youngest, had all the *Asiatic* Regions with the Kingdome of *Egypt*.<sup>366</sup>

[31r] Tho' the *whole Empire* did, not long after, fall into the Hands of *Constantius*, yett, besides the Two *Roman* and *Constantinopolitan* Seats, which were soon after settled Imperial Thrones, there was continually some or other starting up, in the farthest western Division, till the famous Inundation of the Barbarous Nations all over the Empire. Here then seems to be ground enough, to Rely upon this *Tripartite Division* | of the Empire, at the Death of *Constantine*, for the Application of the *Third Part* so often mentioned in the Visions of the *Trumpetts*. It is no greater Objection against these *Three Parts*, that they were often under no more than *Two Emperours*, than it would be against *Two Parts* of it, that they were often united under *One Single Emperour*.

But this Matter must not go over so. It receives a notable Confirmation, from the Office of the *Præfeti Prætorio*, or, The Præfects of the Palace, or, of the Guard; who were the next Administrators of the Government under the Emperours, like the Majors of the Palace in *France*, after the time of *Clotaire*, who ruled as Absolutely as the Kings themselves did before, and as the *Vice-roy's* do at present.<sup>367</sup> These Officers were called, *The Fathers of the Empire*; A Title allow'd unto none but the Emperours and Themselves: And they were the *last Appeal* in their several Jurisdictions; and they displaced all other Governours at

<sup>366</sup> Reference is made to the three sons of Constantine I: Constantine II, Constantius II, and Flavius Julius Constans, who reigned from 337 to 340, 337 to 361, and 337 to 350, respectively.

<sup>367</sup> The office of the praetorian prefect originated with the commander of the praetorian guard. Over time, this position was invested with extensive legal and administrative functions, with its holders becoming the Emperor's chief aides. After Constantine I had much reduced the power of the office again, under his successors, territorially-defined praetorian prefectures emerged as the highest-level administrative division of the Empire.

their Pleasure. These *Præfects*, before the Time of *Valerian*, were no more than *Two*; and they were also without any particular Jurisdiction assign'd unto them: Nor indeed were they yett any other, than what the urgent Necessity of the Times produced. *Constantine* was the First, who divided the Empire, among his *Præfecti Prætorio*, and made them the ordinary standing Authority of the Division over which they præsidèd. Indeed, that he might somewhat break their Power, he increased them to *Four*; one over *Italy* and *Africa*; another over all the *West*, beyond the *Alps*, which contained, *Britain*, *Gaule* and *Spain*; a third, over *Illyricum*; a fourth, over the East. When he came to Divide the Empire, among his *Three Sons*, Two of these *Præfectures* fell to the share of *Constans*; namely, the *Italian*, and that of *Illyricum*. *Constantine* had the *Præfecture* of *Gaul*; and *Constantius* had the *Præfecture* of the *East*. By this means, the Memory of the *Three-fold Division* of the Empire was kept up, after the Empire was returned into the sole Power, of the surviving Brother, *Constantius*. And tho' the *Præfectures* were now *Four*, yett it was well known, that those of *Italy* and *Illyricum*, were but the Two Parts of one Imperial Share; & were sometimes blended together, when the whole Empire, was united under one Emperour.

It appears from what *Ammianus Marcellinus* writes, of things then done; That until after the Time of *Julian the Apostate*, the only constant Division of the Empire among these *Præfects*, was that of the *Three Divisions* of the Empire by *Constantine* among his Sons at his Death. The *Two* *Præfectures* of *Italy* and *Illyricum*, were accounted but such a Part of the Roman Empire as they were, when the Body of the Part falling to *Constans* in the Division; that is, *A Third Part of the Empire*.<sup>368</sup>

The Time at which the *Trumpetts* began, cannot be much after the Reign of *Julian*, who reduced the *Four Præfects* to *Three*. Tho' the Empire was divided by *Valentinian* into *Two Parts*, yett this hindred not the World in those Dayes, from considering, *A Third Part of the Empire*, to be one of the *Three Imperial Shares* held by the *Præfecti Prætorio* distinct, as *Lord-Lieutenants* of the Empire. Be sure, There was no known Division of the Empire into *Three* Distinct Parts at this time, except This; and this was very remarkably known.

This then is the Thing which we conclude upon; The *Third Part*, so often occurring in the Visions of the *Trumpetts*, means, one of the *Three Imperial Jurisdictions*, which were erected by *Constantine*; and præservèd in Memory, by the standing Offices of the *Præfecti Prætorio*.

Well; we are a little better Qualified now to Resume the *Trumpetts*, and Explain, and by Explaining Maintain, the Accommodation of them, which we were beginning a little while ago.

The *Hail* of the *First Trumpet*, may well be found in the bloody Storms of the *Northern Nations* upon the Roman Empire, in the Reigns of *Valens*, and

368 A reference to Ammianus Marcellinus, *History*, probably bk. 21.9; LCL 315, pp. 128–33.



*Theodosius*, and *Arcadius*, and Part of the Reign of *Honorius*. The Continuance of these *Hail-Storms* we may reckon, till the Departure of the *Goths* out of *Italy*, after the Sacking of *Rome*, by *Alaricus*, which was in the Year, 411. It is observable, That the Calamities of this *Trumpett* fall wholly upon the *Italian Division*, which was a *Third Part* of the Empire; and that which *Constans* once had under him. This, (besides *Africa*) reached unto the *Hellespont*; within which Compass happened all the Commotions and Invasions of the *Goths*, under *Athanasius*, *Alaricus*, *Gainas*, *Rhodagaisus*, and *Athaulphus*.

[31v] There was one singular Circumstance, to alarm the World in aftertimes, to fix the Beginning of the *Trumpetts* unto these Events. At the Beginning and at the End, of these *Gothic Troubles*, there were Storms of *Hail*, the Size whereof was Prodigious and | almost Incredible. The first, was as big as great Stones, and according to *Jeroms* Relation, People were struck down Dead with 'em. The last, was of seven or eight Pound Weight.<sup>369</sup> *Johnston* might well putt them among his, *Admiranda Meteororum*.<sup>370</sup> *Socrates* tells us, It was commonly Judged, that it was a Judgment of God; for the Severities of the Emperour against some honest Dissenters.<sup>371</sup>

At the *Second Trumpett*, what can mean, the *Third Part of the Sea turned into Blood*, with a *Burning Mountain* cast into it? Nothing certainly so well, as that great Inundation of the Barbarous Nations all over the *Transalpine* Part of the Empire, after the Departure of the *Goths* out of *Italy*. The great and known Effect of this was, the utter Loss of all the Præfecture of *Gaul*, or that *Third Part* of the Empire, that fell to *Constantine*. *Britain* fell to the *Saxons*; *Gaul* to the *Goths*, *Franks*, and *Burgundians*; and *Spain*, to the *Suevians*, *Alans*, and *Vandals*. The *Mountain* here can't mean any more than one *Third Part* of the Empire; because anon we find another Part of its Majesty still existing. The *Casting of the Mountain into the Sea*, all burning with Fire, must mean, the utter Loss of it unto the *Romans*; the *Sea* swallows it up. After the Success of the Barbarous Nations, upon this *Transalpine* Part of the Empire, the *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Gaul*, ha's no Ensigns of his Authority, upon Record in the *Notitia Imperii*. Because, as *Pancirollus* tells us, all the Parts of the Præfecture were siezed upon, and in the Possession of the Barbarous People.<sup>372</sup> We read, not only, that a *Third Part of the Sea*; now became *Blood*, but also that a *Third Part of the Creatures* there Died.

<sup>369</sup> From Cressener, *The Judgments of God*, p. 46, a reference to Jerome's universal history (composed c. 380), *Chronicon* or *Temporum liber* ("The Book of Times"), at 286<sup>th</sup> Olympiad/38<sup>th</sup> of Romans [PL 27. 505–06].

<sup>370</sup> From Cressener, *The Judgments of God*, p. 46. Cressener alludes to the work of the English polymath and natural philosopher, John Johnston (1603–1675), *Thaumatographia Naturalis: in decem Classes distincta, in quibus Admiranda* (1632), which also contains a section on "Admiranda Meteororum."

<sup>371</sup> *Socrates Scholasticus*, *Ecclesiastical History*, bk. 4, ch. 11h.XI [PG 67. 481–82].

<sup>372</sup> From Cressener, *The Judgments of God*, p. 47, a reference to the work of Italian antiquarian, historian, and jurist Guido Panciroli (1523–1599), *Notitia dignitatum, vtriusque*

The *Killing* and *Slaying* of a Community of Men, in Prophecy, signifies, the *utter End of that Community*. This does here fall out accordingly. And this gives a satisfactory Account, why the Conquest of *Africa*, by the same Nations, may not be accounted any Part of the *Sea of Blood*, or the *Burning Mountain cast into the Sea*, in the Prophecy, because, it was not the *last Ruine*, of that *Third Part* of the Empire, the *Italian* Præfecture, to which it belonged.

The Continuance of these Calamities must reach unto the Settlements of the Barbarous Nations all over the *Præfecture of Gaul*; which could not be, till *Britain* fell into the Hands of the *Saxons*, in the Year, 446.

Now comes on the *Third Trumpett*, with the *Fall of a great Star*. This to our *Cressener* seems, the Death of *Aetius*; of whom it is declared by all kind of Historians, That *He Alone* was the Upholder of the *Western Empire*, [None but *Aetius* kept the Roman *Eagle* Alive!] against all the violent Irruptions of the Barbarians for near Thirty Years together.<sup>373</sup> If the Death of the Emperour *Valentinian* about this Time, should be thought, more Considerable, and more Applicable, it must be remembred, the Name of *Sun* would rather belong to him; he is too high for the Name of a *Star*. The Quality of *Aetius* will best answer that of a *Star*; and his Death was of the greatest Influence upon the Miseries, that presently after followed upon the Empire. It more deserved a Mention among the principal Calamities of this Age, than any *Death* whatever, that happened in it. His Actions abundantly bespeak for him, the Glory of a *Star*. The *Embittering*, of the *Fountains* and *Rivers* will easily be understood, by any one that reads of the *Bitter Miseries* which befel the Empire, after the Death of *Aetius*.

The *Italian* Division of the Empire, is the *Third Part* principally concerned in these Miseries.

The *Eclipse* upon a *Third Part* of the *Sun* and *Moon* and *Stars*, at the *Fourth Trumpett*, now seems to be the Ceasing of the *Imperial Government* in the West, for a Time; which then had the Command of nothing but the *Italian* Share. Because this Darkness was to go off again, tis most aptly compared unto an *Eclipse*. We see the Darkness intended, in the Fall of the *Imperial Government*, and of all its Immediate Dependents, at the Conquest of *Italy*, by *Odoacer*, and the *Goths* after him; and the End of the Imperial Rule there, in *Augustulus*.<sup>374</sup> The *Imperial Government* here, gott out of its *Eclipse*, and appeared again, at the Recovery of the *Italian* and *African* Part of the Empire, by *Justinian*. It is very Remarkable, That the Mischief here, is confined unto the *Sun*, and the *Moon* and the *Stars*,

---

*Imperii Orientis scilicet et Occidentis ultra Arcadii honorique tempora* (1623), pars 2, cap. 68, pp. 99–101.

<sup>373</sup> Flavius Aetius (c. 391–454) was a Roman general and the most influential man in the declining Western Roman Empire for two decades (433–454). He famously stopped the invasion of Attila in the Battle of the Catalaunian Plains (451).

<sup>374</sup> Augustulus's reign ended in 476 when the "barbarian" Flavius Odoacer (431–491) deposed him and made himself King of Italy.

a *Darkness* upon which is known to signify a Change, only upon the Ruling Power of a Nation. There was a *Distinction* made, betwixt the Conquerors of *Italy*, and the *Romans* there, in all the administration of the Government, in the time of all the *Gothish Kings*. You will find in *Cassiodorus*, the Beginning of Public Instruments, after this Fashion; *King Theodoric, to all Goths and Romans*.<sup>375</sup> And King *Athalaricus* writes distinctly first unto all *Romans*, and then unto all *Goths*, to take an Oath of Allegiance to him. The Body of the *Romans* were kept still Distinct; and the only Change of their State, was the *Eclipse* upon their *Head*. It is admirable to see, how the Holy Spirit has Represented it! The *Eclipse* continued for more than Fifty Years together. |

One would not have expected, That there should have been any long *Interval* between the *Four First Trumpetts*, and the *Two Next*; or, that the *Continuance* of the *Four First Trumpetts* would be found very much shorter, than that of the *Two Next*. But unto our Admiration, Both of these Things are now intimated in the Prophecy.

After the Sounding of the *Fourth Trumpett*, a solemn, and an awful Pause is made. There is then a Deliberate Proceedure to a Cry, of such *Woes*, as a miserable World had not seen before.

Certainly, A more than ordinary *Provocation* must be the Cause of these Dreadful Judgments. The *Provocation* was now making; and now is the Time for us to enquire after it.

It will, upon a small Enquiry be found, that a secret Correspondence was now carried on, betwixt the *Bishop of Rome*, and the *Eastern Emperour*, to advance the Authority of the *Roman Church* above all others, & upon the Barbarous Nations in *Italy*. In this Way, the Emperour hoped for the Recovery of *Italy*; and thus the Authority of the *Roman Church* Rose by Degrees, to its full Heighth, before the *Saracen* Invasions. The Story is well-known, how this horrid Matter went on; till the Finishing Stroke of this Churchwork, was given by *Phocas* fixing upon *Boniface* the Title of, *Universal Bishop*. A. C. 606.<sup>376</sup>

One Remarkable Difference between the *Four First Trumpets*, and the *Three Last*, is this; The great Loss of the *Roman Authority*, by the *Four First Trumpetts* was Repaired by the Authority of the *Roman Church* rising upon it; The *Ecclesiastical Authority* became far more Absolute than ever the *Imperial* had been; and made all that Part of the World, again take upon themselves, the Name of, *Romans*. But the *Three Last Woes*, are the Final Extinction of the *Roman Authority*, in those Parts, which they sieze upon.

<sup>375</sup> From Cressener, *The Judgments of God*, pp. 51–52, a reference to Cassiodorus, *Variae Epistolae*, lib. 1, ep. 28 [PL 69. 527]. See *The Letters of Cassiodorus*, p. 168.

<sup>376</sup> See the footnote on Rev. 9:1.

The *Tyranny* of the *Roman Church*, and the horrible *Idolatries*, and *Superstitions*, and *Impieties*, which it soon fell into, gave the *Provocation*, for such extraordinary *Woes* to be inflicted.

Our *Cressener* enquires more particularly, what *Alteration* there was in the Spirit of the *Christian Church*, to be observed so *early*, as to bring on the *Plagues* of all the *Seven Trumpetts*, as well as the *Woes* in the *Three Last* of the *Seven*? He observes, That the very Thing, which is the *High Malignity of the Beast*, began to be very rife, soon after the *Imperial Throne* was come into the Church. This was, *A Tyranny over Conscience*; The Forcing of Men against their *Conscience*, to submit unto the *Roman Authority*, in Points of Faith and Worship, for the only Standard of Christian Truth. It was propounded under the Name of, *The Judgment of the Catholick Church*; which had an *Infallible Spirit*, from whom were dictated all the Things of Religion enjoined by the Emperours Edicts. And yett, the *Councils* contradicted one another, and the *major Part* in them (who made all the *Canons*,) were over-aw'd generally into a Conformity unto the Emperours Opinions. The *Sitting in the Temple of God*, and *shewing himself there as God*, seem'd in its first Formation, by the Conduct of some of the Roman Emperours, quickly after the Advancement of Christianity. It began with severe Lawes to punish with *Death*, all that should but conceal any Books of *Arius*. The *Roman Councils* began to be accounted *Infallible Oracles*. The great *Constantine* himself, began this Opinion of them. The *Arian Councils* as well as the *Orthodox*, pretended unto *Inspiration*. There was, even in those Dayes, too assuming a Spirit in the Government of the Church: and a Spirit of *Persecution* towards Dissenters.

The Christian Emperours arrogated unto themselves, the *Tyranny* of their Pagan Prædecessors; *The Power of giving Law to the Consciences of Men in Disputable Matters*. They made themselves of one continued Succession with them, in their spiritual *Dictatorship*. The Judgments now coming may well be said, to be for the Blood of the *Martyrs* formerly shed. The *Christians* were now playing over again, the Game of *Tyranny*, that had been plaid by the *Pagans*, when those *Martyrs* were *sacrificed*. That which made the Heathen Princes, most abominable to God, was, their *Tyranny* over His Church. I suppose, our *Cressener* will allow, that the *Corruption* that soon grew upon *Religion*, did call for these Judgments; but, he thinks, this Consideration, *That it was enforced upon the Consciences of Men*, added a great Aggravation unto it. As the *Jewes* in our Saviours Time, did by slaying the Apostles, bring upon their own Heads, the *Blood of all the Prophets, that had been shed, from the Foundation of the World*: (tho' that Blood had been shed in the Ages of Idolatry, from which the *Jewes* were at this Time Reformed:) so, the *Christian Emperours* running into the *Tyranny* of the Heathen Princes, brought the Guilt of those Princes on *their own Heads*. The Setting up of *uncertain Tradition* for the *Rule of Faith*, was the leading Crime of the *Jewes* in our Saviours Time; *Tradition* was now also coming in for the *Rule of Faith* to the *Christian Church*, just before the Judgments of the *Trumpetts*; while at the

same time, they were, like the *Jewes*, adorning the *Temples* of the *Martyrs* unto the uttermost.<sup>377</sup>

[32v] Yea, Tis observable, the *Plagues* of the *Trumpetts* grow, according to | the Growth of that Provocation; *The Persecution of conscientious Christians*.

If now at last, the *Fifth* and *Sixth Trumpetts* call to be considered, I shall do little more than refer you, to those *Illustrations*, where we do professedly handle them.

Tis beyond all Controversy, That the *First Wo*, is to be found in the *Saracen* Impressions upon the Antichristian World. There are Twice *Five Months* assign'd unto the Tormenting Power of that *Wo*; which reaches to the *whole Time* of the *Saracen* Invasions upon the Eastern and Western Empire.

The *Second Wo* must then be found in the *Turkish* Hostilities. But it is here said of this *Wo*, that it must keep *slaying the Third Part of Men*, for an *Hour*, and a *Day*, and a *Month*, and a *Year*.

Mr. *Mede's* Conjecture, was, that this Period, was run out, at the Taking of *Constantinople*. For there were just 396 Years (which are contained in the Number aforesaid) betwixt the First Settlement of the *Turks* about *Euphrates*, and their taking of *Constantinople*, which ended the *Eastern Empire*.

But Mr. *Brightman's* Conjecture, is much more probable; That the Term of 396 Years, is to be reckoned from the Time that the *Four Sultanies* of the *Turks*, united in the one *Ottoman Family*, and so began their Inrodes upon the *Eastern Empire*. Then it was, that they were *lett loose*; It was about the Year, 1300. Now it falls out unto our Astonishment, That 396 Years from about that very Time, will bring us, to such a Mortification of the *Turkish Power*, as issued in the famous Peace of *Carlowitz*.<sup>378</sup>

Dr. *Cressener* is doubtless in the Right of it. He does not think it necessary, That the End of the *Second Wo*, must needs immediately be the Total Ruine of the *Turkish Empire*. The *Saracens* who were the *First Wo*, passed away as a *Wo*, long before the End of the *Saracen Empire*; near 200 Years before the End of *their Empire*, they ceased any longer to Torment the *Roman Empire*.

<sup>377</sup> These remarkable paragraphs on spiritual tyranny and freedom of conscience are from Cressener, *The Judgments of God*, pp. 55–60.

<sup>378</sup> From Cressener, *The Judgments of God*, p. 116, references to Mede, *A Key of the Revelation*, pt. 1, p. 112, and Brightman, *A Revelation of the Revelation*, pp. 326–27. Mede makes 1057 the linchpin for this calculation, the year that the Seljuk leader Tuğrul Beg captured Mosul. 396 years later, in 1453, Mehmed the Conqueror captured Constantinople. Brightman suggests making the foundation of an Ottoman principality (Osmanlı Beyliği) in c.1299 the starting point. The 1699 Treaty of Karlowitz (today in Serbia) concluded the Great Turkish War of 1683–1697 in which the Ottoman Empire had been defeated at the Battle of Zenta by the Holy League.

But if the *Second Wo* be now *passed away*, and the *Sixth Angel* hath done *Sounding*, Behold, a surprizing Intimation of the Time, which we are fallen into!<sup>379</sup>

*Lift up Your Heads, O Holy People of God! Redemption drawes Nigh.*

It cannot be long, before the *Kingdomes of this World*, become the *Kingdomes of the Lord & of His Christ!*

O Great God! How long! How long! How long!

After I had written these things, it afforded me a particular Satisfaction to Read this Passage, in Dr. *Listers Account of a Journey to Paris*, published in the Year, 1699.

“We and all *Europe*, have been taught mighty Improvements in War; so that *Europe* has been these Twelve Years, an Over-Match for the *Turk*.”<sup>380</sup>

---

<sup>379</sup> These concluding thoughts are Mather’s. Cressener did not expect the commencement of the millennium before the nineteenth century. On this, see also Mather’s “*Problema Theologicum*,” pp. 401–04.

<sup>380</sup> This passage was obviously added later. It cites the work of the English naturalist and physician, Martin Lister FRS (1639–1712), *A Journey to Paris in the Year 1698* (1699), p. 221. Reference is made to the turn of the tide in the Ottoman-Habsburg conflict after the battle of Vienna in 1683. In the years following the battle, the Austrian Habsburgs gradually recovered and dominated southern Hungary and Transylvania in the Great Turkish War.

**Q.** Who is the *Angel* that *comes down from Heaven, cloathed with a Cloud, and with a Rainbow on His Head, & His Face as it were the Sun, and His Feet as Pillars of Fire?* v. 1.

**A.** It bids very fair to be our Lord JESUS CHRIST Himself. The Pomp will hardly so well agree to any other.

A *New Prophecy* is now to be introduced. And it is our Lord JESUS CHRIST, the Prophet of Prophets, who must cause the Visions to enter.<sup>381</sup>

Or at least, *He* is represented by this *Angel*.

**Q.** Why, *cloathed with a Cloud?* v. 1.

**A.** A White Bright Cloud, answerable to the *White Linen*. Dan. X.5. XII.6.<sup>382</sup>

[469\*]

**Q.** Why is the *Book* now *open* in His Hand? v. 2.

**A.** The First Part of the *Revelation*, wherein we have had the Destinies of the *Empire*, is more obscure, than the Next Part, which respects the Destinies of the *Church*; wherein *Antichrist* is more plainly discovered.<sup>383</sup>

4699

**Q.** Why does the *Angel* here, sett His *Right Foot* on the *Sea*, and His *Left Foot* on the *Earth?* v. 2.

**A.** It signifies, His Entering a Claim to the Empire of the *whole Globe*. It also intimates, that the *whole World* is concern'd, in what is now going to be foretold. To *place ones Foot* on a thing, signifies *Dominion*. See Gen. XIII.17.<sup>384</sup>

4708.

**Q.** But, whereas the *Earth* uses to be mentioned before the *Sea*, why is the *Sea* here mentioned before the *Earth?* v. 2.

**A.** This is a very Remarkable Thing. The *western Part* of *Europe*, which borders upon the *Sea*, is in the prophetic Writings, called, *The Sea*.

It is here intimated then, That the Lord would make the Light of the Gospel break forth in the *West*, sooner than in the *East*; and that a Reformation from *Popery* should go before a Reformation from *Mahometanism*.

<sup>381</sup> From Jurieu, *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies*, p. 77.

<sup>382</sup> From Waple, *The Book of the Revelation*, p. 166.

<sup>383</sup> This and the next entry come from Jurieu, *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies*, pp. 77–78.

<sup>384</sup> From Waple, *The Book of the Revelation*, p. 166.

There are Intimations, that in the latter Dayes, there will be some Wonderful and Amazing Motion of the People of God from the *West*. It is foretold, Hos. XI.10. *The Lord shall Roar like a Lion*; [An Expression most remarkably answering to the *Roaring* and the *Thundring*, in the Vision here before us:] and thereupon *the Children shall tremble from the West*. [Or, from the Sea.] Such a strange Motion of the *Jews*, near the Second Coming of our Saviour, is observed by Dr. *Pocock*, to be a Received Opinion.<sup>385</sup>

**Q.** The *Seven Thunders*? v. 3.

**A.** They bring powerful and wonderful Appearances of the Kingdome of our Lord.

It is observable, That *Hannah* prophecied, The *Kingdome* of the Lord would be exalted, by the Lords *Thundring out of Heaven*. 1. Sam. II.10.<sup>386</sup>

**Q.** The *Sealing* of them? v. 4.

**A.** The *Roaring* must not as yett prevail, to make the *Children come Trembling from the West*. The last *Half time* of Antichrist, is to run, before that be done.<sup>387</sup>

|

[33v]

**Q.** Why is the Book, *Sweet* in the *Mouth* of the Prophet, but *Bitter* in his *Belly*? v. 9.

**A.** The *Spirit of Prophecy*, and the Honour of being the *Mouth* of God from Heaven, cannot but be pleasing.

But here, the Prophet having Reflected on the Events which he was going to foretell, & having Digested and Consider'd them, in his own *Breast*, he found them so dreadful, that they fill'd him with Sorrow.<sup>388</sup>

<sup>385</sup> From Waple, *The Book of the Revelation*, p. 166. Reference is made to Edward Pococke's *A Commentary on the Prophecy of Hosea* in *The Theological Works* (2:540–46).

<sup>386</sup> From Waple, *The Book of the Revelation*, pp. 169–70.

<sup>387</sup> From Waple, *The Book of the Revelation*, pp. 168–69.

<sup>388</sup> From Jurieu, *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies*, p. 82.



**Q.** That Illustrious Prophecy concerning the WITNESSES, which ha's employ'd the Thoughts of many learned and pious Men; lett us endeavour at some *Illustration* of it?

**A.** The Illustration of this Important Prophecy, must be carried on with several *Essayes*. The Authors of these *Essayes* have had their Different Prospects. We will not much concern ourselves with their *Differences*; but yett we will take in such *Varieties*, as may consist for the most Part with one another. When we see all together, the *Result* of the *Whole* may be a great Illumination unto us.

I. The *first Essay*, that I will give you, shall be a *short* one, of Mr. *Robert Fleming*.<sup>389</sup>

There is a *Stop*, and as it were, a *Void*, between the Conclusion of the *Sixth Trumpett*, and the Beginning of the *Seventh*; which is filled up, with an Account of, *The Slaughter of the Witnesses*. He conceives therefore, that whatever *particular Slaughter* of the Saints might be at any other Time, this *general* one must be in this Interval of Time.

He reckons, that the *Witnesses who prophesied in Sackcloth*, from the Beginning of the papal Superstitions, were the honest *Piemontois*, and *Albigenses*, and *Waldenses*. They had stood the Shock of many Attacks; yea, that great one of *Simon Montfort*, whom *Innocent III* diverted from the Saracen War, about the Year 1200, to extirpate that Holy People. But the great *Slaughter* of these *Witnesses*, began, in the Year 1416, when *John Hus*, and afterwards *Jerom of Prague* were burnt; but it came not unto its Heighth, until the *Bohemian Calixtines* complied with the Council of *Basil*, in the Year, 1434.<sup>390</sup>

<sup>389</sup> In his first "essay," Mather summarizes a section from the tract *Apocalyptical Key: An Extraordinary Discourse on the Rise and Fall of the Papacy* by Robert Fleming the Younger (c. 1660–1716), in *Discourses on Several Subjects* ([1701] 1793), pp. 50–56. Born in Cambuslang and educated in Leiden and Utrecht, Fleming was a Scottish Presbyterian minister and theologian who served in various ministerial positions in Scotland but also Holland. While largely unknown today, in his own day he was an influential ecclesial politician, noted both for his apocalyptic eschatology and his liberal views on conformity. Mather frequently cites various works of Fleming across the "Biblia."

<sup>390</sup> In the wake of the Reformation, Protestant historiography began to interpret these movements (as well as the Cathars and Wycliffians) as forerunners of their own cause and as preservers of biblical truth during the apostasy of the Roman Catholic Church. Albigenses or Albigensians is a term used for followers of the Catharist "heretics" around the city of Albi and then in the whole of southern France. They were violently suppressed in the Albigensian Crusade (1209–1249) initiated by Innocent III. We do not know exactly what the Albigensians believed, but they can be characterized as an antisacerdotal, ascetic reform movement in opposition to the perceived corruptions of the Roman church establishment. Founded by Peter Waldo (Petrus Waldes, Pierre Vaudès, Valdesius, d. c. 1205) of Lyon around

After this, the Faithful *Taborites* were totally Ruined, as well as all their Brethren, in *Piemont*, and *France*, and other Countreyes; and this happened about the Year, 1492.<sup>391</sup> They being Destroy'd, the *Calixtines* were no better than *Dead Carcases*, or the Corps of the former living Witnesses; over which the Popish Party *Triumph'd*; they look'd on them as the *standing Trophies* of their Victory; and therefore, they did not think fitt any further to *kill* them, or bury them out of their Sight. It is said, *After they had Finished their Testimony, the Beast did make War upon them, & he killed them and their Corps also*, [The Additional Words, in our Version, *shall ly*, are not in the Original, and do but mar the Sense,] *in the Street of the great City*, [namely, in *Bohemia*,] or, in one eminent Street of the Papal Dominions.

Towards the End of the *Fifteenth Century*, the *Witnesses* were in a Manner wholly extinct. *Comenius* tells us, That about the Year 1467, the *Waldenses* in *Austria* and *Moravia* had Apostatized so far, as to dissemble their Religion, and turn to Popery in Profession, and outward Compliance.<sup>392</sup> The *Taborites* in the

---

1175, the Waldensian lay reform movement also embraced the ideal of apostolic poverty as well as nonresistance, preached repentance, and rejected most aspects of the papal church, including its hierarchy, liturgy, the sacraments (except for the confession of sins), the cult of the saints, and the practice of indulgences. Despite their excommunication in 1215 and the onset of violent persecutions, the movement spread in southern France and beyond, notably to the Piedmont region of Northern Italy and Bohemia. In 1545, many Waldensians of Provence were killed during the Massacre of Mérindol (1545). But the movement survived the religious wars of the early modern era and further tragedies, including the infamous Piedmont massacre of 1655. Parts of the nonresistant Waldensians mixed with other reform movements such as the Cathars, the followers of John Wycliffe, and the Hussites.

The Hussites were followers of the Czech theologian church reformer, Jan Hus (Husinec, c. 1370–1415), who was burned at the stake during the Council of Constance – followed by his associate Jerome of Prague (Czech: Jeroným Pražský, 1379–30 May 1416) – for insisting on his heretical views (inspired by Wycliffe) about key doctrines of the church, including those on ecclesiology and the Eucharist. The Hussite movement in Bohemia that arose after his death – divided between the radical-apocalyptic Taborites and the more moderate Calixtines – led to open revolt against Emperor Sigismund, and the subsequent Hussite Wars (1419–1436) forced the church to make significant concessions (communion under both kinds and free preaching, amongst other things) in order to achieve a settlement with the moderates under the “Compacta” of Prague in 1433. The Council of Basel (1431) was a general council of the Roman Catholic Church called to address the issue of papal supremacy and the Hussite heresy (*RGG*).

<sup>391</sup> Probably Fleming meant 1452, the year in which the town of Tabor was captured and the independent political power of the Tabor union finally ended. After that, the last vestiges of the Taborites were slowly exterminated over the next few decades. Still active in 1497, they scouted areas as far as Greece and Egypt, looking for more “pure” brothers-in-arms. Executed in 1510, Andreas Paliwka is traditionally known as the last of the Taborite martyrs.

<sup>392</sup> Fleming cites Comenius, *Historia persecutionum Ecclesiae Bohemicae* (1648), cap. 20, sec. 4–5, pp. 70–71. Born in Nivnice, Moravia, John Amos Comenius (Jan Amos Komenský, 1592–1670) studied in Herborn and Heidelberg and was destined to serve as a leader of the *Unitas Fratrum* (the Moravian Church that emerged from the Hussite movement in 1457) before the onset of the Thirty Years’ War forced him to go into exile and lead the life of an itinerant scholar. In the following decades, he spent time in, among other places, England, Holland, Sweden, and Hungary, gaining a reputation as a teacher, educator, philosopher, and

mean time refusing to do so, were so destroy'd, that it was much that *Seventy* of them could gett together, and consult about continuing their Church, and about finding out some Qualified Person, to be their Minister; for they had none left, about the Year, 1467. So low was the Church of Christ, at this time, that when the hidden Remains of the *Taborites*, (who were called, *Speculani* from their Lurking in *Dens* and *Caves*,) did send forth *Four Men*, to travel, one thro' *Grece*, and the *East*; Another to *Russia* and the *North*; A Third, to *Thrace*, *Bulgaria*, and the Neighbouring Places; A Fourth, to *Asia*, *Palestine*, and *Egypt*; They did all indeed safely Return to their Brethren, but with sorrowful Tidings, that they found no Church of Christ that was pure, or free, from the grossest Errors, and Superstition and Idolatry. This was in the Year 1497. And when Two Years after, they sent a couple more of their Number, namely *Luke Prage*, and *Thomas German*,<sup>393</sup> to go into *Italy*, and other Places, to see if there were any of the old *Waldenses* left alive, they also returned with the same sorrowful Tidings. Only they were informed of the Martyrdom of *Savanarola*,<sup>394</sup> (who suffered in the Year, 1498.) and they were told of some few Remains of the *Piemontois*, that were scattered and concealed among the *Alps*; no body knew where they were.

Now, a few Years after this, even the *Few Remains* of the *Taborites* were found out, and persecuted, and hardly any of them escaped. In the Year 1510. six of them together underwent a public Martyrdome; and the Year following, the famous Martyr, *Andreas Paliwka*, brought up the Rear: he was the last of them left in the World.

[34v] From his death, in the End of the Year, 1511, or the Entrance of | the Year 1512, to the Dawning of the Reformation, by the Preaching of *Zuinglius* and *Carolostadius*,<sup>395</sup> (who as *Hottinger* and others tell us, appeared at least a Year before *Luther*;) there were just *Three Years and an half*.<sup>396</sup> The *Spirits entring into the Dead Witnesses*, began with the Year 1516. which the next Year appeared yett more notably, in *Luthers* public Oppositions to the Papacy. They were not only

---

ecumenical theologian at various centers of Reformed learning. His most famous publications are the *Didactica magna* (1657) and *Orbis pictus* (1658), two monumental works on education.

393 Luke of Prague (Lukáš Pražský, d. 1528) was a bishop of the *Unitas Fratrum* and one of the most significant theologians of the Bohemian Reformation.

394 Girolamo Savonarola (1452–1498) was an Italian Dominican friar and popular apocalyptic preacher, active in Florence, who advocated church reform and was executed by the city government in 1498.

395 Reference is made to Huldrych or Ulrich Zwingli (1484–1531), early Protestant theologian and leader of the Reformation in Zurich and other parts of Switzerland and southern Germany; and to the German theologian at Wittenberg, Andreas Rudolph Bodenstein von Karlstadt (1486–1541), better known as Andreas Karlstadt, who was an early Reformer and close associate of Martin Luther, before the two parted ways over theological differences and Karlstadt was exiled from Saxony in 1524. Already in 1516, Karlstadt had published 151 theses on church reform that criticized the abuse of indulgences.

396 Fleming refers to Hottinger's *Dissertatio continens historiae reformationis ecclesiasticae partem I* (1648).

enlivened, but they *Rose up upon their Feet*, by the Year 1529. when so many Princes, and Free Cities in *Germany*, protested against the Edict of *Worms* and *Spire*, and so gott the Name of *Protestants*.<sup>397</sup> They *heard a Voice from Heaven*, come up *hither*, when *Maurice* of *Saxony*, beat the Emperour *Charles*; in the Year, 1552. And accordingly, they did after this, ascend into an *Heaven*, of Rest, and Peace, and Power, and Honour, as if they had been wafted up thither by a *Cloud*, and that *in the Sight even of their Enemies*; when the *Protestant Religion*, was allowed, confirmed, established; in the Year, 1555.<sup>398</sup> Which afterwards had a further Establishment, from the Emperours, *Maximilian* and *Radulph*; in whose Dayes the Church also began to be settled in many other Countreyes. Many Countreyes began to be filled with *living Witnesses*.<sup>399</sup>

It is observable, That in this Period of Time, when the *Witnesses Finished their Testimony*, or, were about so to do, the *Turks* made themselves Masters of *Constantinople*; An. 1453. And this, Mr. *Fleming* takes to be the *Earth-quake*, which destroyes a *Tenth Part* of the *Roman Dominions*; for the *Græcian Empire* was before this, reduced, from being the *Third Part* of the Empire, to be no more than a *Tenth Part* of it. The *Turkish Triumph* was only over *Seven Thousand Names of Men*, that is, over the remaining *Eastern Christians*, who were so degenerated in all Respects, that they were only *Names*, or *Shadowes*, of *true Christians*.

Mr. *Fleming* is very confident in one very comfortable Assertion; “That it is impossible, morally speaking, that the *Witnesses* can ever any more, be so intirely *slain*, as they have been heretofore; whatever particular and provincial Persecutions, they may be under, for a time, & whatever formidable Appearances there may be every where, against the Protestant Interest.”

But how shall we answer this Objection?

The *Witnesses* prophesy, all the 1260 Dayes of the *Beasts Reign*, in *Sackcloth*, and are *slain* only when they have *Finished their Testimony*. It seems therefore very strange, to say, That they shall be *slain*, during the Time of their 1260 Years Prophecy, and so long before the End of them.

<sup>397</sup> In 1529, a number of princes and free cities dissented from the resolution of the second Diet of Speyer (which had put an imperial ban on Martin Luther and proscribed his works and teachings) and submitted a legal *protestatio* against the imperial policy. From then on, the estates supporting the Reformers came to be referred to as *protestantes*, *Protestierende*, or *Protestanten* in German.

<sup>398</sup> Maurice (1521–1553) was Duke (1541–1547) and later Elector (1547–1553) of Saxony. After defecting from the Emperor’s side in 1550, Maurice forged an alliance with France and Germany’s Protestant princes, and in March 1552, the rebels overran southern Germany and parts of Austria, forcing Charles V to make concessions to the Protestant cause. In 1555, a religious settlement was reached in the Holy Roman Empire with the Peace of Augsburg.

<sup>399</sup> In 1568, Emperor Maximilian II (1527–1567) guaranteed toleration of the Lutheran faith for members of the Austrian nobility. In 1609, Emperor Rudolf II (1552–1612) issued a letter of toleration (the “*Majestätsbrief*”) for the Bohemian estates, which applied to all recognized religious parties.

To this, Mr. *Fleming* answers; There are Two things, that are spoken, concerning the Opposers of *Antichrist*. The first is, That they are called *Witnesses* (or, *Martyrs*,) against the Abominations of that Enemy. And the second is, That they *prophecy* (and *preach*) against his Interest. Now it is only on the second Account, that the 1260 Dayes are assigned unto them. The προφητεία,<sup>400</sup> the *Prophecy* of the Saints continues for 1260 Years; and for the most Part in *Sackcloth*, because of their continual Troubles from the Restless Enemy. But their μαρτυρία,<sup>401</sup> or, *Martyring*, in a strict Sense, relates only to the Time of their low State, under the Reign of the Papacy. It is not here said, That the *Witnesses* were *killed*, after their whole *Prophecy*, or *Preaching*, was over, or after the 1260 Dayes were all run out; but only after their *Testimony for Christ by Suffering was over*; Then, They were universally slain and cutt off. Now, tho' there have been many Persecutions since the Reformation, yett they were never universal ones. And the Difference is great, between the *Witnesses* before that Time and after it: For since then, the Reformed Religion ha's been Established publicly in several Nations, and Authorized by Law, in Opposition to Popery, which it never was before. -

And so much for our *First Essay* upon the *Witnesses*.<sup>402</sup>

But such is the Excellency of the sacred Prophecies, that instead of not being Accomplished at all, they have, *Several*, and *Successive*, and all of them *Glorious*, Accomplishments. The Illustration we have already offered, may stand with a very good Reputation, and yett we may bespeak and afford some Attention to some others that are now waiting to be Introduced.

II. The *second Essay*, shall be fetched from the Writings of Mr. *Peter Jurieu*.<sup>403</sup>

[35r] It is an Ingenious Observation of Mr. *Mede*, upon that Passage; *Rise, and Measure the Temple of God, and the Altar | and them that worship therein; But the Court which is without the Temple, leave out, & measure it not*: That we have here a short Repræsentation of the Church & of its Duration. By the *Inner Court*, with the *Altar*, of the *Temple*, he beleeves the *Primitive Church* to be meant; the Church while Sound in its *Doctrines*, and Pure in its *Manners*. By the *Outward Court*, he takes to be meant, the *Church corrupted* with Idolatry, Superstition, Tyranny, and all Manner of Iniquity. He finds that the *Inner Court*, was much less than the *Outward* one; and that there was the Proportion between them, that there is between *One*, and, *Three and an half*. He Beholds here, an elegant Image of the *Extent of Time*. The Duration of the *Primitive Church* was to be *One Time*; the Duration of the *Church corrupted*, was to be *Three Times and an*

<sup>400</sup> The word προφητεία [propheteia] means "gift of interpreting the will of the gods, gift of prophecy" (LSJ 1539).

<sup>401</sup> The basic meaning of μαρτυρία [martyria] is "testimony" (LSJ 1082).

<sup>402</sup> See Appendix A.

<sup>403</sup> The second essay is derived from Jurieu, *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies*; the first section summarizes pp. 48–49.

half. The former, to last 360 Years; the latter to last, 1260 Years.<sup>404</sup> Mr. Jurieu can't forbear saying, *I confess, this looks to me, as if it were Inspired!*

He is as much taken with Dr. Ushers Explanation, (he calls it, *A Divine One*;) That *the Outward Court, signifies Christians in Appearance, whose Religion does consist in the Performance of some External Duties of Christianity, without having the Inward Life, or the true Faith, which should unite them to Jesus Christ. But those who worship in the Temple, and before the Altar, are those who sincerely worship God, in Spirit and Truth, whose Souls are His Temples, in which He is Adored and Honoured, with the most Inward Thoughts of their Hearts, and who offer unto Him a constant Sacrifice, not only of their Lusts, but of their whole Selves.*<sup>405</sup>

Mr. Jurieu thinks, That the *Two Witnesses*, who must *prophesy in Sackcloth*, 1260 Dayes, are the small Number of the Faithful, who during the Reign of *Antichrist*, must keep themselves from his Corruptions and Impieties, and faithfully condemn his Errors. They are *Witnesses*, because they bear *Witness* to the *Truth*, which but for them, would have been forgotten in the World. They *prophesy cloathed in Sackcloth*; which is as much as to say, They preach under the Cross. They are no more than *Two*; because they are a small Number, nevertheless enough to support the Truth; for, *in the Mouth of Two Witnesses every Word shall be established.*

These *Two Witnesses* have *Power to shutt Heaven, that it Rain not in the Dayes of their Prophecy, and Power over Waters, to turn them into Blood, & to smite the Earth with all Plagues as often as they will.* The Holy Spirit here fetches *Emblems*, from the Histories of the Old Testament; and He alludes to *several Pairs* of eminent *Witnesses*, Raised by God at *several Times*; as, *Aaron* and *Moses*, at the Coming out of *Egypt*; *Joshua* and *Caleb*, at the Conquering of the Promised Land; *Elijah* and *Elisha* under the Apostasy of the *Ten Tribes*; *Zerubbabel* and *Jehoshua*, at the Return from the Captivity. Among these, *Elijah* and *Elisha* had *Power to shutt Heaven*, as also to make *Fire come down from Heaven*; *Moses* and *Aaron* turn'd the *Waters of Egypt* into *Blood*; *Joshua* and *Caleb* smote the Inhabitants of *Canaan* with sore Plagues. God ascribes these Things to the *Witnesses*; First, *The Shutting of Heaven, that it Rain not in the Dayes of their Prophecy*; to signify, that during the 1260 Years of their *Prophecy*, and of the Reign of *Antichrist*, there should be a mighty *Drought* of Grace, and a Barrenness of all that is Desirable, in the Church. Secondly; *The Turning of Waters into Blood, and the Smiting of the Earth with all Plagues*; Because all the heavy Judgments of God,

<sup>404</sup> A reference to Mede, *A Key of the Revelation*, pt. 2, pp. 4–5.

<sup>405</sup> From Jurieu, *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies*, pp. 236–37, a reference to one of the famous prophecies ascribed to James Ussher, which was first recorded in the biography written by his former chaplain and librarian, Nicholas Bernard (1600–1661), *The Life and Death of the Most reverend and Learned Father of Our Church Dr. James Usher* (1656). Subsequently, Ussher's prophecies were reprinted in multiple formats and editions, including *Strange and Remarkable Prophecies and Predictions of ... James Usher* (1676), where the prophecy cited by Jurieu appears on p. 6.

that in the Course of these 1260 Years, come upon the Antichristian Church, were sent on the Account of the *Two Witnesses*; to Revenge their Cause, and Punish the Oppression under which *it* held both the *Truth*, and those that were willing to profess it.<sup>406</sup>

We are generally agreed, That the 1260 Dayes, of the *Witnesses prophesying in Sackcloth*, are the same with the *Three Years & an Half* of the Reign of *Antichrist*. And the *War* against the *Witnesses* denotes an horrible *Persecution*, that must be raised against the Faithful, before the End of the Reign of *Antichrist*. *When they shall have Finished*, must not be understood, as if it were to be *after the 1260 Years are Finished*; there can be no *Persecution* after *That*! But the *last Persecution* of *Antichrist* against the Church, This is the Thing here described; and the Description is here fetched from several Characters. It must continue a *long Time*; It must end at Length in a *Victory* over the *Witnesses*; which will be, not in their *Dying*, (for that is *their Victory*) but in their *Fainting* under the Trial. The *Victory* must prevail to an utter Extinction of their *Profession*: there shall be no Signs of their Life, in standing for the Truth, but they shall *ly on the Ground as Dead Bodies*. This Effect must be in the *Street* of the *great City*. The *Death* must last *Three Years and an Half*. During this Term, the Holy Religion of the Lord, shall not be utterly *Buried*; | The People, who are Neighbours to them that slay it, shall hinder its utter Extinction and Putrefaction. At the End of *Three Years and an Half*, the oppressed ones are to be Revived; and after that they shall *Ascend in Heaven*, and be in a very exalted Condition. At the same Time, and after the Exaltation of the *Witnesses*, there shall be a *great Earthquake*, a sore Emotion and Disturbance, in the Kingdome of *Antichrist*; wherein a *Tenth Part of the City* shall fall; a *Tenth Part* of the Antichristian Kingdome shall be taken away from it. *Seven Thousand Men* shall perish in this *Earthquake*; it shall not be without Bloodshed, in that Part of the *City* where it happens. And, lastly, within a little While, this *Tenth Part* of the *City*, thus taken from the Poppedom, shall be converted, & *give glory to God*.<sup>407</sup>

Monsr. *Jurieu* thinks, with good Reason, That *Antichrist* is *Finishing* his Reign; and that the Church is now under the *last Persecution*. It began in the Year 1655; when the D. of *Savoy* undertook to destroy the Faithful, in the Valleys of *Piedmont*. He sent thither Souldiers, who made a miserable *Slaughter*; but because the Time for the *Final Slaying* of the *Witnesses* was not yett come, God raised up Deliverance for them. A *Persecution* began in *Poland* a while after; and the Reformed were involved in the same Ruine, with the Hereticks, the *Socinians* & the *Arians*; they were driven out of that Kingdome and scattered

<sup>406</sup> The preceding paragraphs are from *Jurieu*, *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies*, pp. 239–40.

<sup>407</sup> The first half of the preceding paragraph is comprised of Mather's reflections, while the second half (starting with "they shall ly on the Ground") comes from *Jurieu*, *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies*, pp. 242–43.

in *Transylvania*, and *Hungary* and *Germany*. At the same Time, a Persecution began in *France*; immediately after the *Pyrenean Peace*, the Project of Ruining the Protestants was laid at Court, and hath been since been executed in the most horrible Manner that ever was heard of. In the Year 1671 began the Persecution in the Churches of *Silesia*, *Moravia*, *Hungary*; the Consequent of which is the utter Extinction of the Reformed Religion in the Territories of the Emperour.<sup>408</sup>

From the *Bodies of the Witnesses lying in the Street of the great City*, Monsr. Jurieu concludes, That the Kingdomes, which have shaken off *Popery*, and in which the Religion of the Reformation is the Ruling Religion, are to have no Share in this Matter. *The Street of the great City*, he beleeves to be *France*, the most eminent Countrey at this Day belonging to the *Papacy*. Her *King* is called, *The eldest Son of the Church*, and, *The most Christian King*, that is to say, The most *Popish* one. It is in the *Middle* of the *Popish Empire*, exactly, as a *Street*, or a Place of Concourse is in the *Middle* of a *City*. And it is *Four Square* almost as *Broad* as *Long*.

According to him, the Profession of the True Religion must be Abolished in *France*. And this indeed, in what has been done, upon the Revocation of

---

<sup>408</sup> From Jurieu, *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies*, pp. 245–46. Reference is made to several instances of the violent suppression and persecution of Protestants in the context of massive re-catholicization efforts in various parts of Europe during the second half of the seventeenth century, which are often described as the last major phase of the Counter-Reformation. In January 1655, Charles Emmanuel II of Savoy (1634–1675) issued an Edict that rescinded the toleration of Protestants in the Duchy and ordered the expulsion of anyone who refused to convert within three days. When the Waldensians of that region (also known as Vaudois) resisted, troops were sent to the valleys of Piedmont and committed a series of massacres, the so-called Piedmontese Easter. Estimations of the number of Waldensians deaths vary between more than 1,000 and 6,000. Following a mass exodus of the Vaudois, the Duke agreed to a peace treaty in the summer of the same year. Further reference is made to the Unitarian (or Socinian) Polish Brethren, who had their main centers in Pińczów and Raków. In 1658, the Polish parliament expelled the Socinians. Refugee communities went to Transylvania, Hungary, Prussia, and the Netherlands, among other places. Under Emperor Leopold I (1640–1705), the Habsburgs undertook vigorous efforts to re-catholicize Silesia, Moravia, and Hungary during the 1670s and 80s, leading to a very substantial reduction of Protestantism in these territories. Many Protestants went into exile, others were imprisoned or sent to the galleys. After a revolt in 1681, the Emperor had to accept a compromise for Hungary.

After the revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685), Louis XIV undertook new aggressive efforts to root out Protestant communities in the southern provinces of Languedoc, Dauphiné, as well as in the Vaudois-region across the French border in the Duchy of Savoy. Here his cousin, the newly ascended Duke of Savoy, Victor Amadeus II (1666–1732), followed Louis's example in removing the protection of Protestants in the Piedmont. On 31 January 1686, he decreed the destruction of all the Vaudois churches and that all inhabitants of the valleys should publicly announce their error in religion within fifteen days under penalty of death or banishment. Protestant resistance was met with the combined military force of French and Piedmontese soldiers. As a result of the campaign, thousands of the Vaudois were killed or died of starvation, and thousands more were imprisoned and lost their estates. While small bands of the Vaudois continued to fight a guerrilla war, many more left their homes and went into exile. For more on this, see the Introduction.



the Edict of *Nantes*, we have seen most horribly accomplished. But yett the *Neighbour Nations* hinder the *Burial*, & the Total Destruction of the *Reformation* asserted by the *French Protestants*. And the Condition of the *French Protestants*, does awaken the rest of *Europe*, to stop *France* in her furious Design of Destroying the *Reformed Religion*. Yea, the *New Converts* in *France* themselves, will still have so much of their Affection to the *Reformed Religion* appearing upon them, that they shall be as plainly Discerned and Distinguished by their Neighbours in the same Kingdome with themselves as *Dead Bodies* that ly unburied, are not out of Sight.<sup>409</sup>

Now, for the *Three Years and an half*, that the *Witnesses* are to ly thus *Dead*, Monsr. *Jurieu* is at a Loss when præcisely to commence them. At last, he comes to that; “Who knowes, whether God will begin to reckon the *Three Years and an half* until other Princes have wholly extinguished the *Reformation* in their Dominions? Tis therefore (saies he) a Rashness, to affirm, *That Deliverance must exactly come in such a Year*.”<sup>410</sup>

However, when the Time does come, the *Dead Witnesses*, now under Oppression will suddenly Rise up again, by a *Secret Operation of Grace* upon them. And at that Time, the *Yoke* of the *Persecutor* shall be broken. Yea, anon the *Reformation* shall be sett on foot, by the Authority of the *Royal Power* too. The *Witnesses* hear a great Voice from Heaven, saying unto them, come up hither; and they ascend up to Heaven in a Cloud. Heaven in the Style of the Prophets is the Throne. Apomasar in his *Apotelesmata Insomniorum*, saies, *If a King dreams, that he sits upon the Clouds, and is carried whereof he pleases, it signifies, that his Enemies shall serve him. But if he imagines that he is carried up to Heaven, where the Stars are, this presages that he shall be lift up above all Kings*.<sup>411</sup>

Compare, Isa. 14.13. *I will ascend into Heaven, I will exalt my Throne above the Stars*.

*France* being Reformed, first, by Way of *Inspiration*, and then by Way of *Authority*, there shall yett be *Enemies* (a Popish Clergy) to be the Spectators of this great Work. But the *End of Popery* will soon after follow, by a great *Earthquake*, that shall turn all upside down.<sup>412</sup>

<sup>409</sup> From Jurieu, *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies*, pp. 247–49.

<sup>410</sup> From Jurieu, *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies*, p. 256.

<sup>411</sup> From Jurieu, *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies*, pp. 258–59, a reference to the Latin ed. (undertaken by the humanist Löwenklau) of the work ascribed to “Apomasar,” *Apotelesmata, sive de significatis et eventis insomniorum* (1577), p. 206. According to Pál ‘Acs (*Reformation of Hungary in the Age of the Ottoman Conquest*, p. 185), Apomasar “is a corruption of the name of the Persian astronomer Abu Ma’shar (787–886), who had composed a now lost book of prophetic dreams. The work translated into Latin by Löwenklau was the Greek *Oneirocriticon* of Achmet, a Christian Greek adaptation of Islamic material originally written in Arabic, mostly by Muhammad Ibn-Sirin” (653–728). Already Joseph Mede had used the *Apotelesmata* in his commentary on Revelation, and the work remained popular among millenarian theologians.

<sup>412</sup> From Jurieu, *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies*, pp. 259–61.

By the *great City*, is meant, not *Rome* alone, but *Rome* in Conjunction with its whole Empire; or, the whole *Church* of *Rome*; The Citizens | of old *Rome*, dwelt in all Countreyes. Where the *Citizens* dwell, there is the *City*; which made *Rutilius* to say, [36r]

*Dumque offers victis proprii Consortia juris,  
Urbem fecisti quod prius Orbis erat.*<sup>413</sup>

And thus it goes exactly in the *Church* of *Rome*, which ha's Re-established the *Roman Empire*. All the Members of this *Church*, are Citizens of her *Capital City*. A *Tenth Part* of this *great City* then, must be one of the *Ten Kingdomes* under the Dominion of *Antichrist*. We shall see a *Tenth Part* of the *City* fall, when a great Commotion shall render *France* a *Protestant Kingdom*; and *Seven Thousand Names of Men* are slain, and the empty *Names* of all the *Popish Orders* are destroy'd, with as little hurt as may be, to the *Men* who bear the *Names*.<sup>414</sup>

The Scheme that Monsr. *Jurieu* ha's given us, is well worthy of a very Attentive Consideration.

There is one most unhappy Discouragement attending it; and that is, That altho' we have seen a most astonishing *Death* upon the *Witnesses* in *France*, and it ha's been for much more than *Three Years and half* upon them, yett we see nothing of a *Resurrection*.

I will freely confess, how much I began to flatter myself. In the Year 1692,<sup>415</sup> I did preach unto a very great Assembly, and afterwards print for a yett more extensive Consideration, such a Passage as this. "Tis a most amazing *Revolution*, that those dear People of God, the *Waldenses* have newly seen. That Blessed People have had, as tis the Motto of their Arms, *The Light shining in Darkness*, among them, from the very First Ages of Christianity; and all the infandous *Croisades* against them, were never able utterly to extirpate them; till t'other Day, the leagued *French King* and Duke of *Savoy*, together did effect their Dissipation. But behold; Just *Three Years and an half*, after the last Abjuration, which broke up those Illustrious Churches, a *Spirit of Life from God*, is entred into them. In the *Sight* and *Spite* of all their Adversaries, they have, with a Series of Miracles fighting for them, Repossessed themselves of their Countrey; and their Two

<sup>413</sup> "And by offering to the vanquished in thine own justice, thou hast made a city of what was erstwhile a world." From *Jurieu, The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies*, p. 263, Mather cites the fifth-century Roman poet, Rutilius Namatianus, *De reditu suo*, 1.65–66; transl.: LCL 434, pp. 768–69.

<sup>414</sup> A summary of *Jurieu, The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies*, pp. 263–68.

<sup>415</sup> The following section comes from a sermon Mather preached on August 4, 1692, amidst the Salem witchcraft crisis. It was subsequently incorporated into his infamous apologetic account of the affair, *Wonders of the Invisible World* (1693), where the passage appears on pp. 40–41. Mather's reflections here show that his interpretation of the events at Salem, as demonstrating a literal satanic assault on New England, was intimately connected to his millenarian eschatology and his conviction that the sufferings of true Protestants (and especially that of the French Huguenots after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes) on both sides of the Atlantic were signs of the last raging of the Antichrist before his fall.

Persecutors becoming bitter Enemies one unto another, have been hard Striving, who shall first and most gain these *Vaudois* unto their Party. Those Churches of *Piedmont*, which are, as it were, the *Root* of all the *Protestant Churches*, being thus *Revived*, it marvellously confirms our Hope, That the *last Persecution* is over, and we are gott into those *Earthquakes*, with which the *Resurrection of our Lords Witnesses* is to be accompanied.”<sup>416</sup>

One thing that much encouraged me to speak and write at this rate; was a Passage of honest *Peter Boyer*, in his History of the *Vaudois*.<sup>417</sup>

*The Churches of Piemont being the Root of the Protestant Churches, They have been the first established; the Churches of other Places, being but the Branches, shall be established in due time; God will deliver them speedily; He ha's already delivered the Mother, and He will not long leave the Daughter behind: He will Finish what He ha's gloriously begun.*

Alas, more than Thrice Seven Years have Rolled away,<sup>418</sup> since we made these Conjectures; but what Progress ha's been made in the Revival of the *French Witnesses*, whose *Three Years & an Half*, I was willing to begin, from the Slaughter of their Brethren the *Vaudois*, by the very same *Dragoons*, that had murdered them! Truly, None at all. Nor has the Fate of the *Vaudois* also since then, been very encouraging to our Conjectures. Tis true: Almost all *Europe* ha's been ever since in an *Earthquake*, (except one or two short Intervals made by the Infamous Peace of *Reswyck*, and the more Infamous one of *Utrecht*,<sup>419</sup> which left the *Witnesses* Dead still, between the *Shocks*;) and how it will terminate, we do not yett understand.

Lett us proceed then to a *Third Essay*.

<sup>416</sup> Here Mather crossed out the following passage: “Fourteen sad Years have Rolled away, since I thus Flattered myself. And the Events have all this while afforded but poor Confirmations to my Conjectures. Let us therefore make another Essay.” Apparently then, this passage was written around 1706. Mather again refers to the passing of time (another “more than Thrice Seven,” or more than 21 years) below.

<sup>417</sup> Mather derives this paragraph from the work of the French minister Pierre (Peter) Boyer (1619–c. 1700), *Abrégé de l'histoire des Vaudois* (1691), translated into English as *The History of the Vaudois* (1692), p. 167. On Mather's special concern for the persecuted French Protestants, see Catharine Randall, *From a Far Country*, ch. 6.

<sup>418</sup> Mather seems to have originally written “Twice” and then to have corrected it to “more than Thrice,” indicating he revisited this passage sometime after 1713, if indeed he was still counting from 1692.

<sup>419</sup> Signed in 1697, the Peace of Ryswick (or Rijswijk) ended the war of the Palatine Succession or of the Great Alliance (also called King William's War in America) with France (1689–1697). The Peace of Utrecht (1713–1715) ended the War of the Spanish Succession. On these events, compare also *Tripuradissus*, p. 226.

III. For our *Third Essay*, we will call in the Contemplations of Dr. *Thomas Goodwin*; meditated as long ago, as the Year 1639. and certainly, they will afford very considerable Thoughts unto us.<sup>420</sup>

The *eleventh* Chapter of the *Revelation*; to the Verse which introduces the *Seventh Trumpet*, is not so much a *Vision of John*, as a *Discourse of the Angel to John*. And it ought mightily to be compared with the *Discourse of the Angel*, in the last Chapter of *Daniel*. There you have a *Beast* Reigning, a *Time, Times, and half a Time*. You have an *Holy People*, by whom he is *opposed*, and who are *oppressed* by him. Towards the End, they gett something of *Power*; but that *Power* of theirs he prevails to *scatter*. This is the *last Act* of the *Beast*; then his Reign comes to an End. How notably does all *Harmonize*, with the Condition of the *Witnesses* now before us!

The *Holy City* here (where the *Gentiles* have a Lease of 42 Months Reign,) are the Countreyes of *Europe*, which for above a Thousand Years, have been the cheef Seat, or Metropolis of Christianity, as *Jerusalem* was of old, of the Worship of the True God. This is in the *Apocalypse* made the Field of all that is exhibited, until that *Holy City* of the *New Jerusalem* comes down from Heaven to succeed it.

God, for the Punishment of a wicked World, permitts the *Gentiles* to tread down this City for 42 Months; (the | Expression alludes to Luk. 21.24.) The Pope of *Rome*, and his Idolatrous Crew, are these *Gentiles*; who sett up the Image of that Worship, which was practised under the ancient *Gentilism*. [36v]

Towards the End of the Jurisdiction which the *Gentiles* are to have over the City, there begins a great Part of the *City* to fall from them. They lose Ground; and a Separation is made from them; and a *Temple* is built; a *Temple* of Churches that *separate* from *Antichrist*. And, as the Temple of *Jerusalem* was built on the *North Side* of that City, so this *Temple* is built in the *Northern Parts* of *Europe*. In the *Northern Parts* is the Reformation of Religion. [Compare, Isa. 49.12. and, Dan. 11.44.]<sup>421</sup>

Unto this *Temple*, there ha's been an *Outer Court* laid, of carnal, worldly, unregenerate Professors; who indeed make the *greatest Show* in the Building. The *Reformed Churches* are indeed more *Outer Court*, than *Inner*. By Reason of their Mixture, great Corruptions in the *Form* of the *Temple*, and Impurities in the *Worship*, and about the *Altar* of it, have been continued among them. The *True Worshipers* under the Gospel, are as the *Priests* were of old, in a peculiar Manner Holy unto God; and *carnal Professors* may be typified by the common Croud of *Jewes*; whom the *Outer Court* of old received. These *carnal Professors* may arrogate unto themselves the *Name* of the *True Church*; and under that Name

<sup>420</sup> The following essay is derived from Goodwin's *An Exposition of the Revelation* (1639). The phrase "meditated as long ago, as the Year 1639" was a later insertion.

<sup>421</sup> The preceding paragraphs are from Goodwin, *An Exposition* (Works 3:124).

they may cast out the *True Worshipers*, (for they are Numerous and Powerful enough in *Proportion* to do it;) But the *True Worshipers* are but the more driven into the Condition of an *Inner Court*, by such Proceedings.<sup>422</sup>

The *Outer Court*, by a *Metonymie* means, the *Worshippers* in that *Court*. Lett, *A Lapide* himself be our Interpreter; *In hac Parte Templi Symbolicè significantur Fideles, qui Antichristi Tempore erunt optimi. Religiosissimi, Deo conjunctissimi, et in Cultu ejus Solidissimi. Per Atrium exterius intelligit Christianos infirmiores, et Vitæ laxioris, ideòque a Deo remotiores.*<sup>423</sup>

The *Outer Court* and the *Worshippers* of it, are Distinct from the *Gentiles*, who are to *tread it down*; and therefore it must needs mean the Multitude of *carnal Protestants* that fill the Churches of the Reformation; such as according to the Apostolical Institution ought to be left out, by those that build and frame True Churches, and the Churches ought to be *New Measured* without them. The *Outer Court* means a Company, who in those Times have a greater Nearness to the *True Worshipers*, than the *Gentiles* have; and yett are but *without*. The *Gentiles* are not the *Treaders*, but the *Treaders down* of the *Outer Court*; God bringing them in upon the *carnal Professors*, to punish their Contempt of the Gospel, & of the *True Worshipers*.<sup>424</sup>

Observe the glorious Wisdome of God! God intending to have a *Church most Holy* unto Himself, under the *Seventh Trumpett* & His Manner being, to carry on His Church unto Perfection by Degrees, He does about an Age or so, before the *Seventh Trumpet* sett His *Builders* on Work to endeavour the Erection of a New Frame in His Churches, and Reform the Reformation, and take the *Reed* & measure the *Temple* and *Altar* over anew, and leave out the *Outer Court* and the Corruptions of it, and contract the *Temple* into a Narrower Compass (as the Proportion of the *Inner Temple* was to the *Outer*;) but more gloriously Refined, and more acceptable to the glorious God.

*John* (repræsenting the *Builders*, we will suppose, in our Age,) ha's a *Reed* putt into his Hands. Tis the *Word* of God, which is putt into the Hearts and Hands of eminent Instruments, as a sufficient *Rule*, to square and shape Churches, & the *Worshippers* in them. They lay that as a Principle, That we

422 From Goodwin, *An Exposition* (Works 3:127). It is interesting to note here the connection between Goodwin's reading of Revelation, his critique of the unfinished reformation of the Church of England, and his pioneering of a Congregational model of church polity. In 1639, he had to flee to Holland to escape persecution, where he pastored a small "foreigner church" at Arnhem.

423 "By this part of the temple the faithful are symbolized, who will be the best [Christians] during the time of the Antichrist; the most pious, and most intimately connected to God, and the most faithful in His worship. By the outer court he understands the weaker Christians, of a laxer conduct of life and therefore more remote from God." From Goodwin, *An Exposition* (Works 3:126), Mather paraphrases this Latin passage from Cornelius à Lapide, *Commentarius in Apocalypsin S. Iohannis*, at Rev. 11:2, p. 188.

424 From Goodwin, *An Exposition* (Works 3:127).

admitt of nothing in the Matters of the Church that is not warranted in the Word of God.

By the *Temple*, we will understand *Churches*; or Congregations of public Worshippers, considered as such; and their *Church-Fellowship*. [Compare Eph. 2.20, 21, 22.] Every *particular Church* bears the Name of the Whole, and is called, a *Temple*, because the Ordinances of *Church-Communion* are no where else to be administred; as there were no Sacrifices ordinarily to be offered, but at the *Temple of Jerusalem*.

The *Altar* was the main Ordinance of *Temple-Worship*; and it may here mean, all Ordinances of public Worship.

*They that worship therein*, are meant the Persons who alone are of this *Temple*, and approach the *Altar*; the *Holy Priesthood* of the New Testament. [Compare, 1. Pet. 2.5.]

To *measure all these with the Reed* implies, the Drawing of a true *Platform* for them, from the *Word* of God; showing, what a True Church or *Temple* is, and how to be Built, and what is the Right Way for the Administration of all Ordinances in it; and laying forth, who are *True Saints*, and fitt to be received as Worshippers there. [Compare, Ezek. 43.10, 11]<sup>425</sup>

To *Leave out the Outer Court*, is, by the *Word* exactly to putt a Difference between those who *Fear God*, and those who *Fear Him not*: and then, to reject them from *Church-Fellowship*, & not admitt them to a *Part* in the *Reformed Temple*; and, finally, to Renounce all such Forms of Administration in Worship, *Liturgies*, &c. which are not found agreeable to the *Word* of God.

| This *Outer Court* is *given to the Gentiles*. It imports, an easy Conquest [37r] which the Popish Party gains over these *Formalists* in Religion. They either Declare for a *Coalition* with *Rome*, or they suffer the *Romish* Principles and Practices and Interests, to prevail among them. The *Inner Court* is hereby made, but the *purser Church*. Yea, the great God permitts the Papists, to come in as an horrible Scourge upon them; that they may *be filled with their own Wayes*. They took upon them, to be Zealots for the *Church*, and the only Defenders of Religion against the Papists, while yett they cast out the *True Worshippers* of God, and their Ministers, and said, *Lett God be glorified*, while they were *beating their Fellow-Servants*; But here they are mett withal.<sup>426</sup>

Well; we will now proceed unto the Description of the *Two Witnesses*:

They *Testify* against *Antichrist*. They *Prophecy*, and by their Ministry Feed the Church in the Wilderness. They wear *Sackcloth*, & are in a Condition of *Poverty*, while the Popish Clergy are Triumphant in *Silks* and *Satins*.

<sup>425</sup> From Goodwin, *An Exposition* (Works 3:128–30).

<sup>426</sup> From Goodwin, *An Exposition* (Works 3:130–31).

They are for Number *Two*, because by the *Mouth of Two Witnesses* at least, every Word is to be established. And it is in Allusion to several Famous *Couples*, who lived in the Old Testament, in Times, that were *Types* of the Times of *Antichrist*; namely, *Moses* and *Aaron*; *Elias* and *Elisha*; *Zerubbabel* and *Joshua*. The Exploits against their Enemies are considerable.<sup>427</sup>

While the *Darker Times of Popery* were yett upon the World, then they did *shutt Heaven that it Rained not*. This alludes to the Times of *Ahab*, when *Elias* thought himself alone, and *Ahab* and his *Baals-Priests*, [the Pope and his *Mass-Priests*,] ruled the whole World. It was now the Priviledge of these *Witnesses*, that they had the *Dew* and the *Grace* of Heaven coming down upon themselves alone; and none had the True Doctrine, but they. It was all withheld from the Idolaters, as a just *Curse* upon them for their Idolatry and Apostasy.

From the *Times of the Separation from Popery*, and first coming out of *Egypt*, they have *Power to turn Waters to Blood, & smite the Earth with Plagues*. They render the Popish Clergy, as vile as the *Egyptians* were, when there fell *noisome and grievous Botches* upon them. And they render the *Doctrine* of Popery, as abominable as the *Blood of a Dead Man*, and as loathsome, for the Putrefaction of it.<sup>428</sup>

Towards the Time of the *New Reformation* of the *Temple*, they *Devour with Fire*, not only their Enemies, but also *any Man that shall hurt them*. Thus it happened, in the Error of *Nadab*, and *Abihu*; and in the Rebellion of *Corah*, after *Moses* had brought the Church out of *Egypt*, and began to sett up the *Tabernacle*, with the other Ordinances. In those Cases, the First Quarrel was, about introducing into the Worship of God, *Humane Inventions*; Things which God commanded not. The Next Quarrel was, a Continuance of *That*, and a further Stickling, to take away all Distinctions of Persons, in Worshipping. The Quarrel between the *Witnesses*, and their *Enemies*, has been much upon those Two Heads. The *Enemies* have been for bringing in *strange Fire* unto the *Altar* of God. And they have been against making any Difference between the *Holy* and the *Profane*; but said, *Are not all the People Baptized?* They have also been much against the Lords own *Election*, of a Few, to be *Priests* unto Him; they plead the Cause of all Mankind, in *universal Grace* and *Redemption*. The Light about these Things in these Dayes, is grown so High, that many of those who oppose them, do *Rebel against their own Light*; and so the *Truth*, from the Mouths of the *Witnesses*, operates like a *Fire* on their Consciences; a *Fiery Indignation* does there *Devour the Adversaries*.<sup>429</sup>

The *Witnesses* go on in their *Temple-Work*; and they become *the Two Olive-trees, and the two Candlesticks, that minister before the God of the whole Earth*.

427 From Goodwin, *An Exposition* (Works 3:142–43).

428 From Goodwin, *An Exposition* (Works 3:145–46).

429 From Goodwin, *An Exposition* (Works 3:148–49).

Have recourse to the Prophecies of *Zacharie*, and you will see, that *Joshua* and *Zerubbabel*, coming out of *Babylon*, had from their First Coming begun to *Sacrifice*; and after two Years, they began the Erection of the *Temple*: But they left the Work Imperfect: The Opposition of a *Samaritan* Faction obstructed their Proceedings in the Work. [See *Ezr.* 4.2.] *Joshua* and *Zerubbabel*, being excited by the Prophets, became *Two Olive-Trees*, or, *Sons of Oyl*, that is, full of *Oyl*; who should lay out their *Oyl*, their Grace, their Gifts, their Estates, and spend their *Fatness*, & use their heartiest Endeavours, for the Repairing and Finishing of the *Temple*. The Finishing of it was represented by the *Candlestick*; That being one of the most necessary Utensels, to render compleat the Glory of the *Temple*, tis by a *Synecdoche* putt for all the rest. It was one of the Last, to be brought into the *Temple*, when it was fully Finished, & the *Roof* of it covered; and therefore it aptly signifies, the adorning of the Church, with all those Ordinances, which God has appointed for the Perfection of it. Wherefore *Zerubbabel* is also in that Vision, presented with a | *Plummet in his Hand, and a Measuring Line*, (as *John* here with a *Reed*) for the Measuring of the *Temple*, as now Finished. Accordingly, we have seen it. The Church coming out of the mystical *Babylon*, the public Worship of God hath been sett up, and by the Authority of Princes the Foundation of a *Temple* has been laid. Obstruction ha's been given by the Mixture of a *Samaritan* Party, who have interrupted the Progress to that Perfection, which many have contended for. Yett many Spirits have been stirred up, (like *Joshua* and *Zerubbabel*,) to go on, and attempt a purer Edition of Churches, according to the Pattern. They stand, with a *Measuring Line*, (like *Zerubbabel*,) or, with a *Reed* (like *John*,) in their Hands; and they empty *Oil* unto the Work; endeavouring to have the *Temple* supplied, with all Institutions, which tend (as the *Candlestick*) unto the compleat Glory of it. Or, they empty *Oil* into the *Candlesticks*; that is to say, the *Churches*, which you know are called so. It may still be a *Day of small Things*, with the *Temple*, on this account; but the *Spirit* of God will cause the Hearts of the Faithful, to fall in with the Work; and the *Samaritan* Opposition shall become as a *Plain* before it; and this *True Church*, will prove the Ruine of the *False*. The *Olive Trees* must have their *Power scattered* before the Building be fully Finished. But they shall after that Revive, and grow into an *Holy Temple unto the Lord*. The *Witnesses* must until then, be in *Sackcloth*, (as *Joshua*, in his *Filthy Apparel*;) but then they shall have a *Change of Raiment* given them, and the *Garments of Praise for the Spirit of Heaviness*; yea, they shall anon, putt on the *Fine Linen*, which is the *Wedding Garment*, for the *Marriage* of the *Lamb*. Then the *Temple* shall be made more glorious than ever, (as was that of *Zerubbabel*,) for our Lord JESUS CHRIST Himself shall come into it.<sup>430</sup>

Unto that Quæstion, *Whether the last Slaughter of the Witnesses, were past*, at the Time of his Writing his Exposition? Dr. *Goodwin* inclines unto the *Negative*.

<sup>430</sup> From Goodwin, *An Exposition* (*Works* 3:149–52).



He did not then see their *Sackcloth* off. He thought *Antichrist* had not yett advanced so far as he was to do, on the *Outer Court*. And he did not perceive the Times of the *Sixth Trumpett* expiring, or any Remarkable Transaction afoot, relating to the *Turkish Power*.

But that he might accommodate Mr. *Brightman*, he allowes, There may be several *Killings*, and *Risings*, of the *Witnesses*.<sup>431</sup>

Tis very sure; There are several *Prophecies* in the Scriptures, which have their gradual Accomplishments; which were all intended by the Holy Spirit of God. As for Instance; There were *seventy Years* assigned, from the Captivity, to the Rebuilding of the *Temple*. There was one *Captivity* in the Time of *Jeconias*, in the First Year of *Nebuchadnezzar*; There was another *Captivity* in the Time of *Zedekias*, in the Nineteenth Year of *Nebuchadnezzar*. God kept a Double Reckoning accordingly of the *seventy Years*. One *seventy Years* ended when *Cyrus* gave leave, to lay the Foundation of the *Temple*. After this in *Zacharies* Time, when the *Temple* was be again *Measured* and *Finished*, another *seventy Years* are said to be ended. Thus, the *Measuring of the Temple*, here, and the *Slaughter of the Witnesses*, may be more than once accomplished.<sup>432</sup>

It is indeed Remarkable, That the *Witnesses* have in several Countreyes, had their Times of being *overcome*, and *lying Dead* just THREE YEARS AND AN HALF; and then *Reviving* to Astonishment.<sup>433</sup>

A mighty Victory was obtained over the Protestants, in the Year, 1547. [the Time that *Brightman* refers to:] But just *Three Years and an Half* after this, they Revived, and Obtained what they have since enjoy'd.<sup>434</sup>

In *England*, the Two First Years of Q. *Maries* Reign, were spent in making War upon the *Witnesses*; or in getting Statutes for Burning of them.<sup>435</sup> They were slain for *Three Years and an Half*; and then, they *Rose again*, and Enjoy'd a sort of *Heaven upon Earth*.

In *France*, A. C. 1572, [which was about 1260 Years after *Constantine*,] came on a Massacre of the Protestants, and an Extinction of their Holy Religion, for *Three Years and an Half*. Then they had a manifest *Resurrection*.<sup>436</sup>

I could mention several more Examples. And perhaps, one occurring in my own Countrey of *New England*, among the rest.

<sup>431</sup> From Goodwin, *An Exposition* (Works 3:155–56). Reference is made to Brightman, *A Revelation of the Revelation*, pp. 361–62.

<sup>432</sup> From Goodwin, *An Exposition* (Works 3:155–56).

<sup>433</sup> From Goodwin, *An Exposition* (Works 3:164).

<sup>434</sup> From Goodwin, *An Exposition* (Works 3:153–54). Reference is made to Brightman, *A Revelation of the Revelation*, pp. 373–79.

<sup>435</sup> Reference is made to the persecution and martyrdom of English Protestants under Mary Tudor (1516–1558), who reigned from 1553 to 1558.

<sup>436</sup> In 1572, the so-called St. Bartholomew's Day massacre took place, a wave of anti-Protestant violence in which thousands of Huguenots lost their lives. In 1598, the Edict of Nantes secured protection and substantial rights for Protestants in France.

It is very observable, That in the grand Affayr of the *Witnesses*, there is a most elegant Allusion unto what befel our Lord JESUS CHRIST Himself.

He preached *Three Years & an Half*; and when He had almost carried in the Hearts of the People, yett His Enemies prevailed upon Him. These Enemies were Professors of the True Religion; but they were then Headed by a *Romanist*; & the Enemies acknowledged the Jurisdiction of *Rome*. The *Pharisees* will rather do *That*, than lett the Interest of our Lord gett the upper Hand. Our Lord is *crucified*; and then they keep the Feast of the *Passeover*, with a mighty Triumph; they *send Gifts with Joy* to one another. But after *Three Dayes*, our Lord Rises again; & with an *Earthquake*, that affrighted the Souldiers, who watched Him. Some considerable While after | This, He *Ascends up to Heaven*.

[38r]

To lead us unto an Attentive Consideration of this Parallel; which would be a marvellous Introduction to many other Incomparable Thoughts upon the Subject, the Holy Spirit here inserts this Remarkable Clause; *Tis to be in the City, where our Lord also was crucified*.<sup>437</sup>

The Church of *Rome* shall recover at least so much Acknowledgement, in those Places of the Reformation, where this Matter is to be transacted, that the *Pharisees* will kill the *Witnesses*, at the Instigation of the *Romish* Party, or Joining with them, or Helped by them. The *Enemies* of the *Witnesses* may be (as the *Pharisees* were to our Saviour,) of the same Religion with themselves; yett they shall begin some Submission to the Beast of *Rome*, some Advancement of His Power. They are the *last Champions* of the *Beast*, who receive only the *Number of his Name*; it is probable, they may go so far at least, as to pursue a Reconciliation with the *Patriarch of the West*; or, sett up an *Image of Popery*. Tis very likely too, that at the Time of the *Slaughter of the Witnesses*, there may be [a *Pilate*,] one of the *Romish* Faith, in chief Government, over them that shall be the Instruments of it. Tho' in these things, I do not keep entirely to the Words and Thoughts of my Dr. *Goodwin*, but a little Refine upon them; yett I will recite his very Words, in one Remarkable Passage here upon; which are these. *Until the Romish Flag be advanced upon the Walls of the Outer Court, of this Temple, reckon not the Time of the Witnesses Three Years & an half to be come*.

Tho' the War against the *Witnesses*, may continue much longer; yett their *Death* must be præcisely *Three Years and an Half*. [Compare, Hos. 6.2. *After Two Dayes He will Revive us, and on the Third Day raise us up*.] Such a *Three Years and an half*, had *Jerusalem*, the Holy City, under *Antiochus*. And the Reign, of *Julian* over the Church, near about the like Period, was also a notable Representation of it.<sup>438</sup>

<sup>437</sup> From Goodwin, *An Exposition* (Works 3:158–60).

<sup>438</sup> Antiochus IV Epiphanes (c. 215–164 bc) was a Hellenistic king of the Seleucid Empire who also ruled over Judea. He persecuted the Jews of Judea and Samaria (c. 167–168 bc), killing more than 40,000 and selling as many into slavery in just three days (according to 2 Macc. 5:11–14), and suppressed the Jewish religion. This provoked the rebellion of the Jewish Maccabees,

One would think, Their *Death* should be rather a *Civil Death*, than a *Natural*; a taking away from them all Power to *prophesy*; a general *silencing* of them. We cannot suppose, the *Bodies* left unburied *Three Dayes and an Half*, to be *Naturally Dead*. And why should not the *Death* be of the same Kind with the *Resurrection*? This, we know, is metaphorical.<sup>439</sup>

But yett there is Cause to fear, That the *Scattering of the Power of the Holy People*, will be accompanied, with the *Martyring* of several among them. Yea, it being the *last Suffering* of the Church, it may prove (like *Dioclesians Persecution*,) the *Sorest* of all. So was our Lords, And in this final Brunt of the Church, when you shall hear a Voice uttered, like that, [*My God, my God, why hast thou Forsaken me!*] know then, Deliverance is at hand.

On the other Side; who can tell how far God *may Restrain the Wrath* of the Blood-thirsty; and *cutt shutt short their Spirits*. When the *Victory* is gotten, their *Policy* may move them to use it, with something of Moderation; in regard of its being over a *Protestant Party*. And the *Pharisees* may be *afraid of the People*; the *Tongues, Kindreds & Nations*, which incline to the *Protestant Interest*, may keep them in Awe. And they may hope for an *After-Time*, when the Consciences of Men shall grow more Quieted in, & more Disposed for, *Popish Wayes*; and the *Protestant Cause* be brought under further Disadvantages. Such things may Delay the Execution of their Intentions, to *Destroy*, and *utterly Make away many*. They grow so wise as to love easy and gradual Conquests; and they are for taking the right *Julian-Stroke*. But their Power is expired, sooner than they Imagined.<sup>440</sup>

The *Nations, Tongues, & Kindreds*, that *see the Dead Bodies of the Witnesses*, will not *suffer them to be putt in Graves*. It may be interpreted, as a Favour to the *Witnesses*. And yett it also looks, as if some *Inhumanity* might be shown to the *Witnesses*, by Protestant States, to whom the *Refugees* may betake themselves. It may be spoken in Opposition to the Respect and Honour, that *Joseph of Arimathea* paid unto the Dead Body of our Saviour.<sup>441</sup>

The principal Fury of the *Storm*, it may be, will fall upon the Persons more eminent for Godliness and Usefulness; (as that of *Antiochus*, fall chiefly on the *Teachers*.) But the *Witnesses* are *golden Candlesticks*; and therefore a Dissipation of *Churches*, is also to be expected. It will be, as in the Case of our Saviour; *smite the Shepherd, and the Sheep shall be scattered*.

It is Dr. Goodwins Apprehension, That however, several *Peoples, Kindreds, Tongues, & Nations* may be concerned, in this great Affayr, yett some

---

who eventually achieved victory over the Seleucid dynasty. Further reference is made to the Roman Emperor Julian (Flavius Claudius Iulianus Augustus, 331/332–363), also known as Julian the Apostate because he rejected the Christian faith of his predecessors. During Julian's years in power (361–363), paganism was restored as the state religion.

439 From Goodwin, *An Exposition* (Works 3:161–64).

440 From Goodwin, *An Exposition* (Works 3:167–69).

441 From Goodwin, *An Exposition* (Works 3:171–72).

one Countrey will more eminently be made, *Sedes Belli*; the *Field* of the *Slaughter*. For the *Earthquake*, which accompanies the *Resurrection* of the *Witnesses*, principally affects, a *Tenth Part of the City*, that is to say, *One* of the *Ten Kingdomes*, that belonged unto the *Romish* Jurisdiction. It seems also, to be in a Manner confined, unto *One Street*, or State, of that *great City*; tho' perhaps all the Heavens may be covered with Black, at the Time of this *Horrible Tempest*, and all the Churches may feel some *Sprinklings* of it.<sup>442</sup>

He proceeds to look over the *Reformed Churches*, and he finds the *Heat* of the *First Reformers* (the *Fire* of Holy Zeal, which *tormented* the *Enemies* of the *Witnesses*) gone, & their *Light* only remaining, which gives but a Faint, a Cold, a Dull Testimony. But in the *Witnesses* of *Great Britain*, he finds both the *Light* and the *Heat* of the *Witnesses*, not only *Præserved*, but also *Increased*, and the *Power of Godliness* more sensibly | distinguishing many, from the Croud of common Professors. He finds more such *True Witnesses* in *Great Britain*, than in all the *Reformed Churches* besides. And those *last Champions* of the *Beast*, who receive only the *Number of his Name*, he finds more eminently conspicuous there. Moreover, the *Beast*, making his last Expedition against the Reformed Churches, *goes forth* with a *Fury* and a Purpose, *utterly to Destroy*, (according to the Visions of *Daniel*;) But the main Issue of his Expedition is, To *plant the Tabernacle of his Palace between the Seas, in the glorious Holy Mountain*. Yett he shall come to his End, & none shall help him. Such an *Holy Mountain* (like *Zion*) was formed in *Europe*, by the *Northern Reformation*; But (which *Alsted* & others, take to the Meaning of the Place,) *Antichrist* must place the *Tents of his Throne*, on some notable Part of it again. It agrees with the *Giving up of the Outer Court unto the Gentiles*. It puzzled *Graserus*, to find the Scituation of this *Mountain, Between the Seas*: [*Inter Maria*.]<sup>443</sup> For *Zion* did not stand *between the Seas*. It can't mean *Rome*, as *Luther* will have it;<sup>444</sup> for tho' *Italy* stand *between the Adriatic* and the *Tyrrhene Seas*, yett *Antichrist* here *goes forth to plant*; which imports a *New Seat*. *Graserus* fears that *Antichrist* shall regain all *Germany*, that lies between the *Baltic* and *German Oceans*. But *Goodwin* above all fears the *British Islands*; And *Great Britain* does indeed most Remarkably ly *Between the Seas*; the common Expression is, *Inter Quatuor Maria*.<sup>445</sup> But the Prevailing of *Antichrist* here, is but

[38v]

<sup>442</sup> From Goodwin, *An Exposition* (Works 3:175–76).

<sup>443</sup> "Between the seas." Reference is made to the VUL of Dan. 11:45. From Goodwin, *An Exposition* (Works 3:178), references to Johann Heinrich Alsted's commentary on Dan. 11:45, *Diatribē de mille annis apocalypticis* (1627), pp. 201–03; and the work of the professor of philosophy and rector of the Reformed gymnasium in Thorn, Cunradus Graserus the Younger (1585–1630), *Isagoge prophetica et historica* (1623).

<sup>444</sup> A reference to Luther's commentary on Dan. 11:45 in his "Vorrede uber den Propheten Daniel [1545]": "Aber viel mehr ligt Rom zwisssen zweien grossen Meerē, Tyrrhenum und Rom ein heiliger Berg. Adriaticum, und ist Rom wol ein werder heiliger Berg zu nennen, Denn daselbs viel hundert tausent Marterer ligen." In *WA Deutsche Bibel*, 11.II, p. 107.

<sup>445</sup> "Between four seas."

a Preparation to his Ruine. *He shall come to his end.* This Thing is to happen just before *his End.* He does but *plant a Tent in a Field*; it stands, but a little While, tho' he think to build for Eternity.<sup>446</sup>

At the End of the *Three Years and an Half*, there shall a *Spirit of Life from God* come into the *Witnesses*. They shall be inspired, with a steeled Resolution to ly still no longer. An *Active Spirit* shall come upon them. They shall have the *Liberty* of their *Prophecy* Restored, and they shall make a lively Improvement of it. It shall be *from God*; there shall be a more than ordinary Hand of GOD appearing in it. [Compare, Eph. 1.19. and, Rom. 1.4.] They shall *stand upon their Feet*, and resume their former Station, and be Ready now to Defend their Cause. Whereat a mighty *Dread* shall fall upon the Consciences of their *Enemies*. They shall *see the Finger of God* in it. Anon, they shall *Ascend up to Heaven*; and arrive to a more glorious Condition, than ever they were in before. [Compare, Isa. 14.12, 13.] There shall be a Dawn of the *Glory* of the *New Heavens*, and the *New Earth*, in their glorious Condition.

*At the same Hour*, when this Turn begins, there is a *great Earthquake*. 'Tis to facilitate the *Rolling* away of the *Stones* that hindred the *Resurrection of the Witnesses*: The Impediments of their Restoration, are taken away, by a wonderful *Revolution*. Dr. Goodwins Expression is, *An Insurrection of the People*, in the *Tenth Part of the City*. One of the *Ten Kingdomes* will now *Fall*; or cease to be a Part of that *City*, or to belong unto its Jurisdiction any longer. It will *fall off*; and in this *Earthquake* recoyl from all its former Tendencies to a Reconciliation with *Rome*.<sup>447</sup>

*Seven Thousand Names of Men* are *killed* on this Occasion. Mr. Mede expounds this, of *ecclesiastical Dignities*; and the Number, 7000, is putt for, *very many*.<sup>448</sup> Indeed, such Dignities are called *Names*; [*By what Names or Titles soever, dignified or distinguished.*] But the Holy Spirit calls them, *Names of Men*; They are merely *Humane*; of *Mans* Institution, and not of *Gods*. Being *Plants which God the Father planted not*, they shall now be *Rooted out*.

Now, this Honour befalling some one *Tenth Part of Europe*, it seems to be the Beginning of a great Turn of Things in the Church, hastning to the *New Jerusalem*, and the Dawn of the *Kingdome* of our Lord Jesus Christ approaching, & the final Restitution of the Church from under the Yoke of *Antichrist*. The *Rising* of the *Witnesses*, is to be a Shadow & Earnest, of that great Revolution and Restitution, *The First Resurrection*. As we know, generally among the Ancients, the *Killing* and *Rising* of the *Two Witnesses*, were assigned, for the *Fore-running Signs* of the Coming and *Kingdome* of our Lord, and of the Day of *Judgment*.

<sup>446</sup> From Goodwin, *An Exposition* (Works 3:177–78).

<sup>447</sup> From Goodwin, *An Exposition* (Works 3:182–85).

<sup>448</sup> From Goodwin, *An Exposition* (Works 3:187), a reference to Mede, *The Key of the Revelation*, pp. 28–29.

And this may be the Reason, why this Occurrence, tho' falling out, but in a *Tenth Part of Europe*, should have so particular a Mention in the Prophecy.<sup>449</sup>

Thus, I have given you *one Essay* more, upon the grand Concern of the *Witnesses*; the principal Part whereof, is but an Extract, from Dr. *Goodwins* Expositions.

IV. I am yett lothe to leave the Matter. I will entertain you with a *Fourth Essay*. And there shall be *Two Authors* united in the Composition of it; Both of them, such as have belonged unto *New England*.

The First, is the excellent Mr. *William Hooke*; who in his, *Discourse Concerning the Witnesses*, ha's advanced several very valuable Observations. Among the rest, He observes, That the *Witnesses* are to be *slain*, in one peculiar Province or Nation, (*A Street*, not, *The Streets*,) which hath not fully Renounced the *Romish* Interest; and yett not a Nation totally Immers'd in *Popery*; because a plentiful *Testimony* is there given against it. Probably, It will be that Nation, which ha's been most eminent for its Testimony for the Lord JESUS CHRIST, and His complete Mediatorship; and especially for His | *kingly Power* in the Government of His Church; which seems to be, *The Finishing of the Testimony*. [39r]  
A Nation, suppose, that ha's not gone thorough with the *Reformation*, but left a Remnant of Superstition and Antichristianism unpurged, which the Divil presently uses for the Continuance of that *Persecution* against the *Witnesses*, which was formerly grounded on other Causes, now Removed by a *partial Reformation*.<sup>450</sup>

He also observes, That when the *Witnesses* are *slain*, they must be looked on and pronounced, *As Naturally Dead*. Yea, their *Enemies* will attempt the *burying* of them, with one *Law* after another thrown upon them, as one Shovel-full of Earth after another, saying, *Earth to Earth*; but far from *sure & certain Hope of the Resurrection* of the *Witnesses*, to *Life again*.<sup>451</sup>

He proceeds, to consider that Quæstion; *what if we should see such a Slaughter, and yett when Three Years and an Half are ended, there appear little in View, of such a Resurrection, as might have been imagined?*<sup>452</sup>

He Answers; The *Resurrection* of the *Jewes*, at their *Conversion*, described in the *Thirty Seventh* Chapter of *Ezekiel*, is a very *gradual Proceeding*; and so may be the *Resurrection* of the *Witnesses*. And so was the *Redemption* of *Israel* out of *Egypt*; unto which also the *Resurrection* of the *Witnesses* has in some Things a

449 From Goodwin, *An Exposition* (Works 3:189–92).

450 Mather derives this paragraph from William Hooke's posthumously published *A Discourse Concerning the Witnesses* (1681), pp. 7–8. Hooke (1601–1678) was a distinguished Puritan clergyman, who lived in New England from 1640 to 1656 (most of this time he worked with John Davenport in New Haven's first Congregational Church), before he returned to England to serve as the private chaplain to Cromwell (ODNB).

451 From Hooke, *A Discourse*, p. 10.

452 From Hooke, *A Discourse*, p. 13.

Resemblance. The Return of the *Jewish Nation* from the *Babylonish Captivity*, is yett a nearer Picture of the Matter; and we know then, their *First Rising* was only on their *Knees*; the Progress afterwards, was but slow; they did not all come out of *Babylon* together; & they were clog'd with vast Obstructions & Encumbrances. This *gradual Proceeding* was represented unto *Daniel*, in his own Circumstances, when the Lord gave Him a *Vision* of what He was going to do. First, He *fell down on his Face*, & was *cast into a Deep Sleep*. And now, behold; He is first of all *Touched with an Hand*, that *setts him on his Knees*, & *on the Palms of his Hands*. Then the *Spirit* speaks unto him, saying, *Stand upright*. Hereupon he stood; But still Trembling. And so may it fare with the *Reviving Witnesses* of the Lord. It is a Mistake, to think, that when the *Witnesses Rise*, we must immediately have *Halcyon-Dayes*; the Cause of Christ, may be on the *Rising Hand*, and yett the *Daniels* of the Lord, may have much *Affrightment* and Confusion upon them.<sup>453</sup>

When our *Lord Himself Rose*, it was *Dark*. Yea, when *Mary* came to the Sepulchre, it was *Dark* still, tho' our Lord had been Risen some While before. When she *Saw Him*, she did not *Know Him*; when she *Knew Him*, she found His Disciples yett mourning for Him as *Dead*. When He *Appeared* unto them, they hardly *Beleeved* it; He *Upbraided* them for their *Unbeleef*. And it was many Dayes after this, before He *Ascended up to Heaven*.<sup>454</sup>

I will consult this *Man of God* no further. All that I will add, shall be this; That I have had the personal Knowledge of another Person, who shall be *Nameless*; but whom I also knew to have such Thoughts as these.<sup>455</sup>

He took that pious Part of the English Nation, who have born their *Testimony* for a full *Reformation* of the Church from the Papal Corruptions, yett remaining therein, to answer the Character of *Witnesses* for the Lord, above any *Sett of Men*, (all things considered) upon the Face of the Earth.

A *Testimony* for a glorious CHRIST, was never so *Finished*, he thought, as in the Character, Temper, and Conduct, of these excellent Men.

When he saw that one *Act* after another was made, for the Destroying of these *Witnesses*, and they were with a strange Repetition of that Clause, in one famous *Act*, pronounced to be, *As Naturally Dead*, he concluded, the Execution of these Acts, would at Length accomplish a sufficient *Slaughter* for them.<sup>456</sup>

<sup>453</sup> From Hooke, *A Discourse*, pp. 13–16.

<sup>454</sup> From Hooke, *A Discourse*, p. 19.

<sup>455</sup> This reference to the second New England exegete could not be identified.

<sup>456</sup> A reference to the Clarendon Code (1661–1665), the four acts passed in England during the ministry of Edward Hyde, 1st Earl of Clarendon, that were designed to cripple the power of the Nonconformists, or Dissenters. The Corporation Act (1661) forbade municipal office to those not taking the sacraments at a parish church and § 7 stipulated that persons refusing communion were to be immediately displaced and removed from offices and to be treated as if naturally dead; the Act of Uniformity (1662) similarly excluded them from church offices; the Conventicle Act (1664, revised 1670) made meetings for Nonconformist worship illegal, even

At last, he saw all their *Churches* in the *English Nation* utterly broken up; and a *Slaughter* upon these *Witnesses*, which harmonized with the Sufferings of their glorious LORD, in very astonishing Instances.

They were *slain* for *Witnessing* the very same *good Confession*, which exposed our Lord unto *Crucifixion*; even this, That *He is the King of His Church*; That none but His *Lawes* are to govern the Church.

The *Enemies* that slew them, were *Pharisees*, High Church-Men, and Men professing the same Religion with themselves.

They were Men, who write, and profess, and hope for, a *Foreign Jurisdiction*; & the *Romish* one, tho' they declare, against *Popery*.

A *Papist* was then the Prince on the Throne; & these *Papizing Protestants* were mightily devoted unto him. (A *Julian* managed them, & all.)

Some others were joined in Sufferings with these Holy Servants of God, as the *Theeves* were, with the Lord whom these did serve. Lett it be added, That about this Time, was the last grand Effort of the *Sixth Trumpett*, blowing in its *Wo* upon *Europe*. *Vienna* itself was besieged, & all *Europe*, yea, the whole World rang with the Noise of that *woful Trumpett*.<sup>457</sup>

On the Dissipation of all the Congregations, wherein the *Witnesses* worshipped God, according to His Institutions, these their Enemies, then *Rejoiced* and *Sent Gifts one to another*. Tis the Phrase of the Old Testament, for a *Day of Thanksgiving*; and it occurs only, on the Mention of a *Day of Thanksgiving* for a *Deliverance from a Plott*. Accordingly, a *Day of Thanksgiving* was ordered, for to be kept thro' the English Nation; and the Pretence was, *A Deliverance from a Presbyterian Plott*.<sup>458</sup>

When he saw This, he now imagined, that he saw the *Slaughter of the Witnesses* accomplished. He Resolved, That he would Reckon, *Three Years and an half*, dated from the *Day of Thanksgiving* aforesaid.

Behold, Just *Three Years and an half*, to a Month, brought on K. *James's* Declaration, for *Liberty*, unto the *Witnesses* to *Rebuild the Temple*; *Howbeit, he meant not so!*<sup>459</sup>

---

in private houses, where more than four outsiders were present; and the Five-Mile Act (1665) forbade Nonconformist ministers to live or visit within five miles of a town or any other place where they had ministered. The Toleration Act of 1689 eased some of the restrictions, but the specific acts under the Clarendon Code were not repealed until the nineteenth century (EB).

<sup>457</sup> This paragraph is a marginal insert.

<sup>458</sup> Reference is made to Rye House Plot (1683), an alleged Whig conspiracy to assassinate or mount an insurrection against Charles II of England because of his pro-Roman Catholic policies.

<sup>459</sup> The Declaration of Indulgence, also called Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, issued by James II in 1687, suspended the religious penal laws of the Clarendon Code and granted toleration to the various Christian denominations, Catholic and Protestant, within his kingdoms.



When *Cyrus*, a *pagan* Prince, issued a Proclamation of *Liberty* unto the *Jewes*, to *Rebuild* the *Temple*, it was a partial Fulfilment of that Prophecy, *I will bring you out of your Graves*.

[39v] He thereupon declared unto his Friends, with great Freedom, That he beleeved the | *Resurrection of the Witnesses*, to be the Work, which the Providence of the glorious LORD was now upon.

They Beleeved him not; They Demanded of him a Token, to confirm that Beleaf. He then told them, while there was not the least Whisper yett about the Prince of *Orange*; *A great Earthquake upon the English Nation, will within a Year or two determine it*. The *Earthquake* arrives, and an amazing *Revolution*.<sup>460</sup>

One of the First Things brought about by the *Revolution* was, To establish unto the *Witnesses* in a *parliamentary Way*, that *Liberty*, the *Legality* whereof was before Disputed.

He does not wonder, that all Attempts to Destroy that *Act of Parlaiment*, or to Renew Oppressions upon the *Risen Witnesses*, & Reduce them into their former Condition, do strangely prove Abortive. Tis of *God*!

The *Enemies* discover a strange *Terroure*, and *Concern* upon their Spirits. But there must ere long be greater Occasion for it.

If at this Time, there be observable *Essayes* made also, to *Revive* the Memories of the *Witnesses* that are literally *Dead* and Gone, and make them live with True, and Just, and Lovely Characters, in *Histories* written of them; This well enough *Harmonizes* with the Time of *Break of Day* which we are fallen upon.

Tis a comfortable Coincidence, at this Time, to see, the *Second Wo passing away*.<sup>461</sup>

The greatest, if not the only Discouragement, which he sees, to invalidate, or intimidate his *Conjecture* is, In the Miscarriages of the *Nonconformists*, which very Ill become those that be *Risen from the Dead*. There are some Things among them, which look too like their *Grave-Cloathes* upon them still. When the Apostle saw scandalous *Contentions* among the Christians, he used an Exclamation, which is by some rendred, *Nonne Cadaverosi estis?*<sup>462</sup>

His Conjecture still has Mr. *William Hooks* Apologies to support it.<sup>463</sup>

<sup>460</sup> A reference to the Glorious Revolution of 1688, in which the Protestant William of Orange seized the English throne and then granted broad protection of religious liberties for Protestants with the Act of Toleration (1689).

<sup>461</sup> This sentence is a marginal insert.

<sup>462</sup> "Are you not cadaverous?" Mather's Latin translation of the Greek in 1 Cor. 3:4: ἐτι γὰρ σαρκικοί ἐστε [eti gar sarkikoi este]. The VUL has: "nonne homines estis"; the KJV: "are ye not carnal." Mather uses the same translation in connection with a reference to the apocalyptic witnesses in his appeal to the "United Brethren" in London entitled *The Everlasting Gospel* (1700), p. 1. Here he writes: "We flattered ourselves with Hopes, of seeing the Witnesses of our Lord Jesus Christ Risen out of their Graves, when we still see those very Things upon them, that made our Apostle cry out, *Nonne Cadaverosi estis?*"

<sup>463</sup> Probably a general reference to Hooke's *A Discourse Concerning the Witnesses* (see above), which makes the connection of this prophecy to England and suggests that the slaughtering

And more than so; A *great Earthquake* Returns. A little Time will show the Consequence.

In the mean Time, I will a little Comfort myself, with the Words of Dr. *Cressener*, a learned and worthy Divine of the Church of *England*; who in *February*, 1687. thus expressed himself.<sup>464</sup>

“The present *Revolutions*, I look upon to be the Beginning of the Præparations for the universal Kingdome of Christ upon Earth. Whatsoever others may Intend, or Design, by this *Liberty of Conscience*, I cannot beleeve, that it will ever be Recalled in *England*, as long as the World stands; and so it may be, and is very likely to be, of much surer, & more lasting Continuance, than *Magna Charta*.”

I will take the Leave to add the Words of Mr. *Robert Bragge* upon this Illustrious Matter.<sup>465</sup>

“By the *Two Witnesses* I would understand all Gods Faithful Ones, that have bore their *Testimonies* against Antichrist, during his long Reign: who at the Reformation appeared to be Two, as they had not done before, in the Persons of *Calvin* and *Luther*, together with their Numerous Disciples. -

- By the *great City* I would understand the *First Adams* World; which by reason of the Aboundings of Sin quite round the Globe, deserves to be called by those two Black Names, *Sodom* and *Egypt*. In it, the First *Adam* lett in Sin; and in it, CHRIST the Second *Adam*, finished Sin. And by the *Street* of this *great City*, I would understand *Europe*; which by reason of Arts and Sciences, Trade & Riches, together with the Multitude of its Inhabitants, may elegantly be called, *The Street*, or most frequented Part of the First *Adams* World. -

- If it could be proved, that *Antichrists* Tyranny extends itself over a *Tenth Part* of Mankind; and thus the Popish *Archbishops* and *Bishops*, and the rest of their Dignified Clergy, are to the Number of *Seven Thousand*, the Meaning of the *Thirteenth* Verse would be sett in a clear Light.”

**Q.** Having discoursed so largely about the *Witnesses*, lett us have one Word about their SACK-CLOATH:<sup>466</sup>

---

and resurrection of the witnesses ought to be read in an allegorical sense as the suppression and eventual triumph of true Protestantism.

<sup>464</sup> From a letter to Henry Plumptre (dated February 21, 1687) that Cressener attached to his *The Judgments of God upon the Roman-Catholick Church*, p. 318.

<sup>465</sup> Mather cites the work of the English Dissenting minister Robert Bragge (1665–1738), *A Brief Essay concerning the Soul of Man. Shewing what, and how noble a Being it is* (1725), pp. 41–43.

<sup>466</sup> The following entry is derived from Grellotus, *Prodromus*, p. 125, who extracts much of his material from Marcus Zuerius Boxhorn, *Originum gallicorum Liber* (1654), p. 28.

**A.** The Saccus, was doubtless the same with the *Sagum*; of which Varro tells us, That it was *Gallicum Vestimentum*.<sup>467</sup> *Sagum* is properly, *A Souldiers Coat*. *Strabo* describes the Matter of it so; *Lana autem est aspera et oblongis villis, ex qua densa Saga contextunt*. And elsewhere; *Ferunt Saga nigra et aspera, quorum lana proximè accedit ad caprinas Pelles*.<sup>468</sup>

The Hebrewes do not write much otherwise; In their Talmudic Treatise, *Kelim*, they define the *Sagum* to be *Vestis ex Lanâ crassâ*.<sup>469</sup> In *Baal Aruch*, it is, *ex lanâ planè villosâ, ut exuvie pecudis*.<sup>470</sup> It was of old, A Garment of Sorrow. It is a Passage in *Orosius*, l.5. *Cumque ab exercitu Imperator appellatus esset, Romamque nuntios de Victoria misisset, Senatus Sagum, hoc est, Vestem Mæroris, quam exorto Sociali Bello sumpserat, hac spe adridente deposuit*.<sup>471</sup>

We see the Hebrew /*שק*/ *Sac*, was the same with the, *Sagum*.<sup>472</sup>

[40r] | <sup>473</sup>

**Q.** Some further Thoughts upon, *The Witnesses?* v. 13.

**A.** His Excellency, *William Burnet* Esq. the Governour of *N. York*, & the *Jersey's*; in a Letter of his to me, dated, Apr. 5. 1725. communicates to me such Sentiments, as I count well worthy to be entred among our *Illustrations*.<sup>474</sup>

<sup>467</sup> "A Gallic garment." Translation in context: "Among these there are many foreign words, such as *sagum* 'soldier's blanket' and *reno* 'cloak of reindeer skin,' which are Gallic ... ." From Varro (116–127 BCE), *De lingua Latina*, lib. 5, sec. 35, cap. 167; transl.: *LCL* 333, pp. 156–57.

<sup>468</sup> "The wool ... , from which they weave the coarse 'sagi' (which they call 'laenae'), is not only rough, but also flocky at the surface." "They wear dark-colored and coarse 'sagi,' the wool of which comes close to goat-skins." From Strabo, *Geography*, 4.4.3; transl.: *LCL* 50, pp. 240–41.

<sup>469</sup> "Clothing from coarse wool." A reference to the Babylonian Talmud, Tractate *Kelim*, 29.2 (Soncino, p. 138).

<sup>470</sup> "made from completely villous wool, like the hide of a sheep." A reference to the Talmudic compendium *Arukh* (first printed 1480) by Nathan ben Jehiel of Rome (known as *Baal Aruch*, c. 1035–1106), as quoted in the entry on *שק* [*sag*] in Buxtorf's *Lexicon chaldaicum, talmudicum et rabbinicum*, p. 1437.

<sup>471</sup> "And when he had been proclaimed imperator by the army, and had sent messages of the victory to Rome, the Senate, with this hope smiling upon it, laid down the weapons [literally: laid down the *saga* or military cloaks], that is, the garment of affliction, which it had put on at the beginning of the Social War." A citation from Paulus Orosius, *Historiae adversus Paganos*, lib 5, cap. 18, sec. 18 [PL 31. 961B]. The Social War, also called the Italian War, the War of the Allies or the Marsic War, was a war waged from 91 to 88 BCE between the Roman Republic and several of the other cities and tribes in Italy.

<sup>472</sup> The Hebrew word *שק* [*sag*] signifies "sack, sackcloth."

<sup>473</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>474</sup> In this additional annotation, Mather quotes a now lost letter from William Burnet (1688–1729), the colonial governor of New York and New Jersey (1720–1728) and also of Massachusetts and New Hampshire (1728–1729). Burnet was a man of many intellectual interests, including the natural sciences (he was a fellow of the Royal Society) and theology. Like his teacher Isaac Newton, Burnet was a millennialist. In 1724, he anonymously published *An Essay on Scripture-Prophecy, wherein it is endeavoured to explain the three Periods contain'd in the XIIth chapter of the Prophet Daniel. With some Arguments to make it possible, that the first of the Periods*

It is evident, that almost all the Allusions in the Prophecy about the Slaying and Rising of the *Witnesses*, are taken from the History of *Elijah & Elisha*. As, *Fire Devouring their Enemies*.

[2. King. I.10, 12.]

Their having *Power to shutt Heaven, that it Rained not in the Days of their Prophecy*.

M.CC.LX. Days.

[1. King. XVII.1. Jam.V. 17.]

Their having *Power over Waters to turn them into Blood*.

[2. King. III.22.]

The *Spirit of Life entring into the Dead Bodies*, after *Three Days & an half*.

[1. King. XVII.21, 22. 2. King. IV.34, 35.]

The *great Voice*, and their *Ascending to Heaven in a Cloud*.

[2. King. II.11.]

There is therefore Cause to think, *That the Seven Thousand slain in the Earthquake*, may be the *Hidden Protestants* in the *Tenth Part of the City*; [By which *Tenth Part*, it seems that *France*, the last & largest of the Ten Kingdoms, that rose to compose the Papal Empire, may more especially be denoted:] For This was the Number of those who in the Times alluded unto, had *not bowed the Knee to Baal*. [1. King. XIX.18.]

There was *then* an *Earthquake* also. [1. King. XIX.11.] Whereupon, GOD sends His Messenger to *Anoint* those, who were to destroy *Ahab* and *Jezabel*; no obscure Types of the *Beast*, and *False-Prophet*, and *scarlet Whore*.

The Governour cannot avoid falling into Monsr. *Jurieu's* Opinion, of the *Three Days & an Half*, wherein the *Witnesses* ly Dead, Beginning at the Repeal of the Edict of *Nante*.<sup>475</sup> And he takes the *Resurrection* of them, to have happened when all *Europe* from the *Four Winds*, [Ezek. XXXVII.9.] took up Arms against *France*; which revived the *Dry Bones* of the *Protestant Cause*, that has been Advancing ever since; beyond the Intention of some engaged in it. They were all in Arms, in *April*, 1689. which from *October*, 1685. makes just *Three Years & an Half*. Even *Spain* itself, which with *Savoy*, and *Germany*, and *Holland*, and *England*, makes a Notable Circle about the *Tenth Part* of the *City*.

This eminent Person, takes the *great Earthquake* to be the *mighty Struggle* ever since; which indeed is not over, till after *the Seventh Trumpett began to sound*: Tho' *John* goes through with it, | before he goes on to *That*. This is no rare thing, for an Account of Events to be laid all together, whereof some are not entirely

[40v]

---

*did expire in the year 1715* (1724), in which he argued that Christ would return to earth in 1790 (ANB). The printed work makes only passing reference to the apocalyptic witnesses (p. 26). Mather read the work and also knew who the author was. He also entertained a correspondence with Burnet. For more on this, see the Introduction.

<sup>475</sup> A reference to Jurieu, *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies*, pp. 236–51.

to be finished before the Beginning of the Events which come together in a subsequent Relation.

He thinks, upon the Whole, That these *Hidden Protestants*, must be extirpated, before the astonishing Turn, which is to come upon that Kingdome; and which yett is very quickly to be look'd for.

4683.

**Q.** What may be meant by, *The Woman cloathed with the Sun?* v. 1.

**A.** Why not the, True *Church cloathed* with the Righteousness of a glorious CHRIST, who is called, *The Sun of Righteousness*; and whom we are bidden to *putt on?*<sup>476</sup>

4684.

**Q.** Why is it said, she ha's *the Moon under her feet?*

**A.** She tramples at last upon the *Law* of the *Levitic Pædagogy*. This, like the *Moon*, was *changeable*. And a great Part of it, which concerned the *Festivals*, depended wholly on the Motion of the *Moon*.

The *Antichristian Church* ha's the *Moon* upon her *Head*. She ha's, by an Establishment of *Priests*, and *Sacrifices*, and *Altars*, and *Purifications*, and *moveable Feasts*, revived the Tabernacle of *Moses*.

4685.

**Q.** What are the *Twelve Stars*, which *crown* this *Woman*?

**A.** Why not the *Twelve Apostles*, gloriously crowning the Church, with the *Christian Doctrine*?

[▽Insert from 41v–42r]<sup>477</sup>

[▽41v–42r]

**Q.** What is the *Womans being in Travail, and pained to be Delivered?* v. 2.

**A.** It seems to intend, especially the *Perfections* of the Church; *painful Persecutions*; And especially, those that she suffered in the *First Three Centuries*.

**Q.** What was the *Man-Child*, wherewith she *Travailed?* v. 2.

**A.** Why may it not be our Lord JESUS CHRIST, appearing in His Kingdome? There is a State promised, wherein our Lord JESUS CHRIST, shall appear, (as it is here said,) *To Rule all Nations with a Rod of Iron*. The Church ha's be Travailing, to bring on such a State. The State is delayed. Our Lord JESUS CHRIST is indeed *brought forth*; but *He is caught up unto God, & unto His Throne*. All Nations of Christians acknowledge the *Man Child* sitting there. But yett His Appearing to *Rule all Nations with a Rod of Iron*, is deferr'd until the *Twelve Hundred & Sixty Years* of the *Womans Flight into the Wilderness*, are expired.

<sup>476</sup> The first five entries come from *A New System of the Apocalypse*, pp. 52–54.

<sup>477</sup> See Appendix B.

4686.

**Q.** Well then; lett us proceed from the *Type*, to the *Antitype*. Who may be meant by, *The Great Red Dragon, having Seven Heads & Ten Horns, & Seven Crowns upon his Heads?* v. 3.

**A.** Why not, the *Roman Empire*, as inspired by the *Divel*? While this Empire was in its *Pagan State*, the *Ten Horns* are not adorned with *Crowns*; because they were nothing but *Provinces* belonging to the Empire. Tis called, *Satan*, and, *The Divel*, because the *Divel* was the *Soul* of the Empire; (and, *Rome* was called, *Martia*, as being the City of *Mars*, or the *Divel*;) As the *Divel* is called, *The Serpent*, in the Seduction of our First Parents; because he was, as it were the *Soul* of the *Serpent*, and spoke to them thro' the *Serpent*.<sup>478</sup>

[42r] | <sup>479</sup>

**Q.** Was there any Writer, who called the *Divel*, a *Dragon*, before our Blessed *John* wrote the *Apocalypse?* v. 3.

**A.** *Philo Judeus* wrote before *John*; and it is remarkable, that he has the same Comparison. In his Book, *De Agriculturâ*, the *Divel* is exhibited by him, as, *Δρακων ανθρωπου προιεμενος φωνην*.<sup>480</sup> *Draco humana Verba emittens*.

3060.

**Q.** Some Touches, if you please (and your Courage fail you not,) upon, *The Great Red Dragon?* v. 3.

**A.** The *Dragon* is,<sup>481</sup> we know, a Sort of *Serpent*. Some things Reported about the Greatness of that *Serpent*, are doubtless Fabulous. *Austin* indeed saies, *Magna quaedam sunt Animantia Dracones; majora non sunt super terram*.<sup>482</sup> *Aetius* and *Avicenna* assure us (without our going to *Pliny* for the Assurance of it,) That the *Dragons* are from *Five* Cubits, to *Thirty* Cubits, in their Dimensions.<sup>483</sup>

<sup>478</sup> From *A New System of the Apocalypse*, pp. 49–51.

<sup>479</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>480</sup> The Greek phrase *δράκων ανθρωπου προίεμενος φωνήν* [drakon anthropou proiemenos phonen] and the Latin translation mean “a serpent emitting a human voice.” From Bochart, *Hieroziicon*, pars 2, lib. 3, cap. 14, col. 439–40, Mather cites Philo of Alexandria, *De agricultura*, 96; LCL 247, pp. 156–57.

<sup>481</sup> The entry with all its references is from Bochart, *Hieroziicon*, pars 2, lib. 3, cap. 14, col. 430–38.

<sup>482</sup> “Dragons are gigantic animate beings, and there are no larger ones on earth.” Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos* at Ps. 148:7 [PL 37. 1942; CSEL 95].

<sup>483</sup> From Bochart, reference is made to the Latin ed. of the work of the Byzantine physician Aetius Amidenus (fl. 5<sup>th</sup>–6<sup>th</sup> cent.), *Aetii Medici Graeci Contractae ex Veteribus Medicinae Tetra-biblos* (1542), cap. 34 (“De draconibus”), p. 776; and the famous Persian physician and polymath, Abu Ali al-Husain Ibn Abdullah Ibn Sina (Ibn Sina, latinized: Avicenna, 980–1037 CE), whose influential medical compendium *Al-Qanun fi'l-tibb* (transl. into Latin in the 12<sup>th</sup> cent.) contains a description of the legendary Basilisk; see lib. 4, fen. 6, tract. 3, cap. 22; see the transl.: *The Canon of Medicine*, vol. 2; see also Pliny, *Natural History*, 29.20.67 (LCL 418, pp. 227–29).

*Ælian*, and *Pausanias*, and *Philostratus*, tell us of *Dragons*, that were *Thirty Cubits* long.<sup>484</sup> And such an one was brought Alive, unto *Prothomæus Philadelphus*, in *Alexandria*.<sup>485</sup> *Agatharchides* affirms their having seen *Dragons* of that Extent; and *Strabo* brings *Artemidorus's* Authority for the like.<sup>486</sup> *Bochart* is willing to grant therefore a thing, that ha's been confirmed with so many Testimonies of Antiquity. But he can scarce tell what he shall think of those, which in *Ælian*, grow to *Forty Cubits*; and those that in *Philoporgius* grew to *Forty five*; tho' that Author asserts, that he himself saw the Skins of those *Dragons* brought unto *Rome*.<sup>487</sup> And what shall we then say, to the *Dragon* of no less than *Fifty Cubits* long, which *Suetonius* reports exposed by *Augustus*? Yea, *Dio* saies, That in *Hetruria*, there arrived a *Dragon* fourscore and five foot long, which after he had made fearful Devastations, was killed with a Thunderbolt.<sup>488</sup> And it is a wonderful thing related by *Strabo*, That in *Celo-Syria*, there had been a *Dragon* an Hundred foot long, and | of such Thickness, that a Couple of Men on Horse-back on each side of him, could not see one another, and of a Mouth so wide, that a Man might sitt on Horse-back in it; and every *Scale* of his hide was as big as a *Shield*.<sup>489</sup> Yea, one of an Hundred and Twenty foot long, was killed near *Utica*, by the Army of *Regulus*; and the Skin and Jawes of it, were kept at *Rome* for a Sight, until the Time of the *Numantine War*. And yett after all, the *Ethiopian* and *Indian Dragons*, do exceed all of these: They are so *Big*, that in Truth, I cannot bring them into my *Illustrations*.<sup>490</sup> [42v]

From the *Bigness* of *Dragons*, (which does a little Illustrate the Expression before us, of a *GREAT Dragon*.) lett us pass to the *Figure* of them, and a little further Illustrate from thence diverse Passages in the Context.

Tho' *Paulus Jovius*, and *Scaliger* assign *Feet* (like those of a *Goose*) unto *Dragons*,<sup>491</sup> yett *Austin* saies more truly, *Dracones sine Pedibus*; They have *None*;<sup>492</sup>

484 From *Bochart*, a reference to *Aelian*, *On Animals*, 15.21 and 11.26 (*LCL* 449, pp. 243–45, 393–95); and *Pausanias*, *Description of Greece*, 2.28 (*LCL* 93, pp. 395–97); and *Philostratus*, *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, 3.6 (*LCL* 16, pp. 239–41).

485 This story is told in *Diodorus Siculus*, *The Library of History*, 3.36 (*LCL* 303, p. 187).

486 See the work of *Agatharchides* of *Cnidus* (fl. second century BCE), *On the Erythraean Sea*, bk. 5, fragment 80a; and *Strabo*, *Geography*, 15.72–73 (*LCL* 241, pp. 125–27).

487 From *Philostorgius*, *Ecclesiastical History*, 3.11.

488 References to *Suetonius*, *Lives of the Caesars: The Deified Augustus*, 43 (*LCL* 31, p. 219); and *Cassius Dio*, *Roman History*, 50.8 (*LCL* 82, p. 451).

489 Reference is made to *Strabo*, *Geography*, 16.16–17 (*LCL* 241, pp. 259–63).

490 Much of the material in the following section also appears in a letter dated 3 June 1723 that *Mather* sent to the English scientist and physician, *James Jurin* (1684–1750). See *The Correspondence of James Jurin* (1996), p. 166.

491 References to the work of the Italian historian and prelate, *Paolo Giovio* (*Paulus Jovius*, 1483–1552), *Historiarum sui temporis* (1556), tom. 1, lib. 18, p. 393; and *Joseph Justus Scaliger*, *Exotericarum exercitationum liber XV. de subtilitate* (1557), exerc. 188, § 5, fol. 251.

492 “Dragons [are] without feet.” From *Augustine*, *De Genesi Crista ad litteram*, 3.9 [PL 34. 284].



And *Lucan* saies, *Serpitis aurato nitidi fulgore Dracones*.<sup>493</sup> *Ovid* assigns *Combs* and *Crowns* unto the *Dragons*; but *Pliny* more truly corrects it, saying, *Draconum Crestas qui viderit, non reperitur*.<sup>494</sup> *Lucan*, and *Jerom*, and *Austin*, and *Jovius*, and *Scaliger*, allow *Wings* unto the *Dragons*; Nevertheless, they are certainly Deceived.<sup>495</sup> Nor are *Wings* allow'd unto the mystical *Dragon*, which here encounters *Michael*. But the Woman does by *Wings* escape him; which implies that he had none. Probably the *Wings* of *Dragons*, grew in the fancies of the ancient *Mythologists*; who intended *Ships*, in the Stories which they told of *Dragons*; & this the rather, because they had the carved Images of *Dragons*, upon their *Ships*.

*Dragons*, tis very sure, are *Mighty* Creatures, and *Bearded* ones, and having Three Rows of *Teeth*. They are of a *various Colour*. Sometimes *Yellow*, sometimes *Grey*, sometimes *Black*; and often *Red*. Thus, the mystical *Dragon* here, is a *Red* one. You have almost the very Words of our Context here, in the second *Iliad* of *Homer*.

ἐνθ' ἐφάνη μέγα σημά, δράκων ἐπὶ νῶτα δαφνοῖος.<sup>496</sup>

There appeared a great Wonder, a Red-back Dragon. The *Syriac* renders this Passage in the Apocalypse, *A Fiery Dragon*; and the *Arabic* renders it, *A Dragon of a Fiery Colour*.<sup>497</sup>

They say, (at least, *Pliny*, and *Aëtius*, and *Isidore*, and *Nicander* say so,) That the Bites of *Dragons* are not venomous.<sup>498</sup> And it may be true of the *Græcian* Ones. But it is hardly true of the *African & Arabian Dragons*. Compare, Deut. 32.33. Ask *Lucan*, and *Heliodorus*, and *Prudentius*, and *Apollinaris*, and *Leo Africanus*, and they'll all tell you so.<sup>499</sup>

493 "You creep, dragons glittering with the sheen of gold." From *Lucan*, *The Civil War*, 9.728–33; transl. adapted from *LCL* 220, pp. 558–59.

494 "No one can be found who has ever seen serpent's crests." From *Pliny the Elder*, *Natural History*, 11.122 (*LCL* 353, pp. 508–09). Reference is also made to *Ovid*, *Metamorphoses*, 7.149–56 (*LCL* 42, p. 353).

495 Another reference to *Lucan*, *The Civil War*, 6.675–79 (*LCL* 220, pp. 353–55); *Jerome's Commentaria in Isaiam*, lib 5, cap. 13 [PL 24. 159C; *CCSL* 73A], and *Augustine*, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, 148.7 [PL 37. 1943; *CSEL* 95].

496 The phrase ἐνθ' ἐφάνη μέγα σημά· δράκων ἐπὶ νῶτα δαφνοῖος [enth' ephane mega sema; drakon epi nota daphnoios] means "then appeared a great portent: a serpent, blood-red on the back" and comes from *Homer*, *Iliad*, 2.308–10; transl.: *LCL* 170, pp. 72–73.

497 See *Walton*, *Biblia Polyglotta* (6:956–57), where the *Syriac* of Rev. 12:3 is rendered into Latin as "draco ignitus magnus" and the Arabic "serpens rubeus ingens."

498 References to *Pliny*, *Natural History*, 29.20 (*LCL* 418, pp. 227–29); and *Nicander*, *Theriaka*, 438–447. See also *The Poems and Poetical Fragments*, pp. 57–59; *Aëtius*, *Aetii Medici Graeci Contractae*, p. 776; and *Isidorus Hispalensis*, *De Serpentibus* [PL 82. 442].

499 References to *Lucan*, *The Civil War*, 9.815–27 (*LCL* 220, p. 567); the work of the Roman Christian poet *Prudentius* (348–after 405 CE), *The Reply to Symmachus*, 20–44 (*LCL* 387, pp. 345–47); *Sidonius Apollinaris*, *Panegyric on Anthemius*, 76–81 (*LCL* 276, pp. 177–79). See also *Heliodorus of Emesa*, *The Aethiopica* (1897), p. 160; *Leo Africanus*, *Descrittione dell'Africa*, ed. by *Brown Robert*, vol. 3, p. 953.

*Dragons* love *Wine*, (as do all *Serpents*) and the *Chaldee Paraphrase* intimates, that *Wine* exalts their *Poison*, while it thus renders, Deut. 32.33. *Ecce! Ut est Fel Draconum, cum sunt a Vino suo* (i. e. after they have drunk *Wine*,) ita erit *Fel calicis, è quo bibent in Die ultionis eorum*.<sup>500</sup>

The *Divel* is here, very agreeably called, *An old Dragon*; for it seems, tis a vast Age, (*Longus Annorum Decursus*) whereby *Serpents* are turn'd into *Dragons*.<sup>501</sup> The peculiar *Divel* that seduced our *First Parents*; (and in a shape not unlike a *shining Dragon* too,) seems here most peculiarly intended. And *Philo*, who wrote before *John*, calls the *Divel*, by this very Name, Δρακων ανθρωπου προιεμενος φωνην.<sup>502</sup> And the Hebrews call him, *The old Serpent*.<sup>503</sup>

|  
4687.

[41v]

**Q.** What is meant by, *The Tail of Dragon, drawing the Third Part of the Stars of Heaven; and casting them to the Earth?* v. 4.

**A.** The *Roman Empire* putting on the *Papal Form*, continues no less a *Dragon* than before. Now, whenever the Scripture speaks of an *Head*, and of a *Tail*, by the *Head* it intends a *Person of Authority*, by the *Tail* it intends a *False Prophet*. [Consider, Isa. 9.14, 15. and, Chap. 19.15.] The *Tail* here signifies, *Antichrist* with his *Lies*, and *Frauds*, and *False-Doctrines*. *Dionysius Carthusianus* tells us in his Commentaries; That the *Tail* of the *Dragon*, is *Antichrist*.<sup>504</sup> *Antichrist*, is the *Tail*, and *End* of the *Roman Power*. The *Roman Empire* was a *Third Part* of the *World*. The *Third Part* of the *Stars* here, may be all the *Rulers* and the *Doctors*, of that *Part* of the *World*, that have been drawn away with the *Papal Superstitions*.

But I meet with a *Nameless Writer*, who discovers here a notable *Point of Time*. He would have the *Third Part* here, to mean the *Græcian Monarchy*, which is the *Third Monarchy* in the *Visions of Daniel*. You must note, Now was the *Time*, that the *Seat* of the *Roman Empire*, was by *Constantine* transferred from

<sup>500</sup> “Behold! Like the poison of the dragons, when they come from their wine [that is, after they have drunk wine], will be the poison of the cup, from which they will drink on the day of their punishment.” Mather cites this Latin translation of the Targum at Deut. 32:33 from Bochart, *Hieroziicon*, pars 2, lib. 3, cap. 14, col. 438.

<sup>501</sup> “A long passage of years.”

<sup>502</sup> The Greek phrase δράκων ανθρωπου προιεμενος φωνην [drakon anthropou proiemenos phonen] means “a serpent emitting a human voice.” Philo of Alexandria, *De agricultura*, 96; transl.: *LCL* 247, pp. 156–57.

<sup>503</sup> Rev. 12:9 has ὁ δράκων ὁ μέγας, ὁ ὄφις ὁ ἀρχαῖος; [ho drakon ho megas, ho ophis ho archaios] “the great dragon ... that ancient serpent” (ESV). With this, Revelation harks back to the story of the temptation in the Garden of Eden (Gen. 3:1), where the Hebrew word שָׁחָן [naḥaš] is used for “snake.”

<sup>504</sup> The first part of this entry is from *A New System of the Apocalypse*, pp. 50–51. From there, reference is made to Dionysos Carthusianus, *Elucidatio V. P. D. Dionysii Cartusiani in Psalmos, Cantica et Hymnos, in Psalmos*, II XC.13, p. 42.

*Rome to Byzantium.* This now becomes the *Third Part*. The *Græcian Monarchy* is now cast to the Ground; The Seat and Power of it becomes *Roman*. *Constantine* commanded by a Law, that it should be called *New Rome*. And he peopled it with the best Families he could carry from the *Old*.<sup>505</sup>

[▽43r] [▽Insert from 43r]<sup>506</sup>

**Q.** *The Dragon standing ready to devour the Child, as soon as it was born; what may be thereby intended?* v. 4.

**A.** It is a plain Allusion to the Birth of our *Saviour*, and the Persecution He then suffered from *Herod*.

All Essayes to sett up the Kingdome of our Lord JESUS CHRIST, in the World, were immediately obnoxious to the Devouring Influences of *Satan*, who acted the *Roman Empire*.<sup>507</sup>

**Q.** But may there not be some reference to *Constantine*, in, *The Man-Child, who is to Rule all Nations, with a Rod of Iron?* v. 5.

**A.** That it was, at least partly, & in a subordinate Sense fulfilled in *Constantine*, and the Christians now in chief Power, having subdued the Pagan Authority, and Idolatry; This was the Sense of the Ancient Church, as you will find by what *Eusebius* writes, in the Life of *Constantine*.<sup>508</sup> Yea, as Dr. *Worthington* observes, *Constantine* understood himself to be concern'd herein. Hence those Words of his, in his Epistle to Eusebius, του δρακοντος εκεινου απο της των κοινων διοικησεως εκδιωχθεντος, — <sup>509</sup> with much more, that clearly refers to the *Twelfth* Chapter of the *Apocalypse*. Hence also was the Picture of *Constantine* in those dayes, described with a *Dragon* under his Feet, moreover on the Reverse of his Coin, there is to be seen the *Σημειον*, the *Labarum* or *Sign of the Son of Man*, sett upon the Backbone of the *Serpent*.<sup>510</sup>

<sup>505</sup> The last section is from Waple, *The Book of Revelation*, pp. 257–58.

<sup>506</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>507</sup> From *A New System of the Apocalypse*, pp. 52–53.

<sup>508</sup> The entry is from John Worthington, *Miscellanies* (1704), p. 66. Worthington (1618–1671) was an English minister and disciple of Mede. He was a member of the Dury-Hartlib circle and associated with the Cambridge Platonists. After Hartlib's death, he organized the Hartlib archive of correspondence. From Worthington, reference is made to Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*, 3.48 [PG 20. 1108]; transl.: *NPNFii* (1:1333).

<sup>509</sup> The phrase του δρακοντος εκεινου απο της των κοινων διοικησεως εκδιωχθεντος [tou drakontos ekeinou apo tes ton koinon dioikeeseos ekdiokthentos] signifies “that dragon driven out of the public administration.” Mather cites a part of Eusebius of Caesarea, *Life of Constantine*, 2.46.1–2. [PG 20. 1024]; transl.: Cameron/Hall, 1999, pp. 110–11, which fully reads: του δρακοντος εκεινου απο της των κοινων διοικησεως θεου του μεγιστου προνοια ημετερα δ' υπηρεσια διωχθεντος [tou drakontos ekeinou apo tes ton koinon dioikeeseos theou tou megistou pronia hemetera d' hyperesia diokthentos]: “that serpent driven out of the public administration by the providence of the Supreme God, and our instrumentality.”

<sup>510</sup> The word σημειον [semeion] signifies “a sign, signal (from the gods).” The last part of the sentence is a marginal insertion.

It is observable, That the Kingdome of our Saviour, is here plainly sett forth in Expressions taken from the *second Psalm*.

[△Insert ends]

[△]

[resumed on 41r]

1549.

**Q.** The *Womans Flying into the Wilderness, where shee hath a Place prepared of God, that they should feed her there 1260 dayes*, what was the Intention of it? v. 6.

**A.** The Flying of the Christian Church at *Jerusalem*, upon a Divine Admonition, to *Pella*, in *Decapolis*, beyond *Jordan*, at the Beginning of the *Jewish War*, and lying there till the Conclusion of it, is a remarkable Matter, whereof you may read in *Epiphanius*, and *Eusebius*.<sup>511</sup> The Woman crowned, with *Twelve Stars*, & with Travelling Pains bringing forth a Man-Child, may be the Church of *Israel*, consisting of *Twelve Tribes*, from whence our Lord *Jesus Christ* was brought into the World. This Church, now contracted into the Society of them that professed the Christian Faith, flies into | a Desert, & lies  
concealed there, for *Three Years & an half*. Whoever computes the Time, from the Commencement of the *Jewish War*, to the Expugnation of the City, & Consummation of the Destructions that accompanied it, will find, that the *War* began, A. C. 67. in the Month of *April*, Fourteen Months before the Death of *Nero*. But the City was Taken, & Laid Level with the Ground, in the Month of *September*, A. C. 70. *Dion* and *Josephus*, will satisfy you in this Matter.<sup>512</sup> Now this thing was a *Type*; it was a stupendous & mysterious Thing. The Number of *Dayes* in this Thing, answers to the Number of *Years*, which the Spirit of Christ foretold for the Persecution of the Church under the *Antichristian Apostasy*.

[41v]

[41v–42v inserted into their designated places]

[resumed on 43r]

**Q.** The Church is *fed in the Wilderness 1260 Dayes*? v. 6.

**A.** The Space is elsewhere called, *Forty Two Months*.<sup>513</sup> These were admirably typified by the *Forty Two Encampments of Israel* in the Wilderness.

Hence may be illustrated the *Epocha*, for the Beginning of the 1260 Dayes. The *Israelites* went out from *Pharaoh*, 430 Years from the Promise, & the

<sup>511</sup> This entry appears to be derived from Hammond's annotation on Rev. 8 in *A Paraphrase* (4:557–60). From there, Mather refers to Epiphanius of Salamis, *Panarion*, lib. 1; sect. 30.2.7 [PG 41. 408; GCS 31]; see the transl. by Williams, p. 121; and Eusebius, *Church History*, 3.5 [PG 20. 221]; transl.: *NPNFii* (1:267–68).

<sup>512</sup> References to Cassius, *Roman History*, 65.7.2 (LCL 176, p. 271); and Josephus, *The Jewish War* (7.1.1); transl.: LCL 210, p. 505.

<sup>513</sup> Rev. 11:2 and 13:5.

Covenant Renewed by Sacrifice. Thus the Christian Church, from the Dragon Antichristianizing the Church, about the same time, from —<sup>514</sup>

As a further Illustration, how far this Prophecy may be applied unto *Constantine* that he might be the *Child caught up unto GOD*, it is remarkable, That on one of *Constantines* Coins, the Reverse is *Constantine* drawn in a Chariot, holding his Hand towards another Hand, coming out of Heaven. They supposed GOD reaching out His Hand unto him to draw him up into Heaven.<sup>515</sup>

4691.

**Q.** What means, the *War*, between *Michael & his Angels* on the one Side, and the *Dragon & his Angels*, on the other Side? v. 7.

**A.** The *Angels* that fought on the Side of *Michael*, were the *Pastors* of the Christian Church, who by the Weapons of a Divine Faith, and an Holy Life, and their patient Sufferings, made the Cause of Christianity victorious.

The *Angels*, that fought on the Side of the *Dragon*, were the *Philosophers*, and *Orators*, and *Priests* of Paganism, & the *Magistrates* who with horrid Barbarities maintained the Pagan Idolatries.<sup>516</sup>

4692.

**Q.** When, and how, was the *Dragon with his Angels*, cast out into the Earth, and the *Accuser of the Brethren* cast down? v. 10.<sup>517</sup>

**A.** Horrid was the Conflict, which the Church had, with Persecutions under the Pagan Emperours, for Three Hundred Years together. During this time, the *Divel* most justly deserved the Name of, *The Accuser of the Brethren*; The Pretence for the Publick Hatred against the Christians was this; That they were *Accused* of the blackest Crimes in the World. The *Apologies* of *Tertullian*, and others of the Ancients, tell us, what cruel *Accusations* they laboured under.<sup>518</sup>

By the Conversion of *Rome* and her *Emperours*, the *Dragon* was cast down from Heaven. *Paganism* was Destroy'd. The *Divel* was no more worshipped as formerly. His persecuting *Emissaries* were dreaded no more. In *Rome* he had no

<sup>514</sup> From Waple, *The Book of Revelation*, p. 263. Remarkably, Mather here avoids settling on a fixed date for the beginning of Antichrist's reign – a crucial linchpin in any millennialist calculation. Waple suggests "437 AD," which would make 1697 the end of Antichrist's reign. This was the date to which many Reformed millenarians looked in the late seventeenth century, including the younger Cotton Mather.

<sup>515</sup> From the work of the Master of University College, Oxford, Obadiah Walker (1616–1699), *The Greek and Roman History illustrated by Coins & Medals* (1692), p. 335.

<sup>516</sup> From *A New System of the Apocalypse*, pp. 57–58.

<sup>517</sup> The next two entries are from *A New System of the Apocalypse*, pp. 56–57.

<sup>518</sup> Tertullian mentions such accusations against the early Christians in several places. See, for instance, *Apology* 6.10 and 7.1 [PL 1. 306]; see *LCL* 250, p. 37.

more a *Temple*. His Interest sunk in all Parts of the *Roman Empire*. *Satan fell as Lightning from Heaven*.

Observe, *Cast Down*, is a Metaphor taken from *Wrestling*.<sup>519</sup>

|  
4693.

[43v]

**Q.** What is the Meaning of the *loud Voice in Heaven, saying, Now is come Salvation, & the Kingdome of our God, and the Power of His Christ?*

**A.** It is a Description of the wondrous *Joy* and *Hope*, which there was among the Faithful, when they saw our Lord JESUS CHRIST victorious over the *Dragon*; & when the Church came out of Caves and Woods and the Holes of the *Rocks*, and assembled openly to worship the Redeemer in the very *Temples*, where the *Dragon* had been worshipped.

But lett it be Remembred, That the *Dragon* being defeated in his first Essay, to obstruct the Kingdome of our Lord JESUS CHRIST, by *Pagan Rome*; He makes a second Essay by *Papal Rome*. And the Vision does with an admirable Contexture mix the *Idea's* of both, with one another.

The Acclamations of the *Kingdome of God* arrived, express the Hope, which the Faithful had, when the *Dragon* received a Fall, in the Fate of *Pagan Rome*. But, alas, the *Dragon* had another Game to play, and still to act as an *Accuser of the Brethren*, in *Papal Rome*. Upon the Fall of *That*, then indeed, will that Voice be more effectually heard, *Now is come the Kingdome of our God!*

**Q.** How do the Saints *overcome by the Blood of the Lamb?* v. 11.

**A.** The Word, νικᾶν, like the Chaldee, / זכה / signifies, not only to be *Victorious*, but also to be *Acquitted*, or to be *Innocent* and *Unpunish'd*.<sup>520</sup> And now, if we would know, how these came to be so; the Answer is, *By the Blood of the Lamb*. The *Divel* is just before mentioned, as their *Accuser*.

**Q.** How did the Ancients Illustrate that Passage, of the *Divels coming down with great Wrath, as knowing that he hath but a short Time?* v. 12.

**A.** Take it from *Isidore*, in his First Book, *De Summo Bono*.

*Dæmones triplici acumine Præscientiæ vigent; scilicet sublimitate Naturæ, experientia Temporum, Revelatione superiorum potestatum. Quantò propinquius finem Mundi Diabolus videt, tantò crudelius persecutiones exercet, ut qui se*

<sup>519</sup> This addition is from Waple, *The Book of Revelation*, p. 266.

<sup>520</sup> The Greek νικᾶω [nikao], Ion. νικέω [nikeo] means "conquer, prevail in battle, in the games, or in any contest," or "prevail, be superior" (LSJ 1176). The Aramaic word זכה [zkh] signifies "to be clean/innocent" as well as "to be triumphant, to acquit" (HALOT 1864). The same root זכה in Hebrew signifies merely "be clean and acquit (speak justly)." From Grelotus, *Prodromus*, p. 145. The source is probably Hammond's annotation on Rom. 3:4 in *A Paraphrase* (4:24).

*continuò damnandum conspicit, socios sibi multiplicet, cum quibus Gehenna ignibus addicatur.*<sup>521</sup>

**Q.** What was the *Flight of the Woman into the Wilderness*? v. 14.

**A.** We have it mention'd a pretty while ago. *The Woman fled into the Wilderness, where she hath a Place prepared of God, that they should feed her a Thousand Two Hundred and Threescore Dayes.* It seems to be spoken there by Way of Anticipation. For this Anticipation, if we look back, we may see elegant and sufficient Reasons.<sup>522</sup>

But the principal *Flight* of the *Woman*, is after that *Fall* of the *Dragon*, which arriv'd upon the Destruction of Paganism, & the Conversion of the Emperours. The Reign of Antichrist soon succeeded. The *Dragon* soon Reviv'd in *Popery*. The Prosperity which the Church enjoy'd under the Christian Emperours, mightily and suddenly corrupted it. *Platina* tells us, A Voice was then heard, *Hodiè Venenum effusum in Ecclesiam.*<sup>523</sup> The *Wilderness* whereinto the Church now made its *Flight*, was a State of *Obscurity*, and *Poverty* and *Affliction*: A State wherein it was hardly more *visible* than, at the Time, when the *Seven Thousand* Servants of God, in the Dayes of *Jezabel*, were hardly known unto *Elijah*.<sup>524</sup>

**Q.** A Remark upon the Degeneracy of the Christian Church?

**A.** There was a Tradition of a Prophecy uttered by the Heathen Oracles; [*Aug. de Civit. Dei*. lib. XVIII. c. 53, 54.] That the Christian Religion should continue no longer than *Three Hundred and Sixty Five Years*. 'Tis remarkable, that *Julian* the Apostate died, in the Year, CCCLXV. No doubt, the Devil had some great Expectation from the Reign of *Julian*. The Death of his Champion at this Time, no doubt, proved a Mortification to him. Nevertheless, his Prophecy saw too much of Accomplishment, in the grievous & woful Apostasy from the Primitive Christianity, which the Church quickly after this fell into.<sup>525</sup>

<sup>521</sup> "The demons have power by their threefold kind of foreknowledge: that is, by sublimity of nature, experience as to matters of the times, and revelation through higher powers. The closer the devil views the world's end to be at hand, the crueller he carries out his persecutions, so that he who always knows himself to be condemned multiplies his companions with whom he shall be given over to the flames of hell." From an unidentified source, Mather cites the Spanish theologian and Archbishop, Isidore of Seville (Isidorus Hispalensis, c. 560–636), *Sententiae*, 1.25.7–8 [PL 81. 558; CCSL 111, pp. 80–81].

<sup>522</sup> See Waple, *The Book of Revelation*, pp. 270–71.

<sup>523</sup> "Today poison was poured into the Church." Mather quotes this legend about the Donation of Constantine from *A New System of the Apocalypse*, p. 59. Reference is made to the Italian humanist Bartolomeo Sacchi (Platina, 1421–1481), probably his history of the papacy *Historia B. Platinæ de vitis Pontificum Romanorum* (1479).

<sup>524</sup> From *A New System of the Apocalypse*, pp. 61–62.

<sup>525</sup> From Robert Jenkin, *The Reasonableness and Certainty of the Christian Religion*, bk. 1, p. 477, Mather cites Augustine, *The City of God*, 18.53 (LCL 416, p. 81).

| 526

[44r]

4695.

**Q.** What may be meant, by, *The Two Wings of an Eagle*, with which the Church makes her *Flight* into the *Wilderness*? v. 14.

**A.** It is an Allusion to what was done for the Church of *Israel*, when carried into the *Wilderness*; Exod. 19.4. *I bare you on Eagles Wings*.

But here may be also an Intimation, that the Church must remain entertained within the Bounds of the *Roman Empire*. The *Eagle*, we all know, is the *Arms* of the *Roman Empire*; and the *Two Wings* may note the *Eastern*, and the *Western* Part of it; in which the Church has been kept hidden, during the long Distress of *Twelve-hundred and Sixty Years*, appointed for her.<sup>527</sup>

Grellot thinks, here is a particular Allusion, to that Sort of *Eagle*, whereof *Ælian* speaks; l. 2. c. 39. Ἀκούω δὲ κλ̣ Audio etiam aliquod Aquilarum Genus esse, quam alii Chrysaeton, alii Asteriam aut Stellarem appellat. Non sapè apparet; maxima autem Aquilarum esse creditur.<sup>528</sup>

4696.

**Q.** What is the *Food* of the Church in her *Wilderness-Condition*? v. 14.

**A.** We may be sure, not the poisonous & unwholesome *Food* of the Pagan Religion; but the *Food* of the Word of God. She can be Fed with no other Nourishment.

Briefly, The *Nourishment* of the *Woman*, is the same with the *Prophecy* of the *Two Witnesses*. [Compare, Rev. 11.2, 3.]<sup>529</sup>

4697.

**Q.** What was the *Flood*, which the *Serpent* cast out of his Mouth, to carry away the *Woman*? v. 15.

**A.** You will find, a *Doctrine*, called, Prov. 18.4. *The Waters of the Mouth*. One would suspect then, some Hellish and Mortal *Doctrine*, to be here intended.

And the first *Flood* that occurs is that of the *Arian* and other *Heresies*, with which the Church was in extreme Danger of being utterly swallowed up. *Arianism* destroys the Church. If the Saviour of the Church be not *God*, He can do nothing for it. And yett *Arianism* so far prevailed, that Five Great *Councils*, (that

526 See Appendix B.

527 From *A New System of the Apocalypse*, pp. 60–61.

528 The phrase Ἀκούω δὲ κλ̣ [Akouo de kl] means “I am told” etc.” The short-hand κλ̣ stands for “καὶ λοιπὰ” [kai loipa] and signifies “and the rest; etc.” Instead of the rest of the Greek original, Mather cites a Latin paraphrase that translates: “There is, I am told, a species of eagle to which men have given the name of ‘Golden Eagle,’ though others call it *Asterias* (starred). And it is seldom seen. It is believed to be the largest of eagles.” From Grellot, *Prodromus*, p. 146, Mather cites Claudius Aelianus, *On the Characteristics of Animals*, 2.39; transl.: LCL 446, pp. 134–37. Grellot’s source is Bochart, *Hierozoicon*, lib. 2, cap. 1, col. 169.

529 From *A New System of the Apocalypse*, pp. 60–61.



of Tyre, that of Syrmium, that of Arminium, that of Seleucia, and that of Antioch,) declared for it. But the *Flood* was very much dried up, by the last *Council* that was held about that Matter; namely, that of *Constantinople*, under *Theodosius*.<sup>530</sup>

4698.

**Q.** What was, *The Earth helping the Woman, & swallowing up the Flood?*

**A.** Monsr. *Philipot* thinks, That by the *Earth*, is meant, the *Councils* which condemned the *Arian* Hæresy.<sup>531</sup> They are styled, *The Earth*, because they are purely an *Humane Mean*. Our Lord ha's not promised Infallibility unto any such Assembly of Men. If we beleave that our glorious CHRIST, is *co-essential* with God, & in all things æqual to God, only because *Councils* have so determined, this *Faith* of ours will be but an *Humane Faith*. Our Faith is not built on a *Divine Foundation* if it be not built on the Authority of God speaking in the *Scriptures*.  
[44v] The *Councils* did | well Determine the Truth, when they condemned the *Arian* Hæresy; But they were no more than *Earth*; They were not *Infallible*. The *Word of God* is the only Rule of our Faith. But because these *Councils* were successful, to extinguish *Arianism*, the *Earth helped the Woman, & swallow'd up the Flood*.

4699.

**Q.** What was the War, which the *Serpent* in his Wrath, made *with the Remnant of the Seed of the Woman?* v. 17.

**A.** The Author of, *The New System of the Apocalypse*,<sup>532</sup> observes; That there is a Difference, between *the Woman*, and *her Seed*; the same that there is, between a *Mother* and her *Daughter*. The *Eastern Church*, which had for Two Hundred Years been distressed with the Flood of *Arianism*, was the *Mother*. The *Western Church*, is with very good Reason, to be look'd upon, as the *Daughter*. The Bishop of *Bitonto* used this Distinction, in a Sermon which he preached before the *Council of Trent*. Said he; *The Greek Church is our Mother, to whom the Latin Church is endebted for all that she hath*.<sup>533</sup> Indeed the very Terms, of, *Church*, and, *Bishop*, and, *Priest*, and, *Deacon*, and, *Baptism*, and, *Eucharist*, and, *Christian*, itself, are all *Greek* Terms, and intimate from whence we have derived our whole Religion. Well then: In the *Latin Church* we must look for the *Remnant of the Seed of the Woman*, which the *Dragon* ha's ever since, been persecuting!

<sup>530</sup> From *A New System of the Apocalypse*, pp. 63–65.

<sup>531</sup> From *A New System of the Apocalypse*, p. 65. Note that Mather here ascribes the anonymously published *A New System of the Apocalypse* to “Monsr. Philipot.” See the annotation on Rev. 8:10–11.

<sup>532</sup> The entire entry is from *A New System of the Apocalypse*, pp. 67–70.

<sup>533</sup> A reference to Cornelio (or Cornelius) Musso (1511–1574), who was an Italian Friar Minor Conventual and Bishop of Bitonto, prominent at the Council of Trent. At the Council, he gave an oration “De Imitatione Christi,” in: *Concilium Tridentinum: Diariorum, actorum, epistularum, tractatum nova collectio*, 7.2.1, pp. 63–86.

There was a Church of God, which separated from the Idolatries of *Antichrist*, in the *Latin Church*. The Church which thus withdrew, may most emphatically be called, *The REMNANT of the Seed of the Woman*.

And now, what shall we say of the famous *Vaudois*? *Claudius Sesselius*, Archbishop of *Turin*, in a Book which he wrote against them, tells us;<sup>534</sup> *The Sect of the Vaudois, took its Rise from a most Religious Person, called Leo, that lived in the Time of Constantine the Great, and who detesting the Covetousness of Pope Sylvester, and the immoderate Bounty of Constantine, chose rather to embrace Poverty, with the Simplicity of the Christian Faith, than with Sylvester to be defiled with a rich and fat Benefice, and that all they who were seriously Religious joined themselves to him.*

The Noted Inquisitor, namely *Reynerus Sacco*, as he is quoted by the Jesu-ite *Cretzer*, speaks to the like Purpose.<sup>535</sup> He saies; *Among all the Sects, that either are, or hitherto have been, there is none that has been so pernicious to the Church of Rome, as that of the Leonists; First, Because it is the most ancient, and has continued longest. For some affirm, that it begun in the Time of Sylvester, and others, in the Time of the Apostles. Next, Because it hath spread itself farthest, there being no Place, where it is not found. Thirdly; Because they who are of it, have a great Shew of Piety, Live virtuously before Men, Believe rightly of the Deity, & Observe all the Articles of the Creed.*

The Friar *Belvedoras*, in his Relation, *De Propagandâ Fide*, excuses himself, and his Companions the Missionaries, for not Converting so much as one of the *Waldenses*; & gives this Reason.<sup>536</sup> *The Heresy is too firmly rooted, for any to be able to do any Good upon them. They have been always, & thro' all times accounted Hereticks.*

The *Two Wings of the Eagle* then carried the *Remnant of the Seed of the Woman*, into the Valleys of *Piedmont*.

<sup>534</sup> A reference to the work of the Savoyard humanist and Archbishop of Turin, Claude de Seyssel (Claudius Sesselius, 1450–1520), *Adversus errores et sectam Valdensem disputationes* (1520), fols. 5–6.

<sup>535</sup> The following two paragraphs also appear in Mather's history of the English Reformation, *Eleutheria*, pp. 16–17. Mather cites the *Passau Anonymus*, a kind of apologetic compendium dealing with Jews, Muslims, and heretics (including the Waldensians), written by an unknown cleric from Passau in the 1260s. In the following decade, another unknown author produced a shortened version of this work that was then falsely attributed to the inquisitor of Lombardy, Rainer Sacconi (d. 1259), and is thus often referred to as "Pseudo-Rainerius." Sacconi himself had written a short text on the Waldensians and Cathars. During Mather's period, an edition of this text along with other anti-Waldensian tracts appeared in Philippe Despont, ed., *Maxima bibliotheca veterum patrum et antiquorum scriptorum ecclesiasticorum*, vol. 25, *Continens scriptores ab ann. Christi 1200 ad ann. 1300* (1677), where it is noted that the "Contra Waldenses Haereticos Liber" was edited and annotated by "Iacobum Greterserum Societas Jesu." The citation appears on p. 264. For a modern edition, see Alexander Patschovsky, *Der Passauer Anonymus* (1968).

<sup>536</sup> Reference is made to a book titled *Relazione all' eminentissima Congregazione de propaganda fide et extirpandis haereticis* (1636), p. 37.

4648.

**Q.** What are we to understand, by the *Beast rising out of the Sea, and having Seven Heads, and Ten Horns, & upon his Horns, Ten Crowns?* v. 1.

**A.** It is a Description of the *Antichristian Empire*, that is now going to be exhibited. All the World knowes, that in the Style of the Prophets, *A Beast*, signifies, *An Empire*. And, alas, as Men have generally managed it, there ha's been too much *Occasion* for the *Comparison*. But then, it is only a *Terrestrial Empire*, and such an one as is an Enemy to God, that ha's been thus compared. The Kingdome of our Lord and of His Holy Ones, that comes after the Kingdome of Antichrist, is never exposed under such an Image.

The *Beast* that appears here, is the *Fourth Monarchy* in the Visions of *Daniel*.<sup>537</sup> The Prophet had said, *It was diverse from all the other Beasts*. The Apostle, as having a more Distinct View of it (for things are more Distinctly seen, the nearer we come to them,) tells us, It was composed of the Shape of a *Lion*, a *Leopard*, and a *Bear*; which were singly the Representations of the præceding Monarchies. Indeed this *Fourth Monarchy* had the advantages of all the other *Three* together.

It *Rose out of the Sea*; that is to say, out of the Midst of the People. The Hideous Monster came up, with a terrible Havock. Its Bulk was enormous. It made the Waves foam. It bellow'd horribly. It leads one to think of *Jobs Leviathan*, a Type of *Antichrist*.<sup>538</sup> So it proves anon. After this Manner was the *Roman Empire* established.

There are *Seven Heads* assign'd unto the *Beast*. The Holy Spirit Himself expounds the *Heads*, to be *Kings*, or Governments. *Rome* had *Seven Forms* of sovereign Governments. I. *Kings*. II. *Consuls*. III. *Decemvirs*. IV. *Tribunes* of the People. V. *Perpetual Dictators*. VI. *Emperours*. VII. *Popes*.

But the *Beast* ha's also *Ten Horns*. These were all on the *Seventh Head*; namely, the *Papal*. Tis under the *Papal* Dominion, that the *Roman Empire* is divided among *Ten Horns*; that is to say, *Ten Kings*. *Europe*, that obey'd the *Pope*, was divided into X principal Kingdomes; I. *Germany*. II. *Hungary*. III. *Poland*. IV. *Suedeland*. V. *France*. VI. *Spain*. VII. *Italy*. VIII. *England*. IX. *Portugal*. X. *Scotland*. The other Kingdomes and States, were Dependences on these. From the First Division of the *Roman Empire*, that happened in the *Fifth Age*, the Partition was made among *Ten Kings*. *Horns* evermore signify *Powers*. To intimate, that the *Powers* here, are sovereign ones, the Holy Spirit sett's *Crowns*

<sup>537</sup> See Dan. 7.

<sup>538</sup> See esp. Job 41:1–34.

upon them. Yett they depend on the *Seventh Head*; they own their Dependence on the *Pope*; all the Popish Kings and Kingdomes do so.<sup>539</sup>

We have no less than an *Angel*, for an *Interpreter*, to assure us, [Dan. 7.14.] That in the prophetic Visions, by *Beasts* are meant *Kingdomes*; A *Beast*, is an *Empire*, or, A Succession of sovereign Rulers.<sup>540</sup>

We have here one thing more, to take Notice of. This is a *Roman Beast*. The *Seat* or *Throne* for it, should also be at *Rome*. 'Tis admirable to see how *Rome* was made & kept empty for the *Beast*. *Constantine* removed unto *Byzantium*. The Western Emperors resided mostly at *Milan*, and *Ravenna*. The *Dragon* secured the Seat for the Successor; & began to do so, by disposing *Dioclesian* and *Maximian* to live, the one at *Milan*, the other at *Nicomedia*. Strangers took Notice of this. *Chalcondylas* an *Athenian*, mentions it, with this Remark; *That the Romans, tho' Masters of the greatest Empire in the World, left Rome to the High Priest, & passed into Thrace unto Constantinople, under the Conduct of Constantine*.<sup>541</sup> The City of *Rome* often complains in *Claudian*, of *Milan* præferr'd before her.<sup>542</sup> When *Augustulus* abdicated, *Odoacer* then retired unto *Ravenna*, leaving *Rome* to the Papacy, which there came into Succession. Tho' *Theodorick* acknowledged, *That it was a Crime to be absent from that City*, yett immediately after a Triumph, he retired unto *Ravenna*; where he & his *Gothic* Successors resided.<sup>543</sup> It is further observable, That when the *Beast* succeeded in the Seat of the *Dragon*, *Odoacer* called himself, not, *Emperor of Rome*, (which was the Seat of the *Beast*) but, *King of Italy*. Since *Augustulus*, there have been *Kings of Italy*, and *Roman Emperors*, and *Kings of the Romans*. But none ha's claimed the City of *Rome* into his Title but, *The Pope of Rome*.

**Q.** *On the Heads, there is a Name of BLASPHEMY.* What may be the Meaning of that? v. 1.

**A.** It seems to be not meerly on One of the *Heads*, but on *All* of them.<sup>544</sup> This *Name of Blasphemy*, seems to be that; *The Queen of the Universe*; which *Rome* would always have attributed unto her after her arrival to her Greatness.

<sup>539</sup> Mather's answer up to this point comes from Jurieu, *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies*, pp. 139–42.

<sup>540</sup> The rest of the entry comes from Waple, *The Book of Revelation*, pp. 279–80.

<sup>541</sup> A reference to the work of Laonikos Chalkokondyles, *De origine et rebus gestis Turcorum, libri decem* ([1556] 1652), p. 3 [PG 159. 16].

<sup>542</sup> A reference to Claudian, *Panegyric on the Sixth Consulship of the Emperor Honorius*, 356–65 (*LCL* 136, p. 101).

<sup>543</sup> As cited in the work of the Italian Humanist historian, Carlo Sigonio (Carolus Sigonius, 1524–1584), *Historiarum De Occidentali Imperio* ([1578] 1618), lib. 16, p. 291. Augustulus was deposed by Flavius Odoacer in 476. Theodoric (or Theoderic) the Great (454–526) was King of the Ostrogoths (471–526) and ruler of the independent Ostrogothic Kingdom of Italy between 493 and 526.

<sup>544</sup> Mather's entire answer comes from Jurieu, *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies*, p. 142.

*Terrarum Dea, Gentiumque Roma.*<sup>545</sup>

Or, as *Jerom* observed; It is the Title of, *Rome Eternal*.<sup>546</sup>

The *Roman Emperours* particularly pretended unto a *Divinity*. *Temples* were built unto them; they had *Priests*, and *Altars*, and *Sacrifices*; Men burnt *Incense* unto their *Genius*. Thus was the *Name of Blasphemy* on the *Sixth Head*. It ha's been as much on the *Seventh Head*. The *Pope* is called, *His Holiness*; He is called, *Vice-God*, and, *God on Earth*, and, *Vicar of Jesus Christ*. And *Rome* under his Dominion, is called, *Infallible Rome*.

[▽46r–46v] [▽Insert from 46r–46v]<sup>547</sup>

**Q.** A more particular Thought on, *The Names of Blasphemy?* v. 1.

**A.** Even Antiquity had some Light, into the Explication of a Book, which is every day more clearly Illustrated as the Accomplishment approaches. I will tell you how Two very Ancient Writers interpret these *Names of Blasphemy*.<sup>548</sup>

The one shall be *Jerom*. [*ad Algasiam*,] who saies, *In fronte purpurate Meretricis scriptum est Nomen Blasphemiae, id est, Romæ ÆTERNÆ*.<sup>549</sup>

The other shall be *Prosper*. [*de Predic. & Promiss. c. 7.*] Who saies; *Æterna cum dicitur quæ Temporalis est, utique Nomen est Blasphemiae. – cum supplices dicunt, Altaribus Vestris, Perennitati Vestre*.<sup>550</sup>

This Calenture, as Dr. *Arrowsmith* expresses it, also took the Brains of some, even amongst the Christian Emperours; Thus contagious are Expressions and Examples, that contain *Blasphemy* in them.

*Ammianus Marcellinus*, a Pagan, reproaches *Constantius*, an Arian Prince, for this; That being poisoned by Flatterers & Successes, he was come to that Heighth of Insolence, as to præsume he should never dy, & in his Writings to style himself, *Our Eternity*. *Immunem se deindè fore ab omni Mortalitatibus incommodo fidenter existimans, confestim | à Justitia declinavit ità intemperanter, ut Æternitatem meam aliquoties subjecerit ipse dictando*.<sup>551</sup>

<sup>545</sup> “Goddess of lands and nations.” A citation from Martial, *Epigrams*, 12.8.1; transl.: *LCL* 480, pp. 96–97.

<sup>546</sup> For the Jerome reference, see the annotation on the next entry.

<sup>547</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>548</sup> The entry comes from Arrowsmith, *Armilla Catechetica*, aphor. 4, exerc. 7, part 6, p. 262.

<sup>549</sup> “The name of blasphemy is written on the forehead of a whore dressed in purple, and this name is that of ‘eternal Rome.’” Jerome, *Epistulae*, epist. 121 (*Ad Algasiam*), cap. 11, sec. 11 [PL 22. 1037; *CSEL* 56].

<sup>550</sup> Translation with context: “When she is called eternal while being temporary, then this certainly is the name of blasphemy; [when mortals, for example kings, are blasphemously called divine, and] when the supplicants say: ‘Your altars, your eternity.’” From *De promissionibus et praedictionibus Dei*, cap. 7 [PL 51. 843–44]. This work was traditionally ascribed to Prosper of Aquitaine, but is now thought to have been written by the fifth-century Bishop of Carthage, Quodvultdeus. See *Opera Quodvultdeus Carthaginensi episcopi tributa, Dimidium temporis*, 7.14.25–29 (*CCSL* 60, p. 199).

<sup>551</sup> “Confidently believing that from now on he would be free from every mortal ill, he swerved swiftly aside from just conduct so immoderately that sometimes in dictation he

Yea, Justinian himself did not fear to say, *Nostra sanxit Æternitas*.<sup>552</sup>  
[△Insert ends]

[△]

**Q.** A Criticism on the *Mouth* of the *Beast*? v. 2.

**A.** I have the Satisfaction of an Acquaintance, with a Learned Friend, Mr. *Nicholas Noyes*, the Minister of our *Salem*: who writing to me, on this Head, saies: “The *Mouth* of the *Tenhorn’d Beast*, I interpret to mean, the Bishop of *Rome*; the chief Prophet of the *Empire*; whose Name was *LEO*, at the Time when the *Ten Horns* | were *crown’d*, or the *Ten-Horn’d Beast* commenced. We read, Rev. 13.2. *And his Mouth as the Mouth of a Lion; and the Dragon gave* Ἀὐτῷ [saith our Translation, *To him*; but it should have been rendred] *to It, his Power, & Seat, & great Authority*. The Pronoun should relate unto the Next Antecedent; which is; *στοματι*, not, *θηριῳ*.<sup>553</sup> And the *Dragon* did not give his *Throne*, to the *Ten horn’d Beast*; for they did not Reign in *Rome*; but each in his own Kingdome, & capital City. But he did give his Throne to the Bishop of *Rome*, and he Reigned there. He is call’d, *The Mouth of the Beast*, before he himself arrives to Bestial Authority, by the *Dragons Gift*. To call him, *The Mouth of the Beast*, is all one, as to call him, *The Prophet of the Beast*. So, *the Mouth of the Lord*, is, *The Prophet of the Lord*. Compare, 2. Sam. 7.4., with 1. King. 8.24. *Nathan the Prophet*, is the *Mouth* of the Lord. Luk. 1.70. with, 1. King. 8.15. Compare, Exod. 4.16. *He shall be to thee a Mouth*: with Exod. 7.1. *Aaron shall be thy Prophet*. This *Mouth* spake at first, only as a *Lion*: But in *Hildebrands Time* he spake like a *Dragon*. The *Dragon* had now given him his Power; His Kingdome is Numbred, 666. Then ceaseth his *Bestial Authority*. From thence he is called, *The False Prophet*; & anon, with the *Tenhorn’d Beast*, cast into the *Lake*.”

**Q.** Why is it said, *The Dragon gives this Beast, his Power, his Seat, and his great Authority*? v. 2.

signed himself ‘My Eternity.’” From Ammianus Marcellinus, *History*, 15.1.3; transl.: *LCL* 300, pp. 110–11.

<sup>552</sup> “Our Eternity has decreed [it].” Mather cites the *Corpus iuris civilis*, Cod. I.1. Tit. 3. L. 56. Bk 1. Tit 3. 54. 11. See *The Codex of Justinian* (2016), vol. 1, p. 145.

<sup>553</sup> The neuter pronoun αὐτῷ [auto] is at issue here. It is in the dative form and grammatically it can refer back to either *θηριον* ([therion] “the beast”) or *στόμα* ([stoma] “the mouth”), since both are neuter nouns. Among the modern English translations, the ESV, for instance, arrives at an interpretation similar to that suggested by Noyes. The ESV has: “And the beast that I saw was like a leopard; its feet were like a bear’s, and its mouth was like a lion’s mouth. And to it the dragon gave his power and his throne and great authority (my emphasis).”

The entry seems to be based on a personal letter by the Salem minister and friend of the Mather family Nicholas Noyes (1647–1715). Noyes, too, was an ardent millennialist who published several works of eschatological theology, including *New Englands Duty and Interest* (1698). Noyes also corresponded with Cotton Mather about end-time matters. Mather’s unpublished manuscript “Problema Theologicum” (dated December 1703) was addressed to Noyes, and he apparently responded to a request by the Salem minister to fully explicate his premillennialist views.

- A. What needs any more be said? The *Beast* ha's all from the *Divel*.  
Compare, Luk. 4.6.<sup>554</sup>  
But yett, you shall find more said, in our other Illustrations.

4651.

Q. What was that Remarkable Event; *One of his Heads was as it were wounded to Death, and his Deadly Wound was healed, and all the World wondred after the Beast?* v. 3.

A. The *wounded Head* must needs be the *Sixth*; For that which comes in the room of the *wounded Head*, lasts to the End. Tis the Resurrection of the *Sixth Head*, that makes the *Seventh*.

The *Sixth Head* on the *Beast*, was that of the *Roman Emperours*. The *Head* was *wounded* by the *Goths* and *Vandals*. The Empire was Destroy'd. But it rose again under another *Head*, and a new Kind of Government; which was that of the *Popes*. In the Power of the *Papacy*, the ancient Empire is again brought forth; and a form of Government, which<sup>555</sup> is not very much different from that, by which all the *Nations once obeyed the Emperours*. The World being astonished now to see the *Roman Empire* again established under the New Name of *The Church of Rome*, follows the *Beast*; & with Wonder submitts unto this pretended Elevation of Christianity unto such a marvellous Dignity.<sup>556</sup>

It is anon said, *The Beast with two Horns, exercises all the Power of the First Beast, whose Deadly Wound was healed*. The *Wound*, if we may speak more particularly, consisted in Two Things. The Subversion of the *Pagan Idolatry*, and the Extinction of the *Roman Authority*. The *Papal Sovereignty*, as a sovereign Plaister did *heal* both of these *Wounds*.

*Blondus*, without being aware of it, gives us a notable Exposition of this Text. Saies he, *The Majesty of Rome is now greater than ever it was, because the*

---

554 Possibly Mather is here alluding to the work of his grandfather John Cotton, *An Exposition upon the thirteenth chapter of the Revelation* (1655), where the power of the Beast is expounded with reference to Luke on pp. 227 and 231. From his understanding of the diabolic origins of any usurpation of power in spiritual matters, Cotton derives his recommendation of a Congregational or Independent church polity: "Take heed of any such usurpation, it will amount to some monstrous Beast: Leave every church Independant, not Independant from brotherly counsell; God forbid that we should refuse that; but when it comes to power, that one Church shall have power over the rest, then look for a Beast, which the Lord would have all his people to abhor" (30–31).

555 See Appendix A.

556 Mather's answer up to this point seems to come from Jurieu, *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies*, pp. 142–43. The following paragraphs are from *A New System of the Apocalypse*, pt. 2, pp. 16–18. The historical references are drawn from Launay's *Paraphrase et exposition sur l'Apocalypse*, p. 396.

*Princes of the Earth, do now worship the Successor of St. Peter, as Perpetual Dictator, that is, as sovereign Pontiff, and as Vicar of the High-Priest Jesus Christ.*<sup>557</sup>

Steuchus, being as little aware of it, carries on the Exposition. Saies he; *If after the Subversion of the Roman Empire, God had not raised up the Papacy, in which the ancient Majesty of Rome is revived, that City had been an Habitation of Bruite Beasts; whereas, by the Establishment of the Papacy, it has recovered a Grandeur very little different, from what it had in the old Empire; seeing all Nations do now no less reverence the Bishop of Rome, than heretofore they obey'd the Roman Emperours.*<sup>558</sup>

**Q.** What may be intended, by the *great Mouth given to the Beast; speaking great things and blasphemies?* v. 5.

**A.** After this, tis only the *Seventh Head* that is treated of; which is called, *The Beast*, because tis the longest Duration of the *Fourth Monarchy*. Tis the *Papacy* then that speaks these *great Things*. Can any thing be *greater*, than what the Church of *Rome* saith of itself; That she is, *The Spouse of Christ*, and, *The Queen of all Churches*, and, *The Infallible Judge of Controversies*, and, *The Ark out of which there is no Salvation*, and, *The Common Mother of all Christians*, and, *The Sovereign of the Kings of the Earth*, who can Depose them, and give their Crowns to whom she please. To ascribe such *great Things* to herself, which belong only to God, cannot but be, with so many *Blasphemies*.<sup>559</sup>

[45r–45v]

| 560

[47r]

**Q.** What are the *Forty two Months*, which the *Beast* ha's *Power to continue?* v. 5.

**A.** Tis the *Seventh Head* that is treated of. The *Forty two Months*, make up 1260 *Days*. The Duration of the *Papal Empire* is to be so many *Years*.<sup>561</sup>

**Q.** How does this *Beast open his Mouth in Blasphemy, against God; & against His Name, against His Tabernacle, and against them who dwell in Heaven?* v. 6.

**A.** The Church of *Rome* does *Blaspheme God*, by attributing to itself the Power that belongs only to God.

*His Name.*] That is, His *Glory*. *Popery* ravishes away the *Glory* from God, to give it unto Creatures.

<sup>557</sup> A reference to the work of the Italian humanist Flavio Biondo (Flavius Blondus; 1392–1463), *Romæ Instaurate Libri Tres* ([1482] 1510), lib. 3.

<sup>558</sup> A reference to the work of the Italian humanist, exegete, and polemicist Agostino Steuco (Agostinus Steuchus, 1497/98–1548), *Contra Laurentium Vallam: De falsa donatione Constantini libri duo* (1547), lib. 1.

<sup>559</sup> Mather draws this answer from Jurieu, *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies*, pt. 1, pp. 143–44.

<sup>560</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>561</sup> From Jurieu, *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies*, p. 144.



*His Tabernacle.*] That is, His Church. The true Children of God, which are His House, *Popery* calls them *Hereticks* and *Schismatics*.

*Them who dwell in Heaven.*] That is, The *Saints* and *Angels*; *Popery* makes *Idols* of these, and greatly injures them.<sup>562</sup>

There is a learned Man, who thinks, That by, *Tabernacle*, here, is meant, The State of *Saints* and *Angels* in *Heaven*; or that *Heavenly State*, in which our Saviour is said to *Minister*, [Heb. VIII.2.] and thro' which, He is said to have passed into the *Holy of Holies*, the very *Throne of God*. [See Heb. IX.11. and Heb. X.20.] This he thinks to be most probable; Because the Humane Nature of our Saviour, is rather the *Minister of the Tabernacle*, than the *Tabernacle* itself to which the Ministration is performed.

We read also, That the *Heavenly Things* themselves are to be *Purified* and *Anointed*. [Dan. IX.24. Heb. IX.23.] This argues them to have been *Prophaned* and *Blasphemed*; that is, *Idolatrously Abused*. And such an Acceptation of the Word, *Tabernacle*, here, is more agreeable to what we read in this Vision, concerning, the *Opening of the Tabernacle of Testimony*, and the *Tabernacle of God* being *with Men*; and with *Ezekiels* visionary Temple, or Tabernacle.

4655.

**Q.** How does the *Beast* make War with the *Saints*, & overcome them? v. 7.

**A.** All the World knowes the *History*, that ha's fulfill'd this *Prophecy*.<sup>563</sup>

[47v]

4656.

**Q.** What is the *Second Beast*, that comes out of the *Earth*? v. 11.

**A.** The *Roman Monarchy*, tis Remarkable, ha's *Two Periods*, of near the same Duration. The first is, From the Birth of the City of *Rome*, to the Ruine of the *Imperial Dignity*. The Second, From the Ruine of the *Imperial Dignity* to the Downfal of the Church of *Rome*. It is that *Second Period*, which belongs the *Second Beast*, that is now before us.<sup>564</sup>

That it *comes out of the Earth*, is very significantly spoken; For, I desire it may be Remark'd; That, *the Earth*, is in the propheticall Style, a frequent Hieroglyphic and Representation of a corrupt *Clergy*. A more significant Figure, could not be thought upon!

And here, as the *Earth* shoots out Insensibly, & with Liesure, and without Spoil, what growes out of it; even so did the *Man of Sin*, grow out of a corrupt and wicked *Clergy*.

<sup>562</sup> From Jurieu, *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies*, p. 144. For the rest of his answer, Mather draws on Waple, *The Book of Revelation*, pp. 285–86.

<sup>563</sup> From Jurieu, *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies*, p. 145.

<sup>564</sup> Up to this point, Mather draws his answer from Jurieu, *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies*, p. 145.

4657.

**Q.** Why ha's this *Beast* assign'd unto him, *Two Horns, like a Lamb*; and yett the *Speech of a Dragon*?

**A.** The Church of *Rome* calls herself, the *Spouse* of the Lord Jesus Christ, the *Lamb of God*. The Name of JESUS CHRIST, is alwayes in her Mouth.<sup>565</sup>

Our Lord ha's *Two Powers*. He saies, *All Power in Heaven & Earth is given to me*. The Church of *Rome* challenges the same. She challenges a *Spiritual Power*, and a *Temporal Power*.<sup>566</sup> Behold, the *Two Horns*! They are said to be, *Two Horns like a Lamb*; inasmuch as a Resemblance, & a Vicarship to the Powers of JESUS CHRIST, the *Lamb of God*, is pretended unto.

The *Speech of a Dragon* is heard, in Blasphemies against God, and Menaces against His People.

The Best Explication of the *Two Horns*, may be fetched from the *Canon-Law* of the Church of *Rome* itself; *C. Unam Sanctam* *extravagat, de majorit. et obedient.*<sup>567</sup> has this Passage; *In hac ejus potestate (pontificis) duos esse Gladios, Spiritualem videlicet, et Temporalem, Evangelicis dictis instruimur*. Also; *Uterque ergò Gladius est in Potestate Ecclesiae, Spiritus scilicet et Materialis.*<sup>568</sup> And, *C. Fundementa, de Elect.* in G. has this Passage, *Papa Romanus habet utriusque potestatis Temporalis et Spiritus Monarchiam.*<sup>569</sup>

**Q.** Why is it said, *This Beast exercises all the Power of the First Beast before him?* v. 12.

<sup>565</sup> From Jurieu, *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies*, p. 146.

<sup>566</sup> This entry is derived from Grelotus, *Prodromus*, p. 158.

<sup>567</sup> "One holy [Church], Extravagantes, of supremacy ["de majoritate"] and obedience ["et obedientia]." Reference is made to the famous bull of Pope Boniface VIII "Unam Sanctam" (1302). The term "Extravagantes" is a term from canon law and designates papal decrees not contained in the three official collections of the *Corpus Juris Canonici* but nevertheless binding upon the whole Church. "Unam Sanctam" proclaims the unity of the Church, the doctrine that there is no salvation outside of the Church and asserts the authority of the Pope as supreme head of the Church and Vicar of Christ. From this, the decree delineates the dominion of the papacy over the entire world and the duty of submission to the Pope. According to the theory of the "two swords," only the spiritual sword (i. e. ecclesial power) is put under direct control of the papacy, while the power of the worldly sword is bestowed upon rightful and obedient temporal rulers. However, "Unam Sanctam" emphasizes the superiority of the spiritual over the secular order.

<sup>568</sup> "We are informed by the words of the gospels that in this [Church] and in its power (of the pontificate) are obviously two swords, the spiritual and the temporal." Also: "Both are in the power of the Church, the spiritual sword and the material." *Corpus Juris Canonici*, ii (1245); Mirbt, 372; as cited in *Documents of the Christian Church*, ed. Bettenson and Maunder, p. 121. See Luke 22:38; John. 18:11.

<sup>569</sup> "The Roman Pope is the sovereign of both powers, temporal and spiritual." Reference is made to the "Constutionem super electione senatoris Urbis facienda sancit" in Nicholas III's *Fundamenta militantis ecclesiae* (1278). See the *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, ed. Potthast, vol. 2, nr. 21362, p. 1727.

**A.** The *Papacy* hath Re-established all the Authority of the Ancient Emperours. The *Papal Church* causes herself to be served by Kings. She disposes of their *Crowns*; & she draws *Tribute* from them; and she exercises a *Jurisdiction* in all their Dominions. The *First Beast*, or the *Roman Empire*, while *Pagan*, did no more, in the Countreys that were subject unto it.<sup>570</sup>

**Q.** *And causes the Earth, & them which dwell therein, to worship the First Beast?*

**A.** The Church of *Rome*, raising up in herself, the Power of the *ancient Empire*, tis but the *Ancient Empire* now Revived under a New Name; and so tis under the Name of, *The Roman Church*, ador'd, obey'd, and served.<sup>571</sup>

**Q.** What is meant, by the *great Wonders done* by this Beast, *making Fire come down from Heaven on Earth, in the Sight of Men?* v. 13.

**A.** When an *Empire* is treated of, *Heaven* alwayes means the *sovereign Region* of that Empire. The *Fire* here means *Thunder*. Doubtless, here may be intended, what the *Roman Church* itself calls, *Thunder*. The Papal Decrees, and Canons and *Bulls*, are the *Thunders of Rome*. They are indeed but *Past-board Thunders*, and *Artificial Fireworks*. But they have sett Kingdomes on *Fire*, hundreds of Times; They have sett all *Europe* in a *Flame*.<sup>572</sup>

*Great Wonders* have been done, by this *Fire* from the Popish *Heaven*.

This does not exclude the *False Miracles* of a more literal Importance, which *Popery* ha's used for its Establishment. The Papists, to this Day, proclaim the *Miracles* wrought in the *Papal Kingdome*, as Marks of the True Church.<sup>573</sup>

We may add; The *Beast*, is of a Wrathful and Revengeful Spirit, contrary to that of the Gospel, where our patient JESUS rebukes His Disciples for *Calling for Fire from Heaven*.

[48r] | <sup>574</sup>

**Q.** A Touch, if you please, upon the Jewish Traditions, about *Antichrist*?

**A.** The Jewes are not without their Ancient Traditions, about an Anti-Mesias,<sup>575</sup> whom they call, /ארמילוס/ *Armillus*. *Philippus Aquinas*, in his *Lexicon*, makes this Name of a Greek Original; q.d. ἐρημολαος. *Vastator Populi*; from

<sup>570</sup> From Jurieu, *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies*, p. 146.

<sup>571</sup> From Jurieu, *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies*, pp. 146–47.

<sup>572</sup> From Jurieu, *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies*, p. 147.

<sup>573</sup> From *A New System of the Apocalypse*, p. 19.

<sup>574</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>575</sup> This entry cites material from the entry on Armilus (ארמילוס) in Buxtorf, *Lexicon Chaldaicum, Talmudicum et Rabbinicum*, pp. 223–24. Buxtorf refers to the dictionary of the Hebrew scholar and convert to Christianity, Philippus Aquinas (Juda Mordechai, c. 1575–1650), *Dictionarium Hebraeo-Chaldaeo-talmudicorabbinicum* (Paris, 1629). Armilus is an anti-messiah figure in Jewish eschatology during late antiquity and the medieval period (JE).

ερημωσ, *Vasto*, and, λαος,<sup>576</sup> *Populus*. In Jonathans Chaldee Paraphrase on Isa. 11.4. you have a Mention of this *Armillus*.<sup>577</sup> The Jewes tell us, that the Christians will denominate him /אנטיקרישטוס/ *Antichristus*.<sup>578</sup> And that he shall be the *King*, whom the Children of *Edom* shall sett over them.

**Q.** Is it not admirable, that the Nations *Deceived by the Beast*, should make an *IMAGE to the Beast*, and that the *Image of the Beast*, should have Life given to it, and speak; and cause those to be killed, that will not worship the *Image of the Beast*? v. 14, 15.

**A.** Most Admirable! The *Roman Church* is an *Empire*. However, it is but an *Image of an Empire*; an *Imaginary Empire*; an *Empire* founded only in a *Deceived Imagination*. There needs no more, than for Men to say, NOT, and the *Empire of Antichrist* is destroy'd. The Reality of an *Empire*, does consist in *Citadels*, in *Fortresses*, in *Armies*. The *Roman Church* ha's none of these. The *Religious Houses*, are his *Citadels* and *Fortresses*; the *Clergy*, are his *Armies*. The *Bishops*, and *Arch-bishops* are his *Lieutenants*. All these are but *Images*. And yett this *Image of an Empire*, it *speaks*; it Acts, it makes *Decrees*, it raises all *Europe*; it causes those to be killed, who will not pay it an *Homage* like what was rendred unto the ancient *Roman Empire*.<sup>579</sup>

We may a little more particularly carry on the Matter.

In the *sovereign Power of the Pope*, it is, that we most apparently see the *Image of the Beast*. Being an *Image*, it must not much differ from the *Original*. We use to say of a *Picture* done much to the Life; *It wants nothing, but that it cannot speak*. But here, the *Image* can *speak*. The *Pope* ha's the same *Power*, that the *Emperours* had; the same *Throne*; and the same sovereign *Pontifical Dignity*; and is worshipped with the same *Adoration*, and hath as magnificent a *Court* and *Senate*. The *Pope* is an *Image*, and not the Thing itself; Because he is risen to his Greatness, under a Pretence of *Religion*; and under the Title of, *The Vicar of Jesus Christ*, and, *The Successor of Saint Peter*; and because he is also the *Vicar of the Emperour*, and the *Successor of Caesar*. But he is an *Image* that *speaks*; he possesses the whole Imperial Authority. He will have his *Feet* kissed, as the *Emperours* were; He will have *Kings* kneel before him, as they did before *Caesar*. As the Historian saies of the Emperour *Caligula*, that he had his *Feet* kissed; so the

<sup>576</sup> The name Armilus is here etymologically derived from ερημολαος [eremolaos], which is not a classical lexical form, but a compound made of the verb ερημώω [eremoo], to "strip bare, desolate, lay waste" (LSJ 687) and the noun λαός [laos], meaning "men" or "people" (LSJ 1029).

<sup>577</sup> See the Latinized Targum at Isa. 11:4 in Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (4:32) where "*Armillum impium*" is mentioned.

<sup>578</sup> See Grellotus, *Prodromus*, p. 116. Mather here transliterates the word "Antichristus" into Hebrew (אנטיקרישטוס). This unusual transliteration is also attested in the work of the German theologian Justus Martin Gläser (1696–1750), *Gemino Judaeorum messia*, p. 60.

<sup>579</sup> This paragraph comes from Jurieu, *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies*, pt. 1, p. 148.

Poet speaking in one of his Epistles, of a Prince that kneeled before *Augustus*, he saies, that he appeared before him, *Genibus minor*.<sup>580</sup>

4662.

**Q.** What Fulfilment ha's that Prophecy had; *The Beast causes, that as many as will not worship the Image of the Beast, should be killed?* v. 15.

**A.** Tis what we have seen for more than *six hundred Years* together; The *Papal Church* delivers over to the *secular Power*, to be destroy'd, those that will not obey her Commands; and causes them with bloody and horrid *Croisado's* to be extirpated.<sup>581</sup>

[48v]

|  
4663.

**Q.** Why is it said; *That no Man might buy, or sell, save he that had the Mark of the Beast?* v. 17.

**A.** As *Dioclesian* debarr'd those from all Sort of Commerce, who would not sacrifice unto the Heathen Gods; the *Popes Bulls* have done the like, against all that have been Well-Willers to a Reformation. It is a particular Prohibition in the *Bull*, which Pope *Martin V.* published against *Wickliff*. It ha's been Remarkably Instanced, by the late Persecution in *France*.<sup>582</sup>

4664.

**Q.** The *Two-Horned Beast* ha's Followers of *Three Sorts*; One Sort, that bears his *Mark*; another that bears his *Name*; a third that ha's the *Number of his Name*. How are we to Understand them, how Distinguish them? v. 17.

**A.** In our *Illustrations on Leviticus*, you will have this Matter clearly and fully Illustrated.

I will in this Place Repeat no more of it, but just only say; In allusion to the old Usage of Masters *Branding* their Servants, it was usual for the ancient *Idolaters* to *Brand* themselves for the perpetual Service of the *Idols* whereto they were devoted. They sometimes *Branded* themselves, with the *Mark* of their *Idol*; as, an *Helmet*, was the *Mark* of *Mars*, and the *Joy* was the *Mark* of *Bacchus*. They sometimes *Branded* themselves with the *Name* of their *Idol*; as, *Jupiter*, or the like, at large. And they sometimes *Branded* themselves with the *Number* of his *Name*; that is, with other *Letters*, which together would amount unto the same *Number* with the known Letters of his *Name*, agreed privately among the

<sup>580</sup> "on humbled knees." From *A New System of the Apocalypse*, pp. 20–21, a reference to Horace, *Epistles*, 1.12.27; transl.: LCL 194, pp. 330–31.

<sup>581</sup> From *A New System of the Apocalypse*, p. 21.

<sup>582</sup> From *A New System of the Apocalypse*, p. 21. Pope Martin V (1369–1431) was the head of the Catholic Church and ruler of the Papal States from 1417 to his death in 1431. He issued a bull condemning Jan Hus, Jerome of Prague, and Wycliffe in 1417.

Fraternity to signify *so*. In Allusion to this Action Doubtless we have here the Distinction that is now before us.<sup>583</sup>

The Author of, *The New System of the Apocalypse*, thus expounds it, & applies it. The Pope has *Three Sorts* of *Adherents*. There are some, who bear his *Mark*: These are the *Ecclesiasticks*, who are tied unto him by an Oath, & boast of an *Indelible Character*. There are others, who bear his *Name*: These are those who style themselves *Papists*, and who glory in it as *Bellarmino* did. A Third Sort, have the *Number of his Name*: These are they who are ashamed to be called *Papists*, and count it an Injury, as in *France* they generally do: But they call themselves *Catholicks*; which is a Word that ha's Reference to *Number*; *Catholick* signifies *universal*.<sup>584</sup>

**Q.** But why is it said, *They Receive a Mark in their Right Hand, or in their Foreheads?*

**A.** The *Forehead* is the Seat of *Profession*; the *Hand* is the Instrument of *Action*. One must make the *Profession*, & do the *Action*, of a *Papist*, or not enjoy the Favours & the Riches to be enjoy'd under the *Papacy*.<sup>585</sup>

| <sup>586</sup>

[49r]

**Q.** A little further Illustration, upon the *Distinction* made between the Subjects of *Antichrist*? v. 17.

**A.** We will throw in Dr. *Goodwins* Thoughts, to our Heap: Not that I would indiscriminately amass together all that every Body saies. The Biggest Part of what I meet withal, in Commentaries on the *Apocalypse*, I throw away as in a Manner useless. I offer nothing, but what I find likely to be the Meaning of the *Prophecy*; and I am careful ordinarily to offer no Variety, but of such things as will well enough consist, with one another, and it is possible, the Spirit of *Prophecy* might have an Eye to all of them.<sup>587</sup>

In the Case before us; It was the old *Roman* Custom, to print on the *Foreheads* of the *Servants*, the *Names* of their *Masters*; and on the *Hands* of the *Souldiers*, the *Names* of their *Emperours*. Accordingly, the People that belong to *Antichrist*, and are of his Faction, do more or less receive that, by which they may be known to be His.

First, some receive his *Mark*. So do the *Clergy* in the *Papacy*, and all the *Religions*. A Man entred into *Holy Orders* among them, does by his *Ordination*,

<sup>583</sup> A reference to Mather's illustration on Lev. 19:28 (*BA* 2:646–56), where he draws on John Spencer's *De Legibus Hebraeorum*, lib. 2, cap. 14, sec. 1, fols. 358–68.

<sup>584</sup> From *A New System of the Apocalypse*, pp. 21–22.

<sup>585</sup> From Jurieu, *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies*, pp. 148–49.

<sup>586</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>587</sup> The next paragraphs are from Goodwin, *An Exposition* (*Works* 3:68–71).

receive an *Indelible Character*. And some of these *Orders* above the rest, are, the *Prætorian Bands*, as one may say, or the *Janisaries*, of *Antichrist*.

Secondly, some receive his *Name*. They so cleave to him and his Worship, that they openly profess themselves to be *His*; they suffer themselves to be called by his *Name*; as we are called, *Christians*, from the *Name* of Him, who is the *Great High Priest of our Profession*. Is he called, *Papa*? These are called, *Papistæ*. Is he called *Pontifex*? These are called, *Pontificii*!

But, thirdly; who are they that receive the *Number of his Name*? Our *Brightman* carries it, unto a Company taking Part with Antichrist, by a more remote Sort of Subjection.<sup>588</sup> But then, he brings in the poor *Græcians*, that are Strangers unto him, & out of the Dominion of any of his Ten Kingdomes. The Pretence for this is, That thro' the Baseness of one of their Emperours, and the Conquest which the *Europeans* for a while made of *Constantinople*, they did for a while yeeld a Sort of Subjection to him, & acknowledge him for their *Head*. And there are also *Popish* Christians at this Day among the *Græcians*; who are called, *Latins*; (and so have the *Number of the Name*, λατεινος.)<sup>589</sup> But our *Goodwin* is not satisfied, that there are no more than these intended. He makes a further Enquiry after them.

[49v] Take the Times of *Popery*, before the Reformation, and there were none suffered, but such as Received, either the *Mark*, or the *Name* of *Antichrist*. Those therefore that receive the *Number of his Name*, are a Generation of Men that have risen up since; and (some of them) within those Kingdomes that have Renounced the *Pope*. They are those who proceed not so far as to receive the *Mark*, or the *Name* of *Antichrist*; and yett they bring in such Opinions, and such Practices, and such Rites in Worship, as may make Men justly to *Number* them, | & reckon them, among those that are in their Affection *Roman-Catholicks*. They so Behave themselves, that they aim at *Popery*, in the Judgment of Orthodox and Reformed *Protestants*. Tho' their Profession Deny Popery, yett the *Transgression* and the Tendency of their wicked Principles, it saies, in the Heart of serious Protestants, *That they have the Fear and Love of the Pope, before their Eyes*. As they that *profess to know God, but in Works Deny Him*, are *Atheists*; Thus, tho' these *profess to Deny* the Pope, yett in their *Works*, and all their *Principles and Policies*, they go to Advance *Popery*: and so they have received the *Number of the Name* of Antichrist; they deserve to be *Accounted* [so, *Numbered*, signifies,] and *Esteemed* among such as wear the *Name* of *Antichrist*.

Such a Faction may gain the Power, to hinder (the *Buying and Selling*) the Quiet Living of Men better affected unto a scriptural Reformation; They may grow so potent a Faction, as to carry Matters very far towards a *Coalition* with the *Romish Communion*, and an *Acknowledgment* of a *Romish Jurisdiction*. Dr.

<sup>588</sup> From Goodwin, reference is made to Brightman, *A Revelation of the Revelation*, p. 716.

<sup>589</sup> The word λατεινος [lateinos] is a variant of λατίνος [latinos] "Latin."

*Goodwin* saies, They shall be the *Popes last Champions* before his Fall; and they shall be encountred and conquered by the Reformers, before the Ruine of *Rome*. They shall be mightily for setting up a *Form of Godliness*, but their Doom is, *They shall proceed no further*; they shall have a Stop; and *their Folly*, and Madness in endeavouring to bring in Popery, when that *Babel* is going down, *shall appear to all Men*; and being discovered, it shall be their Overthrow.

| 590  
4666.

[50r]

**Q.** Why is the *Number of the Beast*, here determined, *six hundred sixty six*? v. 18.

**A.** There have been almost as many Wayes of Proceeding used by Interpreters, to come at the Mystery; and some of them that have not been without much Profanity in them. I shall blott none of my Paper with them. I shall single out only Two or Three, all of which do appear highly probable, and are so consisting & concurring with each other, that probably they may be all intended.

I. The First Essay upon 666, is that which one *Potter* began; and it ha's thus been carried on.<sup>591</sup>

It is the *Number of a Man*; we must count it according to the Manner that *Men* use to do. And here is *Wisdom*; the Best Flights in the *Art of Arithmetick* must be used in it. Briefly, The *square Root* of 666 is to be extracted. As 144 is in the *Apocalypse*, the *Number of the Heavenly Jerusalem*, so 666 is the *Number of the Beast*. And as 12 is the *square Root* of 144, so if we find the *Papacy* run all upon a *Number* that is the *square Root* of 666, we need not be at a Loss where to find the *Beast*, which the Holy Spirit ha's described unto us.

The *square Root* of any specified Number is that which being multiplied by itself, does constitute that Number, whether it be with a *Fraction* remaining, or without one.

The Holy Spirit ha's not required us to count the *Number* of the *Heavenly Jerusalem*. He ha's done it Himself. He ha's told us, the Number is 144. He ha's told us, the *square Root* of it, is, 12. Whole Chapters are full of this.

<sup>590</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>591</sup> The ultimate source of this first essay is the work of English painter, clergyman, biblical commentator, experimentalist, and early fellow of the Royal Society, Francis Potter (1594–1678), *An Interpretation of the Number 666 wherein, not onely the Manner, how this Number ought to be interpreted, is clearely proved and demonstrated* (1642). It seems likely, however, that Mather drew on Jurieu, *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies*, pp. 149–55; and/or Waple, *The Book of Revelation Paraphrased*, pp. 299–305; and/or *A New System of the Apocalypse*, pp. 22–27, all of which use Potter's speculations in their annotations on this verse. The fact that Mather originally wrote “cubical root” in every single instance suggests that *A New System* was the key source, since that is the wording used there. Later Mather consistently revised it to “square root.” The author of *A New System* also draws heavily on Launay's *Paraphrase et exposition sur l'Apocalypse*, pp. 442–43.



But He only tells us the *Number* of the *Beast*, and bids us be at the Pains to *count* it, & search out the *square Root* of it. Perhaps, the Pains requisite unto the Discovery of *Antichrist*, while he is yett Reigning, may be herein intimated. When the *New Jerusalem* arrives, every thing will of itself be made plain unto us.

Lett us obey the Command. The *square Root* of 666, we shall find to be 25. Because 25 multiplied by itself makes, 625 to which a Fraction of 41 being added, there arises the Number of 666.

Now, as the Number 144 is consecrated, to signify the *Empire* of our Lord JESUS CHRIST: And the Number 12, which is the *square Root* of it, is a sacred Number in it. There were *Twelve Patriarchs*, and there were *Twelve Apostles*, on which the True Church ha's been founded: And the *Number Twelve* bears a Sway in all that belongs to the N. *Jerusalem*: so 25, which is the *square Root* of 666, is a sacred Number in the Antichristian Church: It is found every where; All turns upon it.

When *Rome Christian* which is the Throne of the Papacy, was first of all Divided, there were, as *Onuphrius* informs us, *Twenty Five* Material Gates. And there were also *Twenty Five* Mystical Gates; or so many Churches wherein *Baptism* was administred.<sup>592</sup>

According to *Onuphrius*, and *Baronius*, and *Platina*, and others, *Rome* had, at first, only 25 *Cardinals*, 25 *Parishes*, and 25 *Curates*.

According to *Onuphrius* and *Lipsius*, the Circumference of *Rome*, is 25 Furlongs.<sup>593</sup>

According to *Bzovius*, there are 25 *Pœnitentiaries*.<sup>594</sup>

There are in *St. Peters Church* at *Rome*, 25 *Altars*. And the great *Altar* hath, according to *Ang. Rocca*, a Cross upon it, that is 25 Spans high.<sup>595</sup> And, if we may beleeve *Onuphrius* and *Baronius*, each Side of that *Altar*, is 25 foot in its Dimensions.<sup>596</sup> Before the Church there are 25 Gates, and one of them is not opened but every 25 Years.

There is upon all the *Altars* the Number 25 imprinted; in that the *Five Wounds* of Christ; are graven upon them in *Five* several Places.

There are usually 25 *Monks* in a Cloister.

<sup>592</sup> All of the following references come from *A New System of the Apocalypse*, pp. 24–25. Mather also comments on the number of the Beast in *Trip Paradise*, Third Paradise XII, p. 329.

<sup>593</sup> Reference is made to the work of the Italian humanist historian and antiquarian, Onuphrius Panvinus (Onofrio Panvinio, 1529–1568), *De præcipuis urbis Romæ sanctioribusque basilicis* (1570), p. 15; to unidentified loci in Baronius's *Annales ecclesiastici a Christo nato*; and Platina's *Historia B. Platinae de vitis Pontificum Romanorum*; as well as to Justus Lipsius, *Amiranda, sive, Magnitudine Romana Libri Quator* (1598), lib. 3, cap. 2, pp. 115–24.

<sup>594</sup> Abraham Bzowski (Bzovius) (1567–1637) was a Polish Dominican historian. He carried on the work of Baronius.

<sup>595</sup> Angelo Rocca (1545–1620) was an Italian humanist, librarian, and bishop. Possibly, the reference is to his *Bibliotheca apostolica vaticana* (1591), p. 176.

<sup>596</sup> See Onuphrius, *De præcipuis*, p. 236.

For some Ages, they have held their *Jubilee*, every 25 Years.

There are 25 *Articles* of the Papal Faith. So the *Bull* of Pope *Pius* IV. ha's determined the Number.<sup>597</sup>

The *Council of Trent*, which gave us the last Account of their Doctrine was finished in 25 *Sessions*, and signed by 25 *Archbishops*, (as it was begun by 25 *Bishops*.) and it made 25 *Articles* of Faith.

In a great Part of the Estates of the *Papism*, they reckon 25 *Provinces*, or principal Dignities.

If it be now demanded, why the Holy Spirit gave the Number 666, for the *Number of the Beast*, and not 625, of which the *Number* 25 would have been the *square Root*, without a *Fraction*? It may be answered, The Holy Spirit would have done so, if He had intended only to give us the *Number of the Beast*; but he intended also to give us the *Number of his Name*; that so by a further Delineation He might the better paint out the *Beast* unto us. It agrees admirably with the Meaning of, *The Number of the Name of the Idol*, to find, That the *Letters* in the *Name* of the *Beast*, contain and produce the *Number* now before us.

Tis the *Number of a Man*; that is, tis a *Number* that must be understood as *Men* use to count. Every | Body knowes, That *Men* first Invented the Use of the *Letters* in the *Alphabet* for Computation, and gave to every *Letter* its *Value*. Now the *Prophets* must be explained, according to the *Languages* of the *Prophets*. And there are Two *Languages* of the *Prophets*, the *Hebrew* and the *Greek*. What is the *Hebrew* Name of the *Roman Church*? Tis *Romjith* /רומיית/, and the *Letters* afford us the Number of 666. What is the *Greek* Name? Tis ΛΑΤΕΙΝΟΣ, and the *Letters* again afford us the Number of 666.<sup>598</sup> Indeed all is *Latin* in the *Roman Church*; and no *Services* are performed, but in the *Latin Tongue*. It was no less a *Man* than *Irenaeus*, one of the *Holiest*, as well as one of the *Ancientest* of the *Fathers*; one who had been a *Disciple* of *Polycarp*, who had conversed, with the *Apostle John* himself, that gave us this Exposition.<sup>599</sup> [50v]

It is true, the meer hitt of the *Number* in the *Letters* of this *Name*, is not enough to Demonstrate, that the *Pope* is *Antichrist*. For *Bellarmino* found the same *Number*, in the Name Σαξονειος; *Genebrardus* pretends to find it in Μαομετις.<sup>600</sup> And the Attempts of some others, have been as Foolish and Pro-

597 The "Professio fidei Tridentina," also known as the "Creed of Pope Pius IV," is one of the four authoritative Creeds of the Catholic Church. It was issued on November 13, 1565, by Pope Pius IV in his bull "Iniunctum nobis" under the auspices of the Council of Trent (1545–1563).

598 The Hebrew word רומיית [romyith], or more accurately רומית [romith], signifies "Roman" and the Greek word λατεινος "Latin." See above and below.

599 From Grelletus, *Prodromus*, pp. 159–60. Irenaeus's relation with Polycarp is described in Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, 5.20.4–8 [PG 20. 484–85]; transl.: LCL 153, pp. 497–99. Irenaeus's thoughts on the number of the Beast can be found in *Adversus haereses*, 5.29.2 [PG 7.2.1201–02]; transl.: ANF (1:558).

600 The Greek word Σαξονειος [saxoneios] signifies "the Saxon," while Μαομετις [maometis] is "Mahomet." Reference is made to the work of Robert Bellarmine, *De controversiis Christianae*

fane, as that Idle Fellowes, who made a mighty Discovery, That there were 666 Words, in the *Solemn League & Covenant*. But such an *Hitt* as ours, falling in with such a notable Coincidence of so many other things, ought not to be despised.

|         |         |
|---------|---------|
| λ — 30  | Ϟ — 200 |
| α — 1   | ο — 6   |
| τ — 300 | μ — 40  |
| ε — 5   | ι — 10  |
| ι — 10  | ϙ — 10  |
| γ — 50  | π — 400 |
| ο — 70  |         |
| ς — 200 | 666.    |
| <hr/>   |         |
| 666     |         |

II. The Second Essay upon 666, that I shall take notice of, is made by one *Beverley*.<sup>601</sup> It is to this Purpose.

The *Wisdom* of a *Man* is to be here employ'd, and the *Number* of a *Man* considered. The *Numerative* Faculty, and the Notion of *Number* springing from it, is peculiar to a *Man*, as a Creature of *Reason*; a *Beast* ha's nothing of it; and Men of more acute *Reason* treat *Number* with more Facility and Ingenuity, than Men of a vulgar Apprehension do.

We must suppose ourselves here to be remanded unto the *Root* of the *Number* before us; & from thence rise to the *Top* of it; where we shall see the *Beast*, at the full *Number* and *Stature* of a *Man*, and at his *manly Age*.

That things here are *Uneven*, and *Fractional*, and *Out-of-Square*, is but an Agreeable Repræsentation of the Matter.

But wee fall upon the Number 25.

And about the Year 25 after the *Resurrection* of our Saviour, we may suppose *Antichrist* beginning to take *Root* in the World. The Apostle *Paul* tells us, The *Mystery of Iniquity*, or, *Apostasy*, was then as a *Womb*, in which the *Man of Sin* was then *curiously forming*, as in the *lower Parts of the Earth*. And the Apostle *John* tells us, That *Antichrist* was then at Work; in affectations of sæcular Grandeurs, Dominations, & Preheminencies.<sup>602</sup> It is no Wonder, that the Apos-

*Fidei* (1610), tom. 1, lib. 3, cap. 10 ("De Nomine Antichristi"), pp. 650–54; and to the work of the French Benedictine exegete and Orientalist, Gilbert Générard (1535–1597), *Chronographiae libri quatuor* (1585), p. 476.

<sup>601</sup> From the work of the English Congregationalist clergyman and millenarian, Thomas Beverley (fl. 1670–1701), *A Scripture-line of Time* (1684), sect. 11 ("Of the Number 666"), in *Works*, pp. 132–48.

<sup>602</sup> 2 Thess. 2:3–10; 1 John 2:18–22.

ties in Spirit, thus beheld the *Man of Sin*, when no Eye saw him, in his *embryonal Condition*, in his First Principles. Every thing then receives its Nature. The spiritual *Edom*, struggled as another Nation, in the Womb of the *Apostasy*, while the pure *Israelitism*, *without Guile*, was lying in the Womb of true *Christianity*. An outward *Profession* was a common *Womb*, to both of them. This profane *Esau*, is he that sold the *Birthright* of the Gospel for a *Mess of Pottage*, & the *Heavenly Kingdome* for an *Earthly Dukedome*, and he gott the Start, in his Dominion.

But thus Beginning as early as 25. the Lord surprizes all Defence by *Antiquity*, out of the Hands of *Antichrist*. *Antiquity* alone, does a Cause little Service.

From 25, carry on 666, and it brings us to A. D. 725. And at this Time we fall upon the famous *Iconoclastic History*.

| Wonderful Coincidences, will here occur unto us. When the *Antichrist* [51r] is born, and grown, into Shape, the *Image of the Beast* is to be worshipped. The Prophecy alludes to the Story of *Nebuchadnezzar*.<sup>603</sup> He required the *Worship* of the *Image*, which he saw in his Dream, & cast into a *Fiery Furnace* those that refused it. His own *universal Monarchy* was to be celebrated by the *Worship* of the *Image*, which he had thus erected. And the *Worshipping of this Image*, is by him called, *The Serving of his Gods*. Thus here; The *Worshipping of the Image made unto the Beast*, is both a *Worship* of the old *Beast*, or an *Homage* to the *Roman Power* under the New *Image* of the *Papal Empire*; and it is also a *Worship of his Gods*, represented by *Images*, which he now setts up. Of all this there was a notable Fulfilment, in the affairs of *Leo Conon Isaurus*, and thus that succeeded, from the Year 725. [the 666 of the *Beast*,] until the Second Council of *Nice*. *Image-Worship* had been setting up, as an *Idolatrous Colossus*, to which every one, in Compliance with that *Beast*, the *Romish Nebuchadnezzar*, paid his Devotion. They who denied this *Worship*, tho' they were Emperours themselves, & out of the *Beasts Jurisdiction*, yett incurr'd his Fury; with an, *unto you it is commanded, o Tongues, People, & Languages*. 'Tis by an amazing Providence, that the High Feud about this Matter, from 725, or, 726, is in all Histories called, *Icono-machia*, and, *Bellum Iconoclasticum*.<sup>604</sup> The *Beast*, who had lifted up his Head so high, at 725, [and was now come to his 666.] gains his Point; and by the *Nicean Anathema's* at 787, he carries all before him. *Antichrist* was here to be seen at this Perfection.

The Observation is good; and worthy to be considered.

III. But, altho' the Holy Spirit, would lead the Minds of the Faithful, unto such Thoughts, as have been already laid before us, in the two foregoing *Es-says*; there is However, a *Third Essay* to be made upon 666, which does not

<sup>603</sup> See Dan. 3.

<sup>604</sup> Reference is made to the first Byzantine "war on icons" or "image struggle," which lasted from about 726 to 787.

overthrow and extinguish these Thoughts; and yett it will carry us on to some further Considerations, which may be no less acceptable to many of us, than any of the former.<sup>605</sup>

It was in the Year, 1073, that the Boisterous *Hildebrande* arrived unto the *Papal Chair*; & assumed the Name of *Gregory VII*. This terrible *Hell-brand*, and grand *Boutefeu* and *Disturber* of *Christendom*, advanced the *Papacy*, to the Highest Grandeur and Figure, that ever it saw.<sup>606</sup> He was the first that wholly shook off the Authority of the Emperour, which had hitherto been generally exercised, either in *electing*, or at least in *confirming* the *Popes*, yea, and all the *Bishops* throughout the Empire. Our *Gregory* made the See of *Rome*, absolutely *Independent*, and from the unsettled State of the Empire, took advantage, to make a solemn Decree, in a Council at the *Lateran*; *That in Case any Bishop should receive Investiture from any Lay-Person whatsoever, both he that gave it, and he that received it, should be excommunicated.* The Emperour was defeated in his Attempts to mortify this Monster, and after Three Dayes waiting at his Gates, had his Crown given away to another.

No Man can Read the Church-History of this Time, without acknowledging, that the *Man of Sin*, was now if ever very near come to *Mans Estate*.

Now the Number 666 is the *Number of a Man*. That is to say, The *Number* of the Years, that the *Man of Sin* must continue, after he comes to be a full-grown *Man*.

Lett us reckon 666 Years, from the highest Culminations of the Papacy, quickly after the Reign of *Hildebrand*, and we may suppose the Reign for the *Man of Sin*, must be then hastening to a Period.

[51v] | [blank]

<sup>605</sup> The next section seems to be based upon Mather's private correspondence with Nicholas Noyes. Mather canceled the following passage here: "I am acquainted with a learned & a pious Person, Mr. Nicolas Noyes, a Minister of Salem, in my Neighbourhood, from whose excellent Researches into the Divine Scriptural Prophecies, which he courteously communicates unto me, I am enabled to offer some further Illustrations upon the affayr now under hand under our enquiries."

<sup>606</sup> Pope Gregory VII (Hildebrand of Sovana, c. 1015–1085) was pope from 1073 until his death and vigorously asserted the papal supremacy in the Investiture Controversy, his dispute over the appointment of bishops with Emperor Henry IV. In 1076, Gregory excommunicated Henry, who in the following year made his famous Walk to Canossa seeking reconciliation.

**Q.** Mount *Zion*? v. 1.

**A.** The taking of Mount *Zion* was the first Atchievement of *David*, after He came to his Kingdome, & before he was fully established in it, & had built his City. Here seems to be a præparatory State of the Kingdome of our Saviour, now rising to the *Tops of the Mountains*, and *exalting itself above the Hills*.<sup>607</sup>

**Q.** Who may be the 144000 with the *Lamb* on Mount *Sion*, having the *Fathers Name* written on their *Foreheads*? v. 1.

**A.** It might have been quæstion'd, whether the Church of our LORD, was not wholly lost, when the *whole World wondred after the Beast*. But the Holy Spirit represents in a Vision to His Holy Servant, That the Church did then subsist, under all the Violences & the Victories, which the *Beast* had upon it.

The *Lamb* is JESUS CHRIST.

Mount *Sion* may note the evangelical *Church-State*.

The 144000 who have *the Fathers Name written on their Foreheads*, are True Beleevers; who, separating from the Church of *Rome*, have this Consolation, that they enjoy the gracious Presence of their *Saviour*, as the *Lamb sacrificed* for them.

They are *Redeemed from the Earth*.] They are not of an *Earthly*, but an *Heavenly* Disposition. And, they are not under the Conduct of a *Romish*, and a *Wicked Clergy*; for which, *The Earth*, is the Symbol, in the Prophetic Writings.

They are *not Defiled with Women, for they are Virgins*.] The Term, *Virgins*, agreeth only to *Females*; it is alwayes used only of that Sex. We are not then to take the Phrase in a *literal* Sense, but in a *mystical*. Tis a Chastity, & a Purity of *Soul*, which is here spoken of; that apprehends *Idolatry* as a *spiritual Adultery*. The *Virgins, not defiled with Women*, are here sett in Opposition, to those *whom the Woman hath made Drunk with the Wine of the Wrath of her Fornications*; that is, with *Idolatry*.

They follow the *Lamb, whither soever he goes*.] The Members of the true Church are united unto our Lord Jesus Christ, by indissoluble Bonds; They follow Him, on Mount *Calvary*, as well as on Mount *Tabor*; in a *Desart*, as well as in a *Canaan*; By *Sea*, as well as by *Land*; (2. Cor. 6.8.) *Thro' Honour & Dishonour, thro' evil Report & good Report*.

In their Mouth is no *Guile, & they are without Fault before the Throne of God*.] Tis what they are Sincerely and Really Coming to. Compare, Eph. 5.25, 26, 27. Worldly and wicked Persons, do not constitute the *True Church*.

<sup>607</sup> From Waple, *The Book of Revelation Paraphrased*, pp. 307–08.

*They learn a Song that none else can learn.*] The Mysteries of practical Christianity, which are practised by none but the truly Regenerate, are the Notes of that *Song*.

Finally; They are *one hundred & forty four Thousand*.] The Root of this Number is *Twelve*. Tis intimated, That the True Church is founded on the Doctrine of the *Twelve Apostles*. The Ministry of the *Twelve Apostles* laid the Foundation of the Christian Church. But because this Church is to be multiplied into a great Multitude of Beleevers, and a *Thousand* is a *Name of Multitude*, therefore *Twelve times Twelve Thousand* are here spoken of.<sup>608</sup>

**Q.** The *Voice of Harpers?* v. 2.

**A.** Here may be some Intimation of the *Joy* which is *in Heaven*, & in the *Heavenly Tabernacle* on the Exaltation of the *Kingdome* of our Lord. For, if there be *Joy in Heaven* on the Conversion of a Sinner, it may well be supposed, there will be so, on the great *Advancement of our Saviours Kingdome* here.<sup>609</sup>

4702.

**Q.** Of the *Romish Babylon* we read; *She made all Nations drink of the Wine of the Wrath of her Fornication?* v. 8.

**A.** The *Fornication* charged on the Church of *Rome*, is, *Idolatry*.<sup>610</sup> The Charge is too notorious, too evident, for her ever to Justify herself. She worships, not only the Holy *Virgin*, in giving her the Titles of, *The Gate of Paradise*, and, *The Queen of Heaven*, and, *The Gate of Heaven*; yea; in advancing her above our Lord JESUS CHRIST; for she begs of her in one of her Prayers, That she would, *Jure Matris imperare*,<sup>611</sup> use the Authority of a *Mother* in commanding Him: Nor doth she only Adore *Images*, according to the *Decree* of the *Second Council of Nice*, which is confirmed by the *Council of Trent*: But she also adores the *Sacrament*, which our Lord appointed as a *Memorial* of His Death, & therefore it must be something else than our Lord Himself; To which may be added, her Adoration of the *Cross*, and that with the Highest Kind of Worship, which is called, *Latria*, in her sinful Distinctions.<sup>612</sup>

The Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, which leads Men to *Idolatry*, may justly be compared unto *Wine*, and not unto *Water*: And unto *Wine of Wrath*, or, Furious Wine; because they who drink it, become *furiously* Intoxicated. They are deprived of their Senses. They *Furiously* pursue the Objects of their *Idolatry*

<sup>608</sup> From *A New System of the Apocalypse*, pp. 80–84.

<sup>609</sup> From Waple, *The Book of Revelation Paraphrased*, p. 310.

<sup>610</sup> Mather draws this entire answer from *A New System of the Apocalypse*, pp. 77–80.

<sup>611</sup> “To command [Christ] by the authority of a mother.”

<sup>612</sup> According to Christian tradition, “cultus latriæ” is the highest worship due to God alone, while the “cultus douliae” refers to forms of veneration which may be offered to saints or martyrs.

and Superstition; They act like Madmen; There is no Restraining of them. They are *Furiously* transported also, with Hatred & Malice, against all who do not approve of their | Abominable Devotions.

[52v]

The *True Doctrine* is compared unto *Water*; because it renders those who embrace it, Meek, Gentle, Easy, Patient under Injuries, Ready to teach with Mildness those who are otherwise minded, & filled with Compassion towards the Erroneous, rather than with Raging Animositie. But a *False Doctrine* makes those who entertain it, Cruel, Violent, Quarrelsome, Outrageous, ready to Assault, yea, to Destroy, those who contradict them. It is resembled therefore unto *Wine*, and *Wine of Wrath*, or, Heady *Wine*; *Wine* that inflames Men with a Spirit of Persecution.

And how horribly does the Church of *Rome*, I pray, persecute all those whom she looks upon as *Hereticks*? For this only Reason, because they will not own her to be the *Empress of the World*, the *Mother and Mistress of Faith*, and her *Bishop*, to be the *Vicar of JESUS CHRIST*, and the *Center of Christian Unity*? Of the *Croisado's* against the *Waldenses* and *Albigenses* alone, *Bellarmino* makes his Boast, that in *one* of them, there were *one hundred thousand People sacrificed*.<sup>613</sup> The Massacres, in *France*, in the *Low Countreyes*, in *Ireland*, in *Poland*, in the Valleys of *Piedmont*, and the infandous Barbarities committed on the Friends of the Reformation, by the Church of *Rome*, have been a dreadful Exposition of the *Cup of Wrath*; with which *Babylon* does inebriate the miserable Nations. –

| 614

[53r]

**Q.** In the Vision that Introduces the *Harvest*, and the *Vintage* on the *Papacy*, we have *Three Several Angels*, who have the *Everlasting Gospel*, and who Denounce against *Babylon*, & her Followers? v. 9.

**A.** If we should assert the *Pastors* of the Churches, to be *Angels*, we shall have the Seven Epistles in the *Apocalypse*, to countenance it.<sup>615</sup>

The Lord not only preserved a Number of Beleevers, who never worshipped the *Beast* nor his *Image*, all the *Time*, or *Times*, of his Reign; But also Raised up Teachers, who openly condemned the Idolatry of the Church of *Rome*, and exhorted People to withdraw from her Communion.

The *First* of the *Three Angels* before us, appears with the *Everlasting Gospel*; Because there is no Rule but *This*, to Reform the Church when it is corrupted, & Restore the true Worship of God. The Followers of the *Beast*, accuse those of *Novelty*, who condemn their Errors and Follies. But the *Gospel* which they preach is no *Novel* thing; 'Tis the same that was preached by the Apostles, & that

<sup>613</sup> A reference to Bellarmine, *De controversiis Christianae Fidei*, tom. 1, lib. 4 ("De notis verae ecclesiae"), cap. 18, pp. 1019–20.

<sup>614</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>615</sup> Mather draws this entire answer from *A New System of the Apocalypse*, pp. 84–90.



shall be preached unto the Consummation of Ages; and therefore it is called, *The Everlasting Gospel*.<sup>616</sup>

The *Three Angels*, may intimate *Three different Times*, when God Raised up *Teachers*, who Remarkably declared against the Wickedness of the Church of *Rome*; namely in the *Twelfth*, the *Fourteenth*, & the *Sixteenth* Centuries.

In the *Twelfth Age*, about the Year 1126, there arose *Peter du Bruis*, and soon after him in the Year 1147. there arose one *Henry of Tholouse*.<sup>617</sup> Their Disciples were decried as *Hereticks*; and went by the Name of *Petrobrusians* and *Henricians*. They taught nothing but the *Everlasting Gospel*; and they preach'd against the main Superstitions in the Church of *Rome*. In the same Age, there appeared *Arnoldus de Bress*, who going into *Italy*, with the *Everlasting Gospel*, was Burnt, in the Year, 1155. In that Year, *Valdo* appeared; who was held in yett greater Esteem than his Predecessors, & had Numberless Followers.<sup>618</sup>

These Teachers cry *with a loud Voice, Fear God*: Because at that Season, *Babylon* alone was *feared*; every one cried out, *who is like unto the Beast? Who is able to make War with him?*

They also cry, *give Glory to God*; because then the *Glory* due to God, was transferred unto *Creatures*. [Compare, Rom. 1.21, 23.]

And they add; *The Hour of His Judgment is come*. The Denunciation was remarkably fulfilled in that very Century. The Quarrels between the *Emperour* and the *Pope*, fill'd all Christendom with *civil Wars*, & overwhelm'd it with unheard of Desolations. The most unhappy Expeditions into the Holy Land, were then also made; & *Saladine* towards the End of that Age conquered *Jerusalem*,

<sup>616</sup> The "eternal Gospel" of Rev. 14:6 was a central preoccupation of Mather's later years. He published a sermon by that title in 1700: *The Everlasting Gospel. The Gospel of Justification by the Righteousness of God*. During the last two decades of his life, he devoted great energy to working out and propagating the *evangelium aeternum*. In his interpretation, it consisted of a few fundamental biblical principles or, as he called them, "Maxims of Piety." All regenerate Protestants could converge around these principles without having to abandon their confessional homes before the return of Christ. He refined and reduced his "Maxims of Piety" in numerous publications. One, which he also appended to his "Biblia Americana" as a kind of *summa summarum*, clearly reflects how he viewed this "eternal gospel": *The Stone Cut out of the Mountain* (1716) which would help to crush the kingdom of Antichrist as prophesied in Dan. 2:45.

<sup>617</sup> Peter of Bruys (Pierre De Bruys or Peter de Bruis, fl. 1117–c.1131) was a French religious reformer and church critic. He opposed infant baptism, the erecting of churches, the veneration of crosses, the doctrine of transubstantiation, and prayers for the dead. Henry of Lausanne (variously known as of Bruys, of Cluny, of Toulouse, of Le Mans, sometimes referred to as Henry the Monk) was a French itinerant preacher of the first half of the twelfth century who died in prison around 1148 for propagating ideas similar to that of Peter of Bruys.

<sup>618</sup> Arnold of Brescia (Arnaldus, Arnaldo da Brescia, c. 1100–1155) was an Italian canon regular and church reformer who was in contact with the Cathars and Waldensians. He was a critic of papal power and simony and demanded the return to apostolic poverty. In 1155, he was hanged and then posthumously burned in Rome. On Peter Waldo and the Waldensians, see the annotations on Rev. 11.

& the Christians with horrible Destructions upon them, were driven out of *Palestine*.<sup>619</sup>

They preach to every Nation, & Kindred, and Tongue, & People; that is to say, Thro' all Parts of the *Papal Kingdome*. [Compare Rev. 13.7.]

| In the *Fourteenth Age*, about the Year, 1360. *John Wickliff* assaulted the Church of *Rome*; & by Scripture proved him to be an *Imposter*, and the *Antichrist*; and he Preached and Thundered against the *Popish* Abominations. The Voice of this *Angel* had such an Efficacy, that the King and Parliament of *England*, forbad their Bishops repairing to *Rome* any more for Confirmation. Upon *Wickliffs* Withdrawing into *Bohemia*, he had *John Hus* for his Disciple; and this *Hus*, by the meer Power of his Doctrine, drew off the Kingdome of *Bohemia*, from Obedience to *Rome*. Hence this *Angel* cries out, *Babylon is falling, is falling*; For this was a Præ sage & Earnest of that Falling away of the Nations, from her, that was coming on. *Post Centum Annos*<sup>620</sup> – [52v]

In the *Sixteenth Age*, there comes an *Angel*, that proclames, *If any Man worship the Beast & his Image, the same shall drink of the Wine of the Wrath of God*. *Luther* and the rest of the Reformers, now preach'd and wrote so efficaciously against the Idolatry of the Church of *Rome*, and her False Doctrine and her Tyranny, that near Half the Nations, who revered her as their *Mother* and their *Queen*, withdrew from her as an *Harlot*, & look'd on her as the *Mother of Abominations*.

As *Rome* could not behold the Success of the Voice of this *Third Angel*, without a bloody Rage, so the Faithful who separated from her, could not but suffer abundance of Persecution, from that bloody Rage. This the Holy Spirit intimates by adding here; *Here is the Patience of the Saints!*

But the Holy Spirit likewise Animates them, and Fortifies them, against the Evils, that *Babylon* should be able to do unto them. It is added, *Blessed are the Dead, which Dy in the Lord*. In this Passage there is not only given an Encouragement unto<sup>621</sup> are persecuted by the Beast, for asserting & publishing the

619 Salah ad-Din or Saladin (1137–1193) was the first sultan of Egypt and Syria and founder of the Ayyubid dynasty. He led the Muslim military campaign against the Crusader states in the Levant and captured Jerusalem in 1187.

620 “After one hundred years.” Mather refers to the English scholastic theologian, church reformer, and Bible translator John Wycliffe (c. 1330–1384) and the reform movement associated with his name. Like the Waldensians, Wycliffe and his followers emphasized the Christian ideal of poverty and sharply criticized the ecclesial hierarchy. In the great philosophical debates of his time revolving around the problem of universals, he assumed an extreme position of realism that also led him to utterly reject the doctrine of transubstantiation, for which he was condemned as a heretic. Wycliffe also advocated translations of the Bible into the vernacular languages. He completed his English translation directly from the Vulgate in 1382. His teachings inspired Jan Hus (*RGG*). On Hus and the Hussites, see the annotations on Rev. 11.

621 Mather seems to have left out a “them who/thar” here.

*Everlasting Gospel*, but also a Confutation of the Popish Errors, about the State of the *Dead in Purgatory*.

To this Purpose, the Author of the *New System of the Apocalypse*.

**Q.** On that, *Blessed the Dead which Dy in the Lord from henceforth?* v. 13.

**A.** *From henceforth*, ἀπαρτι,<sup>622</sup> is as much as to say, *Now very Quickly*; The Time is now near.

A Worthy, but Nameless, Writer on the *Revelation*, proposes, That this Verse be look'd on as a plain Declaration of the *First Resurrection*.

Indeed, it seems to be taken from Dan. XII.12. where *Blessedness* is pronounced as belonging to those who shall *wait and come to the End of the 1335 Years*. From whence also it appears, that this is to be accomplished, at the End of those Years, when there is to be a *Blessed Resurrection*. Dan. XII.1, 2, 3.

Then also is to be the Grand *Harvest, & Vintage*.

[54r] | <sup>623</sup>

**Q.** We find the *Fall of Babylon* described by Two *Characters* and *Periods*: An *Harvest*, and a *Vintage*. It would be a great Satisfaction, to see this Matter Illustrated. v. 14.

**A.** The Incomparable *Jurieu*, ha's done it Incomparably.<sup>624</sup>

We have sett before us, first of all, the 144000 *Marked Ones*; the Number of the Faithful, whom God preserves under the mystical *Babylon*, and who do not partake of her Idolatries. They *sing a Song, which none else is able to sing*; They tast peculiar Pleasures of Piety, whereof the Subjects of *Antichrist* are not sensible.

Then we have an *Angel flying thro' the Midst of Heaven*, & having the *Everlasting Gospel, to preach unto them, who Dwell on the Earth*. A Præparative unto that Preaching of the Gospel, that shall be made unto all Nations, when the Antichristian Kingdome shall be Abolished.

The Cry is then made; *Babylon is fallen, is fallen*. It seems, there are to be two Steps, two Strokes, for the Fall of the mystical *Babylon*. Terrible Judgments are denounced, unto the Popish *Idolaters*. And yett, *the Patience of the Saints* must here have Notice taken of it; an Intimation of the *Persecution* which the *Saints* must *patiently* suffer, till the Time for the Judgments to be executed on these *Idolaters*.

<sup>622</sup> Mather refers to the Greek phrase ἀπ' ἀρτι [ap' arti] in Rev. 14:13, which signifies "from now on" (BGT). His source is Waple, *The Book of Revelation*, pp. 320–21, who also draws the two words together. Waple, in turn, draws on Hammond, *A Paraphrase*, p. 587, who argues that it can be one word or two words.

<sup>623</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>624</sup> The following entry is partly adopted from, partly in conversation with, Jurieu, *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies*, pt. 1, pp. 224–35.

Now comes, the *Harvest* first, and then the *Vintage*.

An *Harvest*, in the Style of the Holy Spirit, signifies, both something that is *Bad*, and something that is *Good*. Sometimes, tis of a *Bad* Importance. The Destruction of *Babylon*, is thus described; Jer. 51.33. *The Time of her Harvest is come*. Thus, Joel. 3.13. *putt in the Sickle, for the Harvest is ripe*. Compare, Isa. 17.5. Sometimes, tis of a *Good* Importance; our Saviour said, Mat. 9.37. *The Harvest is great*. Compare, Joh. 4.35, 38. Sometimes, we have both together. As, Mat. 13.30.

But, a *Vintage*, is always taken in an *Evil* Sense. The Juice that comes out of the *Grape*, has the Colour of the *Blood*, that runs out of the Veins, of them that are slain. A *Vintage* evermore carries Anger, Vengeance, Destruction, in the Signification of it. See Isa. 63.2.

Observe now, That God has putt the Distance, between the *Two Parts* of the Fall of the Papal Kingdome, in Proportion to that which is between the *Harvest* and the *Vintage*. Where the *Harvest* begins at the End of *July*, the *Vintage* begins at the Middle of *September*. The like Proportion is found every where. They are every where about *Fifty Dayes* distant from one another. Lett us take *Fifty*, which is a sacred Number, made up of, *seven times seven*. *Fifty Dayes* make the seventh Part of a Year, (only there are Ten Dayes over,) which is the Period of Sowing, Budding, Springing, Ripeness, and all. Now divide the Period of 1260 Years, which is that Antichrists Reign; the *whole Year* (as one may call it,) of *Antichrist*. If this be Divided into *seven* Parts, every *Seventh* makes exactly 180 Years. Now, if you reckon 180 Years from the *Reformation* in the former Age, you will come to an astonishing *Revolution*. At that *Reformation*, the Lord had an *Harvest*, in the *Papal Empire*. *Antichrist* having passed his *Time*, and his *Two Times*, had now but an *Half-Time* remaining for him. He remarkably lost *Half* his Empire, at the Beginning of it. The *Vintage* is now daily to be looked for.

Observe again; Both *Harvest* and *Vintage*, are not gathered in a Day; there must be some *Time* spent, in Gathering of *Corn*, and of *Grapes*. The *First Ruine* of the Antichristian Kingdome took up about Thirty or Forty Years. *Germany* began in the Year 1520. *Denmark* and *Sueden* followed in the Year 1525. *England* came to cast out the Pope, in the Year, 1534. And others came after these. God knowes, how it will be at the *Next Ruine* of *Antichrist*. Monsieur *Jurieu* thinks, That as *Peter de Lune*, after he had been deposed by the Council of *Constance*, went and satt in the Mountains of *Arragon*, where he continued a Schism, Ten or a dozen Years; thus, tis probable, the Popes being driven out of the rest of *Europe* will settle themselves among the *Spaniards*, from whose Hearts *Popery* will not easily be pulled away.<sup>625</sup> For my own Part, I expect the *Vintage* to be finished

<sup>625</sup> Pedro Martínez de Luna y Pérez de Gotor (1328–1423), known as el Papa Luna in Spanish and Pope Luna in English, was an Aragonese nobleman, who, as Benedict XIII, was one of the competing popes during the period of the Western Schism. Among the other claimants to the papal throne, he alone refused to acknowledge the new consensus pope Martin V, elected by

by our Lords appearing in Flames from Heaven, and therefore may have some other Thoughts, than my *Jurieu* ha's had concerning it.<sup>626</sup>

[54v] Observe lastly; The *Harvest* spoils the Earth of a *Part* of her Fruits; but not of all. A fair, fine, pleasant Season remains after the *Harvest*. The following *Autumn* ha's its Profits and its Beauties. There is a *second Spring* that crowns the Medowes with an After-Growth. But the *Vintage* makes thorough Work; It laies all Waste; It spoils the Earth, of all that remain'd upon it; Immediately the Winter comes, & brings upon the Earth the very Complexion of Destruction. Tis an Emblem of | what falls out; for the Extirpation of Popery. The *Reformation* cutt down many brave Countreyes from it; but still many were left unto it. *Popery* had great Successes after the *Reformation*; it massacred an infinite Number of the Faithful; it procured to itself the Confirmation of a famous Council; it engaged those Kings which were its Vassals, to double their Endeavours, for its Preservation; It gained Ground both in the East, and the West, *Indies*; it hath gained on one Side, almost as much as it ha's lost on the other; its Popes have Domineer'd prodigiously. *Popery* has had great Prosperities, that have comforted it under its Mortifications. But God is going to give a Dispatching Blow unto it; A *Vintage* that shall come that shall spoil it, of all its Glories; A *Winter* is coming that will lay it under an irrecoverable Desolation.

The *Substance* of the Vision being thus explained, the *Circumstances* will easily become intelligible.

He that *appears on a white Cloud, like the Son of Man, having on His Head a golden Crown*, is probably our Lord JESUS CHRIST. Tho' He executes His Judgments by His Angels, yett He often appears Himself, in the *Revelation*. He ever sits upon what is *white*; a Symbol of Innocence, of Purity, of Mercy. But He appears not, except for some very grand Work indeed. Now since the Dayes of the Apostles, there never was any Work so great, as that of the *Reformation*. Tho' He came then, on a *white Cloud*, in favour to His Children; yett He came with a *sharp Sickle* for His Enemies; T'was the Terrible Stroke of a *sharp Sickle* on the Kingdome of Antichrist.

An *Angel*, presents now a *Memorial*, and a *Petition* unto Him, *To Thrust in the Sickle, & Reap*. Another *Angel*, comes, like the *Destroying Angel* who went thro' *Egypt*; and as a Second unto the Lord on the *white Cloud*; He proceeds with the Work of the *Harvest*.

Then, *from the Altar*, there comes an *Angel which had Power over Fire*. Elsewhere we read about, *The Angel of the Waters*. Monsr. *Jurieu* thinks it probable, That every *Element*, hath its *Angel*, who præsides over it, & over the Events that fall out by Means of it. *One Angel* præsides over the *Sea*, and *Shipwrecks*; Another

---

the Council of Constance in 1417. Benedict was excommunicated and lived out his life in Peniscola Castle, near Tortosa, in the Kingdom of Aragon.

626 Mather here alludes to his own theory of the conflagration at the return of Christ. See the annotations on 2 Pet.

over the *Fire* and *Burnings*. This *Angel* comes out from the *Altar*, which Popery had profaned, by its Idolatries and Sacrifices. He comes to show, that *Fire* shall consume the Popish *Babylon*; without any Hopes of Recovery.

The *Vintage* comes on. The *Winepress* is trodden without the *City*, and *Blood* comes out of the *Winepress*, even to the *Horses Bridles*, by the *Space* of a *Thousand Six hundred furlongs*.

I concur with Monsr. *Jurieu*, That the *City* of *Rome* shall be now destroy'd.<sup>627</sup> But I do not suppose, it will be by such *Attacques*, as he imagines; I do suppose, it will be by *Fire from Heaven*. The *Angel of the Fire* shall be very literally employ'd in it.

As for the 1600 *Furlongs*, Mr. *Mede* thinks, it means, that which they call, *The Patrimony* of St. Peter.<sup>628</sup> The Countrey reaches from the Walls of *Rome*, unto the River *Po*, & contains Two Hundred Miles; which make 1600 *Furlongs*.

A *Volcano* of this Extent, will be the terriblest Thing, that ever the amaz'd World look'd upon!

---

<sup>627</sup> Again, Mather refers to his theory of the conflagration, fully developed in *Trip Paradise*, pp. 155–244.

<sup>628</sup> A reference to Mede, *A Key to the Revelation*, pp. 104–05.

**Q.** Whence the Expression, where the Allusion, of, *A Sea of Glass mingled with Fire?* v. 2.

**A.** We all know, That it alludes to the great Basin of *Water* standing in the Tabernacle of the *Mosaic* Service; which in the Temple afterwards was called, *A Sea*.

But why, *mingled with Fire?* It stood not far off from the *Altar* of the *Burnt-Sacrifices*; by which Means, the *Fire* on the *Altar* caused a bright Reflection in the *Water*. To this doubtless is the Allusion here.<sup>629</sup>

I will take this Opportunity to observe, That in the *Mosaic* Service, there were ordained *Priests* over the *Fire*, and others over the *Water*. Thus in the Heavenly Service here; we have *Angels* over the *Fire*; [Rev. 14.10.] And over the *Water*. [Rev. 16.5.]

4743.

**Q.** Why is it here said of the victorious Harpers, *They sing the Song of Moses & of the Lamb?* v. 3.

**A.** Dr. *Goodwins* Gloss upon it, is, That they preach, rightly, clearly, & with due Distinction, the *Law*, and the *Gospel*.<sup>630</sup>

**Q.** Why the *Song of Moses?*

**A.** There is a famous Tradition of the Jewes, mention'd by R. *Bechai*, on Gen. 49. *Est Traditio, quæ venit per Prophetas; hanc nostram Redemptionem similem fore illi Ægyptiacæ in multis, præterquam quòd huic futura sit ulterior Excellentia, et Apprehensio quod ad Cognitionem Domini Benedicti.*<sup>631</sup>

<sup>629</sup> This section also appears in Mather's ordination sermon for the pastor of Second Church of Christ in Braintree, Hugh Adams (1676–1746), *The Temple Opening. A Particular Church considered as a Temple of the Lord* (1707), p. 26. Compare the description of the "molten sea" in 1 Kings 7:23–26 and 2 Chron. 4:2–5.

<sup>630</sup> From Goodwin, *An Exposition* (Works 3:92).

<sup>631</sup> "There is a tradition that has come down through the prophets; that our redemption will be similar to that in Egypt in many ways, except that the future excellence shall exceed it [i. e. the redemption in Egypt], and the readiness to recognize the Blessed Lord." From Grellotus, *Prodromus*, p. 165. Reference is made to the Tora commentary at Gen. 49:1 of the Spanish exegete, Rabbi Bechai Ben Asher (Bahya ben Asher, 1255–1340), *Be'ur 'al ha-tora* ([1492] 1544). See *Torah Commentary by Rabbi Bachya Ben Asher*, vol. 2, p. 698.

In the Temple-Worship,<sup>632</sup> they had Psalms appointed for every Day of the Week. On the *first* Day of the Week, they sang the XXIV Psalm; This being the Day of the Creation.

| On the Second, XLVIII.

[55v]

On the Third, LXXXII.

On the Fourth, XCIV.

On the Fifth, LXXXI.

On the Sixth, XCIII.

On the *Sabbath-day* they sang the XCII Psalm, with a sixth Part of the Song of *Moses*, for the Morning-Service; And a sixth Part of the Song in *Exodus*, for the Evening-Service.

A learned Man thinks, That here is an Allusion, to the Songs of *Moses*, that were sung on the *Sabbath*. It is, q.d. They are now celebrating the *Sabbath*; now arrived unto their *everlasting Rest*.

**Q.** Why is it said, *No Man was able, to enter into the Temple, till the Seven Plagues of the Seven Angels were fulfilled?* v. 8.

**A.** Dr. *Goodwin* takes one probable Intention of the Expression to be, that God is pouring out upon the Enemies of His Church, the Vials of His *Wrath*. The *Temple* is the only *Refuge* and *Covert* from the *Plagues*. Men use to fly unto the *Temple*, & unto the Horns of the *Altar*, as their *Sanctuary*. God in His Just Judgment hardens the Popish Party. By their Judicial Hardness upon them, they are kept from joining themselves to the *Temple* of God. Thro' their Hardness, they are *not able to enter* into it. So they Perish, and are Destroy'd by these *Plagues*. *They entered not in, till the Seven Plagues were fulfilled*; That is to say, They *never* entred at all.<sup>633</sup>

<sup>632</sup> This section was added later. It comes from John Lightfoot, *A Prospect of the Temple Service*, chap. 7 (*Works* 1:922–23).

<sup>633</sup> From Goodwin, *An Exposition* (*Works* 3:96).



**Q.** What Method will you take, that we may come at a clear Understanding of the *Prophecy*, about the *Effusion of the VIALS*?

**A.** The Method I shall take, will be to offer you Three Several *Hypotheses*; and leave them unto your Censure.

The first *Hypothesis*, is that of Monsr. *Jurieu*.<sup>634</sup>

We are to suppose, That the Pouring out of the *Vials*, & the Plagues, that follow thereupon, do signify the *Judgments* of God upon the Kingdome of *Anti-Christ*. There is no Necessity for us to see that Kingdome *Falling*, before the *Vials* begin to be poured out; it is enough that we see it horribly *plagued* by them.

We are also to suppose, That the *Seven Vials* do imply *Seven Periods* of Time, which are to be Distinguished, one from another. It is not unlikely, That in the *Vials* here introduced, there is an Allusion to *Hour-Glasses*, which of old were, *Clepsydræ*, and measured the Time; with the Running of *Water*; as they now do by *Sand*. This does not exclude, the other Allusion, to the stupifying *Cup*, given to Criminals condemned to Dy; for which Cause, the Judgments of God are so often compared unto a *Cup*.

We are again to suppose, That as a *Plague* is annexed unto every *Vial*, so every *Plague* is inflicted on the *Antichristian Kingdome*. Sometimes the *Plague* falls on the *Head* of it; sometimes on the *Body* of it; sometimes on both together. It is not always the *Head*, that the Mischief does fall upon.

Finally, The Kingdome of *Antichrist* here, is represented under a Figure drawn from the *System of the World*. And the Accommodation must be Uniform & Regular. Care shall be taken of this, in the ensuing Illustrations.

I. At the Pouring out of the FIRST VIAL, which is done upon *the Earth*, a *Noisome & Grievous Sore falls upon* the Idolaters of Antichrist.

It is an Allusion to the Plagues of *Egypt*. You know, They that escape from under the Dominion of *Antichrist*, are described, as escaping out of a spiritual *Egypt*, and standing on the Shore of the *Red-Sea*.

When *Moses* cast Powder into the *Air*, there followed (as the Greek expresses it) *An evil and wicked Boil*.<sup>635</sup> Answerable to this *Boil*, was the dismal *Corruption*, that siezed on the Popedom in the *Tenth Century*. There we place

<sup>634</sup> This first essay summarizes various sections from Jurieu, *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies*, part 2, pp. 66–224. (Note: In the 1687 ed. used here, the pagination of part two jumps from page 99 directly to page 200).

<sup>635</sup> See the LXX of Ex. 9:10: “And he took the furnace soot before Pharaoh, and Moyses scattered it toward heaven, and festering sores, oozing blisters occurred both on humans and on quadrupeds” (*NETS*).

the Beginning of the *Vials*, and allow more than the Proportion of an Hundred Years for each of them.

Till the Tenth Century, all things favoured the Antichristian Empire. Indeed *Rome*, & *Italy*, suffered horrible Things in the foregoing Ages. But the *Papal Empire* gott Strength, by the Ruine of the *Roman Empire*. The Nations insensibly grew passionate for the Supremacy of the pretended Seat of St. *Peter*. The *Popes* grew formidable to the World. The first thing that was a Step towards the Declension of their Kingdome, was the infinite *Corruption* which the See of *Rome* fell into. So dismal, so horrid was this Corruption, that the Descriptions made of it, by Popish Authors themselves, do even at this Day affright us. They call it, *An Iron & a Leaden Age, and an Age of Darkness*. Consult *Baronius*, and you will be astonished.<sup>636</sup> *Popes* were made, and managed, & deposed, by Two Debauched Women. For the Space of 120 Years, the Bishops of *Rome*, were *Murderers*, *Poysoners*, *Adulterers*, *Sodomites*, *Blasphemers*, & known *Magicians*. The *Corruption* of the *Head*, was diffused into the *Members*. In many Places, (as the *Fasciculus Temporum* tells us,) Men did not so much as know the *Sacraments*. The *Religion* of the *Priests* was, *Astrology*, & *Necromancy*, & *Magick*; & their Life, an Excess of all Abominations. *Baronius* confesses, Things were come to that Pass, that it was an Opinion spread thro' the *whole World*, that the *End of the World* was at hand, because *Antichrist* was come.<sup>637</sup>

Now, what Resemblance for this *Corruption* could be more proper, than that of an *Ulcer*? It proceeds from *Corruption*; tis loathsome to the *Smell*, tis Frightful to the *Sight*. The whole *Earth*, all the Globe of the Antichristian World, was infected & inflamed with this Corruption; and the Adorers of the Holy See themselves, do at this Day, with *Vexation* reflect upon it. It cannot be express'd, what a *Blow* was hereby given to the See. It gave Occasion unto the *Emperours*, to meddle with the Affairs and the Bishops of *Rome*. They marched into *Italy*, Restrained, Corrected and Dethroned the *Popes*; and they Revived the Ancient Right of Confirming the *Popes* after their Election; which greatly mortified them. The See of *Rome* was hereby also rendred *contemptible* to the Nations. Men wrote bitter Invectives against it, which are some of them come to our Hands. The Wound bleeds at this Day, & furnishes us with unanswerable Arguments against the *Supremacy* and *Infallibility* of the Church of *Rome*.

This Period lasted above 150 Years.

| II. and, III. The SECOND VIAL is poured out upon the Sea, & it becomes [56v]  
as the Blood of a Dead Man, and every Living Soul dyes in the Sea.

<sup>636</sup> "*Saeculum asperitate ferreum, boni Sterilitate malique exundantis deformitate Plumbeum*": "An age of iron on account of its severity, of lead on account of its sterility of the good and the horror of abundant evil." Reference is made to Baronius, *Annales ecclesiastici*, at the beginning of his chapter about the tenth century. See vol. 15 (1744 ed.), p. 500.

<sup>637</sup> Baronius, *Annales ecclesiastici*, vol. 15 (1744 ed.), pp. 500–01.

The THIRD VIAL is *poured out upon these Rivers and Fountains, and they become Blood.*

*Sea*, and, *Waters*, in prophetic Visions, do signify *People*, or, *Nations*. [Compare, Rev. 17.7, 15.]

A very great *Slaughter* is here foretold. *Blood* always foretells it. Behold here, a Prædiction, and the very Character of the *Croisado's*, that produced such an horrible Effusion of Blood, among the *People* of the Antichristian Empire. In the First *Croisade*, there died more than Two Millions of Men, in Three or Four Years. God led the wretched People, unto the *East*, as unto a Shambles. A vast Quantity of *Blood* was taken away, to cure the Ulcers of *Europe*. God, that He might purge Christendom of a mighty Rabble, permitted the Divil, to inspire them, with a sottish Superstition, to Recover the Holy Land, from the *Mahometans*, and a foolish Ambition, to conquer the Kingdoms of the *East*. This Plague litt only on the *Sea*. The *Popes* made it but an Occasion, to greaten their own Power, & enslave Monarchs & their Countreyes.

The *Croisades* continued, from the End of the *Eleventh* Age, to the End of the *Thirteenth*, Two hundred Years.<sup>638</sup>

The *Third Vial* fell only on the *Rivers*, on *lesser Waters*. After one Hundred Years, the Fury Abated; there was no more Marching of the whole *West* unto the *East*; only a particular Nation, or so, as the French under St. *Lewis*, engaged in these Expeditions. The Effusion of Blood was much less. There were no more than *Rivers of Blood* shed, not a whole *Sea*, as formerly.<sup>639</sup>

Thus we find a *Sea of Blood*, in that Passage; Ezek. 32.6. *I will water with thy Blood, the Land wherein thou swimdest, even to the Mountains.*

This requires a *Sea of Blood*.

We find a *River of Blood*, in that Passage; Isa. 34.3. *The Mountains shall be melted with their Blood.* This requires *Rivers of Blood*.

Well; It is Remarkable, That here comes in an Acclamation from the *Angel of the Waters*, *Thou art Righteous, O Lord, which art, and wast, and shalt be, because thou hast Judged thus; For they have shed the Blood of Saints and Prophets, and thou hast given them Blood to Drink, for they are worthy.*

In the Middle of the *Croisades*, was used the most horrible Barbarity that ever was in the World, against the poor *Waldenses* and *Albigenses*. Besides this, *Rome* [has always] been a murdering City. And there was Reason, that the *Blood* of all the *Saints* and *Prophets*, that ever had been shed in the World, should be required of this Generation.

Another *Angel*, out of the *Altar*, saies, *even so, Lord God Almighty, True and Righteous are thy Judgments.* Tho' it might seem *unrighteous*, that *New Rome*

<sup>638</sup> The age of the Crusades lasted from 1095 to 1271.

<sup>639</sup> Louis IX (1214–1270), commonly known as Saint Louis or Louis the Saint, participated in the Seventh (starting in 1248) and Eighth Crusade (1270). He died near Carthage that year.

should have *Blood* to Drink for the Blood shed by *Old Rome*, yett there could be nothing more agreeable to the eternal *Righteousness* of Heaven.

Thus we are brought down to the last *Croisade*, which was the second Expedition of St. *Lewis*, who lost Sixty Thousand Men at *Thunis*, in the Year 1269.

IV. The FOURTH VIAL is *poured out upon the Sun, and Power was given to him, to scorch Men with Fire. And Men were scorched with great Heat, and blasphemed the Name of God, who hath Power over those Plagues, and they Repented not, to give Him Glory.*

The *Sun* is always the *Sovereign*; the chief Magistrate. The Increase of *Heat* in the *Sun* of the *Antichristian Empire* can be no other, than the vast Increase of the *Popes* usurped Power, and his Abuse of it, for the Torment and the Ruine of the World. The prodigious Augmentation of the Papal Authority in the *Thirteenth* and *Fourteenth* Centuries, is here notably described unto us. The *Popes* had been Tyrants over the *Church*, and now they became Tyrants over the *World*. None can describe, the Desolations, which Mankind suffered, by the *scorching Heat* of this Tyranny. It lost *Henry IV.* alone, sixty odd Battels, to defend himself against the Enemies which the *Popes* had procured him. The general History of *Europe*, at the Time into which we are here fallen, gives us little but the *Tragædies*, which the excessive Authority of the *Popes* raised in all the Kingdoms, under their Influence. *Matthew Paris* alone, in his History, will give us a full Commentary, on this *Heat of the Sun scorching the World*;<sup>640</sup> and he will tell us, How the Authority of the *Pope*, in *England* particularly, made such Exactions, and brought it into such Miseries, that it was near totally Ruined.

It is true, This *Fourth Plague*, did Begin before the *Second*. It began remarkably, under *Hildebrand*, about the Year, 1074.<sup>641</sup> And yett it is the *Fourth Plague*, because it came down lower than the *Third*. It continued in all the Strength, and the Dreadful Effects of it, the whole *Thirteenth* and *Fourteenth* Centuries. Indeed the *Popes* have since then, kept up their Pretensions; but they have never since been able to do so much Mischief by their proud Authority.

The *Roman Empire* began before | the *Græcian*. *Livy* labours to prove, that if *Alexander* had marched into the *West*, as once he designed, he had not conquered *Rome*, so easily as he did the *East*.<sup>642</sup> *Rome* had at that very time conquered all her Neighbours, yea, and given many Defeats unto the *Gauls*, and the City was 420 Years old. The Prophecies do also now begin to take Notice of it; mentioning the *Seven Heads* belonging to it, of which the *First* was the *kingly* [57r]

<sup>640</sup> Matthew Paris criticizes the intolerable grievances suffered by the English from the popes in his *Historia Anglorum*, vol. 3, pp. 5, 16, 58, 109, 298, 309–10, 316.

<sup>641</sup> Another reference to the Investiture Controversy between Pope Gregory VII and Emperor Henry IV.

<sup>642</sup> Mather here probably refers to Livy, *History of Rome*, 9.18.17–19 (LCL 191, pp. 235–37).

Form of Government. And yett the *Roman* Monarchy, is reckoned the *Fourth*; because it kept its Grandeur after the Fall of the *Græcian*.

We must Remember here, The Plagues fall, not only on the *Beast*, & his *Image*, but also on those that worship it; and the *False Prophet* may be the Instrument in the Hand of God, to inflict the Plagues. The Augmentation of the *Papal Authority*, proved an horrible Scourge unto the People that were under it. *Men were scorcht* by it, and the *Germans* especially cryed out much against *Babylon* and *Antichrist*. But they *Repented not*; they did not Renounce their Idolatry.

We may also consider, That the vast Advancement of the Power of the *Popes*, tho' it brought *Antichristianism* to Perfection, yett it was likewise a mighty Step towards the Ruine of it. The Popes interposing with so much Exorbitancy to meddle and manage, in the civil Affairs of the World, made People plainly to see *Antichrist*, where otherwise they would not have thought of him. This made *Gontier*, Bishop of *Colen*, and *Thetgaut*, Bishop of *Triers*, in the *Ninth Age*, to exclaim against *Rome*, as the mystical *Babylon*. After the *Eleventh Age* they spoke as clearly of it, as we do at this Day. The excellent Oration of *Eberard*, the Bishop of *Salzburg*, is a notable Instance of it.<sup>643</sup>

V. The FIFTH VIAL is *poured out upon the Seat of the Beast, and his Kingdome is full of Darkness, & they gnaw their Tongues for Pain. And they blaspheme the God of Heaven, because of their Pains & their Sores, & Repented not of their Deeds.*

Who can doubt, that by the *Seat of the Beast* is meant *Rome*? *Rome* loses its *Sun*, and is horribly plagued, when the *Pope*, and the Papal Court, (which like a vast Whirlpool, draws all the Riches of *Europe* thither,) does withdraw from thence. It was Remarkably done, in the Year 1305. when *Clement V.* left *Rome*, to dwell at *Avignon*. The City, that was the Mistress of the World, became Desolate, and a very Desart and Shadow, for near *Fourscore* Years together, during which Time, its Masters kept their Seat at *Avignon*.

A *Darkness* ensued, not only on the *Seat of the Beast*, but also on his *Kingdome*. The whole *Papal Authority* never suffered such a Terrible *Eclipse*. This Removal of the *Pope* unto *Avignon*, produced a *Schism*. At the End of 74 Years, *Gregory XI.* compelled by the Complaints of the Romans, brought back his Court unto their City.<sup>644</sup> After his Death, the Cardinals, who were almost all French, resolved upon having a *Pope* of their Nation; But the Citizens of

<sup>643</sup> From Jurieu, *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies*, p. 271, who cites these medieval sources from the work of the Bavarian humanist historian, Johann Georg Turmair (Aventinus, 1477–1534), *Annalium Boiorum Libri Septem* (1554), lib. 4, p. 330.

<sup>644</sup> Reference is made to the Western Schism, or Papal Schism, the division of the Roman Catholic Church into competing papal parties, which lasted from the double election of Urban VI and Clement VII (who took residence in Avignon) in 1378 to 1417 (Council of Constance).

*Rome*, fearing lest a French Pope should return into *France*, forced the Colledge of Cardinals, to chuse an *Italian* for their Pope, who called himself *Urban VI*. The Cardinals, incensed at the Force which was used in the Election, contrived a Revolt; and they actually chose another Pope, who called himself *Clement VII*. and he, and they that succeeded him, held their Seat at *Avignon*, for Forty Years; while *Urban VI*. and they that succeeded him, sitting at *Rome*, had one Part of the Church under their Obedience.

The *Sun* of the Antichristian World, was now splitt into Two; it was miserably eclipsed. The Church of *Rome* suffered the greatest Reproach imaginable. This is a Peece of *History*, which confounds *Popery*, even at this Day: and Destroyes its foolish Pretensions to an *uninterrupted Succession*, an *undivided Infallibility*; From whence we draw a Conclusion against it, that cannot be avoided. The *Kingdome* of the *Beast*, was now *Darkened*; *Princes* despised the *Popes*, and made themselves their *Judges*; They caused them to be deposed; They called by their own Authority, the *Council of Constance*, where *Popes* were subjected unto *Councils*, and declared to be Deposeable, and Three were actually Deposed. Until now, the *Papal Excommunications* had been the strongest Beams of the *Antichristian Sun*; the most efficacious Methods of its Domination. But now Men began to Trample upon them. There was nothing but *Excommunicating* of one another. The *Western Church* was divided in Two Obediences; that which obey'd one Pope was excommunicated by the other; and thus all *Europe* lay under Excommunication. This rendred it contemptible to the People; they began to discern that the Thunderbolts were empty Things. All *Europe* groaning under the Slavery of the *Popes*, every one began to think of Recovering their Liberty. *Germany* would not submitt unto *Reservations* and *Expectations*, the Means by which the Court of *Rome* commanded every where, all the *Benefices*. *France* did more than so; she annulled the *Annats*, & all other Exactions of the Court of | *Rome*. Then were laid the Foundations of the *Pragmatic Sanction*, which gave so much Trouble to the *Popes*, by cutting the Tricks of *Simony*, by which they enriched themselves. Even *Italy* itself, during the *Schism*, did somewhat shake off the Yoke. The City of *Bolonia* made a Law, that the *Benefices* of the Church there, should not be conferred on any, but such as were of that City or Territory. To conclude; It cannot be expressed, how much this grand *Schism* contributed, unto the Mortification of the *Papal Authority*.

[57v]

History will tell us, how Men gnaw'd their Tongues with Pain, on this Occasion; and what Rage, & War and Bloodshed sprang from this tormenting *Schism*. Every one of the *Popes*, gnasht his Teeth, & bitt his Tongue, against the *Antipope*. There were nothing but Thunders, & Curses and Combates, of one against another. Nay, to this very Day, the Slaves of the *Papal See*, are vexed unto the Death, when the Story of the *Schism* is pressed upon them. However, Men continued still to *Blaspheme the God of Heaven*, & Repented not. So far was *Idolatry* from losing any thing, that it increased wonderfully. Then was the Reign of

*Monks*, and *Fables*, and *Legends*, and infinite Superstitions, & Abominations. Then *Simony* was at the Heighth. While the Court of *Rome* satt at *Avignon*, it invented a Thousand Wayes of selling Holy and Profane Things. Then came abroad, that famous Book, *The Tax of the Roman Chancery & Penitentiary*. This Period lasted, from 1305 until 1440.

VI. The SIXTH VIAL is poured out upon the great River *Euphrates*, and the Water thereof was dried up, that the Way of the Kings of the East might be prepared!

Who are the *Kings of the East*, at this Day, but the *Turks*? They possess that Part of the *Roman Empire* which is called, *The East*, and ha's kept the Name of *Natolia*. Yea, the very Text before us, might have been translated, *The Kings of Anatolia*. *Euphrates* we find in the *Sixth Trumpett*, as well as here again in the *Sixth Vial*. That barbarous Nation had carried on their Conquests, as far as *Euphrates*, near which it formed Four *Dynasties* or Governments; and there they abode a long time. This River served for some time as a *Boundary*, or *Barriere* of the Empire of *Constantinople* against the *Turks*. But they leapt over this *Barriere*, and spred themselves as far as the *Euxine Sea*, & the *Bosphorus*, and the *Ægean Sea*.<sup>645</sup> The *Croisades* drove them back again, & retook from them a Part of the Lesser *Asia*. Afterwards they came on again, & wasting the *Græcian Empire*, they took all away from it, as far as the *Bosphorus*, and the *Archipelago*. Whatever serves as a *Barriere* to the *Turks*, is *Euphrates*; because this River was the first that separated the *Turks* from *Christendome*. After the *Turks* had gott over one *Euphrates*, they find another; namely, the *Bosphorus*; This in their last Irruptions had been the same that *Euphrates* had been in the first; A *Barriere*, that for some while stopt their Course, but at last they gott over it. This Figure is very ordinary in Orators. Thus, one will say, Here are my *Hercules's Pillars*; that is to say, He will go no further. Here is my *East-Indies*; that is to say, Tis his longest Voyage. At the End of the *Fourteenth Age*, the *Turks*, under the Conduct of *Bajazet*, and by the Treachery of the *Genoese*, who lett their *Gallies* to them, they passed the *Bosphorus*, and made themselves Masters of all *Thrace*, & fix'd the Seat of their Empire at *Adrianople*, and plundered all *Greece*; in so much that the *Greek Emperour* had scarce anything left but the City of *Constantinople*. *Tamerlan* for a while tamed the Pride of *Bajazet*, and stop'd the fury of this Torrent.<sup>646</sup> But the Successors of *Bajazet*, carried on their Conquests, and fifty Years after, quite ruined the Remainder of the *Greek Empire*. *Mahomet II* took *Constantinople*, in

<sup>645</sup> See the annotations on Rev. 9:14.

<sup>646</sup> Bayezid I (1360–1403) was the Ottoman Sultan from 1389 to 1402. From 1389 to 1395, he conquered Bulgaria, parts of Serbia, and northern Greece. From 1395 to 1402, he laid siege to Constantinople, which was finally captured by Mehmed II in 1453 (or 1452, according to the Julian calendar). Timur or Tamerlane (1336–1405) was a Mongol conqueror and founder of the Timurid Empire in and around modern-day Afghanistan, Iran, and Central Asia in 1370. Timur defeated the Ottoman army and captured Bayezid in the Battle of Ankara in 1402.

the Year 1452. After which the *Turks*, with an irresistible Inundation, overran all *Greece*, *Macedonia*, *Albania*, *Sclavonia*, *Croatia*, *Bulgaria*, *Hungary*, and extended the Bounds of their Empire, even to the Borders of *Germany*.

The *Archipelago* and the *Bosphorus*, were the *Euphrates* of the Time; and the Holy Spirit keeps the Term *Euphrates*, that we might here more clearly discern the *Turks*, who had passed over *Euphrates*, when they first Invaded Christendome.

The *Kingdome of the Beast*, suffered infinitely by this Plague. Tis true, The Desolations fell first upon the *Greek Empire*; but the great *Idolatries* that Reigned in the *Greek Church*, made it a Province of the Empire of *Antichrist*, tho' it was indeed separated by a *Schism* from the *Latin Church*, & was a Rebellious Province. But besides this, how many brave Countreyes were now torn by the | *Turks* [58r] from the Empire of the West? How often have the *Turks* vexed *Italy*? Yea, Christian Princes have used them to mortify the *Popes*.

The Duration of this Period, is about 125, or, 130 Years. In the Year 1529 the *Turks* came to besiege *Vienna*; but *Charles V* made them raise the Siege. And since then, they have made no great Progress into the Kingdome of *Antichrist*.

The *Sixth Vial*, brings us down to the Time of the *Reformation*.

But before that, we have here a *Parenthesis* of great Obscurity.

*Three unclean Spirits, like Frogs, come out of the Mouth of the Dragon, & of the Beast, & of the False Prophet. The Spirits of Divels, working Miracles, which go forth unto the Kings of the Earth, & of the whole World, to gather them to the Battel of the great Day of God Almighty. Behold, I come as a Thief! – He gathers together into a Place, called in the Hebrew Tongue, Armageddon.*

After much Consideration, it is apparent, That by these *unclean Spirits* are signified, the *Papal Lawes*, and the *Oracles* of the Seat of the Beast, armed with *Excommunications*.

*Mouth*, is a Term taken for, *Speech*, in Exemples numberless. The Term, *Spirit*, is often taken for, *Oracle*; and in the Beginning of this Book particularly. Thus, when we read, *The Spirit Quickens*, and, *we are Ministers of the Spirit*; By, *Letter*, is meant, the *Word of Moses*; by, *Spirit*, is meant, the *Word* of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Gospel. The *Three Unclean Spirits* of the *Beast*, are the *Oracles* of *Popery*; opposed unto the *Seven Spirits of God*, who go forth from Him. Or, the sacred Oracles which are sent & preached by the Apostles thro' the Earth. The *Spirits of God* are *Lamps*; they give Light; so the Psalmist of old acknowledged. But the *Spirits of the Beast*, are *Frogs*; Creatures that croak in the Night, Creatures of Darkness.

The *Spirits coming out of the Mouth* of the *Dragon*, & *Beast*, and *False Prophet*, yett more clearly denote *Words*. For, what else, comes out of the Mouth? [Compare, Psal. 33.6.]

But, what means *Armageddon*? The Prophet here saies, It is an *Hebrew Word*. The *Hebrew* in his time, was the *Syriack*. [See Act. 22.2. – that could not



be the *Bible-Hebrew*, for they understood it not.] Now the Word, *Armageddon*, in *Syriack*, or, *Chaldee*, signifies, *A Cutting off by a Curse*, or, *Excommunication*. *Gedad*, signifies, *To cutt off*, or, *To cutt asunder*. The Word, *Herem*, in the *Hebrew*, and, *Harma*, in the *Chaldee*, is a Word very often found in our Bibles; and it signifies, *A Curse*. And the *LXX* every where translate it, *Anathema*. *Armageddon* is, a *Cutting off, with an Anathema*.<sup>647</sup> The *Spirits* or *Oracles* of *Antichrist*, are gathered, or have their Place, in *Armageddon*; that is to say, They are under the Shelter, under the Defence of, *An Excommunication with a Curse*.

Now, 'Tis known, That there is an *Armageddon* at the End of every *Canon* in the Church of *Rome*. The *Canon-Law* saith; *we declare to be Anathema and Accursed forever before God, and a Prevaricator against the Catholick Faith, every King, Bishop, or other Magistrate, who shall violate, or suffer to be violated in any Kind, the Censures of the Popes of Rome*. [Decret. Gratiani. Causa. 2. Quest. 1. Canon Gen.] This is the Seal of all the *Papal Lawes*.<sup>648</sup> 'Tis also known, That thro' one of the sorest Judgments of God that ever were felt, the Subjects of the *Popedom* suffered themselves to be siezed with such a fear of these *Armageddons*, or, *Excommunications with a Curse*, that this very thing was an Inviolable *Asylum*, to protect all the Crimes of the Clergy. The whole Strength of the *Ecclesiasticks*, consisted in this *Armageddon*; it never failed them in their Undertakings; whatever they undertook, Men endured every thing, thro' the Terror of the *Armageddon*. To avoid these Imaginary Thunderbolts, People run into the most violent Actions that could be Imagined; The *Excommunicated*, became, thro' the Folly of the World, infinitely odious to all that were not so.

The *Dragon* is the *Divek*; the *Beast* is the *Empire* of the *Popedom*; the *False Prophet* is the *Pope* himself. These are the Three Springs of those *Oracles*, the *Canons* with which the Church of *Rome* overthrowes the Religion of our Lord Jesus Christ. The *Spirits*, are not *Seven*; That is a sacred Number. The Perfection of the

<sup>647</sup> Mather's explanation is not supported by modern scholars. The Greek term Ἀρμαγεδών [Armagedon] in Rev. 16:16 is a *hapax legomenon*. Although the root of the word clearly is Hebrew, scholars debate whether the term transliterates the Hebrew "הַר מִגְדּוֹ" [har megiddo], meaning "Hill/Mount of Magido" (for identical transliterations in LXX, cf. Josh. 12:21–22; Judg. 1:27 (MS A); 2 Chron. 35:22). Alternatives would be "the city of Megiddo" (cf. Josh. 17:11; 1 Kings 4:12 etc. as the Hebrew [ir] עִיר refers to a city) or a "valley of (cf. Zech. 12:11) and waters of Megiddo" (cf. Judg. 5:19) as well.

<sup>648</sup> Here and in the following, reference is made to the *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, a collection of canons or ecclesial laws compiled by canonists of the Latin Church during the Middle Ages and finalized during the Reformation period. The *Corpus* comprises the following main collections: the *Decretum Gratiani*, the "Decretals" of Gregory IX; those of Boniface VIII (Sixth Book of the Decretals); those of Clement V (Clementinæ); the Extravagantes (laws "circulating outside" the standard sources) of John XXII; and the Extravagantes Communes. Many canon laws threaten violators with an "Anathema sit." The specific citation seems to be from *Decretum Gratiani*, causa 25, quaestio 1, cap. 11: "Generali decreto constituimus, ut execrandum anathema fiat, et veluti prevaricator fidei catholicae semper apud Deum reus existat, quicumque regum, seu episcoporum, vel potentum deinceps Romanorum Pontificum decretorum censuram in quoquam crediderit vel permiserit violandam."

*Divine Oracles*, is intimated by that Number. The *Impure Oracles* of *Popery* are *Three*, in regard of the *Three Springs* from whence they proceed. But more than this; 'Tis a wonderful Providence of God that the *Canon Law*, which amasses all the *Oracles* of *Popery*, is divided into *Three Parts*, which appeared in the World at *Three Times*. The *Decrees*, of *Gratian*, is the *First Part*; and it was compiled in the *Twelfth Century*. After this came the *Second Part*, under the Title of, *The Decretals*, of *Gregory IX*. The *Third Part* is made up of the *Bulls* of *Popes*, called, *Clementines*; published at the Council of *Lions*, by *Clement*. V. But of others, called, *Extravagants*; of others, *Common*, and, *Common Extravagants*. These are the *Three unclean Spirits*. The World never saw anything so | contrary to the Spirit of Christianity. We may go on and say, They may justly be called, *Three unclean Spirits*, because there are *Three Effects* of a Spirit of Impurity, remarkably [58v] Reigning in them; Namely, *Pride*, and, *Covetousness*, and, *Unchastity*.

And they are well compared unto *Frogs*. The *Oracles* of God are *Eagles*; They fly in a pure Air: But the *Oracles* of *Popery*, are things calculated for *Dirt*; Creatures that are for Living in *Pitts*. They make a great Noise in Times of Darkness, as *Frogs* do in the Night; but will immediately be silent as soon as the *Sun* of *Grace* is risen.

We find *Miracles* wrought by them, or for them. Thousands of *Miracles* are pretended to be wrought in favour of the Popish *Oracles*.

And it may be well said, That they go forth unto the *Kings of the Earth*, & of the whole World. The *Bulls* of the *Popes* are so many Thundring Messengers, which are sent forth unto Princes, & threaten & order and command them, to make their *Croisades*, for the Destroying of those whom they call *Hereticks*; & with all their Temporal Weapons, to establish every where the Popish Authority, and Idolatry. Hereby the *Kings of the Earth* are gathered together, and united; made *one Body*, *one Army*; join'd in a *Bond* of a Real Conspiracy, to give *Battel* unto God, & fighting against Him to Rob Him of His Honour and Glory. The *Day of Battel* here foretold, is not the very Time, wherein *Antichrist* is to be destroy'd; but it is the whole Time of the Antichristian Tyranny, & Corruption; and especially the Period of its Declining, and Approaching towards the Fall of it. It may be called, *The great Day of God Almighty*; because at the Close of this *Day*, the *Almighty* will display His Vengeance against the *Kings*, who by Means of the *Papal Decrees* are Leagued against Him. During three Parts of the *Day of Battel* against God, the Church is worsted; but in the last Part, the *Day* shall be Gods; the *Almighty* shall overcome.

That Parenthesis; Behold, I come as a Thief; Blessed is he that watches & keepeth his Garments, lest he walk naked, and they see his Shame; It ha's Relation to the *Battel*, which the *Lawes* of *Popery*, its *Canons*, and *Censures*, and *Anathema's* give to the *Almighty*. It admonishes the faithful, to be on their Guard; lest they be ruined by these *Papal Oracles*, whereby so many are deceived.

But, why are these *Papal Spirits*, brought in under the *Sixth Vial*? Behold, in the Reasons thereof, a notable Confirmation of the whole Exposition. The *Sixth Vial* begins its Period, in the Year 1390. when the *Turks* pass over the *Archipelago*, and the *Bosphorus*, until the Year 1526. after which they gained no more Ground upon the *West*. Now it was at this very Time, that the Body of the *Popish Law*, called the *Canon-Law*, was compleated. The *Clementines* were published, by *John XXII*, about the Year 1320. He likewise published, the *Extravagants*. But the *Common*, or the *Common Extravagants*, appeared not, until the End of the *Fifteenth Century*. So that it is properly in this very *Sixth Period* of the *Vials*, that this Work of Darkness was wholly finished. Now, tis extremely Natural, when something is to be brought upon the great Theatre, that it may be shown, to stay till it be *Finished*. The Prophet introduces the *Popish Law*, in the most *proper Time* that could be.

More than so; There never had been any Age, wherein there were more *Armageddons*, and *Excommunications*, than in this Period. It was an Age of *Anathema's*. The Popes at *Rome* and *Avignon*, kept *excommunicating* one another. In this Age, were held the Councils of *Pisa*, of *Constance*, of *Basil*, of *Florence*, and the *Lateran*; and there were nothing but *Anathema's* roaring in them all.

Yea; And it was *Now*, that the Bulls of the Church of *Rome*, gathered the Kings of the Earth, unto *Battels* against the *Bohemian* People of God. *Zisca* gain'd such signal Victories in them, that they might well be called, *The Battels of the great Day of God Almighty*. A *Croisade* was published against him, & all who stood for the Truth, in *Bohemia*, and the other Countreyes.<sup>649</sup>

#### VII. And thus we are come to the SEVENTH VIAL.

It begins at the *Reformation*. It is *poured out into the Air*; the Place of Sounds, and *Voices*, and *Thunders*. Now *there came a great Voice out of the Temple of Heaven from the Throne, saying, It is done*. That is, *Tis done* with the *Vials*; This is the last Period of the Antichristian Kingdome; It shall comprehend its total Ruine.

[59r] There were *Voices*, and *Thunders*, and *Lightnings*, and a *great Earthquake such as was not since Men were upon the Earth, so mighty an Earthquake & so great*. These *Voices* and *Lightnings* and *Thunders*, are the *Voices* of the *Preachers*, who laboured in Reforming the Church; They passed with the Velocity of *Lightnings*, & the Efficacy of *Thunders*, thro' the Antichristian Kingdome. On this | account, we find the *Vial* poured out in the *Air*. The *Earth* here plainly signifies, the Frame and Face of the Antichristian Kingdome. The *great Earthquake* here, signifies, a mighty Change upon it. We know, an *Earthquake* turns a Countrey

<sup>649</sup> In 1420, Pope Martin V issued a bull calling for a crusade against the Hussites in Bohemia. In the subsequent wars, the Hussites initially achieved several major victories against the Catholic forces of Holy Roman Emperor Sigismund in which General Jan Žižka (John Zizka; c. 1360–1424), a leader of the Taborite faction, played a decisive role.

upside down. A wondrous Change did the *Reformation* bring upon the Popish World. It may, without any Exaggeration be said, *There had not been such an Earthquake since Men were upon the Earth*. Whole Nations and Kingdomes at once then shook off the Kingdome of *Antichrist*: and bloody Wars ensued which filled all *Europe* with prodigious Desolations. But this is not all; An *Harvest* was produced, at the Beginning of this *Vial*; which was a wondrous Change upon the World. But there is to be a *Vintage*, at the Conclusion of this *Vial*, which will bring on a Change, vastly exceeding *that*, or any thing that ever was in the World.

*And the great City was divided into Three Parts.*] Behold, a surprising Accomplishment! The *great City*, is, as every body knowes & grants, the *Latin Church*. Upon the Preaching of the *Reformers*, the Kingdome of *Antichrist*, was most Remarkably divided into *Three Parts*. One Part remained with *Antichrist*. Another Part separated under the *Ausburgh Confession*.<sup>650</sup> A Third Part separated under the Confession of those, who are barely styled, *The Reformed*. *Sweden, Denmark*, a great Part of *Germany*, belong to the Second. Great *Britain*, the *United Provinces*, the Protestants in *France*, much of *Germany*, *Suitzerland*, *Hungary*, belong to the Last. These *Three Grand Communions*, do now Divide the *Latin Church*; they Divide the *great City into Three Parts*; there can be nothing more observable. The Differences about *Episcopacy*, do not affect this Division; They are found both among the *Lutherans*, and among the *Calvinists*.

And now, *Great Babylon comes in Remembrance before God, to give unto her the Cup of the Wine of the Fierceness of His Wrath*. The Division of *Babylon* into *Three Parts*, proves not the Total Ruine of it. After the Kingdome is Divided into *Papists*, and *Lutherans*, and *Calvinists*, THEN God prepares to give her the *last Cup* of His *Wrath*. *Every Island* will then *fly away*, & *the Mountains* not be found. This is but a Repetition of the *Earthquake*, which had been mentioned before. *A great Hail* will then fall upon Men *out of Heaven*; and fearful Judgments will bring Desolations upon the World.

This is the Summ of Monsr. *Jurieu's Hypothesis*. If I do not alwayes keep exactly to the *Terms* and *Words* of my Authors, tis enough that I give the *Sense*, of them, and the *Summ* of what they would be at.

You see that Monsr. *Jurieu*, brings in all the *Vials* under the *Sixth Trumpett*; only that he makes the second Essay of the *Seventh Vial*, (or, the *Vintage* on the Papal Empire,) to be contemporary, & coincident with the *Seventh Trumpett*.

I confess freely, that I have been sometimes ready to Admire this *Hypothesis*. The more I have consider'd of it, the more it ha's appear'd Admirable to me.<sup>651</sup> But I will anon tell you my Mind a little further.

<sup>650</sup> A careless error on Mather's part. Reference is made to the Augsburg Confession of 1530, the Lutheran confession of faith.

<sup>651</sup> See Appendix A.

Indeed, if I should go on to Recite a Seventh Part of all the *Arbitrary*, and I may say, *Extravagant*, Speculations upon the *Seven Vials*, wherewith *Apocalyptical* Writers have troubled the World, I should undertake a Task, which I have more than *Seven* times, *Seven* Reasons against Meddling withal.

But yett there are Two more *Hypotheses* which, as I remember, I have promised.

There is then a *Second Hypothesis*, which with much Probability, supposes; That in the *Trumpetts* and the *Vials* employ'd for the Fall of *Rome*, there is an Allusion, to what was done for the Fall of *Jericho*; And that as *Jericho* was compassed with the Sound of *Trumpetts* for *Seven Days*, and compassed *Seven Times* on the *Seventh Day*; so *Seven Trumpetts* are to sound for the Distressing of *Rome*, which is to fall in the Day of the *Seventh Trumpett*; but the *Seven Vials* do not arrive till the *Seventh Trumpett* begins to sound; and by Consequence, none of them are yett *poured out*.

An *Anonymous* Writer, (whose Name, I am told, is, Monsr. *Philipot*.) in his *Illustrations upon the Apocalypse*, ha's made a vigorous Attacque, upon Monsr. *Jurieu's* Accommodation of the *Vials*.<sup>652</sup> But then, of his own, we can have so little Assurance, and we have so little Evidence, that I Judge it not worth the while, to give so much as a short Abridgment of it. And this the rather, because Mr. *Beverly*, who concurs with that Writer in his Opinion about the *Non-Effusion* of the *Vials*, tho' he attempt an Exposition, yett he makes this Præface unto it; "The Sense, and importance of this Course of Divine Judgments, I conceive so heavenly and spiritual, as to be impossible to be explained, but by either immediate *Revelation*, or the nearest Approach of themselves."<sup>653</sup>

[59v] | There is a *Third Hypothesis*, which is prosecuted by Dr. *Cressener*.<sup>654</sup>

According to him; The Time of the *Vials*, does not begin, till after a very signal *Victory* over the *Beast*, and his *Image*; and something like a Deliverance of the Church, out of *Egyptian* Bondage, intimated by a Mention of, *The Song of Moses*, on this Occasion. In the *Vials*, there is a plain Allusion to the *Plagues* on *Egypt*; only here, the Song is upon a Deliverance before the *Plagues*; whereas in *Egypt*, it was upon a Deliverance after the *Plagues*. In the Prophecy of the *Vials*, there is a Mention of Two Deliverances; one, of a Part of the Church; which is described here, as coming before the *Vials*; Another, of the whole Church, which is after the *Vials*.

The *First Victory*, which recovers a Freedom of Worship, for the Church, could not be, before the Time of the *Reformation*. And, the Doctor cannot think,

<sup>652</sup> Mather refers to the interpretation of the seven vials in *A New System of the Apocalypse*, pp. 245–65. Again, he identifies the author of this anonymous publication.

<sup>653</sup> Mather refers to Thomas Beverley, *A Scripture-line*, sect. 15 ("Wherein is given a very brief Display upon the Vials"), in *Works*, p. 187.

<sup>654</sup> This third essay on the vials is drawn from Drue Cressener, *The Judgments of God Upon the Roman-Catholick Church*, pt. 4, pp. 181–209.

That any of the *Vials* can take Place before the *Reformation*; inasmuch as the Church of *Rome* was till then in a most Flourishing State; and not suffering any Humiliations, like those on *Pharaoh*, and the *Egyptians*.

The *Opening of the Temple*, is one of the Things, that accompany the Churches *Victory*, which præcedes the Effusion of the *Vials*. This alludes to the *Opening of the Temple* in *Hezekiah's* Time, and imports a Free-Exercise of the True Religion, and some New Manifestation of God unto the World. Whereas we read, That the *Smoke from the Glory of God filled the Temple, so that none could enter into it, before the Seven Plagues were fulfilled*; (An Allusion to what fell out, at the *Dedication* of the *Tabernacle*, the *Temple*;) It intimates, that the Time of the Churches *Preparation* for the Service of God, would extend from the Time of the *Reformation*, to the End of the *Seven Vials*, when all the World shall become one Holy *Temple* to God. The Reformed Churches, are but scattered *Altars*, & but particular *Synagogues*, till they come to be all united in one *universal Temple*, at the End of the Consecration of the Christian Church, and of the *Vials* poured out upon its Enemies.

Indeed, the *Reformation*, was a Matter so considerable, that it ought to have a Place, in the Visions of the Judgments upon *Antichrist*. And what Place can be so proper, as what we have here assign'd unto it? We may Date the Victory of the *Reformation*, about the Year, 1530. when it was carried on with the Face of *Authority*, in *Germany* and *Switzerland*, and by Protestant Leagues. And then, about *Forty Years* apeece, will be allow'd for each of the *Four First Vials*, to be therein accomplished. Nor shall we find any other Judgments upon the Church of *Rome*, in this Time, so likely to be the *Vials* of the Divine Wrath upon it, as those that are now going to be mentioned.

What can more properly answer the *grievous Sore* of the FIRST VIAL, as the Inward and Vexing Torment, upon the Spirits of the *Romanists*, at the Success of the *Reformation*? The History of that Age and Work, ha's a little express'd unto us, the Inexpressible Inflammation and Indignation, which then fretted the Popish World.

At the SECOND VIAL, the *Sea becomes like the Blood of a Dead Man, and every living Soul dies in the Sea*. What was there ever more notoriously answerable to this, than that Ocean of *Blood*, that was shed in the *Low Countreyes*, in *France*, in Sea-Fights betwixt *England* and *Spain*, and the *Dutch*, besides the lesser Effusions in *Scotland*, & other Countreyes, during the Reign of Q. *Elizabeth*; and all upon the account of Religion? And then there came a remarkable Period unto the Troubles.

The THIRD VIAL brings *Rivers of Blood*. The occasional Tumults of *Hungary* and of *Transylvania*, for Liberty of Conscience, which, as *Petavius* tells us, did exceedingly torment the Roman-Catholicks, may come in here.<sup>655</sup> The

655 The reference by Cressener can be found in an updated version of Denis Péttau's *Epitome*

*Bohemian War*, was also in this Period. But that which most remarkably fulfills the Intent of the *Vial*, is, The Descent of the *Suedes* into *Germany*, and like a Torrent over-running of it, and continuing there as Conquerors, in a most Bloody War, for seventeen Years. The Treaty of *Munster* which concluded it, was of so much Disadvantage to the Church of *Rome*, that the Popes *Nuncio*, in the Name of his Master, made a solemn Protestation against it. In the *Suedish War*, almost all *Europe* was one Way or another engaged.<sup>656</sup> Its falling on the *Fountains of Water*, may intimate the Trouble it gave to the Imperial Family; & the *Austrian Territories*.

All this was, to Revenge the *Bloodshed of the Saints*, which the Papists had been guilty of!

[60r] And now comes the FOURTH VIAL; which gives the *Sun Power to scorch Men with Fire*. Some eminent Potentate, used as a Judgment on the Papal or Imperial Interest, seems to be intended. Who can it be, in the Doctors Apprehension, but the *most Christian King*, Lewis XIV. the King of *France*? | He was for more than Forty Years together an horrid Plague to all *Europe*.<sup>657</sup> The Popes themselves, as well as the *Austrian Family* have suffered Mortifications from him. The Popish Party *Blaspheme the God of Heaven* under all; They will not see the Hand of *God*, in it; but attribute all to the *Diuel*. The *Scorching of Men with Fire*, is most literally accomplished in the Character of his conquering Power; which is carried on mainly by *Bombs*, and *Fiery Desolations*. It is also Remarkable, That from the Times of his First Appearance after the *Swedish Wars*, he has given the *Sun*, for his Device upon his Coin. At first it was the *Sun* coming out of a *Cloud*; But afterwards his Emblem was a *Sun* shining upon the Universe,<sup>658</sup> with this Motto; *Nec pluribus impar*.<sup>659</sup>

The rest of the *Vials*, according to Dr. *Cressener*, still remain to be poured out.

He thinks, The *Fifth* will produce a wondrous Vexation in the Kingdome of *Antichrist*, at the Sight of a *New Reformation*; upon the *Resurrection of the Witnesses*.

The *Sixth* will produce a Judgment, wherein certain Princes beyond the River *Euphrates* will be concerned. Which implies, a Removal of the *Turkish Empire* in the mean Time. The Name of *Harma-Geddon*, intimates that *Syria*

---

*Historiarum* (1649), Appendix I (1590–1618), lib. 10, p. 257, where the religious conflicts in Hungary and Transylvania around 1605 are discussed.

656 Reference is made to the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648) concluded by the Treaty of Westphalia.

657 Mather here twice canceled "present," and changed "has ... been" to "was," perhaps indicating that he changed the passage after the death of Louis XIV in 1715.

658 Here again, the present tense was altered to past tense.

659 Literally: "Not unequal to many." This is the motto adopted by Louis XIV of France from 1658 onwards. It was often inscribed together with the symbol of the "Sun King": a head within rays of sunlight. Cited from Cressener, *The Judgment*, p. 209.

and *Palestine*, will be the Seat of the War, which will now be managed between the Papal Confæderates, and the *Eastern Princes*.

The *Seventh Vial* brings on the last Ruine of *Antichrist*.

And so much for the *VIALS*. About which I find myself disposed, to offer no further Illustrations; except I should meet with some *occasional Thoughts*, upon any particular Circumstances of them which may appear worthy to be Observed and Inserted.

I conclude, with leaving you, two Remarkable Hints from Hebrew Antiquity.<sup>660</sup>

The *Plagues* that come on the World, and now End in the *Vials*, after the Ascension of our Saviour, would lead one to think, on the Jewish Tradition, about the חבלי המשיח / *Dolores Messie*;<sup>661</sup> meaning, Calamities that are to happen, in the Days of the *Messiah*: whereof *Abarbanel*, on *Daniel*, saies; *Gravissimas fore Calamitates tempore Messie, quæ vocantur* / חבלי המשיח / ὀδυνης *Messie*,<sup>662</sup> *adeò ut prædicarint illum Beatum, qui illas non visurus est, nec illis temporibus victurus*.<sup>663</sup> But the Author of אבקת רוכל / *Introitum Redemptoris*.<sup>664</sup> 'Tis well enough. That's the first. The second is this. *Abarbanel* on *Daniel*, saies; *Traditio est in Manu priscorum Sapientum, quam acceperunt à Prophetis, quòd Urbs Constantinopolis prius sit devastanda, et postmodum Roma*.<sup>665</sup> He proves it from the Targum on Psal. 108.11. and on, Lam. 4.21.

The Author of the Chaldee Paraphrase on Num. 24.19. ha's a Passage this Way. *Surget Imperator è domo Jacob; perdet atque exterminabit reliquias quæ sunt Constantinopoli Urbe Renovata (nova Roma,) et vastabit atque diruet arcem Rebellem, et Casaream fortem, Urbes Populorum*.<sup>666</sup>

<sup>660</sup> The following comes from Grellotus, *Prodromus*, pp. 167–73.

<sup>661</sup> The Hebrew חבלי המשיח [havle hamašiah], like the following Latin phrase, signifies: "the sufferings of the Messiah."

<sup>662</sup> Mixing Latin, Hebrew, and Greek, the first part of this sentence translates: "that there will be the gravest calamities in the time of the Messiah, which are called the sufferings [the Greek literally signifies "travails of childbirth"] of the Messiah."

<sup>663</sup> The second part translates: "so that they would praise the blessed one, who will not see them and will not live in those times." Reference is made to Abravanel's messianic commentary on Daniel *Ma'yanei ha-Yeshu'ah* ("The Wellsprings of Salvation," compl. 1496, printed 1551).

<sup>664</sup> The Hebrew phrase ביאת גואל [be'at go'el], like the following Latin text, means: "coming of a redeemer." The Hebrew title refers to the posthumously collected and printed work of the halachic scholar R. Joseph Karo (also Yosef Caro, or Qaro, 1488–1575) *Avkath Rochel* (אבקת רוכל) (1566).

<sup>665</sup> "There is a tradition held by old sages which they have received from the prophets, that the city of Constantinople is to be devastated first, and then the city of Rome."

<sup>666</sup> "The emperor rises from the house of Jacob. He will destroy and eradicate the remains that are in the renewed city of Constantinople (the new Rome), and he will devastate and demolish the rebellious stronghold and the imperial strength, the cities of the nations." From Grellotus, *Prodromus*, p. 173. Grellotus provides a Latin transl. of the Targum of Num. 24:19.



Some things would incline me to the Opinion, that the Dispensation of the *Seven Vials*, takes not Place, until the Dayes of the *Seventh Trumpett*.<sup>667</sup>

I know not what well to think of what is proposed by an Ingenious, but an Anonymous Writer of *Annotations on the Revelations*; That the *Seven Vials*, are to have a literal Interpretation; & their Accomplishment in the *Conflagration* foretold by the Apostle *Peter*.<sup>668</sup>

And yett, when I Reconsider Monsr. *Jurieu*s admirable Offers, my Mind returns to be, *In æquilibrio*.<sup>669</sup>

The rather, when I am told, by Colonel *Burnet*, the learned Governour of *New-York*, That the Incomparable Sir *Isaac Newton*, who has applied himself to the Study of the *sacred Prophecies* with a peculiar Diligence and Attention, & vastly præferred it unto the Study of the *Mathematicks*, wherein he has been so great a Master; did in Conversation assure him, & give him full Proof of it, That the whole Vision of the *Vials*, must be synchronous and similar, to the Vision of the *Trumpetts*.<sup>670</sup>

[60v] | [blank]

<sup>667</sup> See Appendix A.

<sup>668</sup> A reference to Waple, *The Book of the Revelation*, p. 340.

<sup>669</sup> “undecided”; literally: “in the balance.” The last two paragraphs were added later.

<sup>670</sup> Another reference to Mather’s correspondence with William Burnet (see the annotation on Rev. 11:13). Burnet was a student of Isaac Newton, who was a millenarian and engaged in extensive interpretations of the prophecies. Some of Newton’s annotations were posthumously published as *Observations upon the Prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse of St. John* (1733). The cited opinion about the synchronicity of the vials and the trumpets can be found on p. 295.

466[8].

**Q.** We are now come to a Paragraph of the Divine Oracles, that will give us a clear and a full Vision of *Antichrist*. And many *Questions* about that *Monster*, will be wonderfully answered.

We will begin with this.

Why is the Apostle carried into a *Wilderness*, that so he may have a Sight of *Antichrist*? v. 1.

**A.** It was the Apprehension of Mr. *Brightman*, That some *faithful People in a Wilderness, would have the most clear Discoveries of the Abominations of the Man of Sin*.<sup>671</sup> If the People of God in an *American Wilderness* might flatter themselves with any such Apprehension, it might conciliate some Credit, & Value, unto the *Illustrations*, upon which we are now proceeding. Besides, *Retirement* and *Solitude* is fittest, for the Reception of Divine Illuminations. She must retire from the Bewitching Pleasures, & Noises, of the *City*.<sup>672</sup>

**Q.** *I will show thee the Judgment of the great Whore*. Show us from what Prophecies in the Old Testament are fetch'd the Colours of it? v. 1.

**A.** Especially look into the Third Chapter of *Nahums* Prophecies.

The Spirit of Prophecy considered *Rome*, in the Fate of *Ninive*. Consult *Buxtorf*, in his *Lexicon Talmudicum*, at the Root נִינֵב, and you'll see something of this.<sup>673</sup> The Jewes have a Tradition of it; Hence in their Book of *Zorobabel*, they bring *Michael*, saying to *Zorobabel*; *Urbs hæc est Ninive, Urbs Sanguinaria, Roma, inquam, illa magna*.<sup>674</sup>

**Q.** Her Sitting on *many Waters*? v. 1.

**A.** See Jer. LI. 13. — *Euphrates* encompassed old *Babylon*.

<sup>671</sup> This allusion seems to be taken from the work of the Puritan clergyman and co-founder of the American colony of New Haven, John Davenport (1597–1670), *Another Essay for Investigation of the Truth, in answer to two questions, concerning I. The subject of baptism. II. The consociation of churches* (1663), unpaginated “Preface to the Reader.” Davenport refers to Thomas Brightman, *A Revelation of the Revelation* ([1611] 1615), p. 570.

<sup>672</sup> The final sentence is a later addition.

<sup>673</sup> From Grelletus, *Prodromus*, p. 186, Mather cites Johannes Buxtorf, *Lexicon Chaldaicum Talmudicum et Rabbinicum*, p. 221.

<sup>674</sup> “That city is Nineveh, a bloodthirsty city, that enormous Rome, I say.” From Grelletus, reference is made to the *Book of Zorobabel*, an early medieval Hebrew apocalypse written at the beginning of the seventh century. See the modern edition: *Sefer Zerubbabel: The Prophetic Vision of Zerubbabel ben Shealtiel in Old Testament Pseudepigraph*, vol. 1, p. 460. The prophecy Mather mentions is Nah. 2:3–13, where the city of Nineveh is attacked by soldiers with red (Hebrew root: נֶדָם [’dm]) shields.

**Q.** What is intended, by *the Woman Sitting upon a scarlet-coloured Beast, full of Names of Blasphemy, having Seven Heads, and Ten Horns?* v. 3.

**A.** The *Beast* before us, is what we have had before; the *First Beast* of the *Thirteenth Chapter*; that is to say, the *Roman Empire*.

The *Beast* is of a *scarlet Colour*; It was the Colour of the *Roman Empire*; Its *Grandeess* were always cloathed in it.<sup>675</sup>

On the *Beast* there Sitts a *Woman*. A *Woman*! What can that signify, but a *Church*? Never did any Prophet exhibit a meer *Empire*, under the Notion of a *Woman*. The Holy Spirit, always uses the Emblem of, A *Woman*, to signify, A *Church*; either the *True Church* which is the Spouse of our Lord Jesus Christ; or the *False Church*, that is become unfaithful unto the Lord.

A *Woman* sitting on a *Beast*, is evidently, A *Church* sitting on an *Empire*, and, as it were engrafted on it. It is the *Church of Rome* engrafted on the *Roman Empire*.

4700.

**Q.** Why is *Rome* called by the Name of *BABYLON*? v. 4.

**A.** Admirable the Resemblance between that City, and *Babylon* of the *Chaldees*.

They were both *Founded* by Persons, that were *Captains* of *Robbers*, and great *Shedders* of *Blood*. The *Eastern Babylon* was founded by *Nimrod*: [Gen. 10.9.] And the *Western* by *Romulus*; who was indeed another *Cain*, and murdered his Brother.

They were both of them, the Seats of great Empires. The one as well as the other, have had *Monarchs*, who have styled themselves, *Kings of Kings*. The *Pope* claims this Title, as well as *Nebuchadnezzar*.

Both of them were considered in the Visions of *Daniel*. The *Eastern Babylon* was the *First Beast* in them; and the *Western*, the *Fourth*.

The one as well as the other ha's kept the People of God in *Bondage*; That the *Israelites*; This the *Christians*. Both of them have *Kill'd* and *Burnt*, such as would not worship their *Idols*.

The *Eastern Babylon* ha's had a Subversion, and pass'd unto a New Religion; That of *Mahometanism*. The *Western* ha's been subverted, & pass'd unto *Anti-christianism*. That ha's had her *Caliph*; This, her *Pope*.<sup>676</sup>

*Pagan Babylon*, was a Type of *Papal Rome*. And the Prophecies in the O.T. about the Fall of *Babylon*, are in the Fate of *Rome*, to have a most accurate and wonderful Accomplishment.

<sup>675</sup> From Jurieu, *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies*, pp. 156–57.

<sup>676</sup> From *A New System of the Apocalypse*, pp. 70–71.

4669.

**Q.** *The Woman was array'd in purple and scarlet Colour, and decked with Gold, & precious Stones & Pearls?* v. 4.

**A.** The *Woman*, as well as the *Beast* claims the *Purple* and the *Scarlet*. The *Church* ha's taken the Colour of the *Empire*. The *Pope*, & the *Cardinals*, and the *Ministers* of the Church of *Rome*, are distinguished by the Imperial *Purple* and *Scarlet*. The *Gold*, the *Gemms*, and the *Pearls*, increase the Magnificence. There is nothing more proud, than the Pomp of the Court of *Rome*.<sup>677</sup>

*Quære*; whether here be not an Allusion to [Josh. 7.21.] The Old *Babylonish Garment*; which by R. Chanina is rendred, *Purpura Babylonica*.<sup>678</sup>

Among the Ancient Romans, the *Optimates*, as the *Kings*, the *Consuls*, the *Priests*, and some others, wore *Purple* or *Scarlet*, [Horace uses the Terms promiscuously,] whereof consult *Rosinus*, in his *Antiquities*.<sup>679</sup>

In the pretended Donation of *Constantine* to *Sylvester*, Dist. 96. cap. there is this Remarkable Passage.

*Constantinus Beato Sylvestro et omnibus Successoribus ejus, de Prasenti tradimus Chlamydem purpuream, atque tunicam coccineam*.<sup>680</sup>

I add; Tho' *Grotius* would be the last Author, I should chuse to quote, upon the *Apocalypse*; yett I will here mention a Note of his. The *Woman* here takes to herself the Colour of the Ornaments of the *Tabernacle of God*, which were of *Purple* and *Scarlett*. Her Idolatrous Usurpations of what belongs to God, may be here intended.<sup>681</sup>

|  
4670.

[61v]

**Q.** *She holds a golden Cup in her hand, full of Abominations?*

**A.** 'Tis a surprizing Accident, that in the Language of the *Beast*, the Four Initial Letters of *Poculum Aureum Plenum Abominationum*,<sup>682</sup> make the Name

<sup>677</sup> From Jurieu, *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies*, p. 157.

<sup>678</sup> "The Babylonian purple." From Grellotus, *Prodromus*, pp. 179–80, Mather cites the saying of first-century Jewish scholar and thaumaturge, Rabbi Chanina (Chanina ben Dosa), which Grellotus in turn takes from Bochart, *Hieroicoicon*, pars 2, lib. 1, cap. 20, p. 138.

<sup>679</sup> See, for example, Horace, *Odes*, 1.35.1–16 (*LCL* 33, p. 87); or *Epistles* 2.180–82 (*LCL* 194, p. 439). Further reference is made to the work of Johannes Rosinus, *Antiquitatum Romanarum corpus absolutissimum* ([1585] 1640), lib. 5, p. 567 and lib. 8, p. 841.

<sup>680</sup> "We, Constantine, to the Blessed Sylvester, and to all his successors, by this present give ... the purple mantle and scarlet tunic ... ." From Grellotus, *Prodromus*, pp. 179–80, Mather cites the Donation of Constantine, *disinctio* 96, cap. 14 (Palea), § 2. In the PL, this text can be found in Hugo Flaviniacensis, *Chronicon*, lib. 1 [PL 154. 50A]. The transl. is adapted from the edition of Fried (2007), pp. 151–52.

<sup>681</sup> A reference to Grotius's explications on Rev. 17:4 in *Opera* (2:1214–15). The slight against Grotius is to be explained by the fact that Grotius's preterist-allegorical approach to Revelation and especially to cap. 20 stood in diametrical opposition to Mather's.

<sup>682</sup> VUL: "A golden cup full of abominations" (Rev. 17:4).

of PAPA. Tis thus in the very *Bible* of the *Roman Church*. Monsr. *Jurieu* cannot beleve, that this Acrostick fell out by meer Accident.<sup>683</sup>

This *Woman* is a Prostitute; an *Adulterous Woman*; unfaithful to her Spouse the Lord Jesus Christ. She is represented, as *making the Kings of the Earth drunk with the Wine of her Fornications*. Her *Fornications* are her *Idolatries*, and *Superstitions*, and the other Abominations of her False Religion. She makes People *Drunk*, when she does by unhappy Perswasions bring them to those *Abominations*. The Figure is borrowed from those Debauched *Women*, who give Delicious Liquors unto their Gallants, to inflame them. The *golden Cup*, into which all these *Abominations* are poured out, is the pretended *Infallibility*. This *Doctrine*, as a *Cup*, contains all the rest; without this all would run out; This Retains, and Unites them all. It may well be called, A *Cup of Gold*; For this pretended Privilege of *Infallibility*, would be the most precious Thing in all the World, unto him that should have it. The *golden Aspect* of the *Cup*, it may also signify the *pompous Outside* of *Ceremonies*, and those glittering Externals, which contain Disguised *Abominations* under them. The People Drink the *Poison* for the Sake of the *Cup*. Tis the Fair *Outside*, that invites them to Drink down the *Abominations*.

4680.

**Q.** I suppose, we are now so well agreed, where to look for the Apocalyptical BABYLON, that there is no room left for any Hæsitation? v. 5.

**A.** It is acknowledged, by *Bellarmino*, and the most famous Jesuites who have commented on the *Revelation*, That the City of *Rome*, is meant by the *Babylon* of the *Revelation*.<sup>684</sup> And Cardinal *Perron*, as well as others, conclude *Peters* having been at *Rome*, from his having dated his Epistle at *Babylon*.<sup>685</sup>

Well; but is it *Rome Heathen*, or is it *Rome Christian*? Since it must be after the Destruction of the *Roman Empire* & the Rise of *Ten Kings* in it, it cannot be *Rome Heathen*. And *John* would not have bee so struck with Admiration, to see *Rome Heathen*, an *Idolatress*, *Drunk with the Blood of the Martyrs*: He had never known her otherwise.

**Q.** Upon her Forhead was a Name written, MYSTERY; Babylon the Great, the Mother of Harlots, and Abominations of the Earth? v. 5.

<sup>683</sup> The entry is derived from *Jurieu*, *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies*, pp. 157–58.

<sup>684</sup> From *A New System of the Apocalypse*, p. 10, Mather cites the famous apologetic work of Robert Bellarmine, *Disputationes de Controversiis Christianae Fidei* ([1596] Venice, 3 vols., 1599), vol. 1, *De Romano Pontifice*, lib. 2, cap. 2, col. 719.

<sup>685</sup> From *A New System of the Apocalypse*, p. 10, Mather cites the Roman Catholic cardinal, Jacques Davy Du Perron (1556–1618), *Replique à la Responce du Serenissime Roy de la Grand Bretagne* (1630), bk. 2, ch. 4, p. 143.

A. 'Tis exactly the Description of the *Roman Church*.<sup>686</sup>

It may well be said, That *on her Forehead is written MYSTERY*. That which the Holy Spirit calls, *The Mystery of Iniquity*, is here to be mett withal. Everything here is, *Mystery*. All appears like *Religion*. *Mystery* is the Name of *Religion*. But this is a *Mystery of Iniquity*; a *Religion* full of *Abominations*.

It is a very Remarkable Thing, That the *Popes* did sometimes wear the Word, MYSTERY, written on the *Forepart* of their *Mitre*. A *Venetian* Author assures us of it; and *Joseph Scaliger* affirms, that he was himself an *Ey-Witness*, of the *Mitre*, which had that Word upon it.<sup>687</sup> It is most certain, the *Pope* heretofore carried the Name of MYSTERY, upon the *Brim* of his *Mitre*, which exactly answers to the *Forehead*. *Julius II.* was he who took it away out of his; and since that, it ha's been used no more. Our K. *James I.* having affirmed, that Persons who were worthy of Credit, had seen the Name of MYSTERY on the *Mitre* of the *Popes*, that were before *Julius II.* the Jesuite *Lessius* contents himself, with barely answering, *That we are not to seek for a Mystery in a Mystery*. This is an Acknowledgment of the Matter of Fact. It is indeed a marvellous Thing!<sup>688</sup>

Indeed there is nothing in the *Papal Church*, but what is *mysterious*. There is not one *Habit*, not one *Gesture*, not one *Motion*, or any thing relating to their Divine Service, which is not *mysterious*, and hidden from the Understanding of the common People.<sup>689</sup>

I add. Here seems an Allusion to the Title on the Forehead of the Mitre of the *High-Priest*, which had, *Holiness to the Lord*, written on it. It is intimated, The Apostate Church is of a [\*\*\*] & Spirit contrary to what God requires [\*\*\*]

| What I have written concerning the Word, MYSTERY, on the Tiara of the Roman Pontiff, I received of Mr. *Jurieu*. But on a Review, I find it ha's been a Matter of grievous Contestation. Mr. *de Meaux* ha's fallen very hard, I perceive, on Mr. *Jurieu*, about it.<sup>690</sup> *Scaliger* it seems was but a Witness by *Hear-Say* of this Thing; and it was a Mistake in Mr. *Jurieu* to make him an *Ey-Witness* of it. On this Occasion, a Lutheran Divine undertook to prove a Falsehood on the Bishop of *Meaux* for denying the Inscription of MYSTERY on the Papal *Tiara*.<sup>691</sup> His

[62r]

<sup>686</sup> From *Jurieu*, *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies*, p. 158.

<sup>687</sup> From *Jurieu*, Mather cites the annotation on Rev. 17:5 by *Joseph Scaliger* in *Critici Sacri* (7:4858).

<sup>688</sup> The rest of this entry comes from *A New System of the Apocalypse*, p. 73. From that source, Mather cites the apologetic work of the Flemish Jesuit theologian, *Leonardus Lessius* (1554–1623), *De Antichristo Et Eius Praecursoribus Disputatio Apologetica gemina* (1611), p. 82. *Julius II* was pope from 1503 to 1513.

<sup>689</sup> From *A New System of the Apocalypse*, pp. 73–74.

<sup>690</sup> Here Mather refers to the work by the Bishop of Meaux, *Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet* (1627–1704), *L'Apocalypse avec une explication* (1690), p. 320.

<sup>691</sup> Mather seems to summarize the following account of the German extension of the debate between *Jurieu* and *Bossuet* from the entry on *Drusius* in *Pierre Bayle's* (1647–1706) *Dictionnaire historique et critique* (first ed. 1697), which was first translated into English in 1702. See *General Dictionary, historical and critical* (1734–1740), vol. 2 ("Drusius"), p. 708. The German

Work is divided into Two Parts. In the first, which is entituled, *MYSTERIUM in Pontificis Romani Corona apertum*, he collected all the Proofs he could find of it. In the second, which is entituled, *MYSTERIUM in Coronâ Pontificis opertum et remotum*; he endeavours to find out, Why and How the Inscription in quæstion was taken away. But then a Professor in Philosophy, whose Name is *Hanneman*, answered this Divine, in a Book published at *Hamburg*, 1698. under the Title of, *MYSTERIUM Papali Coronæ ascriptum non-ens; seu, commentarius in caput XVII. Apocalypseos. v. 5. quo demonstratur, Papali Coronæ MYSTERIUM nunquam fuisse inscriptum*.

I know not what well to say of it. This I know, the Assertion of the *Pope* to be *Antichrist*, will be sufficiently maintained, without such a Story to support it.

[62v] | [blank]

[63r] | <sup>692</sup>  
4672.

**Q.** *I saw the Woman drunk with the Blood of the Saints?* v. 6.

**A.** Tis no longer the *Beast* now, that sheds the *Blood of the Saints*; Tis the *Woman*; Tis not ancient *Roman Empire*; Tis the Church of *Rome*; Tis the *False Church*, that uses the *Pawes* of the *Beast*, the *Arms* of the *Empire*, & of *Kings*, to persecute the Faithful. Tis the same that was but the *Image of the Beast*, in the *Thirteenth Chapter*; and yett then gave Order for the *Killing of the Saints*.<sup>693</sup>

It is true, first of *Pagan Rome*, that she was *Drunk with the Blood of the Saints*. The Words of *Lactantius* are very lively.

*Quis Caucasus, quæ India, quæ Hyrcania, tam immanes, tam sanguinarias unquam Bestias aluit? Quoniam ferarum omnium Rabies usque ad ventris satietatem furit, fameque Sedata protinus conquiescit, illa est vera Bestia cujus unica Inssione, Funditur eter ubique cruor, crudelis ubique Luctus, ubique, pavor, et plurima mortis Imago.*

*Nemo hujus tantæ Belluæ immanitatem potest pro Merito describere, quæ uno Loco recubans, tamen per totum orbem ferreis dentibus sævit, et non tantum artus*

---

debate was between the Lutheran divine and superintendent of Zwickau, Christian Gotthelf Blumberg (1664–1735), who published his attack on Bossuet under the title *Mystèrion Coronæ Meretricis Babylonice Frontispicium, sive Exercitium Anti-Bossueticum* (1694). The titles of the book's two parts translate as "The mystery on the crown of the Roman Pope opened" and "The dark and hidden mystery on the papal crown." A critical response to Blumberg was published by the theologian and professor of anatomy at Kiel, Johann Ludwig Hanneman (1640–1724) with *MYSTERIUM Papali Coronæ ascriptum non-ens; seu, commenarius in caput XVII. Apocalypseos. v. 5. quo demonstratur, Papali Coronæ MYSTERIUM nunquam fuisse inscriptum* (1698). That title translates "Mystery is not inscribed on the papal crown; or, a commentary on the seventeenth chapter of the Book of Revelation, v. 5 by which it is proved that *mystery* has never been inscribed on the papal crown."

<sup>692</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>693</sup> From Jurieu, *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies*, pp. 158–59.

*hominum, sed et ipsa Ossa comminuit, et in cineres furit, ne quis extet Sepulturæ Locus.*<sup>694</sup>

But *Papal Rome* has far exceeded it.

{4673.}

**Q.** What may be the Meaning of that Passage; *The Beast that thou sawest, was & is not; he ascends out of the Bottomless Pitt, and goes into Perdition?* v. 9.

**A.** The *Angel*, now explains the *Vision* to the *Prophet*.

The *Beast* here proposed, is the *Roman Empire* in its *Pagan Condition*, which had now spent Two Thirds of its Time, & was tending towards its End. This Empire was now speedily to *go into Perdition*, & be brought unto nothing. But after it is destroy'd, it arises out of Hell again, under another Form, under the Name and Form of a Church. The *Head wounded unto Death*, must Revive. But that *Second Empire*, which must Rise out of the Ashes of the *First*, shall finally perish, and (which the *Kingdom given to the Saints* never shall) *go into Perdition*.<sup>695</sup>

4674.

**Q.** But, *they which dwell on the Earth shall wonder at it?* v. 8.

**A.** The Inhabitants of the *Roman Empire* shall not comprehend the *Mystery*. They shall see the *Roman Empire* Abolished, and *Rome* cease to be the Mistress of the World, by the *Fall* of the *Emperours*. And all on the Sudden, they shall see *Rome* again mounted up unto the same Dignity. *The Beast was*; There was an Empire. *He is not*; The Empire has been broken. *And yett he is*; There shall be a Return of the Empire, without any bodies knowing how. This Prodigy will amaze and enchant the Inhabitants of the World; They shall grow dizzy at Beholding it.<sup>696</sup>

**Q.** And the Passage that followes anon; *The Kings shall give their Power and Strength to the Beast*; it may not be amiss in this Place, a little to consider it?

<sup>694</sup> "For what Caucasus, what India, what Hyrcania ever nourished beasts so savage and so bloodthirsty? For the fury of all wild beasts rages until their appetite is satisfied; and when their hunger is appeased, immediately is pacified. That is truly a beast by whose command alone

'With rivulets of slaughter reeks

The stern embattled field.'

'Dire agonies, wild terrors swarm,

And Death glares grim in many a form.'

No one can befittingly describe the cruelty of this beast, which reclines in one place, and yet rages with iron teeth throughout the world, and not only tears in pieces the limbs of men, but also breaks their very bones, and rages over their ashes, that there may be no place for their burial ... ." From Grellotus, *Prodromus*, p. 180, Mather cites Lactantius, *The Divine Institutes*, bk. 5, ch. 11 [PL 6. 584; CSEL 19]; transl.: ANF (7:326).

<sup>695</sup> From Jurieu, *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies*, p. 159.

<sup>696</sup> From Jurieu, *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies*, p. 159.



**A.** It is to be considered with Astonishment. Every Man, that knowes any thing of the History of *Europe*, is furnished with an astonishing Commentary upon it.

But, methinks, there needs no more than one Passage, in, *An Account of the Court of Portugal*; very lately published. [1700.] I will transcribe it.<sup>697</sup>

[63v] “*Alfonso Henriquez*, their First King, refused to accept of the Crown, till it was made Tributary to his Holiness. *John II.* who in other Cases, knew as well as ever any Prince did, how to assert the Royal Authority, exceeded his first Predecessor in his Respect and Deference, to the Holy See; For he gave the Pope, an uncontrollable Kind of Sovereignty within his Dominions, granting that his Bulls should be published for the future, without being examined by the Chancellor, or any other of the Kings Ministers. When that magnanimous Prince, *John III.* had been treated with the utmost Indignities by those of *Rome*, & they conscious to themselves of their Offences, were apprehensive of his Resentments; *Inigo Loyola* Founder of the Jesuites, could assure them, that he knew the King of *Portugal*, to be so good a Catholic, that he would suffer his very Beard to be trampled under foot by his Holiness, without showing the least Sign of Disobedience. The brave *Sebastian*, when the Pope to flatter his Desire of Glory, bid | him choose what Title he please, answered, That he was ambitious of no other, but that which his Ancestors had so well deserved; viz, that of, *The most obedient Son of the Church.*”

4675.

**Q.** *The Seven Heads are Seven Mountains, on which the Woman sitteth.* What may be meant by the *Seven Mountains*? v. 9.<sup>698</sup>

**A.** Seven Literal Natural *Mountains*. The *Roman Church* has its *Metropolis* in the City of *Rome*. It is thus Raised upon *Seven Mountains*. This is a Character that makes the City of *Rome* Remarkable. She ha's always been called, *Septicollis*; The *Seven-hill'd City*. Lett us enquire of her own Poets.

VIRGIL.

*Septemque una sibi muro circumdedit Arces.*<sup>699</sup>

HORACE.

*Dis, quibus Septem placuere Colles, Dicere Carmen.*<sup>700</sup>

<sup>697</sup> From the work of the Anglican churchman and professor of moral philosophy at Cambridge, John Colbatch (1664–1748), *An Account of the Court of Portugal* (1700), pt. 2 (“Of the Interests of Portugal, with Relation to Rome”), pp. 2–3. Ignatius of Loyola (1491–1556) was a Spanish priest and theologian who founded the Jesuit order in 1534.

<sup>698</sup> The following entry is derived from *A New System of the Apocalypse*, pp. 5–6.

<sup>699</sup> “With a single city’s wall [Rome] shall enclose her seven hills.” The citation is from Virgil, *Aeneid*, 6.781–83; transl.: *LCL* 63, pp. 560–61.

<sup>700</sup> “[that chosen girls and boys of good character] should sing a hymn to the gods who look with favour on the Seven Hills.” The citation is from Horace, *Carmen Saeculare*, 1–8; transl.: *LCL* 33, pp. 262–63.

## PROPERTIUS.

*Septem urbs alta jugis, toti quæ præsidet Orbi.*<sup>701</sup>

## OVID.

*Sed quæ de Septem totum circumspicit Orbem*

*Montibus, Imperii Roma Deûmque Locus.*<sup>702</sup>

And Varro tells of a Festival, called, *Septimontium*, dedicated unto the Honour of *Rome*, which took its Name from the *Seven Mountains* whereon *Rome* was built.<sup>703</sup> Our Lads at School know the Names of them; The *Palatine*, the *Capitoline*, the *Aventine*, the *Celian*, the *Esquiline*, the *Viminal*, and the *Quirinal*.

4676.

**Q.** But the *Seven Heads* have a further Signification, which the Holy Spirit ha's also allotted unto them: It followes, They are *also Seven Kings, Five are fallen, and One is, and the Other is not yett come?* v. 10.

**A.** The *Seven Kings* are the *Seven Sorts of sovereign Governments*, under which this Empire ha's passed, and must pass along. I. *Kings*. II. *Consuls*. III. *Decemvirs*. IV. *Tribunes of the People*. V. *Perpetual Dictators*. These *Five* were *fallen*: These *Five Governments* were passed, in the Time of the Apostle *John*. VI. The *Emperours*. Of this it was said at this time; *It is*. VII. There was another, *not yet come*. This is that of the *Popes*.<sup>704</sup>

That *Kings* mean all Sorts of supreme *Governours*, is evident from, Gen. 36.31. and Deut. 33.5.

4677.

**Q.** Why is it said, *when he comes, he must continue a short Space?*

**A.** Monsr. *Jurieu* thinks, This must be explained from the following Verse.<sup>705</sup> *The Beast that was, and is not, even he is the Eighth, and is of the Seven, & goes into Perdition.*

The Holy Spirit, with Design, did Involve these Passages. It is the *Eighth King*, (who *is also of the Beast*,) that *is of the Seven, and when he shall come, he must continue for a short Space*. Behold, an *Eighth King* belonging to the *Roman Empire*. This *Eighth King* is *of the Seven*; he is of the Number of the *Seven*

<sup>701</sup> "The city set high on seven hills which presides over the whole world." The citation is from the work of the Latin poet, Sextus Propertius (c. 50–45, d. shortly after 15 BC), *Elegies*, 3.11; transl.: *LCL* 18, pp. 260–61.

<sup>702</sup> "But [Rome], that gazes about her from her seven hills upon the whole world, – Rome, the place of empire and the gods." The citation is from Ovid, *Tristia*, 1.67–70; transl.: *LCL* 151, pp. 32–33.

<sup>703</sup> Reference is made to Varro, *On the Latin Language*, 6.24; transl.: *LCL* 333, p. 197.

<sup>704</sup> From Jurieu, *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies*, p. 89.

<sup>705</sup> From Jurieu, *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies*, pp. 160–61.

*Governments*. It seems one of the *Seven Heads* is Divided into *Two*. Tis that *Head* of the *Roman Emperours*. The *Roman Emperours* were either *Pagans* or *Christians*. The Conversion of the Emperours made so great a Change, that the *Christian Emperours* deserved to be reckon'd for an *Eighth Head*.

However, because they last but a *short Space*, and because in respect of Temporals they were perfectly like the foregoing Emperours, the Holy Spirit reckons them, as belonging to one of the *Seven Heads*. When the Second Part of the *Head* of the *Emperours* (that is, the Christian Emperours,) was come, it did not continue long. The *Christian Emperours* did not possess the *Empire*, but from the Conversion of *Constantine*, to *Valentinian*, III. about 130 Years.<sup>706</sup>

[64r] | <sup>707</sup>  
468{6.}

**Q.** May not the *Eighth King*, have some other Explication? v. 11.

**A.** I will offer you Monsr. *Philipots*.<sup>708</sup>

The *Seventh Head*, namely, that of the *Popes*, was *to come*, at the Time of *Johns* Writing the *Apocalypse*. But it is foretold, *when he cometh*, and usurps the Sovereignty, & the Domination, *he must continue a short Space*.

Lett us observe an admirable Thing. The *Pope* then became the Master of *Rome*, and the *Temporal Lord* over it, when *Gregory II.* excommunicated *Leo*, the Emperour.<sup>709</sup> For seventy Years, it remained in the same Condition under the *Popes*, that it had been formerly under the *Emperours*. The *Pope* Reigning as the Sole Temporal Lord of *Rome*, was the *Seventh King*. But in this Capacity he must *continue but a short Space*; no more than *seventy Years*. That Sort of Domination ended with *Leo*. III. He must then appear, as an *Eighth King*; by exercising the Government in Conjunction with the City of *Rome*.

<sup>706</sup> Valentinian III (419–455) was Roman emperor in the West from 425 to 455.

<sup>707</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>708</sup> The following entry is derived from *A New System of the Apocalypse*, pp. 33–37. Here again, Mather identifies the author as Philipot.

<sup>709</sup> Pope Gregory II (669–731) was the Bishop of Rome from 19 May 715 until his death. For years, he was in conflict with Leo III (685–741), Byzantine Emperor from 717 until his death, over issues of taxation but also the extension of iconoclastic doctrines to the West. According to Greek sources, the pope excommunicated the emperor in 727 but whether this really happened is uncertain. In the conflict between Eutychius, the Byzantine Exarch of Ravenna, and the Lombards, however, Gregory remained loyal to the empire and, in 729, brokered a truce between the Lombard king Liutprand and Eutychius. With Liutprand, Gregory reached an agreement, known as the Donation of Sutri, whereby Sutri and some hill towns in Latium were given to the papacy, the first extension of papal territory beyond the confines of the Duchy of Rome. The Donation is regarded as marking the beginning of the Papal States and an important step in the establishment of the temporal power of the popes.

*Sigonius* ha's explained the Matter beyond what he thought for. Saies he: "It was *Gregory II.* who took away the Dominion of *Rome*, from the *Greeks*."<sup>710</sup> *Onuphrius* goes on with the Matter." *Gregory II.* being more courageous than his Predecessor *Constantine*, took from *Leo* the Emperour, all that he had left of the Kingdome of the *Lombards* in *Italy*."<sup>711</sup> This was done, A. D. 729. This Domination of the *Pope* alone, lasted unto, A. D. 798. But then, saith *Vignier*, "certain Citizens being incensed against Pope *Leo III.* they did, under Pretence of Restoring *Rome* to its ancient Freedom, stir up the People; who siezing upon the *Pope* at a Procession, putt out his Eyes, & threw him into Prison; whence being delivered by the Duke of *Spoletto*, & brought unto *Charlemain*, that Prince carried him back to *Rome*, the Year following, & reconciled him to the *Romans*."<sup>712</sup>

The Popes recovered then their lost Sovereignty; but in Conjunction with *Rome*.

4678.

**Q.** We know, That a Period of 1260 Years, is allow'd unto the Empire of *Antichrist*. But we don't know when to Begin that Period in our Computation. We have here before us, a notable Intimation, when to Begin it. *The Ten Horns receive Power, as Kings, one Hour with the Beast*. Some good Illustration of this Matter would very much Direct and Comfort us? v. 12.

**A.** There is a Coincidence of a Thousand Things, to fix the Beginning of this famous Period, in the *Fifth Age*, about the Middle of it.

We may be sure, the Church of *Rome* was then arrived unto *Idolatry* enough, *Corruption* enough, and *Dominion* enough, to allow for this our Computation.

A learned *Englishman*, who was afterwards a *New Englishman* (Mr. *Samuel Lee*,) wrote a Book, *De Excidio Antichristi*, which does with much Learning, seek the Beginning of the 1260 Years, which are allow'd unto the Empire of *Antichrist*, at the same Hour that the *Ten Kings receive their Power, as Kings*.<sup>713</sup>

I will be beholden to some of his Researches on this Occasion.

<sup>710</sup> Mather cites Carlo Sigonio. While not providing an exact *locus*, the context in which the citation appears suggests that reference is made to Sigonio's *Historiarum de regno Italiae* (1575), lib. 3, on the conflicts between Gregory II and Emperor Leo III between 728 and 730. See Sigonio's *Opera omnia* (1732–1737), vol. 2, pp. 170–75.

<sup>711</sup> Further reference is made to Onuphrius Panvinus, probably to his work *Epitome Romanorum pontificum*, where the pontiff of Gregory II is treated on p. 35.

<sup>712</sup> Reference is made to the French lawyer, historiographer, and theologian Nicholas Vignier (1530–1596), probably to his work *La Bibliothèque Historiale: Contenant la dispositio & concordance des temps, des histoires & des historiographes, ensemble l'estat tant de l'Eglise* (1587), vol. 2, pp. 393–94.

<sup>713</sup> In the following, Mather gives excerpts from the work of Samuel Lee, *Antichristi Excidium* ([1659] 1664), pp. 2–12. See also *Tripuradus*, p. 335.

It is plain that the *Beast* now before us, is, *The Antichrist*. It is not a meer *political Body* composed of *Ten Kingdoms*. The *Ten Kings* give their *Power* to the *Beast*. And it is notorious, that the *Kingdoms* of *Europe* have resigned themselves unto the Disposal of *Antichrist*. *The Beast*, is the same that appears in the *Seventh-Eighth Head*, upon the *Roman Throne*. But this is the *Pope* of *Rome*. All the *Seven Heads* have their *Throne* in that *City*. The *Sixth Head*, was that of the *Pagan Emperours*, which our *Prophet* here tells us, was existing, at the *Time* of writing this *Prophecy*. He adds, *Another is not yett come, and when he comes, he must continue a short Space*. It is observable, That this *King* is called, *Another*; not called, *The Seventh*. For indeed, he was in a *Manner* the same with the *Sixth*. It is probably meant of the *Christian Emperours*, who succeeded the *Pagan*. These were so much the same with the *Pagan*, differing only in their *Christianity*, that they are not another compleat *Head*. And yett because they differed in their *Christianity*, and had *Sentiments* that were so contrary to their *Pagan* Predecessors, they must be allow'd something of another *Head*. The *Sixth Head* had a *Double Aspect*: an *Aspect* of | *Two Heads*. But the *Christian Aspect*, was to continue but a short *Space*.

However, the Next *Head*, is capable of being styled, either a *Seventh* or an *Eighth*. And he next succeeding unto the *Christian Emperours*, who can he be, but the *Pope* of *Rome*? It is also to be considered, That the *Inhabitants of the Earth*, wonder after this *Beast*. Never were *People* so wonderfully bewitched with any *Empire*, as the *Papal*. The *Nations* of the *Earth* were indeed *Subject* unto *Rome*, in a *Civil Empire*. But it was unwillingly; it was by an horrid *Compulsion* upon them; the *Yoke* was forced upon them. Whereas, the *Papal Empire* is owned, & even courted, by the *Nations* of the *Earth*, with a most willing *Submission*: They are taken with the *Charms* of it; They love to have it so.

To know when the 1260 Years, allowed for the *Reign* of this *Beast* begin, we have a notable *Direction* from the *Holy Spirit*; That there do *Ten Kings* appear, which receive *Power* as *Kings*, at the same time with the *Beast*. And thus, in the *Visions* of *Daniel*, the *little Horn* is contemporary with the *Ten*. And, whereas, in *Dan. 7.24*. we read, *Another King shall Rise after them*; but this, *After them*, / אַחֲרֵיהֶם<sup>714</sup> is understood of *Place*; & not of *Time*, by those who follow the *LXX's* σπισω.<sup>715</sup> Our *Apostle* here confirms their *Interpretation*.

As for the *Number* of *Ten Kings*, it is not strictly to be so limited, that throughout the whole *Dynastia Bestialis*, there must be no *Alteration* in the

714 From Lee, Mather references the Hebrew word אַחֲרֵיהֶן [ʾaharehon], which occurs in *Dan. 7:24* and means “after them.” However, Lee and Mather omit the final ך.

715 The Greek adverb ὀπίσω [opiso] with reference to place indeed signifies “behind, after.” There are two complete, ancient Greek versions of *Daniel*, the (earlier) OG translation and the TH version. For *Dan. 7:24*, the OG version actually has καὶ ὁ ἄλλος βασιλεὺς μετὰ τούτους στήσεται [kai ho allos basileus meta toutous steseta] (“and another king shall rise after these”), whereas the TH version reads: καὶ ὀπίσω αὐτῶν ἀναστήσεται ἕτερος; [kai opiso auton anastesetai heteros] (“and another shall arise behind them”) (*NETS*).

Number. It is enough, that they were *Ten* at the first, and that for the most Part the Number keeps thereabout. And therefore *Augustin*, about the Time of the Rising of the *Ten Kings*, tells us, *Reges plus minus decem per universam 1260 annorum Seriem semper futuri sint.*<sup>716</sup>

Where to find these *Ten Kings*, the *Event* ha's taught us. From *Johns* Time to ours, we can find but *one Time*, wherein *Ten Kings* arose very near together, and as it were at once, upon the Fall of the *Roman Empire* in *Europe*. And at *this Time* we also find, the *Pope* arising as a *Two Horned Beast*, in the Bosom of *Italy*, the most pleasant Garden of *Europe*.

The Quæstion will be, whether the *Greek Empire*, must be esteemed one of these *Ten Horns*? My learned Author thinks, *No*. The *Ten Horns* must be *Kings* under the Influence of *Antichrist*, and influenced by his Popish Religion. They grow on the *Seventh Head*, which succeeds in the Room of the *Sixth*: and repairs the *Wound* given to the *Sixth*. Now the *Sixth Head*, was that of the Emperours; which was by *Constantine* divided into *Two*. And it was not at all the *Eastern*, but only the *Western Division* of that *Head*, which received a *Deadly Wound*, by the Descent of the *Barbarous Nations* upon the Empire. Wherefore, tis there alone, even in that Part of the Empire, that we are to look for the *Seventh Head*, with the *Ten Horns* upon it. The other Part remained for many Ages; even till the *Turks* brought a Desolation upon it. The *Ten Kings* must arise from the *Ruines* of the *Roman Empire*. The *Byzantine Seat* of it, was not reached by those Ruines; it was erected before them, & continued after them.

The Prophet asserts, That the *Ten Kings* received their Power, at the *same Hour* with the *Beast*. The *Greek Empire* was in Power and in Play an hundred Years before. The *Ten Kings* also give their Power to the *Beast*. But the Greek Emperour alwayes Resisted him, and Abhorred him. The *Ten Horns* are to have an Hand in destroying the *Whore* on the *Beast*. Where is the *Greek* now to be concerned in that action?

Briefly, The *Ten Kings* are to be look'd for, according to my Author, in those Parts of *Europe*, which ly mostly between the *Rhine* and the *Danube*; or those which fell under the Scepter of *Honorius*, after the Death of *Theodosius*; exclusive of those which belong'd unto *Arcadius*; and which the *Ottoman Arms* afterwards have subjugated, but been Remarkably limited from going any further.<sup>717</sup>

*Africa* is to be in like Manner excluded as being siezed by Tyrants of its own, immediately after the Death of *Theodosius*, and since possessed by the *Mahometan Tyranny*. We exclude likewise the *Northern Regions* of *Europe*, to

<sup>716</sup> "About ten kings are ultimately to come during the entire span of 1260 years." From Lee, *Antichristi excidium*, pp. 3–4, Mather is paraphrasing Augustine, *The City of God*, 20.23 [PL 41. 696; CCSL 48]; transl.: LCL 416, p. 399.

<sup>717</sup> After the death of his father Theodosius I in 395, Flavius Honorius (384–423) became Emperor of the West during a period of rapid disintegration due to the invasion of various Germanic tribes, which established new kingdoms. His brother Arcadius reigned in the East.

which the *Roman Eagles* never flew, or were forced presently to fly back again; the *Scots*, the *Danes*, the *Suedes*, we have nothing to do with them on this Occasion.

The *Ten Kings*, are then thus to be enumerated.

*Regni uniuscuiusque exordium.*<sup>718</sup>

I. A. 356. *Alemannorum*

II. A. 377. *Ostrogothorum*

III. A. 378. *Visigothorum*

IV. A. 378. *Hunnorum*.

V. A. 406. *Britanno-Romanorum*, et post *Saxonum*.

VI. A. 407. *Suevorum*.

[65r] | VII. A. 407. *Alanorum*.

VIII. A. 407. *Vandalorum*.

IX. A. 407. *Burgundionum*.

X. A. 410. *Francorum*.

My learned Author, ha's with much Reading and Labour, fetched out of the Monuments of Antiquity, the *Rise* and *Fate* of these *Ten Kings*. It would make too long a Paragraph in our *Illustrations*, to insert all those Researches: Nor is it Necessary to our present Undertaking.

In After-Ages, the Number and Figure of these *Kings*, underwent some Alteration; But for the most Part, they have continued in the Number, *Ten*, to this very Day. And so far as we can yett learn, we cannot find, in the Beginning of the *Fifth Age*, and for a very considerable While after, any other than those very *Ten*, which we have exposed in our Catalogue. If there appeared more than these, they appeared utterly without the Bounds, of that Spott, where our *Ten* were to be looked for.

If we more critically enquire, from what *Epoch*, we shall consider all these *Ten Kings*, as having *received their Power*? We may do well to take into our Consideration, the Time, when we find the *Papal Beast receiving his Power*. Briefly, That the *Period* may have a due *Breadth* allowed unto it, Reckon from the Year, 410. when the Last of the *Ten Kings* is up, to the Year, 476. when the *Western-Empire* utterly gave up the Ghost; and until which none of the *Ten Kings* were in the free and safe Possession of their *Crownes*. According to this, Computation, The 1260 Years allotted for the Reign of *Antichrist*, must of necessity expire by the Year 1736. at farthest; and may (which God grant, if it be His Will,) expire before. Within 66 Years, from the Year, 1670. a Desolation upon the *Antichristian Empire*, is to be looked for.<sup>719</sup>

That which mightily confirms our Calculation, is this. About the very Time, when our *Ten Kings* do show themselves, we find the *Pope of Rome*, arrived

<sup>718</sup> "After the beginning of the reign of each." From Lee, *Antichristi Excidium*, p. 172.

<sup>719</sup> From Lee, *Antichristi Excidium*, pp. 184–91.

unto his *Primacy*, and exposing all the other Marks of *Antichrist*. We will single out but one *Pope*, and as *Innocent* as the rest of his Brethren; from whose *Antichristianism*, we may, *Discere omnes*.<sup>720</sup> It shall be Pope INNOCENT. I.

The very Formality of *Popery*, lies in acknowledging the *Supremacy* of the Bishop of *Rome*. And now lett us first enquire after the Pretensions of Pope *Innocent*. I. unto that *Supremacy*. When the *African Church* would have *Pelagius*, and *Cælestius*, to be *Anathematized*, they address *Innocent*, *Ut Statutis nostræ mediocritatis, etiam Apostolicæ Sedis adhibeatur Autoritas*.<sup>721</sup> And again they say; *Impietas Autoritate Apostolicæ Sedis Anathematizanda est*. And *Innocent* very humbly answers; That it was not fitt any thing should be Decided in the Remote Provinces, *Nisi ad hujus Sedis notitiam perveniret*.<sup>722</sup> And again, *Congruè Apostolico consulitis Honori*.<sup>723</sup> You have the Matter among *Austins* Epistles. Upon the Occasion of *Chrysostoms* Troubles, this our *Innocent* issued out of his *Mandates* unto the Clergy of *Constantinople*. He also called a *Council*, as we read in *Sozonien* and *Nicephorus*;<sup>724</sup> And because the Emperour *Arcadius* was not obsequious enough, he *excommunicated* him, or, as *Antoninus Florentinus* in a softer Term expresses the Matter, *Ab ejus Communionē discessit*.<sup>725</sup> He likewise Retracted a Sentence passed by the Bishops of *Macedonia*, over whom he had no Pretence of Jurisdiction. Yea, He not only thus assumed the Government of both the *African* and the *Oriental Churches*, but also, we find in *Crab*, (from *Damasus* and *Anastasius*.) That, *Constitutum fecit de omni Ecclesiâ*.<sup>726</sup> And *Genadius*, an Author much older than *Anastasius*, tells us, of his Writing, *Decretum*

720 "Learn everything." Pope Innocent I was the bishop of Rome from 401 until his death in 417. The following references all come from Lee, *Antichristi Excidium*, preface, Art. III, unpaginated.

721 "According to our humble statutes, the authority of the Apostolic Seat must be adhered to." Mather cites Augustine, *Epistulae*, ep. 175 [PL 33. 760]. Probably born in Ireland, Pelagius (c. 354–418) was an important early Christian theologian who opposed the Augustinian teachings of total depravity, predestination, and free grace. Influenced by Stoic ideas, Pelagius taught that humans, by God's grace, had the freedom to choose between good and evil, between embracing or rejecting Christ. At the prompting of Augustine, he was condemned in Africa in 411 and later in the entire empire.

722 "The impiety must be anathematized by the authority of the Apostolic Seat"; "if it does not reach the notice of this Seat." The citations can be found in *Appendix ad opera S. Leonis Magni*, 4.6.3 [PL 56. 456B, 459A].

723 "Make a decision in conformity with the Apostolic dignity." Mather again cites Augustine, *Epistulae*, ep. 182.2 [PL 33. 784].

724 Reference is made to the works of the church historian Sozomenus (ca. 400–450), *Ecclesiasticae Historiae*, lib. 8, cap. 17 [PG 67. 1557–62]; transl. *NPNFii* (2:910–11); and the church historian Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopulus (13<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> cent.), *Ecclesiasticae Historiae libri XVIII*, lib. 13, cap. 34 [PG 146. 1037–40].

725 "He seceded from his communion." Further reference is made to the work of the Italian Dominican scholar and Archbishop of Florence, Antoninus Florentinus (1389–1459), *Chronicon partibus tribus distincta ab initio mundi ad MCCCCLX* ([1477] 1586), tom. 2, cap. 9, p. 122.

726 "He issued a decree for the entire church." The citation is from the church historian Pierre Crabbe (1470–1553), *Concilia omnia* (1538–1567), vol. 1, p. 266, who refers to the work of the



*occidentalium et orientalium Ecclesiarum.*<sup>727</sup> Ivo and Gratian assure us, of his publishing Edicts, in which he asserted a Præheminence for the See of Rome, above all the rest in the World.<sup>728</sup> And we have in our Hands, his Decree, that, *Quotiens Ratio Fidei ventilatur, omnes ad Petrum, i. e. sui Nominis et Honoris Auctoritatem, referri debere.*<sup>729</sup> Many more Flights of this Nature, might be mentioned.

The *Worship of Reliques*, is another great Stroke of Popery. Jerom tells us, That the Bishop of Rome, did, *super mortuorum hominum ossa veneranda, offerre Domino Sacrificium, et Tumulos eorum Christi arbitrari Altaria.*<sup>730</sup> And this Innocent | was at this Time, the Bishop of Rome. But Zosimus reports yett worse things, concerning his private Agreements with Pompey, the Præfect of the City, about the Practice of Idolatrous Worship, to be continued among the Inhabitants.<sup>731</sup>

The Character of Popery is carried on, in a great Pretence of Miracles. In the Time of Innocent they begin to show themselves; and the Image of St. Agnetus, (as you find in the *Compilatio Chronologica*,) held out his Finger, to receive his Ring; which remained upon the Image, who can tell how long?<sup>732</sup> Many more such Impostures, were now making a woful Havock on Christianity.

*Abstinence from Meats*, is another mighty Article of Popery. Innocent pushes it on; and ordains every Saturday to be a Fast, because our Lord lay on this Day in His Grave; and because, (as Platina adds,) His Disciples fasted on this Day.<sup>733</sup>

Popery wants but one Lineament more; *The Prohibition of Marriage*. Lett Innocent alone for that; In his Rescript, unto Victorinus, he writes, *Tenere debet Ecclesia, ut omni modo Sacerdotes et Levitæ, cum uxoribus suis non misceantur, quia Ministerii Divini quotidianis necessitatibus occupantur.*<sup>734</sup>

---

librarian and early historian of the Church of Rome, Anastasius Bibliothecarius (c. 810–c. 878), *Historia de vitis pontificum Romanorum*, 34 [PL 127. 1513].

727 “A decree for the occidental and the oriental churches.” From the work of the fifth-century Christian priest and historian, Gennadius Massiliensis, *De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*, cap. 43 [PL 58. 1083].

728 Reference is made to the work of canon law by Ivo of Chartres (Ivo Carnutensis, c. 1040–1115), *Panormia*, lib. 4, cap. 5, [PL 161. 1183]; and the collection of canon law compiled and written in the twelfth century as a legal textbook by the Bologna jurist known as Gratian: the *Decretum Gratiani*, pars 2, causa 9, quaestio 3, cap. 13.

729 “That when the matter of faith is debated all have to refer to Peter, i. e., to the authority of his name and honour.” See the *Decretum Gratiani*, pars 2, causa 24, quaestio 1, cap. 12.

730 “offer sacrifices to the Lord over the venerable bones of the dead men [Peter and Paul], and judge their tombs worthy to be Christ’s altars?” From Jerome, *Against Vigilantius*, cap. 8 [PL 23. 346B]; transl.: *NPNFii* (6:912).

731 Reference is made to the work of the Greek historian Zosimus (fl. 490s–510s), *New History*, 5.41.

732 Reference is made to the work of the medieval Italian chronicler, geographer, and encyclopedist Riccobaldo of Ferrara (1246–after 1320), *Compilatio Chronologica*.

733 Reference is made to the work of the Italian Renaissance humanist writer, Bartolomeo Platina (Sacchi, 1421–1481), *Liber de vita Christi ac pontificum omnium* (1479), probably p. 19.

734 “The church must ensure by all means that the priests and deacons do not have intercourse with their wives because they are occupied with the daily necessities of their divine

*Monkery* was now also finely coming in Play. Our *Innocent* wrote Rules for the *Monks* to conform unto.

But here is enough to Demonstrate, what *Power* the *Beast*, was assuming, at the *Time* that our *Ten Kings* first appear in the Broken *Roman Empire*.

[▽Insert from [66r–66v]

[▽66r–66v]

That I may strengthen the *Hypothesis* which Mr. *Lee* labours in, I will mention a Passage or two, from the Continuation of *Echards Roman History*;<sup>735</sup> & an Author who had nothing so little in his Eye, as the Illustration, and the Demonstration of the *Apocalypse*.

Just after the Year 460, upon the Death of *Severus*, who murdered and succeeded *Majorianus*, there was an *Interregnum* for some time in the West. Whereupon our Author ha's these Words.

“Not long before this, dy'd *Leo* the Great, who had been Pope of *Rome*, for one & twenty Years together; a Man of great Mind & extraordinary Qualifications; Remarkable, as in several other Respects, so particularly in this, that whereas his Predecessors founded their Pretensions to a Superiority, upon the Dignity of the Imperial City, and the Constitutions of some præcedent Councils, he, observing the Distractions under which the Western Empire laboured, & which threatened it with a Dissolution; and that the City of *Rome*, which had been often taken & pillaged, was in great Danger of losing her *Sovereignty*, chose rather to establish the Præcedency he claimed, as *Pope* | of *Rome*, over all other Bishops whatsoever, upon those Words of Christ, *Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock I Build my Church*; from thence claiming a peculiar Prerogative, as the Immediate Successor of St. *Peter*. The Christian World ha's too much Reason to know, how this Title ha's been since prosecuted.”

[66v]

Moreover, our Author mentioning the Death of the Emperour *Valentinian* in the Year, 455, thus concludes his Character.

“Certain it is, he was the last, that seem'd to be *Emperour indeed*, in whom a true Imperial Majesty Resided; For they that succeeded him in the West, were like Meteors and Exhalations, that vanish'd as soon as they appear'd.”<sup>736</sup>

[△Insert ends]

[△]

We will now pass to a learned *Frenchman*, (Monsr. *Jurieu*,) who ha's carried on this Thought unto a little more of Particularity.

office.” Reference is made to the *Decretum Gratiani*, pars 1, dist. 31, cap. 4. See also Gratianus, *Concordia discordantium canonum*, dist. 21, cap. 4 [PL 187. 171A]; Ivo Carntensis, *Decretum*, pars 6, decretum 94 [PL 161. 467B] and *Panormia, De continentia ordinandorum*, cap. 94 [PL 161. 1151D].

<sup>735</sup> The entry is drawn from the work of the English historian and clergyman, Laurence Echard (c. 1670–1730), *The Roman History ... The Seventh Edition, Carefully Revis'd, and Much Improv'd* (1713), vol. 3, p. 358.

<sup>736</sup> Echard, *Roman History*, vol. 3, pp. 348–49.

There is an Ingenious Observation of Mr. *Joseph Mede*; That whereas we find in the *Eleventh* Chapter of the *Apocalypse*, only the *Inward Court* of the *Temple* measured, and the *Outward Court*, left unmeasured, & given unto the *Gentiles*. By the *Inner Court*, may be well intended the *Primitive Church*, in its Evangelical Purity of Doctrine, Worship, and Manners. By the *Outer Court* may be intended the *Corrupted Church*, under the Antichristian Apostasy. The *Inner Court* was much smaller than the *Outer Court*; it bore to it, to the Proportion of *One to Three & an Half*. And may we not conclude, that we have here an *Image* of the Extent of *Time*, which is to pass over the Church of God, before the *Great Revolution*? The Duration of the *Pure Church* must be *One Time*, or 360 Years; and then the Duration of the *Base Church* must be *One Time, Two Times, and an half Time*, or 1260. Years.<sup>737</sup>

We will reckon the 360 Years of the *Pure Church*, from the Time of the Visions here granted unto the Beloved Apostle of the Lord. So they End about the Year, 454. And about this Time, tis admirable to see how the Principal Points of *Poper*y were introduced. And now was the very Time of the *Ten Kings* appearing, which were to be the Signal for the Beginning of the Empire of *Antichrist*. But, for a more exact Calculation of the Minute, when these *Ten Kings* are to be considered as giving such a Signal, we ought by no Means to omitt the Notice given us by the Apostle *Paul*: That the *Wicked One* is to be *Revealed*, when *he who now possessed* the Empire, should be *taken out of the Way*. The *Ten Kings* are to arise from the Dismembred *Roman Empire*. Some will have the *Roman Empire* to subsist until the Year, 475. because there were petty Kings, who retained the Name of Emperours, & possessed the City of *Rome*, until the Deposition of *Augustulus*. But, the *Roman Empire*, was in Truth, Destroy'd, immediately after the Death of *Valentinian*, III. who was killed by *Maximus*.<sup>738</sup> Then *Genseric* the King of the *Vandals*, comes from *Africk*, at the Call of *Eudoxia*, to Revenge the Death of her Husband. He takes *Rome* and carries away all the Riches of it; (and among the rest, the Vessels of the *Jewish Temple*:). They spent fifteen Dayes in Sacking and Spoiling the City. He transported the Empress, and the principal Men of *Rome* into *Africk*; much in such a Manner, as *Nebuchadnezzar* carried away the Vessels of the Temple, & the Flower of the Gentry, at *Jerusalem*, with

<sup>737</sup> From Jurieu, *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies*, pp. 48–49. Reference is made to Mede, *The Key of the Revelation*, pp. 10–11.

<sup>738</sup> Following the death of his uncle Honorius (423), Valentinian III (Placidus Valentinianus) was Roman Emperor in the West from 425 to 455. Under his reign, the disintegration of the Western Empire accelerated. He could stop neither the conquest of northern Africa by the Vandals nor the establishment of the Goths in Gaul. In 454, Valentinian (encouraged by the high-ranking senator Petronius Maximus) killed the great general Flavius Aetius, whom he had come to regard as a dangerous rival. The next year, Valentinian was murdered by two followers of Aetius, who might have been put up to it by Petronius Maximus as well. Maximus subsequently declared himself emperor. But after a reign of just eleven weeks, he was stoned to death by a Roman mob, and King Genseric captured the city just a few days later.

*Jehojakim* into Captivity. The *Seventy Years* of the Captivity, commenced from this Fate of *Jehojakim*, tho' *Jerusalem* were not utterly laid waste, until *Ten Years* after. And with like Reason, we compute the Desolation of the *Roman Empire*, from the Descent made upon it, by *Gensericus*. Now, you will presently see, whereabout we are. Not long after the Year, 1710, or, 1715.<sup>739</sup> Great things are to be looked for.

[64r inserted into its designated place]

|

[66v]

**Q.** On the *Burning* of the *Whore*? v. 16.

**A.** The Phrase is taken from, Lev. XXI.9. where it is commanded, That the *Daughter of a Priest*, guilty of *Whoredome*, should be *Burnt with Fire*.

| 740

[67r]

**Q.** There is one, *Walter Garret*, who ha's written a large Treatise, of more than Four hundred Pages, entituled, *A Discourse concerning ANTICHRIST*.<sup>741</sup> In this Discourse there are many very Good and Fine Thoughts; and such also as are so far from Interfering with the *System*, which triumphs with most of Demonstration, that indeed they mightily Illustrate it. If we collect and extract the principal Thoughts of that Gentleman, & Improve them for the Design before us, they may yeeld us an Acceptable Entertainment? v. 18.

**A.** It may be some Writers improving so much of their own Style and Way in a Matter, as we generally do in our *Illustrations*, would be so Assuming as to entitle themselves unto a Character of *Authorism* in what they write; & perhaps be so ungrateful, as to leave the Name of their *Authors* unmentioned. But I rather chuse a more Ingenuous Proceeding; and I will confess, that very much of the *Essay* which I am now upon, shall *come out* of the *Discourse* which ha's been proposed; but I will employ a little of my Pains, at *Abridging*, of it.

We must first of all know, a thing that is confessed by *Bellarmino* himself;<sup>742</sup> That the Primitive Church, (being taught by the Apostles to do so,) look'd for *Antichrist*, on the Dissolution of the *Roman Empire*. *Tertullian* saies expressly,

739 From Jurieu, *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies*, pp. 49–54.

740 See Appendix B.

741 In the following, Mather draws on the work of the Church of England vicar of Titchfield, Hampshire, fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and author of multiple millenarian writings, Walter Garrett (fl. 1680), *A Discourse Concerning Antichrist . . . Shewing, that the Church of Rome is that woman mentioned Rev. xvii.3* (1680). Garrett interpreted the deliverance of the Church of England from the Catholic James II in the Glorious Revolution as part of the latter-day scenario predicted by the Book of Revelation.

742 From Garrett, *A Discourse Concerning Antichrist*, p. 17, Mather cites Bellarmine, *De Romano Pontifice* (1599), lib. 3, cap. 5, in *Disputationes de controuersiis christianae fidei*, cols. 715–18.

*Scimus Vim maximam universo Orbi imminentem, ipsamque Clausulam Sæculi acerbitates horrendas comminantem, Romani Imperii Commeatu retardari;*<sup>743</sup> That the Interposition of the *Roman Empire* did retard the *Bitter Dayes*, which were to arrive at the Coming of *Antichrist*. They had the Tradition from what the Apostle wrote unto the *Thessalonians*; For that he wrote, of the *Last Antichrist*, who is the Forerunner to the Day of Judgment; *Austin* saies, *Nulli dubium est.*<sup>744</sup>

What *Paul*, did not think fitt, so expressly & openly to declare in his Epistle, is more fully communicated both to and by *John*, in the *seventeenth* Chapter of his *Revelation*.

On the Visions of the *Seven-Headed*, and *Ten-Horned Beast*, there exhibited, we are to observe these Things.

First; The *Seven Heads* that *John* saw, were not seen at the same Time on the *Beast*, but succeeding one another. So the *Angel* who is the *Interpreter* of the *Vision*, intimates; The *Seven Heads*, were *Seven Kings*, and, *Five of them are Fallen, One is, and the Other is not yett come.*

Secondly. Tho' *John* saw but *Seven Heads*, which are expounded *Seven Kings*, yett when the *Angel* comes to reckon up the *Seven Kings*, he reckons *Eight*. *The Beast that was, & is not, he is the Eighth King, & is of the Seven.* So there must be one of these *Eight Kings*, who was not Typified by any *Head* at all; There appears one, who is not of the same Nature with the rest. Now this was not any of the *Six First Kings*. But between the *Sixth Head*, and the *Seventh* a *King* should come, of a different Nature from all the other; during whose Reign, the *Beast*, which was *full of Names of Blasphemy*, should want an *Head*; but afterwards the *Beast* should Revive, and gett another *Head*, who should be the *Eighth King*, & of the Number of the *Seven Heads* of the *Blasphemous Beast*.<sup>745</sup>

Thirdly. Tho' the *Woman* was seen sitting on the *Beast with Seven Heads*, yett the Exposition considers her only as sitting on the *Beast*, under the *Seventh* and *Last Head*. Of the *Beast*, it is said unto *John*, *It was, and is not.* This is the *Beast*, on which he saw the *Woman sitting*. And the *Woman* is considerable in this Prophecy, only as sitting on the *Beast* under the *Seventh Head*. *Five* of his *Heads* were *Fallen*. All that is considered of the *Sixth*, is only, that, *He is*. Here is nothing foretold of any *Head*, but that which comes after the *Sixth*. Of the *Beast* under that *Head*, is it said, *He was, & is not, & yett is. He was*, in respect of the *Five Heads* that were *Fallen*. *He is not*, both in respect of those, | and, of that which is to come. And yett, *He is*, in respect of that which now Reigneth.<sup>746</sup>

[67v]

743 "We know that the great force which threatens the whole world, the end of the age itself with its menace of hideous suffering, is delayed by the respite which the Roman empire means for us." From Garrett, *A Discourse Concerning Antichrist*, p. 19, Mather cites Tertullian, *Apology*, 32.1 [PL 1. 447]; transl.: LCL 250, p. 155.

744 "There is no doubt." From Garrett, Mather cites Augustine, *The City of God*, 20.19 [PL 41. 685; CCSL 48]; transl.: LCL 416, pp. 358–59. Reference is made to 2 Thess. 2:1–12.

745 From Garrett, *A Discourse Concerning Antichrist*, pp. 28–29.

746 From Garrett, *A Discourse Concerning Antichrist*, p. 32.

We proceed now, to enquire; *who was the Woman sitting on the Beast, under the Seventh Head?*

And, first, she may be discovered by such *Marks* as belong unto *Herself*. We read, *The Woman which thou Sawest, is the great City, which Reigneth over the Kings of the Earth*. We see plainly; *The Woman*, signifies, the great Imperial City of *Rome*; Her *Sitting on the Beast*, notes her *Imperial Sovereignty*. And that Expression, *It now Reigns, over the Kings of the Earth*, not being the *Prophecy*, but the *Interpretation* of the *Prophecy*; and it being expressly affirm'd, That the *Sixth Head* of the *Beast*, was then in Being; It must needs be understood in the *present* Tense; and not of any *City*, that was afterwards to arise in the World. It could be no *City* but *Rome*; *The Lady of the World*.

That we may be the more Assur'd of this, the *Angel* tells us, That the *Seven Heads* on the *Beast*, signified not only *Seven Kings*, but also *Seven Mountains*. The *City* that was at the Time of the Vision, upon These, could be no other, than that famous one, which was known by the Name of, *Urbs Septicollis*; & so celebrated by the Poets; The *Reigning City*; the *Imperii Roma Deûmque Locus*.<sup>747</sup>

Here the *Seven Kings* are to be look'd for; Here the *Royal Seat*, and Residence of them.

The Word *King* here, does not note one *single King*, but as it is usual in prophetic Visions, a *Kingdome*, with the whole Order and Succession of its *Kings*. [Compare, Dan. 2.37, 39. and, Dan. 2.44. and Dan. 7.17, 23.] And *Bellarmino* himself confesses, That by the *Ten Kings* anon are meant, not *Ten Single Kings*, but *Ten Several Kingdomes*; with the whole Order & Succession of the *Kings* Reigning in them.<sup>748</sup>

In the Interpretation of the *Beast having Seven Heads*, we must Remember to consider, every *Head* together with the *Body* of the *Beast*; and interpret them, as if they had been *Seven Several Beasts* or Kingdomes. Thus, the *Last* of the *Seven Heads*, is by the *Angel*, expressly called, *The Beast*; which is also called, *A King*, & so confirms our Assertion, that a whole *Series* of *Kings*, is intended in that Word.

The *Angel* saies, of that *Beast*, that it *was not* in Being at the Time of this Vision, but that it should *Ascend out of the Bottomless Pitt*. It is therefore considered as *another Beast*; and the *Sixth Head*, which was now in being must accordingly be so Considered & Interpreted. Indeed the *Head* is so considerable a Part of any *Beast*, that the falling off of the *Old*, & the coming up of any *New* one, may well make him to be look'd on as *another Beast*.<sup>749</sup>

<sup>747</sup> "The seven hilled city" and "the place of empire and the gods." The citation is from Ovid, *Tristia*, 1.67–70; transl.: LCL 151, pp. 32–33. From Garrett, *A Discourse Concerning Antichrist*, pp. 41–42.

<sup>748</sup> From Garrett, *A Discourse Concerning Antichrist*, pp. 47–51, Mather cites Bellarmine, *De Romano Pontifice*, lib. 3, cap. 16, in *Disputationes de controuersiis christianae fidei*, cols. 752–53.

<sup>749</sup> From Garrett, *A Discourse Concerning Antichrist*, p. 63.

Of the *Five* first Heads, the *Angel* takes no more Notice, but that, *They were fallen*.

The *First Head* that had supreme Authority in *Rome*, were called, *Kings*: The Second, *Consuls*; The Third, *Decemvirs*; The Fourth, *Tribunes*; The Fifth, *Dictators*.

The *Sixth Head*, was that of the *Roman Emperours*; and it was then in Being.

To this there was to succeed another *King*, of the like Royal Dignity with the rest; but he appears not as an *Head*, unto the *Beast*, full of Names of *Blasphemy*. This *King* was the *Christian Emperours* of *Rome*, who were not guilty of the same *Idolatry* (which is meant by, *Blasphemy*,) with the rest; and so the Name of *BLASPHEMY*, in their Time, could not be written on the *Head*, as it was in the Time of the rest. The *Blasphemous Beast* seem'd in this Time, to have received a mortal Wound; & to have been utterly destroy'd.<sup>750</sup>

That this *King* may be distinguished, from any other Potentates, enjoy'd by *Rome*, since the Name of *Christianity*, it is here foretold, That he should be of a very *short Continuance*. The *Christian Roman Emperours*, which were truly such, before the *Roman Empire* was destroy'd, continued indeed but a very *little While*; not Half so long as did the *Heathen Emperours*, nor hardly Half a Quarter of the Time, that the *Succeeding Head* ha's governed.

[68r] More than this; The *Angel* tells us, That at the time when the *Beast*, or the *Eighth King* should arise, the *Ten Kings*, that were typified by the *Ten Horns*, were to arise together with him; that is, as *Bellarmino* himself confesses, The *Roman Empire* should be divided into *Ten Kingdoms*. | But these *Ten Horns* have now been conspicuous for near *Twelve hundred Years*. This will determine the *Christian Roman Emperours* to be the *Seventh King*.<sup>751</sup>

And there is yett another Reason, why the *Christian Roman Emperours* may make a Distinct *King*, tho' not a Distinct *Head*, in this Vision, & be remarkably distinguished from the *Heathen Emperours* that preceded them. The first *Christian Emperour*, *Constantine* the Great, new modelled the Government of the Empire, Dividing it into *Two Parts*, and appointing *Two Seats* for it, *Rome* and *Constantinople*. They were worthy to be called, *Another King*, who made such a notable Alteration in the Empire. But since this *King*, was to *continue but a little While*, and the *Roman Empire* ha's been long since Ruined, it is time for us to look out for a Successor for him. An *Eighth King*, and one of the *Seven Heads* of the *Blasphemous Beast*, must be look'd for; and we will proceed in our Searching after him.<sup>752</sup>

<sup>750</sup> From Garrett, *A Discourse Concerning Antichrist*, pp. 67–68.

<sup>751</sup> From Garrett, *A Discourse Concerning Antichrist*, pp. 69–70. From Garrett, Mather again cites Bellarmine, *De Romano Pontifice*, lib. 3, cap. 16, in *Disputationes de controuersiis christianae fidei*, cols. 752–53.

<sup>752</sup> From Garrett, *A Discourse Concerning Antichrist*, pp. 71–72.

Observe then; There are *Ten Kings*, which receive Power as Kings, *μᾶν ὥραν*.<sup>753</sup> *One Hour with the Beast*; or, with the *Seventh Head of the Beast*. No body can imagine, that because *μᾶν ὥραν*, *One Hour*, is in the Accusative Case, it signifies only the Term *How long* they were to *Reign*. Compare, Joh. 4.52. *At the Seventh Hour*, is, *ὥραν ἐβδόμην*.<sup>754</sup> Or, is it likely, That the *Ten Kingdoms* are to continue but so short a *While*? Besides, *μᾶν ὥραν*, *One Hour*, here is opposed unto, *οὐπω*.<sup>755</sup> *Not as yett*; when the *Angel* saies; *They have not as yett received a Kingdome*.<sup>756</sup>

Observe again; each of the *Seven Heads* was to have Dominion over the whole *Roman Beast*, or Empire. But the *Ten Horns* are *Ten* several *Kings*, that are to keep within their own Respective Bounds, & none of them to become the supreme Governour of the *Roman Beast*, or Empire. It would be a Confusion, to look on any of the *Ten Horns*, as if it were the *Head*. The *Last Head*, whose Kingdome was to be divided into *Ten* Lesser Kingdoms, was to have Authority over the *Ten Kings* themselves; which could not well be any *Forcible Authority*, but by some voluntary Subjection. So tis foretold; *With one Consent, they shall give their Power and Strength unto the Beast*.

Accordingly, we find, That about the Year 456, the *Roman Empire* came to be divided into *Ten Kingdoms*.

In *Britain*, Two new Kingdoms were severed from the *Roman Empire*; The one of the *Britains*, the other of the *Saxons*.

In *Gallia*, Two more: One of the *Franks*; Another of the *Burgundians*.

In the South of *Gallia*, & Part of *Spain*, was that of the *Wisigoths*.

In *Gallicia* and *Portugal*, was that of the *Suevians* and *Alans*.

In *Africk*, was that of the *Vandals*.

In *Rhatia*, was that of the *Almans*.

In *Pannonia*, was that of the *Ostrogoths*.

In the Residue of the Empire, there was the Kingdome of the *Greeks*.

Hence we may conclude, That the *Eighth King* (or, the Antichristian Beast,) begun his Reign about the Year, 456. when these *Ten Horns*, or *Kings*, were arisen in the *Roman Empire*. But in a Computation of this Nature, some Latitude of the Years, may in Reason be allow'd of. An allowance of Forty or Fifty Years, to fix an *Epoch* of 1260 Years, is not very considerable.<sup>757</sup>

<sup>753</sup> The phrase *μᾶν ὥραν* [mian horan] from Rev. 17:12 is usually understood to signify the duration of "one hour" or a "short time." But Mather, after Garrett, wants it to mean "at the hour" or "at the same time." The accusative of time allows for both possibilities. In the NT, *ὥρα* is also used to specifically designate the "time set for something"; see esp. Rev 9:15: the hour of a specific day.

<sup>754</sup> The phrase *ὥραν ἐβδόμην* [horan hebdomen] from John 4:52 means "at the seventh hour."

<sup>755</sup> The adverb *οὐπω* [oupo] used in Rev. 17:2 signifies "not yet."

<sup>756</sup> From Garrett, *A Discourse Concerning Antichrist*, pp. 74–76.

<sup>757</sup> From Garrett, *A Discourse Concerning Antichrist*, pp. 76–79.



And since the Number *Ten*, is used sometimes in the Scripture, for a more Indefinite Number; [as, 1. Sam. 1.8. and, Neh. 4.12. and, Job. 19.3. and, Dan. 1.20. and, Amos. 6.9. and Zech. 8.23. and, Rev. 2.10.] If there were *Eleven* or *Twelve*, or *Nine* or *Eight* Divisions of the *Roman Empire*, about this Time, yett this would suffice to verify the Prophecy.

Since also these Divisions were to continue 1260 Years, we can't expect, they should last thro' all that Period, without the usual Fate of *Kingdomes* Neighbouring, which will be encroaching upon one another. We may look to find them, sometimes *Ten*, sometimes *Twelve*, sometimes *Eight*; and all this, no Ways inconsistent with the Prophecy.<sup>758</sup>

And thus, when we read, That all these *Kingdomes* conspire to *give their Power & Strength unto the Beast*, we need not suppose, that every one of them do so, throughout the whole Period. It is enough that they come to it by Degrees, and they may fly from it accordingly. And indeed, it may be the Astonishment of the World, that they have been so obsequious, rather than any Objection against the Prophecy, that they have no more been so.

[68v] | Doubtless *Peter Heylin* thought nothing upon any *Accomplishment of the Prophecies* in the Matter;<sup>759</sup> but yett when he comes to his Description of *Italy*, his Words are such, as would compel his more pious Reader to think of such a thing, with admiration. His Words are; "Their Sins, that is, the Sins of the *Romans* and *Italians*, and those other western Parts, being ripe for Vengeance, God sent the Barbarous Nations, as His Executioners, to execute His Divine Justice on the Impænitent Men, and made them sensible, tho' Heathens, that it was *Gods Work* they did, & not their own, in laying such Afflictions on these western Parts. *Ipsi fatebantur, non suum esse quod facerent, agi enim se, et perurgeri divino Jussu*, as *Salvian*, that godly Bishop, does inform us of them.<sup>760</sup> On this Impulsion, the *Vandals* did acknowledge, that they first wasted *Spain*, & then harried *Africk*; and at the same time did *Attila* the *Hun*, insert into his Royal Titles, the Style of *Malleus orbis*, and, *Flagellum Dei*;<sup>761</sup> Acknowledging thereby his own Apprehension of some special and extraordinary Calling to this publick Service. Nay, as *Jornandes* doth report, some of these Barbarous People did

<sup>758</sup> From Garrett, *A Discourse Concerning Antichrist*, p. 81.

<sup>759</sup> From Garrett, Mather cites the famous work of the English historian, geographer, and anti-Puritan polemicist Peter Heylin (1559–1662), *Cosmographie in four bookes: containing the chorographie and historie of the whole world, and all the principall kingdomes, provinces, seas and isles thereof* (1652), vol. 1, p. 50.

<sup>760</sup> "They themselves confessed that what they did was not of their own making, but that they were driven and pressed hard by divine decree." From Heylin, a citation from the fifth-century Christian writer in Gaul, Salvian, *De gubernatione Dei libri octo*, lib. 7, cap. 13 [PL 53. 140].

<sup>761</sup> "Bane of the world" and "scourge of God." Attila (ruled 434–453) and his Huns first invaded the Eastern Empire and then, in 451, Gaul, where he was defeated by Aetius. He subsequently retreated to Italy, but was prevented from laying siege to Rome by Pope Leo.

not stick to say, That they were putt on by some *Heavenly Visions*, which did direct them to the Work which they were to do.<sup>762</sup> In Prosecution of which, in less Time than the Compass of *Eighty Years*, this very *Italy* (tho' anciently the Strength and Seat of the Empire) was *Seven Times* brought almost to Desolation, by the Fire and Sword of the Barbarians."

Briefly; The Time from the *Roman Empire's* beginning to be Divided into *Ten Kingdoms*, until the Consummation of the Full Number; was no more than *Forty Six Years* at the farthest.<sup>763</sup>

And now, surely we cannot be at a Loss for the *Seventh Head* of the *Blasphemous Beast*. The Conscience even of a *Romanist*, must suspect, That it will prove the Pope of *Rome*.

While the Emperours resided in the *City of Rome*, they so obscured the Glories of their *Bishop*, that he was never any other than their Underling. But now, about the Year, 410, when *Rome* was in Ashes, and *Six* of the *Ten Horns* appeared; Then, that the *Seventh Head* of the Beast, might show itself together with them, [A most wonderful Providence!] *Honorius* the Emperour, betook himself to *Ravenna*, and so did they that succeeded him; and (as it were in token of their future Greatness) left the ancient Seat of Empire, to the *Roman Bishops*. From this time, the *Roman Empire* still declined; until about the Year 456 it was utterly Ruined; and those few Emperours that succeeded, were of no account at all. The *Bishop of Rome* still Rose, as the *Empire* declined. Insomuch that *Leo*, who præsided in the *Roman See*, in that very Year, 456, when we bring all the *Ten Horns* in View, boasted in his Sermon, *De Apostolis*; That the Temporal Government of the *Roman Emperours*, was changed into the Power of the *See of Rome*. A Testimony of no small Moment, in the Affayr we are treating of!<sup>764</sup>

It is very Remarkable, That at this very Time, a *general Council* held at *Chalcedon*, where *Martianus* the Greek Emperour himself in Person, and six hundred and thirty Bishops from all Parts of the World were present, acknowledged the *Roman Bishop*, to be, *Caput Ecclesiarum*, The Head of the

<sup>762</sup> From Garrett, a reference to the Gothic sixth-century Eastern Roman bureaucrat and historian, Jordanes, probably to his *Romana* (written around 550), which deals in much detail with the turmoil of the fifth century.

<sup>763</sup> From Garrett, *A Discourse Concerning Antichrist*, pp. 81–85.

<sup>764</sup> From Garrett, *A Discourse Concerning Antichrist*, pp. 89–90. Leo I (c. 400–461), also known as Leo the Great, was Bishop of Rome from 440 until his death. He was a highly influential pope in defining doctrinal orthodoxy in matters of Christology and in centralizing the spiritual authority of the Roman papacy. In 450, Leo obtained recognition from the Byzantine Emperor Theodosius II as Patriarch of the West. In 445, he received a decree from Emperor Valentinian III that recognized the primacy of the bishop of Rome based on the merits of Peter (and the authority he received from Christ over His Church and the world), the dignity of the city, and the legislation of the First Council of Nicaea. Reference is made to Leo's sermon on the Feast of the Apostles, Peter and Paul (June 29), in which he developed his theory of apostolic succession and the primacy of the bishop of Rome. See sermo 82, "In Natali Apostolorum Petri et Pauli" [PL 54. 422–28]; *NPNFii* (12:195–96).

*Churches*. Cardinal *Bellarmino* derives the Title from this very Time;<sup>765</sup> and tho' the Roman Bishop did not enjoy this New acquired *Headship*, without much Opposition, especially from *Constantinople* and *Ravenna*, yett he never ceased grasping after it, until he became not only the *Head*, but also the *Terror*, not only of *Churches* but of *Princes* also. It was not long before Pope *Constantine* utterly refused Obedience to the Emperour *Philippicus*, who ordered the Pulling down of *Images*, and he even forbad the Use of the *Emperours* Name, and Title, in Coins & Writings. When *Leo 3*, renewed the same Edict, *Onuphrius* tells us, Pope Gregory 2. then took away the small Remainder of the Roman Empire from him in Italy;<sup>766</sup> *Sigonius* more expressly tells us; That he not only excommunicated the Emperour, but absolved all the People of Italy from their Allegiance, & forbad the Payment of any Tribute unto him; whereupon the People immediately Rebelled, and Rose up in Opposition to their Magistrates, whom they destroy'd.<sup>767</sup>

[69r] Thus *Petavius*, an Author of great | Account in the Church of *Rome*, informs us, [*Rat. Temp.* l. 1. c. 8.] *Romæ et quicquid Italiæ reliquum erat, à Imperio abstraxit Imperio, Tributaque iis ultrà pendere prohibuit.*<sup>768</sup> Not only the Greek Historians, *Theophanes* and *Zonaras*, but the *Roman* also, and *Sigibert* among the rest, report it;<sup>769</sup> That *Gregory* finding the Emperour incorrigible, he made *Rome, Italy*, and all the *West*, revolt from him, & forbad his *Tributes*. The same is affirmed, by *Otto Trisingensis*, by *Conradus Uspersensis*, by *Hieronymus Rubens*, and others, who cannot be suspected of any Enmity to the Church of *Rome*.<sup>770</sup>

765 From Garrett, *A Discourse Concerning Antichrist*, p. 91, Mather cites Bellarmine, *De Romano Pontifice*, lib. 3, cap. 3, in *Disputationes de controuersiis christianæ fidei*, col. 711.

766 From Garrett, *A Discourse Concerning Antichrist*, p. 93, another reference to Onuphrius Panvinius, *Epitome Romanorum pontificum*, where the pontificate of Gregory II is treated on p. 35. On this conflict between Gregory II and Leo III, see the annotation on Rev. 17:11.

767 From Garrett, another reference to Sigonio's *Historiarum de regno Italiae*, lib. 3, on the conflicts between Gregory II and Emperor Leo III. In the *Opera omnia*, vol. 2, pp. 170–75.

768 “Whatever was left of Rome and Italy, he wrested away from the [Eastern] empire, and he forbade them to pay further tributes to the empire.” From Garrett, a reference to Denis Pétau, *Rationarium temporum*, pars 1, lib. 9, cap. 6, p. 306.

769 From Garrett, *A Discourse Concerning Antichrist*, p. 94, reference is made to the work of the Byzantine monk and historian, Theophanes the Confessor (758/60–817/18), *Chronographia*, 404. See *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor* (1997), p. 558; the twelfth-century Byzantine jurist, chronicler, and theologian Johannes Zonaras, *Epitome Historion*, 15.4 [PG 134. 1323–24]; and the universal chronicle of the medieval historian Sigebert of Gembloux (Sigebertus Gemblacensis, c. 1030–5 October 1112), *Chronicon sive Chronographia*, ad A. 728/29, in the *Monumenta* edition SS 6: *Chronica et annales aevi Salici*, p. 330.

770 From Garrett, *A Discourse Concerning Antichrist*, p. 94, references to the work of the German cleric and chronicler, Otto of Freising (Frisingensis, c. 1114–1158), *Chronica sive Historia de duabus civitatibus*, l. 5, cap. 18, in the *Monumenta* edition SS Re. Germ: *Ottonis episcopi Frisingensis Chronica sive Historia de duabus civitatibus*, pp. 247–48; the medieval chronicle of the German cleric, Burchard of Ursperg, also called Burchard of Biberach (c. 1177–1230/1), *Chronicon Urspergensis*, ad A. 718, in the *Monumenta* edition SS 23i: *Chronica et annales aevi Suevic*, p. 339; and Hieronymus Rubeus (1539–1607), *Historia Ravennatum, libri decem* (1572), lib. 4, p. 190.

It was a private Correspondence with *Charles Martel*, which emboldened & enabled the *Pope*, thus to affront the *Emperour*. Not long after, the *Pope* assisted and abetted *Pepin*, the Son of that *Charles*, to depose his lawful King *Childeric*, & usurp his Kingdome. He proceeds anon, by his own Authority to create a *Roman Emperour*, as *Bellarmino* asserts, upon the Testimony of no less than Three and Thirty Authors. And indeed the *Roman Emperour*, as they now call him, (tho' he be but, *Magni Nominis Umbra*,) is now no other than the *Popes* Creature.<sup>771</sup> He ha's not only Absolved the *Pope* from all Allegiance to him, but ha's come to swear, *Quamcumque Fidelitatem*,<sup>772</sup> to the *Pope* himself. He has declared, That he ha's no Right in *Rome*; and in all humility, he ha's requested his *Crown*, at the Hand of his Holiness. Nor do we hear of any higher Office the *Emperour* ha's had in *Rome*, than to hold the *Stirrup* for the *Pope*, or give him the *Water* to wash his hands; or to hold up his Train at *Mass*. It is with the *Pope*, a Maxim; *Nulli facit Reverentiam*.<sup>773</sup> His Head is adorned with a *Triple Crown*, which they call, *Regnum*; The *Kingdom*. If any *King* else be now the *Seventh Head*, of the *Beast*, Mr. *Garret* saies, I would fain know, who is the *Popes* Groom, or Page, or Footman. But we need labour no further in this Argument. The *Romanists* themselves have done it abundantly. My Author saies; "It would grieve ones heart, to see, how *Bellarmino* and *Baronius*, have sweat in large voluminous Works, to magnify the *Greatness* of their *Bishop*; & unawares prove him *Antichrist*."<sup>774</sup>

The *Pope* never made any such Pretensions, before the Time of *Honorius*; nor could he pretend unto the Quality of an *Head*, in *Rome*, or in the *Roman Empire*, before *Honorius* left the Imperial Seat unto him.<sup>775</sup>

Our Author proceeds now to Refute the Expositions, which *Bellarmino*, and *Grotius*, and *Hammond* have given us, of this Prophecy.<sup>776</sup> But indeed, they

771 "The shadow of a great name." *Bellarmino*, *De Romano Pontifice*, lib. 5, cap. 8, in *Disputationes de controuersiis christianae fidei*, col. 896.

772 "Loyalty under all circumstances."

773 "He pays homage to no one."

774 From *Garrett*, *A Discourse Concerning Antichrist*, pp. 93–99.

775 With *Alaric* ravaging northern Italy, *Flavius Honorius* moved the imperial court to *Ravenna* in 402.

776 In bk. 1, controversy 3 ("The Pope") of his *Disputationes de Controversiis*, *Bellarmino* engages with Protestant critics of the papacy and seeks to refute their arguments that the pope is the Antichrist. On his reading of Rev. 17 specifically, see *De Romano Pontifice*, lib. 3, cap. 16, cols. 752–53. Going against a Protestant tradition deeply entrenched since the days of *Luther*, *Hugo Grotius* and his followers, such as *Henry Hammond*, no longer identified the apocalyptic symbols of the Antichrist and the whore of *Babylon* with the pope and the Catholic Church. Instead, the Grotians argued that these visions of the New Testament prophets referred to historical figures such as *Caligula* (2 Thess. 2:3–7) and other emperors (Rev. 13, 17; Matt. 24:6–7), the Roman Empire itself (Rev. 13), or Jewish messiah pretenders such as *Barkochba* (1 John 2:18–24, 4:1–5) and *Simon Magus* (2 Thess. 2:8–11). On *Grotius*'s reading of Rev. 17 specifically, see his commentary in *Opera* (2:1214–15). See also *Hammond*, *A Paraphrase and Annotations* (4:598–99).

are so very Absurd, that a *Recitation* of them, were a sufficient *Refutation*; It were but Loss of Time, to labour at it.

It is now incontestably evident, That the City of *Rome*, sitting on the *Beast*, under the *Seventh Head*, or *Eighth King*, is that *Great Whore*, whom *John* saw, so gorgeously array'd, with a *Golden Cup* in her hand, full of *Abominations*, & *Filthiness of her Fornication*; and upon her *Forehead* a *Name written*, MYSTERY, BABYLON THE GREAT, THE MOTHER OF HARLOTS, AND ABOMINATIONS OF THE EARTH.

It is observable, That the *Name* of her *Idolatry*, is not said to have been written in the *Heart* of the Woman, where none but *God* can see it; but in her *Forehead*, visible and conspicuous to the Eye of *Man*. So then, we have nothing more to prove against the Church of *Rome*, for the Verification of this Prophecy, but only that her *outward Act* of Worship is *Idolatrous*. Now tis Evident, They bow, they kiss, they burn *Incense*, they kneel before their *Images*; in that Posture of Address, they say their *Prayers* with their Eyes upon their *Images*; which to the Beholder looks as if they said their Prayers unto *them*. As to the *outward Act*, they worship *them*, in these Addresses. Nay, they confess they do so; they proclaim it, they enact it, as a *Law*; they curse, & persecute the Opposers of this Worship. They pretend that they worship the *Images* only with a *Relative Worship*; that is, that they intend the Worship of their *Images*, to their *Prototypes*. But whether they do so, or no, God only knows. The *Name* written in their *Forehead* is, *Idolaters*. They pray to Creatures, as frequently, as devoutly, to Appearance, with the same Postures of Address, as they do unto God.<sup>777</sup>

[69v] Lett it be remembred, That the *Woman* here is upon *Seven Mountains*, as upon an Island, with the *Nations* under her Jurisdiction, circumfus'd like *Waters* round about her. The two constitutive Parts of the *Roman World*, like ours, are *Earth* and *Water*; the *Woman* dwells on the one, her *Subjects* on the other. This Observation will anon be useful unto us.<sup>778</sup> |

The Vision of the *Woman*, and of the *Seven-Headed* and *Ten-Horned Beast*, having been so punctually & purposely expounded by the *Angel*, we have an admirable Key for the rest of the Book.

Lett us proceed therefore unto the *Twelfth* Chapter, in which, unto the Middle of the *Twelfth* Verse, we have an Account of the State of the *Woman*, under the Reign of the *King* that was in *Johns* Time; the *Sixth Head* of the *Beast*. From thence, to the End, of that Chapter, we have an Account of the State of the *Woman*, under the *other King* of *short Continuance*, who was to be no Head of the *Blasphemous Beast*. From thence, to the End of the *Thirteenth* Chapter, we have an Account of the State of the *Woman*, under the *Eighth King*, when the *Ten Horns* came to be crown'd, & received Power as Kings.

777 From Garrett, *A Discourse Concerning Antichrist*, pp. 167–68.

778 From Garrett, *A Discourse Concerning Antichrist*, pp. 171–72.

Under these *Three Kings*, the *Woman* is diversely treated. By the First, she was persecuted. By the Second, she was Indulged, Favoured, Supported. By the Third, she was Pampered unto the greatest Height of Pride, Wantonness, and Luxury. Accordingly we must expect a various Character and Carriage in her. Under the *first*, her *Purity* both in *Doctrine* and in *Practice* was admirable: at least, *comparatively*, to what it was afterwards. Under the *second*, she *Degenerated* apace unto Avarice, Ambition, Superstition, & into the Spirit of this World. Under the *Third*, she became a downright *Harlot*, & intoxicated the Nations with her Fornications, & rioted & revelled in the Blood of such as opposed her Enormities. That the Matter may not yett want any lively Colours; under the *First*, she is represented in the *starry Heaven*, as a Token of her *Heavenly Sanctity*. Under the *Second*, she is represented as upon the *Wings* of an *Eagle*, in a much *Lower Sphere*, flying down towards the *Earth*, with a very sensible Declension. Under the *Third*, she is represented as entirely *below*; sitting on the *Ten-horn'd Beast*, that rose out of the *Abyss*; and fallen into an utter Depravation.<sup>779</sup>

The *Woman* here, is most certainly, the Church of *Rome*. The same, whom in the *Wilderness*, *John* saw sitting on a *Scarlet-coloured Beast*; Interpreted then and there to be the *great City*; which even the *Romanists* themselves confess to be, the City of *Rome*. Only it means not, as they would have it, the *Heathen City*; for, when was *Heathen Rome*, *cloathed with the Sun*, *having the Moon under feet*, & *upon her Head a Crown of twelve Stars*? But it must mean, the *Christian City*; or the City of *Rome*, at such a Time, when she had a Multitude of *Christians* in it; especially, when these People who were the *City*, were also the *Church of Rome*.

There was a Time, when she was *cloathed with the Sun*, by which doubtless is meant, *the Sun of Righteousness*, with the Light of His Glorious Gospel. She had *the Moon under her Feet*; being delivered from the *Dim Light* of the *Jewish Ceremonies*, as well as from the *Dark Night* of the *Pagan Superstitions*. [Compare, 1. Joh. 2.8.] The *Crown of Twelve Stars* on her *Head*, ha's a manifest Reference to the *Twelve Apostles*. It signifies, the Communion of the Church of *Rome*, with the *Twelve Apostles*, that is, with all the Churches in the *Roman Empire* which were planted by them, & persisted in their Faith, and Way. She does not *sitt upon* the *Stars*, as afterwards on the *Roman Beast*: they do not pay any Subjection to her; but she ha's them, as a *Crown upon her Head*; she is adorned with their Communion.

This *Woman Travails in birth*, & is in *Pain to be delivered*. This may signify, the Afflictions, that she endured in gaining Proselytes to Christianity. Her *Children* are her *Converts*. Her being *with Child* is her *Zeal* in propagating the Gospel to them; Her *Bringing forth* is her *converting* them. As by *One Dragon* are meant *all the Heathen Emperours*; by *One Woman* are meant *all the Members*

<sup>779</sup> From Garrett, *A Discourse Concerning Antichrist*, pp. 179–83.

of the Church of *Rome* from time to time; so, by *One Child* are typified *all the Converts* in those primitive Times, ever since there was a Church established in that City. It is a very usual thing in Prophecy, by *one* particular thing, to Typify a *whole Sort*, or Order of the same kind of things.<sup>780</sup>

The *Heathen Emperours* of *Rome*, could not be more lively Resembled, than by a *Great Red Dragon*: A *Dragon*, for their *open Enmity* to the Name of a glorious CHRIST; a *Great One*, for their Power; a *Red One*, for their Bloody Use of it. The *Dragon* appears with *Seven Heads* and with *Ten Horns*, an agreeable Type of the *Roman Empire*; And *Seven Crowns* on the *Heads*, but no *Crowns* yett on the *Horns*: The *Horns* were not *crowned*, until the last of the *Seven Heads*, [70r] namely, that of | the *Popes*, came to the Exercise of Dominion.<sup>781</sup>

This *Dragon* in the *Twelfth* Chapter, ha's the Shape of a *Leopard* in the *Thirteenth* Chapter; but in the *Seventeenth* appears under no Shape at all. The *Beast* was to partake of diverse Qualities, according to the different Qualities of his Heads; *Regis ad Exemplum*.<sup>782</sup> In the XII<sup>th</sup> Chapter, under the *Sixth* Head, and in the XIII<sup>th</sup> Chapter, under the *Seventh* Head, he is described in all his Features. But in the XVII<sup>th</sup> Chapter, where he is considered under all his Heads, on Purpose to distinguish him from all other *Beasts* or Kingdoms in the World, he is described in the Vision, only by such Marks, as he had in common under all his *Heads*; especially the Two Last of them; which only are the Subject of this Prophecy.

The *Tail* of this *Dragon*, *drew the third Part of the Stars of Heaven*, & *did cast them to the Earth*. The Meaning is; that a *Third Part* of the *Kingdomes* of the Then known World, were Subject unto his Jurisdiction. The Scene here is laid in *Heaven*, because of the *Womans Heavenly Purity* under Persecution; but the *Earth* is the true Place of the Action. *Casting down to the Earth*, is, *overcoming*. The *Third Part of the Stars* thus overcome, are a *Third Part* of something in the World, which the *Roman Emperours*, by Right of Conquest, held in Subjection under them. What could that be, but a *Third Part* of the then known World? The *Twelve Stars* in the *Womans Crown*, will signify, all the Apostolical Churches of the *Roman Empire*, not *cast down to the Earth* or made to truckle under it, but worn on her *Head* as a glorious Ornament.

The *Dragon stood before the Woman*, which was ready to be delivered, for to devour her *Child*, as soon as it was born. A manifest Allusion, to the Persecution of the Church of *Israel*, in the Land of *Egypt*. The *Heathen Emperours*, had the Christian Church of *Rome*, just under their Eye, as she was busied in the Gaining of Proselytes, to destroy her Converts, in the very Infancy of their

<sup>780</sup> From Garrett, *A Discourse Concerning Antichrist*, pp. 186–91.

<sup>781</sup> From Garrett, *A Discourse Concerning Antichrist*, pp. 192–93.

<sup>782</sup> An abbreviated version of the well-known dictum “componitur orbis regis ad exemplum”: “[The world shapes itself] after its ruler’s pattern.” From Claudian, *Panegyric on the Fourth Consulship of the Emperor Honorius*, 300; see LCL 135, pp. 308–09.

Profession. The like was done by the *Roman* Deputies, in all the *Stars*, or Provinces, that were Subject unto the *Dragons* Jurisdiction; who persecuted the *Twelve Stars*, or Apostolical Churches of the Roman Empire, that were conspicuous in the *Womans Crown*, with such a watchful Malice & fury, as the *Dragon* did the Church of *Rome*.<sup>783</sup>

For all this, the Woman brought forth, a Man-Child, who was to Rule all Nations with a Rod of Iron; and her Child was caught up to God, and to His Throne. This was *Constantine* the Great, a masculine, a valiant and a glorious Emperour. *Constantine*, like another *Moses*, being wonderfully preserved from the *Dragons* Persecution, was caught up to the Imperial Throne, which is called, *The Throne of God*. It may be called so, because the Emperour was the *Vicegerent* of *God*, upon Earth. Our *Constantine*, was employ'd by God, for the Deliverance of His People, out of the *Egyptian* Persecution. His *Throne*, was a notable Exhibition of the *Throne of Christ*, who is God, & of whom it was promised, That He should Rule all Nations with a Rod of Iron.

The Church now presently begins to change her State. She fled into the *Wilderness*, where anon there comes a *Persecution* upon her *Offspring*, that must continue 1260 *Days*. The *Christian Emperours*, having, like *Moses*, rescued the Church out of the *Egyptian* Persecution of the *Dragon*, [Compare, *Psal.* 74.14. And, *Pharaohs* devouring the Children of the *Israelites*, as soon as they were born:] they sett her safe, as *Moses* did the *Israelites*, in the *Wilderness*. But, as the Church of *Israel* in the *Wilderness* quickly Apostatized, unto *Idolatry*, so here did the *Christian Church*; in token whereof, we soon have her called, *The Mother of Harlots*.<sup>784</sup>

In the mean time, we are advised, by what Means the Church became thus victorious over her potent Persecutors. *Michael and his Angels fought against the Dragon*. Because the Scene is laid in *Heaven*, the Champions must be look'd on as *Heavenly Spirits*; But they were indeed *mortal Men*; for it is presently said of them, *They loved not their Lives unto the Death*. By the Arms, the Courage & Conduct of these admirable Champions, the Church became victorious. As by the *Dragon and his Angels*, may be meant the Emperour of *Rome*, and the Ministers of State, in Authority under them: so, our *Garret*, thinks, that by *Michael & his Angels*, may | be meant, the *Roman Bishop*, & the rest of the *Clergy*. Or, at least, the *leading Persons* of that Church, in the *Christian Warfare*. They overcome the *Dragon*, by the *Word of their Testimony*; that is, by their continual and undaunted Preaching of the Word of God. For, to *Testify the Word of God*, is one of the most usual Phrases of the New Testament, for the *Preaching of the Word*: It is used in that Sence, near forty of fifty times. The *Preachers*, are in the *Second* and *Third Chapters* of this Book, often called, *Angels*. Tho' the Ministers

[70v]

<sup>783</sup> From Garrett, *A Discourse Concerning Antichrist*, pp. 193–96.

<sup>784</sup> From Garrett, *A Discourse Concerning Antichrist*, pp. 196–200.



of the Church of *Rome*, are more *Immediately* typified by this Character, in this Vision, yett by Way of *Concomitancy* all the other Saints of that Church are signified; yea, & those of all the other Churches in the *Roman Empire*.<sup>785</sup>

Albeit the *Heathen Emperours* of *Rome*, & other Persons in Authority under them, were typified by the *Dragon & his Angels*; yett because these were the more immediate Instruments of *Wicked Spirits*, in Upholding their Worship, & Persecuting the Servants of the only true God, we are presently told, that it was really the *Divel & his Angels*, who were concerned in the Matter. That *old Serpent, called the Divel and Satan, which deceiveth the whole World, he was cast out into the Earth, & his Angels were cast out with him*.<sup>786</sup>

The War between *Michael and his Angels* on the one Side, and the *Dragon and his Angels* on the other Side, was before the *Womans flying into the Wilderness*, nay, before her *Man-Child was caught up into the Throne of God*. The short Reign of the Pagan *Julian* afterwards, will not affect the Matter; he was not concerned in the War, like those that had gone before him. The *Woman* was in her *Flight*, before *Julians* Time; even as soon as *Constantine* was *caught up to the Throne of God*.<sup>787</sup>

But yett we read, That while the *Woman* was upon the *Two Wings of the great Eagle*, in her declining State, flying into the *Wilderness*, the *Dragon*, who was *cast unto the Earth*, continued to *persecute* her.<sup>788</sup>

In the mean time, we have the Triumph of the Church, particularly over the *Accuser of the Brethren, which accused them before God day & night*. The vile Slanderers, those Instruments of *Satan*, were defeated; who with malicious Calumnies incessantly Reproached the Holy Faith, & the godly & blameless Lives of the Christians, before the Emperours.

But thus, by the Way, the Christians would continue, to speak honourably of their Emperours, as the Ministers of God, & His Vice-gerents, tho' they had the *Dragon* inspiring of them. [See, Act. 23.5.]

The Means of their Victory, are declared. The *Blood of the Lamb*; their Faith on that: And the *Word of their Testimony*: the Preaching of the Gospel: And their *not loving their Lives unto the Death*: but being ready to seal their Doctrine with a Martyrdome.<sup>789</sup>

A short *Επινικιον* followes;<sup>790</sup> and presently a *Veil* is drawn over the whole face of *Heaven*. The *Scene* is now changed; & shifted unto the *Earth*. The next

785 From Garrett, *A Discourse Concerning Antichrist*, pp. 201–07.

786 From Garrett, *A Discourse Concerning Antichrist*, pp. 208–09.

787 From Garrett, *A Discourse Concerning Antichrist*, p. 209. Julian the Apostate was Emperor from 361 to 363.

788 From Garrett, *A Discourse Concerning Antichrist*, p. 235.

789 From Garrett, *A Discourse Concerning Antichrist*, pp. 213–14.

790 In this context, *ἐπινικιος* [epinikios] means “song of victory, triumphal ode” (*LSJ*).

Words are, *Wo to the Inhabitants of the Earth*. And so the pure primitive State of the Church, is come to an End.<sup>791</sup>

Lett us now go see her in her *Airy State*, apace declining into *Earthly* Fæculency and Corruption.<sup>792</sup>

The next Period is that of the *Christian Emperours*. In this Period, the Empire was divided into *Two Parts*; the Western, at *Rome*, the Eastern, at *Constantinople*. The *Eagle* was the Banner of the *Roman Empire*. Tis admirable here to see the *Roman Empire* now so typified by *Two Wings of a great Eagle*. Because the Emperours were now Christian, the Church is represented as *born up* on *their Wings*. The Persecution used by the *Dragon* against the *Woman*, is not now, as formerly, by open Violence; but by *Pouring out a Flood* of Heresies after her, that she was in danger to be *carried away* withal. Even *Liberius* himself, one of her Bishops, was tainted with the *Arian* Heresy.<sup>793</sup> But yett it is observable, That the *Roman Bishops* in general, were the most Illustrious and Significant, Præservers of the Church from the Heresies of those Times. The *Orthodox* fled unto them for *Refuge*, and the *Hereticks* for *Appeal*. And this *Honour* putt upon them, with the *Bounty* of the Emperours unto them, & of other Holy Persons, caused them to grasp after a worldly Domination, & seek the Subjugation of all other Churches unto them. Now arose Contentions between them and other Churches, about *Preheminence*; and such was their *Avarice*, that *Valentinian* and *Theodosius*, made Lawes, to Inhibit Widowes, from leaving their Treasures to the *Church*, unto the utter Undoing of their Children. And in this Period, the *Woman* did manifestly decline to those *Idolatries* and *Superstitions*, wherein she afterwards wallowed. She grew fond of *Reliques*, *Images*, *Monuments*, and introducing *Heathen Rites*, which in a little time found such Entertainment with the Poor Deluded *Woman*, that she almost exchanged her whole Religion for them, & grew more zealous for those Fopperies, than for all the Interests of Christianity, and persecuted unto Death all the Opposers of them.<sup>794</sup> |

[71r]

They that in the former Period were, The Inhabiters of *Heaven*, are now styled, *The Inhabiters of the Earth*; the Scene is changed. The *Earth* is now opposed unto *Heaven*; or to a more pure State of things that went before it. But it is also opposed unto the *Sea*. By the *Inhabiters of the Earth* are meant, the *Inhabiters of the City of Rome*, & the Church there. And by the *Inhabiters of the Sea*, are meant the *Peoples*, *Multitudes*, & *Nations*, & *Tongues*, that were diffused as *Waters* round about her.<sup>795</sup>

791 From Garrett, *A Discourse Concerning Antichrist*, pp. 214–15.

792 From Garrett, *A Discourse Concerning Antichrist*, p. 238.

793 Pope Liberius was Bishop of Rome from 352 until 366. He was sympathetic to the Arian party.

794 From Garrett, *A Discourse Concerning Antichrist*, pp. 222–26.

795 From Garrett, *A Discourse Concerning Antichrist*, pp. 229, 231.

There is a *Wo* now denounced against the *Woman*, and the *Nations* to be seduced by her, with reference to the wretched State, whereto she is declining. The *Divel* was now coming to *Deceive them*, as he had done their Prædecessors in Pagan *Rome*, & substitute them to be the Instruments of his Idolatry, & Persecution. He was coming with *great Wrath*, at the Defeat which he had already received; sensible, that he had but a *short Time* remaining, where in to Deceive the World; a *short Time*, in Comparison of the many Years, he had already spent in that horrible Employment.

It is very observable, That the *Woman* being *fled into the Wilderness*, the *Dragon* is no longer said, to make *War with Her*, but only with a *Remnant*, or a few select Persons, *of her Seed, which keep the Commandments of God, & have the Testimony of Jesus Christ*. The *Woman* is now, no longer *Persecuted*; but instead of that; she is *Deceived*. The *War* is made only against the *Remnant of her Seed*; but she herself, becomes the chief Instrument of the *Dragon*, in Promoting of *Idolatry*, & in Persecuting the *Remnant*, that refuse Communion with her in it.<sup>796</sup>

In the mean time, lett us observe the *Second Persecution*, which the *Dragon* is projecting, against the *Woman*, who is now *flying into the Wilderness*. The *Dragon* is not in this action described as having *Seven Heads & Ten Horns*; that is, as persecuting by Means of the *Roman Emperours*: But as the *old Serpent*, who is the *Divel* and *Satan*. It intimates, that the prime Author of the *Second Persecution* is the same with the *First*; only now being dethroned, he must make Use of meaner Instruments, and another Sort of Persecution.

The *Woman* (or the Church of *Rome*,) is now changing her Condition, & *flying down* into a State of Ease, & Peace, and worldly Wealth, which is præpared for her, *in the Wilderness*. At the same time, the *Politick State* of the *Roman Empire*, does receive a very notable Mutation with her. The *Empire* appears, with the *Two Wings of a great Eagle*; to intimate the Division of the *Empire*, administered indeed, by a *Pair of Emperours*, in this *Second Period*. And because these Emperours were the *Womans* Friends, the *Wings* are said also to have been *given to the Woman*; that is, to bear her gently unto the Place or State, that she was hastening to. These *Christian Emperours* were to *continue but a short Space*; and the *Wings of a great Eagle*, being to dispatch what they had to do, it was as Quick a Way of Passing as was possible.<sup>797</sup>

The *Wilderness* is that Third and Last Estate, namely, the *Earthly* one, whereto the Church apace degenerated. Her *Place in the Wilderness*, is her *Place in the Earth*; and that is no other, but the *Place* where the City of *Rome* on *Earth* is scituated. In this *Place*, on the *Seven Mountains*, we must conceive, that the *Two Wings of the great Eagle* sett the *Woman* down, when they gently brought her to the *Earth*. The Church of *Rome* was now sunk down from her *Heavenly*

<sup>796</sup> From Garrett, *A Discourse Concerning Antichrist*, pp. 232–34.

<sup>797</sup> From Garrett, *A Discourse Concerning Antichrist*, pp. 236–39, 242.

*Purity*, into the *Wilderness* of this World, & a *Labyrinth* of sæcular Business. But, behold, a most remarkable Prophecy involved in this Term of, *A Wilderness!* This was at a time, when the *Roman Empire*, thro' the Incursions of the Barbarous Nations, was a meer *Desolate Wilderness*.<sup>798</sup>

This is the *Place*, wherein she is *nourished*, with such things, as like *Israel* in the *Wilderness*, she lusted after. And here, she is a *Time, Times, & half a Time*, kept from the *Face of the Serpent*. The Space is elsewhere described by *Twelve Hundred and Sixty Dayes*; which all the World must own to be *prophetical* ones. And the Meaning is, That she must be preserved there so long a Time, from Persecution. She was once just *before the Face of the Serpent*, but now she is gott away, into the *Wilderness, from the Face of the Serpent*; gott out of the reach of the Afflictions that she suffered, when he stood before her. The *Dragon* does not now persecute the Woman, or the Kingdomes and Churches under her Jurisdiction; But he Flatters them, is very very Friendly to them, gives to the *Ten-horned Beast*, his *Power* and | *Seat*, and great *Authority*; which, in Effect was, to give it unto the *Woman*; for the *Ten Kings* resigned it unto her. She knew not the *Dragon*, but by his *Face*; He appears to her in some Disguise, or with another Shape. She has no Jealousy of his Pretenses; when he pretends to be her Benefactor. She is now *Deceived*, and no longer *Persecuted*. [71v]

But tho' she be flying towards a State, wherein they should accord so well together; yett, as she is passing thither, he endeavours, what he can, to overwhelm her. We read; *The Serpent cast out of his Mouth Water as a Flood, after the Woman: that he might cause her to be carried away of the Flood*.<sup>799</sup>

Now, as in her *earthly State*, anon, the Nations under the *Roman* Jurisdiction, be represented by the *Waters of the Sea*; so, tis agreeable to Reason, that in her *Airy State*, they should be represented by the *Clouds*. The *Clouds* have to the *Woman* in the *Air*, the Proportion, which the *Sea* ha's to her on the *Earth*. And we know, that *Clouds* are the proper Fountains, from whence *Floods* descend upon *Earth*. Whereas then, the *Serpent* here does *cast out of his Mouth, Water as a Flood, after the Woman*; we must not think, he did it, without the Help of his Ministers, any more than in the former Persecution, which he managed by the Heathen Emperours. We must understand, that the *Serpent* made the *Clouds* to *pour out* this *Flood*. The *Heretical Teachers* among the People, were as the *Mouth* of the *Dragon*; what Mischief they did, they did with their *Mouth*; by Preaching erroneous Doctrines, which are the *Product of the Mouth*: and these were *Clouds* that *poured out* a *Flood* of such Doctrines, as the *Woman* was like to have been overwhelmed withal. The Superfætation of *Heresies* in this Period, had like to have carried away the Church, with the Violence of it. The *Hereticks* arose, out of the Churches in Communion with the Church of *Rome*; & so, out

<sup>798</sup> From Garrett, *A Discourse Concerning Antichrist*, pp. 243–44.

<sup>799</sup> From Garrett, *A Discourse Concerning Antichrist*, pp. 244–48.

of the *Peoples* and *Nations*, which are elsewhere compared unto *Waters*; & on this account also they are most fitly resembled by *Clouds* fetch'd out of the *Waters*. It is represented, as if the *Windowes of Heaven*, which once were opened unto the *Deluge of the World*, were now once more sett open, to the Overflowing of the *Church*.<sup>800</sup>

Now, by what Means did the Church escape out of this *Heretical Persecution* upon her, in her Passage into the *Wilderness*? We are told; *The Earth helped the Woman, & the Earth opened her Mouth, & swallowed up the Flood*. By the *Earth*, no doubt, are typified some *Inhabiters of the Earth*. Indeed, the Christian Emperours gave good Assistance to the *Woman*; but these are the *Eagles Wings*. The Church of *Rome*, is, the *Woman*; and we must seek for such *Helpers* as did peculiarly belong to *that Church*. The *Roman Clergy*, who were the *Angels* in the former Persecution, are those which had the greatest Hand, in bringing off the *Woman*, in the Persecution that is now carrying on. They *opened their Mouthes*, in determining the Controversies which were started in those Times, & in explaining and maintaining of the Truth, & in Defending the Persons of the *Orthodox*. In this Way, they were the most Renowned *Helpers*, both of their own Particular Church; & of the Universal. But why should the *Roman Clergy*, while they continue sound in the Faith and Faithful *Helpers* of the *Woman*, be compared unto the *Earth*? Especially, since the *Woman* herself is yett upon the *Eagles Wings*? For, the *Earth* is used in this Prophecy, as a Dishonourable Type; to represent a very Depraved and Corrupted state of things. The Spirit of Prophecy could have invented Five Hundred other Allegories. But this is as *expressive* an one, as could have been imagined. For the *Roman Clergy*, tho' orthodox in Religion, were sufficiently *Degenerate* in another Matter. The Histories of those Times agree to tell us, That the *Roman Clergy*, being mightily enriched under their Christian Emperours, did therewithal Degenerate, into a most woful, *Earthly-Mindedness*. In all the Histories, they are observable for their Covetous, and Ambitious Practices; and an *earthly Mind*, & the Spirit of this World reigning in them. And this *Earth* was all this While, under the *Wings of Christian Emperours*.<sup>801</sup>

Behold, by the Way, a clear Argument, That the Faith profess'd by the Church of *Rome* throughout this Period, against the Hereticks that opposed it; and particularly, against the *Arians*; is the true Faith of the Gospel. The *Doctrines* asserted by those; who assaulted the Faith now professed in the Church of *Rome*, were the *Flood which the Dragon cast out of his Mouth*. And it is Remarkable, peculiarly of the *Arian* Hæresy, that tho' in this Period, it made a very great Bussle, and prevailed almost unto the Subversion of the True Faith; yett in a little Time it was so baffled by the *Orthodox*, & so deserted by its own Professors,

<sup>800</sup> From Garrett, *A Discourse Concerning Antichrist*, pp. 248–52.

<sup>801</sup> From Garrett, *A Discourse Concerning Antichrist*, pp. 252–58.

that about the Beginning of the Next Period, we find very little of it; and soon | after, nothing at all. Indeed almost all the Hæresies of the former Times, were [72r] swallow'd up, in the Idolatries of the Church of *Rome*, and the Grandeurs and Splendours of *Antichrist*. It is most certain, The orthodox Faith, concerning the glorious *Trinity*, can be no Part of the *Draconic Flood*; because it ha's been so far from ever being swallowed up, in this Period, that it ha's ever since continued, for above a Thousand Years, universally professed in the *Roman Church*.

From henceforth, expect no more to see the *Woman* persecuted. The *Dragon* will now try his Artifice in *Deceiving* her. Of a *persecuted Woman*, he makes her *Drunken with the Blood of Saints*; and these her own Children, a *Remnant* of her own Righteous *Offspring*. The *Dragon*, being *wroth* with her, for having been too hard for him, in his Two former Attempts, *went to make War with the Remnant of her Seed, which keep the Commandments of God, & have the Testimony of Jesus Christ*. We need not envy the *Roman Church* the Name of *Catholick*; (than which, that of *Heathen* is not more abominable:) If we can but approve ourselves to be of the Holy *Remnant of her Offspring*, whom she persecutes for not consenting with her Idolatries. But who are the *Remnant of the Seed*?<sup>802</sup>

It is evident, That by the *Remnant of her Seed*, cannot be meant, the *Woman* herself. Neither can we by the *Remnant of her Seed* understand her *Seed* in general. For those whereof she was delivered after her Coming into the Wilderness, the Generality of them *ran into the same Excess of Riot* with her. There could not be a more *Catholick Apostasy*. It must intend therefore, a *few* of her Children, that she should bring forth in the *Wilderness*, who thro' the special Grace of God, should be præserv'd pure from her Corruptions; in Opposition to the *many*, or the *Catholick Party* of her Offspring, who should hold Communion with her. This is the constant Sense of the Word, *Remnant*, in the Scripture. Where any *general* Defection or Calamity is described, those whom it pleases God to save out of it, are usually called, *A Remnant*, or, *A Residue*. [See, 2. King. 19.4, 31. Neh. 1.3. & many other Places.] I would add this. *Quære*; whether in this Expression of, *The Seed*, there be not a manifest reference to the *Third Chapter of Genesis*, & in what befalls the *Seed*.<sup>803</sup>

The *Dragon* finding the Inclinations of the Clergy; that they were sett on worldly Things; he feeds their Covetous and Ambitious Humour, & thereby betrayes them into the Impieties, for which we find the *Woman* so stigmatized in the following Period. Having Ingratiated himself with the *Woman*, he makes *War* by her Means, against that pious *Remnant of her Offspring*, who *keep the Commandments of God, & have the Testimony of Jesus Christ*; and so he makes the

<sup>802</sup> From Garrett, *A Discourse Concerning Antichrist*, pp. 259–63.

<sup>803</sup> From Garrett, *A Discourse Concerning Antichrist*, pp. 274–75. The part after “*Quære*” to the end of the sentence is a marginal insert and seems to be Mather's own addition. See the prophecy of the “Seed of the woman” (Gen. 3:15), on which Mather writes in *BA*(1:487–89).

Woman more miserable by his Flatteries and his Delusions, than he could have done by Violence and open Enmity.<sup>804</sup>

In this next Period then, even that of the Womans *earthly State*, we meet with Two Sorts of Churches, an *Apostatical*, and an *Apostolical*. Of this latter Church, are the *Remnant of the Offspring*; whereof lett us observe the Description.

First, They *keep the Commandments of God*. This evidently and peculiarly refers to the *Second Commandment* which forbids *Idolatry*, and ha's also this very Phrase in it; and which God makes the very *Test* of our Affection to Him, and our Obedience in all the rest. And it is the same that *Moses*, addressing the Church in the *Wilderness*, calls, *A Keeping of the Covenant of God*. It is the more observable, Because as the Church of *Israel* in the *Wilderness*, turned unto *Idolatry*, the *Christian Church* was to do so too. But the Holy *Remnant* should be distinguished by a conscientious Regard of the *Second Commandment*.<sup>805</sup>

Secondly, The *Clergy* of this pure, small, persecuted Church, are such as have the *Testimony of Jesus Christ*. That is, They *Testify the Gospel of the Grace of God*; They Exhort Men to keep the Commandments of God; They Denounce His Judgments against the Despisers of them. Here also seems an Allusion, unto *Moses's Testifying in the Wilderness*, against the Church of *Israel*. Saies he; [Deut. 8.19.] *If thou at all forgett the Lord thy God, and walk after other Gods, & serve them, & worship them; I TESTIFY against you this day, that yee shall surely perish.* And he gave them a Song from God, which was, [Deut. 31.20, 21.] *to TESTIFY against them, as a Witness; if they turned unto other Gods.* They that here have the *Testimony of Jesus Christ*, are the same, that in the foregoing Chapter, are called, [72v] *Witnesses*; whose Office | is, *Propheying*, and *Reproving*, the Corruptions of the Times they lived in; & bearing *Testimony* against the *Gentiles*, who by their Idolatries *profaned the Holy City*. The same, that are also typified, by those *Angels*, to whom the ministerial Works of *Shewing*, and *Bringing* the Judgments of God, upon the World, are constantly assigned, throughout this Prophecy; [compare, Rev. 19.10.] What is done by the *two Witnesses*, who have *Power over the Waters, to turn them into Blood, & to smite the Earth with Plagues as often as they will*; is the very same, that is done, by the *Angels* that sound the *Trumpetts*, and that pour out the *Vials*; those *Angels* do nothing else, with their *Trumpetts*, and their *Vials*. These *Witnesses* (and those *Angels* too,) are the faithful Ministers of the Gospel; It was the *Priests Office*, to Blow with the *Trumpets*. [Josh. 6.4.] And the *Angels*, which pour out the *Vials*, come out of the *Temple of the Tabernacle of the Testimony* (whither none but the *Priests* might enter;) *clothed with pure and white*

<sup>804</sup> From Garrett, *A Discourse Concerning Antichrist*, pp. 276–77.

<sup>805</sup> From Garrett, *A Discourse Concerning Antichrist*, pp. 277–79.

*Linnen*, (which was the *priestly* Cloathing;) and having *their Breasts girded with golden Girdles*: (which was a *priestly* Ordinance.)<sup>806</sup>

The *Woman* is gott into the *Wilderness*. Lett us now see, what becomes of her there. Of that we have an Account in the *Seventeenth*, & in the *Thirteenth* Chapters of this wonderful Book. The *Woman* becomes a vile *Idolatress*, & a great *Persecutrix*. Her Clergy sitt at the Helm of the *Roman Empire*, & have supreme Authority in it, by the Concession of those *Ten Kings*, among whom that Empire came to be divided, at the *Womans* Entring into the *Wilderness*. And by Means of these *Ten Kings*, headed by the Bishops of *Rome*, the *Dragon* goes to *make War* with the *Remnant* of the *Womans* Offspring; which is also called, *A Making War with the Lamb*.

The *Ten Kings*, being united under the Headship of the *Roman Bishops*, are called, [Rev. 13.1.] *The Beast that Rose up out of the Sea*: The *Ten-horn'd Beast*; comes on again, & the *Horns* are now *crown'd*, as soon as ever the *Two Wings of the great Eagle* are gone off the Stage. One *Wing* was broken off; & by Consequence, the other was become unserviceable; the *Woman* must unavoidably be lett down unto the *Earth*.<sup>807</sup>

*John* stands upon the *Sea-Shore*, where he ha's a convenient Prospect of *Two Beasts*, one of them *Rising out of the Sea*, the other *out of the Earth*. He saw the *Roman Empire*, which was before Governed by a *Pair of Emperours*, divided now into *Ten Kingdomes*, with *Ten Kings* arising in the *Roman Territories*; And he saw *another King* arising out of *Rome* itself; of which *other King*, it is said, That *he had Two Horns, like the Lamb's, but that he spake like the Dragon; and that he exerciseth all the Power of the First Beast before him*: It is plainly signified, That this *King* shall Reign at the same Time with the *Ten Kings*. And that tho' he carried on the *Dragons* Work, yett he should have some external Resemblance to our Lord JESUS CHRIST, the *Lamb of God*. He *exercises all the Power of the First*, namely, the *Ten-horn'd Beast*. Tho' each *Horn*, or *King*, of the *Ten-horn'd Beast*, be supreme Lord in his Respective Kingdome, yett this *Two-horn'd Beast*, (by the foolish Benevolence & Submission of those *Ten Kings*) is Lord Paramount, extending his Dominion over all.

In this, *Third Period* then, there are to be Two Supream Lords in each Kingdome of the *Roman Empire*; The Bishops of *Rome* in all of them; and each of the *Ten Kings* in his Respective Kingdome. This might seem strange; but now, every one that sees the *Papal Empire* can unriddle it. And as we see a *secular Beast*, with *Ten Horns*, thus every body now sees an *ecclesiastical Beast*, with *Two Horns*, exercising both a *Spiritual Power*, and a *Temporal*.<sup>808</sup>

<sup>806</sup> From Garrett, *A Discourse Concerning Antichrist*, pp. 280–88.

<sup>807</sup> From Garrett, *A Discourse Concerning Antichrist*, pp. 295–300.

<sup>808</sup> From Garrett, *A Discourse Concerning Antichrist*, pp. 302–03.



*Blasphemy* is the great thing ascribed unto this *Beast*. But what is the *Blasphemy* here spoken of? It is *Idolatry*. No other *Blasphemy*, ha's been so common to all the *Seven Heads* of the *Beast*, as this. Tis the same, that is also represented, as a spiritual *Fornication*; And if *Blasphemy* here do not mean *Idolatry*, how comes it to pass, that we have no other Mention of *Idolatry*? For we are sure the grand *Apostasy* of the Nations, was into *Idolatry*. Yea, we have the very Syllables of the *Name of Blasphemy*; namely, MYSTERY, BABYLON THE GREAT. We may hence partly demonstrate, what Sort of *Idol-Worship*, this *Beast* would patronize. The Word, MYSTERY, imports, That his Metropolis, would be a *mystical Babylon*; & his *Fornication* would be *spiritual*. The *Blasphemy* and *Idolatry*, which he would introduce and propagate, should be no downright, wilful, affected *Blasphemy*, but such as tis consistent with a Shew of *Piety* towards God; [73r] such as requires much Artifice to | contrive, and is not easy to detect; a *subtil* Sort of a thing; a Kind of *Blasphemy*, or *Idolatry* in a *Mystery*.

This *Beast* is likened unto a *Leopard*. It ha's in it something that resembles the *Græcian Monarchy*; [Dan. 7.6.] That of an entire Kingdome under *Alexander M.* became afterwards divided into *Four Kingdomes*, under *Four* Several Kings. Thus, the *Roman Kindgome*, which had once been entire, was now divided into *Ten Kingdomes*, under *Ten* Several Kings.<sup>809</sup>

This for the *Body* of the *Beast*. But then in the *Feet*, (the Instruments of Motion, and, in *Bears*, of Preying & Spoiling,) it is like a *Bear*. That is, like the *Persian Monarchy*. [Dan. 7.5.] The *Persian Kings* would not engage in a War, or enter on any action of great Moment, without consulting of their *Magi*; so neither would these *Ten Kings*, that constitute the *Roman Beast*, under the last Head, the *Popes*, without consulting their *Priests* and *Bishops*. To which Purpose, we read of the *ecclesiastical Beast*, that he *exercises all the Power of the first Beast*, [the Sæcular, Ten-horn'd *Beast*] *before him*. It shoves, the great Influence, that Churchmen were to have upon the civil State. The *Angel* tells us of these *Ten Kings*, That they should *give their Power, and Strength and Kingdome to the Beast*. And, if we look on them as *making War against the Saints*, & setting up *Idolatry*, tis plain, the civil State, is wholly influenced by the Churchmen in them.

Lastly. The *Mouth* of the *Beast*, was like the *Mouth of a Lion*. In speaking, in making Lawes and Edicts, & the like, it resembles the *Assyrian* or *Babylonian Monarchy*. [Dan. 7.4.] The Kings of *Babylon*, particularly *Nebuchadnezzar*, are infamous in the Scripture, for setting up Idolatrous Worship; and commanding those that would not fall down before their Idols, to be *Burnt Alive*. Thus this *Ten-horn'd Beast*, instantly condemns all Opposers of his *Idolatry*, to *Fire* and *Faggot*, under the Name of *Hereticks*. Therefore tis also said of *Rome*, the

<sup>809</sup> From Garrett, *A Discourse Concerning Antichrist*, pp. 307–10.

Metropolis of the *ecclesiastical Beast*, that she was like *Babylon*, in being *drunk with the Blood of the Saints*.<sup>810</sup>

Unto this *Beast*, the *Dragon* gave his *great Authority*; namely, such *Authority* for *making War against the Saints*, as the Roman Heathen Emperours had before him. It is observed of the Leopard [Πάνθηρ *dictus, quòd omnium Animalium Amicus excepto Dracone*.]<sup>811</sup> That he is a *Friend unto all the Beasts, except only the Dragon*. The *Dragon* then could not have found a fitter *Beast* than this to place upon his *Throne*, & with a feigned *Shew of Friendship* to abuse the *Christian World*. But behold, whose *Deputy* the *Beast* is! He pretends indeed unto a more noble *Deputation*; but he is the *Vicar of the Dragon*!

The *Sixth Head* of the *Roman Beast*, was *wounded to Death*, by the *Sword* of the *Spirit of God*; *Michael & his Angels overcoming the Dragon by the Word of their Testimony*. [See, Eph. 6.17.] It continued *wounded* all the *Time* of the *Christian Emperours*, who were *no Head* unto the *Blasphemous Beast*. It continued so, until the *Ten Horns* arose, & the *Empire* came to be divided into *Ten Kingdoms*. But the *Deadly Wound was healed*, by the *Dragon* substituting a *Seventh Head*, in which the several *Members* of the *Blasphemous Empire* should be once more united.<sup>812</sup>

Hereupon, *All the World wondred after the Beast*; namely, with a *Wonder of Approbation*. They whose *Names are not written in the Book of Life*, do *wonderfully Approve* the *Powers and Practices* of the *Beast*. Yea, They *worshipped the Dragon*; they complied with the *Beast*, & obey'd him in his *Impious Edicts*, which proceeded from the *Dragon*. They applaud him *wonderfully*. One Article of the *Applause*, is, *who is able to make War with him?* That is; who of the *Saints*, is able to do it? For, his *War* is against the *Saints*. His *Worshippers*, cry up his *Victories over the Saints*, in the *Persecutions*, which he raises against them.

There is *given unto him, a Mouth speaking great things, and Blasphemies*. The Chief of them, is, His *Commanding the Worship of Idols*, which is the most *Real Blasphemy* in the *World*; and the *Extirpation* of all *Opposers*, in the most *horrid Ways*, that can be imagined.<sup>813</sup>

And *Power was given him, to continue Forty Two Months*; which according to the usual æstimate of *Thirty Days* to a *Month*, makes *Twelve Hundred and Sixty Days*, or *Years*.

810 From Garrett, *A Discourse Concerning Antichrist*, pp. 310–13.

811 “The panther is so-named because it is a friend to all animals, except the snake.” Reference is made to the encyclopedic compilation of Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, lib. 12.2.6 [PL 82. 435]; transl.: *Isidore of Seville's Etymologies: Complete English Translation*, vol. 2. Mather here relies on Isidore's folk-etymology derivation of panther from the Greek pan- “all” plus ther- “wild animal.”

812 From Garrett, *A Discourse Concerning Antichrist*, pp. 313–16.

813 From Garrett, *A Discourse Concerning Antichrist*, pp. 316–18.

[73v] | *Bellarmino* shows himself an egregious Trifler on this Occasion.<sup>814</sup> I shall not so much as Recite, much less go to Answer his Trifles; only we will take Notice of one Objection; The *Three Years and an half*, or *Forty two Months*, here mentioned, are the very Space, whereof it is said, Rev. 12.12. *The Diuel knowes, he ha's but a short Time*. Therefore it cannot be expounded of *One Thousand two hundred and sixty Years*; for that is a very *long Time*. Here, as our *Garret* expresses it, The *Cardinal* should have putt on his *considering Cap*. For all Quantities of *Time*, are *short* or *long* Respectively; according to the greater or smaller Quantities, which they are compared withal; and for many other Considerations. Even *Three Years and an half* may be accounted a *long Time*, in Comparison of *Half a Year*. And again, *Half a Year* would be counted a *long Time*, unto any one, all that while under continual Pains of the *Gout*, or any other Torture. And if a Man were to Travel *Six Thousand* Miles, condemned to lose his Life, as soon as he arrived at his Journeyes End; he would probably esteem his whole Journey but a very *short* one; But when he should have accomplished almost *Five Thousand* Miles, he might well be born withal, if he should complain, that the remaining *twelve* or *thirteen* hundred Miles, were very, very *short* indeed. *Satan* having had the Satisfaction to *Deceive the World*, for near *Five Thousand* Years, & knowing to what endless Miseries he stood condemned, at the End of the *Twelve* or *Thirteen* hundred Years next ensuing, tis no Marvel, that it appears but a *short Time* unto him. [Compare, 2. Cor. 4.17.]<sup>815</sup>

Upon the Whole, There can be nothing plainer, than that the *Woman* was to continue in the *Wilderness*, till she arrived at the Land of *Canaan*, whither she was, & still is Travelling; and therefore it must be more than *Twelve Hundred & Sixty common Dayes*; it must therefore be so many *Years*.

If now we reckon *Twelve Hundred and Sixty Years*, from the *Womans* being fled into the *Wilderness*; or, which comes all to one, from the *Ten Horns* appearing with *Crowns* on their *Heads*; That is, from about the Year 456; we shall find them to expire, about the Year *One Thousand Seven hundred and Sixteen*. And about this Time, we may expect, That the *Supremacy* of the *Beast*, will come to an End. Only allow some Latitude unto the Time, that may be Reasonable.<sup>816</sup>

We go on with the Characters of the *Beast*. *He opened his Mouth in Blasphemy against God, to Blaspheme His Name, & His Tabernacle, and those that dwell in Heaven*. It can be denied by none, that the Bishops of *Rome*, since they came to be the *Head* of the *Ten-horn'd Kingdome*, have spoken such *great Things*, as no Potentate ever spake besides them; As, The *Vicar of Christ*; The *Head of the Universal Church*, to whom all Men must be Subject, that would be saved; *Infalible in Determination*, tho' never so Detestable in Conversation; *Appointed over*

<sup>814</sup> Reference is made to *Bellarmino*, *De Romano Pontifice*, lib. 3, cap. 8, in *Disputationes de controuersiis christianae fidei*, cols. 723–26.

<sup>815</sup> From *Garrett*, *A Discourse Concerning Antichrist*, pp. 318–36.

<sup>816</sup> From *Garrett*, *A Discourse Concerning Antichrist*, pp. 347–48.

*the Kingdoms of the World, to build & plant, & root up, as they see expedient.* This explains, his *Mouth speaking great Things*. But how is it likely, that he who owns himself, *The Servant of the Servants of God*; & who adores the *Saints of God*, and their very *Shrines and Reliques*, can *Blaspheme the Name of God, and His Tabernacle, & those who dwell in Heaven*? Yes; For this *Blasphemy*, is, as we have said, *Idolatry*. He *Blasphemes the Name of God*, by giving His Name, His Worship, & His Attributes, to other Objects. By the *Tabernacle of God*, may be meant, the *Body of Christ*. If the *Body of Man* be *Mans Tabernacle*, then the *Body of CHRIST*, in whom *dwells the Fulness of the Godhead Bodily*, is the *Tabernacle of God*. [See, 2. Cor. 5.1. and, 2. Pet. 1.13, 14.] Yea, and the Virgin *Mary* also, in whom *CHRIST* was lodged for a Time, as in a *Tabernacle*, may be called, *The Tabernacle of God*. Be sure, The *Body of CHRIST*, is expressly called; Heb. 9.11. *A greater and more perfect Tabernacle*. Now, that both the *Body of CHRIST*, and the Virgin *Mary*, are sufficiently *Blasphemed*, by the *Idolatries* of the Church of *Rome*, is most notorious. The *Body of CHRIST*, they own the very *Sacrament* thereof to be *God, very God*, and the great Creator of the World. What a *Blasphemy*! While they make it also the true substantial *Body of CHRIST*, and yett own, that it may be eaten by *Rats* as well as *Men*, and stol'n, or pawn'd, & carried about in the Pocket of a wretched *Sacrificer*.<sup>817</sup> Hereby | they not only [74r] Dishonour the *Name & the Tabernacle of GOD* themselves, but have also given great Offences & Occasions, unto their Neighbours, the *Mahometans*, & all professed Enemies of the Gospel, to vilify the *GOD of the Christians*. And, can there be a greater *Blasphemy* committed against the glorious Virgin *Mary*, than to exalt her unto the Throne of her Creator, & make her a Kind of Competitrix with him, if not superiour to Him? Witness the *Psalter of the Virgin Mary*, publicly licensed by the Authority of the *Roman Church*; the business whereof is, in imitation of *Dauids* Glorifying the *GOD of Heaven*, to magnify the Glories of the Virgin *Mary*.<sup>818</sup>

Yea, the very *Stocks and Stones* worshipped by the *Papists*, if they had *Ears to hear, and Eyes to see, and Mouthes to speak*, would complain, that by their *Adorers* they were themselves *Blasphemed*: For, as hard as they are, they would not have so hard a Forehead, as knowingly to admitt the Honours of their great Creator. And lastly, for their *Blaspheming* of the *Saints*, which *dwell in Heaven*; we must understand this also of their *Idolatrous Practices and Addresses* to them. For unless we think, those Holy Persons, have left their *Graces* as well as their *Bodies* behind them, how can it be imagined, that they should not blush, at the Devotions paid unto them. They are *Blasphemed*; both by being putt in the Place of *GOD*,

<sup>817</sup> A polemic against the Catholic understanding of the Eucharist and the doctrine of transubstantiation.

<sup>818</sup> From Garrett, *A Discourse Concerning Antichrist*, pp. 349–56. Reference is made to the *Psalterium Marianum*, a compendium of the Psalms and Canticles applied to the Blessed Virgin Mary. It was composed by St. Bonaventure (1221–1274) (CE).

who is the only Object of Religious Prayer; and, on the other Side, by being putt in the Place of Heathen *Demons*, having just such *Services* performed, & *Offices* assigned, unto them. Doubtless, they would prefer the latter unsufferable *Disgrace*, before the former sacrilegious *Honour*, if it might be referr'd unto them. Lett not the *Romanist* insist on his weak Distinction of, *Latria*, and, *Dulia*; For, *All Honour is Divine*; and the Giving of any Honour, to a Forbidden Object; or to an Allowed Object, more Honour than is due, is to be guilty of *Idolatry*.<sup>819</sup>

Tis a cowardly *Beast*. The chief of his *Power*, does not consist in making *War* with *other Beasts*; but only with the *Saints*; a gentle People, & such as have nothing to Defend them.

*All Kindreds and Tongues & Nations*, that is to say, all that were Subject unto the *Ten Kings*, are under the Dominion of this *Beast*.

It implies not, that the *Beast* is to have Dominion over every one of the *Ten Kingdomes*, throughout the whole Duration of the *Forty two Months*. There is all the Reason in the World, we should allow to this *Beast*, as it happens in all other Kingdomes, a Time to *grow*, a Time to be at *Perfection*, and a Time to be *Destroy'd*, and the other Casualties, & variable Circumstances, which befall the greatest Kingdomes. Especially, since this Kingdome, was to be a New, Unheard-of, Sort of a Kingdome; the Power of its *Head* altogether precarious; depending wholly on the *Gift* of the subordinate Princes, whose Minds are various. We may well conceive such a *Kingdome* to be obnoxious unto great *Uncertainties* and *Mutabilities*.<sup>820</sup>

At last, we have an Exhortation; *If any Man have an Ear, lett him hear*. Alas, why then ha's this Prophecy, been so much Neglected, so much Despised? And, a Consolation. *He that leadeth into Captivity, shall go into Captivity; He that killeth with the Sword, must be killed with the Sword*. God will one Day own our Cause, as His Cause; And Avenge us on our Enemies.<sup>821</sup>

In fine, look on the *Pope*, as the *secular Head* of the Roman Empire, and so he is the *Seventh Head* of it, with *Ten Horns* belonging to him. Look on him, as the Bishop of *Rome*, and *Head* of the *Universal Church*, or (as he pleases to style himself) the *Vicar of Christ*, and so his Kingdome does consist but of *Two Horns*, or Kingdomes. He ha's *Two Horns*, like the *Horns of the Lamb*; who is called, [Rev. 15.3.] *King of SAINTS*; that is, of His Church, & faithful People: And, [Rev. 17.14.] *King of KINGS*; that is, of the Kings and Kingdomes of the World. He is *King of the Roman Catholick Church*; and *King of the Ten Kings*, who are to give their Kingdomes unto him. He pretends to the *Two Horns of*

<sup>819</sup> From Garrett, *A Discourse Concerning Antichrist*, pp. 357–60. According to Catholic tradition, “cultus latriæ” is the highest worship due to God alone, while the “cultus douliae” refers to forms of veneration which may be offered to saints or martyrs.

<sup>820</sup> From Garrett, *A Discourse Concerning Antichrist*, pp. 361–64.

<sup>821</sup> From Garrett, *A Discourse Concerning Antichrist*, pp. 365–66. See Rev. 13:10.

*the Lamb*; to repræsent the Person of CHRIST, & bear His Office on Earth, by an Authority derived from Him.<sup>822</sup>

He came up, *out of the Earth*. Which our *Garret* saies, is the Church of *Rome*. I would rather say, The *Earth* is in the Prophecies an Hieroglyphic, for a corrupt, wicked, *earthly-minded Clergy*. And there is a vast reason in the Emblem; very much of Elegance and Pungency. Now, tis most Sensible to all the World, that the *Pope* arose out of such a *Clergy*. But tho' he have *Horns*, like those of the *Lamb*, he ha's not such a *Mouth*; he *speaks like a Dragon*; he enacts Idolatrous Constitutions, & pursues them with Violence, as the *Dragon* did before him.

[The *ecclesiastical Power* of this *Beast*, is notably described unto us. *He does great Wonders, so that he makes Fire come down from Heaven on the Earth, in the Sight of Men.*<sup>823</sup> [74v]

The *Popes Excommunications* are here sett forth. *Wonderful Things* they are! The greatest Witt in the World, could not have expressed the Matter, with a more significant *Allegory*. *Erasmus*, a great Master of Eloquence, (who yett had nothing of the *Apocalypse* in his Eye,) having Occasion to represent a *Person excommunicated* by the *Pope*, could not think of a better, or a neater Metaphor, than, *Fire from Heaven*.<sup>824</sup> And because the Matter appeared unto him so *Natural*, he dwells upon it, for a long While together. It is to be found in his *Dialogue*, entituled, *Inquisitio de Fide*; at the Beginning. If there be any Passage in Scripture, to which this *Making Fire to come down from Heaven*, can have Relation, it seems to be that of *Elias*; [2. King. 1.10.] And that of *James* and *John*: [Luk. 9.54.] who with a *Zeal* pretending to be like that of *Elias*, would have *commanded Fire to come down from Heaven, & consume* the Adversaries. When the *Pope* Thunders out his *Bulls*, of *Excommunication* against his Adversaries, & in the Cause of Religion too, he putts on a *Zeal*, which he would have to be thought, like that of *Elias*, and of *James* and *John*, those two *Sons of Thunder*. *Fire from Heaven*, is as much as to say, *Thunder & Lightning*. When the *Pope* is Angry, he would bring down real *Fire from Heaven*, if he could; but wanting Power for that, he must be content with *metaphorical*.<sup>825</sup>

This is the *first* of his *Wonders*. There is a *second*. That is, *To make an Image of the Beast, and give Life unto the Image of the Beast, that the Image of the Beast, should both speak & cause, that as many as would not worship the Image of the Beast, should be killed*. This is called, *A Miracle*; because tis indeed a most

<sup>822</sup> From Garrett, *A Discourse Concerning Antichrist*, pp. 371–76.

<sup>823</sup> Most of this paragraph is Mather's own commentary. The rest comes from Garrett, *A Discourse Concerning Antichrist*, p. 373.

<sup>824</sup> A reference to Erasmus's colloquy *Inquisitio in fide* (1524), lines 7–8, where papal anathemas are compared to sulphurous-smelling thunderbolts from heaven. See the edition, *Inquisitio de fide: A Colloquy by Desiderius Erasmus Rotterdam* (1950), p. 55.

<sup>825</sup> From Garrett, *A Discourse Concerning Antichrist*, pp. 391–98.

wonderful Thing! The *Miracle* is this; The *Pope* had so much influence, both on Church and State, that he could make *Another Roman Emperour*. The former *Miracle* he did in the *Sight of Men* in general: This he does in the *Sight of the Beast*, (or, of the Kings before described,) that he might gain himself the great Honour and Reverence, and Observance from them. He saies to the Church of *Rome*, That *they should make an Image to the Beast, that had the Wound by a Sword, and did live*. That *Beast* was; the *Beast* under the *Sixth Head*, namely that of the *Roman Emperours*; which recovered of its *Deadly Wound*, by the rising of the *Seventh Head*. An Order unto the *Inhabiters of the Earth*, to make an *Image* of this *Beast*, amounts to thus much; That the Bishop of *Rome*, gave Order unto the Church of *Rome*, to chuse another *Roman Emperour*, that should maintain the *Romish* Superstition, & persecute all the Opposers of it, in like Manner as the *Heathen Emperours* had patronized the Religion of old *Heathen Rome*. Now, the Bishop of *Rome* ha's not wherewithal, to make this *New Elected Emperour*, as considerable as the *Old*, nor was there any Person to be chosen, that for the Vastness of his Power, & Empire, could any Wayes deserve the Name of *Roman Emperour*; If our *Garret*, had consulted the *Antiquitates Biblicæ*, of *Dietericus*, or considered *Freherus's* Commentaries, he might have seen an exact Calculation, which made the *German Empire*, some Years ago, when it was much bigger than it is now, but yett will be called, *The Roman Empire*, to be scarce a *Fortieth Part* as big as the old *Roman Empire*.<sup>826</sup> Therefore this *New Roman Emperour* is called here, an *Image* of the *Old*; setting up *Idolatry*, and *persecuting* the Servants of God, like the *Old*; and adorned with the glorious *Titles, Banner, Crown, and Robe*, of the *Old*; saluted *Roman Emperour, Cæsar* and *Augustus*; But yett if we look upon the *Thing*, wherein the *Greatness* of the *Old Roman Emperours* consisted, the *New* one of the *Popes* creating, is nothing better than an *Image* or a *Shadow* of them.<sup>827</sup>

It is remarkable, That this very Expression has dropt unawares, from several Persons, who had no Manner of Respect at all unto the Prophecy now before us. *Aventinus* relates these Words of *Everhardus. Romani Majestas Populi, quâ olim Orbis regebatur, Sublata est è terris; Imperator VANA Appelatio est, et Sola UMBRA*

<sup>826</sup> A reference to Johann Conrad Dieterich (1612–1669), *Antiquitates biblicæ* ([1641] 1671), p. 708. Dieterich was a professor of Greek and history at the University of Giessen. From Dieterich, Mather refers to the work of the Heidelberg jurist, historian, and diplomat Marquard Freher (1565–1614), *De Imperio Romano, regis et Augusti creatione, inauguratione, administratione: officio & potestate electorum, aliisque Imperii partibus, juribus, ritibus & ceremoniis* (1612), p. 204, where Freher comments on cap. 18. *De Imperio Romani* was an annotated edition of a manuscript by Peter von Andlau (c. 1420–1480) titled “*Libellus de Cesarea Maiestate*,” which is considered the first systematic exposition of the constitutional law of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation.

<sup>827</sup> From Garrett, *A Discourse Concerning Antichrist*, pp. 398–404.

est.<sup>828</sup> | And Salmeron the Jesuite, who can be thought no Party in this Interpretation of the *Image of the Beast*, ha's these Words; *Imperium Romanum jamdiu eversum est; nam qui nunc est Imperator Romanus levissima est UMBRA Imperii Antiqui; usque adeo ut ne quidem Urbem Romæ possideat, et iam per multos annos, Romani Imperatores defecerunt.*<sup>829</sup> Well; but the Making of such a *Roman Emperour*, by the Bishop of *Rome*, who has no greater honour than that of being Successor to *St. Peter*, who never pretended unto any worldly Dignity above a *Fisherman*, may well be esteemed a *wonderful Thing*. Do not *wonder* then, that it is prophetically represented as a *Miracle*.<sup>830</sup> [75r]

We will pass on to the *Subjects*, which this *Beast* has in his *ecclesiastical Kingdome*. We read, *He causeth all, to receive a Mark in their Right Hand, or in their Foreheads; And that no Man might buy or sell, but he that had the Mark, or the Name of the Beast, or the Number of his Name*. It was an ancient Custome among the *Romans*, to sett a *Mark* upon their *Servants* & their *Souldiers*, that it might be known, unto whom they belonged. The *Servants* usually received this *Mark* in their *Foreheads*, and the *Souldiers*, in their *Hands*. To this Custome here is a manifest Allusion. And so there is, in the *Mark* on the selected Company of the *Lamb*: [Rev. 7.3.] The *Christian Churches* planted by the *Twelve Apostles*, are there called, the *Twelve Tribes of Israel*. The Number *Twelve* is there used; not only because of the *Number* of the *Apostles*, but because on many other Accounts, tis the *peculiar Number of the Lamb*; it shines illustriously, in the Things that belong unto Him. And accordingly we shall have the *Number of the Beast* also presently specified.<sup>831</sup>

The *Name of the Beast*, tho' *Bellarmino* pleases himself, that *Antichrist* is not yett come, because his *Name* is yett undiscovered;<sup>832</sup> it is evidently written on his *Forehead*: [see Rev. 17.5.] A *Name* of, plain IDOLATRY.<sup>833</sup>

His *Mark*; our *Garret* thinks, may be the same with his *Name*; As much as to say, *marked with his Name*. [Compare, Rev. 14.9, 11.] The *Laity* may be esteem'd the *Servants* of the *Beast*; who are *marked* in their *Foreheads*; The *Clergy* may be esteem'd the *Souldiers* of the *Beast*; and are *marked* in their *Hands*.

828 The majesty of the Roman people, by which the earth once was ruled, has been wiped from the earth. 'Emperor' is an empty title, and it is a shadow only." Mather refers to the work of Johann Georg Turmair, *Annalivm Boiorum Libri Septem* (1554), pp. 684–85.

829 "The Roman Empire has been overthrown for a long time. Indeed, the person who now is Roman Emperor represents the faintest shadow of the old empire – to such an extent that he does not even possess the city of Rome; and already for many years, the Roman Emperors have been in decline." Reference is made to commentary on 2 Thess. 2 by the Spanish Jesuit scholar and biblical exegete, Alfonso Salmeron (1515–1585), in his *Commentarii in Evangelicam Historiam, Disputationum in Epistolas Diui Pauli tombs Tertius* (1615), p. 387.

830 From Garrett, *A Discourse Concerning Antichrist*, pp. 402–07.

831 From Garrett, *A Discourse Concerning Antichrist*, pp. 409–12.

832 Another reference to Bellarmine, *De Romano Pontifice*, lib. 3, cap. 3–9, in *Disputationes de Controversiis*, cols. 708–25, where it is argued that the Antichrist has not yet come.

833 From Garrett, *A Discourse Concerning Antichrist*, pp. 414–16.



They that have the *Number of his Name*, are such as hold with *Rome* in her *Idolatry*, and derive the Original of their *Superstition* from her; *Churches* that have a *False-Worship* in them.<sup>834</sup>

The *Beast* interdicts Commerce to all but these. What an admirable Exposition on this Prophecy, have we, in that *Canon* of the *Lateran Council*, against the *Waldenses* and *Albigenses*, held under Pope *Alexander*! [Tom. 4. Concil. Edit. Rom. p. 37.]<sup>835</sup> Prohibiting under the Penalty of an *Anathema*; *Ne quis eos in domo vel in terrâ suâ tenere vel fovere, vel NEGOTIATIONEM cum ijs exercere præsumat*. And another Synod in *France*, [*Usser. de Succel. Eccles.* p. 239.] forbides, *Ne ubi cogniti fuerint illius Hæreseos sectatores, receptaculum quisquam eis in terrâ suâ præbere, aut præsidium impertiri præsumat; sed nec in VENDITIONE et EMPTIONE aliqua cum ijs Communio habeatur*.<sup>836</sup>

But what is this *Number*? We are told, It is the *Number of a Man*. Tis not a *seraphic Number*, which possibly *Men* could not count; but such a *Number* as is used by *Man*, & such as *Men* are wont to count. Now, if you give an Arithmetician a *single Number* to count, he ha's no Way of counting it, but by extracting the *Root* of it. And if no *Root* be mentioned, the *square Root* is alwayes intended. The Number here assigned is *six hundred sixty six*. The *square Root* of it, is, *Twenty five*.<sup>837</sup>

The Number *Twenty five* in the *Kingdome* of the *Beast*, is answerable to the Number *Twelve*, in the *Kingdome* of the *Lamb*. And for this Matter, our *Garret* wholly leaves us to Dr. *Potters* entire Treatise on the Number, 666.<sup>838</sup> He saies, In his Opinion, *Tis not only a substantial, but a wonderful Account* of it. We have given it in another *Illustration*.<sup>839</sup>

[75v] And now, Tis not easy to reflect without Astonishment, on the *Prophecy* so explained | unto us; A Prophecy, which we have seen so surprizingly fulfilled,

<sup>834</sup> From Garrett, *A Discourse Concerning Antichrist*, pp. 417–18.

<sup>835</sup> “So that no one may presume to keep them or foster them in their house or on their land, or to conduct trade with them.” From Garrett, Mather cites *Conciliorum generalium Ecclesiae Catholicae tomus quartus Pauli V. Pont. Max. auctoritate editus*, vol. 4 (1612), “Concilii Lateranensis Generalis sub Alexandro III,” cap. 27, p. 33.

<sup>836</sup> “So that no one – as soon as the followers of that heresy have been recognized – may presume to give them shelter on their land or grant them protection. But no one may have any kind of community with them, even in selling and buying [things].” From Garrett, *A Discourse Concerning Antichrist*, pp. 419–20, Mather cites James Ussher, *Gravissimae quaestionis, de christianarum ecclesiarum, in Occidentis praesertim partibus, ab Apostolorum temporibus, ad nostram usque aetatem, continua successione et statu, historica explicatio* ([1613] 1658), cap. 8, sectio 31, p. 292.

<sup>837</sup> From Garrett, *A Discourse Concerning Antichrist*, pp. 420–21.

<sup>838</sup> From Garrett, Mather again references the work of Francis Potter, *An Interpretation of the Number 666* (1642). Mather also draws on this tract in his own explications of the “Number of the Beast” (see above Rev. 13:18).

<sup>839</sup> From Garrett, *A Discourse Concerning Antichrist*, pp. 421–23.

that there now remains nothing, but a continual Expectation & Præparation, for the *Final Stroke*, which is to destroy the *Romish Antichrist*.<sup>840</sup>

The Explication of the Prophecy before us, is carried on with such Incontestable Demonstration, and with so much of a charming Harmony and Evidence, that the *wretched Work* made with the *Apocalypse*, by such Writers as *Hammond* and *Baxter* cannot be enough exploded.<sup>841</sup> The *Indisposition* of the one, & the *Inability* of the other, to find the great *Antichrist* in *Papal Rome*, is the just Scandal and Wonder of the Protestant World.

There is one Discovery in our foregoing *Hypothesis*, which well prosecuted, would suggest many vehement Suspicions unto us, about some great Events to be look'd for. Tis that, of the present *German Empire*, being the *Image of the Beast*.<sup>842</sup> If it be indeed so; one would imagine these two things at least: First; That it is a vain Thing ever to look for a Protestant Emperour of *Germany*. Secondly, That the Empire must more and more go down the Wind, and cannot be far from a wondrous Revolution and Desolation.

Indeed, I find others beside, and long before, our *Garret*, who have advanced this very probable Explication of, *The Image of the Beast*. Among the rest, I find it observed as long ago, as when old *Bullinger* preached his, *Hundred Sermons on the Apocalypse*.<sup>843</sup> In the *sixtieth Sermon*, you have the Matter handled, with more Perspicuitie, than at that time of Day could have been imagined. The Discourse is too large to be transcribed, but well worthy to be perused.

<sup>840</sup> The final paragraph seems to contain Mather's own conclusions.

<sup>841</sup> Following Grotius, Hammond embraced a preterist interpretation of the Antichrist as the pagan emperors (esp. Domitian) persecuting the early Christians (see above). Much more painful to Mather was the fact that Richard Baxter, who was a friend of the family and much admired by him, came to the conclusion that the Antichrist mentioned in several of the NT epistles was probably not the same as the "beast," "false prophet," or "whore" of Revelation and that the Pope could not with certainty be identified with the Antichrist. Hence, Baxter regarded the true identities of these prophetic figures as unsolved mysteries of Scripture. He advised Protestants to abstain from indiscriminately calling Roman Catholics Antichristian. See the preface of his *A paraphrase on the New Testament, with notes doctrinal and practical* (1695); as well as his *Catholick Theologie: Plain, Pure, and Peaceable* (1675), p. 293.

<sup>842</sup> Here Mather follows a hint from Paganus, *A Genuine Explication*, p. 359.

<sup>843</sup> Reference is made to the sermons on Revelation preached by Heinrich Bullinger between 1554 and 1556 and first published in Latin in 1557. Soon, translations into various vernacular languages appeared, including an English translation, *Hundred Sermons on the Apocalypse* (1561), which proved very popular and went through multiple editions. Sermon 60 deals with the "Signes of Antichrist and Image of the Beast" (pp. 396–421), where the Antichrist is identified as the Pope, the old Roman Empire as the Beast, and the German Empire as the "Image of the Beast."

That Notable Thought, which we have advanced; That the *Image of the Beast*, which is to be made by the *Romanists*, is the *German Emperour*; have we any others to countenance it? Yes truly; And among the rest, the learned and pious *Peganius*. His Words are; “Tis, That they should chuse again a *Roman Emperour*, who yett, in respect of the former, was to be counted an *Image* and *Shadow*; as carrying very little more than the meer Name and Title of a *Roman Emperour*, and little or no Command over *Rome*, itself, and those other large Countreyes, which heretofore belonged to the *Roman Empire*: As indeed was verified in the time, of *Charles* the Great, and is notorious to our very Times. So that this *Image* is the *German Empire*.”<sup>845</sup>

Unto this Objection; That the *German Empire*, had been reckoned one of the *Horns* of the *Beast*, and therefore is not so agreeably to be reckon’d, the *Image* of the *Beast*: My *Peganius* answers; That the *German Empire* was not counted among the *Horns*, as the *Empire*, but as the *Kingdome* of the *Germans*; which is justly to be distinguished from the *Empire*, and anciently had a peculiar *Crown* and *Coronation*; as well as the *Kingdome* of *Italy*; and was after the Times of *Charles* the Great, possessed and governed by *Kings*, that yett were not *Emperours*.<sup>846</sup>

Our *Peganius* is full in it, That the *Seventh Dynasty* of the *Roman Empire*, or the *Beast*, with the Power of the *Seventh Head*, was come into the Succession, about the Year 450. But my Patience will not serve me, to concur with him, in proroguing the Beginning of the 1260 Years for the Reign of the *Beast*, until the Year, 607, when *Boniface* took to himself the Honour of the *Oecumencial Episcopacy*; or the Year, 600, when *Gregory* the Great was in the Chair. So it seems, we must languish on till the Year, 1860; No; we have other Assurances!<sup>847</sup>

His Division of the *Ten Kingdomes* under the Jurisdiction of the *Ten-Horn’d Beast*, he takes, from the Year, 456. And he makes it after this Manner. I. The *Britains*. II. The *Saxons*. III. The *Franks*. IV. The *Burgundians*. V. The *Westrogoths*. VI. The *Suevians* and *Alans*. VII. The *Vandals*. VIII. The *Allemands*. IX. The *Ostrogoths*. X. The *Grecians*.<sup>848</sup>

<sup>844</sup> Mather seems to have added this subtitle later, canceling the chapter title “Revelation. Cap. 17” and “Q.”

<sup>845</sup> See *Peganius, A Genuine Explication*, p. 185.

<sup>846</sup> See *Peganius, A Genuine Explication*, pp. 359–60.

<sup>847</sup> See *Peganius, A Genuine Explication*, p. 175. On *Gregory* the Great, see the annotations at Rev. 9:1.

<sup>848</sup> From *Peganius, A Genuine Explication*, pp. 145–46.

But then our *Peganius* ha's obliged us, with a notable Account of the admirable Care which ha's been express'd by the Providence of Heaven, to keep up the Division of the *Papal Empire* all along, into *Ten Kingdoms*, from the Beginning; by substituting another Kingdom, immediately into the room of any one that ha's failed, in the Number. This is a most wonderful and surprising Matter, and it calls for a great Attention!

The Kingdom of the *Britains* failed, not long after the Year 547. But behold, the Kingdom of the *Scots* about that very time, appearing in a Condition, to pass for one of the *Ten Horns*. And when that *Kingdom*, fell off from the *Romish Beleaf*; the Kingdom of *Hungary* will come in for a Substitute.

The *Saxon* Kingdom changed its Name, about the Year 806. and was called, The Kingdom of *England*. This Kingdom ceasing to be *Romish*, behold, the Kingdom of *Portugal* substituted!

The *Burgundian* Kingdom ceased about the Year 526. Well, but about 515, sprung up the Kingdom of *Austrasia*, or *Westrasia*; and lasted until, 678. Thereupon succeeded, 724, the *Arragonian*, which under the Name of *Spain* continues to this day.

The Kingdom of the *West-Goths* is found, until the Year 1475. After this time, the Kingdom of *Sueden* comes in the Stead thereof. But that ceasing to be *Romish*, we have the Kingdom of the *Germans* to answer for it.

The Kingdom of the *Suevians* and *Alans* indeed ceased about the Year, 584. But a New *Burgundian* Kingdom came in; which stood until, 1031. After the Ceasing of that, we have the *Polonian* Kingdom appearing to fill up the room.

The Kingdom of the *Vandals* came to an End, about the Year 534. But about this time rose the Kingdom of *Orleans*; which lasted until 597. And after the Decay of that, you may reckon the *Muscovitic* Empire, for one of our *Ten*.

The Kingdom of the *Allemands* failed about the Year, 491. In the mean while, the *Langobards* grew powerful; and kept so, till | the Year, 774. In the Place of them, we then have the Kingdom of *Denmark*. But because that Kingdom continues *Romish* no longer, lett us call in the Commonwealth of *Venice* to supply the Place of it; if you think it necessary. [76v]

The Kingdom of the *Ostrogoths* lasted, until 554. You may reckon the Succession unto them, to fall unto the Kingdom of *Soissons*; until 631. And then the Kingdom of *Italy*, until, 973. In the Place of which arose the Kingdom of *Bohemia*.

The Kingdom of the *Greeks* lasted until 1453. In the mean time, about the Year, 1129, came up the Kingdom of both *Sicilies*.<sup>849</sup>

Tho' this be but a Rough-Draught, yett that is enough to answer the Intention of Historical Prophecies.

849 From Peganius, *A Genuine Explication*, pp. 334–36.

Our excellent *Peganius* having thus obliged us, we know not how to part with him, till we have entertained ourselves with more of his *Apocalyptical* Communications. Tis true, we have here and there lodg'd some Number of his Rich and Rare Thoughts, in the more proper Places for them. Nevertheless, there are Two Subjects, which he does a little more largely consider; and which we will chuse here to converse with him upon; because while his Name is yett sweet, unto us, we will gett as much from him, as we have Occasion for.

The first Subject, on which we will hear the Thoughts of our *Peganius*, may be that of the Blessed *Millennium*.

He thinks, That since the *Second Resurrection*, is to be understood *literally*, there is all the Reason in the World, that the *First Resurrection* should be so too. And that, as at the Time, when our Lord was to enter upon the *First Essay* of His Kingdome, there were many who *Rose from the Dead*, so at His Entrance on the *Second Essay* of it, when the Kingdome of *Antichrist* comes to an End, there will also be a *Resurrection*. But he thinks, This *Resurrection* will be peculiar unto *Martyrs*. And these now, shall be *Priests of God, & of Christ*; namely in the Heavenly Tabernacle. These Children of the *First Resurrection* will not ordinarily appear to the People on Earth. Yett, as those who Rose with our Saviour did *appear* unto *many*; so there may now happen many such Appearances; for the Conviction and Conversion of the Infidel World.<sup>850</sup>

These Thoughts of my *Peganius*, are so near the Truth of the Matter, that I thought it not amiss to mention them. Only I must signify my Apprehensions, that they are *Defective*; and the Defect is to be supplied, from the Distinction between the *New Heavens*, and the *New Earth*, and the *Relation* which they bear to each other; whereof we shall elsewhere give you a fuller Account.<sup>851</sup>

In the mean time, we will propose what *Peganius* apprehends of the *New Jerusalem*. And if the *Church on Earth*, in this Time, do *Allegorically* answer the Description here given of the *New Jerusalem*, it will no wayes interfere with the admirable Characters then found in the *Heavenly City of God*, which will from the *Earth* under the Influences thereof receive such a Reflection.<sup>852</sup> *Peganius* then thinks, That under the Figure of *Jerusalem* (which now may be Rebuilt better than ever it was,) we have here the *Christian Church*, in the State of the *Divine Life*, wherein true *Peace* is to be found, and *Christians* have their Souls beautified with such *Graces*, as our glorious CHRIST, the *Bridegroom* of His Church, ha's expected in us.

At this Time, the *Shechinah* will visit the World, with more Splendor than in the Ancient Generations, which is the Meaning of, *The Tabernacle of God with*

<sup>850</sup> From *Peganius, A Genuine Explication*, pp. 259–60.

<sup>851</sup> Here Mather points forward to his explications on the New Heavens and the New Earth below as well as in his commentary on Rev. 20.

<sup>852</sup> From *Peganius, A Genuine Explication*, p. 261.

*Men.* Christians also will no more Dy an untimely Death; but after a long Life, by a sleight Change, be translated into everlasting Life.<sup>853</sup>

The *Glory of God* shall now make the *Light* of the Church, like that of a *Jasper-Stone*. The *Jasper* is a firm *Stone*, and has its Name in the Hebrew, from, *Resisting the Hammer*. Thus God, with His Glory, will remain *Firm* with His Church; and that, *clear as Chrystal*, that is, uniformly; as the *Chrystal* hath an uniform Transparency.

*The Wall Great and High.* Christian Rulers, will by their Piety be exalted above others; and surround the Church, Defending and Protecting of it.

It has *Twelve Gates*. The *Gates* were the Places, where Assemblies were held of old, and Justice was administred. The *Congregations* of the Saints, (in which, *Baptism* | , the Sacrament of Admission, is administred) will be constituted according to the Doctrine of the *Twelve Apostles*. [77r]

There are *Twelve Angels* at them. The *Pastors* of the Church are to be such; & to be conformed also unto the Doctrine and Practice of the *Twelve Apostles*.

The *Names* of the *Twelve Tribes of the Children of Israel* be written thereon. All that belong to the Holy Assemblies, are Children of the Covenant, which God made with the Patriarchs. And the *Old Testament* as well as the *New*, is considered in them.

There are *Three Gates* on each of the *Four Cardinal Points* of the Compass. God will call People to enter His Church, from all Parts of the World.

The *Wall of the City* has *Twelve Foundations*, and in them the *Names* of the *Twelve Apostles of the Lamb*. The Rulers will conform themselves to a glorious *Christ*, who is the only *Foundation*; but laid by the *Twelve Apostles*.

The *City* is *measured with a golden Reed*. That *golden Reed* is the *Word* of God. All in the *City* is to be conformed unto it!

*The City lies foursquare, and the Length is as large as the Breadth*. A Figure signifying Perfection and Righteousness. But it intimates, that this Holy Church will enlarge herself, as long as she lasts.

*Twelve thousand Furlongs; the Length & Breadth & Heighth of it, æqual*: The *cubical Measure* implies an immutable Constancy; and an Uniformity not in Dignity, but in Piety. The great *Heighth*, speaks a very Heavenly Conversation in the Christians.<sup>854</sup>

*The Wall, 144 Cubits according to the Measure of a Man, that is, of the Angel*. The *Cubits* are to be reckoned, after the bigness of a *Cubit* in the Stature of a *Man*; which the *Angel* had. The Life of the *Rulers* will exactly agree, with the Word of the *Twelve Apostles*.

*The Building of the Wall, Jasper*. The Rulers will be Invincible *Hero's*.

<sup>853</sup> From Peganius, *A Genuine Explication*, pp. 267–68.

<sup>854</sup> From Peganius, *A Genuine Explication*, pp. 271–75.

The *City pure Gold*, but *like unto clear Glass*. The Christians full of the purest Love. But of a Transparent Integrity, so that they may see each others Hearts.

*The Foundations of the Wall, garnished with all Manner of precious Stones.* Each Foundation, or main Pillar in the Wall of the City; (such as were also in the high Fundamental Walls of the Temple, called *Erysmata*, by the Ancients,) had a peculiar Capital Stone; surrounded by many others. It imports, the Vertues of the Rulers and Christians, which from the Word of God quickening of them, shine forth like Bright Jewels, & adorn the whole Christian World. The first Foundation is of *Jasper*. That signifies; an Invincibleness in Temptations.

Most of the Names of these *Precious Stones*, occur in Ezek. 28.13. and Exod. 28.17. & 39.10.<sup>855</sup>

The *Sapphire*; there seems to be much of *Heavenliness* intended in it.<sup>856</sup>

The *Chalcedony*, [or *Carbuncle*; Exod. 28.18.] whereof *Pliny* writes much; it has its Name from Glowing and Burning, and it notes a *Burning Zeal* for the Honour of a glorious *Christ*, which then shall flame in the Church of God.<sup>857</sup>

The *Emerald*, is of a pleasant *green*, and makes that *green* which is next unto it. It may note the Kindness of a pleasing and useful Conversation, whereby others may be edified.

The *Sardonyx* has a Threefold Colour; *black* below; *white* in the Middle, *red* above. It expresses the whole Condition of a Regenerate Soul. The *lowest* and *lusting* Part, is Dark and Dead: The Middle, or *Irascible* Part is white, pure, innocent; no more fiery & bloodthirsty; the Supreme, and *Rational*, flames, & looks Red, with a flaming Desire to come unto God.

The *Sardius*, as *Pliny* saies, is most proper and usual for to have a Seal in it. It may intimate the Pains used by Christians to have the *Image of Christ* upon them.<sup>858</sup>

The *Chrysolite*, a golden-coloured Stone; it may signify the Christian Love, which is deservedly compared unto *Gold*.

The *Beryl*, a Stone of a *Sea-green* Colour, must, as *Pliny* writes, be ground *six-angled*, before it is what it should be. It may signify, the taming and wearing, of that which may be compared unto the *Sea*, in the Soul; that is, the *Lusts* of Men; which will then be remarkably conquered.<sup>859</sup>

<sup>855</sup> From Peganius, *A Genuine Explication*, pp. 275–77.

<sup>856</sup> Not from Peganius.

<sup>857</sup> From Peganius, *A Genuine Explication*, p. 277, a reference to Pliny, *Natural History*, 37.103, 109; see LCL 419, pp. 247, 319.

<sup>858</sup> From Peganius, *A Genuine Explication*, pp. 277–78, another reference to Pliny, *Natural History*, 37.31; LCL 419, pp. 249–51.

<sup>859</sup> From Peganius, *A Genuine Explication*, p. 278, a further reference to Pliny, *Natural History*, 37.20; LCL 419, pp. 224–25.

The *Topaz*; in the Language of the *Troglodytes*, in whose Island, *Topasios*, tis found; signifies, *To seek*. It may intimate the vehement Desires of Illuminated Souls, to search into divine Mysteries.

The *Chrysopras*, a Stone, which in the Cutt resembles *green Leek*, yett having something of a goldish Colour with it, exhibits a stern Severity, yett mixed with Love; A Temper, that is rarely found in our Dayes!

The *Hyacinth*, a light-blewish Stone, or of a Sky-Colour; may signify the perpetual Serenity of the Understanding; not overcast by any Clouds of Troubles.

The *Amethyst*, the very Name of it carries a Signification of *Sobriety*.

The *Twelve Gates of Pearl*, and *every Gate of one Pearl*, intimate, | that the [77v] Christian Congregations, will be eminent for Purity and Chastity. And as true *Pearls* retain with a peculiar Brightness, the Mark of the Water, in which they were produced; so shall the Christians every where manifest the Marks of their Holy *Baptism*. And whereas, *one Gate* was but *one Pearl* bored through, it may signify the sincere Unity by the Spirit of Christians congregated, in the *Bond of Peace*. The boring through, notes that the Door shall stand alwayes open.

The *Street of the City is pure Gold, as it were transparent Glass*. The *Street*, means the *Market-Place*; [Rev. 22.2. 2.Chron. 32.6. Job. 29.7.] where the affairs, of Trade bring together a Concourse of People. The Meaning of this may be, that all Contracts in Trade, and all other things that use to be transacted in Market-Places, will be managed with Brotherly Love; And every one shall then be so open-hearted, & upright & sincere, like *Transparent Glass*, that there shall be no Fraud nor Falseness found in them.<sup>860</sup>

No Temple there; But the *Lord God Almighty*, & the *Lamb*, are the *Temple of it*. No Houses, where speedier Grants of Prayers, to be look'd for; But the Place of Hearing & Propitiation, is God in Christ alone.

The *City* ha's *no Need of Sun; or Moon*; for the Distinction of *unmoveable* and *moveable Feasts*. They shall cease; and the Beleevers Illuminated of God and Christ, shall adhære to God and serve him.

The Church will be divided into many People; and many *Princes* will then lead a Christian & Pious Life.<sup>861</sup>

The *Tree of Life*; bearing *Twelve Manner of Fruits*, yeelds her Fruit every Month; and the Leaves of the Tree are for the Healing of the Nations. Philo explains the *Tree of Life*, and makes *Godliness* to be the *Antitype*; *Godliness*, by which a Man makes it his Business to do the Will of God, & not his own. This *Godliness* will now be conspicuous; watered by the River of the Holy Spirit. Men shall see the good Works of it, and glorify God. It shall bear continually, all the Year long, a Variety of good Fruits, according to the Doctrine of the *Twelve Apostles*. Even

<sup>860</sup> From Peganius, *A Genuine Explication*, pp. 278–80.

<sup>861</sup> From Peganius, *A Genuine Explication*, pp. 280–81.



the *Leaves* of civil Conversation, will be then so excellent, as to produce the Conversation and Imitation of others.<sup>862</sup>

*And there shall be no more Curse.* There shall be no Occasion for the ecclesiastical Punishment of *Excommunication* to be practised, upon the Impenitent.

And in fine, the Divine *Shechinah* shall be present more illustriously, than ever it was on the *Mosaic Mercy-Seat*.<sup>863</sup>

And thus much for that noble Subject. But then there is another Subject of deep Contemplation proposed by our *Peganius*. I shall offer you his *Thoughts* upon it, but I shall not always keep to his *Words*; nor will I deny myself the Liberty of bestowing some Cultivation upon his Notion; tho' because I am obliged unto him, for the foundation of the *Essay* upon it, I am content that the *Essay* itself be ascribed unto him as the Author of it.<sup>864</sup>

Briefly thus; The Apostle *John* ha's a Representation of things in Heaven, which in the main Strokes of it, seems allusive to what was in the *Tabernacle of Moses*, and the *Temple of Solomon*. One would now enquire, whether the Things whereof the Prophet had a Vision, were only produced as a transient Allusion to what was in the *Tabernacle* & the *Temple*, or, whether we should not rather look on what was in the *Tabernacle*, & the *Temple*, as a Copy or Transcript of what is existent, & this not only with *Reality*, but even with *Materiality*, in the Heavenly World? There is very much, to favour the latter Opinion. For, the Divine Being, as to His *Presence* is *Infinite*. On the contrary, the most noble and sublime *Creature*, ha's but a *limited Space*. His *Greatness* is *unsearchable*, and the greatest *Creature* is unto Him, as a *Drop of the Bucket*, as the *small Dust of the Balance*, and is *as nothing before Him*.

The Divine Essence is also altogether *Incorporeal*, and *Invisible*; and utterly *Incomprehensible* by any *Creature*. How can what is *Finite*, comprehend what is *Infinite*?

Wherefore, the great God in the Communicating of Himself to the *Eye*, and the *Love* of any *Finite* Understanding, makes not the Communication, in the Way of meer *Intuition*, for no *Creature* can arise to *That*; nor does He make it by a meer *Intellectual Apprehension*; for *That* cannot be made without an *Idea*. But He makes it by the Means of a certain *Oeconomy*, as the Ancients call it; a voluntary Representation and Exhibition; which may be called, The Divine *Shechinah*, or, Cohabitation.

<sup>862</sup> From Peganius, *A Genuine Explication*, pp. 283–84, a reference to Philo of Alexandria, *Allegorical Interpretation of Genesis*, 1.59; see LCL 226, p. 185.

<sup>863</sup> From Peganius, *A Genuine Explication*, p. 284.

<sup>864</sup> In the following, Mather develops his thoughts on the basis of Peganius, *A Genuine Explication*, pp. 34–36.

The great GOD, in this most gracious *Dispensation*, condescends unto the *Creatures*, unto whom He will communicate Himself; They cannot otherwise Dispose or Conform themselves unto His Incomprehensible Majesty.

This Revelation must be *local*, | and be made in a certain *Place*; because [78r] no Creature can be every where. And it must also be made in a most excellent *Order*: for we serve a *God of Order*.

It followes, that the most magnificent *Communication* of GOD, must be in the most Excellent and Illustrious *Place*. Now *Creatures*, as they cannot live out of the World, which is replenished with *Matter*, so neither can they live out of *Matter*. The *Place* therefore for this *Communication* must be, where the most Noble and Sublime *Creatures*, find the noblest and purest *Matter*. This *Place* is in the *Heavens*; and no doubt in that Part of the *Heavens*, where the best Part of that rare *Matter* is to be mett withal.<sup>865</sup>

Whence our Saviour, when He pray'd, He *look'd up to Heaven*.

His Delight in *Mountains*, might be partly, from a Tendency thither.

At Length, He visibly Ascended thither.

The Apostle exhorts us, [Col. 3.1.] To *mind the things that are Above*.

The Name of GOD, is, The *God of Heaven*, and, *Our Father which is in the Heavens*: Because He does there make His *Manifestation* of Himself, unto the Best of His *Creatures*.

This *Revelation* of God we may be sure, is attended with a great Majesty on His Part, and with a great Humility on the Part of the *Creatures*, who are admitted unto the Beholding of it; and an incomparably well-ordered Service.

From all these Positions, a Person might at last very probably Infer and Affirm, That the *Form of the Revelation of God in Glory*, and the well-regulated *Service* attending thereupon, is not unlike to what was discovered unto *John*, in the Visions that were granted him.

*John* wrote unto Christians converted, out of *Heathenism*, as well as out of *Judaism*; and the *Idea* of what was in the Jewish *Tabernacle* and *Temple*, would have been, perhaps too great a Respect upon those Images, which were now to be laid aside, if there had not been some Heavenly Intention in them.

Yea, the Apostle *Paul*, (one sometimes rapt up into *Heaven*,) expressly informs us concerning the Things in the Jewish *Tabernacle* and *Temple*; Heb. 9.23, 24. They were the *PATTERNS of Things in the Heavens*: And the *Holy Places* in these, were *FIGURES of the TRUE*. *Moses* devised not his *Tabernacle*, of his own Head; but before he *made* it, he *saw* it, on the Mountain; and saw just the same that is here seen by the Apostle *John*; and he was to form all *According to the Pattern in the Mount*. *Moses* did not then see a *Matter Newly Figured*, but something *Usually* found there. Thus the Apostle *Paul* testifies; Heb. 8.3. *Those that offer Gifts according to the Law, serve unto the EXEMPLE and SHADOW*

<sup>865</sup> For the next paragraphs, compare Peganius, *A Genuine Explication*, pp. 36–40.

of the HEAVENLY Things; as Moses was admonished, of God, when he was about to make the Tabernacle. For see (saith He) that thou make all things according to the Pattern shewed to thee in the Mount. What can be better understood by HEAVENLY THINGS, than the Form of the Divine Dispensation and Revelation in Heaven? The Ancient Jewes observed such a thing. In the Talmuds, they tell us, of the Tabernacle erected for Metatron in Heaven, which was answered by that on Earth. They tell us, That the Figures of the Tabernacle, were given us, that from them we might apprehend Heavenly Verities.<sup>866</sup> R. Bechai in the Book Trumah, saies; There was nothing in the Tabernacle and the Vessels thereof, which was not Figured above. As it is said, A Similitude of the Tabernacle, and, A Similitude of all its Utensils; Exod. 25.8. The Sense of which is, That altho' the Tabernacle and the Sanctuary should be laid waste, & the material Holy Vessels carried into Captivity; yett it is not thence to be concluded, that as they are lost here below, their Similitude and Pattern should also perish above. God forbid, for that in Heaven will remain constant forever. The same R. Bechai saies, The Ark was a Copy of the Throne of the Lords Glory.<sup>867</sup>

Quære, How far may refer to this, the Expression of our Saviour, where He calls the Place of the Divine Communication; Luk. 16.9. The Everlasting Tabernacle?

Tis observable also, That God when He was about having a Temple built by Solomon, gave unto a David, in a Vision, a further Glance of this Heavenly Temple; and from thence a Copy, how all things were to be shaped here. In that Vision, the Throne of the Majesty of the Lord, was more clearly discovered by David, than it was by Moses. David calls it, The Chariot of the Cherubims. [1. Chron. 29.18.]

[78v] | In such a Form, namely, with Wheels, was it represented, both unto Ezekiel: [Ch. 1.15–26.] And unto Daniel [Ch. 7.9.] The Understanding of what is meant by this Chariot, was among the ancient Hebrewes, esteemed an Acquaintance with one of the greatest Mysteries. They frequently speak of the, Merchavah, or Chariot, in their most mysterious Writings. Yea, their whole Wisdom about God and Spirits, is called, The Work of the Chariot.<sup>868</sup>

If we go on, we shall find, that Isaiah also saw the Heavenly Manifestation, in the Form of a Temple. [Ch. 6.1.] He was not then in the material Temple at Jerusalem; for, he was no Priest; much less, an High Priest; and so could not enter into the Holy of Holies, to see the Lord upon His Throne. This is intimated by

<sup>866</sup> From Peganius, *A Genuine Explication*, pp. 40–42, references to the Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Chagigah 15a (Soncino, pp. 93–94); in the Zohar, there are many references to the two Tabernacles and Metatron: see, for instance, Zohar II, Vayishlah, p. 142; Zohar IV, Terumah (Exodus), pp. 4, 53. In the mystical-kabbalistic tradition, Metatron is the highest angel and a divine hypostasis.

<sup>867</sup> From Peganius, reference is made to the commentary on Ex. 25:1–27:19 by R. Bechai Ben Asher. See *Torah Commentary by Rabbi Bachya Ben Asher*, vol. 4, at Ex. 25:9, pp. 1232–33.

<sup>868</sup> From Peganius, *A Genuine Explication*, pp. 42–43.

Jonathan, in his *Targum*; who saies, *This Vision happened unto the Prophet, as it were in Heaven.*<sup>869</sup>

Ezekiel copied his *Temple* after this; Not after that at *Jerusalem*, which had been destroy'd Fourteen Years before.

The *Sitting* of our Saviour at the *Right Hand of the Father*, may, as Peganius thinks, be somewhat explained out of this *Oeconomical Hypothesis*. And the *Vision* that Stephen had of Him, *standing* there.

Perhaps this may explain the THIRD HEAVEN, of our Apostle Paul. Namely, The *Third Place* of the Heavenly *Tabernacle* or *Temple*; For after the *Court*, and the *Holy Place*, there is the *Holy of Holies*, where the *Throne* of God, and of His *Christ*, is to be approached.<sup>870</sup>

This also gives us the Reason, why the *Jewish Worship*, is called, *The Heavens*. [Hag. 2.6. with, Heb. 12.27.] It was a marvellous Imitation, of what is done in the *Heavens*.<sup>871</sup>

And from this *Oeconomy* of the Heavenly *Manifestation* may be explained, the distinctions of the Holy *Angels*, which are in the Scripture so often mentioned.

The *Cherubim*, attend on the *Throne*, or the *Mercy-Seat*.

The *Seraphim*, are those *Burning Spirits*, which are the *Seven Lamps* of the *Golden Candlestick*. These *Lamps* are expressly called, *The Seven Spirits of God*.

The *Thrones*, are those *Four and Twenty Seats*, which were discerned by John in his Vision.

The *Dominions*, are the *living Creatures*, that appeared unto him, as the Generals, over the great Angelical *Hosts*.

The *Powers*, are the *Hosts* themselves, that stand behind them; usually called, *Zebaoth*.<sup>872</sup>

The *Principalities*, or, Ἀρχαί,<sup>873</sup> *Princes*, are among these *Hosts*, and have peculiar Armies under them. Is not *Michael* one of these? [Dan. 10.13. & 11.1. & 12.1.]

Lastly, Εξουσίαι,<sup>874</sup> *Mights*. We read of one that had *Power over the Fire*; and another that had *Power over the Water*.

Tho' we hear them singing, *Thou hast Redeemed us to God by thy Blood, out of every Kindred & Tongue, and People and Nation*; which the *Angels* can't say of themselves: we must remember, That they are the Ministers of the *Heavenly*

<sup>869</sup> From Peganius, *A Genuine Explication*, p. 43, a reference to Targum Jonathan at Isa. 6:1. For the Latin version, see Walton, *Biblia Polyglotta* (3:16).

<sup>870</sup> Compare Peganius, *A Genuine Explication*, pp. 43–44. See Acts 7:55 and 2 Cor. 12:2.

<sup>871</sup> This paragraph is a marginal insert not derived from Peganius.

<sup>872</sup> For the preceding paragraphs, compare Peganius, *A Genuine Explication*, p. 45.

<sup>873</sup> In the plural form, ἀρχή [arche] generally means "authorities," "magistrates," or "rulers" (LSJ).

<sup>874</sup> The term ἐξουσία [exousia] generally signifies "power," or "authority." In the NT, ἐξουσία occurs often together with ἀρχή to convey a sense of dominion or force (LSJ).

*Tabernacle*, who in their golden Censers, present the *Prayers of the Saints*, as an *Incense*, before the *Throne* of the Glory of the Lord. Our Glorious CHRIST, is our only *High-Priest*; But as there is an admirable Worship of God, performed in the Heavens, in which He is the *High-Priest*, and of which, God in Him, is the *Object*; and the Sweetness and Beauty of the Divine Worship, which is performed on Earth, lies in its *Conformity* to, and its *Communion* with what is *Above*: so, the *Innumerable Company of the Holy Angels*, do wait upon our glorious LORD, as His Retinue in that Worship; and when our Lord, presents the *Prayers of the Saints*, in His wonderful *Intercession* before God, there is a Blessed *Harmony* with them, expressed by the *Holy Angels* of the Lord. They are not those, on whom we depend, or to whom we apply, to *Intercede* for us; and yett there is a *Melody* made in Heaven by their *Charity* for us, and by their *Attendance*, on our great *High-Priest*, in that Worship of God, which is there carried on.

That which yett further confirms this *Hypothesis*, is, That the Heavenly *Furniture* of the *Tabernacle* or *Temple* seen by *John*, is introduced as *living*. The *Seven Lamps* are called, *The Seven Spirits of God*. A *Voice* is heard from the *Horns* of the *Golden Altar*. A *Voice* issues out of the *Throne*, saying, *Praise yee our God*; which cannot be the *Voice* of God.<sup>875</sup>

I conclude, with the modest Words of *Peganius*.

“This Sentiment is not forced upon any. But we hope this Consideration will administer Occasion unto many, further to weigh this Matter, & to give us more elaborate things, unto his own and other Mens Edification.”<sup>876</sup>

[79r]

Q. The *Jewish Tradition* about *Anti-Christ*, may be a Parable, worth reciting. It should not be omitted in our Illustrations? v. 18.

A. The Jewes, as you'l find in *Avkat Rochel*, suppose, That a Company of most profligate Fellowes, will abominably ly with a beautiful Stone-Statue of a Woman at *Rome*; and the Statue from thence conceiving, will burst open, and a Child issue from thence, whose Name shall be called, *Armillus*. He shall be Twelve Cubits High, and the Length of a Span betwixt his Eyes. He will say to the Wicked, *I am your Messiah, and your God*. They will beleve in him, & make him their King, and unto him shall be gathered all the Posterity of *Edom*. The first *Messiah* of the Jews, namely *Ben-Joseph*, of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, will fight against him, with 30000 *Israelites*; and shall have Success in the *First Battel*. But in the *Second Battel*, this *Messiah* shall be killed, and his Army routed. The Angels will take away the *Dead Body* of this *Messiah*, and keep it with those of the Patriarchs. After this there shall arise a Second *Messiah*, namely, *Ben David*,

<sup>875</sup> Compare *Peganius*, *A Genuine Explication*, pp. 46–47.

<sup>876</sup> From *Peganius*, *A Genuine Explication*, p. 48.

of the Tribe of *Judah*; and *Elias* with him, to whom the *Jews* that are left, shall be gathered, & oppose *Armillus*. God shall then destroy *Armillus*, and his whole Army by Fire and Brimstone and great *Stones* cast down upon them from Heaven. Then *Michael* shall sound a *Trumpet* so loud, as to open the *Graves*, and Raise the Dead in *Jerusalem*. The First Messiah, *Ben-Joseph* shall then be Raised, who was kept under the Gates of *Jerusalem*. Then Messiah *Ben-David* shall be sent, to gather the Dispersed of the Jews, among all the Nations.<sup>877</sup>

| [blank]

[79v]

---

<sup>877</sup> Likely derived from the work of the German Reformed theologian and professor of Hebrew at the University of Leiden, Antonius Hulsius (Anton Hüls, 1615–1685), *Theologia Iudaica* (1653), lib. 1, pars 1, pp. 51–53. Reference is made to the *Avkat Rochel* (printed in Rimini, 1526) by the 14<sup>th</sup>-century Spanish scholar, Rabeinu Machir.

47{61.}

**Q.** What is there to maintain that Boast of *Babylon*; *I sitt a Queen, & am no Widow, & shall see no Sorrow?* v. 7.

**A.** Behold, the very Language of the Church of *Rome*. She styles herself The Sovereign *Lady*, and Mistress of all Christians; even of Princes, & of Emperours. Indeed, *she* is an *Empire*. She has for her *Monarch*, the *Pope*; for her *Council*, the Colledge of *Cardinals*; for her *Castles*, her *Convents*; for her *Armies*, her *Monks*; for her *Governours* of Provinces, her *Bishops* & *Arch-bishops*; for her *Ambassadors*, her *Nuntio's* and *Legate*; for her *Merchants*, her *Priests*; and for *Revenues*, her *An-nates* and *Benefices*. I take the Words of the, *New System of the Apocalypse*.<sup>878</sup>

[80v] It was with good Reason, that *Gregorius Leti* begun his pleasant History of Pope *Sixtus V.* after this Manner. *The Popedom is the most considerable Monarchy, that ha's been established from the Creation of the World unto this Day; and no Princes, whether Idolatrous or Christian, have reigned more absolutely than the Roman Bishops; at whose Feet the greatest Potentates have laid down their Crowns and Scepters. So that it may be said, This Sodering together of Temporal and Spiritual Power, this Mingling together of things Sæcular and | Religious; this Conjunction of the Cross with the Sword; this Union of Body & Soul; and in brief, This Authority over Earth & Heaven, which meet & center in the Popes; have raised & established a Sovereignty, which almost all the People and Princes of the World do reverence.*<sup>879</sup>

This Church of *Rome* saies, *I am no Widow*; in that she does boast of having a visible *Head* and *Spouse*, which is the *Pope*.

She saies, *I shall see no Sorrow*; For, pretending to be the only Spouse of the Son of God, how can she miscarry? She pretends, that unto her is made the Promise, *That the Gates of Hell shall not prevail against the Church*.<sup>880</sup>

**Q.** Is there any ancient Prophecy, besides what we have in the Divine Oracles, that ha's prædicted the Destruction of *Rome*?

**A.** There is a very ancient Prophecy, which the *old Romans* had among them. 'Tis related by *Valerius Probus*, writing *De Literis Antiquis*. It was delivered

<sup>878</sup> From *New System of the Apocalypse*, pp. 75–76.

<sup>879</sup> From *New System of the Apocalypse*, p. 76. Reference is made to the work of the Italian historian and satirist, *Gregorius Leti* (1630–1701), *L'histoire de la vie du Pape Sixte Cinquième* ([1685] 1690), vol. 1, pp. 3–4.

<sup>880</sup> From *New System of the Apocalypse*, pp. 76–77.

in these Thrice Two Letters; R. R. R. F. F. F. *Regnum Romæ Ruet; Ferro, Fame, Flammâ.*<sup>881</sup>

| 882

[81r]

**Q.** About the Trade of *Rome* described by *John*, what Remarks do we find in History? v. 11.

**A.** Here is an allusion to the Trade of *Tyre*.

About *Rome*, you shall find what *History* saies, if you read the Life of *Sylvester*, in *Platina*.

*Venere proventus ad eandem Basilicam [Romanam] ex Tarso Ciliciæ; ex possessione Tyri venit Oleum, venere aromata et Cassiæ; venit Balsamum ex locis hæc eadem ferentibus: venit Crocum, Sal, Piper, Cinama.* —<sup>883</sup>

But lett us call in the Report of *Poetry*. Lett *Mantuan* the Carmelite, writing, *De Calamitat. Tempor.* l. 3. sing the Merchandise of *Rome*.

— per *Oppida sævit*

*Martis opus, Petrique domus polluta fluenti  
Marcessit luxu (nulla hic arcana revelo;  
Non ignota loquor; liceat Vulgata referre:  
Sic Urbes, Populique ferunt, ea fama per Omnem  
Iam vetus Europam,) Mores extirpat honestos.  
Sanctus ager scurris, venerabilis ara Cynædis  
servit, honorandæ Divum Ganymedibus ædes.  
Quid miramur Opes, recidivæque surgere tecta?  
Thuris odorati globulos, et Cinnama vendit  
Molis Arabs, Tyrii vestes et muricis imbrem,  
Indus ebur, Croceum Cilices, et Tmolus Odorem,  
Mel Siculi, Ferrum Calybes, tenuissima Seres;  
Vellera cretenses, mollissima Vina, Tanager  
Pernices mercatur Equos; venalia nobis  
Templa, Sacerdotes, Altaria, Sacra, Coronæ,  
Ignis, Thura, Preces; Cælum est venale, Deusque.*<sup>884</sup>

<sup>881</sup> “The reign of Rome will collapse by sword, famine, and fire.” Mather cites a work on abbreviations by the Roman grammarian and critic, Marcus Valerius Probus (c. 20/30–105 CE). See the early modern edition: *Valerii Probi Grammatici De Literis Antiquis Opusculum* (1522) at the letter “R.”

<sup>882</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>883</sup> “There came supplies to the same [Roman] basilica from Tarsus in Cilicia. From the riches of Tyre came oil, there came spices and cassia cinnamon; there came balms out of the regions where they can grow. There came saffron, salt, pepper, and different kinds of cinnamon.” From Grellotus, *Prodromus*, p. 193, another citation from Platina, *Liber de vita Christi ac pontificum omnium*, p. 31.

<sup>884</sup> “Through the cities raged the work of Mars, and the house of Peter, polluted with overflowing luxury, has gone into decline (I reveal no secrets here; nothing unknown do I say; and it is permissible to tell what is common knowledge. This is how cities and people report



**Q.** What may the *Thuine Wood* refer to? v. 12.

**A.** *Sacrifice-Wood.*] No doubt, it refers to *Romes* Idolizing the *Wood* of the *Cross*. This will be departed from her, in the Day of her Desolation. I meet with this Hint, in a Book of one Mr. *Hussey*, entituled, *The Glory of Christ unveil'd*.<sup>885</sup>

But then, *Wedelius* in his *Exercitationes Medico-Philologicae*, ha's a Dissertation upon the *Lignum Thyinum*.<sup>886</sup> He saies, Tis a Sort of sweet-smelling Wood; probably the *Thya*, mention'd by *Homer*, in his *Odyssees*, when he saies, The *Cedar* and the *Thya*, which were burnt, spred their Scent a great Way. The *Thyia*, according to the *Botanists*, is a Tree of an Indifferent Height, Hard, Knotty, and very Odoriferous; Its Leaves like those of *Cypress*. Tis called, *The Life-Tree*, because its Leaves Resist the Cold of Winter. The first of them seen in *Europe*, was brought unto *Francis*. I. *Wedelius* makes the *Savin*, the nearest unto it.

**Q.** What may be intended by, *The Souls of Men*? v. 13.

**A.** Dr. *More* thinks, That *Souls in Purgatory* may be here intended; the [81v] *Redeeming* of which is a great Part of the Traffic of the *Church of Rome*.<sup>887</sup> | It is a good Thought of Mr. *Matthew Henry*; in a Sermon entituled, *Popery a Spiritual Tyranny*.<sup>888</sup> "There are many things said of *Babylon* in the Old Testament, which are plainly referr'd to in those Prædictions, which we have in the *Revelation*, of

it through all of old Europe), and it eradicates all honorable customs. Church land serves buffoons and the sacred altar the lechers; the temples are to be honored by Ganymedes [i. e. gay boys]. Why do we marvel at their wealth and that fallen houses rise again? The soft Arab sells sweet frankincense and cinnamon, the people of Tyre sell clothes and the juice of purple snails, the Indian sells ivory, the people from Cilicia sell saffron, and the man from Timolus sells perfume. The people from Sicily sell honey, the Chalybes iron, the Seres finery, the Cretan various kind of wool and very mild wines, the man from the Tanagro trades in fast horses. But with us the merchandize are churches, priests, altars, mass, prayer wreaths, fire, frankincense, and prayers of intercession. Heaven can be sold, and God too." From Grellotus, *Prodromus*, p. 193, Mather cites the work of the Italian Carmelite reformer, humanist, and poet Baptista Mantuanus (Johannes Baptista Spagnolo, 1447–1516), *De suorum temporum calamitatibus* (1497), l. 3. This work was a widely successful poetic criticism of the evils of the time, including the corruptions of the papal church. Similar themes can also be found in his *Adulescentia*, a collection of ten Latin eclogues, which were enormously popular and frequently reprinted all over Europe, including Protestant countries.

<sup>885</sup> A reference to the work of the English Congregationalist minister in Cambridge and London, Joseph Hussey (1660–1726), *The Glory of Christ Unveil'd* (1706), pp. 30–31.

<sup>886</sup> Drawn from the work of the German professor of surgery, botany, medicine, and chemistry, Georg Wolfgang Wedelius (1645–1721), *Exercitationum Medico-Philologicarum Sacrarum Et Profanarum Decas II* (1708), "Exercitation V: Lignis Thyinis Apocalypseos in Genere," pp. 32–38. Reference is made to Homer, *Odyssey*, 5.60; see LCL 104, p. 186; where κέδρου τ' εὐκεάτοιο θύου [kedrou t' eukeatoio thyou] is translated as "cedar and citronwood."

<sup>887</sup> A reference to the work of the famous Cambridge Neoplatonist and millenarian, Henry More, *Apocalypsis Apocalypseos, Or, The Revelation of St. John the Divine Unveiled* (1680), pp. 186–87.

<sup>888</sup> Mather cites Matthew Henry, *Popery a Spiritual Tyranny* (1712), p. 9. The fame of the Presbyterian minister and Bible commentator, Matthew Henry (1662–1714), of course rests on

the Rise, Reign, and Ruine, of the usurped Power of the Papacy. *Babylons* saying, *to the Soul, Bow down, that we may go over* [Isa. LI.23.] seems to be alluded to, in that Article of the Trading of the New-Testament *Babylon*, where her *Merchandise* is said to be in *Slaves*, and *Souls of Men*: Tis putt last, as that which all the other Particulars had a Tendency to. And, that by the *Souls of Men*, there, is not meant in general only the *Persons* of Men, as we trade in *Negroes*, but the *Souls* taken strictly, as the Seats of Reason and Conscience, is plain, because they are there distinguished from *Slaves*, or, as it is in the Margin, *Bodies*; nay, and that they may not be confounded, tis in the Original putt in a different Case: *καὶ σωμάτων, καὶ ψυχὰς ἀνθρώπων*<sup>889</sup> Tis the *Merchandise of Bodies*, but tis the *Soul* they aim at.” – *An Exercise of Tyranny over the Souls & Consciences of Men*.

I will take this Opportunity, to transcribe a memorable Passage, in an Essay of the Baron *Pufendorf*, on, *The Divine Feudal Law*.<sup>890</sup>

“I must add, the vile Marketting of *Masses*, which was practised by a certain Man at *Vienna*, at the Time when the Nobility of *Hungary* were putt to Death, for their Rebellion against the Emperour *Leopold*. Their Estates being sold, it was as a Specimen of Clemency granted, that out of what they yeilded a sufficient Sum should be given for the Purchase of many Thousand *Masses* for their Souls. But because a single *Mass* at *Vienna* is wont to cost almost half a Crown, the Man whom I have mentioned, whose Name was *Triangle*, dealt with those, who had the Execution of this Order committed unto them, that they should resign the Care of Providing these *Masses* to him; which he would procure to be said in *Italy*, where for the eighth Part of a Crown a *Mass* may be purchased; for the Efficacy of them would be the same, in what Part of the Earth soever they should be said: so the Executors themselves made some Gain of the Bargain; But the greatest Advantage remained unto him that farmed that affair; who gott an Hundred Thousand Crowns to his Share, and so is said to have obtained the Title of a Baron; as I suppose, for his great Merits of the Commonwealth; and because he ha’s given great Light unto that Text; Rev. XVIII.13. and hath shewn us, who may be understood by them, who *make Merchandise of the Souls of Men*.”

---

his popular *Exposition of the Old and New Testaments*, published around the same time (1708–1710) during which Mather attempted to have the “*Biblia Americana*” printed.

<sup>889</sup> Drawing on Henry, Mather alludes to the fact that in the Greek *καὶ σωμάτων, καὶ ψυχὰς ἀνθρώπων* [kai somaton, kai psychas anthropon], the first noun is in the genitive case (“and of bodies/slaves”), whereas the second noun is in the accusative case (“and the souls of people”). Literally, the phrase can thus be translated either as “bodies/slaves and the souls of people” or “bodies/slaves, and even the souls of people.” “Bodies” can refer to slaves, cf. 2 Macc. 8.11; Tob. 10.11. The KJV has “and slaves, and souls of men,” supplying “bodies” in the margin, while the ESV has: “and slaves, that is, human souls.”

<sup>890</sup> From the work of the famous German jurist, political philosopher, economist, and historian Samuel von Pufendorf (1632–1694), *The Divine Feudal Law* (1703), pp. 40–41.

**Q.** On that; *shall be found no more at all?* v. 21.

**A.** It is remarkable, That *Babylon*, the *Type*, was [according to the Prophecy Isa. XIII.19–22. Jer. L.13, 26.] *utterly destroy'd*, so as never to be Rebuilt, or Inhabited any more. For, after it had been taken by *Alexander*, it by Degrees decay'd; first by reason of the Neighbourhood of *Seleucia*, built by *Seleucus Nicator*, on the River *Tigris*, about 393 Years before the Incarnation of our Saviour; then by *Ctesiphon's* becoming the Seat of the *Parthian* Empire, built by them on the other Side of the River *Tigris*, to exhaust *Seleucia*; and by the Building of *Bagdad* on the same River, by the *Saracens*; A.D. 766. Tho' these Cities, especially *Bagdad*, are called *Babylon*, in Authors, yett it was most certainly distinct from the ancient *Babylon*. The ancient *Babylon* of the *Chaldees*, being scituate, on the River *Euphrates*, about *Three Dayes Journey* from *Bagdad*, & being now only an Heap of Ruines; her *Kings*, having first deserted her, (as the Kings of the *Antichristian Babylon* will) and then the *People*; who transplanted themselves at different times to other Places: & particularly built a City of that Name in *Egypt*, by the Permission of the *Ptolomies*.<sup>891</sup>

---

<sup>891</sup> From Waple, *The Book of Revelation*, p. 407.

**Q.** The Acclamation, *The Lord God omnipotent reigneth?* v. 6.

**A.** The Words are taken from Isa. XXIV.21–23. where it is prophesied, *That the Lord God of Hosts* [or, *the Lord God omnipotent,*] *should Reign in Mount Zion, and in Jerusalem, & before His Ancient People gloriously;* After He had *punished, and shutt up in Prison the Kings of the Earth.*<sup>892</sup>

**Q.** The *Wife made ready?* v. 7.

**A.** Consider the mystical Sense of the *captive Spouse*. Deut. XXI.10–14. Consider also, Cant. III.11.<sup>893</sup>

|

[82v]

**Q.** Who are they that are *called unto the Marriage-Supper of the Lamb?* v. 9.

**A.** The Just Ones (who are styled, *The Wife of the Lamb,*) come down with our Saviour out of Heaven. *The Called* then, seem to be the *Saints* who shall then be *living on the Earth*, and are said to have but *a Part in the First Resurrection.*<sup>894</sup>

|<sup>895</sup>

[83r]

**Q.** Entertain us, with some Curiosity, upon that Speech of the Angel: *I am thy Fellow-Servant, and of thy Brethren that have the Testimony of Jesus; worship God?* v. 10.

**A.** *Claudius Saravius* a celebrated Senator of *Paris*, ha's a Curiosity about it, in one of his Epistles. He saies, They had a M.SS. of a most venerable Antiquity; by some Circumstances it appeared a Thousand Years old. The Pointing of the Words in that Verse before us, was there otherwise than what is commonly received. συνδουλος σου ειμι και των αδελφων σου των εχοντων την μαρτυριαν. Ιησου τω θεω προσκυνησον. *I am a Fellow-Servant unto thee, & unto thy Brethren that have the Testimony. Worship thou Jesus, who is God.*<sup>896</sup>

<sup>892</sup> Waple, *The Book of Revelation*, p. 412.

<sup>893</sup> Waple, *The Book of Revelation*, p. 413.

<sup>894</sup> Waple, *The Book of Revelation*, p. 414.

<sup>895</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>896</sup> From a letter of Claude Sarrau, *Claudii Sarraui senatoris Parisiensis Epistolae. Opus posthumum ad serenissimam Christinam Suediae reginam* (Orange, 1654), pp. 221–22. Going back to the 1516 edition by Erasmus, *Textus Receptus*, the authoritative Greek text of the NT in Mather's time, here reads σύνδουλος σου είμι, και των αδελφων σου, και των εχοντων την μαρτυριαν του Ιησου. Τω θεω προσκυνησον [syndoulos sou eimi, kai ton adelphon sou, kai ton echonton ten martyrian tou Iesou. To theo proskyneson], which the KJV translates as: "I am thy fellow servant, and of thy brethren that have the testimony of Jesus: worship God ... ." The variant reading cited from Sarrau with the punctuation after μαρτυριαν thus enables a different translation emphasizing the divinity of Jesus. Sarrau's and Mather's reading is not preferred by

But if the Transcriber of this Copy, would apply the Title of *God*, unto our Lord *Jesus*, where *John* did not intend it; *Erasmus* will come up with him, and with a bold Interpunction, take away the Title of *God*, from our Lord *Jesus*, (Rom. 9.5.) where *Paul* did intend it.<sup>897</sup>

[▽84r] [▽Insert from 84r]<sup>898</sup>

**Q.** The Description of our conquering Redeemer here given, to what Passages of the Old Testament bears it an Allusion? v. 15.

**A.** To what begins the *Sixty Third* Chapter of *Isaiah*.

The Prophecy there foretells the Destruction of *Edom*. Now there is a famous Truth in what *Kimchi* writes upon *Obadiah*. *Quidquid Prophetæ dixerunt de Vastatione Edom in ultimis Diebus. /על רומי אמרו/ Id de Româ intellexerunt.*<sup>899</sup> Hence among the Jewes, the *Roman Empire* was commonly called, /מלכות אדום/ *Regnum Edom*; which they also call, *Regnum Impium*.

And *Kimchi* upon that Chapter of *Isaiah*, saies, *Prophetia ista est de Vastatione Romæ futura, nam Regnum Romæ appellatur nomine Edom.*<sup>900</sup> And he will have *Bozra*, to be *Rome*.<sup>901</sup>

*Abarbanel* writes to the like Purpose. And some of the Hebrewes mentioned by *Aben Ezra*, will have the Conqueror in that Vision of *Isaiah*, to be the *Messiah*.

Remarkable are the Words of *R. Bechai*. *Tempore futuro ruituros Muros Edom, et omnes Idumæos perituros, et ex hoc Mundo exterminandos, ut Daniel*

---

modern editions. NA provides: σύνδουλός σου εἰμι καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν σου τῶν ἐχόντων τὴν μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ· τῷ θεῷ προσκύνησον, which the ESV renders: "I am a fellow servant with you and your brothers who hold to the testimony of Jesus. Worship God." Claude Sarrau (Claudius Saravius, 1600–1651), was a French nobleman, jurist, member of the royal parliamentary council, and scholar. He entertained a far-flung network of correspondences with famous men of learning, including Grotius and Vossius. Selections of these letters were edited after his death.

<sup>897</sup> Reference is made to Erasmus's interpretation of Rom. 9:5 (KJV: "Whose are the fathers, and of whom as concerning the flesh Christ came, who is over all, God blessed for ever. Amen."). In his NT edition, Erasmus had supplied a full stop after the clause concerning Christ: ὧν οἱ πατέρες καὶ ἐξ ὧν ὁ Χριστὸς τὸ κατὰ σάρκα· ὁ ὧν ἐπὶ πάντων θεὸς εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας ἀμήν [hon hoi pateres kai ex hon ho christos to kata sarka. ho hon epi panton theos eulogetos eis tous aionas amen]. And in his annotation on that passage, Erasmus insisted that the second half of the verse praising God constituted a new sentence and exclusively referred to the Father alone and not to Christ ("haec particular non potest ad Christum pertinere"). See *Annotationes in Epistolam ad Romanos*, in *Opera Omnia Desiderii Erasmi*, VI.7. (2011), p. 228.

<sup>898</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>899</sup> "All that the prophets have said about the destruction of Edom in the last days, ... it is to be understood with reference to Rome." From Grellotus, *Prodromus*, p. 202. See Kimchi's annotation on Obadiah in *Mikraoth Gedoloth: Twelve Prophets*, pp. 172, 175.

<sup>900</sup> "That prophecy is about the future devastation of Rome, for the reign of Rome is called by the name of Edom." Grellotus, *Prodromus*, p. 202.

<sup>901</sup> From Grellotus, *Prodromus*, p. 202. The rabbinical annotations on Isa. 63:1 here all come from the discussion of Ezek. 35:2 (quaestio 9) in Mannasseh ben Israel, *Conciliator* (1633); see *The Conciliator of R. Manasseh ben Israel: A Reconciliation of the Apparent Contradictions in Holy Scripture*, vol. 2, p. 218.

*prædixit de Quartâ Bestiâ.*<sup>902</sup> [Every Body knowes, *Quarta Bestia*, is the *Roman Empire*.]

[△Insert ends]

[△]

|  
2634.

[83v]

**Q.** Our Lord appears, having on His *Vesture and His Thigh, a Name written*, KING OF KINGS, & LORD OF LORDS; is there any Remarkable thing, that ha's been occasion'd by our Lords appearing here in such Circumstances? v. 16.

**A.** The Jewes, have an odd Blasphemy, in their *Talmuds*, That our Lord Jesus Christ, wrought His Miracles, by stealing the Name JEHOVAH out of the Temple, and that *Helena* suffered *Judas Iscariot*, to enter into the most Holy Place, and carry that Name also from thence, by Vertue of which, he fought our Lord, & *broke His Thigh*, & rendred Him so contemptible to the Queen, that she abandoned Him to the Fury of the Jewes, who putt Him to Death. Tis not known, who should be this Empress *Helena*, to whom the Jewes allude in this Fable: but M. *Le Moyne* thinks, all this is borrowed, from the false Acts of Pope *Sylvester*, where tis said, That *Constantines* Mother, who favoured the Jewes, procured them Entrance into the Council of *Nice*, where they disputed against the Christians in the Presence of the Pope, and confounded them with *Miracles*. And this Fable, of or Lords *Thigh* being broke, the said *Le Moyne*, in a Theological Dissertation of his (on Jer. 23.5.) lately published, thinks, the Jewes invented it, out of Derision to what they had read in the Book of *Revelations*; that our Lord had on His *Vesture & His Thigh, written that Name*, KING OF KINGS, AND LORD OF LORDS.<sup>903</sup>

It was the Custome of Princes to wear embroidered Robes, and to have their Qualities inserted on them in golden Letters. Our *Druids* had such Habits; and they were still more in Use among the *Assyrians* and *Persians*. And perhaps, that might be the Reason, why *Mordecai* would not bowe before *Haman*, fearing lest by that Means he should adore the Images, that were embroidered upon

<sup>902</sup> "That in future times the walls of Edom will collapse, and that all the Idumaeans will perish and are to be banished out of this world, as Daniel has predicted about the fourth beast." From Grelletus, *Prodromus*, p. 202, reference is made to the work of R. Bechai Ben Asher, *Kad ha-Kemah* ("The Flour-Jar," Constantinople, 1515), pp. 51–52.

<sup>903</sup> Mather here refers to the work of the French Huguenot theologian and professor at the University of Leiden, Stephanus le Moine (Étienne Le Moyne, Monachus, 1624–1689), *Dissertatio theologica ad locum Jeremiae XXIII: V* (1700). The wording suggests that Mather cites an English review and summary of this book from the journal *The History of the Works of the Learned* (1700), "Dissertatio Theologica ad locum Jeremiae," vol. 2, pp. 144–45. Reference is made to the Toledot Yeshu, a rabbinical, anti-Christian biography of Jesus, the origins of which are uncertain and that exists in numerous manuscript versions. They contain different versions of the story of Jesus's stealing "The Ineffable Name" to gain magical powers. See *Toledot Yeshu: The Life Story of Jesus* (2014), e.g., vol. 1, pp. 148–49, 190–91. For explanations of this story and the identity of Helena, see the editors' commentaries on pp. 64–69.

his Robe. The Romans imitated the Orientals in This; *Pictorum Soleas basiate Regum*.<sup>904</sup>

One of those sumptuous Robes is here assigned unto our Lord. The Jewes being offended at this Title, on His Thigh, feign that *Judas* broke His *Thigh*, by the Title, which He had made Use of to deceive the People with a great Number of Miracles.<sup>905</sup>

[84r] | <sup>906</sup>

**Q.** A Remark on our Lords Appearing here as a Royal Conqueror? v. 16.

**A.** 'Tis not amiss here to transcribe a Passage of Judge *Hook*, in his *Catholicism without Popery*.

“Our Saviour at first indeed appeared to St. *John*, in the Habit of a *Priest*, and His Sword went out of His Mouth: A plain Representation how His Gospel should at first prevail. But after that *Anthropos* and *Ecclesia*, had sett up Anti-christ, [see our Illustrations on 2. Thess. II.]<sup>907</sup> and the Kings of the Earth had been a long Time committing Fornication with the great Whore, when *Babylon* is to fall, when the Marriage of the Lamb is come, & His Wife hath made herself Ready, and the Heavens open for the utter Destruction of the Beast and the False Prophet, He then appears, as a General in the Head of an Army. And tho’ the Sword still comes out of His *Mouth*, and His Name is called, *The Word of God*, that we may be sure to know Him, and the True Means of Reformation; yett His *Name* written on His Vesture and on His Thigh, is not *Bishop of Bishops*, or, *chief Priest of Priests*; But, *King of Kings*, and, *Lord of Lords*; That we may know also, who they are, whom He will use, as Instruments of Reformation. And I dare appeal to the Reason of Mankind, whether it does not agree with this Prophecy, that the civil Powers must interpose or the Priests will be tearing Christendom to Peeces till the Day of Judgment.”<sup>908</sup>

[84v] |

**Q.** Upon the last Battel with *Antichrist*, may it not be worth the While, to recite the Traditions of the ancient Hebrews concerning it? v. 19.

<sup>904</sup> “Kiss the soles of gaudy [more literal: adorned with images] monarchs.” From *The History of the Works of the Learned*, p. 145, a reference to Martial, *Epigrams*, 10.72; transl.: LCL 95, pp. 72–73.

<sup>905</sup> There is a “to” missing before “deceive,” which was supplied above.

<sup>906</sup> See Appendix A.

<sup>907</sup> Mather here makes reference to his entry on 2 Thess. 2:3 (*BA* 9, pp. 597–98).

<sup>908</sup> From the work of the Anglican lawyer and judge in England and Wales, John Hooke (1655–1712), *Catholicism without Popery: An Essay to Render the Church of England a Means and a Pattern of Union to the Christian World* (1699), pp. 79–80.

A. In the Book /אִבְקַת רוֹבֵל/ this is mentioned, as the *Seventh Sign* of the *Coming of the Messiah*.<sup>909</sup>

*Armillum qui Adversarius erit, Gentes vocabunt Antichristum. Ad impios veniet, et ipsis dicet; Messias ego sum, ego sum Deus vester; qui statim in ipsum credent, et Regem sibi constituent; Associabuntur ipsi omnes posteri Esau [Christiani] qui Coram ipso se sistent; Illeque, progressus faciet, omnes Provincias subjugabit, dicetque filiis Esau, Asserte mihi huc legem meam quam vobis dedi; qui Librum precum suarum ipsi tradent; ac tum dicet ipsis, Hæc est Veritas quam vobis tradidi, credite in me, ego enim sum Messias vester: et confestim credent in eum.*<sup>910</sup> Anon there is an Insurrection made, against Armillus; *Et Prælio inito cum Armillo, ducenta ex Copiis ipsius accidet.*<sup>911</sup> *Unde ira impii Armilli accendetur, omniamque totius Mundi Gentium Vires colliget, in Valle Concisionis, [Joel. 3.14.] ibique pugnabit cum Israele, qui iterum Cumulorum Cumulos trucidabunt, pauci cadent in Israele.*<sup>912</sup>

Again, The *Eighth Sign* runs thus. *Collectisque Armillus omnium Gentium per Orbem Terrarum Viribus, veniet ad pugnandum cum Messiâ Dei, quem Deus ad ineundum Bellum non adiget, sed dicet ipsi solummodò, sede ad Dextram meam. Ipseque dicet Israelitis, Sistite vos et Salutem Domini aspiciate; quæ hodiè vobis parabitur et confestim Deus ipse pugnabit cum Hostibus. [Zech. 14.3.] Demittetque Deus Ignem et Sulphur è Cælo. [Ezek. 38.22.] Et ilicò impius Armillus morietur cum toto exercitu suo, omnibusque impiis qui Domum Dei nostri vastarunt, et è terra nostra nos deportarunt. [Romani.] Illa ipsa Hora Vindictam sument Israelitæ. [Obad. 18.]*<sup>913</sup>

<sup>909</sup> This entry comes from Grelletus, *Prodromus*, p. 207–08, which cites Antonius Hulsius, *Theologiae Iudaicæ pars prima de Messia* (1653), p. 52. Hulsius refers to the work of the Spanish-born rabbi and author of the Bet Yosef, the last great codification of Jewish law, and Joseph ben Ephraim Karo, *Avkat Rachel*, an important work of early-modern Jewish millenarianism.

<sup>910</sup> “Armilus, who is going to be the adversary, the gentiles will call Antichrist. He will come to the unfaithful, and he will speak to them. I am the Messiah, I am your God. They will believe in him immediately and will make him their king. All the descendants of Esau [the Christians] will unite with him and they will stand in his presence. And he will make progress and will subjugate all provinces, and he will say to the sons of Esau: ‘Assert for me my law in this place that I have given to you.’ And they will give up their book of prayers. And then he will say to them: ‘This is the truth that I have passed on to you, believe in me, for I am your Messiah.’ And they will immediately believe in him.” From Grelletus, *Prodromus*, p. 207. In the Jewish millenarian tradition, Armilus is an anti-messiah figure, “a king who will arise at the end of time against the Messiah, and will be conquered by him after having brought much distress upon Israel” (*JE*).

<sup>911</sup> Mather accidentally skipped the word “millia” after “ducenta.”

<sup>912</sup> “And after the beginning of the battle against Armilus, he will lose two hundred thousand of his troops. Because of that the rage of the impious Armilus will be inflamed, and he will unite the forces of all the nations of the whole world in the valley of decision [Joel. 3.14.], and there he will do battle against Israel, which again will slaughter multitudes and multitudes, while few will fall among Israel.”

<sup>913</sup> “And after the forces of all nations on earth have been gathered, Armilus will come to fight against the Messiah of God, whom God does not urge to start the war, but he merely says to him: ‘Sit thou at my right hand.’ And he himself will say to the Israelites: ‘Stand upright



**Q.** Whether the *Gog* and *Magog* of *John*, be the same with the *Gog* and *Magog* of *Ezekiel*? v. 7, 8.

**A.** A pious and worthy old Gentleman of *New England*, whose Name was Mr. *William Torrey*, did in the Seventy Ninth Year of his Age, write a Treatise, which he entituled, *A Discourse concerning Futurities*. The Treatise is yett in Manuscript, and perhaps never likely to be otherwise. But there are several very Notable and Excellent Hints in it, of which I will produce a few on this Occasion.<sup>914</sup>

He particularly considers the Quæstion that is now before us: and he answers; *No*. The *Gog* and *Magog* of *Ezekiel*, are contemporary with the First Return of the *Jewes*, to the Repossession of the Holy Land. Their principal War, is with the *Jewish Nation*. But the *Gog* and *Magog* of *John*, will not appear, until after the *Jewes* have been a *Thousand Years* in their own Land. And the Quarrel of their War, will be against the whole Church of God upon Earth. In *Ezekiel's* Action, the terriblest Battel is fought, that ever was in the World. In *Johns*, there is not a Stroke struck on either Side, but Fire from Heaven decides the Controversy.<sup>915</sup>

This Gentleman, I find, apprehends, That the Weakning of the *Turkish Power*, will give to the *Jewes* an Opportunity to Return into *Judæa*, before their Conversion to Christianitie: That after this Return, they shall be miserably

---

and behold the salvation of the Lord, which today will be gained for you, and immediately God himself will fight against the enemies.' [Zech. 14:3.] And God will rain down fire and brimstone from the heavens. [Ezek. 38:22.] And the accursed Armilus will quickly perish with his whole army and with all the godless who have devastated the house of our God and have deported us from our land. [the Romans.] In this exact hour the Israelites will have their vengeance. [Obad. 18.]"

<sup>914</sup> The following entry is based on a manuscript by William Torrey (1608–1690) that was in the possession of the Mather family at the time. Torrey was a first-generation immigrant from England who had become a prominent Puritan citizen at Weymouth, Massachusetts. The now lost manuscript was published in 1757 by the Boston minister Thomas Prince (1687–1758) as *A brief Discourse concerning Futurities or Things to come* (1757). Prince must have received the manuscript from the Mather estate and thought it worthy of publication. In his preface, Prince praised Torrey's elaborate eschatological scheme. Compare also Mather's reference to this work in *Tripuradisi*, p. 314. The following references are to the edition by Prince.

Mather found in Torrey's work new details to confirm basically all of his own premillennialist views, including that of a physical return of Christ, a general conflagration, and a first physical resurrection of the saints. Torrey had also agonized that if "the Conflagration at this Time" would be so "very Considerable and Formidable," how then "the Good Men, and the other Creatures, that are to be preserved when the World shall be in such a tremendous flame, shall receive their Præservation?" Mather's solution to this vexing question was the rapture. See my *Prophecy and Piety*, pp. 208–09. Remarkably, Mather did not edit or cancel Torrey's arguments for an eschatological conversion of the Jews after his own opinions on that subject changed.

<sup>915</sup> Torrey, *A Discourse*, pp. 55–59.

afflicted and harassed, and brought low, by their Enemies; according to the Prædictions of *Zachariah*;<sup>916</sup> and see such a *Time of Trouble*, as never had been upon any People, according to the Prophecies of *Daniel*. It is not easy to conceive, How the *Jewes*, who are dispersed among so many Nations and Languages, can during their Dispersion, be so converted, that, (Isa. 66.8.) *A Nation shall be born at once*. Probably some Remarkable Confusions upon the *Turkish Empire*, will give them Advantages, to assemble in vast Multitudes, at their ancient Countrey. In the Midst of the horrible Distress, which then will arise upon them, the Blessed JESUS will visibly exhibit Himself; They shall then *look on Him, whom they have pierced*; and this will be the Time and Way of their Conversion unto the Lord. Then, and never till then, will they say, *Blessed is He that cometh in the Name of the Lord*.<sup>917</sup>

Another thing observed by this Gentleman is; That there are very observable Differences between the *New Jerusalem of Ezekiel*, and the *New Jerusalem of John*. He very rightly takes, the *New Jerusalem of John*, to be the *Saints of the First Resurrection*; The *Saints* that are to come down from God out of Heaven, with our Lord Jesus Christ and Live and Reign with Him a thousand Years. How it may be supposeable, for such *Saints*, to converse with Men upon Earth; we may consider, the Conversation which our Lord Jesus Christ had with Holy Men upon Earth, after His Resurrection, for Forty Dayes together; The Conversation which *Moses* and *Elias*, had with several of the Apostles. And, the Conversation which the *Angels* of old, frequently had with the *Patriarchs*.<sup>918</sup>

He apprehends, That the *Conflagration*, which will be at the Beginning of the *Millennium*, (and which differs from that at the Conclusion of it,) will fall only upon such as are Actually then in Arms against our Lord Jesus Christ. Then the last Chapter of *Malachi*, shall receive its Accomplishment; And then; [Isa. 66.16.] *Behold, the Lord will come with Fire, and render His Rebukes with Flames of Fire; for by Fire and Sword will the Lord plead with all Flesh, and the Slain of the Lord shall be many*. [Compare, Ezek. 38.22.]<sup>919</sup>

He is mighty clear, in it, That the *Second Coming* of the Lord, will be, at the Beginning of the *Millennium*. And he thus argues for it. If the Times immediately preceding the personal, visible, & glorious Appearance of our Lord at His *Second Coming*, be times of deep Security, general Sensuality, Horrible Profanitie, & almost universal Apostasie; Then it must needs be, That our Lord will appear before the *Thousand Years*: Because after those *Thousand Years* are entred, there will be no such Time of Wickedness. It cannot be imagined, That when the World has been improving in Holiness, and been rescued from the

<sup>916</sup> See the second oracle of Zechariah (chs. 12–14) that predicts the troubles but also the glories that await Israel in “the latter days.”

<sup>917</sup> Torrey, *A Discourse*, pp. 59–60.

<sup>918</sup> Torrey, *A Discourse*, pp. 51–54.

<sup>919</sup> Torrey, *A Discourse*, pp. 12–14.

Influences of Satan, for a *Thousand Years* together, it shall fall into a Corruption like that which was in the *Dayes of Noah* and of *Lot*, exemplified.<sup>920</sup>

[85v] He argues, That in 2. Thess. 2.8. *The Lord shall destroy the wicked one with the Brightness of His Coming*: The Word, ἐπιφάνεια imports a Personal Appearance.<sup>921</sup> And when | we read, Heb. 9.28. *He shall appear the Second Time unto Salvation*; It was written by an Apostle who knew, That the *Second Coming* of our Lord, would be, to *Destroy the Man of Sin*; and that it would also be for the Conversion of the *Israelitish Nation*; For to this, hee applied the Promise, [Isa. 59.20.] *That the Redeemer should come to Zion, to them that turn from Transgression in Jacob*. [See, Rom. 11.26.]

He distinguishes, (and it is a scriptural Distinction,) as, between a *First Resurrection*, and a *Second Resurrection*, so between the *Inchoate Judgment*; and the *General Judgment*. As our Lord, who is the *First-Fruits*, rises from the Dead many Hundreds of Years, before the *First Resurrection* of the *Saints* at *His Coming*; Thus, the *Saints*, or *some of them*, will then Rise, many Hundreds of Years before *the End*, or the Time, when those who are *not His* are also to Rise.

He takes the *First Resurrection*, to be properly, literally, corporally to be understood. And he thus argues for it.

The *Resurrection* of the *Dead in Body*, is the *Resurrection of the Body*.

But the *First Resurrection* is the *Resurrection* of the *Dead in Body*. Tis a *Resurrection* of such as had been *Beheaded*.

Again. A *Resurrection*, wherein Men *live a Thousand Years* after they be *Raised*, cannot be any other than the *Resurrection of the Body*.

But such is the *First Resurrection*.

Once more; As will be the *Resurrection* of the *Rest of the Dead*, after the *Thousand Years* are finished, such will be the *First Resurrection of the Dead*, at the Beginning of the *Thousand Years*. But the *Resurrection* of the *Rest of the Dead*, at the End of the *Thousand Years*, will be a *Bodily Resurrection*.

Further yett. The *Saints* that were beheaded, must at the *First Resurrection* so live, as the *Rest of the Dead* live not, all the *Thousand Years*, while their *Spirits* were separated from their *Bodies*. Therefore they must live with their *Spirits* united to their *Bodies*.<sup>922</sup>

He allowes, the *Conflagration* at this Time to be very Considerable and Formidable. But then, he enquires, How the good Men, and the other Creatures, that are to be preserved when the World shall be in such a tremendous flame, shall receive their Præservation?

I will give you his Answer, in his own Words.

<sup>920</sup> Torrey, *A Discourse*, p. 6.

<sup>921</sup> As Torrey points out, ἐπιφάνεια [epiphaneia] means "appearance, coming into view." The nominalized form is used six times in the NT, and all six occurrences explicate the hope of Christ's second coming at the end of time. See *EWNT* (2:111–12).

<sup>922</sup> Torrey, *A Discourse*, pp. 26–35.

“This is a Quæstion too hard for me. Neither do I know, that it is Reveled in the Scripture. But, tho’ we do not know, yett, *The Lord knowes how to deliver the Godly out of Temptation, when the Unjust shall be reserved to the Day of Judgment, to be punished.* [2. Pet. 2.9.] And we do know, That *Faith* ha’s *quenched the Violence of the Fire.* [Heb. 11.34.] And that the *Fire* which burnt up the mightiest Men of *Nebuchadnezzars* Army, had *no Power* over the Bodies of the Saints. [Dan. 3.20.] And there are some who shall *dwell with Devouring Fire, and Everlasting Burnings*, when some shall not, but shall *be as the Burning of Lime, and as Thorns cutt up, they shall be burnt in the Fire.* [Isa. 33.12, 14, 15.] And there is a Promise, [Isa. 43.2.] That when the People of God *pass thro’ the Fire* they shall *not be burnt, neither shall the Flames kindle upon them.* Again, when God destroy’d the old World by *Water*, He found out a Way to preserve *Noah*, and his Family and Creatures of every Kind, whereas neither *Noah* nor all the World besides could tell, how it would be till God Revealed it. Nor can any thing that I know, be certainly concluded, how He will preserve His Church at this time, but that He will have a glorious Church on Earth after this.”<sup>923</sup>

Thus much have I been willing to Recite from a M.SS. now in my Hands; and I Recite it after this Manner, that I may preserve an Honourable Memory, for my Aged, Pious (now Deceased) Friend: and lett the Churches abroad know, how able the *plain Men dwelling in Tents* among us, and the private Christians in an *American* Wilderness, have been to discourse of these admirable Mysteries.

[86r]

Q. What Remarkable Traditions of the Jewes, relating to the Blessed *Thousand Years?* v. 7, 8.

A. Famous and ancient is, *The Tradition of the House of Elias*, as they call it. *Sex Mille Annos erit Mundus; Bis Mille Inane, Bis Mille Lex, et Bis Mille Dies Messiaë.*<sup>924</sup>

The *Two Thousand Years* under the *Messiah*, are in the Gloss, by *Jarchiades* thus glossed upon.

*Et Bis Mille Dies Messiaë; Quia post Bis Mille Annos Legis, æquum fuerat ut veniret Messias, et consumeretur Regnum Impietatis, et aboleretur servitus ab Israele.*<sup>925</sup>

<sup>923</sup> Torrey, *A Discourse*, pp. 40–41.

<sup>924</sup> “The world is to exist six thousand years, two thousand [years of] desolation, two thousand [years of] the law, and two thousand the days of the Messiah.” From Grelotus, *Prodromus*, p. 210, a reference to the Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Sanhedrin 97a (Soncino, p. 657).

<sup>925</sup> “And two thousand days of the Messiah. For after the two thousand years of law, it is fair that the Messiah will come and that the reign of evil will be ended and that the servitude of Israel will be abolished.” From Grelotus, *Prodromus*, p. 210, a Latin translation of Rashi’s gloss on this passage from his classical commentary on the Talmud, composed in medieval France (c.1075–c.1105).

It is there added, in the Tract *Sanhedrin*.

*Sed propter Iniquitates nostras, quæ multiplicatæ sunt, qui egressi sunt, egressi sunt.*<sup>926</sup>

And therefore, *Abarbanel* tells us, They now prorogue the Coming of the *Messiah*, unto the End of the *Sixth Chiliad*.<sup>927</sup>

Moreover, 'Tis an Old Jewish Tradition, that the *Messiah*, shall Reign, with the *Just*, in the *Seventh Chiliad*. You have it in *Zohar*.

*Iusti erunt omnes illi qui superstites erunt in Mundo sub finem sexti millenarii, ut subeant Sabbathum.*<sup>928</sup>

1142.

**Q.** Must the *First Resurrection* bee necessarily understood of a Literal, and Corporal *Resurrection*? v. 7, 8.<sup>929</sup>

**A.** It must, most Necessarily & Unavoidably. The *Twentieth Chapter* of the *Revelation*, is of all the most free from Allegory, & from the Involution of prophetical Figures; as describing indeed that Age & State, wherein all things relating to the Kingdome of God, will bee most *clearly understood*. For Men to make an Allegory, or depart from the literal Sense of Scripture, where the *Analogy of Faith* compels not unto it, is for them to obtrude their own Imaginations instead of Scripture. It ought to be a Maxim with us, *Non est a Litera, sive propriâ Scripturæ Significatione recedendum nisi evidens aliqua Necessitas cogat, et Scripturæ Veritas in ipsa litera periclitari videtur.*<sup>930</sup>

<sup>926</sup> "But because of our iniquities, which have multiplied, those [years] have been lost that went by." From Grellotus, *Prodromus*, p. 211, a reference to the Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Sanhedrin 97b (Soncino, p. 657).

<sup>927</sup> Mather's reference to Abravanel comes from Grellotus, *Prodromus*, p. 211. Grellotus relies on the Martini, *Pugio Fidei*, pars 2, cap. 2, pp. 267–68, where Abravanel's commentary on Gen. 1:26 is cited.

<sup>928</sup> "The just will be all those who will remain in the world by the end of the sixth millennium, so that they may enter into the Sabbath." From Grellotus, *Prodromus*, pp. 213–14, which draws on Voisin's prefatory observations in *Pugio Fidei*, p. 158, citing the Book of Zohar, sect. Bereshit (Genesis), p. 119.

<sup>929</sup> Much of the following entry on the orthodoxy of millennialism and the correct understanding of the first resurrection overlaps with what Mather writes in his epistolary tract "Problema Theologicum: An Essay concerning the Happy State expected for the Church upon Earth, & In a Letter," penned in 1703. "Problema" was addressed to his friend Nicholas Noyes, who had requested an exposition of Mather's scheme of premillennialism. After 1703, Mather's view on the latter-day events changed on several accounts – most importantly on the national conversion of the Jews and the Petrine conflagration – and so he kept revising and editing the entries that were derived from "Problema." These changes will be indicated in the footnotes. Although clearly intended for publication, the "Problema" manuscript never went to the printer and remained in the archives of the American Antiquarian Society until a scholarly edition was undertaken by Jeffrey Scott Mares. See Mares's "Cotton Mather's Problema Theologicum: An Authoritative Edition" (1995). All citations will refer to this edition and its pagination.

<sup>930</sup> "One shall not leave the letter or the proper meaning of the Scripture, unless something obvious makes it necessary and the truth of the Scripture appears to be threatened in just this

But, First, lett us argue from the *Law of Opposites*. Wee know, *In omni Legitimâ Distributione, membra inter se opponuntur sub eodem genere*.<sup>931</sup> Here is a Distribution of, *Dead Men living again*; some at the Beginning of the *Thousand Years*; others, not until the *Thousand Years* are Finished: But the Latter then *live again* as to their *Bodies*; & therefore so must the former too. That the *Second Resurrection* is not *metaphorical*, is Indisputable; for then, *The Dead, small & great, shall stand before God, & bee judged according to what is written in the Books*. Hence therefore, wee may not make a meer *Metaphor* of the first. It would be a violent Interpretation, if [*Dead*] and consequently [*Living from the Dead*] should not here still signify the same Thing. In the same Sense do *Some of the Dead live again* at the Beginning of the *Thousand Years*, that the *Rest of the Dead live again*, at the Conclusion of the *Thousand Years*.

Secondly; As was the *Death* of the *Reigning Saints*, even such must bee the *Resurrection*. But their *Death* was of their *Bodies*: it was *Beheading*, a most usual Sort of Death in those Times. When tis here said, the *Souls* were *beheaded*, this does not necessarily emply a *spiritual Death*, for by the *Soul*, the Scripture commonly means, the *Person*; as wee read of the *Souls slain* under the Altar. The *Natural Lives* of the Saints were taken away; & therefore those are the *Lives* to bee now Restored.

Thirdly; The *First Resurrection*, must bee either *spiritual*, or *political*, or *corporal*. But it is neither of the Two Former. Some have, with a *wonderful Absurdity*, taken the *First Resurrection*, to bee a Work of *Sanctification* upon the Soul.<sup>932</sup> But, I pray; how is that Work followed with *Living and Reigning a Thousand Years*? And, how is it said, That *the Rest of the Dead live not again until the Thousand Years were Finished*? Was there ever, or will there ever bee, in this World, a *Thousand Years*, without any Conversion of Men unto God? Besides, Is a *Death in Sin*, the *First Death*? In a Word; A *spiritual Resurrection* of sinful Men to an Holy Life, commenced presently after the Fall of *Adam*, and continues | as long as *Adam* ha's any Children upon Earth. Whereas, the *First Resurrection* is peculiar to the *Thousand Years*, & begins not, until the Reign of *Antichrist* bee ended. Or, how is it possible to bee said, That Men were *Beheaded for the Witness of Jesus, & for the Word of God*, and after this they were converted unto the

[86v]

letter." Robert Maton, *Israel's redemption or the prophetically history of our Saviours kingdome on earth* (1642), pp. 47–48. The citation from Maton is a later marginal insertion.

<sup>931</sup> "In every true distribution the parts are opposed to each other under the same category." This Ramistic principle is cited from Johannes Piscator, *In apocalypsin Johannis commentarius* (1613). See also Mather, "Problema Theologicum," p. 406.

<sup>932</sup> The group of those postmillennialist exegetes who would "absurdly" understand the first resurrection in a "spiritual" (individual regeneration of Christians) and "political" (regeneration of churches and the body politic) sense also included Mather's own maternal grandfather John Cotton, who in his *The Churches Resurrection, or the Opening of the Fift and Sixt Verses of the 20<sup>th</sup> Chapter of Revelation* (1642) put forth an allegorical, non-corporeal interpretation of this part of Revelation.

Lord? I think, I did well, to call this, a *wonderful Absurdity*! But some Judicious Expositors, make the *First Resurrection* to bee a thing of the same Kind, with the *Resurrection of the Witnesses* elsewhere spoken of: and as having thus much intended in it, *That when Antichrist is destroy'd, the Church then shall be delivered from the Death of Affliction, & continue in a State of glorious Rest & Peace, for a Thousand Years before the Day of Judgment, a State, wherein Men shall bee Ruled by the Lawes of the Lord Jesus Christ, & none but Saints will have Power in their Hands.* But this implies, that the *Death of the Saints*, that are the *Sons of the First Resurrection*, was but *political*, as that of the *Witnesses*: whereas, it is more than so. Again, This implies, that the *Beheaded Saints lived again*, only in their *Successors*, not in their *own Persons*; whereas, a *Resurrection*, as the Word itself imports, is of *the Same*; and it were a very Dangerous thing, & very Destructive unto the Consolation of the Faithful, to suppose, the Promises unto the *Over-comers*, to bee fulfilled only unto *other People*, that shall Rise up after them. No, they are the very *Individual Sufferers* for our Lord, that are to *Rise & Reign* with Him. Furthermore; *They are Blessed & Holy, & the second Death shall have no Power over them*, that have a Part in the *First Resurrection*. But, will a *political Resurrection* advance any Persons, unto such *Blessedness & Holiness*? Or, will there bee a Time, when the Church in this World shall have no *Reprobate* in it, for a Thousand Years together? Or, must not the *Tares* bee with the *Wheat* unto the End of the World? Besides, will *all the Dead* have a *political Resurrection*, at the End of the *Thousand Years*? Moreover, This *political Resurrection* does imply, that the People of God, shall enjoy a full *Prosperity*, & a *Dominion*, in this *present World*, for many Ages: whenas, the Scripture tells us of this *present evil World*, & of the *Persecution*, & the *Tribulation*, which must ever attend us in it, & of our *Sufferings* during this *present Time*, even until the *Creation* shall bee delivered from the *Bondage of Corruption*, which is now upon it; & until wee arrive to the *Redemption of our Bodies*. The *Kingdome* that wee expect is, in the *World to Come*; and our Expectation to *Reign over the Earth*, will not bee accomplished until the *Conflagration* have made a *New Earth*, wherein shall *dwell the Righteous*. The *Last Dayes* of this World, will bee *perillous Times*; it is not said; that only *some* of the *Last Dayes* will bee so; nor may wee distinguish, where the *Scripture* does not; wee may not imagine, that a *Thousand Years* of the *Last Dayes* will not bee *perillous*.<sup>933</sup>

Finally, *Primitive* and *Orthodox* Christianitie, was of this Mind.<sup>934</sup> Indeed, since *Antichristianism* ha's prevailed, the Doctrine of the *First Resurrection*, with the millennial Reign, ha's been condemned for *Heresy*. *Baronius* calls, it *Heresy*,

<sup>933</sup> See Mather, "Problema Theologicum," pp. 406–08. Interestingly, in "Problema", Mather simply wrote, "it will not be accomplished until there be a *New Earth*, wherein shall Dwell *Righteousness*" (408). The reference to the Petrine Conflagration was thus added later.

<sup>934</sup> The manuscript is badly damaged here, but the illegible parts could be supplied from "Problema."

tho' *A Lapide*, more modestly saies tis an error, nevertheless hee durst not call it *Heresy* because it was never condemned by any Council.<sup>935</sup> If this *Opinion* be *Hæretical*, the *Fathers* and *Martyrs* in the Primitive Times were *Hereticks*. *Jerom* was one of the first who sett himself against it; nevertheless hee saies, *hee durst not condemn it, because many ecclesiastical Doctors & Martyrs have taught it.*<sup>936</sup> In the first & second Century, this Doctrine was opposed by none but *Hereticks* that wholly Denied the *Resurrection*. There can bee nothing more full than the Words of *Justin Martyr*, who tells *Trypho*, the Jew, that not only himself, but *εἰ τινες εἰσιν ὀρθογνώμονες κατὰ πάντα χριστιανοί*<sup>937</sup>

*Whatever Christians were throughly Orthodox, did Beleeve the Resurrection and the Thousand Years in Jerusalem, as the Prophet Isaiah & Ezekiel had foretold. For Isaiah speaking (saies he) of the Times of these Thousand Years, saith, There shall bee a New Heaven, & a New Earth. Hee adds; One of ours, whose Name was John, one of the Twelve Apostles of Christ, in the Revelation, exhibited unto him, ha's foretold, that they who beleeve on our Christ, shall continue a thousand Years, in Jerusalem, and after that shall bee the universal Resurrection & Judgment.* Now that this Learned and Holy Man, who lived within Thirty Years of the Apostle *John*, should affirm, That *all Orthodox Christians* did then Beleeve, a particular *Ressurrection*, at the Beginning of the *Thousand Years*, and after that, a *Catholick Resurrection of all together*, as his Words are, This is a Demonstration, that this Doctrine was Received from the Apostles themselves. *Irenæus* was contemporary with *Justin*, & was himself also a *Martyr*.<sup>938</sup> Now hee does assert such a *Resurrection*, as wee have been pleading for, & employes a whole Chapter to prove, that the Scriptures, by him alledged for it, will not admitt of *Allegorical Interpretations*. Hee affirms, that the *Elders*, who knew that Apostle *John*, declared that they Received this Doctrine from him, and that *John* was thus taught by our Lord Himself. In some Editions of *Irenæus*; the five last Chapters of his fifth Book against *Hæresies*, are left out; and *Fevardentius* confesses, that hee beleeves the Reason was, because therein *Irenæus* discovers himself to be a *Chiliast*.<sup>939</sup> Behold, another Demonstration, That this Doctrine, ha's nothing

935 Reference is made to Baronius, *Annales ecclesiastici* in the chapter on the year 383. See, for example, p. 401 in vol. 5 (1739) of the Lucca edition. Here Baronius reports that a council under Pope Damasus condemned all the teachings of Apollinaris of Laodicea, including his millennialism ("quod at antiquam hæresim Millenariorum spectabat"). Further reference is made to Cornilius à Lapide, *Commentarius in Apocalypsin S. Iohannis*, p. 300.

936 See Jerome, *Commantariolum in Jeremiam prophetam libri sex*, 4.15 [PL 24. 802; CSEL 59].

937 The phrase *εἰ τινες εἰσιν ὀρθογνώμονες κατὰ πάντα Χριστιανοί* [ei tines eisin orthognomones kata panta Christianoi] means "and others, who are right-minded Christians on all points." From Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho*, 80.5.31–35 [PG 6. 668]; transl.: ANF (1:638). Cf. Mather, "Problema Theologicum," pp. 408–09.

938 See Irenæus, *Adversus hæreses*, 5.33 [PG 7.2.1213; SC 153]; transl.: ANF (1:1382).

939 Mather, "Problema Theologicum," pp. 409–10. Reference is made to Francis Fevardentius (Francois Feuardent, 1539–1610), *Sancti Irenæi Lugdunensis episcopi adversus ... hæreses libri quinque* (1576).



short of *Apostolical Tradition*, to recommend it unto us. No less Men than *Papias* (if not *Polycarp* also) when the {\*} *Eusebius*, after all his harshest Reflections on him, for *Weakness* of Judgment, owns to have been a holy *Man*, were those, who received our Exposition of the *First Resurrection* from the Apostles themselves.<sup>940</sup>

[87r] | <sup>941</sup>

**Q.** Of what Years are we to understand the *Thousand Years*? v. 7.

**A.** Many Ingenious Men, understand them, not of *Natural*, or *Literal*, but of *Prophetical Years*. Every *Day* in this long Space of Time, is putt for a *Year*. So that the Space of *Three Hundred & Sixty odd Thousand Years*, is here assigned, for the Kingdome of our Lord upon the Earth.

Among the rest, Mr. *Robert Bragge* offers these Reasons for it.<sup>942</sup>

“First. If we understand the *Thousand Years*, but of so many *Natural Years*, *Antichrists* Reign will be Two Hundred & Threescore Years longer than *CHRISTS*: And of Consequence, *CHRISTS* Kingdome on Earth, will, in Point of Duration, be inferiour to *Antichrists*: which ought not to be admitted.

Secondly. *Satans* Kingdome, who may well be said to have Reigned from the Entrance of Sin, to the Spreading of the Gospel; and still Reigns where the Gospel never came, That will be Four, if not Five, or Six times as Long as *CHRISTS*. Now, ought it to be said, that *Satans* Kingdome, in point of Duration, out-does *CHRISTS*.

Thirdly. The Days of Sorrow and Suffering, if compared with those of the Churches Enlargement, are represented in Scripture, to be but Few. Rev. II.10. *Ye shall have Tribulation Ten days*. Whereas according to the usual Account of these Thousand Years, the Days of her Enlargement on Earth, will not be half so many, as those of her Suffering: which must not be allowed.

In a Word; can any good Reason be assigned, why the same Rules which are observed in Interpreting *Daniels Weeks*, and the *Apocalyptic Months & Days*, should not be observed in explaining these *Thousand Years*; which being thus expounded, sett the Glory of *CHRIST* and His Administration here on Earth, in a becoming Light?”

**Q.** That very dark affair of *Gog* and *Magog*? v. 8.

**A.** I will recite some Words of a late Learned, but Nameless, Writer of *Annotations on the Revelation*.<sup>943</sup>

<sup>940</sup> See the fragments of Papias, fragm. 1, contained in Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses*, 5.33 [PG 7.2.1214; SC 153]; and Polycarp, *Letter*, 7.1 [PG 5. 1017–19]; transl.: LCL 24, p. 343; the other reference is to Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, 3.39.12 [PG 19. 300]; transl.: LCL 153, pp. 294–97.

<sup>941</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>942</sup> This entry is derived from Robert Bragge, *A Brief Essay concerning the Soul of Man*, pp. 32–33.

<sup>943</sup> The “late Learned, but Nameless, Writer” is Edward Waple. See his *The Book of the*

“It is plain, that in this Place, they can be no other than some of those, to whom the Thousand Years are here assigned. And seeing it cannot be supposed, that the Saints of any Kind can be possibly engaged in such a Design against Christs Kingdome, it will follow, that by these Nations must be understood, the *Remnant Slain, the Rest of the Dead, who lived not again, or the Dead Wicked, raised unto a State of Condemnation*, & continuing under the Terrors of it, during the Glories of Christs Kingdome; who are now stirred up by *Satan*, their Head and Ringleader, to attack the Camp of the Saints upon Earth; whom he thought he might easily overcome, now the more immediate Presence and Assistance of *Christ*, was withdrawn from them. And to this Sense agree many Expressions in *Ezekiel*, who calls them, the *Multitude*, or *Nations of the Dead*. [Chap. XXXIX.8–17.]

The *wicked Nations*, as they went *down to Hell* [according to the Expressions of *Ezekiel*, Chap. XXXII.26, 27.] *with their Weapons of War*, that is with the same Enmity to Christ, in which they lived; and *laid their Swords under their Heads*, in a Readiness to act the same Wickedness over again; so are they raised with the same *Passions*, only the more enraged for their Punishments; and may very well be supposed out of Envy and Revenge, for their long Confinement under a State of Punishment, & Infamy, to engage in this Attempt.

The *Dead Wicked* were condemned, at first to the *Four Corners of the Earth*; which were as a Kind of *Hades*, or common Receptacle of the Dead, answerable to the *Hamonah*, or *City of the Dead Carcases*, in *Ezekiel*.”

[87v]

Q. That marvellous Affayr of *Gog and Magog*, has exercised the Thoughts of learned Men, more than a little. And tho’ it may not be worth our While, to recite all the Conjectures of the Learned upon it, yett we may allow one more to be recited? v. 8.

A. There is one Mr. *John Smith*, who in a large Treatise, entituled, *Christian Religious Appeal*, ha’s a Discourse on this noble and obscure Subject. I shall, without any Reflection of my own, one Way or another, give you as much of his Opinion, as I think worthy of Consideration.

He supposes, at the End of the *Thousand Years*, a *General Resurrection*, of those that have made a Profession of *Christianity*, or that may pretend any Claim to the *Covenant* of our Saviour.<sup>944</sup>

*Revelation*, pp. 456–64. On Gog and Magog, see the annotations on Isa. 24:22 (*BA* 5:697–98) and essay in Mather’s *Trip paradisus*, pp. 289–94. Even though he spent much energy and ink on this topic, Mather admitted that the identities of Gog and Magog were ultimately shrouded in mystery. One important factor that kept Mather searching for a clearer answer was the influential millennialist speculations of Nicholas Fuller and, especially, Joseph Mede. On this, see the Introduction.

<sup>944</sup> This entry and all the references are derived from John Smith, *Christian Religion’s Appeal from the Groundless Prejudices of the Septick, To the Bar of Common Reason* (1675), bk. 4, ch. 8,

He supposes, that while these are gathered unto the *Place of Judgment* (which the Ancient Church took to be, the *Valley of Jehoshaphat*;) and in Expectation of their Trial for Admission into the *Heavenly City*, the whole *Pagan World of Idolaters*, and their Partners, will be also *Raised from the Dead*.

He supposes, that *Satan* will now be *lett loose*, to exert his Influences upon these, as upon *Cattel* evidently belonging unto him; and by certain unknown Insinuations (perhaps, perswading them, that it was *he* who *Raised them from the Dead*) prevail with them, to march up under the Conduct of him, & his Angels, to compass & conquer the *Camp of the Saints*, and make themselves Masters of the *Heavenly City*.

While this is doing, the *Judge* appears, and with the *Devouring Fire* that goes before Him, destroys them in a Moment. They are taken in the Act of Rebellion, as *Corah* was with his Accomplices, & there is no Need of a Formal Trial upon them.

When the Infidels are thus dispatch'd, the *great white Throne* shall be erected, for the *Trial* of such as have professed the Worshipping of the one *True God thro' the Seed of the Woman*; or, the Embracing of the *Covenant of Grace* in the various Dispensations of it; The whole Flock, who shall have the *Benefit of the Book*, & be judged according to the Terms in the *Book of the Covenant*.

It is very certain, That the Ancients made a Distinction, which *Aquinas* has taken up; *A Judgment of Retribution*, and, *A Judgment of Examination*. *A Judgment of Retribution* shall be dispensed unto them that never heard the Gospel. *A Judgment of Examination*, they say, shall pass upon those only, that have had the Gospel preach'd unto them. I don't know, but the very Words of *Aquinas* may be acceptable, [Sum. Pa. 3. qu. 89. Art. 7, 8.] *Judicium quod est Retributio pro Peccatis, omnibus competit; Judicium quod est Discussio meritorum Solis Fidelibus, nullo modo Infidelibus; nec Angelis vel Bonis, vel Malis.*<sup>945</sup> But lett us repair to the Ancients. *He that Beleeveeth not is Condemned already*. *Lactantius* argues, That *Infidels* will not be Examined, but Destroy'd, before the Lord. [*De Divino Premio*. 7.20.]<sup>946</sup>

---

sec. 1, pp. 66–68. Smith (fl. 1675–1711) was an Anglican divine and rector of St. Mary's, Colchester. His *Christian Religion's Appeal* can be characterized as an apologetic and controversial work that primarily aimed to refute the opinions of modern skeptics by proving the reasonableness of Christianity and by providing rational or factual evidence for the truthfulness of its teachings.

<sup>945</sup> “The judgment as regards the sentencing to punishment for sin concerns all, whereas the judgment as regards the discussion of merit concerns only believers; in no way unbelievers, nor angels, whether good or bad.” From Smith, a reference to Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, part 3, qu. 89, art. 7, 8; in: *Summa Theologiae Supplementum* 69–99, vol. 22 of the Latin-English *Opera Omnia* (Emmaus Academic, 2012).

<sup>946</sup> From Smith, a reference to Lactantius, *The Divine Institutes*, bk. 7, ch. 20 [PL 6. 799]; *ANF* (7:480).

Jerom saies, [in Mic. 4.] *Nos juxtà operum nostrorum Mensuram judicabit, illos verò non judicabit, sed arguet condemnatos.*<sup>947</sup>

Austin saies, [Serm. 38. de Sanctus.] *Ad Judicium, non veniunt, nec Pagani, nec Hærenci, nec Judæi.*<sup>948</sup>

Gregory M. saies, [Moral. 26.] *Alii Judicantur et Pereunt, alii non judicantur, et pereunt.*<sup>949</sup>

Isidore saies, [Sent. l. 1. c. 27.] *Qui intrà Ecclesiam mali sunt, Judicandi sunt, et Damnandi; Qui verò extrà Ecclesiam inveniendi sunt, non sunt Judicandi, sed tantùm Damnandi.*<sup>950</sup>

Our Author thinks, That those whom our Lord Judges from His *white Throne*, can be no other, but such as could say, *Lord, Lord!* and plead something like, *we have Eat and Drank in thy Presence*. The *Goats* themselves belong to the *visible Flock* of the Lord. How far this Distinction will Illustrate the Dark Matter before us, I leave to the Consideration of the Reader.<sup>951</sup>

| <sup>952</sup>

[88r]

**Q.** That mysterious Affayr of *Gog* and *Magog*; may it not be yett further considered and cultivated? v. 8.

**A.** Mr. *Thomas Staynoe*, in a Treatise entituled, *Salvation by JESUS CHRIST Alone*, has bestowed some Notable & Curious Thoughts, upon this obscure Prophecy, of which I shall here give some Account, without making myself Responsible for them, or obliging myself alwayes to Defend them.

This valuable & penetrating Gentleman observes, the exceeding Difficulty of it; That if Men are to obtain *Salvation by JESUS CHRIST Alone*, and such a Doctrine can only be known by *Revelation*; it looks very strange, that the *Revelation* is not made known unto *All*. If the *Revelation* be Necessary for *Any*, it is Necessary for *All*; and there are many Passages in the *Revelation*, which intimate, that the *Salvation* is what it is Intended *All* should have a Share in the Offer of. But if None shall be saved, but they who *Beleeve* in JESUS CHRIST the only Saviour, how shall we account for the *Future Condition* of those, who in *this Life*, never heard of Him? The *Disbeleef* whereto *Damnation* is allowed, must be

<sup>947</sup> “For he will judge us according to the measure of our works; those, however, he will not judge, but he will convict as condemned.” From Smith, a reference to Jerome, *In Michæam*, lib. 1, cap. 4 [PL 25. 1190; CCSL 76].

<sup>948</sup> “Neither the pagans nor the heretics nor the Jews come to the judgment.” From Smith, a reference to Augustine, *Sermones de Sanctis*, sermo 70 [PL 39. 2526].

<sup>949</sup> “Some are judged and perish, the others are not judged and perish.” From Smith, a reference to Gregory the Great’s notes on the gospel of John in *Expositio Veteris ac Novi Testamenti*, lib. 4, cap. 6, [PL 79. 1076].

<sup>950</sup> “Those who are inside the church are to be judged as wicked and are to be condemned. But those who are to be found outside the church are not to be judged, but only to be condemned.” Isidore of Seville, *Sentences*, bk. 1, ch. 27 [PL 83. 597A].

<sup>951</sup> The last sentence is Mather’s.

<sup>952</sup> See Appendix B.

contrary to that *Beleef* whereto *Salvation* is allowed. There must be an *Act of the Will* in Both! Now, that they who *never heard* of our Saviour do not *Beleeve* on Him, we cannot so fairly say tis because they *will not*, as tis because they *cannot*; Their *Unbeleef* is a Consequence of *unavoidable Ignorance*. In short, From the Laying of many Things together; to this Ingenious Gentleman, it seems no Improbable Conclusion; *That GOD will be some Way or other, make known His Counsel to ALL MEN for their Salvation, as He has already done to SOME; and that He will also make them acquainted with the Conditions, that He requires of them, in Order to their being made Partakers of such Salvation, and make them acquainted with their Saviour.*<sup>953</sup>

This Matter may be a little explained, by observing, That the *Twentieth Chapter* of the *Revelation* acquaints us, with a *Threefold Resurrection* of the Dead, in the *Future State*.

The *First Resurrection* is of those who have been *Martyrs for JESUS, & for the Word of GOD*; or, of all that have here been Faithful to Him.

The *Second Resurrection* is of those who *live again* at the End of the *Thousand Years*, wherein the Faithful have been Reigning with our Saviour.<sup>954</sup>

And after this, there follows a *Third Resurrection*, which the Chapter concludes withal.

The People of the *Second Resurrection*, seem to be those who in *This Life* never heard of our Saviour, nor had an Offer of Salvation made unto them. As for those who have in *This Life* been made acquainted with the Saviour, and by Rejecting Him, have putt away Salvation from themselves, they shall be Raised unto *Condemnation*; And this will be in the *Third Resurrection*.

But for the *Raised Ones*, who have not in *This Life* been guilty of this Rebellion against the only Saviour, we read, *Satan is lett loose to Tempt the Nations*; and his *Temptation* must be from something that is *good*, to something that is *evil*: The main Design of his *Temptation*, will be to seduce these People from a *Beleeving* in, and *Receiving* of a *Saviour*, and obtaining the *Salvation*, which they shall THEN have a Tender of. A SAVIOUR will THEN be *Tendered* unto them, and they will then be putt upon a *Probation*, whether they will entertain Him on the Conditions of the Gospel. If they *do*, they shall be advanced unto the Happiness and Communion of the *Saints*, who are the *Children of the First Resurrection*; They shall *Dy no more*; but shall be *Taken*, to & by the Lord, and Escape that *Fire from Heaven*, which will destroy the rest, who *besiege the Beloved City*. Tho' GOD will not permitt the *Devil* to Tempt those of the *First Resurrection* any more, because they have already in *This Life* overcome

<sup>953</sup> Derived from Thomas Staynoe, *Salvation by Jesus Christ Alone (As it is expressly laid down in the Scriptures) Agreeable to the Rules of Reason, And to the Laws of Justice* ([1700] 1704), pp. 393–400. Staynoe's rumination on Gog and Magog are also cited in Mather's *Tripuradus*, p. 292.

<sup>954</sup> Staynoe, *Salvation by Jesus Christ Alone*, p. 402.

*the Wicked One*; yett those of the *Second Resurrection*, being on some accounts in the same Case, which the Former were in *This Life*, therefore the *Devil* is lett loose to Tempt these *NOW*, as he did the former in this present World.<sup>955</sup>

If it be enquired, why these People are called, *Nations*? We are to note, That upon the *Second Resurrection*, there are Two Sorts of People on the Face of the Earth. First, there are the Inhabitants of the *New Jerusalem*, the *Beloved City*. Now, as of old, the *Israelites*, who were the People of GOD, (and whose chief City was *Jerusalem*) were in the Scriptures, opposed unto the *Gentiles*, that is, unto the rest of the World; so, in allusion to *That*, the Faithful in CHRIST are in several Places of the New Testament, called, *The Israel of GOD*: And a sincerely good Man is called, *An Israelite indeed*. Accordingly, those of the *First Resurrection* are now, the *Israel of God*, the People of *Israel*. But those of the *Second Resurrection* are called, *The Nations*, because they shall now stand in several Circumstances unto those of the *First Resurrection*, as the *Gentiles* did unto the *Jews*, at the first Promulgation of the Gospel. For, *Salvation was of the Jews*; and *Paul* tells them, and our Saviour so appointed, *It was necessary, that the Word of GOD should have been first spoken unto you. — Lo, | we turn unto the Gentiles*. But still the First Converts to *Christianity* were *Israelites*, and the *Gentiles* were added unto the Church afterward. The Greek Word used here, for those of the *Second Resurrection*, is,<sup>956</sup> Εθνῆ· which we commonly render, *Gentiles*. Here we find, the *Israel of GOD*, first Raised in the World to come, that they may enjoy the Promises of the *Messiah*, and become the Inhabitants of the *Holy City*. And AFTER THEM, Those who had been utter *Strangers*, and *Aliens from the Commonwealth of Israel*, are also Raised, and have the *Messiah* made known unto them, & are putt into a Capacity of *entring into His Rest*. But these *Gentiles* are capable of being *seduced* by Satan; and are actually seduced by him, to refuse His Government, and the Blessings of it offered unto them. The *Multitude* of these cannot be any other than so great, that it may justly be said, *Their Number is as the Sand of the Sea*. And probably the Number of the *Seduced* in Proportion to the Number of the *Obedient*, may be, as it was with those who heard of our Saviour in *This World*, where *Many are called*, but *Few are chosen*.<sup>957</sup>

[88v]

These are the *Gog and Magog*; and our *Staynoe* finds very much Agreement, between this *Gog and Magog*, of *John*, and that of *Ezekiel*.

There may now be Two Reasons given, why the Scriptures do not more expressly mention a *Probation* after the *Resurrection*, for those, who in *This World* know nothing of a SAVIOUR.

955 Staynoe, *Salvation by Jesus Christ Alone*, pp. 411–17.

956 In the NT context, ἔθνος [ethnos] indeed usually denotes “gentiles,” i. e., those separate from the people of God.

957 Staynoe, *Salvation by Jesus Christ Alone*, pp. 418–22. See Matt. 22:14.

First, It is a Matter which does not concern them who *Have* the Scriptures. For by the Scriptures *They* may come to the Knowledge of our Saviour in *This Life*; which is as much as concerns *Them*.

And then; Had this Matter been *putt* into the Scriptures, yett those who had *not* the Scriptures in *This Life*, could not, for that Cause, have known any thing of it; so that it would have been inserted in Vain for *Them* also.

But yett, when the Account which the Scriptures give us, of Gods Dealing with Mankind, is drawing towards a *Conclusion*, they give us what we may call some *Duskie Glimpses* of such an Oeconomy.

At last there comes the *Third* and *Last Resurrection*; which will be only the *Resurrection* of *Gog* and *Magog*; and of All those who refused the SAVIOUR in *This Life*, as *Gog* and *Magog* did, after their being *Raised from the Dead*.

*All the Dead in CHRIST*, have their Part in the *First Resurrection*. And Those *Die no more*. And all of the *Second Resurrection*, who become His *Followers*, will partake in their Fælicity.

But in the *Great Judgment* that follows on the *Third Resurrection*, the *Judgment* that will be passed, will be only upon *Unbelievers*. The *Books* then *opened*, are distinct from the *Book of Life*; And they are *Judged* only out of these *Books*. If the *Book of Life* contained all the *Saved*, then those who are *Judged* out of *Books* Distinct from *That*, can only be the *Reprobate*.<sup>958</sup>

The *Scheme* which this Gentleman has thus laid before us, is encumbered with several Difficulties.

We will not mention, his not giving us an Account, what will be the Condition of the People Raised in the *Second Resurrection*; how far it may *Agree* with, & how far it may *Differ* from, *Flesh and Blood*, or the Animal Circumstances of this present Life: whereof, since the *Scriptures* are silent, it is unreasonable to expect an Account from our Author.

But we will mention one *Hard Saying* in it.<sup>959</sup>

The *Scriptures* teach us, *That as many as have Sinned without the Law, shall also Perish without the Law; and as many as have Sinned in the Law, shall be Judged by the Law*; And this, *In the Day when GOD shall Judge the Secrets of Men by Jesus Christ*, as the *Gospel* has declared unto us.<sup>960</sup> Does not This intimate, that in the *ungospellized Pagans*, the *Rebellions* against *Natural Conscience*, or against the Principle | of *Return* and *Homage* to GOD, which GOD who *forms the Spirit of Man within him*, has imprinted on every *Spirit* that comes out of His Hands, with which they are chargeable, are sufficient for the *Condemning* of them, and are what they shall be condemned for?

[89r]

<sup>958</sup> Staynoe, *Salvation by Jesus Christ Alone*, pp. 426–29.

<sup>959</sup> See Appendix A. Here Mather again canceled several paragraphs that reflect his changing view of the eschatological conversion and exaltation of the Jews. The last three paragraphs seem to be Mather's own reflections. They are not in Staynoe.

<sup>960</sup> See Rom. 2:12–16.

And yett, it may be replied, That the Pænitents of the *World to Come*, will in the *Repentance* whereto they shall be Brought, *Judge* and Confess and Abhor themselves, as worthy of *eternal Condemnation* for those Rebellions. But the Impænitent, which will be the more Numerous, coming to *perish eternally*, will have the Guilt of their old Abominations lying on them, with the superadded Aggravation of having also *Now* shaken off the *golden Yoke* of Him who would have delivered them.

I do not say, I have proposed, what may do, for the Removal of the Encumbrance. All that I shall as yett say, is; That if it, & what else may be objected, could be fairly removed, the *Scheme* would be found admirably calculated, for Noble Purposes. The Administration of Providence in some of its obscurest Articles would be admirably vindicated: And many *Appearances* which are now very shocking to *Humane Reason*, and fill us with Amazement and Confusion, will no longer distract us. We have a *Light*, with which we may now *walk thro' Darkness*: And the Thoughts which have been like the *Piercing of a Dart* in the *Reins* of many, will cease to be so.<sup>961</sup>

[▽Insert from 86v]

[▽86v]

**Q.** That Passage, *I saw the Dead, small & great, stand before God*: What Passage of the O. T. may be considered here? v. 12.

**A.** That; Job. 3.19. *The Small & Great are there*. Those whom *Job* saw going into the *Grave*, *John* saw coming out of the *Grave*.

[△Insert ends]

[△]

| [blank]

[89v]

<sup>961</sup> Here half a page was torn off.



**Q.** We find at last, *The World* gloriously delivered from *the Curse* that is now upon it; and the *Evil*, the beginning whereof ha's been a Subject of so much dark Enquiry, come to an End.<sup>962</sup> Had the *Pagans* any Tradition among them, of this wonderful Matter? v. 1.

**A.** If we go to a Tradition of the Pagans, it must be, with such Thoughts as *Minutius Felix* ha's armed us withal. *Animadvertis Philosophos eadem disputare quæ dicimus; non quòd nos sumus eorum Vestigia subsecuti, sed quòd illi de divinis Predicationibus Prophetarum, Umbram interpolate Veritatis imitati sunt.*<sup>963</sup>

I may now invite you to consider a surprising Tradition, mentioned by *Plutarch*, in his Treatise of *Isis* and *Osiris*.<sup>964</sup>

About the *Origin of Evil*, ποθεν η κακια,<sup>965</sup> there was much Enquiry among the Ancients. They conceived, that there were Two Gods; one of the Original of *Good*, the other of *Evil*; the former was Θεος, the latter was Δαιμων.<sup>966</sup> According to *Zoroaster*, the Name of the former, *Oromazes*; of the latter, *Arimanius*. *Oromazes* was resembled unto *Light*; *Arimanius* to *Darkness*. They sacrificed unto *Oromazes*, that they might obtain *Favours*; unto *Arimanius*, that they might avoid *Mischief*s. There is a War between *Oromazes*, and *Arimanius*. *Oromazes* lodged the World in an *Egg*; but *Arimanius* perforated it. Hence there is every where a perpetual Mixture of *Good* and *Evil*: [Αναμεικται τα κακα τοις αγαθοις.]<sup>967</sup> And from the Enmity between *Oromazes* and *Arimanius*,

<sup>962</sup> The rest of this entry is written with a different pen, though it still seems to be Mather's handwriting. It is derived from John Worthington, *Miscellanies*, pp. 204–22.

<sup>963</sup> “The philosophers, you observe, use the same arguments as we [teach]; not that we have followed their footsteps, but that they, from the divine predictions of the prophets, have borrowed the shadow of a garbled truth.” From Worthington, Mather cites the third-century Christian apologist, Marcus Minucius Felix (*Minutius Felix*), *Octavius*, 34.5 [PL 3. 360; CSEL 2]; transl.: *LCL* 250, pp. 418–19.

<sup>964</sup> In the following, Mather, via Worthington, refers to Plutarch's essay *Isis and Osiris*, 370A–B, in *Moralia*; transl.: *LCL* 306, pp. 108–15. For a parallel discussion of the origins of evil in Zoroastrianism and Christianity, see Mather's entry on Isa. 45:7 (*BA* 5:777–78).

<sup>965</sup> Mather provides an accurate transl. of the phrase ποθεν η κακια [pothen he kakia].

<sup>966</sup> The terms θεός [theos] and δαίμων [daimon] mean “God” or “divine being” and “[evil] spirit,” respectively.

<sup>967</sup> Plutarch's phrase αναμεικται τα κακα τοις αγαθοις [anamemeiktai ta kaka tois agathois] translates as: “evils are now combined with good.” The ancient Persian religion of Zoroastrianism has a cosmology combining monotheistic elements with a dualism between good and evil: a supreme, uncreated, and benevolent deity of wisdom, Ahura Mazda (Wise Lord; “Oromazes” in Mather's terminology) is opposed by Angra Mainyu (“Arimanius”), a destructive spirit or spiritual principle. Human beings are given a choice to side with these contending forces, but, according to Zoroastrian eschatology, the ultimate conquest of evil by good is to be expected. On Zoroastrianism, see also Mather's essay “V. *Antiqua*. or, Our Sacred Scriptures illustrated, with some Accounts of the *Sabians* and the *Magians*” at the end of this volume.

what Works are done by one are spoilt by the other. But a *Time decreed by Fate* will come, when *Arimanius* must be totally destroy'd by *Oromazes*; [φθαρηναι πανταπασι και αφανισθηναι.]<sup>968</sup> Then the Earth being brought into an admirably smooth Condition, Men shall all be universally Blessed, and Inhabit *one City*, [μian politeian ανθρωπων μακαριων και ομογλωσσων]<sup>969</sup> and have one Way of *Living*, & speak one *Language* & enjoy a wonderful Happiness.<sup>970</sup>

*Plutarch* saies, This was a very ancient Opinion, [παμπάλαιος δοξα.]<sup>971</sup> derived from Theologues & Lawgivers; the First Author of it unknown; but it had obtained, [την πιστιν ισχυραν και δυσεξαλειπτον.] a Beleeif that was *Firm and Indelible*.<sup>972</sup>

This is a marvellous Tradition.

Dr. *Worthington* ha's made brief Annotations on it. He observes, that it contains no contemptible Reliques of the Truth; of *God*, the Maker of the World, & of *Satan*, the Fountain of Evil.

When God is called *Light*, it is a very scriptural Comparison. See, 1. Joh. 1.5. and, Jam. 1.17. with many other Places.<sup>973</sup>

And *Satan* is called, *The Prince of Darkness*; and his Power is called, *The Power of Darkness*. [Luk. 22.53.] The *evil Angels* are called, Eph. 6.12. κοσμοκράτορες του σκοτους του αιωνος τουτου.<sup>974</sup> *Prudentius* ha's thus rendred it; *sed cum Spiritibus tenebrosis nocte dieque congregimur, quorum dominatibus humidus iste et pigris densus nebulis obtemperat aer*.<sup>975</sup> It is a little surprising to see the Word κοσμοκράτωρ gott into the Writings of the Hebrews.<sup>976</sup> But there is this Passage in *Vajikra rabba* §.18. *Quandò Israelitæ steterunt in Monte Sinai*,

<sup>968</sup> Plutarch's phrase φθαρηναι παντάπασι και αφανισθηναι [phtharenai pantapasi kai aphanis-thenai] translates as: "shall be annihilated and shall disappear."

<sup>969</sup> Plutarch's phrase μian politeian ανθρωπων μακαριων και ομογλωσσων [mian politeian anthropon makarion kai homoglosson] translates as: "one form of government for a blessed people who shall all speak one tongue."

<sup>970</sup> From Worthington, *Miscellanies*, pp. 214–15.

<sup>971</sup> Mather provides an accurate transl. of Plutarch's phrase παμπάλαιος ... δοξα [pampalaaios doxa].

<sup>972</sup> Plutarch's phrase την δε πιστιν ισχυραν και δυσεξαλειπτον [ten de pistin ischyran kai dys-exaleipton] translates as: "a strong and almost indelible conviction."

<sup>973</sup> See Worthington, *Miscellanies*, pp. 216–17.

<sup>974</sup> "Against the world rulers of this darkness [in this age]" (*NET*). From Worthington, Mather cites Eph. 6:12 in the *Textus Receptus* version: τοὺς κοσμοκράτορας τοῦ σκότους τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου [tous kosmokratoras tou skotous tou aionos toutou], whereas modern critical editions omit τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου [tou aionos toutou].

<sup>975</sup> "But it is with spirits of darkness that we contend night and day, which bear rule over the damp and heavy-clouded air." Mather cites Prudentius, *The Origin of Sin*, 509–16; transl.: *LCL* 387, pp. 240–41.

<sup>976</sup> The word Κοσμοκράτωρ [Kosmokrator] is a compound noun of κόσμος ([kosmos] "world") and κρατέω ([krateo] "to have strength or power"), which is a rare and late coinage that possibly derives from the astrological usage. Cf. *TDNT*, 3:913; Lincoln, T., "Ephesians," in *WBC* 42, p. 444, who comments "the use of this term for evil spirit powers here may indicate that the writer shares the view of Paul in 1 Cor. 10:20 that pagan gods are closely linked with

*et dixerunt, quicquid edixerit Dominus, faciemus; eâ horâ vocavit Deus Angelum mortis, et dixit ei, quamvis fecerim te /קוֹזְמוֹקְרָטוֹר/ Cosmocratora inter Creaturas, nihil tamen tibi rei sit cum hoc Populo.*<sup>977</sup> Compare, Eph. 2.2. and Act. 26.18.<sup>978</sup>

It is very odd, that in *Baptism*, among the Ancients, when the *Baptised* renounced Satan, Αποτάσσομαι τῷ Σατανᾷ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ, καὶ ταῖς πομπαῖς αὐτοῦ, καὶ πάσῃ τῇ λατρείᾳ αὐτοῦ· they *Turned* them to the *West*, where the Sun setts in *Darkness*. See *Cyrl. Hierosol. Catech. Mystag.* 1.<sup>979</sup> But professing their Faith in Christ, they *Turned* then to the *East*; τοῦ φωτός το χωρίου.<sup>980</sup>

**Q.** Why are the *Names* of the *Twelve Apostles* of the *Lamb*, written on the *Foundations* of the Heavenly City? v. 14.

**A.** As *Grellot* notes; Not because these are the *Foundations* of the Church; But they are the *Architects* who build it on CHRIST, the *great Foundation*. Thus among the Jewes, their *Wisemen*, their *Doctors*, their *Divines*, are called, /בְּנֵי אַרְכִּיטֶקְטִי/ *Architecti*; eò quod laborant in edificando mundo, omnibus diebus suis.<sup>981</sup>

Compare, 1. Cor. 3.10.

[90v]

**Q.** The *City* measured by an *Angel* with, *A golden Reed*? v. 15.

**A.** The *Temple*, in Rev. XI.1. was measured by a *Man*, & with a *common Reed*. The *City* is now measured by an *Angel*, and with a *golden Reed*. It may be to show, that the State now come on, is an *Angelical State*, wherein the *Saints* will be *equal to the Angels*. And that it is *purged* and purified as *Gold*, in the *Fiery Trial* of the Conflagration. And that our *Saviour*, having broken to Peeeces the Heathen Nations, by the *Rod of His Power*, will now measure and govern by a *golden Reed*, (the Emblem of Favour and Reconciliation among the eastern

demonic forces.” There are further instances in Act. Joh. 23; Act. Phil 144, but the term does not occur in the LXX.

<sup>977</sup> “When the Israelites stood at Mount Sinai and said: ‘We will do everything the Lord has said’ – in this hour God called the angel of death and said to him: ‘Even though I have made you the world ruler among the created beings, this people shall be of no concern for you.’” See *Der Midrasch Wajikra Rabba: das ist die haggadische Auslegung des dritten Buches Mose*, at Ex. 19:3–7, vol. 5, p. 119.

<sup>978</sup> From Worthington, *Miscellanies*, pp. 216–17.

<sup>979</sup> “I renounce Satan and all of his works and all of his pomp, and all of his service.” A citation from the early church father Cyril of Jerusalem (Cyrillus Hierosolymitanus; 313–386), *Mystagogiae*, catechesis 1, cap. 2 [PG 33. 1068]; transl. adapted from *NPNFii* (7:374). The PG text has: Αποτάσσομαι σοι, Σατανᾷ (sec. 4) ... Καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἔργοις σου (sec. 5) ... Καὶ πάσῃ τῇ πομπῇ αὐτοῦ (sec. 6) ... Καὶ πάσῃ τῇ λατρείᾳ σου (sec. 8).

<sup>980</sup> The phrase τοῦ φωτός τὸ χωρίον [tou photos to chorion] translates as: “(east), the place of light.”

<sup>981</sup> “The architects, in that they worked for the building of the world, all of their days.” From *Grellotus, Prodomus*, pp. 240–41, Mather cites Talmud, Tractate Shabbat 114a (Soncino, p. 558). The Hebrew term בְּנֵי literally means “builder.”

Nations. Est. IV.11. V. 2. VIII.4.) and that He will no more chastise & correct His People.<sup>982</sup>

**Q.** A Remark upon the *Jewels*? v. 19.

**A.** I find one Mr. *Sarson* making such a Remark as This;

In the Breastplate of the High-Priest, which was a Symbol of the Church under the *Law*, *Levi* has the *Chalcedony*, and *Judah* the *Smaragd*. But in the Foundation of the *New Jerusalem*, the Church under the *Gospel*, now *Levi* has the *Smaragd*, and *Judah* the *Chalcedony*. Our SAVIOUR (who was of *Judah*) being in *Levi's* Place, has putt an End unto the Sacrifices.<sup>983</sup>

**Q.** The *Cities* not wanting the *Sun*, or the *Moon*, because the *Glory of the Lord* is the *Light* thereof? v. 23.

**A.** In *Bamenidbar Rabba*, there is a notable Saying; *magna est Lux Dei S. B. Sol & Luna Mundum illuminant. Et undè illuminant? Ex scintillis Lucis Supernæ arripiunt.*<sup>984</sup>

**Q.** *No Night* there? v. 25.

**A.** Thus in *Bereshith Rabba*, Sect. 91. we read, *Mundus futurus est totus Dies.*<sup>985</sup>

**Q.** It is declared of the Heavenly City, *There shall in no Wise enter into it, anything that defileth*. Is there any thing in the Writings of the *Jewes*, that Harmonizes with this Passage? v. 27.

**A.** The *Talmud* in *Bava Batra*, c. 5. ha's a notable Passage.

*Non uti Jerosolyma hujus Sæculi, sic se habet Jerosolyma futuri Sæculi. Hierosolymam hujus Sæculi, quisquis voluerit, ascendit; At in eam quæ Futuri Sæculi est nulli ascendunt nisi qui illi parati sunt.*<sup>986</sup>

<sup>982</sup> From Waple, *The Book of Revelation*, p. 484.

<sup>983</sup> Mather cites the work of the Cambridge divine, Laurence Sarson (fl. 1643–1645), *An Analysis of the I Timoth., I, 15: And Appendix, which Maybe Called Chronologia Vapulans* (1650), p. 23.

<sup>984</sup> “Great is the light of the holy and blessed God. The sun and the moon illuminate the world. And from where do they illumine it? They take a portion from the sparks of the light above.” From Christopher Cartwright, *Mellificium hebraicum*, lib. 3, cap. 8, in *Critici Sacri* (8:1364), Mather cites Midrash Rabbah, *Numbers*, sect. 15.9, p. 649.

<sup>985</sup> “The future world which is all day.” From Cartwright, Mather cites *Midrash Rabbah*, *Genesis*, sect. 91.10, p. 846.

<sup>986</sup> “There is a great difference between the Jerusalem of this age and the Jerusalem of the future age. Anyone who wants to can go up to the Jerusalem of this age. But to the Jerusalem of the future age no one will ascend but those who are prepared.” From Grelotus, *Prodromus*, p. 247, Mather cites the Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Bava Batra, 75b (Soncino, p. 302).

**Q.** Wherein will consist the Happy State of the Church, to be expected in the latter Dayes? v. 1.

**A.** An Honest Man more than Threescore Years ago, summ'd it up, in the ensuing Articles.<sup>987</sup>

- |                           |                              |
|---------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. The Saints deceased    | Royal JESUS brings.          |
| 2. The Rest released      | mount on Angels Wings.       |
| 3. To Israel mourning     | sound a glorious Call.       |
| 4. To Babel burning       | an eternal Fall.             |
| 5. The World combined     | hath a fatal Blow.           |
| 6. Satan's confined       | to his Den below.            |
| 7. The whole Creation     | finds a full Release.        |
| 8. And every Nation       | flourishes with Peace.       |
| 9. The Mount asunder      | cleaves t'enlarge the Plain; |
| (That Vale of Wonder      | where the Lord must reign.)  |
| 10. The glorious City     | from Gods Throne doth glide. |
| 11. The Nuptial Ditty     | ushers in the Bride.         |
| 12. Thus Saints regaining | an Immortal State.           |
| 13. In Glory Reigning     | while the Sun bears Date.    |
| 14. The Nations bending   | Virgins Voices raise,        |
| 15. (All Duties Ending)   | in Joy, Love, & Praise.      |

[91v] | <sup>988</sup>

**Q.** We read, *The Lord GOD of the Holy Prophets, sent His Angel?* v. 6.

**A.** Behold, a Demonstration, That our Blessed JESUS is, *The Lord GOD of the Holy Prophets*. For by'nd by, v. 16. it follows, *I JESUS have sent my Angel*.

1684.

**Q.** Is there any Passage of the *Old Testament*, whereto our Lord Jesus Christ may refer, when Hee saies, *Behold, I come quickly; and my Reward is with mee, to give every Man according as His Work shall bee?* v. 12.

**A.** Yes, most evidently unto *That*; in Isa. 62.11. *Behold, the Lord hath proclaimed unto the End of the World*, [or, *at the End of the World*, namely, when the *Series* of things to bee done on the Stage of the World, comes to its End, in the Book

<sup>987</sup> Mather here cites the work of the New England lay exegete Samuel Hutchinson (1590–1667) of Boston, *Declaration of a Future Glorious Estate of a Church to be here upon Earth* (1667), p. 3. The “Honest Man” to whom Mather refers seems to be an anonymous author only identified by “T.T.” in Hutchinson’s tract.

<sup>988</sup> See Appendix A.

of God.] *Say yee to the Daughter of Zion, Behold, Thy Salvation [or, Thy Jesus,] cometh; Behold, His Reward is with Him, and His Work before Him.*<sup>989</sup>

**Q.** Upon that, *whosoever will, lett him take the Water of Life freely?* v. 17.

**A.** Compare, Isa. 55.1.

And then consider the Words of Majemon; *Verba Legis* [Scripturæ] *as-simulantur Aquæ; quod dicitur, Heus, quicumque sitit, accedite ad Aquas.*<sup>990</sup>

The same *Rabbi*, in his *More Nevochim*, infers from the Text in *Esaias*; *Sapientiam frequenter vocari Aquam.*<sup>991</sup>

*Abarbanel* also tells us, That *Water* is, *Typus ac Figura Doctrinæ.*<sup>992</sup>

**Q.** How can it be said of any, That they have *their Part taken away out of the Book of Life?* v. 19.

**A.** The learned *Momma* of *Hamburg* ha's this Interpretation.

*Intelligendum est non de Inscriptione, quâ Deus illos inscripsit; ita enim nunquam fuerunt inscripti: sed quâ ipsi se inscripserunt; falsâ persuasione sibi blandientes, et attribuentes id, in quo nunquam habuerunt partem. Illi Nomina sua in Librum Vitæ retulerunt suâ Manu; Dei Manus autem non retulit. Deus falsò relata Nomina, ἀφαίρησει AUFERET, publicè testando, definiendo, demonstrando, illos in Libro Vitæ nec partem, nec consortium habere.*<sup>993</sup>

They had *written themselves* in the *Book of Life*; God never had *written* them there.

<sup>989</sup> The connection to Isa. 62:11 is also made by Grotius in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (6:4971).

<sup>990</sup> "The words of the law [of Scripture] resemble water; therefore it is said, 'Ho, everyone that thirsteth, come ye to the waters.'"

<sup>991</sup> "[T]hat wisdom has frequently been called 'water.'" From Grelletus, *Prodromus*, p. 251, a reference to Maimonides, *More Nebuchim*, bk. 1, ch. 30. See Buxtorf's Latin edition of the *Doctor Perplexorum* (1629), pars 1, cap. 30, p. 37. See *Guide for the Perplexed*, ed. Friedländer, p. 40. Maimonides refers to *Midrash Rabbah*, *Kohélet*, on Koh. 3:13, which explains, "All the eating and drinking mentioned in this Book refer to Torah and good deeds."

<sup>992</sup> "A type and symbol of teaching." From Grelletus, *Prodromus*, p. 251, a reference to Abrahavanel's commentary on Shemot, Ex. 17:5–6. See *Mikraoth Gedoloth*, *Exodus*, p. 132.

<sup>993</sup> "This must not be understood as referring to an inscription by which God entered them [into the Book of Life]. For in that sense they have never been written there, but [it must be understood] of the way in which they wrote themselves there, fooling themselves in a false conviction and attributing that to themselves in which they never had a part. Thus, they have entered their names in the book of life by their own hand. The hand of God did not inscribe them. But God will take away (ἀφαίρησει) the falsely inscribed names, thereby making public, determining and demonstrating that those do not have a part or share in the book of life." From the work of the German Reformed theologian and Hebraist, Wilhelm Momma (1642–1677), *De varia conditione et statu Ecclesiae Dei sub Triplici Oeconomia* (1683), lib. 2, cap. 10, p. 184. The verb ἀφαίρεω [aphaireō] means "take away from."

[92r] | <sup>994</sup>

**Q.** We arrive to that great REVOLUTION, in which the whole Bible terminates. And it will carry in it an Illustration upon more than a little of the Bible, if we may at Length take up some clear and right Apprehensions of it?

**A.** It will do so; and it shall be now endeavoured.

Wee agree to expect; *An Happy State for the Church upon Earth in the Latter Dayes*. We shall be compelled now to seek further Apprehensions of that *Happy State*, than have been commonly received, (and if we *seek* them, in any due Manner, we cannot easily *miss*, Truer ones,) by advancing and maintaining this Assertion;

*That the Second Coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, will be at the Beginning of the Happy State, which according to His Word, we expect for His Church, in the Latter Dayes.*<sup>995</sup>

For my own Part, I find myself compelled unto this Perswasion, by such Arguments, as by me cannot be answered.

I will in the First Place, only Demand; *That the Happy State which we expect for the Church upon Earth, shall continue for a Thousand Years together*. Among the ancients, there was *Nepos*, a Man eminent for Piety and Industry, and Skill in Interpreting the Sacred Scriptures, who published a Book, to prove, *That the Church of God was to enjoy an Happy State upon Earth, for a Thousand Years*; which Book was entituled, Ελεγκος αλληγοριστων. *A Confutation of Allegorical Expositors*.<sup>996</sup>

The Faithful, which fell in with *Nepos*, were, by their adversaries themselves, admired, for their Understanding, Humility, and Moderation, and all the Noble Vertues of Souls *Refined* from the common Dross of the World. But *Nepos* with his Followers, must by all Means be confuted. The *Twelve-hundred and Sixty Years Reign* of the *Man of Sin*, was coming so far on, that the *Thousand Years Reign* of our *Saviour*, must by all Means have a Confutation. *Dionysius* of

<sup>994</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>995</sup> See Mather, "Problema Theologicum," p. 368. The following three paragraphs can be found on p. 375.

<sup>996</sup> Mather refers to the Egyptian bishop Nepos of Arsinoe (early 3<sup>rd</sup> cent.), who defended a literalist-physical understanding of Revelation and the millennium in his writing Ελεγκος αλληγοριστων [elenchos allegoriston] or *Refutation of the Allegorists* (Mather seems to have made a scribal error here with the κ). This work has not survived. We only know it existed indirectly through a reference in Eusebius of Caesarea's *Ecclesiastical History*, 7.24 [PG 20. 693; SC 31]. The chapter "Concerning Nepos, and his Schism" relates how a schismatic movement arose from Nepos's teachings and was led, after his death, by a certain Korakion. Eusebius also tells us that Bishop Dionysius of Alexandria opposed the movement in discussions and in two books *On the Promises*, which are no longer extant either. In them, Dionysius distinguished between the writings of John the Apostle and the Book of Revelation on philological and historical grounds, arguing that they were written by different authors, both called John (RGG). For Mather, of course, Nepos and his movement demonstrate that "primitive" Christianity held to his own premillennialist views.

*Alexandria* writes a Book against *Nepos*, which we find *Jerom* saies, was written against *Irenæus*;<sup>997</sup> and for the better Credit of the Book, lett it pass, as being against *Irenæus* too; A sad Man was *he*! Well; and how must our *Alexandrian Antimillenary* gain his Point? Even by maintaining, That the *Book of Revelation*, (which was the main Pillar and Buttress of *Nepos*'s Opinion) was not written by *John* the Evangelist and Apostle. Truly, There is no other Way of Resisting the Truth, concerning that Space, of at least a *Thousand Years*, intended for the *Happy State of the Church upon Earth*, without not only Denying, *The Book of Revelation*, to be written by the *Beloved Disciple*, but also *Taking away the whole Book of that Prophecy* out of the *Canon*; which I should be lothe to do, if it were for nothing else, but a Line or Two, in the last Chapter of it. Indeed, it is to me, no little Confirmation of that which I take to be the True *Chiliasm*, That the *First Opposers* of it were faign (as you'l find in *Eusebius*) to Deny the Divine Authority, both of the *Apocalypse*, and of the *Second Epistle of Peter*; because the Writers of those Books, it seems, were *Chiliasts*. Desperate Shifts! Miserable the Cause that must be so shifted for!<sup>998</sup>

In the Promise of an *Happy State* for the Church upon Earth, (in the *Twentieth Chapter* of the *Revelation*) we have the Space of, *A Thousand Years*, expressly assign'd for it, no less than *six Times over*, in little more than as many *Lines*. And perhaps in that very *Number of Repetitions*, there may be a mysterious Intimation, that the *Rest* then given to the Church of God; will make full Amends for all the Troubles, which it endured, in all the *Six Thousands* of Years, that must pass away ere the *Seventh* and *Sabbath* do arrive. God is *Delivering His Church* out of *Troubles*, for *Six Millennial Periods*; but under each of them, he would have us comfort ourselves, with the Prospect of the *Seventh*, in which *no Evil shall touch it*. It is plain, That a Space of nothing less than a *Thousand Years*, must be allow'd unto the *Happy State of the Church upon Earth*.<sup>999</sup> How much more may be allow'd, I will not now give you my Speculations.

One thing more, I am to Demand.<sup>1000</sup> *That the Thousand Years of that Happy State, which we expect for the Church upon Earth, are not yett begun*. Some indeed, with *Wickliff*, and *Aretius*, and *Chytræus*, and others, have begun the

<sup>997</sup> On Dionysius of Alexandria's two books against *Nepos*, see the footnote above. In cap. 69 of his *De Viris illustribus* (*Of Famous Men*), Jerome treats Dionysius of Alexandria and mentions the two books *On the Promises* but not Irenæus [PL 23. 679–80]; transl.: *NPNFii* (3:377). In the possibly inauthentic tract on Ps. 1, Jerome mentions Irenæus, Polycarp, and Dionysius as interpreters of Revelation who regarded the book as canonical. See *Commentarioli in Psalmos / Hieronymi, qui deperditi hactenus putabantur; edidit, commentario critico instruxit, prolegomena et indices adjecit*, ed. Germanus Morin (1895), p. 5.

<sup>998</sup> On the early patristic debate over the authorship and canonicity of the Book of Revelation, see the footnote on Mather's entry on Rev. 1:1. On the *Second Epistle of Peter*, see, among other places, Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, 3.3 and 3.25 [PG 20. 215–20, 267–70].

<sup>999</sup> See Mather, "Problema Theologicum," pp. 375–76.

<sup>1000</sup> See Mather, "Problema Theologicum," pp. 377–78.



[92v] Apocalyptical *Thousand Years*, at the *Birth* of our Lord.<sup>1001</sup> Some, | with *Austin*, and *Beda*, and *Pererius*, and others, at the *Death* of our Lord;<sup>1002</sup> some, with *Junius*, and *Paræus*, and *Broughton*, and others, at the Destruction of the Jewish Policy.<sup>1003</sup> And many, many more, have begun these Years, at the Enthroning of *Constantine*. *Alcasar* brags, That *he* was the Inventor of the Computation last mentioned.<sup>1004</sup> But when he brags, what a Wound he had given to the *Cause of the Protestants*, by his Invention, methinks, it might have made such Men as *Willet*, and *Brightman*, and *Cartwright*, than which the World never had sounder *Protestants*, a little more shy of being led into it.<sup>1005</sup> Others that find

**1001** A reference to John Wycliffe, who condemned the Roman curia and the pope as Anti-christ and sharply set the corrupt visible church against the invisible church of the elect to be fully realized only at the end of days. However, Wycliffe asserted that the thousand years had begun with the death of Christ. See Potesta, "Radical Apocalyptic Movements in the Middle Ages," pp. 308–09. Aretius Felinus is the pseudonym of the German Reformer and professor of divinity at Cambridge, Martin Bucer (1491–1551), who argued for a preterist-spiritual interpretation of the millennium that had begun at the birth of Christ. David Chytraeus (Kochhafe, 1531–1600) was a Lutheran historian, theologian, and professor at Rostock, who offered a detailed interpretation of Revelation in his *Explicatio apocalypsis Joannis perspicua et brevis* (1564), in which he, too, argued for a past millennium that had begun at Christ's birth.

**1002** Augustine had established the paradigm of spiritual amillennialism, according to which the thousand years represented Christ's inchoate reign on earth through His church that had commenced with His death. See bks. 20 and 22 of his *De Civitate Dei* (413–26). Following Augustine, most (early) medieval churchmen, like the Anglo-Saxon theologian and historian Bede the Venerable (Beda Venerabilis, 672/73–735), put the millennium in the past and expected Christ's return at the Last Judgment. See his *Explanatio in Apocalypsim libri III* [PL 93. 192; CCSL 121A]. Mather makes further reference to the Spanish Jesuit scholar Benito Pereyra (c. 1534–1602), whose commentary on Revelation was published as *Centum octoginta tres disputationes selectissimae super libro Apocalypsis beati Ioannis Apostoli* (1607).

**1003** The third group of scholars mentioned by Mather equally supported a preterist interpretation of the millennium but thought it had commenced with the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans (70 CE). Reference is made to Franciscus Junius who expounded Revelation in, among other works, his *Apocalypsis S. Ioannis apostoli et evangeliste, methodica analysi argumentorum, notisque breuibus ad rerum intelligentiam* (1591) and *Notae in Apocalypsim* (1589), which were frequently included in imprints of the Geneva Bible. Junius's commentary was also available in English: *The Apocalyps, or Revelation of S. John the Apostle and Evangelist of our Lord Jesus Christ* (1596). David Paræus's views on Revelation can be found in his *Divinam Apocalypsin S. apostolic et evangelistae Johannis commentarius* (1618) and were also accessible in English: *A Commentary upon the Divine Revelation of the Apostle and Evangelist John* (1644). Finally, there was the English divine and Hebraist, Hugh Broughton (1549–1612), who published *A revelation of the Holy Apocalyps* (1610).

**1004** Reference is made to the Spanish Jesuit scholar Ludovicus Alcasar (1554–1613), who published his preterist interpretation of Revelation as *Vestigatio arcani sensus in Apocalypsi* (1614), also as a refutation of Protestant apocalypticism. He argued that the millennium had dawned with Constantine becoming the first Christian emperor.

**1005** Reference is made to the moderate Puritan theologian, exegete, and controversialist Andrew Willet (1562–1621), who, in his work of anti-Catholic polemics *Synopsis papismi: that is, a General View of Papistrie wherein the Whole Mysterie of Iniquitie and Summe of Antichristian Doctrine is Set down* (1592), argued that the thousand years started after the end of the persecutions in 294 CE. In his *A Revelation of the Revelation* (1611), Thomas Brightman argued for a dual millennium encompassing the whole of church history: the first one (the binding

these Opinions (and one would wonder, that any considerate Person should not find them so!) encumbered with insuperable Difficulties, do chuse to begin these Years, at the *Reformation*, very near *Two Hundred Years* ago. But the same Answer will Refute them all. And yett I can scarce prevail with myself, to give them any other Answer than This; That they are all of them so *Absurd*, they are scarce worthy to be *Answer'd*.<sup>1006</sup> Nor could I have imagined, that it had been possible for such great Men, to have been overtaken with such *Absurdities*, if I had not seen *Grotius*, a Man for his Learning as *great* as almost any Man, fall under an Infatuation æqual to Theirs. How unaccountably does *Grotius* make, *The Son of Man*, whom the Visions of *Daniel* see, *coming in the Clouds of Heaven*; to be, *The Roman People*.<sup>1007</sup> And it is the more unaccountable in him, inasmuch as he owns in his Comment on that Place in the Gospel, That our Saviour does refer unto the Words of *Daniel*, when He saies, Matth. 26.64. *Hereafter, yee shall see the Son of Man coming in the Clouds of Heaven*.<sup>1008</sup>

I return from this Digression, to observe; one would have thought that *common Sense* might have taught all good Men, that the Church of God, ha's never yett seen the *Happy State* intended for it. Say, O yee People of God; Are woful *Ignorance*, and *Corruption*, and *Contention*, and *Oppression*, the Marks of the *Happy State* which you look for? *Common Sense*, I am sure, may tell you, That the *Church* ha's hitherto had *most*, if not *all*, of those Marks upon the State of it, in all Ages to this very Day. However, from a *Thousand Things*, which there are to prove, That the *Thousand Years* are not yett begun, I will single out *One*, that I should think, might overwhelm the contrary Opinions and that is This.

---

of the dragon) had started with Constantine; the second one around 1300, leading up to the Reformation, was symbolized by the resurrection of the witnesses. In his *A plaine explanation of the whole Revelation of Saint John* (1622), Thomas Cartwright (1535–1603) also argued for the reign of Constantine as the decisive turning point.

**1006** The following aside on Grotius can also be found in Mather, "Problema Theologicum," p. 392.

**1007** Grotius broke with Protestant apocalypticism on two accounts: First, he did not identify Rome and the pope with Antichrist; second, for him, the Book of Revelation predicted the persecutions of the early Christians, the collapse of the old Roman Empire, and the happy times that were ushered in for the church with the Constantinian turn. To be understood in an allegorical-spiritual fashion, Christ's messianic reign had begun with the establishment of the gospel church; there would be no future millennial interlude in history, and His return was not to be expected until the Last Judgment, which Grotius did not believe to be imminent. On the crucial prophecy of Rev. 20, Grotius wrote: "significans tranquillitatem, quae Ecclesiis per Constantinum erat primum data, aucta per successores, fore quidem longam, non tamen usque ad Mundi interitum": "signifying the peace, which was first given to the churches by Constantine, will be given in even greater measure by his successors, and will certainly last long, but not, however, until the end of the world." Grotius, *Opera* (2:1226). For Grotius's reading of Dan. 7:13 ("*Quasi filius hominis veniebat. Populus Romanus nullum habens intra se Regem*") and Matt. 26:64, see *Opera Omnia* (1:467 and 2:261).

**1008** See Appendix A.

If *Satan* were never yett for a *Thousand Years*, bound up from *Deceiving the Nations*, then the Blessed *Thousand Years* are not yett Begun.

But *Satan* was never yett for a *Thousand Years*, bound up, from *Deceiving the Nations*.<sup>1009</sup>

If any Man will Deny the *Assumption*, the Doleful Experience of all Ages, will give him a Refutation. To say, That there ha's been a Time, when *Satan* ha's been *in Part bound up*; and restrained from *Deceiving some Nations*, is to say – Nothing to the Purpose. For there ha's always been such a Time as *That*. *Satan* ha's always been under a *partial Restraint*: No Time that is past, can be distinguished from any other, by that Character. To begin the Age of *Satans Binding*, at any of the *Four Periods* proposed before the *Reformation*, is to make *Satans Binding* a long While contemporary with *Satans Reigning*. But what *Protestant* will Deliberately assert such cruel *Inconsistencies*? If you begin that Age, at the *Reformation*, tis a thing that labours under the same Hardship. And more than so: we find, that *Satan* is not *Bound*, until the *Apocalyptical Beast*, and his *False Prophet*, are cast *Alive into a Lake of Fire, burning with Brimstone*. Papal *Rome* knowes, that this is not yett accomplished. Or, if the *Happy State* of the Church be arrived, wherein the *Nations* are *no more to be Deceived*, what is become of the *Jewish Nation*? That *Nation*, we are sure, is to have no little Share in the *Happy State* of the Church; *you are to Rejoice, O yee Nations, with that People!* But that *Nation*, we are sure, is horribly *Deceived*, and by *Satan* too, unto this Day. And how many other *Nations* are still *Deceived*, lett *Brierwoods Enquiries*, and, *Pagets Christianography*, yea, and all the modern Travellers, (whereof *Harris* gives you more than *four Hundred* in one Collection,) come in | as Witnesses.<sup>1010</sup> That brave Man, *Jacob Alting*, has irrefragably Demonstrated it;<sup>1011</sup> That the

[93r]

<sup>1009</sup> For the following paragraphs, see Mather, “Problema Theologicum,” pp. 379–82.

<sup>1010</sup> A summary reference to the popular work of Edward Brerewood (c. 1565–1613), professor of astronomy at Greesham College, *Enquiries Touching the Diversity of Language and Religions* (first ed. 1614). According to Brerewood, “There are four sorts or sects of Religions, observed in the sundrie regions of the world: Namely, Idolatry, Mahumetanisme, Judaisme, and Christianity” (2:96). In contrast to the varieties of polytheistic idol worship, whether among the ancient Romans or the “Indians,” Judaism, Christianity, and Islam were classified as revealed religions worshipping one God, with the difference that the Qur’an was deemed a false revelation and Muhammad an impostor. Mather also alludes to the work of the English clergyman and heresiographer, Ephraim Paggitt (1575–1647), *Christianography, or the description of the multitude and sundry sorts of christians not subject to the pope* (1636), and John Harris’s (1667?–1719) collection of travel narratives, *Navigantium atque itinerantium bibliotheca, or, A compleat collection of voyages and travels consisting of above four hundred of the most authentick writers, beginning with Hackluit ... and continued with others of note ... relating to any part of Asia, Africa, America, Europe or the islands thereof, to this present time* (1705).

<sup>1011</sup> Mather here refers to a tract written in self-defense by Jacob Alting and reprinted in his *Opera omnia* (5 vols., 1685–1687), vol. 5, pp. 470–82. As a professor at the University of Groningen, Alting became embroiled in a theological controversy with his colleague Samuel Maresius (Jacon van Meurs, 1599–1673), who accused Alting of heterodoxy on various accounts, including a dangerously chiliastic interpretation of Rev. 20. In his refutation of

*Thousand Years of Satans Binding* are not yett begun; and that whatever Things are said in the Scripture to be done by *Satan loosed*, are at this Day doing among the Nations. Yea, the Incomparable *Witsius*, tho' he don't in all things come up to our Doctrine of the *Chiliad*, yett confesses; that the History of the Church, no where affords us a *Thousand Years* for *Satans Binding*; but that it still remains to be accomplished.<sup>1012</sup>

Being somewhat now præpared for it, we will proceed unto the Proof of the main Position.

#### The First Argument.

That which will be *Immediately after the Long Tribulation under which the Israel of God*<sup>1013</sup> is now languishing, will be at the *Beginning of the Happy State, which we expect* for the Church in the Latter Dayes.<sup>1014</sup>

But the *Second Coming* of our Lord Jesus Christ, will be *Immediately After the long Tribulation*, which is yett lying on the *Israel of GOD*.

Therefore –

It is most certain, That the *Happy State*, which we expect for the Church on Earth, will bring with it, a glorious Deliverance for the *Israel of GOD*, from the *Tribulation*, which is yett upon it.<sup>1015</sup> Compare, Luk. 21.24. It cannot be imagined, That the *Happy State* which we expect for the *Church*, can arrive and the *Israel of GOD* remain in its *Tribulation*.<sup>1016</sup>

But now, we find; Matth. 24.29. *Immediately after the Tribulation of those Dayes, – then shall appear the Sign of the Son of Man in Heaven, and then shall the Tribes of the Land mourn, and they shall see the Son of Man coming in the Clouds of Heaven, with Power and great Glory*. I do affirm, That the *Second Coming* of our Lord Jesus Christ, is the Thing prædicted in these Words. Indeed, there have been various Interpretations of, *The Sign of the Son of Man*. The *Fathers* and the *Papists* do generally carry it for, the Sign of the *Cross*. But why may not, *The Sign of the Son of Man*, be, (as *Vossius*, and *Willet*, and *Mede*, and, *Strong*, do carry it,)

---

Maresius, Alting explains that the thousand years cannot have begun yet as Satan is still unbound.

**1012** Mather refers to Hermann Witsius's commentary on the Lord's Prayer, *Exercitationes sacrae in symbolum quod Apostolorum dicitur et in orationem dominicam* (1689), p. 151. Here Witsius writes: "Mille annos ligati Satanae in Ecclesiae Historia non invenio; numquam enim tam diu ligatus fuisse videtur Diabolus." Transl.: "I do not find in the history of the church a thousand years of Satan's binding; for the devil never seems to have been bound that long." See also Mather, "Problema Theologicum," p. 382.

**1013** See Appendix A. Mather here originally wrote "Jewish Nation" (which is also what he has in "Problema") and then changed it to "Israel of God," a correction he continues in the following passages.

**1014** See Mather, "Problema Theologicum," p. 382.

**1015** See Appendix A.

**1016** For the next paragraphs, compare Mather, "Problema Theologicum," pp. 384–86.

*The Son of Man* Himself, appearing as a *Sign*, or, *The Ensign of the Nations*?<sup>1017</sup> There is nothing more usual, than such a, *Genitivus Speciei*.<sup>1018</sup> Compare, Mar. 13.26. and, Luk. 21.27. Our Saviour doubtless referred unto that Prophecy, Isa. 11.10, 11. *In that Day, He shall stand for an Ensign of the People; and it shall come to pass in that Day, that the Lord shall sett His Hand against the Second Time, to recover the Remnant of His People, that shall be left.* And the Allusion of Repairing to an *Ensign*, is continued in the Speech of our Saviour, concerning the *Angels*, with a great Sound of a Trumpett, gathering together His Elect unto Him. However, whether we can agree upon the Meaning of, *The Sign of the Son of Man*, or, no, tell me ingenuously, whether the *Son of Man's Coming in the Clouds of Heaven, with Power and great Glory*, be not the *Second Coming* of our Lord JESUS CHRIST. I do affirm, That it is never to be expounded otherwise; and that it is a Thing Dangerous and Destructive unto the *Christian Faith*, to have it expounded otherwise. It leaves the *Second Coming* of our LORD, utterly Impossible, ever to be proved, by any one Text in all the Bible. The *Clouds* here, are to be explained by the Knowledge of the *Shechinah*.<sup>1019</sup>

[93v]

#### The Second Argument.

That which will be at the *Beginning* of, *The Kingdome under the whole Heaven, to be given unto the People of the Saints of the Most High*, will be at the *Beginning* of the *Happy State*, which is to be expected for the *Church of God upon Earth*.

But the *Second Coming* of our Lord Jesus Christ, will be at the *Beginning* of, *The Kingdome under the whole Heaven, to be given unto the People of the Saints of the Most High*.

Therefore, –

You are Sensible, That this Argument is fetched from the *Seventh Chapter* of *Daniel*. Where,

First; It is plain, That the *Coming of the Son of Man in the Clouds of Heaven*, with a *Kingdome* given unto Him, certainly implies the *Second Coming* of our Lord JESUS CHRIST; His Personal Appearing; I am sure, The Apostle *Paul* so understood the Language of the Prophet here; when he used the very same

<sup>1017</sup> Mather refers to the work of Issac Vossius, *Theses theologice et historice de variis doctrinae* (1658), disp. 16 (“De adentiu Christi ultimo”), thesis 2, pp. 217–18; and Andrew Willet’s *Hexapla in Daniele: that Is, a Six-fold Commentarie Vpon the Most Diuine Prophesie of Daniel* (London, 1610) on Dan. 7:13, quaestio 40, pp. 225–26; further reference is made to a letter by Mede to Mr. Hayns about several passages in Daniel and Revelation (“Letter XII”) in *The Works of the pious and profoundly-learned Joseph Mede*, pp. 753–57; and finally to a sermon on “The Doctrine of the Jews Vocation” by William Strong in: *XXXI. select sermons, preached on special occasions* (1656), p. 278.

<sup>1018</sup> What is today called “genitivus qualitatis,” here noting the kind of sign, rather than a sign of or for something else.

<sup>1019</sup> See Appendix A. Mather here canceled a long passage on the eschatological conversion of the Jews, which runs for the rest of [93r] and into [93v]. It can be found in “Problema Theologicum,” pp. 386–90. On this, see the Introduction.

Language, to that very Purpose. [Consider 2. Thess. 1.7, 8.] The Expression is alwayes to be so understood. If we foolishly and sinfully Allegorize away such an Expression, from the *Literal Sense* of it, [which the *Angels* themselves, who will very much make a Part of those *Clouds*, have taught us to give: Act. 1.9, 11.] We are left wholly *in the Clouds*, about any *Second Coming* of the Lord at all, and shall never be able to prove it, from any Text in all the Bible.<sup>1020</sup>

Secondly; It is plain, That the Exhibition of the *Ancient of Days* and the Thrones erected for Him and His, with the *Fiery Stream* issued from it,<sup>1021</sup> is to be, when the *Kingdome of Antichrist* comes to its *End*. There is no Doubt at all to be made of it, That the *Fourth Beast* commemorated by the Prophet, is the *Roman Empire*. And the *Little Horn* among the *Ten Horns*, upon the Last *Head* of that *Beast*, is the Bishop of *Rome*. It is at and for the Destruction of that *Beast*, in *Burning Flames*, and when it ha's continued a *Time* and *Times*, and the *Dividing of a Time*, (that is 1260 Years,) that the *Son of Man coming in the Clouds of Heaven*, ha's given to Him a *Kingdome*, that *all People shall serve Him*, and the *Kingdome under the whole Heaven shall be given to the People of the Saints of the Most High*.<sup>1022</sup>

Thirdly; It is plain, That the *Ancient of Days* thus exhibiting Himself<sup>1023</sup> is to sett up that *Fifth Kingdome*, under which there will be enjoy'd that *Happy State*, which is to be expected for the Church of God upon Earth. No body can rationally look for that *Happy State* of the Church under the *Fourth Kingdome*; which is a *Kingdome*, that peculiarly *makes War with the Saints*, and *prevailles against them*. The *Fourth Kingdome* is most certainly the | *Roman Monarchy*. All the *Jewish Rabbis* for Nine Hundred Years after the Giving of the Prophecy, did so understand it; until at last, the Fear lest *Christianity* should at Length prove, *The Kingdome of the Son of Man*, made them desirous to have it understood for a Part of the *Græcian Monarchy*. Wherein some *Unhappy Christians*, who frequently are as bad as the Worst of the *Jewes*, & serve the worst Intentions of the *Jewes*, do shamefully lick up their Spittle. This is well-known, That all the *Primitive Christians*, at least until *Jeroms Time*, near a Thousand Years after the Prophecy was given, did concur in the True Opinion about the *Fourth Beast*.<sup>1024</sup> *Ergò dicamus* (quoth he,) *quod omnes Scriptores Ecclesiastici tradiderunt*,<sup>1025</sup> "Lett us therefore say, what all ecclesiastical Writers have delivered, That in the End of

[94r]

1020 See Mather, "Problema Theologicum," pp. 391–92.

1021 See Appendix A.

1022 See Mather, "Problema Theologicum," pp. 392–95.

1023 See Appendix A.

1024 See Jerome, *Commentariorum in Daniele*, at Dan. 7:7 [PL 25. 530; CCSL 75A], where Jerome comments upon Daniel's vision of the fourth Beast and compares that Beast with the Roman Empire.

1025 "Let us say, therefore say ... what all the ecclesiastical writers have handed down." Mather again refers to Jerome's *Commentariorum in Daniele*, at Dan. 7 [PL 25. 551]. The same citation is also found in Mather, *Trip paradisus*, p. 331.

the World, when the Kingdome of the *Romans* is to be Destroy'd, there shall be *Ten Kings*, that shall Divide the World among themselves, and there shall be an *Eleventh* little King, that shall arise & overcome *Three* of those Kings." Yea, the most eminent Writers in the Church of *Rome* itself, are compelled by the irresistible Evidence of the Thing, to confess, (as *Maldonate*, and *Malvenda*, do,) That the *Fourth Kingdome* is the *Roman*.<sup>1026</sup> And certainly, what Immediately succeeds the *Fourth Kingdome* will be, *The Fifth*. But the special Character of the *Fifth Kingdome*, is to be The *Kingdome* of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the *Kingdome of the Saints*. O Saints, you cannot imagine, that you shall see an *Happy State on Earth*, until the arrival of this *Kingdome*. Now, at and for the Establishment of this *Kingdome*, we find, *the Son of Man coming in the Clouds of Heaven*. Tis the *Second Coming* of the *Son of Man*, that must accomplish it.

Lett it here come in as a *Succedaneum* unto the Argument which we are upon.<sup>1027</sup>

If the *Fifth Kingdome*, under which the *Happy State* arrives; which is *to be expected for the Church of God upon Earth*, be the same with the promised *Kingdome of our Lord Jesus Christ upon Earth*, we may then conclude, That the *Happy State of the Church* arrives not, until the *Appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ*.<sup>1028</sup>

But, the *Fifth Kingdome*, which brings on the *Happy State of the Church upon Earth*, is the same, with the *promised Kingdome of our Lord Jesus Christ upon Earth*; or that which, to Distinguish it, from His *essential*, and His *providential*, and His *ecclesiastical Kingdome* (which He alwayes maintains, even *in the Midst of His Enemies*;) ha's been sometimes called, *His Davidical Kingdome*.

Therefore. —

There is no *Question* about the *Assumption*. All that appears *Questionable*, is, the *Consequence* in the *Proposition*. But the Blessed Apostle ha's assured us; [2. Tim. 4.1.] That the *Kingdome* our Lord Jesus Christ, arrives, *at His Appearing*; and this, not an, I know-not-what *mystical Appearing*; Tis His *Appearing to Judge the Quick & the Dead*.

I will return to our *Greatly Beloved Prophet*, and from him a little further strengthen the Argument which we are now managing.

If there must be a *Resurrection from the Dead*, about the Time, when the *Son of Man* comes to *Destroy the Kingdome of Antichrist*, and sett up the *Kingdome of the Saints*; then, the *Second Coming of our Lord Jesus Christ*, will be

<sup>1026</sup> Mather refers to the works of the Spanish Jesuit theologian and exegete, Juan Maldonado (Maldonate, 1534–1583), *Commentarij in Prophetas quatuor. Jeremiam, Baruch, Ezechielem, & Danielelem* (1611), p. 619; and to the work of the Spanish Dominican exegete, Tomas Malvenda (1566–1628), *De Antichristo libri XI* (1604), p. 219.

<sup>1027</sup> See Mather, "Problema Theologicum," pp. 395–96. "Succedaneum" means "substitute" (*OED*).

<sup>1028</sup> See Mather, "Problema Theologicum," pp. 396–97.

at the *Beginning of the Happy State, which is to be expected for the Church of God upon Earth*. For tis very clear, That the *Resurrection of the Just*, will not be till the *Second Coming* of our Lord Jesus Christ; And it is as clear, That the *Happy State of the Church on Earth*, will not Begin, until the *Kingdome of Antichrist* be destroy'd, and the *Kingdome of the Saints* be sett up.

But, (I Assume,) there must be a *Resurrection of the Just*, about the Time that the *Son of Man comes* to Destroy the *Kingdome of Antichrist*, and sett up the *Kingdome of the Saints*.

Therefore. —

The Period, that must run out under the *Kingdome of Antichrist*, and before the *Kingdome of the Saints*, is here expressly stated, *A Time, Times, and an half*; or, 1260 Years. Now tis as expressly Declared, [Dan. 12.7.] That the *Time, Times, and an Half*, will end, at the *End of the Wonders* contained in the Prophecy about the *Four Monarchies*; and at the *Beginning of the Final Deliverance*, which the People of God are to have, out of their Afflictions. But it is, as expressly Declared also, [Dan. 12.2.] That *At That Time*, there shall be | the *Awaking of the Many Dead*, even of the *Many that Sleep in the Dust*; (first,) of some to *everlasting Life*; [94v] (afterwards) of some to *Shame & everlasting Contempt*. And certainly, This is as good as an express Declaration, That the Second and Glorious Coming of our Lord JESUS CHRIST is then to be looked for.<sup>1029</sup>

#### The Third Argument.

That which will be *att* and *for* the *Destruction of Antichrist*, will be at the *Beginning of the Happy State, which is to be expected for the Church of God upon Earth*.

But the *Second Coming* of our Lord Jesus Christ, will be *att* and *for* the *Destruction of Antichrist*.

Therefore. —

No Man of any Consideration, will ask for any Proof of the *Proposition*.

If the *Assumption* be prov'd, the Cause will be given me.

The express Words of the Apostle are; 2. Thess. 2.8. *That Wicked One shall be Reveled, whom the Lord shall consume, with the Spirit of His Mouth, and shall Destroy with the Brightness of His COMING*. Who that *Wicked One* should be, no sound Protestant, well studied in the sacred Prophecies, can be at a Loss.

The *Coming* of the Lord here, can be no other than the *Second Coming* of our Lord. That is the very *Subject* which our Apostle is here discoursing on; to satisfy the *Thessalonians*, that it was not so near, as was by some imagined. For their Satisfaction, he tells them, That before the *Coming* of the Lord, there must be *Revealed* that *Wicked One*, whom the Lord will *Destroy with the Brightness of His Coming*. When the *Coming* of the Lord, in the *First Verse*, is, His *personal Coming*, to præsume upon making His *Coming* in the *Ninth Verse*, to be but a

<sup>1029</sup> See Mather, "Problema Theologicum," p. 398.



*mystical Coming*, (and all, meerly because we will have it so!) tis to putt upon the *Sacred Scriptures*, that *waxy* Character, which we know who Reproach them withal.

It should be considered, That our Apostle here, ha's a Reference, to the Prophecy, about the *Slaying of the Wicked*, in the *eleventh* Chapter of *Isaiah*. It should be also considered, That in that Prophecy, it is also said, *In that Day* our Lord shall *be the Ensign of the People*. But then, lett it be Remembred, how our Lord Himself interpreted that Prophecy. [Matth. 24.30.] Thus, when our Lord shall *Judge among the Nations*, and, *Fill* (that is, Raise,) *the Dead Bodies*, then is the Time, that He *shall wound the Head over many Countreyes*, or, Destroy the great *Antichrist*.<sup>1030</sup>

#### The Fourth Argument.<sup>1031</sup>

That which will be *Quickly after* the Final Ceasing of the *Turkish Hostilities* against *Europe*, will be at the *Beginning* of the *Happy State which is to be expected for the Church of God upon Earth*.

But the *Second Coming* of our Lord Jesus Christ, will be *Quickly after* the Final Ceasing of the *Turkish Hostilities* against *Europe*.

Therefore. —

We have Demonstration enough, That the *Second Wo* foretold under the *Sixth Trumpet* in the *Apocalypse*, is to be found in the *Turkish Hostilities* upon the *Roman Empire*. And certainly, the *Turkish Moon* must go down, ere the Church come out of its *Night*, or hear it said, *Thy Light is come*.

When the *Turkish Hostilities* have plagued Christendome, for little more than *Three hundred and Ninety Seven Years*, the *Second Wo* is to *pass away*; that is to say, it shall cease to be such a *Wo* as it ha's been formerly. Now the *Third Wo* must *Come Quickly* after the *Second*: which is the same with the *Seventh Trumpett*; and the *Time* of it is expressly called, *The Time of the Dead, that they should be Judged*. The Phrase of, *Judging the Dead*, is alwayes applied unto, *The Day of Judgment*, and unto nothing else, all over the New Testament; nor was it ever used in any other Sense, in all the First Ages of Christianity. To render this the more assured, it is there explained, By *giving a Reward unto them*; which implies, a Change of the State of the *Dead* themselves, by a *Reward* given to their Faithfulness; and this can be no other, than the *Reward* given them, *at the Day of Judgment*. I will use the Words of Dr. *Cressener*. "To make the Phrase of, *Judging the Dead*, to signify here, as some do, only the *Revening the Cause of the Dead*, is, to change the Signification of a peculiar, and generally known, Expression, into a meer uncommon Acceptation of it; and to do *That*, without

<sup>1030</sup> See Mather, "Problema Theologicum," pp. 398–401.

<sup>1031</sup> For the following, compare Mather, "Problema Theologicum," pp. 401–05.

some great Necessity for it, is the Way to license Men to allegorize all the Articles of our Beleef away.”<sup>1032</sup>

But now, at this Time arrives, the Time that *the Kingdomes of this World, become the Kingdomes of the Lord & of His Christ*. And this is that, *Happy State*, which we expect for the Church, | *Latter Dayes*. We also read, Rev. 10.7. *when the Seventh Angel shall Begin to sound, the Mystery of God shall be Finished*. That *Mystery* is not *Finished*, but in and by the *Second Coming* of our Lord Jesus Christ. But the *Seventh Angel*, who summons in *the Kingdomes of this World for to be the Lords*, will *Begin to sound* sure *Quickly* after the *Sixth* ha's done sounding; and not leave a long Space of a *Thousand Years* to run out between them. See now, what will be the Conclusion! [95r]

Once more; we find an Apostle thus Reasoning; Rom. 14.10, 11. *we shall all stand before the Judgment-Seat of Christ; for it is written, I live, saith the Lord; every Knee shall bow to me & every Tongue shall confess to God*. When the *Kingdomes of this World* become *the Lords*, Then it will be, that *every Knee shall bow, & every Tongue shall confess to Him*; or, as the Prophet *Isaiah*, from whom the Passage is quoted, ha's it; when *all the Ends of the Earth shall look unto the Lord & be saved*, and Men shall say, *In the Lord, I have Righteousness & Strength*. But saies our Apostle, this will not be, till *we stand before the Judgment-Seat of Christ*. See again, what will be the Conclusion.<sup>1033</sup>

#### The Fifth Argument.

That which will be at the *First Resurrection* will be at the *Beginning of the Happy State, which is to be expected for the Church of God upon Earth*.

But the *Second Coming* of our Lord Jesus Christ, will be at the *First Resurrection*.

Therefore. —

We find, the *Thousand Years* of the *Happy State for the Church upon Earth*, to begin with what is called, *The First Resurrection*. If the *First Resurrection* must necessarily & unavoidably be understood, of a *literal* and *corporal Resurrection*, all the World will grant, that the *Happy State* of the *Millennium*, does *Begin* with the *Second Coming* of our Lord Jesus Christ.<sup>1034</sup>

Lett us now consult, the *Twentieth* Chapter of the *Revelation*; And, first, The *Law of Opposites* will putt this Matter, beyond all *Opposition*. We know the *Law*: *In omni Legitimâ Distributione, Membra inter se opponuntur, sub eodem genere*.<sup>1035</sup> Here is a *Distribution* of, *Dead Men living again; some at the Begin-*

<sup>1032</sup> See Drue Cressener, *A demonstration of the first principles of the Protestant applications of the Apocalypse* (1690), pp. 62–63. And also *The Judgments of God*, preface, where Cressener argues against Grotius's and Hammond's allegorizing approach to the resurrection and judgment of the dead.

<sup>1033</sup> Mather, “Problema Theologicum,” pp. 401–05.

<sup>1034</sup> Mather, “Problema Theologicum,” pp. 405–06.

<sup>1035</sup> “In every true distribution the parts are opposed to each other under the same category.” Mather again cites Piscator, *In apocalypsin Johannis commentaries*, p. 252. See the annotation

ning of the *Thousand Years*; others, not until the *Thousand Years are Finished*. But the *Latter* then *lived again*, as to their *Bodies*; and therefore, so must the *Former* too. That the *Second Resurrection* is not *metaphorical*, tis indisputable. Therefore, we *need* not, nay, we *may* not, make a *Metaphor* of the *First*. Some are for only a *political Resurrection*; That after the Destruction of *Antichrist*, the Church will be *Raised* from a State of *Affliction*, & Enjoy a State of *Rest and Peace*, for a *Thousand Years*, wherein Men shall be Ruled by the Lawes of the Lord Jesus Christ, and none but *Saints* will have Power in their Hands. But will *all the Dead* have such a *political Resurrection* at the End of the *Thousand Years*? Tis a very *unscriptural Expectation*, That the *Sufferings* of the *Saints*, in *this World*, will not continue, till the *Creation* shall be Delivered from the *Bondage of Corruption* that is now upon it, & until we come to the *Redemption of our Bodies*, at the *Resurrection of the Just*. The *Kingdome* that we look for, is in, *The World to come*; or, as the Nephewes of *Jude*, replied unto the Emperour *Domitian*, when he enquired concerning the *Kingdome* of our Lord; *It is not an Earthly, but an Heavenly Kingdome, & it will not be sett up, till the End of this World*. Can any Imagine, That the Church of God, shall *Part* of it; be delivered out of *Affliction*, and another *Part* of it be left in *Misery and Corruption*, for a *Thousand Years* together. If the *First Resurrection*, be a Calling in of Numbers to know and serve God, then there will be a *Thousand Years*, in all which Time, there shall be None called in unto the Knowledge and Service of the Lord; And yett there shall be a prospering Church of God upon Earth, all this Time. Who can entertain such Imaginations?

They who will not understand the *First Resurrection*, as the Primitive and Orthodox Christianity did, think that they have a sufficient Prejudice and Objection against it, in that unaccountable Matter, of, *Gog and Magog*, the *Nations Deceived by Satan, lett loose at the End of the Thousand Years*. They think, They have as many Reasons to militate against our Opinion of the *First Resurrection*, as there are to be Souldiers in the Army of *Gog and Magog*. In short; It is impossible to conceive, say they, *who* and *where* should be, the *Gog and Magog*, at the End of the *Thousand Years*, if our | Lord Jesus Christ must *Come*, and the *Dead Saints Rise*, at the *Beginning of the Thousand Years*. When the *Messiah*, who is the *Sun*, shines upon the World, no Wonder, that the *wild Beasts are laid down in their Dens*; that they ever come out, & break forth & appear abroad again; This indeed is wonderful, and unto many it seems *Incredible*.<sup>1036</sup>

On the other Side; If the Oracles of God *Assert*, That a thing shall come to pass, one would think, that it would become us, to rest satisfied, tho' we [shallow Creatures!] cannot *conceive*, How it shall come to pass. If this may be allow'd, for a sufficient Objection, against the *First Resurrection*, we cannot conceive, how

on Rev. 20:7–8 above.

1036 Mather, "Problema Theologicum," pp. 406–10.

something should be fulfilled, that is foretold, of the Things, that are to come after it; there may be the same against any Resurrection at all. For a Resurrection of the Dead, is full of Inconceivable Difficulties, which every Man living, must Resolve into the Apostles Conclusion: *God does in it, as it pleases Him.* In the prophetic Parts of the Scripture, we particularly & continually encounter with Indissoluble Difficulties, until the Prophecies come to be their own Expositors in their Accomplishments. If any Gentleman had come to Abraham, about Four Hundred Years before the Deliverance of his Posterity, from an horrid Servitude in Egypt, he would with a strong Faith have uttered his Expectation of such a thing. But if his Friend had proceeded; *Syr, can you satisfy me, which Way a feeble Handful of People; shall be able to make Head against a mighty Kingdome; or, what shall be the facilitating Circumstances of their March out of Egypt; what their Order, what their Number, who their Leader, which Way they shall be led, & what Miracles will be wrought for them?* He must have answered; *Indeed, Syr, Here I am full in as much Darkness, as I was in my Deep Sleep, when the Horror of great Darkness fell upon me.* Now, why may not I be allow'd the like Answer? I strongly Believe, That after the Second Coming of our Lord, and the First Resurrection, there will be Two Sorts of Men in the World. There will be in the New Jerusalem the Raised Saints, who will be equal to the Angels, and will indeed be the Angels, the Teachers and the Rulers of the New World; A World accommodated with wise Governors, who shall shine like the Brightness of the Firmament. And there will be the saved Nations, who will walk in the Light of that New Jerusalem, and be under the Influence of that City of God. After the World ha's been in this Condition a Thousand Years, there shall be a strange Attempt from Hell against that Holy City; The Enemies of God shall Return at Evening, and make a Noise like a Dog, and go round about the City, (which Words of the Psalmist, some of the Jewish Rabbi's apply to Gog and Magog.) But the Attempt shall be Blasted with a sudden Confusion from Heaven. I am now asked; *who, and whence, will be the Wretches that make this attempt?* But unto myself, tis answer enough; and any Servant of God may give this Answer; *More than Four Hundred Years, before the Matter comes to pass, I shall probably be able to give some Account of it.* And in the mean time, if the Matter were to have been putt even among the Quæries of the famous Father Cotton the Jesuite, it is quæstionable, whether the Leader himself of Gog and Magog, would have been able to have answered all the Quæstions, that might have been putt concerning it.<sup>1037</sup>

If the curious Enquiries of Men, will not yett be satisfied, without some further Account, we will not give that of Monsr. Poiret, in his *L'Oeconomie*

<sup>1037</sup> See Mather, "Problema Theologicum," pp. 410–12. A reference to the French Jesuit preacher, controversialist, and confessor to Henry IV, Pierre Coton (1564–1626), possibly his *Contredits au libelle diffamatoire intitule* (1601), p. 28. For a similar passage, see *Trip paradisus*, p. 290. See also *Magnalia Christi Americana*, bk. 2, ch. 2.

*Divine*,<sup>1038</sup> That *Gog* and *Magog* will be the *Divels* and the *Damned*, who will be lett loose out of *Hell*, at the End of the *Thousand Years*, to make a furious but fruitless Assault on the Glorified Saints of the *New Jerusalem*.<sup>1039</sup> Tho' there may be more in This, then is at first imagined. Much less will we give that of Mr. *Mede*; That the *American Hemisphere* will escape the *Conflagration* and that the People there (who, if they were originally *Scythians*, may well enough be called *Gog* and *Magog*,) shall not be concerned in the Blessedness of the *Thousand Years*; but that the Suggestions of the *Divel* shall dispose them to make an Invasion upon the *Blessed Circumstances* of the People, to which *they* shall have an *Envy*.<sup>1040</sup> I that am an *American*, and at work upon BIBLIA AMERICANA, must needs be lothe, to allow all *America* still unto the *Divels Possession*, when  
 [96r] our Lord shall possess all the rest of the World. | I cannot consent unto it, that *Stephanus Pannonius* be stoned, for saying, *Futurum tandem ut Americanis purum Evangelium prædicetur*.<sup>1041</sup>

**1038** A reference to the work of the French mystic and Christian philosopher, Pierre Poiret (1646–1719), *L'économie divine, ou système universel et démontré des oeuvres et des desseins de Dieu envers les hommes* (1687, Eng. transl.: *The Divine Economy*, 6 vols., 1713), ch. 25, pp. 459–79. Poiret was a follower of the French-Flemish mystic and chiliastic prophetess Antoinette Bourignon (1616–1680), and *L'économie divine* was an attempt to systematically interpret her visions within a biblical framework. Interestingly, Mather still dismissed Poiret's opinion in "Problema Theologicum," as "a Fancy rather [to be found] in a Poem of *Milton*, than in a Treatise of Divinity" (412).

**1039** See Appendix A.

**1040** Although much admired for his *Clavis apocalyptica*, Joseph Mede also left an extremely problematic and long-lasting theological legacy to American Puritans. Contrary to many other exegetes of the time, who had sought to fit the New World into their millenarian cosmologies, Mede claimed in an appendix to the enlarged edition of *Clavis apocalyptica* as well as to the English version *Key to the Revelation* (1650) that the "blessed kingdom" would only encompass the territory of Daniel's four empires, Babylon, Medo-Persia, Greece, and Rome (Dan. 2:31–45), making the Old World sole "partaker of the promised instauration." Whereas earlier Portuguese, Spanish, and English theologians had frequently interpreted the colonization of the Americas as the final stage in God's providential plan to spread the saving faith of the gospel over the entire world and had seen it as a prerequisite to Christ's *parousia*, Mede emphatically insisted that "the inhabitants of the land of *America*, both Northern and Southern" could never join the "camp of the Saints." On the contrary, he identified the inhabitants of the Americas as the apocalyptic people of Gog and Magog (Rev. 20:8–9), writing that at the end of the millennium, Satan's "army shall come from those nations, which live in the Hemis[h]ere opposite to us" to fight the armies of the saints in the battle of Armageddon. Like Mather, many other New England Puritan theologians would struggle in their commentaries on the Apocalypse to refute Mede's influential arguments for consigning not only the Native Americans, but also the European settlers in the New World to the outer darkness beyond the saving influence of Christ. See "De Gogo et Magogo in Apocalypsi Conjectura," in *The Works of the pious and profoundly-learned Joseph Mede*, pp. 574–76. For the English translation, see "A Conjecture Concerning *Gog* and *Magog* in the Revelation," in *The Key of Revelation*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (1650), unpaginated.

**1041** "It is in the future that the pure gospel will finally be preached to the Americans." Reference is made to an apocalyptic pamphlet, *De circulo operum et judiciorum Dei* (1608), p. 12. The title page identifies the author as Stephanus Pannonius of Belgrade, an author that could not be identified. On this text, see Hotson, *Paradise Postponed*, pp. 62, 83. In the original,

I shall only sett before you, *what ha's been done already*, without pressing upon you the Advice that *Cyrus* in *Xenophon*, gave unto his Children; ἐκ τῶν προγεγεννημένων μανθάνετε,<sup>1042</sup> *learn from the Things that have been done already; This is the best Way of Learning.*

There was a Time, when the LORD, attended *with a Multitude of Heavenly Host*, made a Visible and a Terrible Descent upon Mount *Sinai*, and the Prophecy of *Enoch*, (as *Moses* in using the express Words of it intimates,) received its first Accomplishment. *Behold, The Lord comes with His Holy Myriads, to give Judgment against all Men and convince all the Ungodly among them, of all the ungodly Deeds which they have ungodlily committed.* He did it in the *Law*, which condemns all *Ungodliness*.<sup>1043</sup>

The very *God of Israel* visibly exhibited Himself,<sup>1044</sup> unto a *select Number* of the People. They *saw* something of Him; and saw His *magnificent Chariot*; tho' they were not Raised out of the Condition, wherein *Eating* and *Drinking*, should be necessary to sustain them.

A cælestial and glorious CLOUD, filled with *Angels*, of an astonishing Brightness, about their great LORD not only covered the Top of *Sinai*, but also the Neighbouring Mountains of *Seir* and *Paran*, for many Leagues together. And this was beheld, by above Three Millions of People.

A People, who therewithal *heard* that VOICE of GOD, at which the very *Pillars of Heaven do Tremble*. They *heard* the *Ten Commandments*, uttered by a *Voice* full of astonishing Majesty; They *heard* astonishing *Trumpetts* and *Thunders*, demanding Attention, between each of the *Commandments*.

Here was a *City*, or, if you will, an *Army*, *come down from God*, (yea, with Him) *out of Heaven*. And here was a *Nation* that had Opportunity, to *walk in the Light of it*. The Exhibition continued, for a considerable While together.

One would have thought it impossible, for this *Nation* to cast off the Religion of God, or to have Rose up in Rebellion against Him. *In less than Forty Dayes Time, they did it; they did this horrible Thing!*

While the *Angels* of the Highest, were but Retired a little Higher from them, & scarce *wholly* Retired out of their Sight, they fell into the Idolatry of the *Golden Calf*; which ha's an *Ounce* of it, not only in all *their Calamities*, but also in all our *Apostasies*. Why, *Satan* was *loosed*, and *he Went out*, and *he Deceived the Nation*. And, alas, what won't People do, when the *Divel* is in them?

it says "tamen" (even though/despite of) rather than "tandem" (finally) – maybe a conscious alteration by Mather. Mather's witty allusion is, of course, to the stoning of St. Stephen (Acts 7:54–60). See also Mather, "Problema Theologicum," p. 412.

<sup>1042</sup> Mather cites Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, 8.24: τῶν προγεγεννημένων μανθάνετε· αὕτη γὰρ ἀρίστη [ton progegenemenon manthanete; haute gar ariste]: "you must learn it from the history of the past, for this is the best source of instruction," *LCL* 52, pp. 435–36. The same material also appears in *Tripuradisa*, pp. 291–92.

<sup>1043</sup> See Mather, "Problema Theologicum," pp. 412–13. See Jude 1:14; Ex. 20, 32; and Deut. 5.

<sup>1044</sup> See Appendix A.

This People had *extraordinary Appearances of God* among them afterwards, for *Forty Years* together; whereof the most notable was, a mighty Regiment of *Angels*, visibly hovering over them, *Defending* them, as a *Cloud* by *Day*, and *enlightning* them as a *Fire* by *Night*. And these, or the like, *Angels*, miraculously every Twenty Four Hours, (except on the *Sabbath*,) Rained an infinite Quantity of *Bread*, sweet like *Honey*, and white like *Pearl*, from Heaven upon them.<sup>1045</sup>

These things were *Prælibations*, of what shall be done in the *Millennium*.

Was it now possible, under such an awful Approach of Heaven unto them, to venture upon doing the least criminal thing in the World? Yes; Tho' the *Pentateuch* do not so particularly give us the Report, yett we have it reported by *David*, by *Amos*, by *Stephen*, and above all, by *Ezekiel*, That the *Israelites* in the Wilderness, under the most Immediate Eye of Heaven, that ever was known, many of them wallow'd in gross Miscarriages, and in *Idolatries* that carried an horrible Defiance of Heaven in them. Even in the very *Wilderness*, when they had Heaven miraculously exhibited every Hour before them, the People *Rebelled* against God, *walked not in His Statutes*, *Despised His Judgments*, *greatly Polluted His Sabbaths*, and *Defiled themselves with Idols*. And *Moses* himself ha's related their horrid *Murmurings*, which provoked the Lord Himself, to expostulate, as not without a Sort of Wonder; *were yee not afraid of such impieties?*

The Nations in the Neighbourhood heard of the *Divine Presence* among this People; the *Terror* thereof amazed them. One would have imagined, they should all have come in, and besought, that they might be under the *Instruction* and *Government*, and Merciful & Heavenly Influences of the GOD, who had [96v] so mercifully come | down from Heaven, among the poor Children of Men. Their *Neglecting of so great Salvation*, were Wickedness enough, if there had not been any more, to deserve all the Extermination ordered for them. But; *Satan* was lett loose to *Deceive the Nations!* A *Rahab*, and a few *Gibeonites*, are found Beleevers among the *Canaanites*; The rest, *the Number of whom was as the Sand of the Sea*, did *gather together* and *compass the Camp of the Saints*, and assault the *Beloved People*; until there *came from God out of Heaven*, the *Tempest which devoured them*. And yett the Reliques of the Devoured Nations, Repented not; *Satan* being loose, held them still fast *Bound* in their Ignorance and Unbeleef.

And what is there in the whole Concern of *Gog* and *Magog*, more unaccountable? I don't suppose, That the *Saints*, who are the Inhabitants of the *New Earth*, shall be any Part of the *seduced Nations*. But another Sett of People shall then be found, who being *moved by the Instigation of the Devil*, will not be Terrified by any Heavenly Appearances, from a Fruitless Attempt against the City of God.<sup>1046</sup>

<sup>1045</sup> See Ex. 13:21, 14:9, and 16:1–36.

<sup>1046</sup> Some of this language also appears in Mather, "Problema Theologicum," pp. 413–15. The last paragraph in this section is a marginal insertion.

## The Sixth Argument.

That which will be at the Arrival of the *New Heavens* and the *New Earth*, wherein *shall Dwell Righteousness*, will be at the *Beginning* of the *Happy State*, which is *to be expected for the Church of God upon Earth*.

But the *Second Coming* of our Lord Jesus Christ, will be at the Arrival of the *New Heavens* and the *New Earth*, wherein *shall dwell Righteousness*.

Therefore. —

Consider, 2. Pet. 3.10, 11. *Expecting and Hastening the Coming of the Day of God, wherein the Heavens being on Fire, shall be dissolved, and the Elements shall melt with fervent Heat. Nevertheless we, according to His Promise, look for New Heavens, & a New Earth, wherein dwelleth Righteousness.*

I suppose, no Man upon *Earth*, looks for the *Happiness* of the Church upon *Earth*, which is promised, until we shall see the *New Earth* wherein *shall dwell Righteousness*, which is also promised.

But now, we find, there is a *Conflagration* præludious to this *New Earth*. And we also find, That the *Second Coming* of our Lord Jesus Christ, is at this *Conflagration*.<sup>1047</sup>

What shall our poor *Antimillenaries* do in this Perplexity? Do! Why assert, That the *New Earth*, wherein *shall dwell Righteousness*, takes Place before the *Conflagration*. But, Syrs, This will never do. Tis a most horrid *Confusion* that you confess yourselves thrown into. It were a shorter Way, to cashier the whole *Epistle* from our *Canon*, with an, οὐκ ἐκδεδειγμένον,<sup>1048</sup> as we know who did of old. — *Sed Via crimen habet*. And if that were done, still the Two Last Chapters of *Isaiah*, are in the *Volumn of the Book*. But lett us look again upon the Text. — If the *New Earth* takes place before the *Conflagration*, then tis not the *Earth* that NOW IS, but it is the *New Earth*, that is *kept in Store, reserved unto Fire, against the Day of Judgment*. But if *Isaiah* say of the *New Earth*, *It shall Remain*, I am satisfied that *Peter* would not say, *It shall be Destroy'd*. It seems then, *Tis not the Earth made Subject unto Vanity*, but that which is *Delivered from the Bondage of Corruption*, that is to be, *sett on Fire*. Not the *Earth* wherein Dwells little but *Wickedness*, but the *Earth* wherein Dwells nothing by *Righteousness*, that is to fall under the Burning Vengeance of God. Away with such gross — — I wish, I know what to call it! To say, *The Earth which now is, is Reserved for Fire; Nevertheless, tis not this Earth, but the New Earth, which we look for, that the Fire shall*

<sup>1047</sup> Mather, "Problema Theologicum," pp. 415–16.

<sup>1048</sup> Mather apparently meant to write οὐκ ἐνδιδάθηκον [ouk endidathekon]: "not canonical." The word ἐνδιδάθηκος basically means "committed to writing" or "written down." In patristic writings, it sometimes assumes the meaning of "canonical," or "belonging to the Bible." See, for instance, Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, 3.3.1.4. Here we read about 2 Pet.: "but the so-called second Epistle we have not received as canonical [οὐκ ἐνδιδάθηκον], but nevertheless it has appeared useful to many, and has been studied with other Scriptures," LCL 153, pp. 192–93. The Latin phrase comes from Ovid, *Ars Amatoria*, 1.586, and means: "[But] it is the path of guilt," LCL 232, pp. 52–53.



*fall upon*: – To putt such a Gloss upon the Scriptures, meerly because of our præconceived Antipathy to some Truths, which are *Hard to be understood*, it is to putt them into the *Fire*: I wish, it be not a near Approach unto a Fault, which we find Rebuked, *before the Chapter is out*.

Some will have this Prophecy expounded, concerning a *Fiery Destruction* coming on the *Church*, and *State*, and *City* of the *Jewes*; and the *New Heavens* and the *New Earth*, to mean, the *New Administration* of Things among the *Christians* under the Gospel.<sup>1049</sup> But I doubt this Exposition will also prove some of the *Stubble*, that is to be Burnt in the *Fire*. For, the People of God are directed not only to *look*, but also to *pray* for this Day. What? For the *Day* of the *Burning of Jerusalem*! Our Lord Jesus Christ Himself *wept* at the Forethought of this lamentable Day; And shall we imagine it, a Direction of Importance in Christianity, to *long* for it?<sup>1050</sup> I will add; If this had been the *Day*, about the *Delay* whereof the Apostle was not a little solicitous, to satisfy the Minds of the People of God, what need he have offered Considerations upon Supposal of its being a *Thousand Years off*? *This Day* was at the Writing of this Epistle, within *Three or Four Years* of its Arrival. Besides; The *New Earth* of *Peter*, is doubtless the same with the *New Earth* of *John*. But the *New Earth* of *John*, takes not place, till after the Destruction of *Antichrist*; nor till the *New Jerusalem* comes down from God out of Heaven; and there is to be seen a *great City*, where into there *enters* [97r] *nothing that defiles*, and there is *no Night* there, or any more *Death*, | or *Pain* or *Sorrows*. When every Stone is turned, we must come to this; That the *Happy State* of the Church upon Earth, even in the *New Earth*, takes not place, until the *Conflagration*, which is to be at the *Second Coming* of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Instead of any further *Arguing*, my best Way to gain the Point, will be to betake myself unto *Explaining* of it.

And, for to sett in a true *Light*, the Difference between the NEW HEAVENS, and the NEW EARTH, whereof our Apostle invites us to take notice, but whereof scarce any Interpreters have took any due Notice; This one thing, would at once rescue the true Doctrine of the *Chiliad* from all the Prejudices against it, which many have hastily run away withal.

It is here said, *According to His Promise, wee look for New Heavens & a New Earth*. Lett us look on that *Promise*. There we find, concerning the Inhabitants of the *New Earth*; Isa. 65.21. *They shall build Houses & Inhabit them, and they shall plant Vineyards and eat the Fruit of them*; and they shall have an *Offspring* that

<sup>1049</sup> Mather here refers to the proponents of a preterist interpretation of the Petrine conflagration in the tradition of Grotius, most prominently the English exegete Henry Hammond. They argued that this prophecy of an all-consuming fire in its literal-historical sense had to be understood as referring to the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans in 70 CE. If a secondary futurist sense was to be allowed, it had to be understood in an allegorical and analogical sense. Compare Grotius's annotations on *Opera* (2:1121–24) and Hammond, *Paraphrase* (4:101–08).

<sup>1050</sup> On this, compare *Trip Paradise*, pp. 155–56.

shall be *Blessed of the Lord*. Unto the *Raised Saints* we can allow no such *earthly* Circumstances. No; *They neither marry, nor are given in Marriage; but are equal unto the Angels, and are the Children of God, being the Children of the Resurrection*. In the *New Heavens* therefore we shall find *Them* to be more gloriously circumstanced.<sup>1051</sup>

I will then freely Declare my Expectations. An Exhibition of Things, as they were, at our Lords *Transfiguration*, ha's encouraged them.

First; I *expect*, That our Lord JESUS CHRIST, will very shortly make His *Descent*, according to His *Promise*: *The Lord our God will come, and all His Holy Ones with Him*. The Day is at hand, when, *The Lord Himself shall Descend from Heaven with a Shout, and the Voice of the Archangel, & with the Trumpett of God; and the Dead in Christ shall Rise first*. There are a Thousand Reasons to Beleeve, that many Thousands which are now Alive, may live to see this Astonishing Revolution. Tho' the *Day* and the *Hour*, be not præcisely *known* to us, we may Reasonably Beleeve, that it will be before the present (Eighteenth) *Century* be expired.

Secondly; I *expect*, That the *Exhibition*, which our Lord JESUS CHRIST, is going to make of Himself, will be in those *Flames*, which will produce a tremendous *Conflagration* upon this lower World. The *Righteous Lord*, from His *Throne in the Heavens* will *Rain Snares, Fire and Brimstone, and an horrible Tempest* upon the *wicked Antichrist*, who ha's been *Destroying the Foundations*.

But this *Conflagration*, wherein God *pleading* with a miserable World by *Fire*, the *Slain of the Lord* will be many, [and *Antichrist* shall be *utterly burnt with Fire on the Sabbath*:]<sup>1052</sup>

The First Efforts and Effects of it will perhaps<sup>1053</sup> be upon *Italy*; the *Sodom*, that is the Seat of *Antichrist*.<sup>1054</sup>

And we have it intimated, That the Desolation made by it, shall extend, [Rev. 14.20.] *By the Space of One Thousand and Six Hundred Furlongs*; or, Two Hundred Miles. Never did the World see a *Vulcano* one hundredth Part so horrible as this, if it should extend no further, in the *Day of the Lord that shall burn like an Oven*.

<sup>1051</sup> Compare *Triparadisus*, pp. 244–90. See also Mather's annotations on Isa. 65 (*BA* 5:847–51).

<sup>1052</sup> Mather, "Problema Theologicum," pp. 416–20. See Appendix A. The following cancelations and revisions reflect the change in Mather's interpretation of the Petrine conflagration from a partial, locally confined event to a global fire storm. For his final view on the conflagration, see *Triparadisus*, pp. 219–30. On this, see the Introduction.

<sup>1053</sup> See Appendix A.

<sup>1054</sup> Compare Mather, "Problema Theologicum," p. 420.

How far it shall then proceed,<sup>1055</sup> I was at a Loss until the Apostle *Peter* determined me, That it must go on to bring the whole Earth under a tremendous Devastation.

Thirdly; I *expect*, That our Lord JESUS CHRIST, with His *Raised Saints* will then possess those Regions of the *Air*, which are now the *High Places* held by the *Prince of the Power of the Air*.

[97v] And at some agreeable Distance from the *Earth*, He will have, in those Vast and Bright *Clouds*, which He brings with Him, that *City of God*, which *Abraham* and the Holy Patriarchs and Pilgrims of old *looked for*; The *City*, whereof the *seventy | second Psalm* intimates, That it shall consist of *Raised Saints*: The *Holy Jerusalem* come down into the *New Heavens*, wherein there shall be the *Glory of God*, and the *Throne of God & of the Lamb shall be in it*, and *His Servants there shall serve Him, & see His Face*.

More particularly; [Psal. 68.34, 35.] *His Excellency will be over Israel, and His Strength will be in the Clouds*, and, *O God, Thou wilt be terrible out of thy Holy Places*.<sup>1056</sup>

*Quære*, whether at this Time, there shall not be fulfilled, what is foretold, in the *Twenty fifth* Chapter of *Matthew*, in a peculiar Transaction of *Judgment*, upon the *Professors of Christianity*, then found *alive*;<sup>1057</sup> To distinguish their Fate, upon the Cries, which the *Terror* of the Descending Judge will throw them into. To determine their State under the *New Jerusalem* that is to follow; either to take their Part in the *Glories* of that *City* and *Kingdome*, for the *Thousand Years* to come; or to be<sup>1058</sup> cast by the Blasts into the *Fiery Furnace* then opening for the Wicked. Some excellent Persons, both ancient and modern, have been of this Opinion; but, – *ulterius inquirendum*.<sup>1059</sup>

Fourthly; I *expect*, That The *Earth* shall then be rescued from the *Curse* that is now upon it, & be Restored unto *paradisaic Prosperity*; or, as the *Psalms* that speaks of this Time does intimate, *The Earth shall yeeld her Increase*.<sup>1060</sup> Whether

1055 See Appendix A. The following sentence is a marginal insertion replacing the canceled passage.

1056 Compare Mather, "Problema Theologicum," pp. 420–21.

1057 The rest of this sentence is a marginal insert, seemingly done at the same time as the other revisions.

1058 Mather originally concluded this sentence with "exiled into the wretched Condition of them that are to be *without*."

1059 "It is to be inquired further." See Appendix A. Compare Mather, "Problema Theologicum," pp. 421–22.

1060 See Appendix A. The rest of this paragraph is a marginal insert, which replaces the canceled passage. Parts of the canceled text can be found in "Problema Theologicum," pp. 422–23. The cancellations all reflect Mather's changing views on the nature of the millennial reign. Originally, he expected an inchoate millennium with the Holy Land and the earthly New Jerusalem at its center, from which the influence of the renewed Church would progressively expand. In his later years, Mather believed that a universal conflagration would immediately purge the world of all sin and the enemies of God and that the whole earth would constitute the promised land or New Canaan.

the Inhabitants of this *New Earth* may not be the Saints found *Alive*, and *caught up* at the Coming of the Lord, and *changed* into a sinless Condition, and sent down after the Conflagration is over & live like *Adam* and *Eve* in Paradise and people the *New Earth* with an Holy Propagation: and be somewhat Inferiour to the *Raised Saints*; The [\*illeg.] *Isaiah* leads to such Sentiments.

Fifthly. I expect, That the *Intercourse* between the *New Heavens* and the *New Earth*, will then be very wonderful.

The *City of God* in the *New Heavens*, (as the Apostle *John* ha's informed us) will be *Foursquare*; extending, *Twelve Thousand Furlongs*, or, *Fifteenth Hundred Miles*.

It will be seated over the Land of *Israel*.<sup>1061</sup> The *Cloud* and *Fire*, will be over the *Assemblies of Zion*. [Isa. 4.5, 6.]

Here will *Athanasius* find, the *Μοναὶ τῶν ἁγίων*. *The Mansions of the Saints*,<sup>1062</sup> in the Heavenly World; which he takes to be meant by that of the Psalmist; [Psal. 149.5.] *lett the Saints sing aloud upon their Beds*.

There shall then be *Two Jerusalems*; *Johns New Jerusalem*, in which there is *No Temple*; and *Ezekiels New Jerusalem*, in which there shall be a *Temple*. The Ancients ingeniously apply the *Hundred & Twenty Second Psalm* to one of these.

The *Raised Saints*, who when they shall *Renew their Youth*, (at the *Redemption*,) shall *be like the Eagles*, and *mount up with Eagles Wings* (which the Jewes take to be the prophetic Phrase for the *Bodies of the Resurrection*;) These will be the *Angels* of this *New World*; For, [Heb. 2.5.] *unto the Angels hath He not putt in Subjection the World to come, whereof we speak*. What the *Angels* now do more *Invisibly*, while the *Wheels of this World* are Turning, the *Raised Saints*, *Receiving a Kingdome that cannot be shaken*, will more visibly do in that *World to come*.

Then, they that have been Faithful in Improving their *Talents*, will be | [98f] made *Rulers over Cities*; and then *Overcomers* will have *Power over Nations*.

The *Dead Bodies* of the Saints will be *Filled*, (and they shall *sitt with the Lord Jesus Christ in the Heavenly Places*;) and the Lord shall by them, *Judge among the Nations*.

They may be very patient, in the mean Time, if they be shutt out generally from any Share in the Government of *this present World*. God is by the *Sufferings of this present Time*, admirably præparing His Patient and Faithful and Holy Servants, to bear their Part in the Administration of a *Government*, whereto He will call them in the *Glory that is to be Revealed*.

<sup>1061</sup> Mather originally concluded this sentence with "which will now again be possessed by the *Israelitish Nation*."

<sup>1062</sup> Mather provides an accurate transl. of the Greek *μοναὶ τῶν ἁγίων* [*monai ton hagion*], which comes from Ps.-Athanasius, *Quaestiones in psalmos* [PG 28. 749]. The allusion is to John 14:2, 23.

In the *New Jerusalem* will be the *Stars*, of whom tis said, *The Lord tells their Numbers, He calls them all by their Names*. Tis a notable Stroke of R. *David Kimchi*, That the *Stars* are the *Just*, of whom *Daniel* saies, *They shall turn many to Righteousness*.

It shall be as easy, for the Saints of the *New Earth*, to converse with the Saints of the *New Heavens*, as it was for *Abraham* or *Moses*, to converse with *Angels*.<sup>1063</sup>

In the *Seventh Chiliad*, Men shall be like *Enoch*, the *Seventh from Adam*. Tho' they shall have *Sons & Daughters*, yett they shall *walk with God*: God will *take Pleasure* in them; and they shall *see no Death*; but be *Translated* from the *New Earth* to the *New Heavens*, when God shall see the proper Time for it.<sup>1064</sup>

Thus will things be carried on, with a most glorious Administration, for a *Thousand Years* together.

I have given but the *main Strokes* of the *Scheme*; and I will only say *This* upon it, There is *This* to Recommend it, That *Now*, you may go Read the *whole Bible*, with a *Key* in your Hand, that will unlock Ten Thousand Passages in it: And the more you Read, and Think, and Search, and Compare one Thing with another, the more you will find the *whole Bible* favouring of it. Nor does there arise from it, the least Shadow of any Damage, to any one Article, of the *Faith once delivered unto the Saints*.

I was thinking to have stamp'd a *Sabbatical* and *Millennial* Character upon my Discourse, by concluding with, A *SEVENTH Argument*. And yett I have so many Remaining, that it would have troubled me to have told, which I should best have singled out.

Whether This.

If the *Happy State* of the *Church upon Earth*, which must last a *Thousand Years*, be not yett begun; and yett the *Second Coming* of the Lord, cannot be a *Thousand Years* off; Then the *Second Coming* of our Lord, will be at the *Beginning* of the *Happy State*, which is to be expected for the *Church upon Earth*.

But, as the *Happy State of the Church upon Earth*, which must be a *Thousand Years*, is not yett Begun. So, the *Second Coming* of our Lord cannot be a *Thousand Years* off.

Therefore. —

Or, This.

If the *Martyrs*, (of *Thyatira*, for Instance,) must have *Power over the Nations*, and *Rule them*; Then the *Second Coming* of our Lord Jesus Christ, (at the *Resurrection* of those *Martyrs*,) will be at the *Beginning* of the *Happy State*

<sup>1063</sup> Cf. Mather, "Problema Theologicum," pp. 422–24. Compare Kimchi's gloss in *Mikraoth Gedoloth*, *Daniel*, on Dan. 12:3, p. 111.

<sup>1064</sup> See Appendix A. Cf. Mather, "Problema Theologicum," p. 424, where some of the canceled language appears. Mather deleted two questions here that in his later years he thought he had resolved with some certainty. On his final solution, see *Tripuradibus*, pp. 281–90.

of the Church upon Earth, [or, while there are yett *Nations* to continue *Ruled* in the World.]

But the *overcoming Martyrs* of *Thyatira*, must have *Power over the Nations*, and *Rule them*.<sup>1065</sup>

Therefore. —

But I wave these, and many more, as cogent as these. For, they that will not be convinced by those *Arguments*, which have been already offered, proclame themselves Resolved against Conviction, tho' there were *Nine* and *Forty* more.<sup>1066</sup>

And indeed, the *Sleep* wherein the World must be found, will render it Necessary, that Multitudes, even of good Men, should remain | indisposed unto [98v] these glorious Truths of God.<sup>1067</sup>

A very Defective Treatise, about *The Thousand Years*, lately entertained me, with a very good Observation; "That many a gracious Heart, ha's decried the *Personal Reign of CHRIST, on the Throne of his Father David*, as an Error, that yett shall have a glorious Part in that Reign, and have the Lord fulfilling to them that Word of His, which is then to have its Fulfilment; Isa. 32.4. *The Heart of the Rash shall understand Knowledge*."

However, it would not be amiss, if the Servants of God, would be very Temperate, and Moderate, and Cautious, in appearing against a Thing, which now gains exceedingly upon the Beleef of the most learned and pious Men, as a *Truth of God*; and if it be a *Truth*, will gain more and more. Fierce Opposers may come to change their Minds!<sup>1068</sup>

A late *Lutheran* Minister, namely G. *Laurentius Seidenbecherus*, wrote a Book, which he calls, *Problema Theologicum, De Regno Sanctorum in Terris Millenario*. But tho' the Book be composed with much Modesty, a *Lutheran Consistory* condemned it as *Hæretical*; and the Author was fulminated, with an *Excommunication*. *Seidenbecherus* falling sick, desired that he might speak with the *Vicar*, who had excommunicated him; to whom he said, That he should now Dy of his present Sickness, but the *Vicar* should quickly follow him. Within a few Dayes after the Death of *Seidenbecherus*, the *Vicar* fell sick; and then with great horror he often cried out, *Laurentius has written the Truth! Laurentius ha's written the Truth!* And so he expired.<sup>1069</sup>

<sup>1065</sup> See Rev. 2:26.

<sup>1066</sup> Cf. Mather, "Problema Theologicum," pp. 424–26.

<sup>1067</sup> See 1 Thess. 4:13, 5:11.

<sup>1068</sup> Cf. Mather, "Problema Theologicum," p. 426. This treatise and its author could not be identified.

<sup>1069</sup> See Mather, "Problema Theologicum," p. 426. Reference is made to the work of the Lutheran minister in Unterneubrunn near Eisfeld, G. Laurentius Seidenbecher (1623–1663), *Problema Theologicum, De Regno Sanctorum in Terris Millenario* (1664), one of the very few Lutheran tracts on eschatology before Philipp Jakob Spener's *Pia Desideria* (1675), which assumes a future millennium. The publication of his first work *Chiliasmus Sanctus* in Amsterdam in 1660 initiated an ecclesial trial against Seidenbecher, which in 1661 led to his removal

I hope, at least, that learned and pious Men, indisposed unto the *Chiliad*,<sup>1070</sup> will at the Worst, give no worse an Entertainment unto these things, than was given by one of the First Fathers, that ever appeared on their Side in the World; (*Jerom*, I mean,) who tho' he were an Angry One, yett so brings the Matter off; [*Comment. In Jer. 19.*] *Quæ licet non sequamur, tamen condemnare non possumus, eò quòd multi Virorum Ecclesiasticorum et Martyrum, ista dixerint.*<sup>1071</sup>

---

from office. In Amsterdam, Seidenbecher met Comenius and afterwards entertained a correspondence with him. *Problema theologia* was published in Amsterdam the year after his death. The story about Seidenbecher's fate is told in the editorial preface of *Problema*, p. 9. See Ernestien G. E. van der Wall, "Chiliasmus Sanctus: De Toemomstverwachting van Georg Lorenz Seidenbecher (1623–1663)" (1983), pp. 69–83. Seidenbecher's case is also discussed at length in the famous Pietist church history of Gottfried Arnold (1666–1714), *Unparteyische Kirchen- und Ketzer-Historie*, vol. 4, sect. 3, nr. 24, pp. 820–44. Seidenbecher's work also seems to have been one of the sources for Comenius's defense of millennialism that Mather excerpts below.

**1070** The preceding clause is a later insertion.

**1071** "We may not dare to follow these [doctrines] but we cannot condemn them, for many churchmen and martyrs have spoken such things." Mather cites Jerome, *Commentariorum in Jeremiam prophetam libri sex*, 4.15, at Jer. 19:10 [PL 24. 802; CSEL 59]. Mather also uses this citation in his biography of John Davenport in the *Magnalia*, lib. 3, cap. 4. See also *Johannes in eremo. Memoirs, relating to the lives of the ever-memorable, Mr. John Cotton* (1695), p. 28.

## Postscript.

There is a surprising Passage, a wonderful Story, in *Tertullian*.

About the Year, 198, there was a strange Appearance, of a Figure of a walled City, in the Air, over *Judæa*, beheld with Admiration for Forty Mornings together; of which City the *Millenaries* of that Age, tis said, entertain'd some Thoughts, that it might be the *City*, whereof the Saints were to be the Inhabitants.

*Quære*. What might be the Intention of the Divine Providence in ordering such an unaccountable Appearance? And what Improvement should learned and sober Men, at this day make of it?

The Words of *Tertullian*, are worth Transcribing. They are in his Third Book against *Marcion*; pretty near the Conclusion.

*Confitemur et in Terra nobis Regnum repromissum, sed alio Statu, utpote post Resurrectionem, in mille Annos, in Civitate Divini operis, Hierusalem, Cælo delata, quam et Apostolus Matrem nostram sursum designat, et ει πολιτευμα nostrum, id est, Municipatum in Cælis esse pronuncians, alicui utique Cælesti Civitati eum deputat. Hanc et Ezekiel novit, et Apostolus Joannes vidit, et qui apud fidem nostram est novæ Prophetiæ Sermo testatur, ut etiam effigiem Civitatis ante Representationem ejus conspectui futuram in Signum prædicarit. Denique proximè expunctum est Orientali expeditione. Constat enim, ethnicis quoque Testibus, in Judæa, per Dies Quadragintâ; Matutinis Momentis, Civitatem de Cælo pependisse, omni Mæniorum habitu evanescente, de Profectu Diei, et alias de proximo nullam. Hanc dicimus excipiendis Resurrectione Sanctis, et refovendis omnium Bonorum utique Spiritualium Copiâ, in Compensationem eorum, quæ in Sæculo, vel despeximus, vel amisimus, à Deo prospectam.*<sup>1072</sup> |

[99f]

1072 “We confess that a kingdom is promised to us upon the earth, only in another state of existence; inasmuch as it will be after the resurrection for a thousand years in the divinely-built city of Jerusalem, ‘let down from heaven,’ which the apostle also calls ‘our mother from above;’ and, while declaring that our *πολιτευμα*, or citizenship, is in heaven, he predicates of it that it is really a city in heaven. This both Ezekiel had knowledge of and the Apostle John beheld; and the word of the new prophecy which is a part of our belief, attests how it foretold that there would be for a sign a picture of this very city exhibited to view previous to its manifestation. This has been very lately fulfilled in an expedition to the East. For it is evident from the testimony of even heathen witnesses, that in *Judæa* there was suspended in the sky a city early every morning for forty days. As the day advanced, the entire figure of its walls would wane gradually, and sometimes it would vanish instantly. We say that this [city] has been provided by God for receiving the saints on their resurrection, and refreshing them with the abundance of all really spiritual blessings, as a recompense for those which in the world we have either despised or lost.” A citation from Tertullian, *Five Books Against Marcion*, 3.24 [PL 2. 355C; SC 399, pp. 204–06; CSEL 47, pp. 419–20]; transl. adapted from ANF (3:342–43). Mather also references this passage in “*Problema Theologicum*,” p. 364, and *Triparadisus*, pp. 244–45. In the latter work, Mather mentions the fact that some contemporary scholars, such as the French



A Discourse of the Incomparable *Comenius* ought not to be left unmentioned on this Occasion. *Maresius* had written a Disputation full of *Bitter Zeal* against the Chiliasts, and against *Comenius* by Name, as one of them. The brave old Man, when he was now near Fourscore Years of Age, writes an Answer, the title whereof is, *De Zelo Sine Scientiâ et Charitate*. He writes with all the Witt, Learning, Vigour, sett off by a Neat and a Nitid Style, which could have been expected from a *Literator* more than Forty Years younger, & in the very Meridian of his Glory. In his Treatise, he declares, That he had been for near Threescore Years, acquainted with the Doctrine of the *Chiliad*, and had studied it very diligently & in the Fear of God; after he had first imbibed it from his Two famous Tutors, *Piscator* and *Alstedius*. From this Treatise of my Rare Old Man, I will now fetch diverse Remarks, on the *Chiliad*, which will be of Use to our main Intention.<sup>1073</sup>

First, The Birth of *Chiliasm*, was indeed in *Paradise*. It was born to us, in the *Protevangelium* given there. There we find foretold a perpetual War, between the *Serpent* and our *Saviour*. There is foretold the Final Issue of the War, in the Destruction of the *Serpent*, and a glorious Victory of our *Saviour*. Well, but where the *Field* of these Transactions? This is evidently, the *Earth*. All the World knowes & feels, that this our *Earth*, is the Field of the *War*. We desire then to know, whether after all, the Conqueror must *leave the Field*, unto his vanquished Enemy? Whether the Conqueror do not forever chase the Enemy out of the Field, & he himself keep the Possession of it? *Pelli solet hostis in ultima usque antra sua, Captivusque in Carcerem mitti*.<sup>1074</sup> Behold, the Summ of the Matter; and the Truth not only Illustrated, but also beyond all Contradiction demonstrated.

The Books of the Prophets, are full of Passages & Prædictions, concerning the glorious Victory, Triumph, and Kingdome of the *Messiah*. The Prophecies of *Daniel* to this Purpose, are singularly admirable. The Prophecies, and the Traditions, found some Conveyance, from the *Israelitish* to the *Gentile* World. *Balaam* foretels, a *Scepter* that should subdue all the Nations. And the *Sibylline* Oracles about this Matter, are not altogether to be despised. My *Comenius* quotes the Words of the wise *Vives* on this Occasion; *Tanta res fuit Adventus Domini nostri, ut eum convenerit prænunciari Judæis et Gentibus: Ut priores expectarent, præsentés reciperent, posteri crederent*.<sup>1075</sup>

---

philologist Tanneguy Le Fèvre (1615–1672), regarded the story as a fabrication invented by opponents of Christianity to discredit the new religion. See *Tannaquilli Fabri Epistole* (1674), vol. 2, p. 37. See Appendix A.

1073 Mather refers to *De Zelo sine scientiâ & charitate, Admonitio Fraterna J. A. Comenii ad D. Samuelem Maresium: Pro minuendis odiis, & ampliandis favoribus* (1669), pp. 17–18, by John Amos Comenius. For more on this work, see the Introduction.

1074 “The enemy is usually pushed into the deepest recess of his cave, and he is thrown into prison as a captive.” Comenius, *De Zelo*, pp. 9–10. An allusion to Rev. 20:3.

1075 “The advent of our Lord was a thing of such greatness that it was foretold by Jews and gentiles alike: just as the former expected it, the latter received [the notion of] it and those

*Maresius* looks on the *Sibylline* Verses as *Impostures*.<sup>1076</sup> But certainly, *Cicero* was no *Impostor*, in what he writes about the *Sibyls*.<sup>1077</sup> Or, was *Virgil* an *Impostor*, when he wrote his Fourth *Eclog*?<sup>1078</sup> Did he write it, that he might please the *Christians*, whereof there was not yett one in the World? The Things which he sings from the *Sibyls*, of an Hero, *Qui totum reget Orbem*;<sup>1079</sup> it is affirmed by L. *Vives*, *Omnia de Christo sunt, nec de ullo alio intelligi possunt*; upon that Verse,<sup>1080</sup>

*Iam nova Progenies Cælo demittitur alto;  
— ac toto surget gens Aurea Mundo.*<sup>1081</sup>

He saies, *Non potuit ab homine Christiano disertioribus Verbis explicari Descensus Filii Dei ad nos*.<sup>1082</sup> *Austin* in his Treatise, *De Civitate Dei*, gives the same Interpretation upon that Verse.

*Pacatumque reget Patriis Virtutibus Orbem.*<sup>1083</sup>

He saies, Tis a frequent Assertion of the Scripture, *That, all things are given to the Son by the Father, and all things putt in Subjection unto Him*. The *Saturnia Regna*, to Return; I pray, what were they?<sup>1084</sup>

---

coming after them believed it.” From *Comenius*, *De Zelo*, pp. 10–11, Mather cites the commentary on Virgil’s fourth Eclogue by the famous Spanish Renaissance scholar Juan Luis Vives (1493–1540) in *In publici Vergilii Maronis Bucolica, interpretatio, potissimum allegorica* ([1537] 1543), unpaginated.

**1076** From *Comenius*, a reference to Samuel *Maresius*, *Antirrheticus, sive defensio pii pro retinenda recepta in Ecclesiis Reformatis doctrina* (1669), p. 50. On this, see also the annotations on Mather’s appended essay “IX. Sibyllina. Or, A brief & plain Account of the Sibylline Oracles, which have made so much Noise in the World.”

**1077** From *Comenius*, a reference to Cicero’s defense of the sibylline prophecies in *On Divination*, 2.54; transl.: *LCL* 154, pp. 496–97.

**1078** Like some of the Sibylline oracles, Virgil’s fourth Eclogue (published c. 39–38 BCE) was widely read by Christian scholars as a prophecy of Christ and his reign.

**1079** “Who shall rule the entire world.” From *Comenius*, *De Zelo*, p. 11, Mather paraphrases Virgil, *Eclogues*, 4.15–17; *LCL* 63, pp. 50–51.

**1080** “All those things are about Christ, and they can not be understood with regard to any other person.” From *Comenius*, *De Zelo*, p. 11, Mather again cites Vives, *In publici Vergilii Maronis Bucolica, interpretatio*, on the fourth Eclogue.

**1081** “Now a new generation descends from heaven on high ... and a golden race spring up throughout the world!” From *Comenius*, *De Zelo*, p. 11, Mather cites Virgil, *Eclogues*, 4.7–10; transl.: *LCL* 63, pp. 48–49.

**1082** “The descent of the Son of God to us could not be explained in better words by a Christian person.” From *Comenius*, *De Zelo*, p. 11, Mather again cites the commentary of Vives.

**1083** “[A]nd shall rule the world to which his father’s prowess brought peace.” From *Comenius*, *De Zelo*, p. 11. Mather cites Virgil, *Eclogues*, 4.17; transl.: *LCL* 63, p. 51. Augustine comments on *Eclogue*, 4.4., in his *City of God*, 10.27.1 [PL 41. 305–6]: “For clearly Virgil indicates that he did not deliver these verses as his own when he says in the fourth line, I think, of the same Eclogue: ‘The final age has come as Cumae’s song foretold.’” Transl. from *LCL* 413, p. 375.

**1084** “The reign of Saturn [returns].” From *Comenius*, *De Zelo*, p. 11, Mather again cites Virgil, *Eclogues*, 4.7; transl.: *LCL* 63, p. 49.

In the Gospels, when they enquired of our Saviour, about the *Coming of the Kingdome of God*, He never intimated unto them, That such a Thing would never come. He only gave Intimations, of *Sufferings* to be first undergone, and of His own first Retiring into a *Far Countrey*. He permitted the Jews, to cry *Hosannah* unto Him, as unto the *King* that was to come. And He declared a Time to come, when<sup>1085</sup> Beleevers on Him should welcome Him with a, *Blessed is He that cometh in the Name of the Lord*. Unbeleevers will hardly say so, when He comes only as a *severe Judge*, to pass a Doom of Destruction upon them. The *Resurrection* of our *Jesus*, raised this *Dead Hope*, in the Hearts of His languishing Disciples. Only still He told them, *It was not for them to know the Time*. And He ordered them to pray, *Thy Kingdome come*. After His Ascension, His Apostles continue to encourage, and inculcate this *Expectation*. They prove that our Lord Himself is yett *expecting*, to see a Time, when His *Enemies will be made His Footstool*; and that He shall receive a *Kingdome*, which in a Determined Period, He shall *Deliver up unto the Father*. The last of the Apostles proceeds to more of Particularity, about the Time, when this Kingdome is to arrive, namely after the Reign & Fall of *Antichrist*; and the Glory of the *Raised Martyrs* who are to be the Administrators of it. The Christians who first succeeded the Apostles in the Primitive Times, took these Prophecies in as literal a Sense as may be. *Justin Martyr* assures us, That *all the Orthodox* did so.<sup>1086</sup> Such an eminent Person,<sup>1087</sup> who lived so near to the Apostle *John*, & wrote such *Apologies* on the behalf of the Christian Religion, within Forty Years at furthest after the Writing of, *The Revelation*, could not be ignorant of the Sense, wherein the Christians of those Times, took the Prophecies concerning the Coming & Kingdome | of our Saviour. We will not bring the Testimonies of *Papias* (a Scholar of our Apostle *John*), of *Meleto*,<sup>1088</sup> of *Irenæus*, of *Tertullian*,<sup>1089</sup> of *Nepos Agyptius*, of *Victorinus Pictaviensis*, of *Sulpitius Severus*, of *Clemens Alexandrius*, and others who establish this Matter, with the Mouth of more than *Two or Three*

1085 Mather originally concluded this sentence with “that Nation often lying in Unbeleef.”

1086 From Comenius, *De Zelo*, p. 13, Mather refers to Justin Martyr, *Dialogus cum Tryphone Judæo*, cap. 80 [PG 6. 663–64]; *Patristische Texte und Studien* 47; transl.: “I admitted to you formerly, that I and many others are of this opinion, and [believe] that such will take place, as you assuredly are aware; but, on the other hand, I signified to you that many who belong to the pure and pious faith, and are true Christians, think otherwise.” *ANF* (1:239).

1087 See Appendix A.

1088 From Comenius, *De Zelo Sine*, p. 14, reference is made to Papias of Hierapolis (c. 60–c.130 CE), who wrote an *Exposition of the Sayings of the Lord*, of which only fragments survive in the works of Irenaeus and Eusebius. The latter mentions Papias’s millennialism in his *Ecclesiastical History*, 3.39 [PG 20. 295–98]; see also the *Papias Fragments* on the future kingdom (*LCL* 25, p. 93); the commentary on the apocalypse by Melito of Sardis (d. 180 CE) is mentioned by Jerome in cap. 24 of his *De Viris illustribus* [PL 23. 643–44].

1089 The millennialism of Irenaeus is on display in his *Adversus haereses*, 5.30–31, 35–36 [PG 7. 1207–10; 1218–21]; Tertullian expresses his faith in an earthly kingdom of Christ in his *Five Books Against Marcion*, 3.24 [PL 2. 355C; *SC* 399, pp. 204–06; *CSEL* 47, pp. 419–20] and *On the Soul*, 55 [PL 7. 744].

Witnesses.<sup>1090</sup> *Lactantius* who lived in the end of the Third Century, has enough to describe unto us, the primitive Expectations. [Lib. 7. c.14.] *Sciant Philosophi, ab Exordio Mundi nondum Sextum Millesimum Annum esse conclusum. Quo numero expleto Consummationem fieri necesse est, et humanarum rerum Statum in melius reformari. — Ut Deus Sex Dies in tantis rebus fabricandis laboravit; ita et Religio ejus et Veritas, in his Sex Millibus Annorum Laborare necesse habet, Malitiâ prævalente ac Dominante. Sed quoniam perfectis Operibus requievit Die Septimo, eumque benedixit, necesse est, ut in fine Sexti Millesimi Anni Malitiâ omnis aboleatur à terrâ, et regnet per Annos Mille justitia, sitque Tranquillitas, et Requies, à Laboribus quos mundus perpessus est.*<sup>1091</sup> Read the rest. And, [cap. 24.] he adds, *Sub idem Tempus, Princeps Dæmonum qui est Machinator omnium Malorum, Catenis Vincietur, et erit in Custodia Mille Annis cælestis Imperii, quo Justitia in Orbe regnabit. — Tunc auferentur à Mundo Tenebræ, quietaque et placida erunt omnia, et homines vivent tranquillissimam Vitam, regnabuntque cum Deo Pariter. Et Reges Gentium venient à finibus terræ, cum Donis et Muneribus, ut adorent Regem Magnum, cujus Nomen erit venerabile universis Nationibus, quæ sub Cælo erunt, et Regibus qui dominabuntur in Terra.*<sup>1092</sup> He concludes, [cap. 26.] *Hæc est Doctrina Sanctorum, Prophetarum, quam nos Christiani sequimur; hæc*

**1090** From Comenius, *De Zelo*, p. 14, further references to the early third-century Egyptian bishop Nepos of Arsinoë (see above); Victorinus of Pettau (modern-day Slovenia, d. c. 300), who wrote the oldest Latin Bible commentary, the *Scholia in Apocalypsin Beati Ioannis* (CSEL 49); and Sulpicius Severus, an ecclesiastical historian from Aquitaine who flourished towards the close of the fourth century and was censured on account of his millennialism by Jerome in his *Commentaria at Zechariam*, 11.36 [PL 25. 339]. Finally, it is not quite clear why Comenius alludes to Clement of Alexandria, who favored a neoplatonically inflected, allegorical interpretation of the millennium.

**1091** “Therefore let the philosophers know that the six thousandth year from the beginning of the world is not yet completed. When this number is completed the consummation must take place, and the condition of human affairs be remodelled for the better. ... And as God laboured during those six days in creating such great works, so His religion and truth must labour during these six thousand years, while wickedness prevails and bears rule. And again, since God, having finished His works, rested the seventh day and blessed it, at the end of the six thousandth year all wickedness must be abolished from the earth, and righteousness reign for a thousand years; and there must be tranquillity and rest from the labours which the world now has long endured.” From Comenius, *De Zelo*, pp. 14–15, Mather cites Lactantius’s *Divinae Institutiones*, written c. between 303 and 311. See *The Divine Institutes*, bk. 7, ch. 14 [PL 6. 781A–83A; CSEL 19, pp. 628–29]; transl. adapted from *ANF* (7:211).

**1092** “About the same time also the prince of the devils, who is the contriver of all evils, shall be bound with chains, and shall be imprisoned during the thousand years of the heavenly rule in which righteousness shall reign in the world ... Then that darkness will be taken away from the world ... Therefore, men will live a most tranquil life, abounding with resources, and will reign together with God; and the kings of the nations shall come from the ends of the earth with gifts and offerings, to adore and honour the great King, whose name shall be renowned and venerated by all the nations which shall be under heaven, and by the kings who shall rule on earth.” From Comenius, *De Zelo*, p. 14, Mather cites Lactantius, *The Divine Institutes*, bk. 7, ch. 24 [PL 6. 809A–11B; CSEL 19, pp. 659–63]; transl. adapted from *ANF* (7:219).

*Sapientia nostra, quam isti qui inanem Philosophiam tuentur, tanquam Stultitiam Vanitatemque derident.*<sup>1093</sup>

But then, what was the Hope of the *Primitive Church*, we have a surprising Testimony, from the Three hundred & Eighteen Fathers, and an innumerable Multitude of enlightened Persons, whom *Constantine* called unto the First famous *Oecumenical Council* of *Nice*. This Council established certain Διατυπώσεις,<sup>1094</sup> To which the Teachers of that Age were to conform their Opinions & their Discourses. Now *Gelasius Cyzicenus*, in his History of that Council, cites this Passage of theirs, on the Article *De Providentia et Mundo*; which is thus translated: *Præcivit Deus, quòd Homo esset peccaturus. Idcirco novos Cælos, et novam Terram expectamus, juxta Sacras Literas; ubi nobis apparuerit Adventus et Regnum Magni Dei et Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi. Et tunc accipient Regnum Sancti Excelsi; et Terra erit pura, Terra Sancta, Terra viventium et non mortuorum; Quam oculis Fidei prævidens David, exclamat, credidi me visurum Bona Dei in Terra Viventium: Terra Mitium et Humilium: Beati enim mites, quoniam hæreditate possidebunt Terram. Et propheta, conculcabunt eam pedes Mitium et Humilium.*<sup>1095</sup>

This was the *Heroic Hope* of the Three First Ages. But when Christian Emperours came to sitt on the Throne, and *Christianity* Degenerated apace into *Carnality*, and a worldly Interest, *Chiliasm* then became despised and condemned. The First that ever passed any Condemnation upon it, was *Damasus*, the Bishop of *Rome*, in a Council held by him there, towards the End of the Fourth Century.<sup>1096</sup> Then was fulfilled that Word; Luk. XIX.14. *His Citizens hated Him, & sent a Message after Him, saying, we will not have this Man to Reign over us.* The Kingdome of CHRIST was to be Forgotten, because the Kingdome

<sup>1093</sup> "This is the doctrine of the holy prophets which we Christians follow; this is our wisdom, which they who ... maintain an empty philosophy, deride as folly and vanity ... ." From Comenius, *De Zelo*, pp. 14–15, Mather cites Lactantius, *The Divine Institutes*, bk. 7, ch. 26 [PL 6. 815A; CSEL 19, p. 667]; transl. adapted from ANF (7:221).

<sup>1094</sup> In this context, the term διατύπωσις [diatypōsis] means regulation, statute, or canon (LSJ). From Comenius, *De Zelo*, p. 15.

<sup>1095</sup> "God knew in advance that man would sin. Therefore, we expect new heavens and a new earth, according to the Holy Scriptures, as soon as the advent and the reign of the great God and of our saviour Jesus Christ has appeared to us. And then they will welcome the reign of the Holy and the Exalted, and the earth will be pure, the earth will be holy, it will be the earth of the living and not of the dead. This earth David envisages with the eyes of faith and exclaims: 'I believed to see the goodness of the Lord in the land of the living; the land of the meek and the humble. For blessed are the meek for they shall inherit the earth.' And the prophet says: 'The feet of the meek and the humble will tread it down.'" From Comenius, *De Zelo*, p. 15, Mather cites the Latin translation of a late fifth-century church history titled *Svntagma*, which was falsely attributed to Gelasius of Cyzicus. See Anonymus von Cyzicus, *Kirchengeschichte*, 2.31.9, in vol. 1, pp. 298–301.

<sup>1096</sup> Under Pope Damasus, a council held in Rome in 382 determined the biblical canon and condemned various heresies such as Macedonianism and the teachings of Apollinarius, Bishop of Laodicea, including chiliasm (RGG).

of ANTICHRIST was to come on. And yett *Jerom*, a Friend of *Damasus*, then said, He durst not condemn the millenary Opinion, *In quâ multi Ecclesiastici Viri, Martyresque confedissent*.<sup>1097</sup> *Austin* also speaks favourably of it, if it may be but well cleared from the *Cerinthian* Luxuries.<sup>1098</sup>

When *Popery* was Reigning, the Truth fell under a Total Oblivion. And yett, even then *Lyranus*, would fain have written something that Way, if he durst. On Rev. XX. *Videtur quod hæc Prophetia nondum sit impleta, sed quia non sum Propheta, nec Filius prophetæ, nolo de futuris aliquid dicere*.<sup>1099</sup>

Afterwards, the *Onus Ecclesiæ*, (written in *France* by *Johannes Chemensis*) more than Two Ages ago, declares, *Post Occisum Antichristum, et Regnum eius Abolitum, Pax dabitur Ecclesiæ, et Satan rursus alligabitur, Pii primas obtinebunt super Terram, et quietè agent: Judei ad Christum convertentur eritque, Magna Scientia Domini in Terrâ. Prophetæ et Apocalypsis tunc intelligentur*.<sup>1100</sup>

After the Reformation, this Truth began to Revive among the Reformers. *Castellio* Dedicating his Version of the Bible to K. *Edward VI*. proclaimed it.<sup>1101</sup>

<sup>1097</sup> "Because many churchmen and martyrs have affirmed such things." From *Comenius, De Zelo*, p. 16, Mather cites *Jerome, Commentariorum in Jeremiam prophetam libri sex*, 4.15, at Jer. 19:10 [PL 24. 802; CSEL 59].

<sup>1098</sup> From *Comenius, De Zelo*, p. 16, a reference to *The City of God*, 20.7 [PL 41. 668; LCL 416, p. 287], where *Augustine* argues that a truly spiritual millenarianism could be tolerated in contrast to the carnally minded expectations of the people associated with the belief in a thousand-year reign. The *Cerinthians* were a gnostic sect.

<sup>1099</sup> "It seems that this prophecy is not yet fulfilled, but since I am not a prophet nor the son of a prophet, I do not want to say anything about the future." From *Comenius, De Zelo*, p. 16, a reference to *Nicholas of Lyra, Postilla literalis super totam Bibliam* (1322–1331, first printed in *Strasbourg*, 1492), at Rev. 20. A convert from Judaism, *Nicholas of Lyra* (c. 1270–1349) joined the *Franciscan* order in 1291 to become one of the most influential biblical interpreters of the Middle Ages, whose insistence on the *sensus literalis* in many ways prepared the way for (and directly influenced) the hermeneutics of the Reformers.

<sup>1100</sup> "After the destruction of the Antichrist and the abolition of his reign, peace will be given to the church, and Satan will be bound again; the faithful will rule over the world, and they will live in peace. The Jews will convert to Christ, and there will be a great knowledge of God on earth. Then, the prophets and the apocalypse will be understood." From *Comenius, De Zelo*, p. 17, Mather cites the reformist work ("Burden of the Church") of the *Bavarian* bishop and theological writer, *Berthold of Chiemsee* (*Ciemensis*, 1465–1543), *Onus Ecclesiæ ... de septem ecclesiæ statibus, de septem ecclesiæ statibus, abusibus quoque grauissimis, et futuris eiusdem calamitatibus ex sanctorum prophetijs et nouarum reuelationum vaticinijs* ([1519] 1531), cap. 62.

<sup>1101</sup> From *Comenius, De Zelo*, p. 17, Mather references the *Genevan* Reformer and humanist scholar, *Sebastian Castellio* (*Castalio*, *Chatillon*, 1515–1563), who undertook a complete Latin version of the Bible from the *Hebrew* and *Greek*, which he completed at *Basle*, *Biblia Vet. et Nov. Test. ex versione Seb. Castalionis* (*Basle*, 1551). In the dedication to *Edward VI* of *England*, *Castellio* expressed his belief that the scriptural prophecies promised a future reign of Christ. Further reference is made to the Bible commentary of the *German Lutheran* theologian, *Lucas Osiander the Elder* (1534–1604), incorporated into the *Osianderbibel: Biblia Mit der Auflegung. Das ist: Die gantze heilige Schrift* (1650), at Rev. 20; and *Heinrich Ammersbach* (1632–1691), a *German* theologian and follower of *Johann Arndt*, who embraced spiritualist and chiliastic ideas. See, for instance, his *Geheimnis der letzten Zeiten* (1665). For *Piscator*, *Alsted*, and *Seidenbecher*, see the annotations above.

Yea, *Great has been the Army of them that have published it.* In Germany, *Osiander, Piscator, Alstedius, Seidenbecher, Amersbachius, & others.* In France, *Launæus* and *Rallius*.<sup>1102</sup> In Holland, *Larenus, Serarius, Brenius*.<sup>1103</sup> And indeed, where not, a Number of excellent Writers?

Yea, to this Day, even under the Papacy itself, this Truth finds here and there those that are sensible of it. Here we find, *A Lapide*, and *Mantuan*, and above all, a *Campanella*, who writes wonderful Things, about the *golden Age*, wherein the *Will of God shall be done on Earth, as it is done in Heaven*.<sup>1104</sup>

<sup>1102</sup> From Comenius, *De Zelo*, p. 17, Mather references the work of the French Protestant theologian Pierre de Launay (1573–1661), *Paraphrase et Exposition de l'Apocalypse* (1651), which was attacked by his co-religionist Moyse Amyraut (1596–1664) in his *Du règne de mille ans ou de la Prospérité de l'Église* (1654); and Andreas Rallius (fl. 1650), *Halcyonia ecclesiarum evangelicarum, sive De regno Christi glorioso in terris* (1659).

<sup>1103</sup> From Comenius, *De Zelo*, p. 17, Mather references the works of the Dutch Reformed theologian, Daniel Larenus (1585–after 1648), *In Apocalypsin B. Ioannis notationes proëmiales* (1642); and the work of the theosophist and lay theological writer, Petrus Serarius (1600–1669), whose millennialism was deeply influenced by Joseph Mede. He defended a millennial eschatology against the critique of Amyraut, Gomarius, and others in his *Assertion du règne de mille ans* (1657). Finally, reference is made to the work of the Dutch Remonstrant theologian, Daniel Brenius (Daniel van Breen, 1594–1664), *Tractatus de regno ecclesiae glorioso per Christum in terris erigendo* (1657).

<sup>1104</sup> From Comenius, *De Zelo*, p. 18, Mather references the work of Cornelius à Lapide, *Commentaria in Apocalypsin in S. Iohannis Apostoli*, at Rev. 20, p. 289–306; and the work of an otherwise unknown scholar, Alphonsus Conradus Mantuanus, *Commentarius in apocalypsin Iohannis* ([1560], 1573). Finally, reference is made to the work of the Italian Dominican scholar, Tommaso Campanella (1568–1639), *Atheismus triumphatus, seu Reductio ad religionem per scientiarum veritates* ([1605–1607] 1636), cap. 10, pp. 114–19.

We Began with our, Accurate *Whiston*.<sup>1105</sup> Oh! had he continued ours!<sup>1106</sup> It falls out, that we must also conclude with him. He has published, AN ESSAY ON THE REVELATION, which ha's many New and Rare, but highly acceptable *Illustrations* in it; & which offers now no longer *Conjectures*, but irrefragable & incontestable *Demonstrations*, on many things which have appeared heretofore something *Dubious*. I am inexpressibly obliged unto the Divine Providence, for sending this incomparable ESSAY, into my Hands. It enables me to add some *Finishing Strokes*, unto our *Illustrations* on the *Apocalypse*;<sup>1107</sup>

From this ESSAY, I shall only single out such Observations, as are most agreeable to my present Undertaking, of adding a Perfection unto our *Illustrations* on the *Apocalypse*; wherein we have already proceeded so far as to give the *Last* and *Best* Thoughts of the most Judicious Writers we had yett seen thereupon.<sup>1108</sup> In doing this, I must bespeak a Consideration for the old Rule, *Scriptura prophetica Saepius impletur*;<sup>1109</sup> And, tho' the *Whistonian* Interpretation

---

**1105** This concluding essay – the word *coronis* (from Greek κορωνίς [koronís]) means conclusion or colophon, i. e. a scribe's finishing stroke or crowning touch – on Revelation is based on selections from *An Essay on the Revelation of Saint John: so far as concerns the Past and Present Times* (1706) by William Whiston, who succeeded his mentor Newton as Lucasian Professor of Mathematics at Cambridge but was suspended for his Arian views in 1710. Mather alludes to the fact that he prefaced his commentaries on Genesis (see BA 1:277–301) with excerpts from Whiston's *A Short View of the Chronology of the Old Testament, and of the Harmony of the Four Evangelists* (1702). It seems that Mather penned the "Coronis" essay very shortly after Whiston's *An Essay* appeared, for the beginning of the second sentence originally read: "He has newly published (this 1706)." On Whiston, Mather, and the Arian controversy, see the Introduction and Silverman, *The Life and Times*, pp. 328–32.

**1106** Mather originally wrote "Excellent and Accurate *Whiston*." He removed one praising adjective and added the exclamation after the original composition of the essay, probably shortly after Mather learned about Whiston's coming-out as an Arian around 1710. His disillusionment with Whiston caused Mather to go through the essay again and cancel out many of the admiring or affectionate expressions (such as "our" and even "Mr.") he originally had added to the mentions of Whiston's name. Because of the great number of these cancellations, they are not individually recorded in the Appendix.

**1107** Mather originally concluded the paragraph as follows: "& furnishes me with an Opportunity, thankfully to acknowledge the Grace of Heaven, unto the valuable Author, who is now, *Professor of the Mathematicks in the University of Cambridge*."

**1108** "we had yett seen thereupon" is a later addition.

**1109** "Prophetic Scripture has multiple fulfillments." This maxim is also cited in Matthew Poole's commentary on Acts 28:26 in his *Annotations*: "Thus we see, that *Scriptura prophetica saepius impletur*; and what was spoken and fulfilled in that generation so long before, was also in this so many hundred years after." Whiston was convinced that the biblical prophecies could only have one proper historical fulfillment to be determined from the literal sense of Scripture. By contrast, Mather argued for a hermeneutic of multiple fulfillments. See my *Prophecy, Piety and the Problem of Historicity*, pp. 268–81.



should be thought the *Right* one, yett it may be the Glory of the *Spirit of Prophecy*, to have an Eye to some other Matters, besides those which are principally, or more directly Intended. The Things that have been offered, may be well worthy of a *Deep Meditation* with us, and may be allowed admirable Correspondencies in *Providence* with *Prophecy*, tho' the *main Intention* may prove such as is now to be declared.

More particularly.

Our Author observes; The Number of *Dayes* included in prophetic *Years*, is to be the same that the Computation of the Age & the Nation of each Prophet requires. *Daniel*, because he lived in *Chaldea* and *Persia*, uses their Year, of 360 Dayes; and *John*, living in the *Roman Empire*, in those Places, where he does not follow & explain *Daniel's* Numbers, uses that Empires Computation of 365 Dayes; & a quarter. And, wherever any general Word, is used indefinitely, without a particular Note of Distinction, there the most eminent & remarkable of that Kind, is to be understood by it. Thus, The *Third Part of the Earth*, [Rev. 8.7.] is to be understood, of the most eminent and remarkable *Third Part*, which can be supposed. Thus, *Time, Times, & a Division of Time*, [Dan. 7.25.] must signify *Three Years and a Month*; because the most Eminent & Remarkable Division, or Part of a Year, with us, is a *Month*.<sup>1110</sup>

Mr. *Whiston* takes Notice, of a most wonderful, but hitherto hardly observed, Prophecy of the *Four Monarchies*, in the Book of *Joel*. As *Daniel* and *John* exhibit unto us; the *Four Monarchies*, by *Four Greater Animals*; in *Joel* we have them under the Notion of so many *Smaller Ones*. The *Fourth* of them is the *Roman Empire*. Now Read that Prophecy with Astonishment; & especially consider that Stroke of it, which tells us, that the *Jewes*, tho' the *Heritage* of God, were to be *given to Reproach*, & the *Heathen were to Rule over them*.<sup>1111</sup>

He asserts, That the Visions contained, in the Book of the *Revelation*, were seen by the Apostle *John*, in the Isle of *Patmos*, A. D. 96. Six and Twenty Years after the Destruction of *Jerusalem*. *Epiphanius's* Report about this Matter, as if it were in the Dayes of *Claudius*, is too weak to bear any Weight;<sup>1112</sup> and he does therein contradict himself also, as well as the unanimous Voice of Antiquity. *Irenaeus*, who had been a frequent Auditor, of them that had conversed with *John* himself, & who had been so particularly Inquisitive, about this Book of, *The Revelation*, as nicely to examine the different Copies of this Book, & frequently Disputes from it;<sup>1113</sup> He expressly informs us of it, as a thing that was commonly

<sup>1110</sup> From Whiston, *An Essay*, pt. 1, pp. 2–4.

<sup>1111</sup> From Whiston, *An Essay*, pt. 1, pp. 27–29. See Joel 1:4.

<sup>1112</sup> From Whiston, *An Essay*, pt. 1, p. 29, a reference to the work of Epiphanius of Salamis, *Panarion*, lib. 2, tom. 1, haeresis 51, sect. 12 [PG 41. 909–10; GCS 31]. Claudius reigned from 41 to 54 CE.

<sup>1113</sup> From Whiston, a reference to Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses*, lib. 5, cap. 30 [PG 7. 1203; SC 153]. Domitian reigned from September 81 to September 96 CE.

known, *That the Apocalypse was seen by John, a little before his Time, at the End of the Reign of Domitian.* | And some ancient Heathen Historians, to whom [100v] Eusebius refers,<sup>1114</sup> observe, that the Persecution, under which the Apostle *John* was banished into *Patmos*, did chiefly, if not solely, belong to the fifteenth, or last Year of *Domitian*, and the Consulship of *Flavius Clemens*; which falls in with A. D. 95, and, 96. From hence it followes, That none of the Predictions in, the *Revelation*, can refer to the Times before the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, or indeed, before the Conclusion of the Reign of *Domitian*. Thus, the very Foundations of *Grotius's*, and *Hammonds*, and *Thorndikes* Expositions on these Prophecies, are all at once overthrown.<sup>1115</sup> Indeed, the *Papists* themselves, whose Cause the Notions of those Men would so mightily serve, yett cannot agree to them.

He observes; The general Partition of the prophetic Part of this Book, is into two main Branches; the former contain'd in a *sealed Book*, the latter in an *Open Codicil*. Tho' *Mede* ha's rightly in the main, distinguished this Partition, yett *Whiston* ha's more exactly sett the Limits of it.<sup>1116</sup>

The *sealed Book* ha's the *Seven Seals*; and by Consequence the *Seven Trumpetts*, which are the Contents of the *Seventh Seal*; and the *Seven Vials*, which are the Contents of the *Seventh Trumpett*; and the *Seven Thunders* also, which may be an Appendage to the *Sixth*: In short, all the prophetic Visions, that go successively by *Sevens*. And collaterally with the *Seven Trumpetts*, it contains a large Account of the State of the undefiled Worshippers of God, during all that

1114 From Whiston, a reference to Eusebius, *Chronicon libri duo* [PG 19. 551–52]. Titus Flavius Clemens was a cousin of the emperor Domitian, with whom he served as consul from January to April in 95 CE.

1115 From Whiston, reference is made to three prominent representatives of a preterist-spiritualist interpretation of Revelation, Hugo Grotius, Henry Hammond, and Herbert Thorndike (1598–1672). Thorndike was an Anglican minister (Canon of Westminster Abbey) and orientalist scholar (he was responsible for the Syriac section in Walton's *Biblia Polyglotta*) who wrote *Millennianism: or, Christ's Thousand Years Reign upon Earth, considered, in a Familiar Letter to a Friend*, published anonymously in 1693. All of these men thought that the prophecies of John had been fulfilled in the very early history of Christianity, emphasizing Rev. 1:1 with its announcement that the following visions spoke of “things which must shortly come to pass.” All thought that the promises of a millennial reign needed to be interpreted in a spiritualist fashion and referred to the Church. For statements of their interpretive principles, see Grotius in Pearson *Critici Sacri* (6:4709–10); Hammond, *A Paraphrase* (4:490); and Thorndike, *Millennianism*, pp. 52–59. Hammond, for example, wrote that he was convinced that the prophecies of John belong “to those times that were then immediately ensuing, and that they had accordingly their completion; and consequently that they that pretended to find in those visions the predictions of events in these later ages, and those so nicely defined as to belong to particular acts and persons in this and some other kingdoms ... had much mistaken the drift of it.”

1116 From Whiston, *An Essay*, pt. 1, p. 46, a reference to Joseph Mede, *The Key of the Revelation, searched and demonstrated* (1643), where he distinguishes between the book sealed with seven seals (which he calls the greater book and understands to comprise the prophecies of the seven trumpets), containing prophecies regarding the destinies of the Empire (*fata imperii*) to the end of the world and the “little book open” mentioned in Rev. 10:2, containing prophecies regarding the destinies of the Church (*fata Ecclesiae*).

Period of the *Trumpetts*. After the *Apparatus* of the 4<sup>th</sup> & 5<sup>th</sup> Chapters, it contains the 6, 7, 8, 9<sup>th</sup> Part of the 10<sup>th</sup>, & the 15, 16, 17, 18, and, 19<sup>th</sup> Chapters. What followes, we may call rather, *An Appendix to the sealed Book*.

The *open Codicil* ha's, The *Two Courts* of the Temple; The *Two Witnesses*; The *Woman* with Child, & after her Delivery nourished, in the Wilderness; The *Beast*, with *Seven Heads*, & *Ten Horns*; The *Two-horn'd Beast*; The *Image of the Beast*. Unto which is added, a short Account of the State of the *Undefiled*, running parallel with the several Stages of this Codicil. Tis continued after the *Apparatus*, in Part of the 10<sup>th</sup> Chapter, in the 11<sup>th</sup>, 12, 13, & 14<sup>th</sup> Chapters, of the Prophecy. The general Reason of this Partition seems to be, that so *collateral Prophecies*, belonging to the same Times, may be more undisturbedly carried down together, from the same general *Epocha*, to the same general *Conclusion*; from *Johns* Time, to the Day of Judgment. The former is Βιβλιον, the latter is, Βιβλιαριδιον.<sup>1117</sup> The one a *Codex*, the other a *Codicillus*, Because the former is near thrice as large as the latter. The not regarding of this, by the excellent *Mede* and his Followers, ha's betray'd them into some erroneous Commentaries. Especially, their mistaking and misplacing the *Vials*, as they do. Tis also remarkable, That the *sealed Book*, ha's none of its Prophecies explain'd unto us, as the *open One* ha's; and the Contents of the former, are much Obscurer, & more Difficult, than those of the latter. The *Durations* of the several Visions likewise, are more distinctly declared, and connected, in the *open Book*, than in the *sealed One*.

*Whiston* is fully of the Opinion, That the *Seventh Trumpett* contains, and brings on, the *Seven Vials*; which ha's been a thing too generally denied, among those by whom this Book ha's been best explained. First, the Natural Harmony, & the Exact Method & Order, of things in this Book, would strongly invite one, to such an Application of the *Vials*. Our *Cressener* himself confesses; *It would make a much fairer Shew of Continuity, if the Prophecy of the Seven Vials were included in the Last Woe*.<sup>1118</sup> Again, If the *Vials* are not a Part of the Prophecy of the *Trumpetts*, & so of the *sealed Book*, they will then belong to the *Codicil*; which is accordingly supposed by *Mede*, & others after him; yea, and so will all that followes. Thus, The *little Book* will become greater, than the *great Book* to which it belongs. This is not to be tolerated. Moreover, At the very Beginning of the *Vials*, there appears a Noble Company of Conquerors, like *Moses* with the *Israelites*, after the utter Destruction of *Pharaoh* with his *Egyptians*, in the *Red-Sea*. It is plain then, that the *Vials* are not poured out, until the Church be delivered from the overbearing Tyranny of Antichrist. Furthermore; The *Seventh Trumpett* is one of the *Three Dreadful Ones* that are called, *Woes*; And it is that by which

<sup>1117</sup> The word βιβλιον [biblion] simply means "a book or scroll"; βιβλιαριδιον [bibliaridion] or βιβλιαριδιον [bibliaridion] "a little book or scroll." From Whiston, *An Essay*, pt. 1, p. 48.

<sup>1118</sup> From Whiston, *An Essay*, pt. 1, p. 54, a reference to Drue Cressener, *The Judgments of God upon the Roman-Catholick Church*, ch. 29, p. 279.

the Judgments of God | on the *Beast*, are to be completed; probably therefore [101r] the most considerable of them all. But, unless the System of the *Vials*, be the Contents of the *Seventh Trumpet*, there is very little, that is really Dreadful & Woful, appearing in it. We are sure, The Words at the Opening of it, are the most Joyful Ones imaginable.

If it be said, The *Seventh Trumpet*, ha's enough, in having the *Seventh Vial* contemporary with it; It may be answered; It looks unlikely, that when each of the Two former *Woes*, took up so many Hundreds of Years apeece, the *Third* should be of no more Duration, & Importance, than one single *Vial*. Besides, when the *Seven Vials* are called, *The Last Plagues*, it seems to be with Relation to the foregoing Plagues of the *First Six Trumpetts*, which were the *First Plagues* upon the *Antichristian Beast*. Yea, The Business of the *Seventh Trumpett*, and the *Seven Vials*, is the very same; namely, To inflict the *Plagues by which the Wrath of God is to be compleated*, & so all His Enemies destroy'd. The *Temple of God* is also to be *opened in Heaven*, & there is to be *seen in His Temple the Ark of His Testament*, before the Angels come out, with the *Seven Vials*. But we are expressly informed, That this is to be done under the *Seventh Trumpett*. Lastly, The including of the *Seven Vials*, in the *Seventh Trumpett*, is exactly agreeable, to the History of the Old Testament; unto which we have here a plain Reference and Allusion. This Prophecy most evidently alludes to the History of the Fall of *Jericho*. The *Seven Vials* evidently allude unto the Compassing of the City *Seven Times*, on the *Seventh Day*, which was the Day of the *Seventh Trumpet*.

Upon the whole, I do now most incline to the *Whistonian* Accommodation of the *Vials*. And yett I cannot, but continue to wonder, at such things, as you have seen in the *Interpretation* formerly given of them. They seem to be some *Anticipation*, of the True, Grand, Final Accomplishment. God may in His admirable Providence, do things, that may for the present look like the Fulfilment of His Word, & yett reserve an Opportunity, for a more exquisite Fulfilling of it. I chuse rather to offer this Thought, than to cast Contempt, on all the notable Glosses, which the great Men have given us, upon this Part of the sacred Prophecies.<sup>1119</sup>

*Whiston* concludes, That the Restoration of the Jewes, to their own *Country*, and the Rebuilding of their *City* and their *Temple*, will quickly succeed upon the Sounding of the *Seventh Trumpet*. It is then that the *Kingdomes of the World become the Kingdomes of our Lord, & of His Christ*. In the Scripture, (he says) we never meet with any other glorious Kingdome of the *Messiah*, but that over His Ancient People the *Jewes*, and from them, to all the Ends of the Earth. And thus the *Seventh Trumpet*, agrees with the Time, that *Isaiah* assigns for the

<sup>1119</sup> Mather here refers to the various hypotheses on the seven vials that he presents in his annotations on Rev. 16, including the one that suggests that the effusion of the vials is yet in the future and will occur at the conflagration.

Restoration of the *Jewes*; Isa. 27.13. *It shall come to pass in that day, that the great Trumpet shall be blown.* And the Conclusion of the 1260 Years, allotted for the Dominion of the Antichristian Power, is not to be expected, until, Dan. 12.7. *God shall have accomplished to scatter the Power of the Holy People;* that is, till He have putt an End unto the grand and long Dispersion of the *Jewes*, by their being Restored unto their own Land. Whiston, enquires whether the *Opening of the Temple of God* at this Time, do not intimate, that the *Jewish Temple*, so long Desolate, shall now be Rebuilt, and *Open* again; and that the Plagues of the *Vials*, will proceed, from our glorious Lord, enthron'd in the *Holy of Holies* at *Jerusalem*. [Compare, Ezek. 43.1–5. and, Psal. 79.12.] But he inclines to the Opinion, That the Conversion of the *Jewes*, unto the Christian Faith, will not come to pass, until some Time after their being Restored unto the Land, from whence they have been Exiles for so many Ages.<sup>1120</sup>

On this Occasion, he inserts the famous Passage of *Tobit*, which is an Interpretation of the more ancient Prophecies. A Passage remarkable for its Antiquity; being written before several Books of the Old Testament. In the Vulgar Greek Copy, the most material Point is omitted; and it is now Restored from an Ancient *Hebrew* Version, made from the Original *Chaldee*, that still is extant.<sup>1121</sup>

*Tobit. XIV.4–*

*As to our Brethren the Israelites, who dwell at Jerusalem; they shall all be carried Captive, & Jerusalem shall be laid in heaps, and the House of God shall be desolate for a small time. Then shall the Children of Israel ascend, & rebuild the city, & the Temple; but not according to the former Building. And then they shall inhabit many Days, until an | Age be compleated. And then shall they depart again, into an exceeding great Captivity. But there also shall the Holy Blessed God be mindful of*

[101v]

<sup>1120</sup> From Whiston, *An Essay*, pt. 1, pp. 72–73. It is interesting to note here that Mather did not cancel this passage, which contradicts his late-in-life change of opinion regarding the eschatological gathering and conversion of the Jews.

<sup>1121</sup> Whiston refers to the Book of Tobit, included in Catholic and Orthodox biblical canons but not in those of Protestant churches, including the Church of England, which regard Tobit as apocryphal because it was not included in the Tanakh nor considered canonical by Judaism. However, the Book of Tobit is included in the LXX and there is also an abbreviated Aramaic version in Midrash Rabbah de-Rabbah. Tob. 14:4 is missing in modern editions of the LXX, and the language that Whiston cites is spread across verses 3, 5, 6, and 7. *NETS* has for Tob. 14:3–7 (G II): “3. . . . And our kindred will be scattered over the earth from the good land, and Hierosolyma will be desolate. And the house of God in it will be burned down and will be desolate for a time. 5. But again God will have mercy on them, and he will bring them back into the land, and they will build the house, not like the former one, until the appointed times of the age will be completed. Then after this they will return from their captivities, and they will build Ierousalem honorably. And the house of God will be built in it as a glorious building for all the generations of the age, just as the prophets said concerning it. 6. Then all the nations will turn back truly to fear the Lord God, and they will bury their idols. 7. And all the nations will bless the Lord, and his people will acknowledge God, and the Lord will exalt his people. And all who love the Lord God in truth and righteousness will rejoice, showing mercy to our kindred.”

them, and shall gather them from the four Parts of the World. Then shall Jerusalem the Holy City, be Restored with curious & stately Buildings. And the Temple also shall be magnificently built, never to be destroy'd again forever & ever, as the Prophets have foretold. Then shall those Nations be converted; they shall worship the Lord, and shall cast away the Images of their Gods; & by a Confessing of Him shall give Praise to His Great Name. He also shall exalt the Horn of His People before all Nations; and they shall praise & glorify His Great Name; even all the Seed of Israel. Then shall all His Servants, which serve Him in Truth, rejoice; and all that work Righteousness & Godliness, shall Rejoice & be glad.<sup>1122</sup>

Our Author proceeding to a more particular Consideration of the several Prophecies, first layes down the *grand Rule of Interpretation*, the neglect whereof has been the general Occasion, of almost all the Errors committed by Expositors on the *Revelation*. This is; "That the Order of all the Visions, is to be wholly taken from Intrinsic Characters in the Book itself, & not at all to be conformed unto any particular Hypotheses, or Explications; and that from such an Order first established, all the Certainty and Evidence of future Applications, is to be derived; and without such Order, so established, all Expositions must be precarious and uncertain, & only depend on the Fancy & Imagination of every Commentator."<sup>1123</sup>

This was the great *Medes* constant Judgment;<sup>1124</sup> and his Attempt built on this Method, had such vast Success, that the Body of the Protestant Churches have generally declared themselves to be satisfied in the greatest Part of his Foundations, and of the Superstructure also which he built upon them.

Upon the *Preface* to the *sealed Book*, Whiston observes; That our Lord, before His expiatory Sufferings, & His Ascension to plead the Merits of them with His Father, He did not in His Humane Nature directly know all these Mysteries; or, at least, not the *Times* for the fulfilling of them. This is most certainly true, for the Time of the Consummation of these Prophecies, *The Day of Judgment*; and it may be beleaved, of other great Mutations, that were prævious. Now since the Apostles could not know more than their admirable Master, in these Matters, we see a plain Reason, for those Frequent Expressions, used both by our Lord, and by His Apostles, as if it were possible the *Day of Judgment* might not be very Remote, even in those Dayes. God had Reveled by His Prophets, that the Dayes of the *Messias*, were to be the *Last Dayes* of the World, and the *Time of the End*. He also had Reveled, the Summ of what was to Intervene; to wit, The Destruction of the *Jewes*, the Time of *Antichrist*, & the Recovery of the *Jewes*. He had also by the Visions of *Daniel*, fixed the Epocha of the *Antichristian* Time, to the Division of the *Roman Empire* into Ten Kingdomes, & their

1122 From Whiston, *An Essay*, pt. 1, p. 73.

1123 From Whiston, *An Essay*, pt. 2, pp. 101–02.

1124 From Whiston, a reference to Mede, *Works*, bk. 3, p. 536.

Duration to a *Time, Times, & Half a Time*, or, Three Years and an Half; and more plainly, the Epocha of *Antichrist* himself, to some Time after the Division into Ten Kingdomes, and his Duration to, a *Time, Times, & a Part*, or, Three Years and a Month. All these things were known to our Lord, & His Apostles. [Consider, Luk. 21.232. Thess. 2.3. 1. Joh. 2.18. Rom. 11.25, 26.] But God had not yett Reveled, That those *Three Years & an Half* of the Reign of the Antichristian Powers, were to be more than just so many *Bare Years* only; which we know, the Primitive Church did generally beleieve them to be. There was now nothing certainly known, which could oblige Men to beleieve, that the *Day of Judgment* might not come in that very Age; And the Expressions of the Old Testament, that the Dayes of the *Messiah* were to be the *Last Dayes*, inclined them to beleieve, that the *Great Day* would be suddenly upon them. However, tis absolutely to be denied, that either our Lord or His Apostles, were herein properly *Deceived*; or that they ever declared as from God, that the *Day of the Judgment* was to be in that Age; or indeed, that they ever pretended to know positively, & from God, when that Day would be. No, They wholly look'd upon it as a *Secret*, lying still hid, in the Divine Omniscience of the Father, & not yett made known to any Creature whatsoever. Hence *Peter* particularly cautions against such an Interpretation of the Phrases of Christ, or of His Apostles, as if God must fail of, or be *slack concerning His Promise*, if He did not suddenly come to Judgment. The Apostles alwayes asserted, that, as far as they knew, God had it still wholly in His own Power, to bring on that Day sooner or later, as he pleased; as being a thing, they did not look on, as Reveled unto Mankind | only that in such a Case, it behoved all Christians, to be as careful and watchful, as if Christ were to come within that Age; because they did not know but He *might* come so soon.<sup>1125</sup>

He observes, That the *Four first Seals* are enlightened, & their Dates wonderfully ascertained, by deriving from the Reigns of the Emperours, coming out of the *Four Quarters* of the World, or of the *Roman Empire*. Whether there be a Truth or no, in the Tradition of the *Banners* of the Four *Israelitish* Regiments in the Wilderness, we are sure, this was the Station of the Four Animals, in the Visions of *Ezekiel*.<sup>1126</sup> First, the *Lion*, from the *East*; then the *Ox* from the *West*; so the *Man* from the *South*; lastly, the *Eagle* from the *North*. The Event, was accordingly. The First *Seal* was answered, by the Period of the *Flavian* Family; begun by *Vespasian* in the *East*; and continued by Succession for about 27 Years, under *Titus* and *Domitian*. The Second *Seal*, was answered by the Period of the *Ælian* Family; begun by *Trajan*, who was born in the *West*, in *Spain*; and continued by Blood or Adoption, for about 95 Years. The Third *Seal*, was answered by the Period of the *Septimian* Family; begun by *Septimius Severus*, born in the *South*, in *Africa*; & continued with small interruption, for 42 Years. The Fourth *Seal*,

<sup>1125</sup> See esp. Matt. 24:32–51 and 2 Pet. 3:9.

<sup>1126</sup> See Ez. 1:15–14.

was answered by the *Maximinian* Period; we will not say, Family; for after the Father & Son had reigned jointly a little While, the Period was rather to be distinguished, by keeping of no Family at all. *Maximinus*, who begun it, was born in the *North*, in *Thrace*; and it continued about 50, or 60 Years. The Best Commentaries, we have on these *Four Seals*, are to be found in the *Roman Historians* of these Times, who little imagined, that they were commenting upon the *Revelation*. We shall not recite the remarkable Passages occurring in them. We shall only take notice, that the *Fourth Seal*, ends with this Clause; *And with the Beasts of the Earth*; whereof *Whiston* observes, That the Particle, *υπο*,<sup>1127</sup> used here, makes some suspect, that this is not meant of a Distinct Judgment, but a Designation of the Authors of some of the former, the wild and savage Emperours, who were like so many *wild beasts* upon the Earth; which is the Name that *Lactantius* frequently gives them.<sup>1128</sup> But if it refer to a distinct Calamity, it may be literally taken, and is no other than was common formerly in the *eastern* and *southern* Parts of the World; namely, That on the heavy Desolation and Diminution of the Inhabitants of the Earth, by Wars and Plagues and Famines, (which here was the Case,) the *Wild-beasts* increased, & assisted to slay the Remainder. [Compare, Lev. 26.22. Deut. 26.22. and, 32.24. Ezek. 5.17. & 14.15, 21.]

The *Fifth* and *Sixth* Seals, will need little other Exposition, than *Lactantius's* remarkable Book, *De Mortibus Persecutorum*.

I do not offer the *Whistonian* Illustrations; because they are such as we have already elsewhere been entertain'd withal.<sup>1129</sup>

In the *Seventh Seal*, on the cries of the Saints and Martyrs, for the Removal of the Wickedness of the *Roman Empire*, & for the Coming of the Kingdome of God & of Holiness, there are sent the *Seven Archangels*, that stand before Him, with *Seven Trumpetts*, or Denunciations of so many dreadful Wars, and Invasions to befall that Empire, for the Deserved Punishment of it, & the Introduction of the Holy Kingdome upon its Destruction.

Tis observable, That the *Seven Trumpetts* have a mighty Correspondence with the *Seven Vials*. The Object of the *First Trumpet*, and so of the *First Vial*, is, the *Earth*. The Object of the *Second*, is the *Sea*. The Object of the *Third*, is, the *Fountains & Rivers* of Waters. The *Sun* is principally concerned in the *Fourth*. The *Fifth Trumpet*, darkens the *Air*. The *Fifth Vial*, darkens the *Kingdome of the Beast*. The *Sixth Trumpet*, looses the *Angels* bound at the *River Euphrates*; and

1127 From Whiston, *An Essay*, pt. 2, p. 146, reference is made to the concluding phrase of Rev. 6:8: καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν θηρίων τῆς γῆς [kai hypo ton therion tes ges]; “and with the beast of the earth” (KJV). The preposition ὑπὸ [hypo] with genitive can indicate a relation of cause or agency (“by” or “through”).

1128 From Whiston, a reference to Lactantius's *De mortibus persecutorum*; see, for instance, cap. 9 and 16 [PL 7. 208, 217; FC 43].

1129 See Mather's annotations on the seven seals in Rev. 6–8.



the *Sixth Vial* is poured out upon the *River Euphrates*. The *Seventh Trumpet* brings *Lightnings*, and *Voices*, and *Thunderings*, & an *Earthquake*, & great *Hail*. The *Seventh Vial* produces the very same. And therefore, the *Trumpetts*, (which are fulfilled) being understood, we shall have a *Key* to understand very much of the *Vials*, (which are not yet fulfilled.) I will take Leave, to add this Thought, unto what is offered by our *Whiston*,<sup>1130</sup> That the former Judgments of God, not having brought the Nations to Repentance, there is a most Harmonious and Agreeable Triumph of the *Divine Justice* in it, for the *like Judgments* to be  
 [102v] Repeted in a | dreadful Course, & with a Final Stroke, upon them.<sup>1131</sup>

Tis further observable, That most of the *Trumpetts* do chiefly, if not wholly, regard *Europe*, the *Third Part* of the World, known in the *Dayes of John*. Mr. *Whiston* is not altogether satisfied, in *Cresseners* Interpretation of the *Third Part*, so often smitten under the *Trumpetts*, as denoting one of the *Third Parts* of the *Roman Empire*, once distinguished by the great Officers, called, the *Præfecti Prætorio*, Governours of such large Powers, that they were esteemed next unto the *Augusti*, and *Cæsars* themselves.<sup>1132</sup> Because these *Præfecti Prætorio*, were not *Three* but *Four*; And this Partition of the *Roman Empire*, was too obscure, & too little remarkable in History, & lasted but a little While, and was quite out of Date under the *Sixth Trumpet*, where we have great Occasion for it. But since the *whole World*, as well as the *Roman Empire*, in *Johns* *Dayes*, was divided into *Three Parts*, it is most likely, that in these his Visions, the *Third Part*, must be the most remarkable, conspicuous, eminent Part in the *Division*; which is without Quæstion, *Europe*. The, το τρίτον,<sup>1133</sup> is that *Third Part* of the World, whereof *Rome* was the *Metropolis*.

But then, tis most of all observable, That the Objects of the *Trumpetts*, do determine us to Distinct Parts of *Europe*, in the Different *Trumpetts*; and particularly confine, the *first* unto the *Inland Parts* of *Europe*; the *second*, unto the *Maritim* Parts of it; the *Third*, unto the Parts most abounding with *Rivers* and *Fountains of Water*; and the *Fourth*, to the supream & subordinate *Magistrates* therein. This Observation ha's been hitherto overlook'd by all; and yett it is of the greatest Moment imaginable, to the right Exposition of the *Revelation*.

1130 Here Mather apparently forgot to cancel the "our."

1131 See Appendix A.

1132 From Whiston, *An Essay*, pt. 2, p. 155, a reference to Cressener, *The Judgments of God*, p. 37. Cressener and Whiston discuss the office of the "praetorian prefect" (Latin: *praefectus praetorio*), which originated as the commander of the Praetorian Guard but subsequently acquired extensive legal and administrative functions, with its holders becoming the Emperor's chief aides. Under the successors of Constantine, territorially defined praetorian prefectures emerged as the highest-level administrative division of the Empire.

1133 From Whiston, reference is made to the phrase τὸ τρίτον [to triton] "the third part," which repeatedly appears in the visions of Revelation (esp. in ch. 8), indicating the extent of the prophesied destructions: the third part of "the trees," of "the sea," of "the rivers," of the "moon" and "stars" etc.

*Europe*, so much of it, as was formerly a Part of the *Roman Empire*, is naturally divided into *Three Parts*. First, we have *Thrace* and *Greece*, and all the Countreys from thence to the *Alps*, between the *Danube* and the *Adriatic*, for the *Inland Third Part*. Secondly, we have *Portugal*, and *Spain*, and *France*, with the adjoining Islands, from the *Rhine* and the *Rhosne*, to the western Ocean, and the Peninsula of *Italy*, till we come to *Lombardy*, almost wholly encompassed with the *Sea*, and mighty Rivers, for the *Maritim*, or, *Insular Third Part*. We have, Thirdly, *Lombardy*, with the adjoining Parts, near the *Fountains* of all the Four Grand Rivers of *Europe*, the *Danube*, the *Rhine*, the *Rhosne*, and the *Po*; with not a few *Fountains*, and *Lakes*, and *Rivers*; for which *Lombardy* is famous above all the rest of *Europe*; Here we have the *Third Part*, that abounds with *Rivers*, *Lakes* and *Fountains of Waters*.

Lett us now come to Application.

The *First Trumpett*, brings *Hail and Fire*, mingled with *Blood*, on the *Third Part* of the *Earth*, which ha's the *Trees & the green Grass* on it; or the *Inland Part* of the *Roman Empire*. A Storm comes from the *North*, the Region of *Hail*; a Storm that brings *Bloodshed* with it. It refers to the terrible Inundation of the *Goths*, who A. D. 376. entred *Thrace*, with great Fury, & there Beat, and as most say, *Burnt*, the Emperour *Valens*; and after a little Time, under the famous *Alaricus* their Leader, they destroyed, & overran all those Regions, which belonged unto the *Continent of Europe*.<sup>1134</sup> Now, that which is astonishing, is; They were not able to prevail on the rest; they were confined unto the Limits assigned by the *Trumpet*. Whenever the *Goths* attempted any Places, beyond the Limits of the *Continent of Europe*, during this *Trumpett*, they were miserably defeated and destroyed; as going beyond the Bounds, which Providence had here allotted unto them. In Vain were their Attempts, on *Asia*, on *Peloponnesus*, on *Constantinople*, on *Athens*, and *Thebes*; yea, when *Alaricus* attempted the Conquest of what is now called *Lombardy*, he was most sadly worsted, & driven away by *Stilicho*, about A. D. 402. And about, A. D. 405. the same *Goths*, making another famous Irruption upon *Lombardy*, under *Radagaisus* the *Scythian*; he was beaten, & putt to Death. A thing most highly worthy of our Consideration!

The *Second Trumpett* throws a *great Mountain* into the *Sea*, or the *Maritim* and *Insular* Parts of *Europe*, & thereby destroyes what was contained in it; both *Men* and *Ships*, both *People & Cities*. It belongs to the Irruption of the *Second* of the Barbarous Nations, the *Vandals*; who about A. D. 407. made a terrible Invasion, into the *Western*, or *Maritim* Parts of *Europe*; and in a short | While, breaking thro' all Opposition, made themselves Masters, first of *France*, then of *Spain* and *Portugal*, & afterwards from *Africa*, were a great Plague to the southern & peninsular Part of *Italy* itself. I am not at Liesure, to transcribe the

[103r]

<sup>1134</sup> Reference is made to Alaric I, who invaded Europe and eventually captured Rome in 410.

later Account given by *Sigonius*, or the elder Account, given by *Jerom*, of the Occurrences under this, & the former *Trumpett*. It is very Lamentable; but most Agreeable to the *Prophecy*, which they had least in their Eye, when they wrote what they did. All that we will take notice of, is, That the *Vandals*, confined themselves wholly within their own Bounds, during the proper Interval of this *Trumpett*, & accordingly they mett with no Defeat; they went on without Controul; they settled themselves in the Countreyes, which the *Trumpett* had assigned unto them. Afterwards they also founded a Kingdome of the *Vandals* in *Africa*.<sup>1135</sup>

The *Third Trumpett* brings down a *Comet* from Heaven, & lets it fall upon the *Rivers & Fountains of Water*. The Name, *Wormwood*, given to the *Star*, implies a more than ordinary *Bitterness* in the Calamity. Behold, the dreadful Inundation, of the Third of the Barbarous Nations, the *Huns*. The *Star* so particularly Named, was their famous Leader, *Attila*; who, tis remarkable, ha's a peculiar Name in History; being styled, *Metus Orbis*, and *Flagellum Dei*;<sup>1136</sup> THE SCOURGE OF GOD, and, THE TERROR OF MEN. *Lombardy*, is the Seat more signally concerned; the Place of *Rivers & Fountains of Water*. About, A. D. 452. *Attila*, with a prodigious Army of *Huns*, made a terrible Invasion into the western Parts of *Europe*, while he kept along the *Danube*, or near the *Rhine*, the greatest Rivers of *Europe*, & so the Outskirts of his Jurisdiction, he carried all before him; and when he entred *Lombardy*, his proper Province, he made the Terriblest of all the Invasions that had been made by the Barbarous Nations. I cannot now forbear quoting *Sigonius*, (one of the most accurate Historians in these Matters.) *Hæc irruptio, omnium quas Barbari intulerant, nostrorum Sermonibus celebratissima, et Vulgo maximè decantata fuit*. He concludes; *Iam omnia quæ intrâ Apenninum et Alpes erant, fuga, populatione, cæde, servitute, incendio, et desperatione repleta erant; nullaue mali facies aberat*.<sup>1137</sup>

But then, tis astonishingly Remarkable; when sometimes he ventured beyond the Bounds of this *Trumpett*, he was alwayes Beaten, or at least, failed of his Design. As soon as he went beyond the *Rhine* further into *France*, he was miserably routed by *Ætius* the Roman General, in the thence famous *Campi Catalaunici*;<sup>1138</sup> & he might have been destroy'd, but that a politic Reason saved

1135 From Whiston, *An Essay*, pt. 2, pp. 158–63, reference is made to Carlo Sigonio, *Historiae de Occidentali imperio* (1578), lib. 8, p. 186; and Jerome (as cited in Sigonius, p. 252), *Epistolæ*, epist. 60 [PL 22. 344; CSEL 55].

1136 “The terror of the world”; “the scourge of God.”

1137 “Of all the ones that the barbarians undertook, this invasion was remembered most in our writings and was the one most referred to by the people. . . . And all the parts within the Apennines and the Alps were now full of flight, devastation, murder, enslavement, pillage, and despair. And no aspect of evil was absent.” From Whiston, *An Essay*, pt. 2, pp. 163–65, another citation from Sigonius, *Historiarum De Occidentali Imperio*, lib. 30, p. 347.

1138 The Battle of the Catalaunian Plains (or Fields) took place in June 451 CE in the region of Champagne-Ardenne in the northeastern part of present-day France between a coalition led

him. Thus, when he went to destroy *Rome*, he miscarried; and so he did in another Attempt upon *France* afterwards. *As if* (saies Mr. *Whiston*) *whatever was beyond the strict bounds of this Trumpett*, the Rivers and Fountains of Waters, *was aequally beyond his Power, & the Force of his Arms also.*

The *Fourth Trumpet* eclipses the *Europæan Sun*, and *Moon*, and *Stars*. It extinguishes the western Emperour, & his subordinate Governours; thereby putting an entire End unto the very Remainders of the *Roman Cæsars*. Tis the Fourth Inundation of the Barbarous Nations; or the Invasion of *Italy*, by the *Heruli*, under *Odoacer* their Leader. A.D. 476. who easily overcame the last Emperour, *Momyllus Augustulus*; and thereby putt a Period unto the Western Empire.<sup>1139</sup>

Anon the *Fifth Trumpet* brings on the *Saracens*. I shall not here make any Repetition of such Illustrations upon this Trumpet, as you will find in the proper Place for them. Only, Tis Remarkable, that the Plague of *Locusts*, in *Egypt* unto which an Allusion is here made, was brought by an East-Wind from *Arabia*; the very Seat, where *Mahomet*, with his *Saracen Locusts*, had their Original.

Tis also remarkable, That the *Arabians* are particularly compared unto *Locusts*, in the Book of *Judges*.<sup>1140</sup>

The *Saracens* are not confined unto the τὸ τρίτον the *Europæan* Part of the Roman Empire, as the other Trumpetts were. They must grievously afflict both the *Eastern* & the *Western* Empires, but *not kill them*; not wholly overthrow either of them. This also is Remarkable.

But that which is most surprizingly Remarkable; tho' never till now considered; is this. These *Locusts* are bidden, to spare those that had the *Seal of God* | on their Forehead; or, the 144000 undefiled Worshippers, who preserved themselves innocent, when the Body of both the *Eastern* and the *Western* Churches, were fallen into Antichristian Idolatry and Persecution. Their Commission was to spare those Parts of the *Roman* Empire, where the few Worshippers of God & of the Lamb, in Purity, and without Idolatry, were placed. The Accomplishment of this, can scarce be considered without Amazement! Those *Witnesses* against the Idolatry of Antichrist, were in those Ages, no where to be found, but in Part of *Savoy*, in *Piedmont*, in *Milan*, & perhaps in the southern Parts of *France*; the first Authors of the *Waldenses*, and the *Albigenses*. Amazing was the Providence of God, in delivering THESE PEOPLE, from the Plague of the *Saracens*, when A. D. 726. the *Saracens* attempted these Parts, they were so terribly destroy'd, and with so little Slaughter on the other Side,

[103v]

---

by the Roman general Flavius Aetius and the Visigothic king Theodoric I against the Huns and their vassals commanded by Attila.

1139 Once again, reference is made to the last Western Emperor Augustulus, whose reign ended in 476 when the "barbarian" Flavius Odoacer deposed him and made himself king of Italy.

1140 Judg. 6:5, 7:12. See Mather's annotations on Rev. 9.

that History can scarce afford a Parallel. You shall have the Account, in the Words of *Petavius*. *Eudo, rebus suis diffisus, Saracenos ex Hispaniis, cum eorum Rege Abdirama in Subsidiu excivit, Anno 705. Quibus sacra profanaque latè populantibus occurrit Carolus, [Martellus] eosque internecone concidit. Cæsa sunt uno die, ad Trecenta Septuaginta quinque millia cum ex Francis 1500 haud amplius desiderati sunt; ut scribit Anastasius. Mox Burgundia, Lugdunoque potitus, Anno 727. insequenti, endone vita functo, Aquitaniam invasit. Saracenos iterum ad ulciscendam suorum stragem, Galliam incursantes, magno numero prostravit, Anno 731. Et Avenionem ab illis captam recepit. Tum Narbonensem, quam ii cum Hispania, cui contributa erat, occupatam tenebant, aggressus, caput eius Narbonam, ac reliqua deinceps expugnavit oppida, cæsis qui ad opem ferendam sæpius accurrerant Saracenis.*<sup>1141</sup> Indeed, I beleieve the Number of the Slain, among the *Saracens*, which *Petau* thus gives from *Anastasius*, and *Paulus Diaconus*, to be Hyperbolical. For indeed there was not near that Number of Men in the whole *Saracen* Army; nor were they pursu'd by the *Victors*. Yett the Victory over them was glorious.<sup>1142</sup> The *Fraxinet*, a Nest of some *Saracen* Pyrates,

1141 "Because he was anxious about his affairs, Odo, in the year 705, called the Saracenes with their king Abdirama out of Spain for his support. As they were plundering things sacred and profane, Charles [Martel] met them in battle and slaughtered them. On one day, nearly 375,000 were killed, while hardly more than 1500 of the Franks were lost, as Anastasius reports. Soon thereafter, in the year 727, he captured Burgundy and Lyon; and subsequently, after Odo had passed away, he invaded Aquitaine. Again, in order to take revenge for the defeat of his people, he overran the Saracenes, who were attacking Gaul, with a great number [of troops] in the year 731. And he recaptured Avignon that had been taken by them. Then, he attacked the region of Narbonne, which the Saracenes were occupying together with Spain (and to which it was annexed), and he seized its capital Narbona and then the other cities, while the frequent Saracene reinforcements were defeated." From Whiston, *An Essay*, pt. 2, pp. 171–72, a reference to Denis Pétau's *Rationarium temporum*, pars 1, lib. 8, pp. 372–73. Petau actually has 725 for the first date instead of 705, which Mather copies from Whiston.

Reference is made to the Frankish statesman and military leader, Charles Martel (c. 688–741), who as Duke and Prince of the Franks and Mayor of the Palace, was the de facto ruler of Francia from 718 until his death. He is remembered for having stopped the Islamic advance into Western Europe after Arab and Berber forces had conquered Spain (711), crossed the Pyrenees (720), and seized Narbonensis. When the troops of the Umayyad Caliphate under Abdul Rahman Al Ghafiqi, the Arab Governor of al-Andalus, marched towards Gaul and then onto Tours, Charles was able to halt the advance. According to modern historians, the decisive battle between the army led by Al Ghafiqi and the Frankish and Burgundian forces under Charles took place in 732 (or possibly 733) between the cities of Tours and Poitiers, leading to a decisive Frankish victory known as the Battle of Tours. Mention is also made of Odo the Great (also called Eudes or Eudo, d. 735), the Duke of Aquitaine who fought the Franks and initially made alliances with the Moors. In 721, however, he was the first to inflict a major defeat on the Arab-Berber forces at the Battles of Toulouse, and later he also joined forces with Charles in the Battle of Tours.

1142 The cautionary clause from "Indeed" to "glorious" is a later insertion that does not come from Whiston. Reference is made to Petau's main source for this part of his history, the papal history traditionally (but falsely) ascribed to Anastasius Bibliothecarius, *Historia, de vitiis pontificum Romanorum* (ed. 1602), p. 97. Reference is also made to the history of the Lombards by Paulus Diaconus (also known as Warnefridus, Barnefridus, Winfridus,

that some have placed in the Valleys of *Piemont*, it is proved by *Morery*, that it was not there, but on the Coast of *Provence*, in the *Mediterranean*.<sup>1143</sup>

There is another thing that calls for Consideration; and Mr. *Whiston* has cleared it; with a Niceness, never till now attain'd unto. The *Locusts* have *Twice* over, *Five Months*, or about 150 Years, assign'd unto them. 'Tis probable, they are to be taken Distinctly and Separately. The Former 150 Years belong particularly to the *Eastern Empire*; The Latter, to the *Western*; and they are to be Dated, from their first Besieging, or Ravaging, the Two Chief Seats of the Empire, *Constantinople* and *Rome*; and the Countreys adjoining to, and depending on, those Cities, may be principally concerned in them. The former, 150 Years, for the *Eastern Empire*, may be dated from the Beginning of the first famous Siege of *Constantinople* by the *Saracens*, A. D. 673. And their Period will end, at their taking of *Crete*, about 150 Years afterwards; A. D. 823. This immediately preceded their Attempts for *Italy*, and *Rome*, the other Object of their Violence. The Date of the latter 150 Years, for the *Western Empire*, will follow, A. D. 846. when the *Saracens* first came, and sack'd Part of the Old Throne of the Beast, the City of *Rome*; and carried away the silver Doors of one of its Churches; and its Conclusion falls about, A. D. 996. And accordingly we find, that they were beaten out of *Italy*, by the Emperour *Otho* III. A. D. 1001. And four Years afterwards, within the time limited here, they were utterly driven away from the *Italian Coasts*, or at least from those Parts of them, which belong'd unto the *Western Empire*, or the *Latins*.<sup>1144</sup>

We pass on to the *Sixth Trumpet*, in which we have such a lively Description of the *Turks*, & of the Miseries they have brought upon *Europe*. Their *Four Sultanies*, whereof the capital Cities were *Bagdat*, *Iconium*, *Aleppo*, and *Damascus*, had a Remarkable Restraint violently putt upon them, (and by the *Europæans* too, in the twelfth & thirteenth Centuries, for near 200 Years together, by the *Holy War*,) which compell'd them to confine themselves unto the Parts adjoining to *Euphrates*.<sup>1145</sup> But then the Duration of these *Four Destroyers*, united in the One *Ottoman* Family, continuing lett loose after the Restraint is taken away, is considered by Mr. *Whiston*, with a surprizing Exactness, that was never yett employ'd upon it. |

[104r]

c. 720s–799), a Benedictine monk, scribe, and historian, *De Gestis Longobadorum*, cap. 54 [PL 96. 660].

1143 From Whiston, *An Essay*, pt. 2, p. 172, a reference to the work of the French priest and encyclopedist Louis Moréri (1643–1680), *Le Grand Dictionnaire historique, ou le mélange curieux de l'histoire sacrée et profane* ([1674] 1733), entry “Fraxinet,” vol. 4. p. 162.

1144 Whiston, *An Essay*, pt. 2, pp. 175–76. The reference to Otto III (Holy Roman Emperor from 996–1002) is unclear. The Muslim Emirate of Sicily was defeated later by Norman mercenaries under Roger I, founding the County of Sicily in 1071.

1145 Whiston, *An Essay*, pt. 2, p. 177. An allusion to the age of the Crusades, which lasted from 1095 to 1271.

|                    |   |     |   |                      |
|--------------------|---|-----|---|----------------------|
| It is to be        |   | Y.  |   | D.                   |
| An Hour,           | = | 0   | — | 15.                  |
| A Day,             | = | 1   | — | 00                   |
| A Month,           | = | 30  | — | 00                   |
| A Year, which =    |   | 365 | — | 91.                  |
| contains 365 dayes |   |     |   |                      |
| & one Quarter,     |   |     |   |                      |
| Total              |   | 396 | — | 106. <sup>1146</sup> |

Now, if we find, not only the Number of Years, but even of *Dayes* also, allotted for the *Turkish* Hostilities on *Europe*, foretold by the Spirit of Prophecy, *Sixteen hundred Years* aforehand, methinks, it may strike us, with some Astonishment! But the Accurate *Whiston*, after laborious Researches into the Matter, ha's found, the Beginning of the *Ottomans* Reign, & so of the *Ottoman* Empire, to fall præcisely, on *May* 19. A. D. 1301. Now to this *Epocha* lett us add, 396, Years, and 106, Dayes; and we come to the *First Day of September*, A. D. 1697. O. S. And what fell out on THAT DAY? Why, On THAT DAY fell out the last famous, wondrous, concluding Victory, which the *Christians*, under Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*, gain'd over the *Turks*. Dr. *Crull* calls it, *The stupendous Victory, the like of which had not been obtained, during the whole Course of the War.*<sup>1147</sup> This was a final Stroke! The *Turks* never struck one Blow after it. It finished the War. It presently brought on the Peace of *Carlowitz*. Violent have been the Temptations, to a Rupture, which have been since offered unto the *Turks*; but they have all signified little, but even turned unto their Disadvantage.<sup>1148</sup> The *Ninth Chapter* of the *Revelation* ha's laid the *Bare of the Pitt upon them forever*. Such a Completion of a Prophecy, to a *single Day*; truly, tis admirable!

We see, *whereabouts* we are; the precise Joint of Time, we are fallen upon! We see, what is the Next Thing to be look'd for; what is to *Come Quickly*!

We will proceed now to take in hand, the *Open Codicil*.

<sup>1146</sup> This table comes from *Whiston, An Essay*, pt. 2, p. 180. Reference is made to rulers of the Ottoman dynasty starting with the founder Osman I, who decisively defeated the Byzantine forces in the Battle of Bapheus in 1301, to Mustafa II (reigned 1695–1703), who suffered defeat at the Battle of Zenta in 1697 (see below).

<sup>1147</sup> From *Whiston, An Essay*, pt. 2, p. 187, a citation from the work of the German-born physician, translator, and wide-ranging publicist Jodocus Crull (M. D., FRS, 1660–1713), *A Continuation of Samuel Puffendorf's Introduction to the History of the Principal Kingdoms and States of Europe, Brought down to this present Year* (1705), p. 531. Reference is made to the Battle of Vienna ("Schlacht am Kahlen Berge") in 1683, which broke the siege of the city by the Ottoman Empire and set the stage for the reconquest of Hungary and (temporarily) some of the Balkan lands in the following years by Louis of Baden, Maximilian Emanuel of Bavaria, and Prince Eugene of Savoy, who won a decisive victory against the Ottomans at the Battle of Zenta in 1697. It led to the Treaty of Karlowitz of 1699 (Sremski Karlovci in modern-day Serbia), concluding the Austro-Ottoman War.

<sup>1148</sup> The final two clauses are later insertions.

In the *Preface* to it, the Prophet *eats* the Book, (like what was done by *Ezekiel*;) and it proves, first, *sweet* in his *Mouth*, but then, *bitter* in his *Stomach*. The present Knowledge of these things, was grateful, at first; But the Contemplation of the sad Contents anon would be very grievous.

The *First Vision* in the *Open Codicil*; gives us the future State of the Church, from the *Dayes* of *John*, distinguished into Two Parts; answering to the *Two Courts* of *Ezekiel's* Temple. The former State of the *Church*, was to be *Holy*; and it was to last 360 prophetic *Dayes*: or till A. D. 456. The latter State of the Church, was to be *corrupt*; & it was to last for 1260 *Dayes*, or 42 Months;<sup>1149</sup> or till, A. D. 1716. Such the Proportion, between the *Inner Court*, and the *Outer Court* of the *Temple*.<sup>1150</sup> Mr. *Whiston* ha's an Advice, by the Way; That it should now be the Attempt of good Men, with a peculiar Vigour, to Revive and Reserve *Primitive Christianity*; For so to do, would be a sweet Compliance with the Divine Providence, & with the Promises, which now point at a sudden Exaltation to the Kingdome of our glorious LORD. At A. D. 1716. we have great Reason to hope, that (according to *Daniel's* Expressions, and all the Prophecies,) *the Sanctuary shall be cleansed*;<sup>1151</sup> and the unhallow'd *Gentiles*, or Antichristian *Idolaters*, shall be cast out of the *Temple*, and the Purity of Christian Worship will be Restored. That is to say, The Work shall then be entred upon.<sup>1152</sup>

The *Second Vision*, is that of the *Two Witnesses*. I began to espouse the Conjecture of meeting with them, among the *Vaudois*. Upon some Discouragements that have occur'd since the Year 1690, I did Retract my Conjecture. But now, at the Perswasion of Mr. *Whiston*, I retract my Retraction. I will Return to my dear *Vaudois*, and expect an astonishing thing to be done for them, at or soon after,<sup>1153</sup> A. D. 1716. I will comfort myself with some *Whistonian* Illustrations.<sup>1154</sup>

1149 These prophetic times are mentioned in Rev. 13:5 and 12:6. In 455, Rome was sacked by the Vandals and Alans under Genseric, an event that ushered in the final collapse of the Empire. That same year, Pope Leo the Great received a decree from Emperor Valentinian III that recognized the primacy of the bishop of Rome.

1150 This sentence is a later insertion.

1151 See Dan. 8:14.

1152 Whiston, *An Essay*, pt. 3, pp. 200–02. Whiston also settled on 1716 as the date for Christ's return in his *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies* (1708). When 1716 came and went, he corrected his calculations to 1736 in a second edition of that work.

1153 The phrase "or soon after" is a later insertion. See Mather's annotations on Rev. 11:1–14.

1154 On the persecutions of Protestants in the *Vaudois*, see the annotations on Mather's second essay on the slaughter and resurrection of the witnesses of Rev. 11. Like many millenarians (notably prominent Huguenot theologians in exile, such as Pierre Jurieu or Pierre Allix), Mather viewed the fate of French Protestants, in particular those in the *Vaudois* and *Cevennes*, in eschatological terms. About 1690, he came to the conclusion that it ought to be understood as the fulfillment of the prophecy about the slaying and imminent resurrection of the two witnesses described in Rev. 11. Mather's thinking about the *Vaudois* was influenced especially by Jurieu and Peter Boyer's 1692 *History of the Vaudois* (Middlekauff, *The Mathers*, pp. 344–45). He made this opinion known with the publication of *A Midnight Cry* (1692), p. 60. However, over the next few years he came to retract his interpretation, before the reading of Whiston's *An*



The *Waldenses* and the *Albigenses*, are the Two Ancient and Famous Witnesses, against the Corruptions of *Antichrist*. It is at large proved by Dr. *Allix*, That their Churches, never were enslaved unto the Church of *Rome*,<sup>1155</sup> & they are the only visible Churches, that never were so enslaved. Hence, they are the only Churches, that answer the Description, of *Prophecy in Sackcloth the whole 1260 Years of the Reign of the Antichristian Powers*. The continual Affliction, Depression, Misery of these poor Christians, is Comment enough, on their *Sackcloth*. We have them also represented by the known Characters, of *Moses & Aaron, Elijah & Elisha, Zorobabel & Joshua*; Men dear to God, & such as had great Power with Him, when the rest of the People, by Rebellion brought themselves under His | Displeasure: They do bring *Plagues* on their Enemies. The *Plagues* of the *Trumpetts* & the *Vials* are brought thro' their Prayers and Cries to Heaven, on the Empire which oppressed them. Towards the Conclusion of their *Sackcloth* Condition, they are to be *slain*; and their *Dead Bodies* are to *ly*, ἐπι τῆς πλατείας πόλεως τῆς μεγάλης Words best rendred thus; *In that broad and great City*.<sup>1156</sup> They were not suffered to be buried, by those who love them, and hope for their Resurrection. At the End of *Three Dayes and an half*, they *stand on their Feet*, unto the great Surprize of their Enemies. Do but just Read the *History*, & we need not say one Word more, to expound the *Prophecy*. The D. of *Savoy*, the Sovereign of these *Vaudois*, by an Edict, bearing Date, Jan. 31. 168 N. S. forbad the Exercise of their Religion, on the Pain of Death; & ordered their Churches to be demolished, their Pastors to be banished. The *Edict* for Scattering these Witnesses, was published in the Valleys, on the 11<sup>th</sup> of *April*; 1686.<sup>1157</sup> There was an Army of *Savoy* and *French* Troops, which totally subdued them in the following Month of *May*; when many of these poor People were barbarously slaughtered; great Numbers were cast into Prisons, & inhumanely used there; the miserable Remainders were permitted to depart about the Beginning of *December*. The total Dissipation of them, was not accomplished, until the *Beginning of December*, 1686. In the mean time, they were kindly Receiv'd and Succour'd, by the Protestant States; particularly those of *Holland, Brandenburg, Geneva*, and *Switzerland*; & so præserv'd from Ruine. Towards the latter End

*Essay* revived his hopes again. With Whiston, he now once again interpreted the 1686 onslaught on the Vaudois as the slaying of the two witnesses and their beginning resurrection as the return of the surviving Protestants to the Piedmont region during the War of the Grand Alliance under an agreement reached with Victor Amadeus in June 1690, known as the "Glorious Return."

1155 Pierre Allix published *Some Remarks upon the Ecclesiastical History of the Ancient Churches of Piedmont* (1690), and *Remarks upon the Ecclesiastical History of the Ancient Churches of the Albigenses* (1692), in order to demonstrate that the Albigensians, contrary to a widely-held opinion, were not Manichaeans but historically identical with the Waldenses and that they had upheld primitive Christianity amidst the Antichristian corruption of the Church of Rome prior to the Reformation.

1156 Rev. 11:8: ἐπὶ τῆς πλατείας τῆς πόλεως τῆς μεγάλης [epi tes plateias tes poleos tes megales]; the ESV has: "in the street of the great city."

1157 This sentence is a later insertion.

of the Year, 1689. just *Three Years and an Half*, after the Publication of the *Edict*, above-mention'd: They Reviv'd; They pass'd the Lake of *Geneva*; They entred *Savoy* with their Swords in their Hands; They recovered their Ancient Possessions. By the Month of *April*, A. D. 1690. they established themselves there notwithstanding the Opposition of the Troops of *France* and *Savoy*. Anon, the Duke himself, leaving the French Interest, by his League, and an *Edict*, signed, Jun. 4. 1690. just *Three Years and an Half* after their Total Dissipation, Recalled the rest of them, and re-established them; with Liberty unto the French *Refugee's* also to Return with them.<sup>1158</sup>

I must now speak to the Discouragements, which have happened since the Year, 1690. to damp the Hopes, which I conceived, when I published in the Year, 1692, my Opinion, That this was, *The Resurrection of the Witnesses*.

Mr. *Whiston* ha's helped me, with a notable Curiosity.

The Prophecy of the *Two Witnesses* is full of evident Allusions, to what be-fell our Saviour CHRIST Himself; who is in this Book styled, *The Faithful & True Witness*. It will be very Reasonable to look on the Actions and Events of our *Saviour*, as marvellously corresponding with those that are now before us. There was a former, and lesser Part of our Saviours Ministry, which was more *private*; the latter and larger was more *public*. It ha's been thus in the Case of the *Witnesses*. Tho' they were never *entirely* under the Church of *Rome*; yett the first and main, *public Secession*, & Separation, was when the Church of *Milan*, in whose Neighbourhood and Protection these Primitive Opposers of *Popery* were, directly departed from Obedience to the See of *Rome*. *Sigonius* gives us an Account of it;<sup>1159</sup> that it was, A. D. 844. Now, As 1700 Dayes, which is about the *whole Time* of our Saviours Ministry, is to 524 Dayes, which is about the *whole Time* of His *private* Ministry; so is 1260 Years, the *whole Time*, of the *Witnesses* Testimony, to 388 Years, or the Time of their *private* Testimony; from A. D. 456. to A. D. 844. Or thus; As about 1700. Dayes, the whole Duration of our Saviours Ministry, to about 1176 Dayes, the Duration of His *public* Ministry; so is, 1260 Years, the Duration of the whole Testimony of the *Witnesses*; to 872 Years, the Duration of their *public* Testimony: namely, from A. D. 844. to A. D. 1716.<sup>1160</sup>

Whether this Niceness may be depended on, or no, we may go on, to a like Analogy, of more Certainty and more Importance; By which we may find easily, the Distance between the *Death* of the *Witnesses* already past, and their future *Ascension*: For, as about 1700, the Dayes of our Saviours whole Ministry, are to about 40 , the Dayes between His *Death* and *Ascension*, so must 1260, the Years

1158 Whiston, *An Essay*, pt. 3, pp. 204–07.

1159 From Whiston, *An Essay*, pt. 3, p. 209, a reference to Sigonius, *Historiarum De regno Italiae* (1574), lib. 5, pp. 193–94.

1160 Whiston, *An Essay*, pt. 3, p. 209.

of the whole Testimony of the *Witnesses*, be to 30 Years, the Time between their *Death*, A. D. 1686. and their *Ascension*; at A. D. 1716.

So then, tho' some *obscure Circumstances*, may at present attend the *Risen Witnesses*, we must be patient, until we see, at or soon after the Year, 1716. what  
[105r] wonderful Things may be done for them.<sup>1161</sup> |

The *Third Vision* is that of a *Woman Travailing*, until she bring forth a Son for the *Throne*; and the Opposition of the *Dragon* unto it, conquered. Mr. *Whiston* here much refers himself to *Garret*, whose excellent Illustrations, I have elsewhere digested and imparted.<sup>1162</sup>

We will here only observe, with our *Cressener*,<sup>1163</sup> Tis certain, that at the Appearance of Christianity on the *Imperial Throne*, this Prophecy concerning the *Woman* and the *Dragon*, was apprehended to be so plainly fulfilled, that the Effigies of *Constantine* was publickly sett up, over the Gate of his Palace, Trampling upon a wounded *Dragon*. *Eusebius* tells us, "This was done, to signify his *Conquests* of those *Tyrants*, that oppressed & persecuted the Church, at the Instigation of the *Dive*; in allusion to the Books of the *Prophets*, where the *Dive* thus raging against the Church, is called, *A Dragon*."<sup>1164</sup> And *Constantine* himself, in his Epistle to *Eusebius*, for the Repairing of the Churches, calls his Conquest of *Licinius*, who was the last of the persecuting Heathen Emperours, *The foiling of the Dragon* & the *Restoring of Christian Liberty to all Men*.<sup>1165</sup>

It is also to be observed, That from the Ascension of our Lord, until the Emperour *Constantine* became a Christian, was just the same Number of *Years*, as there are *Dayes*, from the *Conceiving* to the *Travailing* of Women with Child; That is to say, 280. From, A. D. 33. To, A. D. 313.<sup>1166</sup>

It will take some Time, for a Woman after her Delivery, to be in a Condition for Transportation, into a Wilderness. This Time, was while the *Roman Eagle* has *two* mighty *Wings*; the *Eastern* and *Western* Empire. A Space of 142 Years. The *left Wing* was lost; and the *Woman* dropt unto the *Earth*, A. D. 456.<sup>1167</sup>

From this Time, she is to continue in the *Wilderness*, & in much Affliction & Obscurity, 1260 Years. The Period expires, at, A. D. 1716.<sup>1168</sup>

1161 Whiston, *An Essay*, pt. 3, pp. 209–10. The phrase "or soon after" is a later addition and does not appear in Whiston's text.

1162 From Whiston, *An Essay*, pt. 3, p. 211, a reference to the work of Walter Garrett, *A Discourse concerning Antichrist* (1680), pp. 196–97. See Mather's long excerpts from that work in the annotations on Rev. 17.

1163 From Whiston, *An Essay*, pt. 3, p. 212, a reference to Cressener, *A Demonstration of the First Principles of the Protestant applications of the Apocalypse* (1690), p. 295.

1164 From Cressener, a reference to Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, lib. 3, cap. 3 [PG 20. 1057–58].

1165 From Cressener, a reference to a letter of Constantine to Eusebius as cited in the work of Socrates of Constantinople, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, lib. 1, cap. 6. [PG 67. 43–51].

1166 Whiston, *An Essay*, pt. 3, p. 213.

1167 Whiston, *An Essay*, pt. 3, pp. 214–15.

1168 Whiston, *An Essay*, pt. 3, pp. 214–15.

The *Fourth Vision* is that, of the *Beast*, with *Seven Heads*, and *Ten Horns*, raised by the *Dragon*; An Empire founded on the *Seven-Hill'd City of Rome*.

The chief Thing here, to be enquired after, is the *precise Time*, of the *Rise* of the *Ten Kings*, which are to compose the *Roman Empire*, in this New Exhibition of it; and from the Rise of whom, a Space of 1260 Years, brings us to the Period of the Antichristian Tyranny. Mr. *Whiston* is wondrous exact in this Matter; and in his Exactness ha's outdone all that have gone before him. Dr. *Howel* has been the most careful of any Man, to note the *precise Time*, of the Rise of the several Kingdomes, at the Dissolution of the *Roman Empire*.<sup>1169</sup> With his Assistance, Mr. *Whiston* thus enumerates them.<sup>1170</sup>

| Dates. | Kingdomes.        | Countreyes.     | Capital Cities. |
|--------|-------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| A. D.  |                   |                 |                 |
| 337.   | I. Greeks.        | Eastern Empire. | Constantinople. |
| 402.   | II. Romans.       | Western Empire. | Ravenna.        |
| 409.   | III. Suevians.    | Portugal.       | Braga.          |
| 413.   | IV. Burgundians.  | Gall.           | Geneva.         |
| 418.   | V. Visigoths.     | Gall and Spain. | Tholouse.       |
| 435.   | VI. Vandals.      | Africa.         | Carthage.       |
| 447.   | VII. Britans.     | Britain.        | London.         |
| 454.   | VIII. Ostrogoths. | Pannonia.       | Vienna.         |
| 455.   | IX. Saxons.       | Britain.        | Canterbury.     |
| 456.   | X. Franks.        | Gall.           | Paris.          |

These were all existing, in the Year, 456. If there were any other, they were either just expiring, or else out of the Bounds of the *Roman Empire*.

It is Remarkable, That all of those *Ten Kingdomes*, have since been conquered, & others have succeeded on the Conquering of them; except only *France*. *France* is also you see, The το δεκατον *The Tenth*.<sup>1171</sup> Now we find, That, *The Tenth*, is to fall at the Ascension of the Witnesses, A. D. 1716. Then at farthest, if not before, the *Fall of France* is to be look'd for.

It is also Remarkable, that tho' this Number of *Kingdomes*, afterwards underwent several Vicissitudes, yett now we are just coming into the Time of the End, they return very near to the same Condition, they were in, almost 1260 Years ago.

Behold the Enumeration.

<sup>1169</sup> Whiston here relies on Laurence Howel (?1664–1720), *A Compleat History of the Holy Bible* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 1716, 3 vols.), where a detailed historical interpretation of Revelation is offered in vol. 3, pp. 313–49.

<sup>1170</sup> Mather copied this table from Whiston, *An Essay*, pt. 3, p. 228.

<sup>1171</sup> Mather's rendition of the phrase το δεκατον [to dekadon] is valid.

- I. The States of the Emperour of *Germany*; not as Emperour, but as possessing large Hæreditary Dominions, in *Austria*, *Hungaria*, & what borders on the *Adriatic*.
- II. The Electorate of *Bavaria*.
- III. The *Switz* Cantons.
- IV. The Dukedom of *Savoy*.
- V. The States of *Holland*.
- VI. The Republic of *Venice*.
- VII. The Kingdome of *France*.
- VIII. The Kingdome of *Spain*.
- IX. The Kingdome of *Portugal*.
- X. The Kingdome of *England*.

[105v] Tho' there are more great Kingdomes and Dominions besides these, in *Europe*, yett they are out of the Bounds of the old *Roman Empire*. | But it is Remarkable, That if we take in all *Europe*, or *Christendom*, (the famous, το τρίτον, in the *Apocalypse*) the Number of *Kingdomes* in the most proper Sense, that is to say, of *crowned Heads*, is yett more notoriously and indisputably, *Ten*. I. *Hungary*. II. *Muscovy*. III. *Sueden*. IV. *Denmark*. V. *Poland*. VI. *France*. VII. *Spain*. VIII. *Portugal*. IX. *England*. X. *Prussia*. Mr. *Whiston* will pardon me, if I observe, That for the more exact Reduction of the *Kingdomes* to this Number, the Crown of *Scotland* is lately and strangely laid aside. It falls out strangely, at the Time, when the *Stone cutt out of the Mountain*,<sup>1172</sup> is just going to smite the *Feet of the Image*; and *consume all these Kingdomes*.<sup>1173</sup>

It is hardly possible to go any further, without reciting the wonderful Words, of Cardinal *Cusanus*, written above 250 Years ago.

*In iis quæ Christus egit, et circum Christum acta sunt, post vigesimum nonum Annum, usque in Diem Resurrectionis à Morte, Annum unum Domini in Jubileum extendendo, poterit quisque verisimilius quid futurum sit in Ecclesiâ prævidere; ut sic in Tricesimo Quarto Jubileo a Resurrectione Christi, Resurrectionem Ecclesiæ, depulso Antichristo, Dei pietate speret victoriosè gloriosam. Et hoc erit post Annum Nativitatis Domini 1700, antè Annum 1734. Post illud autem Tempus Ascensio Ecclesiæ futura est, Christo Sponso adveniente ad Judicium.*<sup>1174</sup>

<sup>1172</sup> Dan. 2:45.

<sup>1173</sup> Whiston, *An Essay*, pt. 3, p. 235. An allusion to the Act of Union (1707), by which England and Scotland were united into one kingdom by the name of Great Britain.

<sup>1174</sup> "[that] in regard to the things that Christ did, and as concerns the things that are [to be] done with respect to Christ between the twenty-ninth [jubilee] year and the day of resurrection from the dead; by reckoning one year of the Lord's life as a jubilee year each person will be able to foresee more accurately what is going to happen with the Church. Thus, in this manner, one may hope that the resurrection of the Church will occur (triumphantly [and] by the graciousness of God, after the Antichrist has been expelled) in the thirty-fourth jubilee year, [counting] from the resurrection of Christ. And this [resurrection of the Church] will occur after 1700 A. D. [but] before the year 1734. Thereafter, the ascension of the Church

As coincident with these Computations, *Whiston* sett's before us, an Exposition of the *Evening-Morning Vision* in *Daniel*. The Words are, Dan. 8.13, 14. *Then I heard an Holy One speaking; and another Holy One said to Palmoni which spake, How long shall be the Vision concerning the Daily Sacrifice, & the Transgression of the Desolator; to give both the Sanctuary, & the Host, to be troden under foot? And He said unto me, Unto two thousand three hundred Evening-Mornings; Then shall the Sanctuary be cleansed.* This Vision declared, the State of the *Jewish Church*, while the *Courts of the Temple*, or the *Holy City*, were to be *given unto the Gentiles*, & to be *troden under foot* by them, from the *Dayes of Titus Vespasian*. The Vision determines, the *Period of the Churches Pollution*, to 2300 *Dayes*, from the *Time of its being seen*; And behold, It most surprizingly expires at, A. D. 1716. For 2300 *Chaldean Years*, of, 360 *Dayes* apeece, are æqual to 2266 *Julian Years*, and 344 *Dayes*; or, in a *Round Number*, to 2267 *Julian Years*. And the *Date of the Vision* is in the *Third Year of the Reign of Belshazzar*, King of *Babylon*; who is called, *Nabonadius*, in the *Astronomical Canon*; and as far as can possibly be determined from that *Canon*, and *Xenophon*, compared together, exactly corresponds to the *Year of the Julian Period*, 4162.<sup>1175</sup> If therefore, we add unto that *Year*, 2267 *Julian Years*, we shall arrive at the 6429<sup>th</sup> *Year of the Julian Period*; which is the same, with A. D. 1716. The grand *Period* so often mentioned.<sup>1176</sup>

We return to the *Open Codicil*; In which the *Fifth Vision* is, that of the *Two-horned Beast*, or, the *Pope of Rome*, with his *Antichristian Hierarchy*. The common *Center and Cement*, which unites the *Distinct Kingdomes*, of the *Revived Roman Empire*. This is the *little Horn* in *Daniel*; and he begins some *Time* after the *Ten Horns*: He continues *in Being*, till their *Destruction*; but *in Power* no longer than they do so. Their *Period* is, 1260 *Years*. His *Period* is, 1110 *Years*, so much is contained in, *A Time, & Times, & a Division of Time*, or, a *Month*. Now the *Epocha of the Exaltation of the Papal Power*, *Whiston* takes to be plainly, A. D. 606. or, 150 *Years* after the *Epocha of the Rise of the Ten Kings*. Mr. *Stephens* very truly saies, “Concerning the *Emersion of the Two-Horn'd Beast* out of the *Earth*, I find a great *Consent* in the *Commentaries*, *Controversies*, &

---

will occur, with Christ the Bridegroom coming in judgment.” From *Whiston, An Essay*, pt. 3, p. 236, a citation from the *Coniectura de ultimis diebus* (sect. 133) of the famous German theologian, philosopher, jurist, and astronomer Nicholas of Cusa (of Kues, Cusanus, 1401–1464), *Opera* (1565), p. 934; transl. adapted from *Complete Philosophical and Theological Treatises of Nicholas of Cusa*, vol. 1, pp. 4–5.

1175 From *Whiston, An Essay*, pt. 3, p. 237, reference is made to the list of kings (reaching back to the eighth cent.) created by ancient astronomers and preserved by Ptolemy in the second century BCE. *Whiston* might have cited the *Astronomical Canon* from the English chronologer John Marsham (1602–1685), *Chronicus canon ægyptiacus, ebraicus, græcus, & disquisitiones* (1672), p. 554. Reference is also made to *Xenophon's Cyropaedia*, where *Cyrus's conquest of Babylon* is described (7.5.1–36) and *Nabonidus/Nabu-naid* (or *Labynetius*), last king of the *Babylonian Empire*, is mentioned indirectly; cf. *LCL* 52, p. 458.

1176 *Whiston, An Essay*, pt. 3, pp. 235–37.

Stories of the Church, that the *Two-Horned Beast*, began in the universal Headship, under the Emperour *Phocas*.<sup>1177</sup> It was in that Year, that Pope *Boniface* III. first received from the Tyrant *Phocas*, and his Successors ever after claimed, the Style of, *The Head of the Church*; and, *The Universal Bishop*. Even *Heylin* himself, a Man who little concerned himself with the *Apocalypse*, entirely distinguishes in his Catalogue, the *Popes*, before this *Epocha*, and after it.<sup>1178</sup> After a List of 65 Bishops of *Rome*, he begins a second Branch of his Catalogue, with this

[106r] Title; | *The Popes of Rome, challenging a Supremacy over all the Church*. Tis from, A. D. 606. And, we all know, That the Popes of *Rome*, just before this Time, vehemently opposed this Title, and affirmed in express Terms, That whoever took the Title of, *Universal Bishop*, was, *The Fore-runner of Antichrist*: equal to *Lucifer* in Pride; & had the Name of, *Blasphemy*, upon him. Now, to A. D. 606; if you add, 1110; it brings us to our Illustrious, A. D. 1716. the Time for the Fall of the *Ten Kings*. His *Tyranny* must then come to an End; His utter Destruction, will be with that of the whole *Roman Empire*, at the Coming of our Saviour.<sup>1179</sup>

By this *little Horn*, we read, Dan. 7.8. *Three of the First Horns are displanted*. Mr. *Whiston*, with the Help of *Pufendorf's Introduction to History*, ha's left this Matter, no longer under any Difficulty.<sup>1180</sup> These Three Kingdomes were; I. The *Greeks*, or the Exarchate of *Ravenna*; continuing from A. D. 567. till, A. D. 753. or, 186 Years. II. The *Lombards*; continuing from A. D. 570. till, A. D. 774. or, 204 Years. III. That of *Italy*, which immediately succeeded it. It may be called, The Kingdom of the *Franks*; because its first Kings, for many Years, were such; who were succeeded afterwards by *Italians*, & then by *Germans*. Of this Kingdom we have an entire Succession and History, in *Sigonius*;<sup>1181</sup> continuing from A. D. 774. till A. D. 1286. or 512 Years. These were all destroy'd, after the Rise of the Power of the *little Horn*; the Pope: and all destroy'd by his Means and Interest. Every one of them also belonged unto the *Ten* several original Kingdomes of the Divided *Roman Empire*. They likewise belonged unto *Italy*, where the Power of the *Pope*, was to spread in a peculiar Manner, and where it

1177 From Whiston, *An Essay*, pt. 3, p. 244, a reference to the work of the English politician, supporter of the Parliamentary cause, and MP from 1628 to 1653, Nathaniel Stephens (1589–1660), *A Plain and Easie Calculation of the Name, Mash and Number of the Name Beast* (1656), p. 36.

1178 From Whiston, *An Essay*, pt. 3, p. 245, a reference to Peter Heylin, *Cosmographie*, pp. 105–06. In 606, Pope Boniface (or Bonifatius) III obtained a decree from Emperor Phocas in the East that acknowledged him as universal bishop.

1179 See Whiston, *An Essay*, pt. 3, p. 245.

1180 From Whiston, *An Essay*, pt. 3, p. 250, a reference to the work of Samuel Freiherr von Pufendorf, *Einleitung zu der Historie der vornehmsten Reiche und Staaten, so itziger Zeit in Europa sich befinden* (1684), which was translated into English by Jodocus Crull as *An Introduction to the History of the Principal Kingdoms and States of Europe* and frequently reprinted. In the second edition of 1697, the account of the Lombard kings appears on pp. 386–87.

1181 From Whiston, *An Essay*, pt. 3, p. 250, a general reference to Sigonius, *Historiarum De regno Italiae*.

is most natural to seek for such Kingdomes, as his Kingdome was to *desplant*, & to *humble*, & which were to *fall before him*.<sup>1182</sup>

Mr. *Whiston*, upon the Name of the Former *Beast*, mystically hinted, by its Number, 666. thinks, there cannot be a better Conjecture, than what *Irenæus* had, soon after the Writing of the *Apocalypse*; Namely, That it is to be sought in the Name, ΛΑΤΕΙΝΟΣ.<sup>1183</sup> But then he ha's, as usually upon every thing else, a *Fresh Thought*, which gives the Matter a stronger Demonstration than ever.

If it be wondred at, that the *First Beast*, or the *Roman Empire*, should be noted by λατεινος, the *Latin* or *Western Empire* only; whereas the *Roman Empire* itself, in its full Extent, included much more; he proposes an Observation of another, whom he calls, *A great Man*, to take away the Wonder. Tis, That all the Four Monarchies are supposed in the Prophecies, to be as well distinct from each other, *geographically*, as *chronologically*. The same Tract of Land, which the *Babylonian Empire* possessed, was peculiar to that *First Monarchy*; & tho' it were *conquered* by, it was never counted a *Part* of, the *Second*. The same Tract of Land, which the *Medo-Persian Empire* possess'd, not accounting therein, what belong'd unto the *Babylonian*, was peculiar to the *Second Monarchy*, & not reckoned a *Part* of the *Third*. The same Tract of Land, which the *Græcian Empire* possessed, not accounting therein, what had belong'd unto the Two Former, was peculiar to that *Third Monarchy*, and not esteemed a *Part* of the *Fourth*. Lett this be rightly observed, and we shall not wonder, that by the *Empire of the Latines*, is meant only so much of the *Roman Empire*, as never was a *Part* of the *Three* former.<sup>1184</sup>

Accordingly, in the Visions of *Daniel*, the *Three* former Monarchies, have it said of them; Dan. 7.12. *As concerning the Rest of the Beasts, they had their Dominion taken away, yett their Lives were prolonged for a Season, & a time*. The Conquest of those Empires by the *Romans*, was esteemed only, as the taking away of their *Dominion*, but not of their *Lives*: They were made Tributary to the *Romans*; but so, that they themselves continued *living Beasts* notwithstanding. [Compare, Dan. 2.34, 35, 44.]<sup>1185</sup>

What next appears in our View, is, *The Image of the Beast*. Mr. *Whiston* falls in, with the Interpretation we have elsewhere | given; Tis the Emperour of *Germany*; who will needs be called, *His Cæsarean Majesty*; and, *The Sacred Roman Emperour*. To confirm this Interpretation, there needs no more, but barely to

[106v]

<sup>1182</sup> Whiston, *An Essay*, pt. 3, p. 250.

<sup>1183</sup> From Whiston, *An Essay*, pt. 3, p. 257, who cites Cressener, *A Demonstration*, p. 275, a reference to Irenæus, *Adversus hæreses*, bk. 5, ch. 30 [PG 7. 1203; SC 153]; in the translation of the *ANF* 1: "that the number of the name of the beast, [if reckoned] according to the Greek mode of calculation by the [value of] the letters contained in it, will amount to six hundred and sixty and six; ... Then also Lateinos (ΛΑΤΕΙΝΟΣ) has the number six hundred and sixty-six; and it is a very probable [solution], this being the name of the last kingdom [of the four seen by Daniel]. For the Latins are they who at present bear rule."

<sup>1184</sup> See Appendix A. From Whiston, *An Essay*, pt. 3, pp. 256–57.

<sup>1185</sup> Whiston, *An Essay*, pt. 3, p. 259.



read the History of *Sigonius*.<sup>1186</sup> Besides the Authorities which I have elsewhere brought for this Interpretation, I will now add, That the Lord *Napier* of old, was of this Opinion.<sup>1187</sup> And, of late, *Limborch*, a Person famous among the Remonstrants, writes these Words; *Per hanc autem Imaginem, intelligere possumus Imperium Germanicum; Quod prioris, Romani nimirum, Imago tantum est. – Hanc ut faciant dicitur prior Bestia, habitatoribus Terræ dixisse; quia Pontifex illius constituendi Autor fuit.*<sup>1188</sup> The exact Time of his Destruction, is not defined unto us. At the Destruction of the *Beast*, we don't find any mention of him; we find only the *Beast*, & the *False Prophet* mentioned, as perishing together. So it seems probable, That he will not continue till the *Final* Destruction of the *Beast*, but come to his Period some while before him.

Mr. *Whiston*, that ha's refined upon so many other Matters, ha's employ'd his Thoughts to excellent Purpose, upon one Subject more; and that is, How the *Roman Beast*, could be said to have *Seven Heads* and *Ten Horns*. And how it could be said unto *John*; *They are Seven Kings; Five are fallen; and One is, and & the other is not yett come. And the Beast that was, & is not, even he is the Eighth, & is of the Seven*. Take his Paraphrase upon it. *The Beast with Seven Heads, and Ten Horns*, is the *Roman Empire*, when it is governed by Ten Supreme Governours.<sup>1189</sup>

This, *It was*, formerly, under the *Decemviri*; And, *Is not*, at this Time of the Angels Interpretation; because it was then governed by a single Person, *Domitian*. But, *It shall*, hereafter arise out of the Abyss, at the Rise of the *Ten Kings*, which was now future; and *shall go* at last into Perdition.

*And the World shall wonder at the Beast*, which thus *was* formerly under the *Decemviri*; and *is not* at present under the *Cæsars*; and *yett it*, in reality still

<sup>1186</sup> From Whiston, *An Essay*, pt. 3, pp. 260–61, another reference to Sigonius, *Historiarum De regno Italiae*, lib. 5, p. 193. See Mather's annotations on the "image of the Beast" in Rev. 17.

<sup>1187</sup> From Whiston, *An Essay*, pt. 3, p. 262, a reference to the work of biblical commentary by the Scottish mathematician, physicist, and astronomer John Napier (1550–1617), the Scottish Laird of Merchiston and the inventor of logarithms, *A Plaine Discovery of the Whole Revelation of St. John* (1593), pp. 171–72. This influential work helped pave the way for the systematic attempts to map the apocalyptic symbols onto church history that would be characteristic of Joseph Mede and his followers. Napier's millennialism was of the preterist kind, however, and he expected the Last Judgment to occur between the late seventeenth and late eighteenth centuries.

<sup>1188</sup> "By this image, however, we can understand the German Empire, which is only the image of the former empire, the Roman Empire, of course. That they should make it [i.e. an image to the beast], is what the first beast is said to have spoken to the inhabitants of the earth; because the pope was the author of its construction." From Whiston, *An Essay*, pt. 3, p. 262, a reference to the work of the Dutch Arminian theologian Philippus van Limborch, *Institutiones theologiae christianae, ad praxin pietatis et promotionem pacis, christianae unice directae* (1686), vol. 4, lib. 7, cap. 11, § 16, p. 835, where an interpretation of Rev. 13:14–15 is offered.

<sup>1189</sup> Whiston, *An Essay*, pt. 2, p. 118.

existing, as being an Empire now, tho' not an Empire with *Ten* Supreme Governours; not a *Beast with Ten Horns*.<sup>1190</sup>

The *Seven Heads* do signify the *Seven Mountains, upon which the Woman sitteth*; namely, *The Mons Palatinus, Capitolinus, Quirinalis, Cælius, Esquilinus, Aventinus, and Viminalis*. They also signify *Seven Kings, or Forms of Government, belonging to the same Seven Hills of Rome. Five of these are fallen*; That under *Two*, or, of *Consuls*; That under *Three*, or of the double *Triumvirate*; That under *Four*, or of the former Sett of the *Tribuni militum consulari potestate*; That under *Six*, or of the latter Sett of the *Tribuni militum consulari potestate*; and that under *Ten*, or of the *Decemviri*.<sup>1191</sup>

*One* is, at present, in Power; Namely, That under a single Person, or of the *Cæsars*.

*The other is not yett come*; Namely, That under *Five*, in the Dayes of *Eusebius & Lactantius*.<sup>1192</sup>

*And when he comes, he must continue but a short Space*. That Number of Emperours, reigning only *Three Years*; or a little longer than the shortest of the Foregoing Forms; that of the *Decemviri*.

And, the *Beast*, that shall arise with *Seven Heads & Ten Horns*, which truly *was* once in being under the *Decemviri*, and *is not* so now, under the *Cæsars*; *He is the Eighth*. He is to be so exceedingly different from the former Government under the *Decemviri*; Because most of the *Kings* were to be of the Barbarous Nations, and the Empire torn into so many Real Parts, with separate Governours; nor did they belong to *Rome* as a common Head, as it was under the *Decemviri*. It well enough deserved the Name of another Distinct Form of Government; but yett, being Governments in the same Countreyes, and over the same People that constituted the *Roman Empire*, & by the Union of those Barbarous Nations, with the Ancient People of the *Roman Empire*, & in great Part governing them by the *Roman Lawes*; incorporated into the *Roman Empire*;

<sup>1190</sup> Whiston, *An Essay*, pt. 2, p. 118.

<sup>1191</sup> "The military tribunes with the power of consuls." From Whiston, *An Essay*, pt. 2, p. 118. These tribunes were elected in the early Roman Republic instead of the consuls and were the highest magistrates. The ultimate source of this reference is probably Livy, *History of Rome*, 4.16; transl.: LCL 133, pp. 310–11: "So they forced through a measure providing that military tribunes should be elected instead of consuls, not doubting that for some of the six places – for this was now the number that might be filled – plebeians would be chosen, if they would promise to avenge the death of Maelius." The decemviri or decemvirs (Latin for "ten men") might refer to any of several ten-men commissions established by the Roman Republic. But reference is probably made to the two Decemvirates, formally the "Decemvirs Writing the Laws with Consular Imperium" (Latin: *Decemviri Legibus Scribundis Consulari Imperio*), who reformed and codified Roman law during the Conflict of the Orders between ancient Rome's patrician aristocracy and plebeian commoners.

<sup>1192</sup> From Whiston, *An Essay*, pt. 2, pp. 121–22, reference is made to Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, bk. 8, ch. 17 [PG 20. 789–94]; cf. LCL 265, pp. 318–20; and Lactantius, *De mortibus persecutorum*; cap. 26, [see PL 7. 235–36; FC 43].

[107r] and the Principal of the *Ten Kingdoms*, the *Greek Empire*, being all along | an unconquered Part of the *Roman Empire*; it is in some Sense, the same Empire, under the same Number of Governours, as it was under the *Decemviri*; and so strictly, tis one of the other *Seven Ancient Forms of Government*; *It is of the Seven*; and in common with the rest, it shall at last *go into Perdition* also.<sup>1193</sup>

Of the *Seven Forms of Government* thus proposed, all but Two are indisputable. Every body knowes, that the *Roman Empire* was governed by a *single Person*, under the *Kings* at first: under *Dictators* frequently, upon an Occasion: under the *Cesars*, or Emperours, for a long Time also. Tis as well known, that the *Roman Empire*, was governed by *Two Consuls*, a great While, and at several times: And that it was governed by *Three*, twice under the *Two Triumvirates*. That it was governed by *Four*, under the Former Sett of, *Tribuni militum consulari potestate*; And after by *Six* of the same, for a considerable Time; is æqually out of quæstion. As it is, that for some time, they were governed by *Ten*, under the *Decemviri*. If it be objected, that *Livy*, saies, The Number of *Tribuni militum consulari potestate*, were sometimes *Eight*,<sup>1194</sup> and so our Number for the Forms of Government before *Johns Time* will not hold; It is to be answered, That if this were true, it was contrary to *Law*; but we have Reason to deny the Truth of it. It is fully argued by *Dujatius*, *Id nec legi de horum magistratuum numero dictæ consentaneum; (sex enim ut essent, cautum ab initio fuerat:) nec verum hoc Anno videtur*.<sup>1195</sup> The, *Fasti Capitolini*, the most Authentic Records we can have of this Matter, have never any more than *Six*; no, not in that Year when *Livy* mentions *Eight*. And both *Sigonius* and *Pighius* prove, out of the same *Fasti*, that *two* of them were that Year, not *Tribunes*, but *Censors*; and that one of them was so, appears farther by the Testimony of *Plutarch*.<sup>1196</sup> It is generally concluded, by the most Learned in the *Roman Antiquities*, that their Number was never more

1193 Whiston, *An Essay*, pt. 2, p. 122.

1194 “military tribunes with the power of consuls.” From Whiston, *An Essay*, pt. 2, p. 120. The different numbers (four/six/eight) of military tribunes are mentioned by Livy in his *History of Rome*, 5.1, 5.24. Concerning the eight we read: “The Romans enlarged the number of their military tribunes with consular authority, and elected eight, a greater number than ever before, to wit, Manius Aemilius Mamercus (for the second time), Lucius Valerius Potitus (for the third), Appius Claudius Crassus, Marcus Quinctilius Varus, Lucius Julius Iulus, Marcus Postumius, Marcus Furius Camillus, Marcus Postumius Albinus” (transl.: *LCL* 172, pp. 2–3).

1195 “It was not in accordance with the law that was passed regarding the number of these magistrates (for it had been certain from the beginning that there should be six) nor does it seem to be the case that year.” From Whiston, *An Essay*, pt. 2, 120, a reference to a note on bk. 5 in the edition of Livy’s *History of Rome* annotated by the French and German scholars, Jean Doujat (Doujatius, 1609–1688) and Johann Freinsheim (1608–1660), *Titi Livii Patavini Historiarum Libri Qui Extant* (1679), p. 469.

1196 From Whiston, *An Essay*, pt. 2, pp. 120–21, reference is made to Sigonius’s annotated edition of the “Fasti Capitolini” (a list of the chief magistrates of the Roman Republic, extending from the early fifth century BCE down to the reign of Augustus), *Fasti consulares ac triumphali acti à Romulo rege usque ad Ti. Caesarem; eiusdem In Fastos et triumphos* (1559), unpaginated. Reference is also made to the work of the German historian and philologist, Stephan

than *Six*. Well; But when was the Empire a *Pentarchy*, or governed by *Five*? Not only *Eutropius* who lived after it, and *Photius* who lived later still, have told us of such a Matter;<sup>1197</sup> but it is rendred certain, from Two contemporary *Witnesses*, *Eusebius* and *Lactantius*.<sup>1198</sup> Towards the Beginning of the Reign of *Constantine* the Great, the *Roman* Empire was governed by *Five* Emperours at once; and those all jointly belonging to the whole Empire, and including the City of *Rome* itself under their Dominion. These *Five* were, *Galerius Maximianus*, *Licinius*, *Maxentius*, *Constantinus*, and *Maximinus*. This Form was the *Seventh* King; and exactly according to the Words of the Text, it *continued but a short Space*.<sup>1199</sup>

The Foundation which Mr. *Whiston* layes, for his proceeding upon such an Exposition of this Prophecy, is; That according to the common Notion of Mankind, the Difference of *Forms* or *Kinds* of Government, is to be taken, from the different *Number* of the supreme Governours. If the same Empire be at one time governed by a *single* Person, another time by *Two*; another time by *Three*; another time by *Four*; another time by *Six*; another time by *Ten*; and another time by *Five*, supreme Magistrates, with æqual Power, or at least Absolute and Full Power. These are plainly *Seven* several *Forms* or *Kinds* of Government, in that Empire. And, if after the Change of the Government by a *Single* Person, the same Empire comes to be governed by a *Single* Person again, whether the *Name* should be the same, or not the same; This is not a *New* Form of Government, but the *Revival of a Former*. And if after the Empire had been governed by *Ten* supreme Magistrates, it comes again to be governed by the *same* Number, This is not the Introduction of a *New*, but the Restoration of that *Ancient Form* again.<sup>1200</sup>

To conclude; Mr. *Whiston* having advanced such Assurances for the Year, 1716; we cannot but ask, what *great Mutations* are to be expected, at that *grand Period*? The best Answer, will be in the express Words of the *Prophecies*; whereof Time will be the best Expositor.

I. At this grand Period, is to be expected, the End of the Tyranny, or Power of the *Ten Horns*, the several Idolatrous Kingdomes, in | the Divided *Roman* [107v]

Winand Pigge (Stephanus Winandus Pighius, 1520–1604), *Annales Magistratuum Romanorum* (1599), pp. 225–28; and Plutarch, *Lives*, Camillus, 2.2.; cf. *LCL* 47, pp. 96–97.

<sup>1197</sup> After the collapse of the Diocletian tetrarchy in 306 CE, the Empire effectively had five rulers for a time: four Augusti (Galerius, Constantine, Severus, and Maxentius) and one Caesar (Maximinus). Reference is made to the *Breviarium* of Eutropius or *Abridgment of Roman History*, bk. 10. I was unable to identify the reference to Photios I (c. 810/820–893), the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople from 858 to 867 and from 877 to 886; it is probably to his renowned *Bibliotheca* or *Myriobiblon*, a collection of extracts and abridgments of 280 volumes of classical authors.

<sup>1198</sup> From Whiston, *An Essay*, pt. 2, p. 121, a reference to Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, bk. 8, ch. 17 [PG 20. 789–94]; cf. *LCL* 265, pp. 318–20; and Lactantius, *De mortibus persecutorum*; cap. 26, [see PL 7. 235–36; *FC* 43].

<sup>1199</sup> Whiston, *An Essay*, pt. 2, p. 121.

<sup>1200</sup> Whiston, *An Essay*, pt. 2, pp. 117–18.

Empire. Tis the Conclusion of the 42 Months, in which the *Ten Kingdoms* have Power of *making War with the Saints, & overcoming them*.

II. At this grand Period, is to be expected the End of the Tyranny of the *little Horn*, or ecclesiastical Hierarchy, of which the Pope, is the Head. It is the Conclusion of the *Time, Times, and a Part*, wherein the *little Horn*, was to *speake great Words against the Most High, & to wear out the Saints of the Most High, and to project the Changing of Times & Lawes*.

III. At this grand Period is the *Sanctuary to be cleansed*; and the *Sanctuary & the Host, to be no longer troden under foot*. Here is the End of the 42 Months, wherein the *Gentiles* are allow'd to *Tread under foot, the outer Court of the Temple, or the Holy City*.

IV. At this grand Period, there is to be the Conclusion of the persecuted State of the Church; or, of the *Time, Times, & half a Time*, the 1260 Dayes, wherein the Woman is to be *nourished in the Wilderness, from the Face of the Serpent*.

V. At this grand Period, there must be an End unto the afflicted Condition, of the poor *Vaudois*. Tis the End of those 1260 Dayes, in which the *Two Witnesses*, were to *prophesy in Sackcloth*; Tis the Time, when they are to *hear a great Voice from Heaven, saying unto them, come up hither*; and they are thereupon to *Ascend up to Heaven in a Cloud, in the Sight of their Enemies*.

VI. At this grand Period, there is to be a *great Earthquake*; the *το δεκατον of the City, is to fall*; In *that Earthquake, 7000 Names of Men are to be slain*, so that the *Remnant shall be affrighted, & give Glory to the God of Heaven*.

VII. And soon after, the *Seventh Angel* is to *sound the great Trumpett*, for<sup>1201</sup> the Pouring out of the *Seven Vials* or *Last Plagues* on the Kingdome of the Beast, in order to the total & final Destruction of it.<sup>1202</sup>

<sup>1201</sup> See Appendix A. Significantly, Mather here canceled: "the Restoration of the Jewes, and ... ." Mather thus leaves out an important part of Whiston's argument, according to which the spread of the Gospel to all lands would hasten the national conversion of the Jews as a precondition for the second coming of Christ.

<sup>1202</sup> From Whiston, *An Essay*, pt. 1, pp. 85–92.

An Essay,  
for  
a further COMMENTARY,  
on the  
Sacred Scriptures.

[1r]

We have call'd in the Help of all *Sciences*, and *Histories*, to Illustrate the *Oracles* of God. But we will now repair to another Fountain of *Illustrations*, which we may find in the EXPERIENCE of the Faithful. If prudent and pious Men, would carefully *Observe* what they meet withal in their own *Experience*, and *Record* what they *Observe*, to *Confirm* the Truth of the *Sacred Scriptures*, we should often see them *Expound* what they *Confirm*. In the *Observations* of *experimental Christians*, we should have notable and glorious *Expositions* of many Things contained in the *Book of Truth*;<sup>1</sup> and we should have surprising Hints, of what the *Spirit of Truth* intended, in very many Passages, of which until *Then*, we shall not see the full Intention. Alas, why do no more Men of God prepare such *Testimonies* for the Lord, which they may leave behind them, & mightily advance the Interests of Holiness in the World? Such *Testimonies* would be rare *Commentaries* upon a great Part of the *Bible*; and incredible would be the Advantage of them.

To pursue this Holy Design, I will here exhibit, first a *lesser*, and then a *larger* Collection of some things that I have mett withal.

I have in a Paragraph of a Sermon heard uttered such Things as these.

2. Cor. 1.20.

*The Promises, YEA, and AMEN.*

The *Promises* of God assure the Christian of many Things in the *Course of his Life*, even quite contrary, to what the Rules of common and carnal Prudence do suggest; and yett these *Promises* are by the Christian found every Day to be Infallible. He meets with daily Occasion, to say, *Amen*, upon Gods, *Yea*, in His faithful Oracles & *Promises*. Lett us Instance in a few. It is a Promise of God.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix A.

<sup>2</sup> The following scriptural meditations also appear in Mather's autobiography *Paterna* (written in different stages between 1699 and 1727; ed. 1976), pp. 93–95, where they are clearly identified as his own compositions drawn from personal experience. Hence, the generalized framings as “the Experience of the Christian” or “Experience” are missing. Mather introduces them by saying: “Once this year, I made a Short Collection of Instances, wherein I had seen the *Faithfulness* of God, unto his *Promises*. It was to this Purpose.” The context suggests that the year was 1687. Unfortunately, the diaries for 1687–89 are no longer extant. However, at the end of 1686, Mather makes the following observation: “But before my *Evening-Prayers*, I would single out some Text of Scripture, and make a short Meditation upon it. In this Way,

Psal. 91.15.

*He shall call upon me, & I will answer Him.*

Now the Experience of the Christian will add, *Amen*, to this; and say, "I have many & many a Time found, that my God hath not bid me seek His Face in Vain; I have gott more by Prayer, than by any other Endeavour or Contrivance in the World."

Psal. 37.5.

*Committ thy Way unto the Lord, & He shall bring it to pass.*

Experience.

"I never found my Affairs to prosper better, than when I have, with a Quiet Heart Resigned those Affayrs unto the Management of the Almighty God, who performeth all things for me."

Prov. 16.7.

*When a Mans Wayes please the Lord, He maketh even His Enemies to be at Peace with Him.*

Experience.

"I find, that when I have engaged the Friendship of God, I never want a Friend; Engaging the Friendship of God, is the best Way of encountring the Malice of Man."

Prov. 15.33.

*Before Honour is Humility.*

Experience.

"I do continually find, that my Laying myself in the Dust, is the best Mean to prevent my being laid there, by the Abasing Dispensations of Heaven: while I maintain a low Opinion of myself, I grow in Favour with God & Man."

Prov. 19.17.

*He that hath Pitty on the Poor lendeth to the Lord, and that which He hath given, will He pay Him again.*

Experience.

"When a wrong End, hath not, like a Dead Fly, spoiled the Ointment of my Charity, I find no Part of my Estate putt out unto so good Interest, as that which I have employ'd upon pious Uses."

Mal. 3.10.

*Lett there be Meat in my House, & prove me now, saith the Lord, if I do not pour you out a Blessing.*

Experience.

"While I have been, with a public Spirit, serving the House of my Lord Jesus Christ, I have been thereby building my own House, & providing for the Welfare of it."

---

I may go thro' a Body of Divinitie; and whole Chapters of the Bible; if God spare my Life" (*Diaries* 1:136).

These and such *Promises* are meer *Fancies*, & *Whimseys*, unto the foolish Unbeliever; but the perpetual *Experience* of Multitudes who Beleeve them, ha's demonstrated them to be *Faithful Sayings and worthy of all Acceptation*.

Thus the Paragraph.

I will proceed now to tell you, That I have some Acquaintance, with an Excellent Friend, whose Name is Mr. *Thomas Bridge*,<sup>3</sup> at this Time a Minister in *Boston*; And this my Friend has acquainted me with a Method used by himself, in his Course of Reading the Scriptures; which was, to Record | such Points of his own *Experience*, as the Scriptures before him, led him still to think of, as Verifications thereof. He favoured me with the Sight of some of his *Memorials*, from whence I have taken the leave to transcribe the ensuing Passages.

[1v]

Mat. 1.20.

*While he thought, on these things, Behold, –*

I HAVE SEEN, That God hath Innumerable Wayes to withdraw Man from his most deliberate & fixed Purposes.

Mat. 2.11.

*They presented unto Him Gifts.*

A marvellous Supply, for the Support of *Joseph* & his Family! Both to pay the present Tax, and to carry them thro' their Journey to, & their Abode in, *Egypt*.<sup>4</sup> I have found seasonable & suitable Supplies, from the Bounty of my God, not only to answer present Necessities, but to carry on the Work to which I have been called: which *Doing of the Lord ha's been marvellous in my Eyes!*

Mat. 3.4.

*The same John, – his Meat was Locusts.*

When I consider, that many of those, who have been advanced unto the highest Stations for Service, have first been Discipled in the School of Affliction, I improve it to a Satisfaction in the Dispose of God under present Difficulties.

Mat. 4.1.

*Then was Jesus led up of the Spirit into the Wilderness, to be Tempted of the Divil.*

3 Mather refers to his colleague Thomas Bridge (born in England 1656, d. in Boston 1715), who was schooled at Oxford and migrated to the New World in 1682. Subsequently, he was a preacher in Jamaica and on the Bermuda Isles and from 1702 to 1703 at Cohanzy, West Jersey. In 1704, he accepted a call from the First Church of Boston to serve as pastor with Benjamin Wadsworth. From his installation in 1705 until his death, he remained in this position; in 1712, he received an Honorary Masters from Harvard. In 1715, Cotton Mather preached his funeral sermon, which was subsequently published in extended form as *Benedictus. Good Men described, and the glories of their goodness, declared. ... Whereto there is added, an instrument, which he wrote, when he drew near his End, and left as a Legacy to Survivors, relating some of his experiences* (1715). In that publication (p. 44), Mather mentions that Bridge "wrote many sweet Illustrations on the Sacred Scripture," of which "in our BIBLIA AMERICANA, we have preserved a specimen." This specimen seems to have been taken from a now lost manuscript that Bridge must have shared with Mather before his death.

4 The preceding sentence is a marginal insertion.



It is of unspeakable Comfort & Support to me, that the Temptations I ly under, (in the general Nature & Tendency) are the same, that my Blessed Lord suffered.

Mat. 6.4.

*Thine Alms in Secret, and thy Father, which seeth in Secret, shall Reward thee openly.*

I have sincerely regarded the Condition, & Necessities of those whose Wants I have releev'd, & not sought the Praise of Men therein; and I have found the Favour & Blessing of God attending & following such *Alms*; that *Bread cast upon the Waters*, hath been *after many Dayes returned*; while others have communicated unto my Necessities, there ha's been this additional Sweet unto the Mercy; *Thy God now remembers thy Kindness to such & such, for His Names Sake!* Which engages to Thankfulness.

Mat. 6.6.

*Pray to thy Father which is in Secret, & thy Father which seeth in Secret, shall Reward thee openly.*

As it hath pleased the gracious God, to dispose my Heart to, & assist me in *Secret Prayer*, so also to favour me with *Express Answers* thereon, while *others* have seen the Mercies Received, I have been withal sensible, that they were in *answer to such Requests*. Mercies have been so circumstanced, that it would be a wilful Shutting the Eyes against the clearest Evidence, to deny them to be the *Answer of Prayer*. I might as well deny, I ever received Kindness from any Relation or Friend, in answer to a Request. Withal, those *Prayers* have been so *Secret*, that none but that *God who searches the Heart*, could know them; and the *Returns* so great & seasonable, that I have seen, *This is the Hand & Bounty of a God & Father!*

Mat. 6.24.

*No Man can serve two Masters.*

I find, those professed Servants of Christ, who are eager after the World, forfeit much of their Reputation among those that are faithful; they are doubted, & mistrusted, if not wholly Rejected; and indeed, there is nothing more directly opposite unto the *Spirit of Christianity*, than a *worldly Spirit*.

Mat. 7.1.

*Judge not, that yee be not Judged.*

I have known some, who have been very rash in *Judging* of others, guilty of very scandalous Evils, giving just Occasion for Men to mete unto such, what they had measured unto others.

Mat. 7.11.

*If yee being evil, know how to give good Gifts unto Your Children – &c &c*

When I find the Yearnings of my Bowels, towards my Children under their Wants, I have a sensible Evidence, that *Prayer evangelically managed is successful*.

It is one great Part of the Business of my Life, to leave a clear & full Testimony, unto this glorious Truth.

Mat. 7.15.

*Inwardly they are Ravening Wolves.*

I have known some, seemingly Harmless & Innocent in their Conversations; but of such Principles as are Destructive, not only to the Souls of Men, but even to Humane Societies, and have been sensible of Danger from them.

Mat. 9.2.

*Jesus said unto the Sick of the Palsey, Son, Be of good Cheer, thy Sins be forgiven thee.*

When I have gone to Prayer, with my Heart overwhelmed with outward Distresses, to seek Relief, I have been comforted with the Sense of pardoning Love; and good Hopes thro' Grace of Supplies, which have not been Delayed. O the Riches of the Glory of Divine Love! |

[2r]

Mat. 9.16.

*No Man putteth a Peece of New Cloth, to an Old Garment.*

I have observed & magnified the glorious Wisdome & tender Mercies of my Lord, in dealing with me according to my Capacity, and as I was able to bear.

Mat. 10.19.

*It shall be given you in the self-same Hour, what yee shall speak.*

I have found, on special & emergent Occasions, a speedy, sudden, suitable Supply of Gifts and Grace, which hath not only been Matter of Comfort to me, but many others have observed, & been Refreshed thereby; That Christ may be All in All.

Mat. 10.30.

*The very Hairs of your Head are Numbred.*

Oh! The exact care the glorious God hath of His Servants! I have found, that those whom I have dreaded & feared the greatest Mischiefs from, have not hurt an Hair of my Head.

Mat. 10.41.

*Whosoever shall give to drink, unto one of these little Ones, a Cup of cold Water.*

As I have beg'd, that my gracious God would requite the Love, which hath been shown to me for His Names Sake, so I have observed a Blessing and Flourishing of some in their Souls, & their outward Condition, who have been most sincere, cordial, and liberal to me in my Distresses.

Mat. 11.18, 19.

*John came neither Eating nor Drinking.*

*The Son of Man came Eating & Drinking.*

The Wisdome of God is exceeding glorious, in ordering the various Tempers, Mein,<sup>5</sup> Deportment & Carriage of His Servants; thereby disposing them to their several Stations, Work & People with whom they have to do.

Mat. 11.30.

*My yoke is easy, & my burthen is light.*

O my Lord! I sett to my Seal unto this good Word. I have found Strength, Assistance, Comfort, & Encouragement in that Work I have been called unto, tho' exceeding Irksome and Contrary to Flesh & Blood. I have made my Burthens heavy, by sin, folly, forwardness, impatience & unbeleef. But I have found the most difficult Peeeces of Service the most comfortable.

Mat. 12.24.

*When the Pharisees heard it, they said, This fellow doth not cast out Devils, but by Belzebub the Prince of Devils.*

To what a Degree of Madness and Folly, does Prejudice drive Men, against clearest Light, in Matters wherein they are most nearly concerned! I have seen strange Effects thereof.

Mat. 13.3.

*Behold, A Sower went forth to sowe.*

How plain is the Influence of the *Divel*, on Men like the *High-Way Ground*! Of the *Flesh*, on Men like the *Stony Ground*! Of the *World*, on Men like the *Thorny Ground*, unto this Day! How little Fruit do I see brought forth unto God!

Mat. 14.26.

*They cried out for Fear.*

I have found, that some Dispensations of Divine Providence, which have appeared very Terrible and Affrighting, have in the Issue been for the Manifestation of the Glory of God, & for further Peace and Comfort. I therefore labour to encourage Faith and Hope, that the Issue of my Troubles will be to the Glory of God.

Mat. 15.33.

*His Disciples say to Him, whence should we have so much Bread in the Wilderness!*

It seems strange, that the Disciples who were with Christ, and were Eyewitnesses of so many Miracles, and had seen what Christ did when there was a greater Multitude to feed, & there were fewer Loaves, should now doubt of a Supply: I find the like Distemper of Mind in myself. I have had such Experiences of the Grace and Favour of my Lord, in such Remarkable Instances, that in the Time thereof I have said, *Surely, I will never doubt in the like Case again!* But when the next Extremity hath come, I have had such a Rebuke, *O Fool, and slow of Heart to beleve!* Dost thou not remember, how thou wast protected, defended,

<sup>5</sup> "Mein" here signifies "conduct" or "demeanor" (OED).

relieved, & supplied, in such Places, in such a Year, by such Means, beyond thy Thoughts: *Lord, pardon thy Servant.*

Mat. 16.25.

*Whosoever will save his Life shall lose it.*

I am satisfied from my own Experience, (as well as others) that those who are most ready to venture their Lives, & Interests, for Christs Service, do find marvellous Protection and Deliverance; when the *Fearful & Unbeleeving* do lose what they would *save*.

Mat. 17.4.

*It is good for us to be here.*

The Grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, the Love of God, & the Communion of the Holy Ghost, makes a Desolate Mountain, or an Howling Wilderness, Pleasant & Delightsome. *A Taster that the Lord is Gracious*, hath made me say, *It is Good to be here*; tho' under great & sore Troubles.

Mat. 17.27.

*Take up the Fish, that first cometh up, and when thou hast opened his Mouth, thou shalt find a Peece of Money.*

I observe, this Supply was only to serve | the *Present Exigence*; He could as well [2v] have caused the *Fish* to have brought a *Pearl*, or precious Stone, of a thousand times more Value than that Peece of Money. This I have often taken notice of, in the Providence of God towards me. A Thing of a small Value hath been handed unto me, by one unexpected Method and another: Yett it hath answered a *present Necessity*; At the next Pinch another Method ha's been taken for my Supply; And in greater Emergencies there hath been suitable Provision. I consider, It is not from any Defect in the Treasures of God, that I have not Abundance; for the Earth is the Lords, & the Fulness thereof. It is not from any Defect in His Love; for He hath not spared His own Son, but given Him up for us all. It is then that I may be trained up to a *Life of Faith*; that I may glorify Him by Beleeving; and that He may be All in All.

Thus much may serve as a *Specimen* of the Observations, with which my Friend ha's filled his Memorials. I proceed no further at present, because I propose only a short *Idea* of what I leave to be more thoroughly prosecuted by good Men, in their Essayes to compare the *Oracles of God* with their *own Experiences*.

Only I will take this Opportunity to add, That of all the *Hermeneutic Instruments*, with which we come to the *Illustration* of the *Holy Scriptures*, there is none comparable to that of *Holiness*, and *Experimental Piety*. I will again and again say; *There is none like it.*

The most pious *Franckius*, a famous Professor at *Hall* in the Lower Saxony, has written a *Manuductio ad Lectionem Scripturae Sacrae*.<sup>6</sup> In that Work, there occur several Passages this Way, which I have thought worthy to be Transcribed.

<sup>6</sup> The reference is to the London edition of August Hermann Francke's *Manuductio ad*

The *Preface* to that Work, written by another hand, observes very well;

*Sic demum Theologiæ Cultor verè evadet Eruditus, quandò scilicet propriæ corruptæque Voluntatis Ruditatè exutà, Mens ejus quasi politur, à pingui Naturæ crassitie ac Duritie [Matth. XIII.15. Joh. XII.40.] longo peccandi usu contractà eruitur, et instar lapidis à scabricie, inæqualibus aliisque prominentiis ità liberatur, lævigatur, et complanatur, (quæ est propria vacabuli, Erudire, significatio,) ut polite et congrue Ædificio spirituali, tanquam fini cui destinata est, adaptari possit.<sup>7</sup>*

It is another Observation in that *Preface*;

*Nisi hæc humanæ Mentis ἀρρωστία, quâ homo sibi relictus laborat; Divinâ Gratiâ curetur, ac in studioso Theologiæ sacratoris Sapientiæ studio præ aliis addictò, funditus sanetur, nunquam ad Beatam suscepti studii metam pertinget, nunquam melliflua Spiritûs S. Eloquia degustabit, nunquam ex Atrio Literæ et Historiæ, ad ipsum interius Spiritûs penetrale, sensumque Spiritualem sub Literarum involucris delitescentem, perveniet.<sup>8</sup>*

---

*lectionem scripturæ sacrae Augusti Hermannii Franckii, S. Th. Prof. Hallens: cum nova prefatione, de impedimentis studii theologici* (1706), which came with a recommendation from Pierre Allix and an anonymous preface (*Praefatio de impedimenti Studii Theologici* or “Preface about the Impediments of the Study of Theology”). This preface was actually penned by Anton Wilhelm Böhme, although Mather does not seem to have been aware of this fact. The first edition of Francke’s guide to biblical hermeneutics was published in 1693. See Francke, *Schriften zur biblischen Hermeneutik I*, ed. Erhard Peschke (2003), pp. 27–86. The Lutheran theologian Francke (1663–1727) was one of the founding fathers of a “churchly” German Pietism and the director of the famous Francke Foundation near Halle. Mather felt an elective affinity with Halle Pietism and was deeply impressed by the reforming activities of the Foundation. Between 1709 and the end of their lives, Mather and Francke also exchanged several letters and publications, including this collection of discourses on biblical hermeneutics. Anton Wilhelm Böhme (Boehm, 1673–1722) was a student of August Hermann Francke and served as the Lutheran Pietist court preacher in London and chaplain to Prince George. He translated important Pietist works into English and also was a correspondent of Mather’s. On Mather’s relation with Halle Pietism, see the essays by Ernst Benz (1951, 1961); Richard Lovelace’s *The American Pietism of Cotton Mather* (1979); and Stievernann (2020).

7 “In this manner a committed student of theology will finally become truly erudite, when the rough nature of his own corrupted will is lost and his mind refined, as it were, freed of the grossness and hardness of nature [Matt. 13:15; John 12:40] caused by the long habit of sinning; and, like a stone thus freed from unevenness and other rough protrusions, gets polished and smoothened, (which is the true meaning of the word *erudire*) in such a way that it [i. e. the mind] can be nicely and easily adapted to the spiritual edifice for which it is intended.” From Francke, *Manuductio, Praefatio*, unpaginated. Mather writes “inæqualibus” instead of “inæqualitatibus.”

8 “Unless the sickness of the human mind, from which man suffers if left to his own devices, is attended to by divine grace and is completely cured in a student of theology, who must be more devoted than anyone to learning the sacred wisdom, he will never reach the blessed goal of the studies he begun. Never will he truly taste the mellifluent eloquence of the Holy Spirit; never proceed from the vestibule of the letter and of history to the inner chamber [holy of holies] of the Spirit and the spiritual sense, which is hidden under the coverings of the letters.” From Francke, *Manuductio, Praefatio*, unpaginated. The word ἀρρωστία [arrostia] means “weakness, sickness.”

The Work mightily presses, a Labour after an *experimental Acquaintance*, with such Internal Tempers and Motions, as were in the *Minds* of the Holy Writers at the *Time* when they wrote the *Scriptures*. And, saies my dear Doctor *Franckius*; *Ego quidem habeo persuasissimum, quod Commentarius sine hoc Adminiculo (pio sacrorum motuum scrutinio) conscriptus, sit verè Commentarius, et Nomine et Omine talis; h.e. Commentis cerebri refertus.*<sup>9</sup>

What can be more to the Purpose, than those Words of *Austin*; [De Doct. Christ. L. 11. c. 7.] *Oculi in tantum vident (in Scripturis) in quantum Moriuntur huic Seculo: In quantum autem huic vivunt non vident.*<sup>10</sup>

Thus Dr. *Spener* in his Letters to the *Collegium Philo-biblicum* at *Leipsich*, presses the Students, That *Præmissis pijs precibus privatis, in ipsis fontibus sacris, longum contextum et Affectum Scriptorum sacrorum, vel de quibus sermo est, in textu longâ serie, devotâque attentione observent, eumque affectum assumere studeant. Quo pacto, cogitationibus omnibus collectis, atque in rem præsentem ductis, fidei et Imaginis Divinæ varias notas, momenta, circumstantias, cum voluptate maximâ, nec non fructu uberrimo notabunt.*<sup>11</sup>

*Luther* assures us; *Scio futurum, si quis exercitatus in hac re fuerit, plura per se inventurum, quam omnes omnium Commentarij tribuere possint.*<sup>12</sup>

| I am willing to pursue this Matter with a littler further Illustration.

[3r]

9 "I am deeply convinced that a commentary which is composed without these means (i. e. through the pious examination of the divine affections) really is just a commentary – is such both by name and as a hint [of what it actually is], i. e. filled with inventions of the mind." Francke, *Manuductio*, p. 115.

10 "The eyes see in the Scriptures just so far as they die to this world; and so far as they live to it they see not." From Francke, *Manuductio*, p. 73, a modified citation from Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana libri quatuor*, 2.7, p. 11 [PL 34. 40; CSEL 80]; transl. adapted from *NPNFii*.

11 "[that] they, after beginning with pious and personal prayers, observe with devout attention in those sacred sources the wider context and disposition of the sacred writers (or of those under discussion) in a text within its longer sequence, and make an effort to assume that disposition. Having focused all their thoughts and directed them at the current matter, they will thus note with greatest pleasure and not without rich gain the various aspects, meanings, and circumstances of the divine faith and image." From Francke, *Manuductio*, p. 110, Mather refers to a text by the founding father of Lutheran Pietism, Philipp Jacob Spener (1635–1705), posthumously printed in *Consilia Theologica Latina; Opus Posthumum, Pars Tertia* (1709), p. 700. The text that Francke cites is an advisory letter to the *Collegium philobiblicum*, a pious society for biblical studies that Francke co-founded with Paul Anton (1661–1730) at the University of Leipzig in 1686. Mather references the same passage from Spener in the chapter on "Reading the Sacred Scriptures" (§ 14) in his handbook for candidates for the ministry *Manuductio ad Ministerium* (1726), p. 81.

12 "I know that a person, if he has gained practice in this business, can thereafter find more by himself than all commentaries by all [authors] can provide." From Francke, *Manuductio*, p. 111, a citation from Martin Luther's commentaries on the Psalms at Ps. 1, in *WA, Schriften*, 5.2, *Psalmenvorlesung* 1519/21 (Ps. 1–22), p. 47.

I will exemplify certain Flights of *Experimental Piety*, made an hundred Years ago, by *Christopher Besoldus*, in his, *Axiomata Philosophiæ Christianæ*; A Work, whereof almost every Line, is worth an Ingott of Gold.<sup>13</sup>

If Ingenious & Religious Men would gett into this *Way of Thinking*, when they Read the Divine Oracles, and come unto them armed with a Disposition for such Thoughts as these, we should soon see such Admonitions of Piety, laid up for us in these lively Oracles, as the World is hitherto little aware of.

One of *Besoldus's* Axioms, is this.

*Eques Christianus, etiam adversus occulta et spiritualia Crimina, contraque Cordis pravitates pugnare tenetur; quæ devictis carnalibus et apertioribus Delictis, Vim suam demum exercere solent: cum nempe per septem redeuntes deteriores Spiritus, commoventur. Id quod non intelligunt Hypocritæ atque Pharisei; proinde etiam Publicani sæpius præ illis perveniunt ad Salutem. Per Revertentes ergo illos Diabolos, intellige; semet ipsum quærere, Impatentiam, Temeritatem, inflatam Scientiam Sapientiæ humanæ, in suis operibus et divinis Donis Fiduciam habere; Zelum carnalem, præcox Judicium, Superbiam spiritualem, Nauseam mysteriorum Divinorum, Calumniam, Curiositatem in rebus, quæ ad nos non pertinent, Curam et servitium Ventris, in Hominibus ponere Spem, Vindictam, Ambitionem.*<sup>14</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Mather takes the following citations from the work of the German jurist, classical scholar, theologian, and writer Christoph Besold (Christopher Besoldus, 1577–1638), *Axiomata Philosophiæ Christianæ* (2 vols., [1616] 1626–1628). Often considered one of the most important jurists of his time besides Grotius, Besold was born and educated in Protestant Tübingen, Württemberg, and received a doctor of law from that university in 1598. In 1600, he became Professor Pandectarum at Tübingen. Besold had many prominent friends and pupils, including Johannes Kepler, Tobias Heß, and Johannes Valentinus Andreae. Together with the latter two, he belonged to a circle of mystical-pietistic, theosophic, and millenarian thinkers, whose writings contributed to the development of Rosicrucianism. In 1635, Besold publicly converted to Catholicism and subsequently accepted the chair of Roman Law at the University of Ingoldstadt. In his juristic publications, he, among other things, developed an influential theory of sovereignty and argued that the secularization of monasteries by the Protestant princes had been illegal because they had the status of the immediate dependency on the Empire (*Reichsunmittelbarkeit*). This implied the obligation of the Protestant princes of restoring the confiscated religious property (*NDB*).

<sup>14</sup> “The Christian knight is also called upon to fight against the secret and spiritual corruptions of the heart; which usually exert their power after the carnal and more obvious wrongs have been overcome; all the while they are moved, of course, by the seven recurring, lower spirits. It is this that the hypocrites and Pharisees do not understand; for this reason, even the publicans often obtain salvation before them. By the recurring [spirits] you should understand these demons: looking only after yourself; impatience, temerity, the puffed-up knowledge of human wisdom, trusting in one’s own works and divine gifts, carnal zeal, a rash judgment, spiritual pride, revulsion at the divine mysteries, calumny, curiosity about those things that do not concern us, a slavish care for the belly, putting one’s hope in human beings, vengefulness, ambitiousness.” From Besold, *Axiomata*, vol. 1, ax. 106, p. 47. This passage reflects Besold’s interest in Böhman theosophy: According to theosophical teaching, the seven eternal or recurring spirits (reflected in the seven planets) represent the principles informing creation and, at the same time, the qualities mixed up in all aspects of nature. As principles of God’s

Another of his Axioms.

*Christus à Captivitate, usque dum fuit crucifixus, pauca locutus fuit; et quæ dicebat, brevissimæ Sententiæ fuerunt: ut nos doceret, in tribulationibus mortisque cruciatibus, patientiâ potiùs quàm multiloquenti ornatâque conquestione utendum esse.*<sup>15</sup>

Another of his Axioms.

*Absentia pueri, Ihesu, consolatur in Tentatione Pusillanimitatis, Diffidentiae, et Mæroris constitutos. Si in tanto dolore Matrem reliquit Christus; quid mirum, si hoc nobis fiat?*<sup>16</sup>

Another.

*Septimus Dies, et Petitio septima in Dominicâ Oratione, denotant Sabbathismum, veramque nostri abnegationem. Tum est homo liberatus ab omni Malo. Ereptus enim est sibi ipsi: et nos sumus Malum, à quo petimus liberari.*<sup>17</sup>

*Pulcherrimè poeta Hispanus.*

*Defienda me Dios di mi.*<sup>18</sup>

Another. *Christus jacuit in medio Bestiarum, et laudatur ab Angelis spiritibus; docens, ubi ab unâ parte, (Terrâ) summa est Humilitas; ab alterâ (cælo) summam esse sublimitatem. Ità hic semper duo contraria uniuntur.*<sup>19</sup>

---

creation, the seven spirits are not maleficent per se. But in man's postlapsarian natural condition, they represent negative qualities and influences, such as the wrathful, fiery quality of Mars or the lustful, luxurious quality of Venus, which must be overcome in the process of spiritual perfection. On this, see Versluis, *Wisdom's Children*, pp. 224–25.

15 “Christ said little after being taken captive and until his crucifixion; and what he spoke were short sentences: thus he taught us that in tribulations and agonies one ought to exercise patience rather than lament with many and ornate words.” From Besold, *Axiomata*, vol. 1, ax. 44, p. 114.

16 “The absence of the boy Jesus offers consolation to those who are caught in the temptation of pusillanimity, distrust, and grief. If Christ left his mother in such great pain, is it any wonder if this should happen to us?” From Besold, *Axiomata*, vol. 1, ax. 47, p. 114.

17 “The seventh day and the seventh petition in the Lord's Prayer signify the observance of the Sabbath and the true abnegation of ourselves. Then man is delivered from all evil. Then he is rescued from himself. And we are the evil from which we strive to be rescued.” From Besold, *Axiomata*, vol. 1, ax. 76, pp. 119–20.

18 “Oh most beautiful, the Spanish poet: Defend me God, from me.” From Besold, *Axiomata*, vol. 1, ax. 76, p. 120. Here Besold cites some lines of devotional poetry in Spanish, which seem to come from the work of the German jurist and literary author, Philipp Camerarius (1537–1624), *Operæ Horarum Subcisivarum, Sive Meditationes Historicae* ([1591] 1609), p. 93. The Spanish poem does not appear in the first edition of the *Axiomata* from 1616, indicating Mather likely used the later edition.

19 “Christ lay amid the wild beasts and is praised by the angelic spirits: Whenever he is teaching from one side (from the earth) it is the deepest humility; whenever he is teaching from the other side (from heaven) it shall be the highest sublimity. In this way two opposites are always united here.” From Besold, *Axiomata*, vol. 1, ax. 20, p. 136. Reference is made to Jesus's temptation in the wilderness. See Mark 1:13: “And he was there in the wilderness forty days, tempted of Satan; and was with the wild beasts; and the angels ministered unto him.”



Another.

*Christus triginta Annis tacuit, qui Tribus tantum annis predicavit. Diu Silentio est discendum; quod postea in Publico sit docendum.*<sup>20</sup>

Another.

*Post sacrum Baptismatis Mystrium, et post gloriosum Patris Testimonium, tentatus est Iesus per Diabolum: ut ostenderetur, Deum, cum Servis suis singularem exhibet Gratiam, id non facere, ut eos reddat securos: sed ad majores ut labores efficiat, fortes et aptos.*<sup>21</sup>

Another.

*Ex eo quod Summi artifices, plerunque magnis Moraliibus Vitiis sunt inquinati: discite fructus Scientiae naturalis boni et mali.*<sup>22</sup>

Another.

*In qua aestimatione Divitiae sint apud Deum, ex eo apparet; quod is eas impiis dat plerunque: in quorum sinum eas mittuntur, non secus ac si in Cloacam caderet Marsupium Argenti Plenum. Argentum suum Salvator noster Iude commisit administrandum; ceteros Apostolos non minus illo dilexit.*<sup>23</sup>

Another.

*Qui Deum non amant, nisi propter utilitatem, ij magis se quam Deum amant. Magna ergo bonitas est, si Deus nostram tolerat imbecillitatem: sed nos studere debemus altius ascendere, et amare Deum, propter semeptisum. Hoc vocat David Amare Dei nomen.*<sup>24</sup>

Another.

*Christi Opera exteriora, initium habent à Jejunio: Quia primum Bellum Christianorum est, contra Gula Peccatum. Quam qui vincere non contendit, frustra cum alijs confligit.*<sup>25</sup>

<sup>20</sup> "Christ was silent for thirty years; he, who preached for only three years. One has to learn in silence for a long time what one ought to teach in public later on." From Besold, *Axiomata*, vol. 1, ax. 48, p. 142.

<sup>21</sup> "After the holy mystery of baptism and the glorious testimony of the Father, Jesus was tempted by the devil. This was to show that God, even if He demonstrates extraordinary grace to His servants, does not do so to make them careless but to make them strong and well-equipped for even greater challenges." From Besold, *Axiomata*, vol. 1, ax. 49, p. 142.

<sup>22</sup> "From the fact that the greatest masters were frequently sullied by enormous moral vices learn the fruits of the good and the bad natural philosophy." From Besold, *Axiomata*, vol. 1, ax. 49, p. 146. Besold here refers to Thomas à Kempis's (c. 1380–1471) devotional classic, *De Imitatione Christi*, lib. 1, cap. 1, ac. 2.

<sup>23</sup> "How God estimates riches is apparent from the fact that for the most part he gives them to the impious; they are dropped into their lap just as if a purse full of money would fall into the cloaca. Our Savior left his money to Judas for safekeeping; he did not love the other Apostles less than him." From Besold, *Axiomata*, vol. 1, ax. 10, p. 149.

<sup>24</sup> "Those who do not love God unless it serves their purposes, love themselves more than God. It is therefore a great mercy if God tolerates our weakness. We have to strive, however, to climb higher than that and love God for His own sake. This David asks us to do: to love the name of God." From Besold, *Axiomata*, vol. 1, ax. 24, p. 177. Reference is made to Ps. 5:11 and Ps. 69:36.

<sup>25</sup> "The exterior works of Christ all start with fasting; for the first war of Christians is that

Another.

*Iustitia Dei per Evangelium revelatur, ex Fide in Fidem, hoc est, ex Fide quæ quotidie accipit incrementum.*<sup>26</sup>

| Another.

[3v]

*Mundus, Infernus est Dæmonum Incarnatorum. Ideoque electi tanquam purgamenta hujus Mundi fuerunt semper.* 1. Cor. 4.13.<sup>27</sup>

Another.

*Fideles vocantur Sal Terræ, quia eorum exigua est Portio; quemadmodum Sal respectu Terræ; et quia à Corruptione totalique Destructione conservant Mundum.*<sup>28</sup>

Another.

*Mundus constat ex Epicureis et Phariseis: sed Christum rident illi, hi persequuntur eundem, et ita magis nocent Ecclesiæ veræ. Herodes risit Christum; Sacerdotes coegerunt Pilatum, ut eum affigeret Cruci.*<sup>29</sup>

If one ascend higher into Antiquity, & converse with the Devotionary Flights, of the more *Ancient Pietism*, one shall ever now & then find a surprising *Illustration*, drop unawares from the Pens of the Devout Writers; upon whose Hearts, the *Spirit* that Indicted our Sacred Scriptures, was carrying on His Operations. *Idiota* for one. Who would expect any thing, but what is very *simple*, from *Idiota* & Contemplations, *De Amore Divino*?<sup>30</sup> But what a Neat Illustration on *loving of God with all the Soul*, is that of his? *Qui diligit totâ Animâ, non timet mortem*. As our Dying Saviour loved us; *Quia maluisti Animam tuam separari à corpore, quam Animas nostras separari à Te*.<sup>31</sup> How agreeable that Illustration

---

against the sin of gluttony. Whoever does not strive to overcome that sin fights in vain against all others." From Besold, *Axiomata*, vol. 1, ax. 2, p. 199.

26 "The righteousness of God is revealed by the gospel, from faith to [or for] faith, that is, from a faith that has a daily increase." From Besold, *Axiomata*, vol. 1, ax. 14, p. 205.

27 "The world is a hell of incarnate demons. And the elect, therefore, have always been something like the offscourings of this world." From Besold, *Axiomata*, vol. 1, ax. 49, p. 214.

28 "The faithful are called the salt of the earth, because their portion is small, just as [the proportion of] salt in relation to the earth; and because they keep the world from total corruption and destruction." From Besold, *Axiomata*, vol. 1, ax. 62, pp. 216–17.

29 "The world consists of Epicureans and Pharisees. While the first ridicule Christ, the latter persecute him and do even more damage to the true Church. Herod ridiculed Christ; the priests forced Pilate to nail Him to the cross." From Besold, *Axiomata*, vol. 1, ax. 63, p. 217.

30 Mather refers to a late-medieval devotional work printed in Paris in 1519 as *Contemplationes Idiotarum de amore diuino* and in many editions and translations thereafter. The pseudonym "idiotarum" alludes to the programmatic simplicity of the writer whose identity was unknown for a long time. In the first *Bibliotheca patrum*, the popular *Contemplationes* were still published under "Idiota," along with other works of the same author. In 1654, Father Theophilus Raynaud, S.J. (1584–1663) suggested that the author had been Raymundus Jordanus, a French Augustinian friar who lived in the last third of the fourteenth century. Under Raynaud's editorship, a complete edition of the works of *Idiota* was published in Paris under the name of Raymundus Jordanus (CE).

31 "Who loves with all the soul does not fear death"; "As you rather had your soul separated from the body than to have our souls separated from you." From *Contemplationes*, cap. 12, p. 14.

upon the *Gold tried in the Fire? Aurum Ignitum, per quod intelligitur Amor; Quia sicut Aurum excedit omnia alia Metalla, sic Dilectio omnes alias virtutes. Debet autem hoc Aurum esse Ignitum Amore tuo, et summà inflammatum.*<sup>32</sup> So, upon the *Two Commandments*, being but one; *Dilectio Dei et proximi; licet duo sint Præcepta, tamen unus est Amor; quia alius Amor non est quiquis diligit proximum, et quo diligit Te; alioqui non esset propter te.*<sup>33</sup>

---

32 “Fiery gold by which is understood love; for as gold is more precious than all other metals so does love surpass all other virtues. It is necessary, however, that this gold be enkindled by your love and heated up to the highest degree.” From *Contemplationes*, cap. 20, pp. 21–22.

33 “The love of God and the love of our neighbor; and although there are two commandments, the love is but one; because it is no other love whichever loves our neighbor and [that love] which loves you; otherwise it could not be for you.” From *Contemplationes*, cap. 29, p. 30.

A Remark,  
upon the famous Philosophers, their Eye towards *Christianity*.<sup>1</sup>

The *Stoicks* were they, who most of all improved *Morality*. But their Doctrine of *Inevitable Fate* (as tis observed by the learned *Jenkins*) had such a perpetual Curb upon them, as hardly left them the Liberty to think of changing their Opinions; one of which was, *That there is nothing Immaterial*. This agreed as little with *Christianity*, as the *Pride*, which was in the very Composition of a Stoick. *Arrian* makes it evident, that neither the *Jewish*, nor the *Christian* Religion, was unknown unto *Epictetus*.<sup>2</sup> In the Discourses he ha's præserv'd of *Epictetus*, we find him using sometimes the very same Words, that are in the Scriptures. This *Epictetus*, was a great Admirer of *Diogenes* the *Cynic*, and (imitating his Haughtiness) of himself. He magnified himself as one sent by God, to be an Exemple unto the World. And at last, he made this Conclusion; *who, when he sees me, does not think, he sees his King & his Master*!<sup>3</sup> There was little hope, that such a Man would embrace a Religion, which enjoins, Phil. 2.3. *That in Lowliness of Mind, each esteem others better than themselves*. Pass to *Seneca*. Sometimes he writes, as if he were transcribing the Scriptures. But at other times, oh! his Vanity! How strangely conceited of himself! He assures *Lucilius*, that he could promise him, as much as *Epicurus* had done his Friend; That if he desired Glory, his Letters would make him more famous, than all those things which he esteemed, or for which he was esteemed; For he should be Famous in future Times, and perpetuate the Fame of whomsoever he pleased.<sup>4</sup> *Seneca* indeed exposed the *Heathen* Worship; and express'd himself with Bitterness against the *Jews*; but being unable to find any thing to Blame, in the Christian Religion, and

<sup>1</sup> The following section is based on Robert Jenkin, *The Reasonableness and Certainty of the Christian Religion*, vol. 2, ch. 32 ("Of the Causes why the Jews and Gentiles rejected Christ, notwithstanding all the Miracles wrought by Him and his Apostles"), pp. 501–03.

<sup>2</sup> From Jenkin, a reference to the Greek historian, military commander, and philosopher Arrian of Nicomedia (c. 86/89–c. after 146/160 CE), who preserved in writing the lectures of his teacher, the famous Greek Stoic philosopher Epictetus (c. 55–135 CE). Extant are four books of Epictetus's *Discourses* (plus various fragments) and the *Enchiridion*. From early on, some interpreters suggested that Epictetus was influenced by the writings of the NT, and there are passages that have some similarities with NT passages. Jenkin specifically refers to the *Discourses*, 3.22.54–58; cfl. *LCL* 218, pp. 150–51. Most modern scholars, however, see these linguistic resemblances as more or less incidental. Epictetus certainly knew about the new religion of Christianity (he sometimes calls them Jews, sometimes Galileans, see 2.9.19 and 4.7.6) but had little but contempt for it. The chapter referenced by Jenkin ("On the Calling of a Cynic") also contains the praise of Diogenes.

<sup>3</sup> From Jenkin, a reference to Epictetus, *Discourses*, 3.22.49; transl.: *LCL* 218, p. 147: "Who, when he lays eyes upon me, does not feel that he is seeing his king and his master?"

<sup>4</sup> From Jenkin, a reference to Seneca, *Epistles*, 21 ("On the Renown Which My Writings Will Bring You"); cf. *LCL* 75, pp. 140–48.

yett not daring to commend it, for fear of giving Offence to the *Pagans*, he made no mention of it at all. After all, there is nothing harder to be accounted for, than the Notions and Actions of Men: It is a hard, (as *Jenkins* proceeds,) to give an Account, how *Seneca* and *Plutarch* should allow of the Murdering of poor Infants, (which they certainly did,) as why they were not *Christians*. It seems most of all strange, That the excellent Emperor M. *Antoninus*, who had so much of the *Christian Morality*; should not also be of the *Christian Faith*; especially, if he owned, that a Signal Miracle was by the Prayers of the Christians obtained, for the Deliverance of himself, & his Army; as tis declared by *Tertullian*, who could not but know the Truth of the Matter.<sup>5</sup> But M. *Antoninus* was very superstitious in all his Heathen Worship; and extremely addicted unto the *Sophists* of his Time.<sup>6</sup> He not only suffered, but even Humoured, their Insolence, & had them always with him. From *them*, & not from the *Scripture*, he had the *Philosophy*, which agrees with *Christianity*. He owns this; and if he had read the *Scripture*, he would never have derided the Fortitude of the Christian Martyrs as *Obstinacy*. [L.11. §. 3.]<sup>7</sup> But the *Sophists*, who made it their Business to oppose the Gospel, knew, they could not better secure him to themselves, than by teaching him the Morals of *Christianity*; without letting him know where it was most countenanced.

And Popularity was his Topping Principle. Indeed, about this famous Moralist *Antoninus*, there are two Remarks to be made. One is this; That even *Julius Capitolinus*, who was himself also a Pagan, makes all the Vertue of *Antoninus* to be but a Counterfeit; *Quòd fictus fuisset, nec tam simplex quam videretur*.<sup>8</sup> Another is this; The Principles of *Antoninus* were such, as permitted him to Deify *Lucius Verus* and *Faustina*.<sup>9</sup> Now, as our *Jenkins* notes upon this; The Man who Deified Notorious Wickedness, because it had been clothed in Purple, & shined in Imperial Robes, could by no Means beleieve in a crucified Saviour.<sup>10</sup>

5 From Jenkin, a reference to Tertullian, *Apologeticus*, cap. 5 [PL 1. 295–96; CSEL 69; CCSL 1].

6 From Jenkin, a reference to the work of the Greek sophist Flavius Philostratus the Athenian (c. 170–c. 245 CE), *Lives of the Sophists*, where in various places Aurelius's interest in the sophist philosophers Adrian of Tyre, Aristeides of Mysia, Herodes Atticus, and Hermogenes of Tarsus are mentioned.

7 From Jenkin, a reference to the famous work of the Roman emperor (161–180) and Stoic philosopher, Marcus Aurelius (121–180 CE), *Meditations*, 11.3; cf. LCL 58, pp. 294–95.

8 “that he was insincere and not as guileless as he seemed.” This citation from the life of Marcus Aurelius (ascribed to Iulius Capitolinus) in the *Historia Augusta*, 4.29.7 (transl.: LCL 139, pp. 204–05), does not seem to come from Jenkin but appears to be an insertion from another source.

9 From Jenkin, another reference to the *Historia Augusta*, 4.15.5; transl.: LCL 139, pp. 170–71.

10 Jenkin, *The Reasonableness*, p. 503.

Some Remarks, relating to the *Inspiration*, and the  
*Obsignation*, of the CANON.

[4r]

It is well observed, by the learned and Acute *Robert Jenkins*;<sup>11</sup> That the Inspiration which led the Writers of the Scriptures, did not exclude such *Humane Means*, as Information in *Matters of Fact*, from their *own Senses*, or from the *Testimony* of others; and in *Matters of Discourse and Reason*, to argue from their own Observations. But the Holy Spirit infallibly guided them in the Use of these Means. Nor did this Inspiration of the Prophets, exclude their Use of their *own Words*, and of the *Style* that was most natural to them.<sup>12</sup> And as they were permitted the Use of these, thus they were permitted, yea, Directed sometimes to Use the Words of others. There is likewise a *Repetition* sometimes of some things, to render the Revelation, the more Evident and Remarkable. Moreover, when some things are sett down indefinitely, or without any *positive Determination*, this is no Proof of their not being written by Divine *Inspiration*; it only proves, that the things were of such a Nature, there was no Need of their being *precisely determined*; as when *John* saies, *They were not far from the Land, but as it were two hundred Cubits*.<sup>13</sup> The *Romans* when they solemnly *swore*, what they were most sure of, yett would use the Term, *Arbitror*;<sup>14</sup> And when the *Grecians* would utter what they could assert in the most peremptory manner imaginable, they only said, *Νομίζω*.<sup>15</sup> But then, in things which only fell under *Humane Prudence*, the Holy Spirit seems not immediately to have Dictated unto the Men of God; but only to have used a *Directive* or *Conductive* Power upon them; to supply them with suitable Apprehensions, & keep them in the Use of their own Rational Judgment, within the Bounds of Infallible Truth, & of Expediency for the present Occasions. There is no Necessity of saying, That *Paul* sent for his *Cloak* and *Parchments*, by the Inspiration of the Holy Spirit; or that he had an Immediate Command for every *Salutation*, at the End of his Epistles. His Doctrine was Inspired by the Holy Spirit; and the Holy Spirit, who might suffer him to putt it into his own

11 The following section is derived from Jenkin, *The Reasonableness*, vol. 2, ch. 2 ("Of Inspiration"), pp. 32–40.

12 Jenkin, *The Reasonableness*, p. 32.

13 See John 21:8.

14 "I think, I guess." From Jenkin, *The Reasonableness*, p. 33, who cites as an example of this usage in Cicero, *Pro M. Fonteio Oratio*, 13.29; cf. *LCL* 252, pp. 334–35.

15 Among other things, νομίζω [nomizo], means: "I think, I guess, I believe." From Jenkin, *The Reasonableness*, p. 33, who, as an example for that usage, cites from the scholia (explanatory notes) on Demosthenes's *Orations* found in some of the medieval manuscripts of that author. Some of these commentaries are attributed to an otherwise unknown Ulpian, who is here cited in Demosthenes, *Olynthiac*, p. 1. See the early-modern edition *Demosthenis et Aeschinis principum Graeciae oratorum Opera* (1604).

Words, yett never suffered him to express it otherwise, than in such a Manner as was agreeable to *His* Intention. But in the Indifferent Matters, which a present Occasion made needful to be written of, he had so far the Guidance of the Holy Spirit, as præserved him from writing any thing, but what was expedient in the present Circumstances; & might be serviceable to him, in the Propagation of the Gospel. Yea, Some Indifferent Matters, might become so Necessary, as to Time, and Place, and Persons, as to be worthy of a Divine *Inspiration* for them. Thus, the Advice, *To use a Little Wine*,<sup>16</sup> might be requisite for to remain on Record in the Scriptures; to confute the Superstition of some, who Abstained from lawful Things, & *Wine* particularly, out of an Opinion of Holiness in doing so. We may add; That the *Infallible Spirit*, which Inspired the sacred Writers, was not Permanent & Habitual; or continually Residing in them; nor given for all Purposes and Occasions. *Paul* acquaints us in some things he had *not Received of the Lord* what he writes. In a Matter of great Importance to the whole Church, the Apostles mett together in *Council*, to decide the Controversy; both because according to our Saviours Promise to them, they might expect a more abundant Effusion of the Holy Spirit upon them, when they were for that End *Assembled in His Name*; and because the thing debated of, depended on a *Matter of Fact*; namely That the *Holy Spirit* was given to the *Gentiles*: A Meeting of many was requisite; that it might be fully *Testified*. There were those also, who had refused to submitt unto the Authority of *Paul*, & of *Barnabas*. But yett, finally; There being many particular Gifts; the Gift of *Wisdome*, & of *Knowledge*; of *Tongues*, and of *Interpretation of Tongues*, & of *Discerning of Spirits*; and so many Distinct *Offices*, as *Prophets*, and *Apostles*, and *Evangelists*, and *Pastors* and *Teachers*; we cannot conceive, how those *Gifts*, and those *Offices*, could be better employ'd, than in preserving that *Book* from Error, which was to be the *Standard of Truth* for all Ages; or how, if that Book had not been secured from Error by them, these *Gifts*, and these *Offices*, had answered the End of their Appointment.<sup>17</sup>

Tho' the Authority of some certain Books, was for a while quæstioned by a few *private Men*, yett none of those Books which now stand in our *Canon*,<sup>18</sup> were ever Rejected, by any *Council* of the Church; albeit, such were frequently called in the First Ages of Christianity, & had this very thing under consideration. *Tertullian*, even after his *Montanizing*,<sup>19</sup> rejected the Authority of *Hermas's Pastor*, as not being received into the *Canon* of the Scripture; but saies, It was reckoned among the *Apocryphal Books*, by | all the *Councils* of his

[4v]

<sup>16</sup> See 1 Tim. 5:23.

<sup>17</sup> On the gifts of the Spirit, see 1 Cor. 12, Rom. 12, and Eph. 4.

<sup>18</sup> The following section is derived from Jenkin, *The Reasonableness*, vol. 2, ch. 4 ("Of the Canon of the Holy Scriptures"), pp. 113–15.

<sup>19</sup> This alludes to Tertullian's conversion to Montanism sometime before 210. Montanism was a sectarian movement founded by the second-century Phrygian prophet Montanus that spread from Asia Minor to Africa.

Adversaries; who were now, the Orthodox.<sup>20</sup> Tis evident, that in *Tertullians* Time, diverse *Councils* had passed their Censure on the *Apocryphal Books*, and that the *Canon* of the Scripture had been fixed long before. The Time wherein some of these *Councils* were held, must be, while *Polycarp*, a Disciple of *John* the Apostle, was yett living; whose Martyrdome was not until the Year CXLVII. At least they must be held in the Time of *Irenæus*, who conversed with *Polycarp*, and was contemporary with *Tertullian*.<sup>21</sup> Thus the *Canon* of the Scripture, was vouched by those, who received it from *John* the Apostle; and *Councils* were called (which *Tertullian* tells us, were very numerous & frequent in *Greece*,<sup>22</sup>) to give Testimony unto the Genuine Canon, and censure the Books that were *Apocryphal*. It is manifest, that the *Canon* of the Scripture, had been settled before the Council of *Laodicea*; which appoints that no Books which are *extrà Canonem* (none but *Canonical*,) should be Read in the Christian Assemblies, and then subjoins the Titles of the *Canonical Books*.<sup>23</sup> This Denomination they had, as we are informed by *Zonaras* and *Balsamon*,<sup>24</sup> because they were inserted into, *The Apostles Canons*; and others were called, *Uncanonical*.<sup>25</sup> Some have thought that those which go under the Name of, *The Apostles Canons*, are the *Canons*

20 From Jenkin, Mather refers to Tertullian, *De pudicitia*, cap. 10 [PL 1. 999–1001; SC 394–95]. On *The Shepherd of Hermas*, see the annotations on Jam. 1:6.

21 From Jenkin, Mather refers to Irenæus, *Adversus haereses*, 3.3.4, where it is said that in his youth Irenæus personally met Polycarp (c. 70–156 or 167 CE), who had conversed with many who had known Christ and was appointed Bishop of Smyrna by the Apostle John shortly before his death, thus serving as a guarantor of the apostolic tradition (RGG).

22 From Jenkin, a reference to Tertullian, *De jejuniis*, cap. 13 [PL 2. 971–72].

23 From Jenkin, reference is made to the canons of the Council of Laodicea, a regional synod for early Christian clerics from Asia minor that assembled around 363 in Laodicea, Phrygia Pacatiana. Canon 59 reads: “No psalms composed by private individuals nor any uncanonical books may be read in the church, but only the Canonical Books of the Old and New Testaments” (transl.: *NPNF* 14). Canon 60 lists the canonical books, with the NT containing 26 books, thus omitting the Book of Revelation. The authenticity of canon 60 is doubtful, however, (also because it is missing from the Greek manuscripts) and might be a later insertion. Yet, around 350 CE, Cyril of Jerusalem already wrote up a list matching that of canon 60. See his *Catecheses*, 4.33–37 [PG 33. 494–99]. And in 367, Athanasius of Alexandria (c. 296–373) wrote his Thirty-Ninth Festal Epistle, which also contains a list of the canonical books of the Old and New Testaments. His NT comprises 27 books: the four Gospels, Acts, the seven Catholic Epistles, the Pauline Epistles (including Hebrews), and Revelation. See Bruce Metzger, *The Canon of the New Testament: Its Origin, Development, and Significance* (1997), p. 210.

24 From Jenkin, reference is made to Joannes Zonaras, a twelfth-century Byzantine historian and theologian who lived in Constantinople. Besides his important historical work, he also composed a short treatise on the Apostolic Canons, *Canon in SS. Deiparam* [PG 135. 413–21]. Reference is also made to Theodoros Balsamon (b. c. 1130–1140, d. after 1195), a Byzantine jurist and Patriarch of Antiochia. He was the author of one of the most important works on Orthodox canon law (the *Scholia*) and compiled a collection of ecclesiastical constitutions (*Syntagma*).

25 See Appendix A.



of *Councils*, assembled before the Council of Nice;<sup>26</sup> inasmuch as that Council refers unto them; And that they are styled, *Apostolical*, because they were made by *Apostolical Men*, or such as lived next unto the *Apostles* times. It is thought by some, that they were collected into one Body, by *Clemens Alexandrinus*. Now, that particular *Canon*, which contains the *Canon of the Scripture*, the Council of *Laodicea* gives a sufficient Testimony unto it, so far as it concerns the *Books of the New Testament*; and it agrees very well with what we observed out of *Tertullian*.<sup>27</sup>

No Book is omitted, but that of *The Revelation*.<sup>28</sup> The Omission of this proceeded from the abstruse Mysteries contained in it; which rendred it less edifying to be publickly Read in the Churches. But, *The Revelation*, was long before the Council of *Laodicea*, acknowledged Genuine, by *Justin Martyr*, by *Ireneus*, (both

26 The Apostolic Constitutions or Constitutions of the Holy Apostles are a collection of eight treatises or books offering rules on moral conduct, liturgy, and church organization. Bk. 8, ch. 47 contains the Canons of the Apostles, comprising 85 canons. These canons regulate congregational life, the sacraments, and the election and duties of church officers, but also feature a list of biblical books to be considered “canonical”: “Let the following books be esteemed venerable and holy by you, both of the clergy and laity. Of the Old Covenant: the five books of Moses – Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy; one of Joshua the son of Nun, one of the Judges, one of Ruth, four of the Kings, two of the Chronicles, two of Ezra, one of Esther, one of Judith, three of the Maccabees, one of Job, one hundred and fifty psalms; three books of Solomon – Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs; sixteen prophets. And besides these, take care that your young persons learn the Wisdom of the very learned Sirach. But our sacred books, that is, those of the New Covenant, are these: the four Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John; the fourteen Epistles of Paul; two Epistles of Peter, three of John, one of James, one of Jude; two Epistles of Clement; and the Constitutions dedicated to you the bishops by me Clement, in eight books; which it is not fit to publish before all, because of the mysteries contained in them; and the Acts of us the Apostles” (transl.: *ANF* 7). Traditionally, the canons had been ascribed to the Twelve Apostles and thought to have been gathered by Pope Clement I (d. 99). Jenkin, however, places their collection around the end of the second or the beginning of the third century by ascribing it to Clement of Alexandria, who died around 215. For this argument, he draws on the work of the Anglican orientalist and Bishop of St. Asaph, William Beveridge (1637–1708), *Synodikon, sive Pandectae canonum ss. Apostolorum et conciliorum ab ecclesia graeca receptorum* (1672); and the work of the Anglican divine patristic scholar, William Cave (1637–1713), *Scriptorum ecclesiasticorum historia litteraria a Christo nato usque ad saeculum XIV* (1688), vol. 1, p. 19. Mather might have chosen to obscure the names of these scholars because they belonged to the party of High Church-Anglicans, who sought to demonstrate that the Church of England in its present form and relation to the state stood in direct continuity with the primitive Apostolic Church. Cave made this argument in his work *Primitive Christianity* (1697). Most scholars today date the Constitutions to around 380 CE, but some as late as the early fifth century. They probably originated in Syria. It is assumed that the Canons of the Apostles is partly derived from earlier canon collections, in particular those produced by the Councils of Antiochia and Laodicea (*RGG*).

27 In his writings, Tertullian cites as authoritative all the books of the later NT canon except for 2 Pet., James, 2 John, and 3 John. His opinion concerning *The Shepard of Hermas* changed over the years. While in his early writings, he considered the text valuable, during his Montanist period, he declared that the book had been condemned by every council in early times as false and apocryphal (see above). On this, see Metzger, *The Canon of the New Testament*, p. 159.

28 The following section is derived from Jenkin, *The Reasonableness*, vol. 2, ch. 4 (“Of the Canon of the Holy Scriptures”), sect. 12, pp. 111 and 115–16.

of whom wrote a Comment upon it,) and by *Tertullian*, and others.<sup>29</sup> It appears, upon the whole, That the *Canon* of the *Scripture*, was finished, by the Apostle *John*; and that such Books as were not of Divine Authority, were laid aside, by *Councils* held, when there were living Witnesses, to certify *John's* Approbation of the *Canon*; or at least, those who had received it from such Witnesses. The Books were all, very early Translated into many Tongues, and Dispersed into many Hands, and carried into so many Countreys, that it was impossible they should be either Lost or Falsified; especially, since the several Sects of Christians were never more Jealous & Watchful over each other, in any thing, than in this particular. No *Catalogue of Books* could have been received, exclusively to all others, but on the clearest Evidence. And when once it appeared, That the Books which had been doubted of, belonged unto the *Canon* of the *Scripture*, they were afterwards generally acknowledged in all the Churches. Every Sect has endeavoured to Reconcile the Books to their Principles; none have Rejected their Authority. The *Papists* own the *First Epistle* to the *Corinthians*; tho' the *Fourteenth* Chapter is directly against *praying in an unknown Tongue*. And they own the *Epistle* to the *Galatians*, tho' the *second* Chapter be so clear against their *Way of Justification*. The *Socinians* own the *Epistle* to the *Hebrews*; tho' the *Deity*, and the *Sacrifice*, of Christ, be so plainly asserted in it; and they dare not Renounce the *Gospel*, and *Epistle* of *John*; tho' they are from thence distressed wonderfully.

This is the Summ of what *Jenkins* has advanced on this Head; and because tis very expressly done, I have chosen to give it for the most Part in his own Expressions.

I will conclude with an angreeable Remark of Dr. *Arrowsmith's* on those things that look like *Variations* and almost *Contradictions* in our *Sacred Scriptures*. "The *Two Testaments*, Old and New, like the *Two Breasts* of the same Person, give the *same Milk*. As if one draw Water out of a deep Well, with Vessels of a Different Metal. One of Brass, another of Tin, a Third of Earth, the Water may seem to be at first, of a different Colour, but when the Vessels are brought near to the Eye, this Diversity of Colours vanisheth, & the Waters tasted of have the Same Relish; So here, the Different Style of the Historiographers from the Prophets, of the Prophets from the Evangelists, of the Evangelists from the Apostles, may make the Truths of Scripture seem of different Complexions, till one look narrowly into them, & taste them advisedly: Then will the Identity both of Colour and Relish manifest itself."<sup>30</sup>

<sup>29</sup> From Jenkin, reference is made to Justin Martyr, *Dialogus cum Tryphone Judaeo*, cap. 80–81 [PG 6. 663–70; *Patristische Texte und Studien* 47]; Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses*, lib. 5, cap. 30–35 [PG 7. 1064–90; SC 293/94]; and Tertullian, *De praescriptione haereticorum*, 33, and *Liber de Resurrectione Carnis*, cap. 27 [PL 2. 45–46 and 833–34; CSEL 70].

<sup>30</sup> From John Arrowsmith, *Armilla Catechetica*, pp. 105–06.

An Appendix.  
Containing Some GENERAL STORES, of Illustration;  
and a Furniture which will richly Qualify  
a Person to be a READER of the BIBLE.

I. VATES. Or, some Remarks upon the SPIRIT of PROPHECY.

As our *Sacred Scriptures* were dictated, by the SPIRIT of GOD coming with *supernatural Influences* upon the Writers of them; So, a great Part of the *Transactions* recorded in these wonderful Writings, were the Effect of such Influences. Our BIBLE is very much of it, the History of the Instances, wherein the Holy SPIRIT of GOD ha's visited His Church, in *supernatural Operations*, to instruct it, and Govern it, and Præserve it. And now arriving to the close of the BIBLE, it may be an agreeable Season to look back on the Ways of the PROPHETIC SPIRIT, which have so great a share in the affaire's of this Glorious BOOK: Subjoining unto these REMARKS, an Account of the Time, when the PROPHETIC SPIRIT withdrew from the Christian Church; and what may be thought of His Return, in the Age that is coming on.

In exhibiting these REMARKS, I shall not oblige myself to be very nice in the *Connexion* and *Cohærence* thereof; but offer them, as they come: And yett, I hope, with so much Perspicuity, that the Attentive Reader, shall have a Good *System of Thoughts*, on this important Subject.

But that I may not now at last lay aside the Ingenuity, with which I have endeavoured all along, to declare, who the Authors have been, by whom the Bounty of Heaven ha's convey'd unto me the *Thoughts* that have been brought into the Stores of our BIBLIA AMERICANA, I do ingenuously report, that in the Collection of Thoughts now to be offered, I have been in a singular Manner beholden to a Nameless and a modest Gentleman, who in the Year 1713 published a Treatise on, *The Wayes of GODs Reveling Himself to and by the Prophets*.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> This essay is based on John Lacy, *The General Delusion of Christians, touching the Ways of God's revealing Himself, to, and by the Prophets* (1713). John Lacy (bap. 1664, d. 1730) was a Justice of the Peace and a wealthy member of Edmund Calamy's Presbyterian congregation at Westminster, London. In 1706, he, along with other congregants from that flock, became attached to the refugee Camisard preachers. The Camisards, also called "French Prophets," were a group of Protestant refugees from the province of Languedoc in southern France. They had fled the violent re-Catholicization campaign of Louis XIV and the ensuing guerrilla war (c. 1702–1710). Among the Camisards, radical apocalyptic beliefs and ecstatic practices had become widespread. These began to spread among the London community of Huguenot exiles and beyond. John Lacy was one of the most prominent English converts and supporters of the Camisards in London. In 1707, he translated François Maximilien Misson's providential

And, first; If in the Occurrences of *Nature*, we are continually entertained, with what surpasses our Understanding, it can be no Disgrace unto *Reveled Religion*, if we do not understand the *Wayes* in which the SPIRIT of GOD shall please to convey the *Revelation* unto us. In the Book of *Scripture*, as well as the Book of *Nature*, we may well allow of *Unintelligibles*, and *Unaccountables*. But tho' our *Subjection to the Father of Spirits* would oblige us to acknowledge GOD, in many Things, which we cannot comprehend with the Faculties, of our shallow *Reason*, yett the greatest Pretenders to *Reason* and *Wisdom*, have still quarrel'd with the *Wisdom* of God, in the *Wayes* that He ha's taken to communicate His Will unto us.<sup>2</sup> In the XXIX Chapter of *Isaiah's* Prophecies, there is a lively Representation, of the Prejudices against the *prophetic Spirit*, imbibed by the *Scribes*, who were intoxicated with the Opinion of their own learning, & with the vain Systems which they would adhære unto.<sup>3</sup> Compare Jer. VIII.7, 8, 9. And thus in the New Testament, we find the *Scribes*, & the Learned of the Age, pursuing our Saviour with endless Cavils, and resolving that nothing should satisfy them, except He would comply with some unreasonable Proposals; when our Saviour assured them, *Except a Man humble himself, & become as a little Child, he cannot enter into the Kingdome of Heaven*.<sup>4</sup> In the spreading of Christianity, the Philosophers of *Athens*, were so fond of their old beloved Systems, that our Saviour could have no Church planted there. *The Natural Man*, [the *Ψυχικός* or, the Rational Man,<sup>5</sup> one who would be governed by no Sentiments but those of his Natural Reason;] *received not the things of the Spirit of God; they were Foolishness unto him*.<sup>6</sup> But after all, our *Faith* must not stand in the *Wisdom* of Man; and having begun in the *Spirit*, with a Resignation to

---

history (containing numerous witness accounts of prophecies and miracles) of the war in the Cevennes, *Théâtre sacré des Cévennes*, under the title *A Cry from the Desert*. Under Camisard influence, Lacy himself began to prophesy in tongues and practice automatic writing. In 1707, he issued in three installments a collection of *Prophetical Warnings* that were preoccupied with the prospect of divine judgment (ODNB). Cotton Mather's correspondent Edmund Calamy witnessed Lacy's demonstrations of healing and his ecstasies but remained critical. After 1711, Lacy withdrew to Lancashire and he subsequently died in obscurity in 1730. The anonymous *General Delusion of Christians with Regard to Prophecy* (1713) is more than 500 pages long and a surprisingly learned defense of the spirit of prophecy more generally and the French Prophets in particular; it was published in a second revised edition as *The Scene of Delusions* in 1723. On Lacy and the London Camisards, see Lionel Laborie, *Enlightenment Enthusiasm* (2015), esp. ch. 3–4. For Mather's view of the French Prophets and Lacy, see the Introduction.

2 From Lacy, *The General Delusion*, Introduction ("The Spirit of Prophecy Defended"), p. 6.

3 From Lacy, *The General Delusion*, Introduction, pp. 7–8.

4 See Matt. 18:3.

5 A reference to 1 Cor. 2:14–15, where the *ψυχικός δὲ ἄνθρωπος* [*psychikos de anthropos*], "the natural person, who does not accept the things of the Spirit of God, for they are folly to him, and he is not able to understand them because they are spiritually discerned," is opposed to *ὁ δὲ πνευματικός* [*ho de pneumatikos*], "the spiritual person, who judges all things, but is himself to be judged by no one" (ESV).

6 From Lacy, *The General Delusion*, Introduction, pp. 9–10.

His Incomprehensible *Wisdom*, it is præposterous, that we should seek to be *perfected*, or perfectly instructed, by *the Flesh*. So we are taught, *If Ye be Dead with Christ from the Elements of the World*,<sup>7</sup> the Præscriptions of Humane Philosophy, and any other Impositions of Men, *why, as tho' living in the World, do Ye dogmatize*, or still teach, or submitt to be taught, by its Principles? However, it ceases to be a Wonder, that they who esteem themselves *the Learned*, have  
 [5v] all along most opposed the | *Revelation*, as the *prophetic Spirit* has given it forth unto the Children of Men. One who writes on the State of things in the *Cyprianic Age*, thus describes the Temper of the *Philosophers*, relating to the supernatural Occurrences among the Christians of the primitive Times.<sup>8</sup> “They either from general Reasonings, undervalued the Beleef of every kind of præternatural Things; or they denied all Manner of Certainty in them; or at least any Likelihood of the Truth of them; or else, they would not allow there were any Criterions by which the True could be distinguished from the Counterfeit. And indeed that University which flourished most in the First Times of Christianity, did disown all Manner of Certainty; so that these admitted no Principles by which any Facts could be confirmed; and tis probable, that most Philosophers were of this latter Sort. Others, who would allow some Topicks, whereon to prove Facts done, yett asserted more Faith to be due, to their præconceiv'd Hypotheses, than to the Relation of any thing that passed. There were however some among the Philosophers, who were willing to allow more to a suitable Attestation of Things done than to their own Hypotheses: But these had imbibed so base an Opinion of Christians they did not think it worth while to enquire into any thing about them. Insomuch, that tho' altogether, they made such a Noise of REASON in other things, yett in affairs respecting Christians they would not permit themselves to be guided by it; no not so much as indulge that Curiosity which is peculiarly natural to a Philosopher.”<sup>9</sup>

There is a Notable Hint of *Justin Martyr*, in his Discourse upon, *The Resurrection of the Body*; That *Reason* ought not to sitt as Judge upon *Revelation*, saies he, “As to Christians, tis enough for us to say, *We beleeve*. And we need, even to beg Pardon of the Children of Truth, when in respect to *Infidels*, we use foreign Arguments.”<sup>10</sup> Tis True; *Reason* is to Judge, whether the *Revelation* do indeed come from GOD. But this Point being once determined by *Reason*, it is now humbly to sitt down, & own its Inability to go any further, or to determine upon the Matter & the Manner of the *Revelation*.

7 See Col. 2:20.

8 From Lacy, *The General Delusion*, Introduction, pp. 12–13.

9 Via Lacy, *The General Delusion*, p. 13, Mather references the work of the Anglo-Irish scholar, theologian, and prominent non-juror Henry Dodwell (1641–1711), *Disserationes Cyprianicæ* (1684), p. 121.

10 From Lacy, *The General Delusion*, p. 14, a reference to (Pseudo-)Justin, *De Resurrectione*, cap. 5; for a modern ed., see *PTS* 54; transl. in *ANF* (1:296–97).

The famous *Boyl*, observing how the Witt of Mankind is puzzled and non-plus'd, even about *Quantity*, which is an Object even of Mathematical Contemplation, adds, "We who cannot clearly comprehend how, in ourselves, Two such Distant Natures, as a Gross Body and an Immaterial Spirit, should be united so, as to make up one Man; why should we grudge to have our REASON, Pupil to an omniscient Instructor, who can teach us such things, as neither our own meer Reason, nor any others, could ever have discovered unto us."<sup>11</sup> We may add; Why should we be scandalized at it, if the *prophetic Spirit* in Reveling to us the Will of God, should use Methods, which are to us Inscrutable?

Furnished and præpared with such Sentiments as these, we will now go on, to make some Remarks on the *prophetic Spirit*, and His Operations, in His Communion with the Church of God, from the Beginning, and until His Withdraw in the Approaches of the *Antichristian Apostasy*.

And, first: The Agency of ANGELS, in the affairs of the Divine Providence, and their particular Inspection into the Conduct of the Children of God, & more especially of such as make a Figure in the Service of His Kingdome; This is abundantly declared in our *Sacred Scriptures*. Yea, altho' the Great *Boyl*, makes it a doubtful Quæstion, whether bare *Reason* ever did or can, arrive at so much, as to assure us, that there are such Things in *Nature*, as *Angels*; whereof the *Sacred Scriptures* treat so largely, that some have observed the Mention of them to occur above *Two hundred & sixty* times in the Bible: Nevertheless, I do here declare as before the Glorious GOD,<sup>12</sup> (what it may be, the Author I am now conversing withal could *not*!) That I know those who have had their very *Senses* convinced, with a sufficient Assurance, that there are such Spirits really existing in the World.<sup>13</sup>

In the *Sacred Scriptures* we find *Angels* appearing sometimes in a Form, & with a Behaviour, so familiar to Men, that for a time they have not been known to be any other than *Men*.<sup>14</sup> And yett after the seraphic Agents had for a while *veiled themselves under Humane Shades* (as my Author expresses it) sometimes they lett out some Glimpses of their *superiour State*. But at other times, tho' they took the Form of *Men*, yett they appeared in such Circumstances of *Glory*, as all along to render it unquæstionable, *who & what* they were. It is well known, what a *Reverence* and *Obedience* the Faithful paid unto GOD, in such Vouchsafements. Yea, It is well-known, That these bright Inhabitants of the Heavenly Regions, have assumed the Character of the Almighty GOD Himself, in their Descent unto us. The *Angels* that spoke to *Abraham*, and | *Jacob*, [6r]

<sup>11</sup> From Lacy, *The General Delusion*, pp. 16–17, a paraphrasing citation from Robert Boyle, *Some Considerations about the Reconcilableness of Reason and Religion* (1675), pp. 12–13.

<sup>12</sup> The following parenthetical qualification was inserted in the margin.

<sup>13</sup> Mather makes a very similar claim in his *Christian Philosopher* (1721), p. 306.

<sup>14</sup> The following paragraphs are taken from Lacy, *The General Delusion*, pt. 1, ch. 2 ("Of the Apparition of Angels in Scripture"), pp. 23–37.

expressed themselves, as if they had been GOD Himself. The *Angel* appearing unto *Moses*, used these Terms, *I am the God of thy Father*.<sup>15</sup> The Terror of *Gideon*, when he had seen an *Angel*, rose from a common Perswasion, that whoever saw an *Angel* was to dy quickly upon it, and this Perswasion rose from those Words of God, *No Man shall see me & live*. Yea, *Angels* are called, *Elohim*; which is the Name of GOD. *Satans transforming himself* sometimes into an *Angel of Light*, is no more an Argument, for the Vacating of what GOD shall Reveal by the Ministry of *Good Angels*, than the Pretensions of the *False Apostles*, were an Argument against the Existence of *True Ones*, & the Reverence due unto them. Tis much less a Reason, for the Introduction of such a *Saducism*, as had a great share in the Unbeleef and Perdition of the Church of *Israel*.

The very first Thing to be proposed, in considering the several Ways wherein the *prophetic Spirit* communicating the Will of God unto His People, from the Beginning, is this; That Holy ANGELS were, if not *Always*, yett, very *often*! very *often*! the *Instruments* whom He employ'd for that Intention. And even, when the Infinite GOD is personated, it may well enough be apprehended, That Holy ANGELS, with a Commission and a Deputation from Him, did use the Name of the Infinite MAJESTY, whom they represented in thus dealing with the Children of Men.

I go on to observe; That from this Agency, a DREAM was one of the Wayes, wherein the Will of GOD was made known unto Men.<sup>16</sup> The *Terror* which sometimes accompanied those *Dreams*, as in those of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and of *Pilates* Lady, was parallel to what the Apparition of *Angels* did sometimes give unto those that were visited therewithal.<sup>17</sup> The Expression of, *SAW a Dream*, sometimes used on this Occasion, seems to intimate, a sort of *Certainty* in it, little short of *Ocular Demonstration*. God said of the *Prophet*; Num. XII.8. *I the Lord will speak to him in a Dream*. And when the *Spirit is poured out*, one of the Effects, is, Joel. II.28. *To, Dream dreams*. Thus we read, *God came to Abimelek in a Dream by night*. By the Way; The Arabic reads it, *An Angel of the Lord came*. *Abraham* also ha's a sort of a *Dream*, in the *Deep Sleep* upon him. And *Jacob* said, *The Angel of God spake to me in a Dream*. When *Solomon* likewise, had made his Offerings, in a *Dream* did God appear unto him. Compare, Job. XXXIII.13, 17. and, Job. IV.12–17. For Præsumptuous Men after all, to say; That this Way of Communicating His Will, is unworthy of a GOD! – Alas, *Vain Man*; why wilt thou make thyself Wiser than Him! One of the most express Prophecies, in the Book of *Jeremiah*, concerning the glorious Dayes of the Messiah, was given him in a *Dream*. See, Jer. XXXI.25, 26. There is a *Wine causing those that are*

<sup>15</sup> The angel of the Lord that appears in Gen. 16:7–13, 22:11; Ex. 3:2–4; Num. 22:22; and Judg. 13:3, among other places.

<sup>16</sup> The next paragraph is derived from Lacy, *The General Delusion*, pt. 1, ch. 3 (“Of Divine Dreams in Scripture”), pp. 37–47.

<sup>17</sup> See Dan. 2 and Matt. 27:19.

*Asleep, to Speak*; which He that is a *greater than Solomon*, will *drink New* with His Disciples. Tis done, when they are *filled with the Holy Spirit*, who *giveth Songs in the Night*: The *Dreams* attending the Birth of our SAVIOUR, are famous in the Two first Chapters of *Matthew*. The *Dream* that *Jacob* had of a *Ladder* with *Angels* on it, was a Communication from Heaven so Remarkable, That our SAVIOUR promised unto the *Israelite* indeed something like it; Even *To see Heaven open, and the Angels of God ascending & descending*. *Joseph* of old, was *hated for his Dreams*.<sup>18</sup> Lett us be never so slighted for it; we must assert, There have been *Divine Dreams*, which great Regards are owing to. There are several, in the Visions of *Daniel*, and of *Ezekiel*,<sup>19</sup> which have the deepest Matters in them. *Pharaoh* had those *Dreams*, that saved Nations. *Gideon* did by a *Dream* receive a notable Encouragement for the Service of God. *Nebuchadnezzar*, calls his *Dreams*, no less than *Signs*, and *Wonders*! This *Despised Way*, our GOD has taken to Reveal Himself unto us. And it is Remarkable, He ha's made *crowned Heads*, more Numerous in this, than in any other Way, of speaking to the Sons of Men.<sup>20</sup>

In the next Place, it is to be observed,<sup>21</sup> That a VOICE hath been used sometimes to convey unto the Ear of Man, the Revelation of His Makers Will unto him. And as an *Articulate Voice* ha's been heard, upon this Intention, so other *Sounds* have been used by Him who *forms the Ear*. *David* heard a *Going*, in the Head of the *Mulberry trees*; and the Besiegers of *Samaria*, heard the Noises of an *Army*. Tho' a *Still Voice* were used unto *Elias*, there was the Louder of *mighty rushing Wind* used unto the Disciples of our Lord on the Day of *Pentecost*. And the *Voice* unto *John*, was like the *Sound of many Waters*. We read, Act. VII.38. of, *Living Oracles*. The Word, *λογια*, signified of old, the Responses of a Deity,<sup>22</sup> to the Prayers of His Worshippers. A | *Voice* of such an importance, was not confined unto *Moses* alone. *Isaiah* speaks of, *The Lord God opening his Ear*. *Jeremiah* and *Obadiah* speak of their *hearing an Hearing from the Lord*. And *Habakkuk* saies, *I have heard thy Speech, and was afraid*. Our First Parents, heard a *Voice* in *Paradise*.<sup>23</sup> So did *Abraham* on his Offering of *Isaac*; and so did *Hagar* concerning *Ishmael*. *Gideon* and *Samuel* were by a *Voice* distinctly spoken to. *Moses* was above all treated with a *Voice* from Heaven.<sup>24</sup> *Elias*, who stands next unto *Moses*, in the Honours by Heaven putt upon him, was well acquainted with this

[6v]

<sup>18</sup> See John 1:51 and Gen. 37.

<sup>19</sup> See Appendix A.

<sup>20</sup> See Dan. 2; Ezek. 37; Gen. 41; and Judg. 7.

<sup>21</sup> The next paragraph is based on Lacy, *The General Delusion*, pt. 1, ch. 4 ("Concerning Revelation by Voice in Scripture"), pp. 47–55.

<sup>22</sup> Pl. of *τό λόγιον* [to logion] "oracle." See 2 Sam. 5:23–25; 2 Kings 7:6; 1 Kings 19:12; Acts 2:2; and Rev. 1:15.

<sup>23</sup> See Isa. 50:5, Jer. 49:14–15, Obad. 1:1, and Hab. 3:2.

<sup>24</sup> See Gen. 3:8, Gen. 22:1–2, Gen. 16:10–12, Judg. 6:11–26, 1 Sam. 3:4–14, and the many instances of God speaking to Moses in Exod.



Manner of Revelation to the *Ear*.<sup>25</sup> The Rabbins think, that the *small Voice* once used unto *Elias*, was the same that was heard from between the *Cherubim*, over the *Mercy-seat*.<sup>26</sup> Yett the sovereign God spoke to *Job* in a *Whirlwind*. *Ezekiel* heard a *Great Rushing*. And no doubt the *Voice* that fell from the Heavens to *Nebuchadnezzar*, was with Terror enough. A *Voice from Heaven*, was diverse times heard, attesting to the Character of our SAVIOUR. A *Voice* came to *Peter* three times, in one Interview with Heaven. *Paul* heard a *Voice*, at and for his Conversion. *John* had his Visions introduced with a *Great Voice, as of a Trumpett*.<sup>27</sup> That the Ministry of *Angels* was much used in forming this *Voice from Heaven*, is abundantly intimated, in what we read of *Angels* concerned in giving the *Law* unto *Moses*. The Hebrew Doctors indeed say, *That all the Prophets except Moses prophesied by the Influence of an Angel*.<sup>28</sup> But there was no need of Excepting *Moses*. There is a Tradition among them, that in the Dayes of the *Second Temple*, they enjoy'd the, *Bath-Kol*, or, *The Daughter of a Voice*;<sup>29</sup> which was, as it were, One *Voice* proceeding out of another, in the Manner of an *Echo*. But this is not now enquired after.

We pass on to another Thing, that was frequent in the Wayes used by the Holy One to instruct His People; and that was VISION.<sup>30</sup> For the Sake of which a Prophet was called a SEE-ER, before the Dayes of *Samuel*, and after the Dayes of *Menasseh*; Even for many Ages. The *Prophecies* are often called, *Visions*. And we read, Isa. XXIX.11. *The Vision of all the Prophets*. And, Lam. II.9. *The Prophets find no Vision*. Our Apostle *Paul* conjoins, *Visions* and *Revelations* of the Lord.

He who sometimes obstructed the *Eye*, that it could not see a Natural Form, (whereby our Saviour sometimes was conceled,) could enable the *Eye*, or the Understanding, to see what *Nature* alone could not reach to; and shew Things that were beside the usual Course of *Nature*; (such as were seen in the *Transfiguration* of our Saviour.) What was the *visionary Manifestation* of the *Urim* and *Thummim* shall not be here considered. But we may remember, *David* speaks to *Zadok*, as if this properly belonged unto him, as an *High-Priest*; 2. Sam. XV.27. *Are not thou a See-er?* The whole People of God, had a *visionary Manifestation* of a wonderful Importance, in the *Pillar of Cloud* and *Fire*, which was

<sup>25</sup> See 1 Kings 19:11–12.

<sup>26</sup> From Lacy, *The General Delusion*, p. 52. Lacy's summary remark on the rabbinical opinions on *Bath Kol* (see below) appears to be derived from Lightfoot's annotations at Matt. 3:17 in *The Harmony, Chronicle, and Order of the New Testament* (1655) in *Works* (1: 485–86).

<sup>27</sup> Job 38:1; Ezek. 3:12; Dan. 4:31; 2 Pet. 1:18; Matt. 17:6; Rev. 1:10.

<sup>28</sup> From Lacy, *The General Delusion*, p. 50, a reference to Moses Maimonides, *More Nebuchim* or *Guide for the Perplexed*, pt. 2, ch. 45, sect. 11, p. 245.

<sup>29</sup> "Daughter of a voice" or "small voice" are the traditional translations of the Hebrew בַּת קוֹל [bat qol]. According to rabbinic tradition, the spirit of prophecy ceased in Israel after the death of Malachi and instead God gave his people *Bath Kol*, a voice from heaven secondary to prophecy in time and dignity and functioning essentially as a means of divination (JE).

<sup>30</sup> The following paragraphs are based on Lacy, *The General Delusion*, pt. 1, ch. 4 ("Concerning Prophetic Visions in Scripture"), pp. 55–74.

called, The *Shechinah*.<sup>31</sup> But the *Vision's* were sometimes enjoy'd in *Extasies*; In some of which, if *Paul* could not tell *whether he were in the Body or out of the Body*; it will be in vain for us to enquire, whether those Passages of *Ezekiel*, and of *John*, which mention *the Spirits carrying them away*, are to be understood of a local Removal of the *Body*, or no. The first Erection of *Altars*, and of Assemblies for Worship, after the Flood, we find built upon *visionary Revelation* to the Patriarchs. A *Vision* to *Moses* introduced the whole Nation of *Israel* into the Covenant of God. And what *Moses* did in the Wilderness was *according to the Pattern* which a *Vision* shew'd him *on the Mount*. *Balaam* was a *See-er*, and (whether his Eyes were shutt or open, it matters not) he *saw the Vision of the Almighty*. But a dreadful Instance he was, that the *Almighty* ha's not confined Himself, to speak His Oracles, only by the *Holy*. The *Visions* of *Micajah* kept his Faith unshaken under great Assaults upon it.<sup>32</sup> The *Angels* exhibiting themselves in these *Visions*, may be visible to some Eyes in the Company, when they are conceled from others. The *Ass* whereon *Balaam* rode, saw the *Angel*, when his Master did not. *Elisha's* young Man could not see the *Angels*, till God opened his Eyes. *Daniel* saw *Angels*, when the Men that were with him did not. *Isaiah* had *Visions*, whereof some seem to have had frightful Effects upon him; [see, Chap. XXI.2–4.] The *Visions* of *Jeremiah* were follow'd with Explications; which tells us, what is meant sometimes, by, *The Lord speaking in Vision*: The Heavenly Power on *Ezekiel* in his *Visions*, had a various Manifestation. *Peter* did not at first understand the Meaning of his *Vision*. And upon *Daniel's* it was said, *Go thy Way, for the Words are sealed*.<sup>33</sup>

| The *Angels* which exhibited themselves in *Visions*, unto the Servants of God, were not alwayes limited unto an *Humane Form*. They were to *Elijah* and *Elisha* represented as an Army on Horseback, & mounted on Chariots. In the *Visions* of *Zechariah*, the *Horses* are interpreted *Angels*. And what were the Figures of the *Cherubim*? In the *Revelation*, *Angels* appear in the Figure of *Stars*. And, as a *Star*, they conducted the wise Men unto *Bethlehem*.<sup>34</sup> Yea, An *Angel* ha's appear'd as a *Woman*. [see *Zech*. V. 7.–11. *Ezek*. VIII.14.] To speak against the Holy Ghost, chusing this *Way of Revelation*, is to be guilty of those *Idle Words*, for which Men must give an Account. My Author, looks upon the dreadful Communication against, *Idle Words*, [*Matth*. XII. 31, 32, 36.] to be more peculiarly

[7r]

31 The Hebrew term originally meant "dwelling." However, later Rabbinical usage changed the meaning to "the presence of God." See Ex. 13:21–22; 14:14, 24; 40:34–38; Num. 14:14; and Deut. 1:33, among other places.

32 2 Cor. 12:2–4; Ezek. 3:14; Rev. 21:10; Gen. 8:13–22; Ex. 19; Num. 24:4.

33 Num. 22:22–28; 2 Kings 6:17; Dan. 10:7; see, for instance, Jer. 1, where the "word of the Lord" reveals visions to Jeremiah and then explicates them to the prophet; Ezekiel sees, among other things, a whirlwind with four living creatures in it, the wheels, God's throne, and the heavenly Jerusalem; see also Acts 10:17 and Dan. 12:9.

34 See 2 Kings 6:14–17; Zech. 1:8; 6:1–8; Rev. 1:20; and Matt. 2:1–11.

directed against *Words* that are spoken against the Operations of the *Holy Spirit*, Reveling the Will of God unto the Children of Men.<sup>35</sup>

We are now arrived, finally, to consider, proper PROPHECY, or the Inspiration of the PROPHETICK SPIRIT.<sup>36</sup> And here, to pass by some extraordinary Methods, of the Holy Spirits Operation; such as a supernatural Impression on the Sense of *Tasting*, which occur'd in the Experience of *Ezekiel*, and *Jeremiah*, and *John*; And the supernatural *Strength* communicated unto *Sampson*, and *Elijah*, and in the Renewed Vigour of *Abraham*; and the vigorous old Age of *Moses*: And the peculiar Gift of *Writing*, which seems to be granted unto *Ezra*, and some of the *Prophets*: And other skill bestowed upon *Bezaleel*.<sup>37</sup> We shall observe, That by the Word *Prophet*, Men will needs have to be meant a *Foreteller of Things to come*; whereas, The Hebrew Word, *Nabi*, which is hardly to be traced unto any Root, is by *Buxtorf* understood for, *One to whom God revealeth Secrets*. And *Criticks* confess,<sup>38</sup> That προφητευν is properly, *To speak for, or in the Stead of another*. So was *Aaron* the *Prophet of Moses*.<sup>39</sup> The *prophetic Inspiration* is a different Thing, from the sanctifying Influence of the Holy Spirit on the Heart. And among the Wayes of the *prophetic Spirit*, the first that offers itself, is, The *Trance*; which we find exemplified in the *Deep Sleep* that befel the *Father of the Faithful*. Of *Balaam* we read; Num. XXIV.4. *He fell down in a Trance*. Interpreters observe, That from an Inability to bear up under the Spirit of God, it was the usual Condition of Men, to fall down flatt on the Ground, when the *Spirit of Prophecy* descended upon them. *Ezekiel*, *Daniel*, *Saul*, *John*, did so.<sup>40</sup> Next unto the Loss of all Sense, and the being as a *Dead Corpse*, nothing more shews the Masterly Agency of a Spirit on the Prophets, than what we find in the Scriptures, about the *local Removal* of their Bodies. *Elijah* had his Transportation. And so had *Philip*. Be sure, They draw false *Idea's* of the *prophetic Spirit*, who affirm all *Bodily Damage* under it, inconsistent with the Operation of so Gracious a Being. We find them confuted in what *Isaiah*, *Daniel*, *Habakkuk*, suffered in the Enfeeblement of their Bodies. Yea, and in the New Testament also, *John* falls down *as dead*. When *John* saies, *I was in the Spirit*, it implies an *Extasy*, or State, wherein a Man understands nothing by the Perception

35 From Lacy, *The General Delusion*, pt. 1, pp. 70–72.

36 The next paragraph is based on Lacy, *The General Delusion*, pt. 1, ch. 6 (“Touching Prophecy Proper, or Inspiration Prophetick”), pp. 74–135.

37 See Ezek. 3:3; Jer. 15:16; Rev. 10:9–10; Judg. 14–15; 1 Kings 19:7–8; Gen. 17:2; Ezek. 3:14; and Ex. 31:2–4.

38 From Lacy, a reference to Buxtorf’s *Lexicon Chaldaicum, Talmudicum Et Rabbinicum*, pp. 1286–87, the entry on נָבִי [navi] or *prophetia*.

39 Through Lacy, Mather here refers to the etymological root of the verb προφητεύω [propheteuo] that signifies “to be a prophet, or prophesy” but goes back to the idea of interpreting or speaking on behalf of the gods. On Aaron, see Ex. 7:1.

40 See Ezek. 3:23; Dan. 8:17; Acts 9:4; and Rev. 1:17.

of the Senses.<sup>41</sup> As, being *in the unclean Spirit*. [Mar. I. 23. & V. 2.] is, to be possessed of the Devil. The Apostle now discern'd and conceiv'd spiritual Things and Forms, after a Manner so spiritual, as the Sense, yea and the Reason of Man, by their proper Powers, never can arise unto. *John* speaks the same that *Ezekiel* speaks in those Words; *The Hand of the Lord was upon me*. And so, when *Paul* speaks of, *A Man in Christ*, it may be understood of one in Rapture from the *Spirit of Christ*.<sup>42</sup> Passing from the *Trance*, we proceed unto another Method of the *prophetick Spirit*, than which there is hardly any wherein the *Reason* of Men is plunged beyond their Depth, and that is, by *Figurative Signs on the Person of the Prophet*. In these there is an Advantage to *Revelation* in general, in that the *Signs* are sometimes to all humane Apprehension so ridiculous, as give a just Evidence, that there was a supernatural coercive *Power of the Spirit*, which forced the *Prophet*, against his natural Will, to submit unto them. It is evident, unto the Confusion of the *Sadducee*, that the *Revelation came not by the Will*, or Contrivance of Men, but was derived from a superiour Authority, over-ruling the Inclination of the Instruments. *Ezekiel* was the most of all the Prophets by far, made subservient unto the Will of God, in this Way of Speaking to Men. Upon which he cries out, of the Flouts he mett withal; *Ah, Lord God, They say of me, Doth he not speak Parables?* The Prophet *Isaiah*, must call his Two Sons by uncouth Names; and walk Naked, without so much as a *Shoe*, for Three Years together; To sett forth by a lively Sign, after what an ignominious Manner the *Egyptians* must be led into Slavery.<sup>43</sup> For a Man to be driven by an | Impelling Necessity unto *odd Actions*, which unavoidably brings upon him the Contempt of Mankind; – This was a Demonstration, which the *True Prophets* often had of their Mission from God. And perhaps they were in a Way distinguished sometimes from the *False Prophets*, who had nothing in them that might make them lose the Approbation of the World. When we read, Psal. LXXIV.9. *We see not our Signs; there is no more any Prophet*; it looks as if *Signs* did alwayes accompany the *Prophet*. And thus we read, Hos. XII.10. *I have used Similitudes, by the Ministry of the Prophets*. If the Divine Original of the scriptural Revelation, have a strong Proof, in the Tenour of its Contrariety to *Pride*, as well as other base Passions, and its freedom from Artifice and *cunningly devised Fable*, the propheticall *Signs*, which the Prophets were compell'd unto, will throw more than a little Weight into the Scale. How unaccountable the *Naked Walk* of *Isaiah*? The wounded Prophet addressing of *Ahab*? The Marriages of the Prophet *Hosæa*? Was *Jeremiah* led by his *own Will*, when he hung half a dozen wooden *Yokes* about his Neck, & made an uneasy Complement of them unto the foreign Embassadors?<sup>44</sup> And when he wore one of them about his own Neck a considerable

[7v]

<sup>41</sup> See 2 Kings 2:11; Acts 8:39; Dan. 8:18 and 10:9–10; Hab. 3:16; and Rev. 1:10, 17.

<sup>42</sup> See, among many other places, Ezek. 1:3, 37:1; Rev. 1:17; and 2 Cor. 12:2.

<sup>43</sup> See Ezek. 20:49; and Isa. 7:3, 8:3 and 20:2–4.

<sup>44</sup> Hos. 1–3; Jer. 27:1–7.

While, to represent unto his Native Countrey, the Slavery coming upon them? Certainly, no Deist could be impudent enough, to pretend a *Priest-craft* in such a Case? One would readily beleeve the Prophet, saying; Jer. XVII.16. *I did not hasten to follow thee, nor did I desire that woful Day*. Upon his Acceptance of his Call, the venerable Order of Priesthood, could not skreen him from *every one mocking of him*. Yett his Invisible Commission, latent *as a Fire in his Bones*, did over-rule him to continue in the *woful Office* of a Prophet, near forty Years. What a strange thing was that of his long Journey, with a *Girdle*, to a Rock upon *Euphrates*? An Errand, that seems trifling; and what gave an handle unto his Revilers, to blacken him, as if he were corresponding with the *Chaldeans*.<sup>45</sup> Who among the Men of Pride, would be willing to comply with such Things, as the Prophet *Ezekiel* was putt upon? How little pleasing must it be unto the Shepherds of *Israel*, to see the Prophet *Zechariah* acting with the *Instruments of a foolish Shepherd*? A *Crook*, sharpened rather to *kill* than *catch* the Sheep, and a *Bag* without any thing in it for their Use. And then in the *New Testament* we find this *Way of Prophecyng* still continued. Several times in the *Acts of the Apostles*, we find the Prophets using *Signs*, to declare what was Reveled unto them. The *Anointing with Oil* upon the Sick, seems a prophetical Sign of *Miraculous Healing*.<sup>46</sup> There was yett another sort of Impression from the *supervening Spirit*, which came upon the Prophet. It is what a Tradition of the Hebrew Doctors, takes notice of. "That all the Prophets except *Mose's*, when they prophesied, had their *Joints trembling*, & the *Strength* of their Body failing, & their own Thoughts exceedingly interrupted." The *Trembling* that siez'd *Isaac* seems to have been an Effect of the *prophetic Spirit* siezing on him. Accordingly *Buxtorf* tells us, "That when the *Spirit of Prophecy* came upon a Man, it siez'd him with so much *Terror*, and with such a violent *Shaking*, that his Life hardly subsisted in him." *Hulsius*, yett more expressively tells us; "The Manner of *Prophecyng* ha's its peculiar Symptoms, wherein tho' the Essence of *Prophecy* does not properly consist, yett the Rabbins place the Definition of *Prophecy* in them."<sup>47</sup> Such *Trepidations* and *Agitations*, were upon the *seventy Elders* prophesying in the Wilderness. [Num. XI. 25.] And when we read of the *Spirit Cloathing* of *Gideon*, [Judg. VI. 34.] which alludes to the Garment covering the Body, we may conclude, That the Operations of the *Spirit* were *visible* upon him, and that the Parts of his *Body* were *visibly* affected therewithal. Of *Sampson* we read; Judg. XIII. 25. *The Spirit of the Lord began to Agitate him at intervals*. The Word in the Original alludes to the Strokes of a Smith repeted with his Hammer. We also read, Judg. XIV.6. *The Spirit of the Lord rushed upon him*. Tho' a Gust of Wind be Invisible in itself, yett

<sup>45</sup> Jer. 13:1 and 20:9.

<sup>46</sup> See Zech. 11:15; Jam. 5:14; and Mark 6:13.

<sup>47</sup> From Lacy, *The General Delusion*, pp. 100–01, a reference to Antonius Hulsius, *Theologia iudaica*, lib. 1, pars 1, pp. 212–25; and Buxtorf, *Lexicon chaldaicum talmudicum et rabanicum*, pp. 1286–87.

it sufficiently discovers its Agency on a Tree, by the *Agitation* of the Branches. The *Dancing* of *David* before the *Ark*, wherein, as the Hebrew intimates, he *leaped after the Manner of a Goat, or a Lamb*; was from the *prophetic Spirit* coming upon him. And how odd was the Behaviour of *Saul*, when that *Spirit leaped* upon him? *David* after his being first Anointed by *Samuel*, had a frequent *Agitation*, which made People sensible of his being siezed by the *prophetic Spirit*. How would the Congregation have been satisfied, that *Jallaziel* was inspired, [2. Chron. XX.14.] if he had not been *Agitated*? *Elihu* and *Jeremiah*, have Expressions that look this Way. And the young Man, who address'd *John*, seems to have the *Agitation* upon him in the Delivery of his Message.<sup>48</sup> The *outward Actions* of the *Prophet*, were sometimes indeed like those of a *Madman*. But still, the more they | were so, the greater Proofs there were of a *superiour Spirit* acting [8r] a Person, who by his descrete Behaviour at all other times, rendred it evident, that his Brain was not vitiated. And so, an awful Reverence of God, was called for. The Man so siezed with the *prophetic Spirit*, is the same that is called, *The spiritual Man*, in the New Testament. The *Prophet* had Circumstances that look'd like *Madness*. But such it was, as did consist well with the *Sobriety*, which *Paul* speaks of; 2. Cor. V. 13. *If we be besides ourselves, it is to God; and if we be sober, it is for your Cause*. The Opponents of the Apostle, did calumniate upon the Subject of his *Extasies*, and insinuate from thence, that he was not alwayes in his Right Senses. The Apostle confesses his *Extasies*, and opposes thereto, that however when he was out of them, he was as *Rational* as other Men. The Word, *sober*, here stands opposed unto the Actions of a Man under the extatick Influence. My Author thinks, That the *Spirit* received by the Faithful, when, [Joh. VII.38, 39. compared with Job. XXXII.19.] it is resembled unto *Rivers of living Water* that *flow out of the Belly*, the *Spirit* might so affect the *Body*, that there might seem to be something like a *Flowing* from thence.<sup>49</sup> And that when we find *John Baptist*, resembled unto a *Reed Shaken with the Wind*, on which they that rejected him, said, *He had a Divel*; it is likely he had some visible Marks of an Holy *Energumen* upon him. We read concerning the *Prayer* of an *Energumen*: [Jam.V. 16.] made by a Man, moved by the *Holy Spirit*, as the Prophets were; And that kind of *Praying* seems described; Rom.VIII. 26. *The Spirit making Intercession for us*. And there were supernatural *Groans*, or *Sighs*, or Short-breathings, in these Inspirations. *Philo* the Jew, has a Passage of this Importance; "That when the Soul of any Man, is filled with the Grace of *Prophecy*, he is presently over-joy'd, & even transported into *Laughter*, and perhaps into *Dancing*; for it is after some sort *Inebriated*; And hence unto the Profane an

<sup>48</sup> 2 Sam. 6:16; 1 Sam. 18:10 and 19:9–10; Jer. 4:19.

<sup>49</sup> From Lacy, *The General Delusion*, p. 114. These apologetic views on bodily ecstasies and what was often decried as "enthusiasm" as being outward signs of inspiration reflect the anti-cessationist beliefs and religious practices of the Camisards, which included uncontrolled bodily motions, groaning, shouting, and glossolalia.

*Inspired* Person appears as if he were *Drunk*, or out of his Wits; For of all *Ex-tasies*, the most Remarkable is, the *Divine Epileptic Fury*, incident unto the *Pro-phets*.<sup>50</sup> Which Passage leads us to think on the Construction which the People made of what was to be seen in the Inspired Christians on the Day of *Pentecost*.

But still in these various Ways of GOD, Reveling His Will unto His People, it is not unlikely that the *prophetic Inspiration*, usually passed thro' the Agency of an ANGEL upon the Prophets. There is this Harmony between *In-spiration* of the *Old Testament*, and the *Inspiration* of the *New*, that in both of them, *GOD spoke IN the Prophets*. But might it not usually be, by the Interposition, and the Instrumentality, of the *Spirits* of GOD, [the *Horns* and *Eyes* of the *Lamb*] of whom we read, *They are sent forth into the Earth*? In the first six Chapters of *Zechariah*, we have those Words, *The Angel who talked with me*, eleven times: In all which Places, the Hebrew has it, *The Angel that Spake in me*; What was uttered on Mount *Sinai*, is called, *The Word spoken by Angels*. *Deborah* was a Prophetess, and her Song proceeded from the *Spirit of Prophecy*; But in the Midst of it, she interposes that Passage, which may have an æqual Aspect on the whole Song; *Said the Angel of the Lord*. We read, *God came to Balaam, and said, The Word that I shall say unto thee, that shalt thou do*. But anon tis, *The Angel of the Lord said unto Balaam*. The *Angels* which transported *Elias* and *Philip*, are called, *The Spirit of the Lord*. The Prophet who was deceived by the Impostor of *Bethel*, made no Doubt of it, That *an Angel could speak by the Word of the Lord*, & claim Obedience. That *Angels* were concerned in the Heavenly Communications to *Elias*, to *Daniel*, to *Ezekiel*, is well-known unto us.<sup>51</sup>

We read, 2. Pet. I. 20, 21: *No Prophecy of the Scripture, is of any private Interpretation; for Prophecy came not at any time, by the Will of Man, but Holy Men of God spake, moved by the Holy Spirit*. *Ἐπίλυσις*, rendred *Interpretation*, means the extraordinary Inspiration of the Holy Spirit, or His Impulse coming on the Prophet.<sup>52</sup> If *Interpretation* be here spoken of, with an Exclusion of a *private Authority*, it means, That it cannot be performed by a *literal Solution*. We must not think, by our own Abilities, to expound the *prophetic Writings* touching our Saviour: Forasmuch as they are a *Light shining in a dark Place*, wrapt about with Obscurities. But *Prophecy* itself, [*Ἐπίλυσις*, is an *Agonistical* Term, alluding to Men setting forth in a *Race*:] or the sending forth of a *Prophet*, is by an Impulse which is none of his own. *Prophecy* it comes, or is brought, from Heaven; and it is by Persons, who are moved, acted, carried, & Impelled, by the Holy Spirit. And yett *Ezekiel* has the *Book*, which was an Emblem of His Prophecying,

<sup>50</sup> From Lacy, *The General Delusion*, p. 115, a reference to Philo of Alexandria, probably *Questions and Answers on Genesis*, 3.9; cf. *LCL* 380, pp. 190–92.

<sup>51</sup> See Rev. 5:6; Zech. 4:1; and Heb. 2:2.

<sup>52</sup> The semantic range of *ἐπίλυσις* [epilysis] stretches from “interpretation, explanation, solution, loosening” to “release from” and “spell” (*LSJ*). From Lacy, *The General Delusion*, pp. 121–22.

presented him by an *Angel*; and an *Angel* entring into him, sett's him on his feet. Yea, the Apostles Word, ἡνεχθε, seems to imply a *Messenger*, or an *Angel*.<sup>53</sup> Be sure, *Vision*, than which there was no Way of Revelation more Sacred, was usually by the *Angelical Ministry*; And the *Angel* who | gave the *Vision*, did communicate the *Prophecy* with it. We all know, what we have to this Purpose in the *Apocalypse*; The *Spirit of Prophecy* acting by an *Angel*, upon the Beloved Apostle. There is great Reason to think, that the True Reading of, Rev. XXII.6. is what all the ancient Versions of the *Polyglot*, and some Authentic Manuscripts and Editions of the Greek Text, have countenanced. *The Lord God of the SPIRITS of the Holy Prophets, hath sent His Angel*.<sup>54</sup> The Rule given by the Apostle agrees with it; 1. John. IV.1. *To Try the Spirits, whether they are of God; Because many False Prophets were gone out into the World*. And thus we read of the Beleevers, 1. Cor. XIV.12. *Ye are zealous of Spirits*; which Zeal was their Desire of *prophetic Inspirations*; My Author adds a very just Thought, "I refer it to every Man, to give a better Reason of the Apostles Direction, for (the Peculiarity of) *Women prophesying* in Publick, to be covered, 1. Cor. XI.5. *Because of the Angels*; than that they were in that Function of Prophesying, moved by *Angels*."<sup>55</sup> Briefly, *Angels* did profess the *Prophets*, and even dictate the very *Words* in which their *Prophecies* were uttered.

[8v]

The *prophetic Spirit*, which Inspired the Prophets of the *Old Testament*, is by the Apostle *Peter* expressly called, *The Spirit of CHRIST*.<sup>56</sup> Lett us come then to the Dayes of the *New Testament*.<sup>57</sup> All ensuing Ages have commemorated, the Effusion of the *prophetic Spirit*, on the Disciples of our SAVIOUR, at the *Day of Pentecost*. *Peter* then bid his Hearers, to expect the *Gift of the Holy Spirit*, if they received the Gospel now preached unto them. And no doubt, the *prophetic Spirit* fell on many of the *Three Thousand*, when they were *Baptised*. When yett more were added unto the Number, we still find, They were *filled with the Holy Spirit, & spake the Word of God with Boldness*.<sup>58</sup> And when a great Number both of *Men & Women* beleeved, at *Samaria*, the *Holy Spirit* was given unto those whom the Apostles laid their Hands upon. Certainly, The Number of *Prophets*

<sup>53</sup> Lacy probably means ἡνεχθη [enechthe], "was brought, came," which occurs in 2 Pet. 1:21: "For the prophecy came not in old time by the will of man: but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost."

<sup>54</sup> Based on *Textus Receptus* καὶ κύριος ὁ θεὸς τῶν ἁγίων προφητῶν ἀπέστειλεν τὸν ἄγγελον [kai kyrios ho theos ton hagion propheton apesteilen ton angelon], the KJV has: "and the Lord God of the holy prophets sent his angel." But NA reads: ὁ Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων τῶν προφητῶν ἀπέστειλεν τὸν ἄγγελον [ho Kyrios ho Theos ton pneumatōn ton propheton apesteilen ton angelon], which the ESV translates: "And the Lord, the God of the spirits of the prophets, has sent his angel."

<sup>55</sup> From Lacy, *The General Delusion*, p. 127.

<sup>56</sup> 1 Pet. 1:10–12.

<sup>57</sup> The next paragraph is based on Lacy, *The General Delusion*, pt. 2, ch. 1 ("Of Prophecy uncontroverted, in the First Century"), pp. 135–44.

<sup>58</sup> See Acts 2:41 and 4:31.



was now increased; And so it was, when *the Word of God grew & multiplied*; And thus we read, when *Paul did lay his hands* upon some, *the Holy Spirit came upon them, & they prophesied*.<sup>59</sup> It would be to run into an Extremity, if we should say, That there were now no other *Teachers* or *Speakers* in the Church, but such as were *prophetically Inspired*. We read of *Prophets* distinguished from *Teachers*, among those whom God sett in the Church. We also find that *Women* were not allow'd for *Teachers* in the Church, and yett they might *Speak* as *Prophets*.<sup>60</sup> And the General Directions given in the Epistles to *Timothy* and *Titus*, concerning *Bishops* or *Pastors*, in the Church, run all upon *moral Qualifications*; And so there is a Foundation laid for a *Ministry* in the Church, without the special Gift of *Prophesying*.<sup>61</sup>

In the New Testament, there occurs a Distinction between *Apostles* and *Prophets*, which deserves to be considered. Now, tho' the Nomination of *Twelve Disciples* by our Saviour, for His *Apostles*, was not without a Mystery: [For which consider, Rev. XXI.12, 14.] Yett the Distinction was not entirely limited by this Designation of the *Twelve*. If it had, the Church of *Ephesus* could have had no Occasion for *Trying* those who said they were *Apostles*. Nor could there have been any ground for the Complaint made by *Paul*, of Deceitful Persons transforming themselves into *Apostles*. Nor could *Paul* have claim'd the Title from the *Signs of an Apostle* wrought among the *Corinthians*.<sup>62</sup> Of *Paul* and *Barnabas*, it is positively affirmed, That they were *Apostles*. [Act. XIV.14.] Yea, *Sylvanus* and *Timothy* seem entitl'd unto the Distinction. [1. Thess. I.1. and II.6.] The Word *Apostle*, signifies no more than *One Sent*; And in that acceptation it stands æqual with the Character of *Prophets*. But what seems here conclusive is that, 1. Cor. XV.5, 7. That our Lord after His Resurrection, was first *Seen of the Twelve*; and then of all the *Apostles*. Upon which Text, *Chrysostom* expresses the Sense of the primitive Times. There were, saies he, other *Apostles* besides the *Twelve*; such were the *seventy Disciples* which were sent forth by our Saviour.<sup>63</sup> Briefly then: Tho' the *Act Commissionating* did not absolutely fix the Distinction between an *Apostle* and a *Prophet*; yett the *End* unto which they were sent might well denominate the Difference. An *Apostle* was employ'd unto People, who had never yett had Christ preach'd unto them; A *Prophet* had his Mission unto those that were already called, that they might be edified. It is possible, too, that an *Apostle* might have extraordinary Gifts above a *Prophet*, in regard of his peculiar Circumstances.

<sup>59</sup> Acts 12:24 and 2:4.

<sup>60</sup> See, among other places, Acts 1:14, 2:17, 13:1, and 21:9; Luke 2:36–38; and 1 Cor. 11:5.

<sup>61</sup> See 1 Tim. 3 and Tit. 1.

<sup>62</sup> See Rev. 2:2 and 2 Cor. 11.

<sup>63</sup> From Lacy, *The General Delusion*, p. 139, a reference to Chrysostom, *Homiliae XLIV in Epistolam primam ad Corinthios*, hom. 38, at 1 Cor. 15:5–8 [PG 61. 322–32].

[The *Apostles* were those original, principal, primary *Prophets*, whom our SAVIOUR after His Ascension sent forth as His *Ambassadors*, in His Name to treat and form a New Alliance with Mankind; by Vertue whereof, all that by Faith accepted the Tender and came into it, thereby became the *People of God*, as the House of *Israel* had been before. These were *Ambassadors extraordinary*: And these having laid the Foundation, the *Prophets* who were *Labourers together with God* in building thereon, may somewhat answer the Character of *Ambassadors Residentiary*. But my Author understands not how the Title of, *An Ambassador of CHRIST*, can with any Propriety of Speech agree to any that are not immediately sent by Him as the *Prophets* were.<sup>64</sup>

[9r]

How wretchedly the *Prophets* in all Ages have been treated; how Derided, how maligned is known to all who know any thing of *Church-History*.

But lett us enquire, whether any *Prophets* were continued in the Church, after the Death of the *Apostles*. We find, 1. Cor. XII.28. *Prophets* distinguished from *Teachers*. *Prophets* were by the very Gift of *Prophecy* sufficiently authorized alwayes publickly to speak for the Edification of the Church. But, they might be *Ideots*, or *Women*, or Persons of *Irregular Lives*, or want many Qualifications requir'd for *Teachers*, in the Epistles to *Timothy* and *Titus*; and then they were uncapable of being *Bishops* or *Deacons*. However if a *Prophet* had the necessary Qualifications for those Offices, his *Gifts of Prophecy* did not unqualify him. Accordingly, we read in *Church-History*, that the Apostle *John*, did just before he died, A. C. 95. by the Holy Spirit, appoint some for Pastors in the Churches of the lesser *Asia*, whom the Holy Spirit had endowed with the *Gift of Prophecy*.

*Eusebius* relates, that before the Wars wherein *Jerusalem* was destroy'd, the Congregation of the Faithful there had a Revelation from the *prophetic Spirit*, (*Epiphanius* will have it an *Angel*.) unto some among them, commanding them to repair unto *Pella*, a Village beyond *Jordan*; in complying with which, they found their Safety.<sup>65</sup>

But lett us come into the second Century.

The Word *Paraclet*, which we render, *A Comforter*, we also render, *An Advocate*. It means, one by whom a Cause is pleaded.<sup>66</sup> Our Saviour promised His People, that He would not leave them *Orphans*, but come in His *Paraclet*, who should speak to us, testify of Him, direct us, reprove us, declare many things unto us.<sup>67</sup> The primitive Church accordingly expected, that this *Paraclet* would abide with her; and whether some contempt or Neglect of Him on the

<sup>64</sup> From Lacy, *The General Delusion*, pp. 140–41.

<sup>65</sup> From Lacy, *The General Delusion*, p. 143, a reference to Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 3.5 [PG 20. 221–24; SC 31] and to Epiphanius of Salamis, *Panarion*, lib. 1, tom. 2, haeresis 25, *Adversus Nicolaitas* [PG 41. 323–24; GCS 25].

<sup>66</sup> The following paragraphs are based on Lacy, *The General Delusion*, pt. 2, ch. 2 (“Of Prophecy uncontroverted, in the Second Century”), pp. 144–79.

<sup>67</sup> See John 14:16. Meaning “helper” or “advocate,” the term παράκλητος [parakletos] is usually understood as referring to the Holy Spirit.

Part of the espoused Church, were not the Cause of His Withdraw; my Author thinks, it it is a Matter to be further search'd into. Yea, as we have Assurance of the *prophetic Spirit* poured forth abundantly, in the various Wayes thereof, during the *Apostolic Age*, terminating with the Life of the Apostle *John*; so the like Manifestations of our SAVIOURs Presence with His Church, in the *Spirit of Prophecy*, testifying of Him, did not then cease, but continued for several Ages after it. Accordingly Dr. Wake, publishing the *Epistles of the Apostolical Fathers*, A. C. 1710. in his præliminary Discourse makes these Remarks. “The *extraordinary Gifts* of the Holy Spirit, with which the *Apostles* were endowed, the Holy Scriptures themselves tell us, were distributed unto other Beleevers as well as unto them: And in the Fathers, whose Writings are here putt together, there appears sufficient Indication of the *Continuance* of these *extraordinary Powers*. Even after the Time of these Fathers, we have the express Testimony of *Justin Martyr*, to assure us, that those *extraordinary Gifts* continued still in the Church, and were communicated not only to *Men* but *Women*; and that we may be sure, he spake nothing in this Matter, but what he could undeniably have made out, we find him boasting of it against *Trypho the Jew*, and urging it then as an unanswerable Argument in behalf of *Christianity*, and against the *Jews*, from whom the *Spirit of Prophecy* had a long time been departed. – Those Holy Men, whose Writings we have here collected, were doubtless endowed with a very large Portion of the *extraordinary Gifts of the Holy Spirit*; whither we consider the Frequency of those *Gifts*, in the Age in which they lived, and in how much lesser and worsen Men, these Gifts were *usually communicated*, then; Since it is certain, that in those times the *extraordinary Gifts of the Holy Spirit*, were  
 [9v] bestowed | not only upon such as were constituted *Pastors* of the Church, but upon a *great many of the common Christians too*.”<sup>68</sup>

If we enquire, we shall find the ablest Writers, before *Constantine*, concur in Testimonies to the Presence of our SAVIOUR, with His Church, even until THEN, by the *Spirit of Prophecy* variously exciting His Operations in the Household of *Faith*. And if we have recourse to *Eusebius*, who gives us the History of those Times, as a *secondary Witness* of what occurred in them, we shall have to do with one, who was not inclined at all to speak partially in favour of the Operations, we are now to take notice of. This *Eusebius*, mentioning the *Evangelists* who flourished in the First Age, saies, “Besides the Daughters of *Philip* that shone brightly in the Gift of Prophecy, there were many others also that were noted for it; and in particular *Quadratus*. These (*he saies*) were called, *Divine*,

<sup>68</sup> From Lacy, *The General Delusion*, pp. 147–48, a citation from the work of the Anglican churchman and Archbishop of Canterbury (1716–1737), William Wake (1657–1737), *The Genuine Epistles of the Apostolic Fathers, S. Barnabas, S. Ignatius, S. Clement, S. Polycarp, the Shepherd of Hermas, and the Martyrdoms of Ignatius and St. Polycarp* (1710), preliminary discourse, ch. 10, pp. 112–15. Wake makes a reference to Justin Martyr, *Dialogus cum Tryphone*, sect. 88 [PG 6. 685–86; PTS 47].

[or, Inspir'd] Disciples, who built up the Churches in every Place, where the Apostles had laid the Foundation; and spread far & wide by their Preaching, the gladsome Seed of the Gospel; their souls being inflamed by the Heavenly Word; These also in Performing the Office of *Evangelists*, that is, of *Inspir'd Preachers*, left their own Homes, & pass'd into far distant & barbarous Countreys, where the Name of Christ had not yett been heard of, and there laid other New Foundations, and constituted stated *Pastors* of those Congregations by Imposition of Hands. These *Evangelists* then committed unto them, the Care of the New Plantations, while themselves advanced still further to other Regions, with the Power & Grace of GOD attending them; and *so great was the Number of these Evangelists, that it is impossible for us to rehearse them all singly by Name.*"<sup>69</sup> *Quadratus* lived unto A. C. 125. But among the *prophetical Teachers* thus by *Eusebius* referr'd unto, we have particularly the Names of *Papias*, the Companion of *Poly-carp*, and *Amia*, an holy Woman of *Philadelphia*. Perhaps many will join with *Eusebius* in censuring *Papias*, for an Error, in his Opinion, of the *New Heavens*, and a *New Earth*, to be expected. But lett us attend unto what is asserted by Dr. *Grabe*. "All the primitive Christians, that were sound in the Faith, did expect *New Heavens*, and a *New Earth*, according to the Words of the Apostles, and the Promises of the Prophets: And that at the Second Coming of the Messiah, these should be restored unto their original Fælicity, before the Fall of *Adam*. And the most did place this Fælicity not to reside only in *spiritual* Things, but in *Temporal* too; being perswaded, that the very *Soil* should be freed from the *Curse*, laid upon it for the Sin of *Adam*; and should be plenteously productive of all good Things without humane Labour."<sup>70</sup>

Ecclesiastical Chronology makes the Inspired Daughters of the Evangelist *Philip*, to survive unto A. C. 120. At least sixty Years, after their Prophesying, in the *Acts* of the *Apostles*; Wherefore it seems that some one or other of them was an Infant, when the *prophetic Spirit* first possessed them. About A. C. 155. of *Melito* the Bishop of *Sardis*, it is expressly said by *Eusebius*, *He did all things by the Inspiration of the Holy Spirit.*<sup>71</sup> *Justin Martyr*, who sealed the Truth with his Blood about A. C. 170. is an *unreproachable Witness*; who urges against the *Jews*, the Argument of the *prophetick Spirit* then existing in the Church, as an Incontestible Proof to the Truth of Christianity. Saies he, "Ye may SEE among us, both Men and Women, having the Gifts of the Spirit of GOD, which was

<sup>69</sup> From Lacy, *The General Delusion*, p. 167, a reference to Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 3.37 [PG 20. 291–96; SC 31].

<sup>70</sup> From Lacy, *The General Delusion*, p. 168, a reference to the history of the early church by John Ernest Grabe, *Spicilegium patrum et haeticorum saeculi post Christum natum I, II & III* (2 vols., 1698–1699), vol. I, pars I, seculi II, pp. 29–31.

<sup>71</sup> From Lacy, *The General Delusion*, p. 169, a reference to Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 5.24 [PG 20. 495–96; SC 31].

among you of old, and ha's of a long time ceased."<sup>72</sup> *Eusebius* does rightly report of *Justin Martyr*, that he affirmed, *The Gift of Prophecy shone brightly in the Church in his Time*. The same Christian *Hero*, in his *Apology* to the Emperour *Antoninus Pius*, does insist on the same Topick to the *Heathen*; saying, "when ye hear the Words of the *Prophets*, do not ye think, that the Persons whom the *Spirit inspireth*, speaks, but the *Divine Word* that moves him."<sup>73</sup> A little after him, namely about A. C. 180. *Athenagoras* was commission'd by the Christians, to carry another *Apology*, in their Name unto the Emperour. In this *Apology*, he saies; "The *Spirit of Prophecy* gives his Assent unto our *Prayer*; for the *Holy Spirit* pours out *prophetical Words*, in those on whom He operates. I call them *Prophets*, who being *out of themselves* and their own Thoughts, have uttered forth, whatever by the *Impelling Power* of the *Spirit* He wrought in them; while the Divine Operator served Himself of them, or their Organs, even as Men do of a Trumpett, blowing through it. Thus have we *Prophets*, for Witnesses & Affirmers of our Faith: And is it not æqual & worthy of humane Reason, O ye Emperours, to yeeld up our Faith, unto the *Divine Spirit*, | who moves the *Mouthes of the Prophets*, as His Instruments."<sup>74</sup> About the same time, *Eusebius* gives us the Copy of a memorable Epistle from the Churches of *Lions*, and *Vienne*, which gives an Account of diverse Martyrs in their Countrey, who were distinguished by the Operations of the *prophetic Spirit* in them; which Martyrs were much encouraged in their last Conflicts for the Faith, by *Alexander the Phrygian*, a Physician well known in *France*; for his great Zeal, and being endowed with the *Apostolical Gifts of the Spirit*.<sup>75</sup> We will add but one Link more, to the Chain of Proofs, for the Continuance of the *prophetic Spirit* with the Church in the second Century. It shall be from *Irenæus*, of whom *Epiphanius* affirms, (tho' so humble & modest our *Irenæus*, that in all his Writings, he does himself assert no such thing of himself.) *That he was compleatly adorned with the Gifts of the Spirit*;<sup>76</sup> This renowned *Irenæus*, bears a luminous Testimony to the same *Grace of our Saviour*, & *Fellowship of the Holy Spirit*, plentifully bestow'd on other Men. Read the 56, 57, 58, Chapters of his second Book, for this Purpose. Among other things, he expressly saies; "Our Lord, being the only Son of God, by His Name, those that are indeed His Disciples, receiving Grace from Him, do now perform to the Benefit of other Men, according as every one ha's received the Gift from Him. Some

<sup>72</sup> From Lacy, *The General Delusion*, p. 174, another reference to Justin Martyr, *Dialogus cum Tryphone*, sect. 88 [PG 6. 685–86; PTS 47].

<sup>73</sup> From Lacy, *The General Delusion*, p. 175, a reference to Justin, *Apologia prima pro Christianis ad Antonium Pium*, cap. 36 [PG 6. 385–86].

<sup>74</sup> From Lacy, *The General Delusion*, p. 176, a reference to the work of Athenagoras, *Legatio Pro Christianis* (c. 176/177), cap. 9 [PG 6. 905–08].

<sup>75</sup> From Lacy, *The General Delusion*, p. 176, another reference to Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 5.1 [PG 20. 429–30; SC 31].

<sup>76</sup> From Lacy, *The General Delusion*, p. 177, a reference to Epiphanius of Salamis, *Panarion*, lib. 1, tom. 2, haeresis 31, sect. 33 [PG 41. 537–38; GCS 37].

do cast out *Divels*, truly & effectually, so that those who are cleansed from the Impure Spirits, are themselves converted to the Faith, & abide in the Church. Others have the *Foreknowledge* of Things Future; and have *Visions*, and the *Gift of Prophecy*. Others by Imposition of Hands, do restore the Sick, and heal all Diseases. And, as we have already said, *The Dead are raised*, & do survive with us many Years. But, what shall I say?<sup>77</sup> 'Tis not possible to reckon up the Number of those *Gifts*, which the Church all the World over, ha's received, and does exert, even every day, in the Name of JESUS CHRIST. Moreover, they now *speak in all Tongues* by the *Spirit of GOD*, even as the Holy *Paul* spake. We ourselves have heard many of the Brethren, that have the *prophetical Gifts* in the Church, and, who speak by the Spirit, in *all Languages*, and profitably do make manifest the *Secrets of Mens Hearts*, and openly publish the mysterious Things of God."<sup>78</sup> *Irenæus* died, A. C. 192.

For the Condition of the Church, with regard unto the Effusion of the *prophetic Spirit*, in the *Third Century*,<sup>79</sup> the Remarks made by *Dodwell* (no Defender of wild Enthusiasm,) in his *Dissertation on Irenæus*, may give some Account unto us. "The modern Ages interpret Scripture (*he saies*,) meerly by human Means and Abilities; but the Primitive had GOD, and the *Holy Spirit*, in an extraordinary Manner the Interpreter of it. *Revelation* indeed may be expounded both Wayes; that is, either by humane Witt, or by a New Revelation of the same Spirit, that first indited it."<sup>80</sup> However, touching these Two Wayes of *Interpretation* of Scripture, no Man can doubt, but even the lowest Degree of true Prophecy, ought to be preferr'd before the most polite and exquisite Reasonings of Men upon it. – For instance; in the Argument of the *Socinian Controversy* nowa-dayes, it is far less absurd, to think, that the most præsuming Arrogance of Humane Witt, may deceive them, than that the Divine Spirit, even in the lowest Degree of Revelation can. Now, we have this Testimony, more than Humane, in

<sup>77</sup> See Matt. 11:5. Here it is worth pointing out that early in 1708, Lacy prophesied that the apothecary Dr. Thomas Emes, a recently deceased member of the London association of the Camisards, would be raised from the dead, causing an enormous clamor in the city. When another member of the group publicly proclaimed that this miracle would occur on May 25, 1708, excitement rose to such heights that on the appointed day more than twenty thousand Londoners assembled at Bunhill fields to witness the promised miracle. The French Prophets claimed that the raising of Dr. Emes would signify the biblical prophecy of the raised Witnesses of Revelation (Rev. 11:1–14). While Lacy did not show up and withdrew to the countryside, another member of the group, Abraham Withrow, unsuccessfully attempted the resurrection. This failure to perform the promised miracle that day contributed much to the discrediting of the French Prophets and subsequently their association scattered. See Laborie, *Enlightenment Enthusiasm*, p. 63.

<sup>78</sup> From Lacy, *The General Delusion*, pp. 177–78, a translation from Irenæus, *Adversus haereses*, lib. 2, cap. 32, sect. 4 [PG 7. 838–39; SC 293/94].

<sup>79</sup> The following paragraphs are based on Lacy, *The General Delusion*, pt. 2, ch. 3 ("Of Prophecy uncontroverted, in the Third Century"), pp. 177–226.

<sup>80</sup> Mather uses the verb *indite* in the archaic sense of "to utter, suggest, or inspire a form of words which is to be repeated or written down" (*OED*).

the Church of the First Ages, on this Point, whereon we ought to depend, for the Interpretation of Scripture, more than on the finest modern Reasonings of Men.”<sup>81</sup> The same Author goes on; “These Gifts of the Spirit extraordinary were distributed, not only in the *Second*, but also in the *Third* Century: even unto the Time of *Constantine*. And thus it was, that GOD Himself, and not Men, did take care of His Church.” Yea, he goes on to say; “In the First Conversion of Churches, the Water of *Baptism* was a Symbol of the *Spirit extraordinary*: For the SPIRIT was in that Manner (for the most Part) conferr’d on the *Baptized* that it *appear’d & show’d itself by some outward & sensibly Sign*, which they called, THE MANIFESTATION OF THE SPIRIT; and this was so apparently exhibited, that the very Infidels could not doubt of that Gift of the Spirit. Thus the Gift of it unto some, who were *Baptized*, being *open to, and affecting the Senses of others*, drew many Proselytes daily unto *Baptism*. [see 1. Cor. XII.7.] Thus the Words of our SAVIOUR were made good; *Ye shall be Baptized* (plunged or cover’d) *with the Holy Spirit*, as John Baptized with Water without it: which Emblem of *Covering*, answers to that of the Old Testament, of, *Clothed by the Spirit*.”<sup>82</sup>

[10v] | He proceeds, “By the concurrent Monuments of those Times, it appears, that the *extraordinary Gifts* were used, in the *Electing* of Men for the Ministry. Unto this did the Præscriptions of St. *Paul* refer, *Despise not Prophecies*; and *Prove all things, hold fast what is good*; and that of St. *John*, *Try the Spirits, whether they be of GOD*.<sup>83</sup> And the Trial of the Gifts was not by those without them; but the Judgment was to be made by the *extraordinary Gifts* themselves, in others. In particular with respect unto the *Call of Ministers*, it was committed unto the *Discerner of the Thoughts and Intentions of the Hearts*, and the *spiritual Man judged all things*, and he himself was (in that Judgment) *discerned of no Man*; For we

<sup>81</sup> From Lacy, *The General Delusion*, p. 182, a very loose and summary translation from the work of Henry Dodwell, *Dissertationes in Irenaeum* (1689), diss. 2, § 3, pp. 94–96. Lacy (and thus Mather) appropriate Dodwell’s essays very selectively. While Dodwell cites the writings of Irenaeus and other early patristic sources to demonstrate the continuity of spiritual gifts in the early Church into the third century, he argues that the cessation of the *charismata* was not a sign of decay or corruption. Instead, it signaled a divinely decreed transition into a period of consolidation and order in which the Church no longer needed the signs and wonders that had sustained it during the age of persecutions and helped it grow so rapidly. For Dodwell, as for other “High Church Primitivists,” such as William Cave, the presence of the Spirit in the Church now continued mediately, i. e. through the means of the canonical Scriptures, the sacraments, and the liturgy. For them, the constitution of the Anglican Church had instituted these means most fully in accordance with the primitive Church. Like William Cave, Dodwell also saw the Anglican episcopal hierarchy, established ministry, liturgy, rites, and festival calendar as part of its primitive purity. Lacy mines Dodwell’s work for material illustrating the powerful manifestations of spiritual gifts in the early Church but interprets their cessation as indicative of a beginning Antichristian corruption.

<sup>82</sup> From Lacy, *The General Delusion*, pp. 184–85, Mather cites a loose translation of Dodwell, *Dissertationes*, diss. 2, § 4, pp. 96–98. Mather’s capitalizations of the words “Spirit” and “The Manifestation of the Spirits” do not appear in Lacy or Dodwell.

<sup>83</sup> 1 Thess. 5:21; 1 John 4:1.

find both in the Old and New Testament, the *Spirit of Judgment*, or, *Knowledge*, mentioned among the *spiritual Gifts*. In this Matter then the *Spirit* signified His Will after diverse Manners; and sometimes made known to the *Prophets*, the future Conduct, and Dispositions, and Gifts, of Him who was to be ordained a Minister. [1. Tim. I.18.] And the Holy Spirit guided & directed also External Things, relating to the Church, not only by Revelations made thereof unto the *Pastors*, but to other *Members* of it also: even to some of the most abject & contemptible among the Laity. For illustration therefore; when Men to be ordained for *Pastors*, were after an Examination, proposed to the Church, and solemn Fasting and Prayer were on that Occasion used; then the *Prophets*, their Sentence appeared in it; not that of any certain or præpar'd Persons, but according to the free Pleasure of the *prophetic Spirit*; sometimes by the Mouth of *Children*; sometimes of Grown Persons; sometimes of Ministers; sometimes of the Laicks; even just as at that time the (*Impetus*) Rushing Power of the *Spirit of Prophecy* impelled them. For it was the Way of God, not alwayes to instruct the very *Apostles* by their own proper Revelations, but often by those of other People; And no Man was admitted into the *Public Offices* of the Church, but who was approved by the *Public Testimonies* of it.<sup>84</sup>

He goes on, "During the *Second* and *Third* Century, as well as in the *First*, all Sorts of Men, and even of Women, of every Rank, had the *extraordinary Gifts* of the *prophetic Spirit*; Tho' those who were most Remarkable for the Degree of it, were placed in the highest Stations, in the Church. And tis certain, there were no Offices performed in the Church, but what were primarily referred unto the *Gift of Prophecy* in it. In particular, the *Singing of Psalms*, which made up by far, the largest Part of the public Worship, was almost peculiar to the *Prophets*. For they had the Gift, not only to *compose Psalms*, but to *sing* them. For the Ancient Gentiles esteemed *Poets* to be sacred, and called them *Divine Speakers*. And thus *Epimenides* the *Poet*, is called by St. *Paul* a *Prophet*.<sup>85</sup> In a parallel Allusion, the scared Enthusiasm of the *Prophets*, in a Poetical *Rapture of the Divine Spirit* among Christians, took place in the *Tone of Singing*, as well as in the Composing of *Hymns*.<sup>86</sup> The Holy Spirit raised the Affections, and Imagination of those that *sung*, and disposed them interchangeably to be excited unto the utmost Impelling Exertions of the same Spirit in others; As we find the Use of *Music* among the *Prophets* in the Time of *Elisha*, to præpare Men for the *Illapses of the Spirit*.<sup>87</sup> Nor do I think, that the Word *Eucharist*, [Thanksgiving,] used for the *Sacrament*, had any other Original, but from the Conjunction of an *Hymn* with it; which was dictated or sung, not by any stated Minister, in

<sup>84</sup> From Lacy, *The General Delusion*, p. 186, Mather cites a loose translation of Dodwell, *Dissertationes*, diss. 2, § 6, p. 100.

<sup>85</sup> See Tit. 1:12, referring to the Cretan philosopher Epimenides.

<sup>86</sup> On the "songs from the Spirit," see, among other places, Eph. 5:19 and Col. 3:16.

<sup>87</sup> "Illapse" here means "influence" (*OED*).



that extraordinary Discipline in the Church, but by whomsoever among the Crowd of the Faithful, the *Prophetical Impelling Power* fell upon. And the same Person under that Impetuous Power, was then also *driven*, to consecrate the *Sacrament*; nor possibly had the *Sacramental Elements* in those times, any other *Consecration*, than that *Eucharistical Hymn*. Next to the Psalms, the chief Act of Worship, was *Preaching*; which was by the Language and Custome of those Ages termed, παρακλησεις, which may be understood, either *Consolations*, or *Exhortations*; And this *Preaching* (by the *Paraclete*) was properly the Office of the *Prophets*; Among whom, he that had the *Gift of knowledge*, was in a specific Manner, termed, a *Teacher*, or, *Doctor*.<sup>88</sup>

[11r] He adds this. “It seems evident, that at the First Foundation of a *Christian Church*, among the *Gentiles*, there were no settled *Pastors* to perform the public Offices, in their Assemblies; But they were generally performed by *Prophets*, or *spiritual Men*, who had the *Gift of Prophecy*, or were in the Assembly *excited* to that Work, by an *Afflatus* of the Holy Spirit. For the Apostles did not presently upon the Conversion of any Number of Persons to the Christian Faith, ordain them Elders in every Church, but left them for a Season | to the Conduct of those *Prophets* and *spiritual Men* the Holy Ghost had fitted for that Work. The Church of *Antioch* was converted, saith Dr. *Lightfoot*, in the *Fortieth* Year of our Lord; and yett no *Elders* (stated Ministers) were ordained among them, till the *Fiftieth* Year: But in this Interval, there were *Prophets* among them, who ministred in their Assemblies to the Lord. In like Manner, the Isle of *Crete* was converted for some considerable Time, and so likewise ministred unto, before St. *Paul* sent *Titus* to them, to *ordain Elders in every City*. – It is more than probable, that there were no *settled Pastors* in the church of *Corinth*, [when the Epistles were written to that Church:] which makes it necessary, that the Affairs of their Church-Assemblies, should be wholly managed by their *Prophets* or *spiritual Persons*.<sup>89</sup> –

He ha’s this more upon it. “After the Year 220 and from thence unto 250, the *extraordinary Gifts of the Spirit* did decrease and grow rare, in Comparison to the Time præceding. For in that Space, *Theophilus* who wrote in Defence of Christianity, seems to confess, he could not find one Instance of a Person who had been *Raised from the Dead*. In this Space, the usual *Manifestation*, or visible Sign of the *Spirit falling on the Baptized*, seems to be ceased: As likewise the Gifts of *Languages* grew deficient; And in the same Interval, the Gift of publicly *discovering Mens Thoughts* was also wanting; or at least, we find but few, if any

<sup>88</sup> From Lacy, *The General Delusion*, p. 187, another citation from Dodwell, *Dissertationes*, diss. 2, § 6, pp. 101–02. The Greek word παρακλησεις is the nominative plural of παράκλησις, [paraklesis], meaning “exhortations” or “preachings.” The word occurs many times in the NT, including Acts 15:31; 1 Cor. 14:3; 2 Cor. 8:17; Phil. 2:1; and 1 Tim. 4:13.

<sup>89</sup> From Lacy, *The General Delusion*, p. 188–89. Lacy refers to John Lightfoot, *The Harmony, Chronicle, and Order of the New Testament* at Acts 11–13, in *Works* (1:286–88). See Tit. 1:5.

of these several Gifts, mentioned by any Writers of good Credit, later than this Period. And at the latter End of this Period, *Origen* acquaints us, that tho' in his Age, *the Gift of Prophecy* still remained, yett it was decreased, and not in the same Measure, as in the foregoing Age. And since this Decay happened with Respect to the *Gift of Prophecy*, we need not wonder, that the like befel *Other Gifts*: Seeing the Apostle putts this Discrimination, between that of *Prophecy* and the *other Gifts*, that these were given for the sake of *Infidels*, as a *Sign* to them; whereas God graciously bestowed that of *Prophecy*, chiefly to the End, that the Church itself might be edified by it.<sup>90</sup> -

Notwithstanding what is here read of the Deficiency of some, and the Decay of other Gifts, there subsisted after this Period, some or other of the *miraculous Gifts*, which testified the extraordinary Presence of CHRIST with His Church. But, whereas, in the Times we are now speaking of, there were very seldome, or scarce any, express *Missions* undertaken by the *Christians* to convert *Infidels*, there was not the like Reason to expect the same Plenty of the *miraculous Gifts*, as did attend the Converting of Heathen Nations: But if Occasion offered itself, to solicit *Infidels* to the Faith, there remained still Indications sufficiently manifest, of the *Divine Presence* in the Church: as in particular, the Power of *Casting out Devils*, and the *Gift of Healing*. - Besides, there were some things extraordinarily granted unto the Joint Prayers of the Church, when her Children were driven, by some heavy Necessities, or Streights, to supplicate the Divine Grace more Intensely. And thus the Histories of those times acquaint us, some things happened to strengthen the Minds of the *Martyrs*, who were to pass thro' Agonies for the Faith. Even after all these Signs of the *Decay of the extraordinary Gifts*, those however which were *most useful* to the Church, were of all other Gifts the most permanent. And thus, among the Ancients, the most recent & longest Mention, we find of any of those Gifts, is of *Prophecies*; which were to the Edification or Benefit of the Church, either by Edifying the Faithful or by Directing in her public Affairs, or by deciding touching the *Candidates* for *Baptism*, or those for the *Stated Ministry*. And for this very End, that the Church might profit herself, of the *extraordinary Presence of God* with her, the *Prophets* were *forced* into the public Assemblies, that they might severally declare that *Revelations* of GOD, and communicate them for the public Uses; And their *Prophecies* used to be commonly delivered with *Signs*. [*Symbols*:] for in the Case of *Prophecy*, besides *symbolical Words*; the *symbolical Facts* were received also."

What *Eusebius*, [L.V.c. 10.] relates of *Pantænus*, whom GOD sent, with His Gospel, unto the Nations of the East, as far as *India*; and of other *Evangelists*

<sup>90</sup> From Lacy, *The General Delusion*, p. 190, a summary translation from Dodwell, *Dissertationes*, diss. 2, § 44, pp. 170–72. Dodwell references the work of Theophilus of Antioch, *Apologia ad Autolyicum*, 1.8 [PG 6. 1033–37], and Origen, *Contra Celsum*, 7.8 [PG 11. 1431–34; SC 147].

besides him, who were worthy of Immortal Memory for their *Efficacious and Invigorated* [Inspired] *Speakings*; This proves the *prophetic Spirit* subsisting in the Church, until the Year, CCXX.<sup>91</sup>

[11v] In the same time, an Anonymous Author, gives us the *Martyrology* of *Perpetua*, and *Saturus*, and *Felicitas*, in *Africa*; | and the *Visions* of these Martyrs, written with their own hands, on which Occasion that ancient Author, proves the Usefulness of such *Visions*, from the Prophecy of *Joel*; and urges, that such a Condescension of GOD in Revelations of Himself, might not be look'd on, as vouchsafed only in the *Ælder Christians*.<sup>92</sup>

In that Space of Time, *Natalius*, mentioned by *Eusebius*, [L.V.c. 28.] as denying the Divinity of our Saviour, & being Abominable in his Life; was by *Visits* and *Scourges* from Holy Angels, recovered in such a Manner, that saies the Historian, If what was done in *Rome*, had been done in *Sodom*, they would have come unto Repentance.

The Martyrdome of *Potamiana*, and the Conversion of *Basilides*, by her Appearing to him, was in this Age, an occurrence much talked of.

*Eusebius* reports the Election of one *Fabianus*, a Countrey-Minister, to be Bishop of *Rome*, with an extraordinary Appearance from Heaven, even the Descent of a *Dove*. A. D. 241.<sup>93</sup>

The *prophetic Spirit* operated extraordinarily also in the Choice of a Successor to old *Narcissus*, the Bishop of *Jerusalem*.

While this good Man, whose Name was *Alexander* (and who died in Prison, A. D. 253.) was Bishop of *Jerusalem*, there began to appear some Humane Usurpations; In Opposition whereunto, our *Alexander* asserted, That *unordained Persons* might preach in the Church, and had done so.

*Dionysius* of *Alexandria*, who died, A. D. 268. was one whose *Visions* had much notice taken of them. [See *Eusebius*, L.VII.c.7. and L.VI.c.40.]<sup>94</sup>

91 From Lacy, *The General Delusion*, pp. 190–91, a summary translation from Dodwell, *Dissertationes*, diss. 2, § 45, pp. 172–74. Reference is made to Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 5.10 [PG 20. 454–56; SC 31].

92 From Lacy, *The General Delusion*, pp. 192–93, a summary translation from Dodwell, *Dissertationes*, diss. 2, § 46, pp. 174–75. Reference is made to the anonymous *Passio Sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis*, which reports the fate of two of the earliest female Christian martyrs, Perpetua and Felicity, who are believed to have died in 203 in Carthage. Saturus was a fellow-servant of Felicity.

93 From Lacy, *The General Delusion*, pp. 192–93, a summary translation from Dodwell, *Dissertationes*, diss. 2, § 45, pp. 172–74. Reference is made to Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 5.28, 6.5, and 6.29 [PG 20. 511–18, 531–34, 587–90; SC 31]. Basilides and Potamiaena were martyred in Alexandria during the persecutions under Septimius Severus around 205. Pope Fabianus (b. c. 200) was the Bishop of Rome from 236 to his death in 250.

94 From Lacy, *The General Delusion*, pp. 195–96, a summary translation from Dodwell, *Dissertationes*, diss. 2, § 49, pp. 180–82. Reference is made to Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 6.10–11, 40, and 7.7 [PG 20. 541–44, 601–06, 647–52; SC 31]. Narcissus (b. c. 99–d. after 213) and his coadjutor and successor, Alexander (d. 251), were early Bishops of Jerusalem. Alexander died

Briefly, *Eusebius* every where declares, how the *prophetic Spirit* wrought by *Visions*, by *Voices*, by *Dreams*, for the Converting of the Infidels, for the Restoring of the Erroneous, for the Reforming of the Vicious, for the Directing of the publick Affaires in the Churches, and for the Constituting of their Pastors.

But then, how full is *Tertullian*, in asserting the Continuance of *miraculous Powers* among the Christians! Among other Instances recited by him in his Treatise to *Scapula*, he mentions no less than Two Roman Emperors, namely, *Severus* and *Caracalla*, on whom Two Christians, namely *Proculus* and *Enodius* had wrought *miraculous Cures*.<sup>95</sup> In his *Apology*, how triumphantly does he celebrate the Wonders, which the whole World knew to be done by *Christians*, in the Name of their Ascended JESUS! In his other Books, the Passages reporting and asserting the Operations of the *prophetic Spirit* in his dayes, are too many to be repeted. He died about, A. D. 231.<sup>96</sup>

Contemporary with him was, *Theophilus*; who tells his pagan Friend *Autolyus*, what *Men Inspired of God* there then were among the Christians.

*Minutius Felix* about the Year 237. bears an ample Testimony to this, That *extraordinary Gifts* were still continued in the Church.<sup>97</sup>

One Gentleman brings no less than Twenty Quotations from *Origen*, which affirm the Continuance of *extraordinary Gifts* in his dayes; who lived unto about A. D. 255.<sup>98</sup>

And what are the Things related in the life of *Gregory Thaumaturgus*; who was a Scholar of *Origen*?<sup>99</sup>

---

during the persecution of Emperor Decius. Dionysius of Alexandria was the fourteenth Bishop of Alexandria from 248 until his death in 264.

<sup>95</sup> From Lacy, *The General Delusion*, p. 200, a summary translation from Dodwell, *Dissertationes*, diss. 2, § 47, pp. 175–77. Reference is made to a short apologetical treatise by Tertullian, *Ad Scapulam*, cap. 4 [PL 1. 702–04; CPL 24].

<sup>96</sup> From Lacy, *The General Delusion*, p. 202, a summary translation from Dodwell, *Dissertationes*, diss. 2, § 48, pp. 177–79. Reference is made to Tertullian, *Apologeticus adversus gentes pro Christianis*, where exorcisms and miraculous cures are mentioned in, among other places, cap. 23, 26, 37, 43, and 46 [PL 1. 409–416, 431–35, 460–64, 500–20].

<sup>97</sup> From Lacy, *The General Delusion*, p. 203, a summary translation from Dodwell, *Dissertationes*, diss. 2, § 50, pp. 182–84. Another reference to Theophilus of Antioch, *Apologia ad Autolyum*, 2.9 [PG 6. 1063–64]; and to Marcus Minucius Felix, *Octavius*, 20.2 [PL 3. 623–24; CSEL 2].

<sup>98</sup> From Lacy, *The General Delusion*, p. 205, a summary translation from Dodwell, *Dissertationes*, diss. 2, § 51, pp. 184–86. Reference is made to Origen, *Contra Celsum*, where the continuing manifestation of spiritual gifts among Christians (such as exorcisms and prophetic visions) are mentioned in, among other places, 1.2, 1.6, 1.25, 2.49–50, 7.4, 8.36, and 8.56 [PG 11. 655–58, 665–68, 705–08, 871–76, 1425–26, 1571–72, 1601–02; SC 147].

<sup>99</sup> From Lacy, *The General Delusion*, p. 207, a summary translation from Dodwell, *Dissertationes*, diss. 2, § 55, pp. 194–96. Reference is made to Gregory Thaumaturgus or Gregory the Miracle-Worker (c. 213–270), a disciple of Origen and third-century Christian bishop renowned for his supernatural gifts. The most important source on Gregory's life and deeds is *De Vita B. Gregorii Thaumaturgi* by Gregory of Nyssa [PG 46. 893–958]. Among many other miracles, it describes how Gregory, before becoming Bishop of Neocaesarea, had a vision of

The Testimonies we have already had, reach until about A. D. 270. Thirty Years more, and we come to. A. D. 300. But in this Period, we have the Works of that famous Martyr *Cyprian*. And on these, the Testimonies of the *prophetic Spirit* present with the Church in *extraordinary Operations*, are so very numerous, & so very notable, that they alone would make a little Volumn. Indeed *Cyprian* complains, That there were some who *Judged contemptuously* of these things. But the Words of *Dodwel* upon this, are not unworthy to be transcribed. "If in the Times of those Prophets, who gave forth the most assured Evidences of their Prophesying, there was nevertheless such Kind of *Scoffers*, there is less to be wondred at, that the like should be found in the Dayes of *Cyprian*, when the *Epicurean Philosophy* had obtained the Vogue, which turns all præternatural Things into Ridicule. It was no Matter with this sort of People, whether the *Prophesying* were from the True Spirit, or from the False one; or whether those who more perfectly understood such things, did approve them, or not. This is what never came into the Quæstion; But the very Mention of, *The Supernatural*, with the Gentlemen of an *Epicurean* Tincture, was Matter enough to serve them for a Jest. For, as to the Reality of the Thing, we find, that the most Learned and most Intelligent Persons, in spiritual Affaires, who were contemporary with St. *Cyprian*, did acknowledge the *prophetical Gifts* then in the Church. But as for the Atheistical *Epicurean* Christian, and People of that Turn, it was alwayes, and is at this day, their genuine Faculty, to sett down Content with, and settle | upon the *Lees* of some general Systems,<sup>100</sup> or projected Suppositions of their own; and not to trouble their Heads about any particular Instances sett before them; no, not so much as to enquire any Ways distinctly into them."<sup>101</sup>

[12r]

It was now Time, that the *prophetic Spirit*, should withdraw from the Churches. They did all that could be done, to *Grieve* Him, & to *Drive* Him away.<sup>102</sup>

Some very competent Judges of such Things do think, that something very considerable this Way, was done in the furious Prosecutions against *Montanus*,<sup>103</sup> and those whom they called, *The Phrygian Hereticks*, and by several other Denominations; tho' their only *Heresy* lay in their Pretensions to the *Gift of Prophecy*. There is all the Reason imaginable to think, That many of the condemned *Montanists*, were excellent Children of GOD, and the best of Christians in the World, and such as really were *Inspired* from Above. How far the *evil Spirit*

---

the Blessed Virgin and John the Apostle, with the latter dictating to him a creedal formula of the Christian faith.

<sup>100</sup> "Lees" here means "dregs or refuse" (*OED*).

<sup>101</sup> From Lacy, *The General Delusion*, p. 224, a summary translation from Dodwell, *Dissertationes*, diss. 2, § 54, pp. 191–94. The reference seems to be to Cyprian, *De lapsis* [PL 4. 463–94].

<sup>102</sup> The next paragraphs are based on Lacy, *The General Delusion*, pt. 3, ch. 1 and 2 ("Of Prophecy Controverted in the Second and Third Century"), pp. 229–61.

<sup>103</sup> See Appendix A.

might by the Divine Permission, for the Laying of a Stumbling-block before the Men who were sett in their Epicurean Way, insinuate his Operations, wherein those of the *good Spirit* might be Counterfeited and Incommoded, it is not easy for us to say. But *Godfrey Arnold*, a Lutheran Divine, who A. D. 1699, and 1709, published in High-Dutch, *An Impartial History of the Church, and of Hereticks*,<sup>104</sup> is not the only one, who ha's represented *Montanus* and his Followers, under a much more advantageous Characters, than their Adversaries. The Abominable Scandals raised on these Men, by their Adversaries, are proved now to be but the Inventions of Men full of Iniquity, resolved upon employing the falsest Accusations for the Branding of such as they were disaffected to. Yea, tis probable enough, that the Ladies, whom those violent Men represented as the Concubines of *Montanus*, might be, as *Arnold* saies, *Real Prophetesses; for the Gift of*

104 From Lacy, Mather refers to Gottfried Arnold's famous church history *Unparteyische Kirchen- und Ketzer-Historie* (2 vols., 1699–1700). Arnold (1666–1714) studied in Wittenberg for the Lutheran ministry. Under the influence of Spener, he gravitated toward Pietism, embracing for a time fairly radical-separatist views before he bounced back to a more moderate pietistic position. As a private tutor in Dresden (1689–1693) and Quedlinburg, he immersed himself in church history and published his interpretation of early Christianity as a refutation of William Cave's *Primitive Christianity*. The work was titled *Die erste Liebe, Das ist: Wahre Abbildung der ersten Christen* (1696). Contra Cave's "High Church primitivism" (see above), Arnold represented early Christianity as a counter-model to the established state churches with their official *cultus*, systems of dogmatic theology, and clerical hierarchies, as they had developed after Constantine. Rather, the early Christians had been characterized by a heartfelt and spirit-filled piety that thrived under persecution and the condition of powerlessness. After a short stint as professor of church history in Gießen (a position that he publicly renounced on account of the church's state of corruption), Arnold returned to Quedlinburg (in modern-day Saxony-Anhalt) and published the *Unparteyische Kirchen- und Ketzer-Historie*, which proved to be both very controversial in the larger public and influential in Pietist circles. Written from a programmatically non-confessional point of view, it presented the history of the church as a declension narrative in which Antichristian influences started to creep in during the third century and accelerated after Constantine, with the Reformation marking a turn for the better, which, however, was soon halted by the new corruptions of the Protestant confessional churches. While the primitive purity of the early Church was almost completely lost in the state churches, the torch of genuine faith had been passed on through the centuries by pious individuals, many of whom belonged to groups officially condemned as heretics. This line of true witnesses started with the Montanists, continued with medieval movements such as the Waldensians, and culminated in the present period with "the quiet in the land" who lived lives of experiential piety despite being ostracized and persecuted by the ecclesiastical establishment. During the Quedlinburg years (1698–1701), Arnold penned a number of other works that reflected his separatist-Philadelphian and mystical-spiritualist views, leading to repeated conflicts. However, in 1701, Arnold decided to marry and accept the position as court preacher in Allstedt; later, he also served as pastor in Werben/Altmark and Perleberg (RGG).

As far as I can see, Arnold's church history was first published in English in 1744 under the title *Godfrey Arnold, Impartial History of the Church and Hereticks. From the Commencement of the New Testament, to the Year of our Lord, 1688*. Lacy apparently cites Arnold from a manuscript translation. He writes: "This Book has been already translated into the Low-Dutch; but whether into any other Language yet, I know not: But the Translation of that Part which concerns Montanism, I have from a Friend of mine a German, who I am sure could not be byas'd in his translating it" (*The General Delusion*, p. 250).

*Prophecy* (he adds) *was very well know to be common, among all sorts of People.*<sup>105</sup> Indeed, the Stories with which they Blacken *Montanus*, and the other Pretenders to *Inspiration* in those Times, carry so much *Self-contradiction* in them, that we cannot Reasonably give much Entertainment unto them. Yea, an *Hicks* himself, a Sufficient *High-flyer* for Zeal against such Pretenders, will be a Compurgator for *Montanus*, both for the Orthodoxy of his *Faith*, and the Sanctimony of his *Life*.<sup>106</sup> But such Men as *Miltiades*, who (as a late *History of Montanism* saies,) wrote one of the best Books that ever was written on that Subject, and was therein a Witness, not only against *Montanus*, but against all Pretences to *New Revelation*, which tends to break the Unity of the Spirit in the Church;<sup>107</sup> These prevailed so far, as to gett *Synods* for their Purpose, which condemned not only the *Inspirations* of *Montanus*, but also all Pretensions to the Continuance of such Things any longer in the Churches of God. It is true, the Condemnation was not yett universal; There were strong Remonstrances made in the *Asiatic Churches*, and in the *Europeān*, and in the *African*, against the Proceedings of these Gentlemen: And these made by such as were the *Best of Christians*. But the opposite Party still grew stronger and stronger, as Piety decay'd, and the *Three Years and an half* were coming on, in which the Church must not be *Rained upon*; the *Day of Indignation* wherein the Land must not be *Rained upon*. Anon, as the German Historian saies, "In the Time of the so-named *Christian Emperours*, the *Montanists* were driven out of their Cities in a violent Manner, and had their Books burnt; whilst on the Contrary, their Accusers were cried up for Heroes

<sup>105</sup> From Lacy, *The General Delusion*, p. 254.

<sup>106</sup> From Lacy, *The General Delusion*, p. 260, a reference to the work of the English divine and scholar, George Hickes (1642–1715), *The Spirit of Enthusiasm exorcised. ... With two Discourses Occasioned by the New Prophets Pretensions to Inspiration and Miracles. The first: The History of Montanism, by a Lay-Gentleman. The other: The New Pretenders to Prophecy examined. By N. Spinckes, a Presbyter of the Church of England* (1709), esp. pp. 338–39. Hickes was a prominent non-juror and Anglican apologist, who authored, among other writings, *An Apologetical Vindication of the Church of England* (1706) and *Two Treatises, one Of the Christian Priesthood and the other Of the Dignity of the Episcopal Order* (1707). A posthumous publication of his *The Constitution of the Catholick Church and the Nature and Consequences of Schism* (1716) sparked the Bangorian controversy.

The "Lay-gentleman" who wrote the *The History of Montanism* (published as the second part of *The Spirit of Enthusiasm exorcised*) was in fact the physician, scholar, and millenarian Francis Lee (1661–1719). As a young man, Lee studied and traveled on the Continent, where he met prominent radical Pietists and came into contact with Philadelphian circles. Back in England, he became associated with Jane Lead and helped to found the Philadelphian Society. After Lead's death in 1704 and the society's collapse, he distanced himself from the Philadelphians as well as the French Prophets, even though he remained sympathetic to mystical piety. In 1708, Lee became a licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians. His 1709 *History of Montanism* is an official expression of his renunciation of all forms of radical enthusiasm (ODNB).

<sup>107</sup> From Lacy, a reference to *The History of Montanism*, in *The Spirit of Enthusiasm exorcised*, p. 219. Here Pope Miltiades (311–314) is mentioned. Modern scholarship no longer considers him to be the author of the anti-Montanist work mentioned in Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 5.16–17.

and Champions of the Church, who made no Bones, some Way or other, to attribute all to the Diavel, whatsoever was done by the *Montanists*; on Purpose, at once, either to deter every body, from approving any thing of theirs, or from searching any further into the Truth of the Matter, as in fact it was.”<sup>108</sup>

It is time to draw to a Conclusion.<sup>109</sup> It is a weighty Passage of the pious *Boehm*, “In the first times of the Gospel, there were many *Gifts* in the Church, which afterwards were lost, it seems, by the Ingratitude of Men. Whether these *Gifts* will revive in the latter Ages, as some will have it, we leave to the supreme Disposer of all things. But this is certain; They will do no great Good in the World, without the *Spirit of LOVE* accompany them.”<sup>110</sup>

The Truth is; The Apostle *Peter* | does not say, That *Joels* Prophecy was accomplished in the Effusions of the Holy SPIRIT, which were granted on the *Day of Pentecost*; he only saies, what then occur’d was *agreeable* to what had been spoken by the Prophet;<sup>111</sup> *Such a Thing* it was, as what had been spoken of. It looks as if *Joels* Prophecy were to have a so much fuller Accomplishment, that the *Effusions* of the Holy SPIRIT in the *primitive Times*, in Proportion to what are to be in the *latter Dayes*, were to be no more than a *Few Drops* that go before the falling of a *mighty Showre*. Perhaps, the Prædictions of, *A Nation to be born at once*, cannot be any other Way so well accounted for.<sup>112</sup> Now, with relation to the approaching *Age of Wonders*, it is to be Remark’d, That there are certain MAXIMS of the EVERLASTING GOSPEL, which are the *Principles* of all True, Real, Solid, & Vital PIETY; the Principles, of *Homage* to the Infinite GOD, *Reliance* upon our Saviour, and *Charity* towards our Neighbour; the Principles wherein all *good Men* are united, & in a Compliance wherewith lies

[12v]

108 Arnold, *Impartial History*, cited from Lacy, *The General Delusion*, p. 257.

109 Interestingly, Mather completely skips pt. 4 of *The General Delusion*, which deals with “Modern Opinions concerning Prophecy.” Here Lacy advances his anti-cessationist position to challenge the boundaries of the canon, arguing that inspired post-apostolic writings, such as the Epistles of Clement and Barnabas, the visions of Hermas, or the Montanist prophecies, had been unduly excluded and suppressed by the Church as it came under the influence of Antichrist. With the reign of Antichrist drawing to a close, Lacy saw miracles and revelations recurring, and he interpreted and defended the activities of the French Prophets in this light. See *The General Delusion*, pp. 376–438. Significantly, Mather also leaves out Lacy’s millennialist speculations, which made the national conversion of the Jews a prerequisite for the second coming of Christ. See *The General Delusion*, pp. 137–38.

110 Mather quotes the work of the German Pietist theologian, Anton Wilhelm Böhme, *The Character of Love* (1713), p. 30. The same quote appears in Mather’s *Malachi: Or, the Everlasting Gospel, preached unto the Nations* (1717), p. 79.

111 See Acts 2:15–17.

112 See Isa. 66:8. Compare Mather’s statement in *Malachi*: “How far it is here to be understood, That in the Approaching REVOLUTION, the Reforming, and Reviving, and Restoring of Christianity, may be accomplished by the Return of the Prophetic SPIRIT which by the Ministry of Angels possessing the children of Men, carried on the Affairs of the Christian Religion in the Primitive Times with supernatural and miraculous Operations for more than Two Hundred Years together: This must be left unto Time to determine. Certainly, *Joels* Prophecy has not yet had its full Accomplishment” (4).



all their *Goodness*. As these MAXIMS of the *everlasting Gospel* prevailing in the World, will præpare it for marvellous Communications from the Heavenly World unto it; so in the Evangelical MAXIMS of *Piety*, we shall be furnished with a *sure Guide*, that our *Feet* may not *stumble on dark Mountains*, in the astonishing Things, that may descend upon us from Above.<sup>113</sup> The Affectation of *Extraordinaries*, as it may have much Carnality and Indiscretion lying at the Bottom of it, so it is attended & with no little Perils, and may be an Introduction to very dangerous *Temptations* and *Illusions*. The memorable *Franckius*, in his, *Programma, De Donis Dei Extraordinariis*, ha's an excellent Caution, That these *Extraordinaries* bring with them, *Ingens Periculum illis, qui firmas altisque in Humilitate Radices non Egerint, Quis autem de se istud spondeat?*<sup>114</sup> In the mean time, what a *Glory* belongs to the MAXIMS of the *everlasting Gospel*, which cannot without a manifest Impiety be quarrel'd with? Our Apostle asserts, That the *Gifts* which the First Preachers of Christianity were furnished withal, had more of *Glory* in them, than what was upon the *Radiant Face of Moses*.<sup>115</sup> But then, His Assertion goes on, That a *Principle of Piety* in the Soul; has more *Glory* in it, than all the *Gifts* which accommodated & demonstrated the *primitive Christianity*. Herein, sayes he, *I shew a more excellent Way*. To have a *Tongue* regulated by the MAXIMS of *Piety*, is a more *glorious* Thing than to *speak with the Tongue of Men & Angels*, of *Men* acted by *Angels*. To have a Soul brought into *Health*, by these MAXIMS, is a more *glorious* Thing, than to heal *Maladies* with *Miracles*. To have such a *Discerning* of ourselves and our Interests, as these MAXIMS would help us to, is a more *glorious* Thing, than to *discern Spirits*. To have our *Tempers* mended and cured by these MAXIMS, is a more *glorious* Thing than to cast out *evil Spirits*. To *live unto GOD*, which is done in a Life governed by the MAXIMS of His Gospel, is a greater *Glory* than to *Raise the Dead*. But if

113 Mather first worked out his "MAXIMS of PIETY" in his *Things to be more thought upon* (1713). Subsequently, he revised them in *The Stone Cut out of the Mountain* (1716) and then in *Malachi*. The maxims were supposed to serve as the basis for ecumenical cooperation or even union among the Protestant churches of Europe and North America. In *Malachi*, Mather proposes "[t]hat there should be formed SOCIETIES of Good Men, who can own some such Instrument of PIETY, and make it their most inviolate Law, to bear with Differences in one another upon the Lower and Lesser points of Religion, and still at their Meetings have their Prayers for the growth of the People, who being Established on the Grand MAXIMS of Christianity are to become a Great Mountain and fill the whole Earth, accompanied with Projections of the most unexceptionable Methods to accomplish it" (p. 92–93). Mather's *Three Letters from New-England* (p. 9) and his *Manuductio ad ministerium* (p. 119) also contain reflections on church union on the basis of these maxims of a vital, christocentric piety. On this, see Middlekauff, *The Mathers*, pp. 305–19.

114 "A very great danger for those who will not have grown firm and deep roots in humility. But who can claim that for himself?" Mather quotes from August Hermann Francke, *Programma De Donis Dei Extraordinariis* (programma IX), in *Programmata diversis temporibus in Academia Hallensi publice proposita* (1714), pp. 202–16, here p. 208. The same quote appears in *Malachi*, p. 80.

115 See 2. Cor 3:12–14 and Ex. 34:33–35.

our glorious LORD, will please to Renew His Ancient *Gifts unto Men*, when He comes to *Dwell among them*, and make His People to be *like one whom his Mother comforteth*, Behold, a Perpetual and Infallible *Touchstone*, by which we are to *Try the Spirits: How far do the MAXIMS of Piety, the Establishment, and Propagation of which is intended by the Holy SPIRIT in all His extraordinary Gifts, receive Encouragement from these Communications?*<sup>216</sup>

But this is the next Thing that we shall proceed unto.

---

116 Compare Mather, *Malachi*, pp. 80–81.

## II. The SPIRIT, and PURPOSE, of the *Sacred Scriptures*.

We are to consider the SACRED SCRIPTURES, as the *Book of Life*; and as an Holy Mountain containing that Rich Oar, from whence we are to *dig* the golden MAXIMS, *of Living to GOD*. An ESSAY to dig and run and shape these golden MAXIMS, well prosecuted, would serve a thousand of the greatest Intentions; and among the rest, it would qualify us to Read the *Oracles of GOD*, with such an *Illuminated Mind*, as would be better to us than cart-loads of other Commentaries. And such an Essay is going to be sett before us.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> The final pages of this essay [13r–16v] are formed by the uncut print-sheets of *The Stone Cut out of the Mountain* (1716), Mather’s program of fourteen “Maxims of Piety” in English and Latin. The print sheets in the “Biblia”-manuscript are in poor condition. On each sheet, the two top pages always appear facing the two bottom pages upside down. To reflect what the manuscript looks like but also to make things reader-friendly, I chose to reproduce here the copy of *The Stone Cut out of the Mountain* from the *Early American Imprints* collection with the pages in the right order.

*The Stone Cut out of the  
Mountain.*

AND

The KINGDOM of GOD,  
I. N

Those MAXIMS of it, that  
*cannot be shaken.*

Rev. XIV. 7.

*Fear GOD, and Give Glory to Him ; for the Hour  
of His Judgment is Come.*

Exhibited in the Year,  
**Seventeen hundred & Sixteen.**

*Lapis e Monte Excisus.*

ATQUE

**REGNUM DEI,**  
Ejusdemque Principia in æternum  
Stabilienda.

Apoc. XIV. 7.

*Time Deum, et ei tribuite Gloriam ; nam venit  
Hora Judicij ejus.*

Editur Anno Domini, M DCC XVI.

[ 1 ]

---

The Stone Cut out of the Mountain,  
 AND  
 The KINGDOM of GOD  
 Revealed,  
 Unto the World Wondrously Moving and  
 Changing, under His most SHAKING  
 Dispensations:

**T**HERE are certain MAXIMS of PIETY, in which we Enjoy the *Everlasting Gospel*; We perceive and possess, what is the very Substance and main Design thereof.

A Just and Right and Full Exhibition of these MAXIMS to the World, is at this Day, if any thing, *The Work of the Day*. Nor can there be a more Profitable, or a more Seasonable, or a more Commendable Action done among the Children of Men, than what may be done in the Exhibiting of these things unto them.

These Divine, Ancient, Eternal MAXIMS of the Gospel, which are laid up in the *Mines* of the Sacred Scriptures, are to be dug from thence; 'Tis done, and they are now run into *Ingotts of Gold*.

The Doctrine of IMMANUEL.

Behold, The MAXIMS of the Everlasting Gospel;  
 MAXIMS for ever to be acknowledged.

*Affertions of Piety*, On the receiving whereof the *Ta-  
 bernacle of God* shall be *with Men*, and He will dwell  
*with them*.

I. There

[ 1 ]

Lapis e Monte Excifus.

E T

REGNUM DEI,

Terræ miris CONCUSSIONIBUS Commotæ  
ac Mutatæ, Patefactum.

**P**IETATIS PRINCIPIA, quædam sunt, in  
quibus *Æterno Evangelio* fruimur ; Et Sub-  
stantiam ejusdem Intentionemque percipi-  
mus ac possidemus.

PRINCIPIORUM horum justa ac recta ac plena  
Exhibitio toti Orbi facta, hodie esset sane *Opus Diei*  
*in Die suo*. Et horum Exhibitione nil inter Filios  
Hominum Utilius, nil magis Opportunum, nil ma-  
gis Laudabile, præstari queat.

Hæc Divina, Antiqua, atque *Æterna* EVANGE-  
LII AXIOMATA, in S. S. Scripturarum *Aurifodinis*  
recondita, inde sunt Effodienda ; Quod factum est,  
et in *Aurea Numismata* jam sunt Procusa.

IMMANUELIS Doctrina.

En, EUANGELII ÆTERNI Axiomata !  
In æternum agnoscenda.

*Aphorismi Pietatis, quibus receptis Tabernaculum Dei*  
*erit cum Homimibus, et cum eis habitabit.*

A 2

‘ I. DEU

## [ 2 ]

‘ I. There is ONE Infinite and Eternal GOD, who  
 ‘ is in Three Persons, the *Father*, and the *Son*, and the  
 ‘ *Holy Spirit*. He must be my GOD ; and for me to  
 ‘ Know, and Love, and Serve, and Enjoy this Blessed  
 ‘ GOD must be my chosen *Blessedness*. I must never  
 ‘ be satisfied, until I become one of his *Living Temples*,  
 ‘ and until my *Will*, and my *All* be entirely Sacrificed  
 ‘ unto HIM. Not only must my *All* become *His*, but  
 ‘ also I must be willing to be *All*, that He will have  
 ‘ me to be.

‘ II. The Eternal SON of GOD is *Incarnate*, and  
 ‘ *Enthroned* in the Glorious JESUS ; and only from  
 ‘ his *Merit*, and his *Conduct*, I must expect all that  
 ‘ Happiness, which is in his *Covenant of Grace* propo-  
 ‘ sed unto the Children of Men. I must commit my  
 ‘ self into his Gracious Hands, owning HIM for the  
 ‘ Head of his People in the *Everlasting Covenant of Life*,  
 ‘ and rely upon HIM to obtain my *Reconciliation* to  
 ‘ God by his *Oblation* to God for me, and therewithal  
 ‘ to Write his *Laws* in my Heart, and bring me in the  
 ‘ Way of his *Counsel*, to that *Glory*, which he intends  
 ‘ for all, that *Obey*, and follow him.

‘ III. I must, with a *Faith* of the *Divine Testimony*,  
 ‘ Embrace the Sacred Scriptures of the BIBLE, as  
 ‘ having in them the *Faithful Sayings* of God, and the  
 ‘ Canon of what I am to Believe, and Practice in Re-  
 ‘ ligion.

‘ IV. Whatever the *Light* of GOD in me pro-  
 ‘ nounces to be a *Sinful Thing*, I must heartily abhor  
 ‘ it, and carefully avoid it ; and what ever is of use  
 ‘ to rescue me from Sin, I must esteem to be so far  
 ‘ a *Kindness* to me. And I must, by conversing with  
 ‘ a *Crucified* JESUS, earnestly press after the Crucifying,  
 ‘ and Mortifying of all my evil Inclinations.

‘ V. I

## [ 2 ]

‘ I. DEUS est *Unus*, *Infinitus*, ac *Sempiternus*, qui  
 ‘ in tribus etiam subsistit *Personis*, *Patre*, ac *Filio*, ac  
 ‘ *Spiritu Sancto*. Hunc Deum esse meum, Res est mihi  
 ‘ maximi Momenti ; atque *Felicitas* illa, quæ in Bea-  
 ‘ tissimo hoc Deo noscendo, amando, colendo, atque  
 ‘ fruendo consistit, est mihi semper, ac summe eligenda.  
 ‘ Cor meum oportet esse *irrequietum*, donec in Deo re-  
 ‘ quiescat, atque *Vivum Dei Templum* evadam, illique mea  
 ‘ propria *Voluntas*, meaque omnia, ut *Sacrificia* *Fulgentia*  
 ‘ offerantur. Nec solum illi omnia mea *Sacrificare* ;  
 ‘ sed ut ipse fiam quodcunque ille voluerit, submissi-  
 ‘ ssime assentiri debeo.

‘ II. *Filius Dei Æternus*, *Carni Gloriosissimi nostri*  
 ‘ JESU unitur, et in *Throno excelsissimi Dei* sedet  
 ‘ JESUS, *Deus Homo factus* ; a cujus solius *Meritis*,  
 ‘ ac *Auspiciis*, tota illa *Felicitas*, quæ in suo *Gratiæ*  
 ‘ *Federe* *Generi Humano* proponitur, est expectanda.  
 ‘ Illius *Curæ* me prorsus credere debeo, illumque, ut  
 ‘ sui *Populi Caput* in *Vita Federe Æterno* agnoscere ;  
 ‘ atque illi confidere, ut *Gratiæ Divinæ* me restituat,  
 ‘ per *Oblationem*, quam Deo pro me præstitit ; ac ut  
 ‘ *Legem* suam *Cordi meo* inscribat, meque *Consilio* suo  
 ‘ regat, ac ducat ad *Gloriam* illam *Cælestem*, quam om-  
 ‘ nibus, quotquot sint, qui eum sequantur, eique per  
 ‘ omnia obsequantur, paraverit.

‘ III. Oportet me *Testimonio Divino* fretum, *Sacras*  
 ‘ *Bibliorum nostrorum Scripturas* amplecti ; utpote quæ  
 ‘ in se *fideles Dei Sermones*, et eorum, quæ in *Religione*  
 ‘ sunt vel *credenda*, vel *agenda*, *Canonem* comprehendant.

‘ IV. Odio perpetuo mihi habendum, ac serio sedu-  
 ‘ loque fugiendum, quodcunque *Dei Lumen* in me, *Pec-*  
 ‘ *catum* esse fatetur. Et pro *Lucro* mihi ponendum est,  
 ‘ quodcunque ad me a *Peccato* eripiendum conducatur.  
 ‘ Atque *Communione* cum *Christo crucifixo* oportet me  
 ‘ totis *Viribus* anniti, ut *pravæ* meæ *Cupiditates*, et ad  
 ‘ peccandum omnes *Propensiones*, *Crucifigamur*.

‘ V. *Novæ*



## [ 3 ]

‘ V. I must, by a Rectifying, and Purifying Change,  
 ‘ Produced by the SPIRIT of GOD upon me, become  
 ‘ a New Creature ; and with a Changed Biass of Soul, re-  
 ‘ nounce the Empire of the *Flesh*, and of the *World*, and  
 ‘ of the *Devil* over me ; and make it evident, that the  
 ‘ Commands, and Interests of GOD my Saviour give Law  
 ‘ unto me : Self must be dethroned, and GOD only be  
 ‘ in the Throne of my Soul, if I would not fall short  
 ‘ of entering into his Rest. And the Experience of such  
 ‘ a Renovation in the Spirit of the Mind, must be prefer-  
 ‘ rible unto all earthly Riches, or Beauties with me.

‘ VI. I must endeavour to fill my Life with Ac-  
 ‘ knowledgments of the great GOD, and of his CHRIST,  
 ‘ in the Ways prescribed in his Word ; and abandon  
 ‘ all Ungodliness and Worldly Lusts, and live Godlily, and  
 ‘ Soberly, and Righteously in the World. I must herewith-  
 ‘ al industriously do my best, that I may bring as many  
 ‘ others as may be, in like Manner to Acknowledge him ;  
 ‘ and use my Industry, in the most unexceptionable  
 ‘ Methods, to bring on the Kingdom of God in such an  
 ‘ Extent of it, that His Will may be done on Earth, as it  
 ‘ is in Heaven.

‘ VII. I must continually have the Example of the  
 ‘ Holy and Lovely JESUS before my Eyes, and walk  
 ‘ as he walked ; and if he will in his Providence call me  
 ‘ to bear his Cross, and be conformed unto him in any  
 ‘ humbling Circumstances, I must Patiently, and Cheer-  
 ‘ fully entertain this Conformity to him, as a Token  
 ‘ for Good : And in whatever Person I see any Confor-  
 ‘ mity to him, it must endear that Person to me.

‘ VIII. I must have an heart full of Benignity un-  
 ‘ to Mankind ; labour to be a Blessing in all Relations ;  
 ‘ be afraid of doing ill Offices to my Neighbours ;  
 ‘ and

## [ 3 ]

‘ V. *Nova Creatura* oportet me fieri, *Mutatione* mei  
 ‘ totius per *Spiritum Dei* me reſtificantem, ac purifi-  
 ‘ cantem, facta. *Animæque* meæ *Inclinatione* mutata,  
 ‘ oportet me *Imperio Carnis*, ac *Mundi*, ac *Diaboli*  
 ‘ renunciare ; *Præcepta* vero, et *Commoda* Maximi noſtri  
 ‘ *ſoſpitatoris*, mihi in omnibus evidentiffime imperare.  
 ‘ *Amor* meiipſus de *Throno* eſt mihi deturbandus, atque  
 ‘ *Deus* ipſe ſolus in *Animæ* meæ ſolio collocandus, in  
 ‘ ipſius *Requiem* ſi introire velim. Hujus quidem in  
 ‘ *Mentis* meæ *Spiritu* *Renovationis* *Experientia*, omnibus  
 ‘ *mundanis* *Opibus*, atque *Ornamentis*, eſt mihi ante-  
 ‘ ponenda.

‘ VI. Danda eſt mihi *Opera*, ut *DEI* *Optimi*  
 ‘ *Maximi*, *CHRISTI*que ſui, *Recognitionibus*, ſecundum  
 ‘ *Regulas*, *Methodos*que in illius *Verbo* præſcriptas,  
 ‘ tota mea *Vita* repleatur ; atque ut *Impietatem* omnem,  
 ‘ et *Mundana* *Deſideria* abnegans, *Pie*, *Sobrie*, *Fuſte*que in  
 ‘ hoc *Mundo* vivam. Ideoque me oportet etiam  
 ‘ omnem *Operam* navare, ut alii ad illius *Agnitio-*  
 ‘ nem ſalutiferam adducantur ; atque ſumma *Induſtria*,  
 ‘ *Viis* vero, *modis*que omnino irreprehenſibilibus uti,  
 ‘ ut *Regnum Dei* ubique adveniat, atque ut fiat *Voluntas*  
 ‘ ejus, ſicut in *Cælo*, et in *Terra*.

‘ VII. Sanctiſſimi, Chariffimique *JESU Exemplar*,  
 ‘ ob *Oculos* mihi ſemper ponendum ; et quemadmodum  
 ‘ ille ambulavit, Ego ſic ſemper ambulare debeo. Si vero  
 ‘ illi viſum foret, per *Providentiam* ſuam, me ad  
 ‘ *Crucem* ferendam vocare, et in *Circumſtantiis* *humili-*  
 ‘ *antibus* me illi conformem reddere, æquo ac læto  
 ‘ *Animo* oportet me illam *Conformitatem*, ut *Bonorum*  
 ‘ *cæleſtium* *Arrham*, amplecti. In quocunque etiam  
 ‘ ullam *Chriſto* *Conformitatem* conſpexero, meum eſt  
 ‘ *Chriſtum* in illo habitantem diligere.

‘ VIII. Benignum *Animum*, ac *Benevolentia* ar-  
 ‘ dentem erga totum *Genus humanum*, oportet me gerere ;  
 ‘ In cunctis, quas ſuſtineo, *Relationibus*, proximo prodeſſe ;  
 ‘ *Injuria*,

## [ 4 ]

‘ and studiously, and readily lay hold on all Opportu-  
 ‘ nities to do any *Good* ones : But above all, where I  
 ‘ ought to think my Neighbours, *The Children of God*,  
 ‘ I must bear unto them the Affection which the  
 ‘ *Dearest Brethren* have due unto them.

‘ IX. My *Dealings in the World* must be regulated  
 ‘ by that Golden Rule of Equity, *To do by Others, as*  
 ‘ *I would own it equal for others to deal with me* ; And,  
 ‘ *To aim at the Benefit of those I deal withal, as well as*  
 ‘ *my own* : And often examine my Conduct, whether  
 ‘ it keep to this *Rule* ; and presently *Repent*, when I  
 ‘ am convicted of Transgressing it.

‘ X. I must not frowardly *Refuse* the *Blessings* of  
 ‘ God in the *Comforts* of this Life, which I am to *Seek*  
 ‘ with the Industry of a *Lawful Business* : But I must  
 ‘ employ these *Comforts*, as *Engagements*, and *Instruments*  
 ‘ to glorify GOD with them ; and count them no  
 ‘ further *Blessings*, than they are so employed : But I  
 ‘ must be very free to *deny my self* of them, when  
 ‘ Duty to GOD shall oblige me to such *Self-denial*

‘ XI. My high Value for the unquestionable *In-*  
 ‘ *stitutions* of the Gospel, must be for ever inviolable ;  
 ‘ Particularly for those, wherein my Redeemer does  
 ‘ *Wash* and *Feed* my *Body*, and employes my *Bodily*  
 ‘ *Actions*, to Seal the Assurance of my *Resurrection* from  
 ‘ the Grave, by his Power at his Coming. And as I  
 ‘ must Worship GOD only in such Ways, as HE, who  
 ‘ is the Great *Lawgiver* of his *Church* has instituted, so  
 ‘ I must in all decent Ways manifest my Wish, that the  
 ‘ *Church* may in all Things keep close unto them. At  
 ‘ the same Time, I must hold *Communion* with all that  
 ‘ *fear God*, and *Work Righteousness* in those Things,  
 ‘ wherein they do what I judge to be pleasing unto  
 ‘ God :

## [ 4 ]

‘ *Injurias* nulli libenter inferre ; omnes omnibus  
 ‘ *benefaciendi* *Occasiones* avide, ac alacriter arripere ;  
 ‘ Præsertim vero ubi Proximi mei pro *Dei Filiis* sunt  
 ‘ habendi, illi tanquam *Fratres dilectissimi*, Amore  
 ‘ singulari sunt prosequendi.

‘ IX. *Neg. tia mea in hoc Mundo*, per auream illam,  
 ‘ et æquam Regulam sunt ordinanda, *Quod tibi fieri*  
 ‘ non vis alteri ne faceris ; Et, Non proprium solum,  
 ‘ sed aliorum Commodum consulendum : Meque sapissime  
 ‘ sub *Examen* revocare debeo, an hanc Regulam ob-  
 ‘ servaverim ; si vero violatæ *Regule* quis me coarguere  
 ‘ possit, protinus Delictum est *Penitentia* sincera dilu-  
 ‘ endum.

‘ X. *Dei Beneficia* in hujus Vitæ Solatiis non sunt  
 ‘ protervo, et ingrato cum Animo respuenda ; quæ  
 ‘ quidem licitis Mediis Christiana cum Industria sunt  
 ‘ acquirenda. Utendæ vero sunt illæ Acquisitiones  
 ‘ tanquam *Incitamenta*, ac *Instrumenta*, ad Deum illorum  
 ‘ Datorem glorificandum. Neque aliter, et ulterius  
 ‘ *Beneficia* sunt æstimanda, quam in hunc Usus con-  
 ‘ ferantur. Iis vero libenter carendum, quotiescunque  
 ‘ meum erga Deum Officium, ad talem me meipsum  
 ‘ *Abnegationem* adegerit.

‘ XI. De *Evangelii Institutis* nunquam dubitandis  
 ‘ oportet me magnifice sentire ; De iis præcipue, quibus  
 ‘ Redemptor noster *Corpora* nostra lavat, ac pascit, et  
 ‘ *Corporeis* jubet *Actiones*, quibus *Resurrectionem* *Corporis*  
 ‘ per insignissimam suam Potentiam, in Illustrissimo suo  
 ‘ Adventu efficiendam obsignat ; Utque Deus colendus  
 ‘ est, solis *istis Modis*, quos ille, qui unicus est *Ecclesia*  
 ‘ *Legislator* instituit, ita omnibus quibus licet *Modis*  
 ‘ *Vota mea* in apertum sunt proferenda, ut iis per om-  
 ‘ nia *Ecclesia* religiosissime adhæreat. Verum eodem  
 ‘ Tempore *fraterna Communio* mihi est servanda cum  
 ‘ omnibus, qui Deum timent, et *Justitiam* operantur,  
 ‘ istis in Rebus, quibus Deo illos aliquid gratum  
 ‘ facere.

## [ 5 ]

‘ God : And when I *dissent*, and *withdraw* from them  
 ‘ in those Things which appear *Evil* to me, my  
 ‘ *Censures* of all Godly People must be truly chari-  
 ‘ table, and very favourable.

‘ XII. With a *Pure*, and *Peaceable Spirit of Wis-*  
 ‘ *dom*, *gentle*, *easy to be intreated*, *full of Mercy* and good  
 ‘ *Fruits*, for ever contrary to the unreasonable *Spirit*  
 ‘ of *Persecution*, I must abhor all Approaches towards  
 ‘ the *Persecuting* of any Man, or using any Methods;  
 ‘ but those of a friendly *Argument*, and *Persuasion*, upon  
 ‘ *Conscientious Differences* in Religion. But every Man  
 ‘ must be left free to follow the Dictates of his own  
 ‘ *Conscience*, and suffer no Molestation in any of his  
 ‘ *Temporal Interests*, for holding any Opinions, whereby  
 ‘ *Humane Society* is not evidently damnified, or en-  
 ‘ dangered.

‘ XIII. If ever I am Stationed in any *Office*, which  
 ‘ bears any Aspect on the Publick, I must labour to  
 ‘ discharge the Work of my *Station* with all possible  
 ‘ Fidelity, and Integrity, and make my *Office* not an  
 ‘ Engine to aggrandize my self by the Oppression of  
 ‘ others ; but let my self to contrive, how *Others* may  
 ‘ fare the better for me ; and that I may give up a  
 ‘ Desirable Account of my *Stewardship* unto the Lord  
 ‘ of all, who will bring every work into Judgment.

‘ XIV. I must as a Child of God Look down with  
 ‘ a just Contempt on the *High Things* of this World ;  
 ‘ and have my Eye fixed with *Faith*, and *Hope*, and  
 ‘ Joy on the great Things of that *Heavenly World*,  
 ‘ where our Lord-Redeemer, by whom God will Judge  
 ‘ the World, will bestow all *Spiritual Blessings* upon those,  
 ‘ who in a Course of *Patient Continuance* in well-doing,  
 ‘ are Looking, and Waiting for his *Mercy* in *Life Eternal* ;  
 ‘ and from which he will banish into a *Strange Pun-*  
 ‘ *ishment* all the Workers of *Iniquity*.

Concerning

## [ 5 ]

‘ facere, sentiam. Quum vero ab illis *diffentire*, ac in  
 ‘ Rebus, quas Deo displicere censeam, *separare*, necesse  
 ‘ habuerim, in Pios tamen *Fratres*, Censuris duris, et  
 ‘ superbis ac acerbis Criminationibus, non acriter, ac  
 ‘ severe insequendum.

‘ XII. *Puro*, ac *pacifico* *Sapientia* *Spiritu*, *Modesto*,  
 ‘ *Tractabili*, *Misericordiae pleno*, et *bonorum Fructuum*, qui  
 ‘ a *Spiritu Persecutionis* absurdo semper abhorret, omnes  
 ‘ *Accessus* ad cuiusvis, qui *Pacem* non turbat *Publicam*,  
 ‘ pro *Conscientiae Opinionibus* *Persecutionem*, sunt omnino  
 ‘ detestandi, ac evitandi. Neque ulla, præter amica  
 ‘ *Argumenta*, suavesque *Suasiones*, Media pro tollendis  
 ‘ in *Religione* *Controversiis* applicanda. Sed omnibus  
 ‘ *Libertas*, ut propriæ *Conscientiae* libere sequantur *Disti-*  
 ‘ *mina*, est concedenda. Et nulla *Molestia* cuiquam  
 ‘ creanda, ob *Opiniones* in *Religione* diversas, ubi  
 ‘ *Societati humanae* nullum infertur *Detrimentum*, aut  
 ‘ *Periculum*.

‘ XIII. Si *Munus* aliquod unquam in *Republica*  
 ‘ suscepero, summa cum *Fidelitate*, atque *Integritate*  
 ‘ me oportet suscepto *Munere* fungi ; et a *Statione*  
 ‘ mea *Publica* nullo modo meipsum aliorum *Oppres-*  
 ‘ *sione* ditandi, *Occasionem* sumere, sed *quomodo aliis*  
 ‘ *omnibus* in ea *prodesse queam*, excogitare ; ut *Admi-*  
 ‘ *nistrat*ionis meæ *Rationem* optandam DEO reddam,  
 ‘ qui omnium *Opera* in *Judicium* tandem vocabit.

‘ XIV. Eo, quo par est, *Contemptu*, et quo decet  
 ‘ *Filios Dei*, *Vitæque* *Æternæ* *Hæredes*, oportet me  
 ‘ in *excelsu* *hujus Mundi* despicere ; atque *Oculum* cum  
 ‘ *spe*, *Fide*, et *Gaudio* intentum habere in *Supernis*  
 ‘ illius *Mundi*, ubi *Dominus Redemptor noster*, per  
 ‘ quem *Deus vivos*, *mortuosque* *judicabit*, in omni *Benedictione*  
 ‘ *Spirituali* illis benedicet, qui *Perseverantes* in *benefaciendo*  
 ‘ *Gloriam*, et *Honorem*, et *Immortalitatem* *quæunt* ; A qua  
 ‘ omnes *Iniquitatis Operarios* in *Exilium* ter miserum, *Sup-*  
 ‘ *pliciumque* vere mirandum, ac tremendum amandabit.

## [ 6 ]

**C**ONCERNING these Maxims of the *Everlasting Gospel* it is to be observed, and asserted That all the *Children of God* in all Quarters of the World assent unto them, (at least unto the most of them :) Yea, and that all, who *heartily assent* unto them are the *Children of God* : And an Union in these Things being established, all that profess the *Christian Religion* of the Gospel, ought with a *Christian Affection* to embrace one another, and with *United Endeavours*, and an heavenly Harmony, and Agreement, prosecute *Good Purposes*, to advance *Piety*, and the *Kingdom of God*. If there be any Points, in which they differ from one another, their *Difference* ought to be no other, than that of good *Friends*, and sweetned with the greatest *Candor* of Mind. Their *Disputations* on these lower Points ought all to be most softly, and mildly managed ; and they ought on both sides to leave one another unto the *Alluminations of God*.

Among the diverse Colonies of *Bees*, fierce Wars are sometimes carried on, in which they neither give, nor take any Quarter, but make a very great Slaughter of one another. Of these Opposing Armies, the *Voice* is the same ; the *Aspect* is the same ; the *Armour* is the same ; 'Tis only by their *Scent*, that they distinguish themselves from one another. Wherefore if any one throw among them a *Sweet-scented Liquour*, which may impart the *same Scent* to all the Contenders, presently the *Fight* is over ; the *Strife* is at an end ; there is a Cessation of all *Hostilities*. Most certainly, the *Maxims of the Everlasting Gospel* exhibit such a *Sweet-scented Liquor*, which being poured, and cast upon the *Church-Militant* [ *Alas ! too Militant !* ] All the Faithful Servants of God, of whose Union the *Blood* of their Saviour is the *Eternal Cement*, will presently be sensible, that they all have the *same Scent* upon them ; and they will without any more ado, give over wounding one another. *God put an End unto their doing so !*

But,

## [ 6 ]

**D**E his *Æterni Evangelii Præscriptionibus* observandum est, atque affirmandum, cunctos *Dei Filios* ubique Gentium sparsos, illis, magna. saltem ex Parte, astipulari ; Imo et cunctos illis ex animo astipulantes esse *Dei Filios*. Et stabilita in his Rebus *Unione*, cuncti, qui *Religionem* profitentur *Christianam*, et Evangelicam, *Christiano Amore* se mutuo debent amplecti ; et *unitis Viribus*, Harmoniaque Cælesti, et Concordia, *Proposita pro Pietate, Regnoque Dei promovendo*, prosequi. Et, si qui sint, in quibus a se mutuo discrepent, *Articuli*, amica sane, et summo cum Animi Candore dulcorata debet esse Discrepantia. Mollissimæ, mitissimæque sint omnes de hisce inferioribus Articulis *Disputatiuncula* ; et utrinque se divinis Illuminationibus oportet relinquere.

Atrocia nonnunquam inter diversas *Apum Colonias* geruntur Bella, quibus nulla data ab utraque Parte Venia, maximam inter se Cladem faciunt. His Agminibus eadem *Vox*, *Facies* omnibus Una, eademque *Armatura* ; *Odore* solo se mutuo distinguunt. Quapropter si quis *Odoriferum* aliquem *Liquorem*, qui eodem tingeret Apes Odore, in dimicantes effunderet, *Pugna* statim cessant ; cessant *Rixæ* ; ab omni *Hostilitate* cessatum est. Pro certo, *Odoriferum* istiusmodi *Liquorem* exhibent *Æterni Evangelii Axiomata* ; quo in *Militantem*, heu ! nimis *Militantem* ! Ecclesiam effuso atque injecto, omnes Dei Servi Fideles, *Eodem Sanguine Christi perpetuo glutinati*, extemplo eundem illis inesse perentiscent Odorem, et se mutuis Vulneribus petendi *Finem* illico facient. *Dabit Deus his quoque Finem !*

Verum,



## [ 7 ]

But, *How Long, O Lord! — How Long, How Long,* will it be, e're Christians beat their *Swords* into *Plough-shares*, and their *Spears* into *Pruning-hooks*, to Till the Garden of God! From this Time it will become a Garden of Delights; and the Earth which now lies like an hideous Wilderness, overrun with *Thorns*, and wild-beasts of the Desert lying there, and doleful Creatures filling of it, will be turned into a most Pleasant PARADISE, richly Watered with the *River of God*, which is full of *Water*! The MAXIMS of the Everlasting Gospel, are the *Plough-shares* and *Pruning-hooks*, to be employ'd for the Cultivation, of the *New Earth* wherein shall dwell Righteousness; and we shall see a Restored PARADISE. Come, Let us Walk in this Light of God!

Well-formed, and founded are the Churches, which make no Terms of Communion, but such as are Terms of Union with Christ our Saviour, and of our Eternal Salvation; and grant unto all, whom Christ has received unto the Glory of God, an Admission unto the Eucharist, and all Ecclesiastical Privileges with themselves. But the Churches, which drive away from their Communion, them, who espouse this true Christianity, that so, being led away with the Spirit of a Party, they may engross, and divide the Privileges, and Advantages of the Church-State among a Party, that shall assert some dubious, and peculiar Matters of Discipline, or of Controversy, are to be charged with the Guilt of Schism. They are not built upon the Sayings of our Lord Jesus Christ; but being foolishly built upon the Sand, the Rain will descend, and the Floods come, and the Winds blow, and beat upon the House; and it will fall, and great will be the fall of it.

It

## [ 7 ]

Verum, *εως ποτε, ω Δεσποσα ! Ah ! Quousque, Quousque fuerit, quum Christianorum Gladii in Ligones, Hastæque in Falces, ad Hortum Dei colendum, tundentur ! Exinde fiet sane Hortus Deliciarum, atque Terra quæ jam horridi instar Deserti, Spinis obsita, ac operta, jacet ; ( et recubant illic fera, et implent eam noxia Animalia ! ) in PARADISUM ter-amœnam, Dei Rivo aquæ pleno fœliciter irrigatam, restituetur. Evangelij Æterni Axiomata, sunt velut Ligones ac Falces, ad Novæ illius in qua inhabitabit Iustitia, Terræ, et in Paradisiacum statum restituendæ, culturam, adhibenda. Agite, In hac Luce JEHOVÆ ambulemus !*

*Ecclesiæ bene formatæ, atque fundatæ sunt illæ, quæ se nullis Communionis Conditionibus, nisi quæ sint et Unionis cum Christo, æternæque Salutis Conditiones, astringunt ; sed cunctos ad Dei Gloriam a Christo admissos, ad Sacram Eucharistiam, et ad omnia cum ipsis Ecclesiastica Privilegia fatentur admittendos. Ecclesiæ vero, quæ hujus veri Christianismi Cultores arcent ab ipsarum Communione, ut eo pacto Ecclesiastica Privilegia, et Emolumenta sibi ipsis habeant appropriata, atque Studio Partium abreptæ, ista illis tantum Homunculis distribuunt, qui se Dubiis quibusdam, et sibi Propriis Disciplinæ, vel Controversiæ Articulis distinguunt, de Schismatis Reatu sunt peragendæ. Domum suam non super D. N. JESU CHRISTI Sermones ædificant ; sed super Arenam fatuæ ædificata. Domus, descendente Pluvia, veniente Flumine, flantibus Ventis, et in Domum illam irruentibus, cadet, et magnus ejus Casus erit.*

*Æternis*

## [ 8 ]

It is a singular Glory belonging to the *Maxims* of the *Everlasting Gospel*, whereof there is now made a Promulgation, that, *when they are tryed, they come forth as Gold*, and the more they are Studied, the more they are found Calculated for the Coming of the *Kingdom of God*, and that State of the Church [ Oh ! how much to be desired ! ] wherein there shall be a Reign of Glory to God in the *Highest*, and on Earth Peace, thro' good-Will among Men. The Wiser, and better any Men grow, the more they grow in the Veneration of their Minds for, and the Conformity of their Lives to, these Illustrious *Maxims* of Piety. Dying Men, who come to themselves, when going away from the World, generally embrace them. Alas, The Great God will throw the Miserable Nations into the *Agonies* of Death, because this *Gospel* will not, without such direful Anxieties, and Necessities, be welcome unto them.

The Nations are strangely distracted from a Variety of Sentiments in Religion ; Like the troubled Sea, that cannot rest, and the Waters thereof cast out Mire, and Dirt. Men of good Sense grow sick of those Thoughts, and Rites in Religion, which do not Cherish the Life of God in the Soul of Man. All Sects of Christians have something in them, which Christian Prudence would have no Relish for. But in these our *Maxims* of the *Everlasting Gospel*, there is that Manly, and Vital Religion, wherein all, that are Men of Understanding, will find Satisfaction. This Pure, Genuine, and Primitive Christianity makes that Invitation of Christ unto the Nations, languishing under dead Forms, and shows of Religion ; Come to me, ye that labour, and are heavy-laden, and I will give you Rest : Take my Yoke upon you ; An easy Yoke, a golden one, and one that will never be repented of.

'Tis

## [ 8 ]

*Æternis his Evangelii Dogmatibus heic promulgatis eximia hæc inest Gloria, quod probata sicut aurum exeat ; Et quo longiori Examini sint subiecta, eo plus reperiantur Regni Cælestis Adventui accommodata, et Ecclesiæ Constitutioni, O quam optandæ ! in qua Gloria Deo in Excelsis, Pax vero in Terris, per Benevolentiam inter Homines in toto Terrarum orbe conciliatam, regnabit. Quo magis Prudentia, aut Virtute crescant Mortales, eo majori Mentis Veneratione, Vitaque Conformitate, illustrissima hæc Pietatis Distamina confirmabunt. Homines Moribundæ, qui ad se redeunt a Mundo abituri, plerunque in horum Complexum veniunt. Eheu ! Deus Optimus Maximus ad Mortis usque Dolores miseras perducet Gentes, quoniam absque diris his Anxietatibus, atque Necessitatibus, hoc Evangelium illis non desideratum aderit.*

*Variis in Religione Opinionibus mire, ac misere distrahuntur Gentes ; ut Mare propulsum, quod quiescere non potest, et cujus Aqua Cæcum et Lutum expellunt. Usu rerum experti Homines, Fastidio jam tenentur eorum in Religione Dogmatum, ac Rituum, quibus Virtus ac Vita Divina in Anima Humana nil foveri sentitur. Christianorum Sectæ jam omnes aliquid in summo Pretio habent, quod Sapientia vere Christiana non potest non dedignari. In his vero Æterni Evangelii Axiomatibus Virilis, atque Vitalis illa Religio, in qua omnes bene cordati, facile queant acquiescere, continetur. Purus hic ac Genuinus atque Primitivus Christianismus, CHRISTI Nomine Gentes in mortuis Religionis Formis, et Larvis languentes invitat ; Venite ad me, omnes, qui fatigati estis, et onerati, et Ego faciam, ut requiescat. Tollite super Vos Fugum meum : Fugum facile, ac Avereum, et nunquam sane penitendum.*

C

Certissimum

## [ 9 ]

'Tis most certain, the *Popish Religion* is filled with such *Idolatries*, and *Oppressions*, and *Fooleries*, that the most abject Submission of Man-kind unto the heavy Burdens of this *Enchantment*, which we behold with our Eyes, could never have been brought about, but by the Tremendous Judgment of God. *Poper*y renders not only *Miserable*, but also *Ridiculous*, the enslaved Nations ; Alas, how Foolish Nations, and how *Born to Slavery* ! Rome is that *Harlot*, that has intoxicated the Inhabitants of the Earth with the *Wine of her Fornication*. But that Voice is now heard from Heaven ; *Come out of her, my People* ! Harken, and adhere to the *Rule of Faith*, and *Manners*, which you now enjoy in the *Maxims of the Everlasting Gospel* ; and hereby you shall come out of your *Babylon*, which a Destruction is now waiting for : you shall escape a Destruction which you have cause to tremble at !

In these MAXIMS of PIETY we have the Highest, and the most Reasonable, and Unquestionable *Marks of Truth*. Whatsoever shall by its *Contradiction* thereunto, either Destroy or Weaken, that Spirit of Living to God, and His Christ, which is cherished by these MAXIMS, is to be judged *contrary to Truth*, and look'd upon as an Error. Behold, *The Way of Truth*, which is to be called, *The way of Holiness*, and *the way-faring ones*, tho' *Fools*, can hardly err therein.

A Soul Enlivened with such a Love of God, and of Christ and of our Neighbour, as we are taught by that *Grace of God bringing Salvation*, which has in these Heavenly *Maxims of Piety* now appeared unto all Men, is to be preferred before those *Extraordinary Gifts of the Holy Spirit*, whereof a Mighty shower will fall upon the Nations, and revive the *weary Heritage of God* ; when there shall be a Fulfilment of that Prophecy which yet remains to be Fulfilled, *I will pour out my Spirit upon all Flesh*. For tis for this very *End* that these  
Extraordinary

## [ 9 ]

Certissimum est, *Papisticam Religionem* tot *Idololatriis*, *Iniquitatibus*, et *Futilitatibus* esse repletam, quod submissio humani Generis, quam cernimus, abjectissima sub hujus *Fascinationis* Oneribus, absque tremendo Dei *Judicio* nunquam concedi potuerit. *Papismus* non solum *Infelices*, verum etiam *Ridiculas* reddit captivas, atque ah ! fatuas, et ad *Servitutem* natas Gentes ! *Roma* est illa *Meretrix*, cujus *Vino* *Scortationis* *Incola* *Terra* sunt inebriati. Ea vero *Vox* e *Cælo* jam auditur, *Exite ex ea*, *Popule* mi ! *Norma* *Fidei*, *Mortum*que, qua in *Evangelii* *Æterni* *Regulis* jam fruimini, auscultate, et adhærete ; atque hoc *Modo* e peragenda vestra *Babylone* exhibitis ; *Perditionem*que quam formidandam evitabitis !

In his *Pietatis* *Regulis*, dantur *Summa*, atque *Rationi* consentanea, et nunquam in suspicionem trahenda, *Veritatis* *Criteria*. His quodcunque contradicit, atque *Pietatis*, Deoque et *Christo* suo vivendi *Spiritus*, cujus *Flabella* sunt hæc *Axiomata*, interimeret vel debilitaret, *Veritati* *Contrarium* hoc est judicandum, et pro *Errore* habendum. Ecce, *Via* *Veritatis* hæc est, quæ *Via* *Sanctitatis* vocabitur, et in qua *Viatores* vel *Stulti* quidem *vix* poterunt decurrere !

*Anima*, *Amore* *Dei* et *Christi* et *Proximi*, in quo nos erudire vellet *Gratia* illa *Dei* *Salutifera*, quæ quibusvis hominibus in cælestibus his *Pietatis* *Aphorismis* jam illuxit, animata, est anteferenda sane *Extraordinariis* illis *Spiritus* *Sancti* *Donis*, quorum *Liberalissima* super Gentes tandem stillabit pluvia, quæ *Possessionem* *Dei*, eamque defessam olim instaurabit ; quam adimplebitur illud adhuc implendum vaticinium, *Effundam* *Spiritum* *meum* *super* *omnem* *carnem*. In hunc

## [ 10 ]

*Extraordinary Gifts* will be showred down upon the World. That to the *Way of God*, which these *Maxims of Piety* have laid out, may be known upon the Earth ; and the *Salvation* brought in them, to all Nations. Then, *The People shall praise thee, O God ; all the People shall praise thee.*

From these *Maxims of the Everlasting Gospel*, every Christian is to pass a Judgment on his own *Interior State* ; whether it be *Right and Safe* or no ; That is to say ; *If he feel upon his own Soul and Life, the powerful Operation of them.*

Yea, and when the *Extraordinary Gifts of God* shall be given unto Men, they are to be tried by these *Maxims of Piety* ; whether their *Savouring* and their *Nourishing* of this *Piety*, may determine their coming from the *Most Holy GOD*. Or, whether, from their inducing of something that is contrary to this *Piety*, they may be judged to proceed from *Satan* the Prince of *Darkness*, transforming himself into an *Angel of Light* ; and accordingly with caution, and much trembling are to be rejected.

Concerning the *Lesser Points*, the *Indifferents*, or the *Unnecessaries* of Religion, that the Children of God should always be of *one Opinion*, it is a Thing, that is neither necessary, nor to be looked for. Good Men may be of a *diverse Opinion* in many Matters, without any Breach upon their *Brotherhood* ; why ; because without any Breach upon their *Piety*, and their *Goodness*. In this *Diversity* let *Charity* be kept in its due Vigour ; let *Righteousness* lose nothing of its Vigour ; let a Generous Agreement in *Piety* be Vigorous. Hereby it will come to pass, that this their *Diversity* in *Lesser Matters* will but render the more Amiable their *Unity* in the *Greatest Matters* ; in the Love of God, and our Neighbour ; in a Lively Faith on our Saviour, and in True, & Undeiled Religion.

Lo,

## [ 10 ]

enim finem, *Extraordinariorum Donorum* sunt *Imbres* descensuri, ut agnoscat in terra *Via Dei*, his *Pietatis Aphorismis* delineata, et *Omnibus Gentibus* eorum *Salus*. Deinde, *Te Celebrabunt Populi*, O Deus, *Populi omnes Te Celebrabunt*.

Ex hac *Evangelii Æterni Doctrina*, quivis Christianus de Animæ suæ *Interiori Statu*, an *Recto* ac *Tuto*, judicare debet ; nempe, si hanc *Pietatis Doctrinam* in Animam suam Vitamque sentiat *Potenter* atque *Vitaliter* operari.

Imo, et quum *Extraordinaria Dei Dona* hominibus collata fuerint, per has *Pietatis Regulas* probanda sunt et spectanda. An hanc *Pietatem* redolentia atque excitantia, Evidenter a *DEO* ter-Sancto proficiantur. An contra hanc *Pietatem* aliquid suadentia, a Satana, Principe Tenebrarum, in Angelum Lucis transformato, proficisci sint censenda ; ideoque cavenda, et summo cum Animi tremore rejicienda.

De Religionis *Apicibus*, et *Aliaphoris*, vel *Non-necessariis* idem sentire ubivis Dei Filios, nec necessarium est, nec expectandum. *Diversum sentire Bonos*, incolumi licuit semper *Amicitia* ; quippe incolumi *Pietate*, atque *Bonitate*. Vigeat in hac *Diversitate Charitas* ; Vigeat *Iustitia* ; Vigeat *Pietatis generosus Syncretismus* : Quo pacto fiet, quod hæc *Diversitas* in Rebus *Minutioribus*, amabiliorem reddet in Rebus *Maximis*, nimirum, in Dei, Proximique *Amore*, et vivida in Christum *Fide*, atque *Religione Munda*, et apud Deum, et Patrem *incontaminata, Unitatem*.

En,



## [ 11 ]

Lo, the Redeemer comes, whose Fan is in his Hand, and he will thoroughly purge his Floor. In these *Maxims of Piety*, you have the *Wheat* for the Garner of the Lord ; O you, that are *Looking for, and hastning to the coming of the Day of God*.

The *People*, who have these *Evangelical, and Everlasting Maxims* written on their Hearts, are the true *People of God*, howbeit in Lesser Points they may differ from one another. And it goes well with the *People of God*, for whose Peace we pour out our most Ardent, & Constant Prayers, when these *Maxims run, and are glorified* ; and not when this, or that Party prevails, and gets into the Power of oppressing others.

A competent Number of them, who are United in the *Maxims and Precepts of the Everlasting Gospel*, capable of carrying on Ecclesiastical Affairs, Confederating and Associating to observe all the Institutions of our Lord JESUS CHRIST, are a Lawful CHURCH, whereto all the Rights and Privileges of a Church-State belong ; And in such a *Sacred Corporation*, the Laws by which the Kingdom of God is to be acknowledged are to be administred.

The true *Ministers of the Gospel* are those, who being Elected by a *People*, thinking and thirsting for this *Piety*, and approved by other *Ministers* Professing and Promoting the like *Piety*, make it their main Business to render these *Maxims of the Gospel* efficacious on the Hearts and Ways of Men : by which *Efficacy* alone the *Success of the Ministry* is to be judged of.

The true *Propagation of Religion* lies in Prudently and Prosperously Promulgating these Infallible and Unchangable *Maxims of the Gospel*. The Man that shall, with the Help of God, perswade and engage, tho' bnt one Soul, to a *Living Faith* of these MAXIMS, is therein a Richer Man, than if he had heaped up all the Riches of the World. But

## [ II ]

En, appropinquet jam Dominus Redemptor, *cujus Ventilabrum est in Manu sua, et Aream suam perpurgabit.* In his vero *Pietatis Maximis, Triticum coactum in Dei Horreum, O vos expectantes, et properantes ad Adventum Dei Dei, cernitis.*

*Populus ille, cujus Cordibus inscripta sunt hæc Evangelica, ac Sempiterna Axiomata, est vere Dei Populus; quamvis in parvis quibusdam inter se dissentiant. Atque bene agitur cum vero Dei Populo, pro quo Preces a Nobis fiunt ardentes, et constantes, quum hi Sermones Domini curant, et glorificentur: Non vero quum hæc, vel illa Factio prævaleat, et in Potestatem alios opprimendi elevetur.*

Idoneus, et qui ad Res Ecclesiasticas peragendas sufficiat Numerus, Eorum qui in *Æterni Evangelii Principiis ac præceptis coalescunt*, pro D. N. JESU CHRISTI Institutionibus omnibus observandis Confæderatus vel Associatus, *Ecclesia fit Legitima, cui omnia Ecclesiastica pertinent, Jura ac Privilegia: Et in hujusmodi Religionis Municipio, Leges quibus Dei Regnum agnoscitur, sunt administrandæ.*

*Evangelii Ministri veri sunt illi, qui a Populo quoad hanc Pietatem idem sentiente ac ficiente, electi, et ab aliis Ministris, ejusdem Pietatis Professoribus ac Promotoribus, approbati, summam impendunt Operam, ut hi Evangelii et Veritatis Radii, in Cordibus, Moribusque Populi fiant efficaces. Atque de Ministerii Evangelici Successu, per hanc solummodo Efficaciam recte judicatur.*

*Religionis Propagatio vera, consistit in horum Evangelicorum InfalIBILium atque Immutabilium Axiomatum, fideli ac prospera Promulgatione. Quicumque vel Unicam Animam in horum Axiomatum Fidem Vivificam, annuente et adjuvante Deo, persuaferit atque pertraxerit, in eo ditior est, quam si totius mundi Divitias accumularet.*

Verum

## [ 12 ]

But *Societies for the Propagation of Religion*, which for *Labourers in the Harvest of God*, send forth Men, that are alienated from *this Life of God*, and that instead of Preaching the *more weighty Matters* of the Gospel, Preach up the *lesser Matters*, and meer *Accidentals*, of Christianity, and such things as it is not certain that God has ever Instituted; these do for the most part but serve the *Empire of Satan* under the *Banner of our Saviour*; and by these Cheats, a vast disservice is done unto the Interest of the Gospel in the World.

The *Reformation of the Church* will shortly be revived in greater Purity than ever. The Kingdom of *Antichrist* shall undergo the Destruction, which has been long hoped for it; and the Kingdom of Satan shall come to the End, which is to be wished unto it. But by what means, I pray? Lo, it shall be by *Angels*, and by Men, endowed and adorned with *Angelical Virtues*, flying through the midst of Heaven, and having the *Everlasting Gospel* to Preach unto the Inhabitants of the Earth.

The Day is at Hand, when these *Maxims of the Everlasting Gospel* shall be a *Stone Cut out of the Mountain*, that will smite all the Kingdoms of the *Papacy*, and break them to pieces, and consume them, and become a *Great Mountain*, which the *whole Earth* shall be filled withall.

God will shake all Nations: And yet I will shake not the Earth only, but also Heaven, saith the Almighty God, who Rules the World. It shall be, that he may introduce, and establish these things, which cannot be shaken.

Arise now, O ye Ministers of God, who do his Pleasure, and consider, *What shall now be done, that the Kingdom of God may appear by the most Explicit Union of all Good Men, on the Eternal Maxims of it!*

The

## [ 12 ]

Verum Collegia pro propaganda Fide, quæ Missionarios tanquam in *Messe Domini Operarios*, ab hac vero *Vita Dei* alienatos, emittunt, qui non eorum quæ sunt *Graviora Evangelij*, sed eorum quæ sunt *Minutiora Christianismi*, et mere *Accidentalia*, quæque non certum est unquam Deum instituisse, sint *Præcones*; hæc pro *Satanæ Imperio* sub *Servatoris Vexillo* plerumque dimicant; Et per has *Imposturas*, orbi *Christiano*, atque *Evangelio*, summas *Injurias* faciunt.

*Reformatio Evangelica* brevi sane, magisque purgata reviviscet. *Regnum Antichristi* patietur diu jam speratum *Excidium*; et ad *Finem Operatum Satanæ* perducetur *Imperium*. Quibus vero, dic, *Auxiliis*! En, fiet per *Angelos*, perque *Viros Angelicis Virtutibus* indutos, ac ornatos, volantes per *Medium Cæli*, habentes *Evangelium Æternum*, ut *Incolis Terræ evangelizarent*.

Dies non procul abest, quum hæc *Evangelii Æterni Axiomata* sient *Lapis e Monte extisus*, qui percutiet omnia *Papatus Regna*, eaque comminuet, et consummet; *Mons vero Magnus*, qui totum impleat *Orbem*, hic *Lapis* efficietur.

Deus *Exercituum* omnes concutiet *Gentes*; et, *Adbuc Ego concutiam*, non solum *Terram*, sed etiam *Cælum*, inquit *Omnipotens*, qui cuncta moderatur, Deus: Fiet ad *instabilitatem Rerum Amotionem*, et ut ea quæ non possint commoveri, introducat, atque stabiliat.

Surgite jam, O *Ministri Dei*, voluntatem ejus exequentes, et summa, cum animi *Intentione* perspicite, et percipite;

Quid restet agendum, quo *Regnum Dei*, per explicitam *honorum omnium in Æternis Regni sui Legibus ac Regulis, Unionem*, in *Terris exhibeatur*?

## [ 13 ]

The *Great Trumpet* is now to be Blown.

These are those *Maxims of Piety*, which to Divulgate, and Propagate, is a Concern, than which there can be none more worthy of a *Christian*; and in pursuing that Work of God, no Man alive has any *Right*, by any means to molest, and hinder the *Great Army* of them, that shall set themselves to *Publiss* the Words, which now God has given.

These are those *Faithful Sayings* of the Gospel, upon the subscribing, and observing whereof, the Kingdom of God so much Prayed for, will come. And that IMMANUELIAN PEOPLE of Converts unto God, who acknowledge these as *Worthy of all Acceptation*, shall know their God, and shall *do Exploits*, and shall find themselves wondrously strengthened from above.

BEHOLD, The Bridegroom Comes!

*Awake, Awake, O CHURCH* of the LIVING GOD, yet almost overwhelmed with the *Sleep of Death*. Put on thy *Strength*, which in the *Doctrine* of thy IMMANUEL is now offered unto thee. Put on thy *Beautiful Garments*, and being array'd with the MAXIMS of the *Everlasting Gospel*, as with a Fine Linen, Clean & Bright, present thy self unto thy most Holy Bridegroom, as prepared for Him.

Rev. III. 20.

*Behold, I stand at the Door & knock; If any Man hear my Voice ———*

*He that hath an Ear, let him hear, ———*

T H E E N D.

## [ 13 ]

*Magna jam clangetur Tuba.*

Hi sunt illi *Pietatis Aphorismi*, quos prædicandi per totum orbem, atque propagandi, studium est *Christiano* Homine maxime dignum; in quo Dei opere perficiendo, nullus Mortalium ullo *Jure* potest ullo *Modo* molestias creare, obstaculaque ponere, *Magno* eorum *Exercitui*, qui *Sermones*, quos jam dedit Deus, annuntiabunt

Hi sunt illi *Evangelii Sermones fideles*, quorum *Subscriptione*, et *Observatione*, REGNUM DEI diu desideratum veniet; Et POPULUS ille IMMANUELIUS ad Deum conversorum, qui hos ut *omni Receptione dignos* agnoscunt, in his *Deum suum cognoscent*, et *civiliter agent*, atque se cælitus, et mirifice sentient corroboratos.

ECCE, SPONSUS VENIT.

*Evigila, Evigila, O DEI VIVENTIS*, in mortis fere somno dormitans ECCLESIA. *Indue Robur tuum in IMMANUELIS* tui *Doctrina* tibi jam Oblatum: *Indue vestes Ornatus tui*, atque *Principijs Evangelii Æternis*, velut munda ac splendida Byssò, amicta, Te SPONSO tuo Sanctissimo siste paratam.

Apoc. III. 20.

*Ecce, sto ad ostium, et pulso; si quis vocem meam audierit, —*  
*— Qui habet aures, audiat, —*

---

F I N I S.

---

III. Tables

Of the MEASURES, WEIGHTS, and COINS, occurring in the Sacred Scriptures.<sup>2</sup>

In offering these *Tables*, we shall use the Figure I,<sup>3</sup> called, *Separatrix*, for the Parting of *Decimals* from *Integers*. And we shall offer no other *Tables*, than what we have at the End of our Bibles, in some late Editions.

Table. I. Measures of Length.

The *Cubit*, and the Parts of it, shall be expressed by *Inch-Measures*, and by *Foot-Measures*.

|                                        | Inches, Decim. | Foot, Decim.   |
|----------------------------------------|----------------|----------------|
| A Cubit is æqual to                    | 21.888         | 1.824.         |
| A Span, the longer, æqual to           |                |                |
| $\frac{1}{2}$ of a Cubit, is æqual to  | 10.944,        | equal to .912. |
| A Span, the lesser, æqual to           |                |                |
| $\frac{1}{3}$ of a Cubit, is æqual to  | 7.296.         | equal to .608. |
| An Hands-breadth, æqual to             |                |                |
| $\frac{1}{6}$ of a Cubit, is æqual to  | 3.684          | equal to .304. |
| A Fingers Breadth æqual to             |                |                |
| $\frac{1}{24}$ of a Cubit, is æqual to | .912.          | equal to .076. |

Measures of many Cubits, shall be express'd only in *Foot-Measures*.

|                                                   | Feet, Decim. |
|---------------------------------------------------|--------------|
| A Fathom is æqual to 4 Cubits; – æqual to         | 7.296.       |
| <i>Ezekiels</i> Reed, æqual to 6 Cubits; æqual to | 10.944.      |

<sup>2</sup> The following tables are derived from the work of the English Latitudinarian cleric and philosopher, Richard Cumberland, Lord Bishop of Peterborough (1631–1718), *An essay towards the recovery of the Jewish measures & weights: comprehending their monies: by help of ancient standards, compared with ours of England. Useful also to state many of those of the Greeks and Romans, and the eastern nations* (1686). This work went through numerous editions in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and, in an abbreviated form, was also integrated into many Church of England Bible editions with the revised KJV translation. See, for instance, the “Table of Scripture-Measures, Weights, and Coins” that is part of the unpaginated appendices of *The Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments: Newly Translated out of the Original Tongues and with the Former Translations Diligently Compared and Revised* (1715) and that looks very similar to Mather’s tables.

<sup>3</sup> In the table below, Mather used a *separatrix* ⊥ to separate the decimals from the integers. To help with readability, I have chosen to convert the *separatrix* into decimal points.

*Schœnus*, the *Egyptian* Line for Land-Measure, which is probably used in the Scripture to divide Inheritances; [Psal. XVI.6. LXXXVIII.55.] was of different Lengths; But the shortest, and the most useful was,

Feet, Decim.

equal to Cubits, 80. equal to

145.92.

The Mile was æqual to, 4000 Cubits, & æqual to 7296 Feet.

Feet, Decim.

Stadium  $\frac{1}{10}$  of their Mile, æqual to 400 Cubits, 729.6

Parasang, 3 of their Miles, æqual to 12000 Cubits, 4 English Miles.

#### Table. II. Measures of Surface.

Lett us begin with the Reduction of the Measures of the *Mercy-Seat*. Its Length was 2 Cubits and  $\frac{1}{2}$ ; Its Breadth, 1 Cubit, &  $\frac{1}{2}$ . Supposing that the Jewish Cubit was in Foot Measure, 1.824; the Length must be express'd in Foot-Measure and the Decimals thereof, 4.560. The Breadth in like Measure will be 2.736. The Product of these Numbers multiplied into each other, gives a Surface, 12.47616; in number of its square feet, and Decimals thereof, 12 square feet, and very near half a square foot: If the Decimals had been .50, it had been just  $\frac{1}{2}$  a foot. If we desire to express those Decimals of a Foot, in square Inches, we must multiply .47616 by 144, the square Inches of a Foot; and the Product will be 68.56704; which shows, that the Decimals we found, amount to 68 square Inches, and above  $\frac{1}{2}$  an Inch more.

Accordingly, the upper Surface of the *Altar of Incense*, was 3 square Feet, and .326976 Decimals of a square foot; which we may express by 47 square Inches, and few Decimals of an Inch square inconsiderable. The *Table of Shew bread*, was 6 English square feet, and above half; viz. 94 square Inches.

| The Boards of the Tabernacle, were 49.90464; that is very near to 50 [17v] square feet; for those Decimals amount to above 130 square Inches; and little more than 13 Inches would make it just 50 feet; an Abatement which need not be regarded.

The *Area* of the *Court of the Tabernacle*, was 5000 square Cubits: which is, 16634.88 English square feet.

A Perch contains 272 feet and  $\frac{1}{2}$ . A Rood is æqual to 10890 square feet. An Acre is æqual to 43560 square feet. The Court contained 1 Rood, 21 Perches, 27 feet, and little more than  $\frac{1}{2}$  a foot squar'd. The *Egyptian Aroura*, by which their Land was measured, as ours is by Acres and Roods, was just 10000 Cubits. And *Moses* who had all the *Egyptian* Learning, took just half an *Aroura* for the *Court of the Tabernacle*; A Measure well-known unto the People.

The Suburbs allow'd for the Cities of the *Levites*, [Num. XXXV. 3, 4, 5.] all the four Squares together amounted 305 Acres, 2 Roods, 1 Perch; without our taking any Notice of lesser Quantities. Each of the Squares was a Million of Cubits, or 100 Aroure.



Table. III. Measures of Capacity.

|                                                                              | Wine Gallons, . . . | Pints. . .               | Inch. Sol. |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------------|------------|
| Epha, or Bath, . . . . .                                                     | 7 . . . . .         | 4 . . . . .              | 15.        |
| Chomer, in our Translation, Homer. . . . .                                   | 75 . . . . .        | 5 . . . . .              | 7          |
| Seah, $\frac{1}{3}$ of Epha, . . . . .                                       | 2 . . . . .         | 4 . . . . .              | 3.         |
| Hin $\frac{1}{6}$ of Epha, . . . . .                                         | 1 . . . . .         | 2 . . . . .              | 1          |
| Omer $\frac{1}{10}$ of Epha, . . . . .                                       | 0 . . . . .         | 6 . . . . .              | 0.5        |
| Cab, $\frac{1}{10}$ of Epha, . . . . .                                       | 0 . . . . .         | 3 . . . . .              | 10         |
| Log, $\frac{1}{72}$ of Epha, . . . . .                                       | 0 . . . . .         | $0\frac{1}{2}$ . . . . . | 10         |
| <i>Metretes of Syria</i> , [Joh. II.6.] <i>Cong. Rom.</i> . . . . .          | 0 . . . . .         | $7\frac{1}{8}$ . . . . . | 0          |
| <i>Cotyla</i> , Eastern, $\frac{1}{100}$ of Epha, . . . . .                  | 0 . . . . .         | $0\frac{1}{2}$ . . . . . | 3.         |
| This <i>Cotyla</i> contains just, 10 ounces <i>Averdupois</i> of Rain Water. |                     |                          |            |
| <i>Omer</i> , 100. Epha, 1000. <i>Chomer</i> , 10000.                        |                     |                          |            |

Table, IV. Weights and Coins.

| The Jewish Weights reduced to the<br>standard Granes of our <i>Troy-Weight</i> ;<br>whereof 438 are æqual to the <i>Roman</i><br><i>Ounce</i> , or our English <i>Averdupois</i> . | The Value of <i>Jewish</i> and <i>Roman</i><br>Weights and Coins, at the present<br>Rate of Silver and Gold, express'd in<br>Pence, & Decimals of a Penny. |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| . . . . . Granes, Decim.                                                                                                                                                           | Pence, Decim.    s.    d.    q.                                                                                                                            |
| <i>Shekel</i> , the Original Weight . . . 219 . . . . .                                                                                                                            | 28.2875 . . . . . 2 – 4 – 1                                                                                                                                |
| <i>Bekah</i> , $\frac{1}{2}$ of a <i>Shekel</i> . . . . . 109.5 . . . . .                                                                                                          | 14.1437 . . . . . 1 – 2 – $\frac{1}{2}$ x                                                                                                                  |
| <i>Gerah</i> , $\frac{1}{10}$ of a <i>Bekah</i> , . . . . . 10.95 . . . . .                                                                                                        | 1.41437 . . . . . 0 – 1 – $\frac{1}{2}$ x                                                                                                                  |
| <i>Maneh</i> , 100 <i>Shekel</i> wt, . . . . . 21900 . . . . .                                                                                                                     |                                                                                                                                                            |
| . . . . . Pence, Dec.                                                                                                                                                              | l. – s. – d.                                                                                                                                               |
| <i>Maneh</i> , Coin, 60 <i>Shekel</i> . = . . 13040 . . . . .                                                                                                                      | 1697.25 . . . . . 7 – 1 – 5.                                                                                                                               |
| <i>Talent</i> , Silver. 3000 <i>Shekel</i> , – 657000 . . . . .                                                                                                                    | 84862.5 . . . . . 353 – 11 – 10 ob.                                                                                                                        |
| <i>Talent</i> , Gold, same Weight. . . . .                                                                                                                                         | 5075 – 15 – 7.ob.                                                                                                                                          |
| The <i>Golden Daric's</i> [Ezra II. 69.]                                                                                                                                           |                                                                                                                                                            |
| The Coin of <i>Darius</i> the Mede;                                                                                                                                                |                                                                                                                                                            |
| Weigh'd 12. <i>Gerah's</i> . . . . . 131.4 . . . . .                                                                                                                               | 1 – 0 – 4.                                                                                                                                                 |

Roman Money mention'd in the New Testament

|                                     | Pence.      | Farthings.     |
|-------------------------------------|-------------|----------------|
| <i>Denarius</i> , Silver, . . . . . | 7 . . . . . | 3.             |
| <i>Asses</i> , Coper, . . . . .     | 0 . . . . . | 3.             |
| <i>Assarium</i> , . . . . .         | 0 . . . . . | $1\frac{1}{2}$ |
| <i>Quadrans</i> , . . . . .         | 0 . . . . . | $0\frac{3}{4}$ |
| A Mite, . . . . .                   | 0 . . . . . | $0\frac{1}{3}$ |

#### IV. *Ezra*, or, The Things done by *Ezra*, for the Restoring & Preserving of the SACRED SCRIPTURES.<sup>1</sup> [18r]

It is plain, The *Sacred Scriptures* were not utterly lost, in the *Babylonian Captivity*. *Daniel*, it is plain, had a Copy of them: and the People had them in the eighth Chapter of *Nehemiah*.<sup>2</sup> But that great Man *Ezra*, from as many Copies as he could gett, sett forth a correct Edition of them. He collected the Books of the Sacred Scriptures, and he disposed them in a proper Order; The *Law*, and the *Prophets*, and the *Chetubim*, or *Hagiographa*; which Division our SAVIOUR takes notice of; Luk. XXIV.44. *In the Law, & in the Prophets, & in the Psalms*. By the *Psalms*, are meant the *Hagiographa*, which began with the *Psalms*. *Josephus* takes notice of the same Division.<sup>3</sup> But it is most likely, that the Two Books of the *Chronicles*, *Ezra*, *Nehemiah*, *Esther*, *Malachi*, were not added unto the Jewish Canon, until the Time of *Simon* the Just.<sup>4</sup> The Five Books of the Law, were divided into Fifty four Sections; whereof one was Read on every Sabbath in the Synagogues. The Number was *Fifty four*, because in the Inter-calated Years, there were Fifty four Sabbaths. On other Years, they once joined a Couple of short ones into One; that they might read over the Law in their *Synagogues* every Year. The Persecution of *Antiochus Epiphanes* forbidding the Reading of the Law, they substituted Fifty four Sections out of the *Prophets*, which ever after they continued, as a second Lesson. [Act. XIII.15, 27.]<sup>5</sup>

The Sections were divided into Verses, which the Jews call *Pesukim*. These were probably introduced, when the *Chaldee* Tongue, prevailed instead of the more pure *Hebrew* among them. That when the Law, being first Read in the *Hebrew*, and then rendred by an Interpreter into the *Chaldee*, which must be done Period by Period; the Reader might know how much to Read at every Interval, and the Interpreter how much to render at every Interval; & these Marks, which

---

1 This essay is derived from Humphrey Prideaux, *The Old and New Testament connected in the History of the Jews and neighbouring Nations* ([1715–1717] 1718), vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 259–86. Prideaux (1648–1724) was an English churchman (Dean of Norwich from 1702 onwards) and Oxford-trained orientalist, who besides numerous other works also wrote *A Life of Mahomet* (1697). His *The Old and New Testament connected* became very influential in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and appeared in many editions and translations (ODNB). Mather extensively mined this work in several sections of the “Biblia.”

2 See Neh. 8:1, which mentions Ezra bringing “the book of the law of Moses” before the people.

3 See Josephus, *Against Apion or on the Antiquity of the Jews*, 1.39–41; LCL 186, pp. 178–79.

4 Simon the Just was a Jewish High Priest during the time of the Second Temple who lived either in the third or the fourth century. Josephus identifies him as Simon I (310–291 or 300–273 BCE), son of Onias I.

5 Antiochus IV Epiphanes persecuted the Jews of Judea and Samaria (c. 168–67 BCE) and suppressed the Jewish religion.

are Two great Points at the End of every Verse, called *Soph Pasuk*, or, *The End of the Verse*, gave direction for it.<sup>6</sup> Tho' the Copies of the Law now read in the Synagogues have no such Accents in them, (which they fear might profane the Sacred Books,) this is no Proof, that the more Ancient Copies had them not; for in many things they vary from the Ancient Customes. For the *Mishna* that mentions them, renders it evident, that the Division of the Law and the Prophets into Verses, was very Ancient.<sup>7</sup> It is most likely, that the Writing of these Books, was in long Lines, from one side of the Parchment unto the other, and that the Verses in them, were distinguished as the *Stichi* were in the *Greek Bibles* afterwards.<sup>8</sup> Of these the Manner at first was, to allow a Line unto every *Stichus*, and there to end the Writing, where they ended the *Stichus*, leaving the rest of the Line void, as a Line is left at a Break. But this losing too much of the Parchment, & making the Book too bulky, they afterwards putt a point at the End of every *Stichus*, & continued the Writing without leaving any Part of the Line void as before. The *Talmuds* tell us, The Parchments were six hands in breadth & as many in Length; and the Writing was in six Columns.<sup>9</sup> Each Column of an hands-breadth; and each Line in these Columns was to contain Thirty Letters. We now speak of their *Synagogical Books*: The Jews tied not themselves unto such Rules in their common Bibles.

The Division of the Scriptures into *Chapters*, is of a much later Date; tho' the *Psalms* were always divided as now they are. The True Author of this Invention, was, *Hugo de Sancto Caro*, who being from a Dominican Monk made a Cardinal, & the first of that Order that was so, is commonly called, *Hugo Cardinalis*.<sup>10</sup> This *Cardinal Hugo*, who died in the Year, 1262 made a Comment on the | Scriptures, which work administred unto him the Occasion of inventing the first *Concordance*, that was made of the *Scriptures*; that is to say, of the *Vulgar Latin Bible*. He sett a great Number of Monks, on the Collecting of the Words under their Proper Classes in every Letter of the Alphabet: And this Work was

6 The division of the Tanakh into paragraphs and sections is already attested by the earliest manuscripts. Since the Middle Ages, from the 8th–10th centuries, the Masoretes refined and standardized these subdivisions. Through their system of accentuation, the individual verses were now divided into small groups of words and every word vocalized. Especially important was a particular type of punctuation, the *Sof pasuk* (Hebrew: סוף פסוק 'verse end'), a symbol for a full stop or sentence break, resembling the colon (: ) of English and Latin orthography.

7 Compare the Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Nedarim 37b, and Tractate Megillah 10b (Soncino, p. 53).

8 From Ancient Greek *στίχος* [stichos], "line, row," signifying a "line of text in a manuscript, often having a standard number of syllables by which a copyist calculated his pay rate." See DeMoss, *Pocket Dictionary for the Study of New Testament Greek* (2001).

9 Compare the Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Baba Bathra 14a (Soncino, p. 68).

10 From Prideaux, *The Old and New Testament connected*, vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 268, Mather refers to the French Dominican friar and cardinal, Hugh of Saint-Cher (Hugo de Sancto Charo, c. 1200–1263), who did pioneering work in biblical studies, including his "correctorium," a collection of variant readings of the Bible, and a biblical concordance.

afterwards much improved, by those who followed him; especially by *Arlottus Thuscus*, a Franciscan, and *Conradus Halberstadius* a Dominican, who lived about the End of the same Century.<sup>11</sup> But because the Work else would not answer the Purpose, the Cardinal found it necessary in the first Place, to Divide the Books into *Sections*, and the *Sections* into *Subdivisions*, that by these he might make the References. And the *Sections* thus produced on this Occasion, are the *Chapters*, into which the Bible has been ever since divided. For all covered the *Concordance*; and for the Sake of *That*, they took *Hugo's* Division into their Bibles. But then the Subdivision was only by the Letters, A. B. C. D. E. F. G. placed in the margin at an æqual Distance from each other, according as the *Chapters* were longer or shorter. The Subdivision of the *Chapters* into *Verses*, which is now in all our Bibles, was not introduced until some Ages after; and the *Jews* were they to whom it owes its Original. About the Year 1430. there lived among the Western Jews, a famous Rabbi, called by some, R. *Mordecai Nathan*, by others R. *Isaac Nathan*; perhaps having changed his Name from the one to the other. This *Rabbi* being very conversant with the Christians, & often Disputing with them, thereby came to know the great Use of *Hugo's* Concordance; whereupon he immediately sett about the Making of such a Concordance to the Hebrew Bible, for the Use of the Jews. He began it, in the Year 1438. and finish'd it, in the Year 1445. And the first Publishing of it, happening about the Time that Printing was first invented, (which was A. D. 1440.) it has had several Editions of the Press; The best whereof, was that of the Two *Buxtorfs*, A. D. 1630.<sup>12</sup> And indeed no one that studies the *Hebrew* Scriptures, can do well without it. The *Rabbi* now finding it necessary to follow the same Division of the Scriptures into *Chapters*, which has been made by *Hugo*, it came to be also fixed anon in all the *Hebrew Bibles*. But then the Rabbi refin'd upon *Hugo's* Division of the *Chapters*, and putt the *Verses* into the Condition, in which we now have them. However he affixed the Numerical Letters, only at every Fifth Verse; and

11 Reference is made to the Italian Franciscan theologian, Arlotto of Prato (d. 1286), and the Dominican friar and scholar, Konrad of Halberstadt the Older (1277–1355/59).

12 See Prideaux, *The Old and New Testament connected*, vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 268. Nathan Mordecai and Isaac Nathan have sometimes been confounded. The former was a French physician who lived at Avignon in the middle of the fifteenth century, and the latter was the actual compiler of the concordance called “Meïr Natib,” meaning “Enlightener of the Path.” It was first published by Bomberg in Venice in 1523 and followed by different editions in Venice (1564) and Basel (1556, 1569, and 1581). “Buxtorf followed Nathan's work closely; he retained the latter's remarks on the meanings of the root placed at the head of every article, but also gave these in Latin, and explained every form of the word in Latin. He materially increased the usefulness of the concordance by separating from one another the derivatives of a root, the nominal and the verbal forms, and by arranging them systematically, as Levita had done. Buxtorf's concordance appeared after his death (Basel, 1632), his son Johann adding to it a concordance of the Aramaic portions of the Bible as well as a long preface” (*JE*). Prideaux correctly dates the Buxtorf *Concordantiae Bibliorum Hebraicorum* to 1632, but Mather must have made a scribal error in copying the date.

so they continued, until *Athias*, a Jew of *Amsterdam*, in his Two fair Editions of the Hebrew Bible, 1661 and 1667 not only continued the Numerical Letters at every Fifth Verse, but also added the *Indian Figures* unto all the rest.<sup>13</sup> *Vatablus* also from R. *Nathans* Pattern, published a *Latin Bible*, with the *Chapters* and also the *Verses* numbred, as they have ever since been followed in all other Editions.<sup>14</sup> Thus the *Jews* borrowed their *Chapters* from the *Christians*, and the *Christians* borrowed their *Verses* from the *Jews*. And *Robert Stephens*, taking an Hint from hence, divided the *Chapters* of the New Testament into *Verses* also; which he like R. *Nathan*, did for the Sake of a Concordance, which he was then Composing, for the New Testament, that his Son *Henry Stephens* afterwards gave unto the Publick.

But *Ezra* unto his Edition of the Sacred Scriptures, assisted by the same Spirit which inspired the First Writers of them, added what appeared necessary to him, for the Illustrating, the Connecting, and the Completing of them.<sup>15</sup> The last Chapter of *Deuteronomy* might be his; and so might be several other Passages, which are plain Interpolations. Thus, Gen. XII.6. the mention of, *Canaanites in the Land*, could not well be till after the Time of *Moses*. And so, Gen. XXII.14. *Moriah*, was not called, *The Mount of the Lord*, until the Temple was built on it. And thus, Gen. XXXVI.3. we have what could not have been said, until after there had been *Kings in Israel*. What we read, Exod. XVI.35 *They did eat Manna, till they came to a Land inhabited*; must needs be inserted [19r] after the Death of *Moses*, which | was before the *Manna* ceased. In Deut. II.12. we find *Israel entred into the Land of his Possession*. In Deut. III.11. we find something which must be written a long time after *Og* had been slain. And, *ibid.* 14. *unto this day*; must needs extend unto a greater Distance of Time, than the

13 From Prideaux, *The Old and New Testament connected*, vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 269. Joseph Athias (c. 1635–1700) was a Jewish merchant, book printer at Amsterdam, and the publisher of two editions of the Hebrew Bible with (Arabic) numbered verses and Latin notes by the Christian Hebraist, Johannes Leusden: *Torah Nevi'im u-Khetuvim*.

14 From Prideaux, *The Old and New Testament connected*, vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 269, a reference to the French Catholic humanist scholar, Hellenist, and Hebraist, François Vatable (Franciscus Vatablus, c. 1495–1547). Vatablus actually did not publish a Bible or any other work during his lifetime, but after his death, annotations on the OT were published from notes taken during his widely-admired exegetical lectures in Paris under the title *Adnotationes* or *Scholia in Vetus Testamentum*. These were condemned by professors of the Sorbonne for their alleged Protestant tendencies but then later taken up by Vatablus's student, the famous Parisian printer and humanist scholar, Robert Estienne, into an edition of the new Latin translation of the Bible by Leo of Juda (4 vols., Paris, 1539–1545) with notes from the great French Reformer John Calvin, among others. In a revised form, Vatablus's annotations then also became part of a new Latin translation of the Bible published by the Catholic church in Salamanca and Paris in 1584. Estienne also published influential editions of the Greek New Testament. The 1550 version became known as the *Textus Receptus*, the standard text for many generations. The 1551 edition (also including the Latin translation of Erasmus and the Vulgate) introduced the division of the New Testament into verses for the first time.

15 See Prideaux, *The Old and New Testament connected*, vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 270.

few Months that *Moses* lived after that Conquest.<sup>16</sup> The first Words in the XXV Chapter of the *Proverbs*, must needs be many Ages after *Solomon*.<sup>17</sup> Many more Instances might be given of such Passages interpolated by this Inspired Writer: *Ezra* also changed the *Old Names* of several Places, that were grown obsolete, into the *New Names* whereby People now called them. Thus, Gen. XIV.14. we read of *Dan*; whereas it was not called so, but *Laish* until the *Danites* long after the Death of *Moses*, possessed themselves of it. Thus, in the Book of *Numbers*, as well as in *Genesis*, we find the Mention of *Hebron*; tho' it were not called so, but *Kiriath-Arba*, till *Caleb* obtained the Possession of it. Many other Examples may be given, which discover the Study of those times, to render the Scriptures, as intelligible as was possible unto the People.<sup>18</sup>

It seems that now also *Ezra* had the Sacred Scriptures transcribed in the *Chaldee* Character, to which the People had been most used since their Captivity; dropping the old *Samaritan* Character, wherein *Moses* & the Prophets had recorded the Oracles of GOD; and which was the old *Phenician* Character, from whence the *Greeks* borrowed theirs; Many think, indeed, that the *Samaritans*, out of Enmity to the *Jews*, took up this Character, which now bears their Name, & keep up the Use of it unto this Day. But the most are on the other side, and have an unanswerable Argument for it, in the many ancient *Shekels* of the *Jews*, which are still in being, & many frequently dug up in these later Ages, with that Inscription in *Samaritan* Letters upon them, JERUSALEM KEDOSHAH, that is, *Jerusalem the Holy*: which Inscription shews, That they could not be the Coin of the *Israelitish Ten Tribes*, or of the *Samaritans* who succeeded them; For neither of them would have putt the Name of *Jerusalem* on their Coin, or have called it, *The Holy City*. Nor can it be said, That the *Shekels* are counterfeited by modern Hands; For *Nachmanides*, who lived more than

16 Through Prideaux, Mather here addresses some of the most hotly debated questions of authorship among biblical scholars of his time. On the issue of Mosaic authorship, see Smolinski's annotation in *BA* (1:131–44) and *BA* (2:1259). Thomas Hobbes (*Leviathan* [1651], pt. 3, ch. 33, pp. 200–02), Benedict Spinoza (*Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* [1670], cap. 8), and Richard Simon (*Histoire Critique du Vieux Testament* [1678], bk. 1, ch. 5–7) had pointed to these passages in the Pentateuch to argue that Moses, at best, wrote only parts of the books that bear his name and that public scribes and later redactors edited the Torah as time and circumstances arose over the centuries. Grotius (in *Opera Omnia*, 2:571) also included the last chapter of Deuteronomy among those sections of the Bible that were added considerably later, as was the last chapter of Joshua and the last chapter of John. Lightfoot, too, agreed that “The last Chapter of the Book was written by some other than Moses for it relateth his death . . .” See Lightfoot, *Works* (1:39). Following Prideaux, Mather partly accepts these critical arguments but, at the same time, defused them by asserting that the entire process of redaction and canon formation was supervised by the Holy Spirit.

17 Mather was also ready to concede that chapters 25 to 29 of *Proverbs* must have been collected much later than Solomon's time, probably under King Hezekiah, and that chapters 30 to 31 were subsequent additions based on the maxims of an otherwise unknown “king Lemuel.” See *BA* (5:350).

18 See Prideaux, *The Old and New Testament connected*, vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 271–72.

five hundred Years ago, tells us of several, which in his time he mett withal.<sup>19</sup> That *Ezra* first putt the Sacred Scriptures into the Chaldee Character, on the Review which he made of them, at his Coming to *Jerusalem*, is indeed the general Tradition of the Ancients. *Eusebius* in his *Chronicon* affirms it; *Jerom* does the Like; and so do both of the *Talmuds*.<sup>20</sup>

But then, whether *Ezra* did now add, the *Points*, which are the *Vowels* of the Language, is a Quæstion that cannot easily be decided. It went without Contradiction in the Affirmative, until *Elias Levita*, a German Jew, wrote against it, in the Beginning of the Reformation. *Buxtorf* the Elder, endeavoured his Refutation. *Capellus*, a Protestant Professor of the Hebrew, in the University at *Saumur*, hath elaborately replied unto him. *Buxtorf* the Younger, made a learned Answer, in the Vindication of his Fathers Opinion. Whole Volumns have been since written on both Sides; to give a Detail of which, would be a Talk, which I am not now fond of undertaking. I confess, That when I took my Degree of *Master of Arts*, I did publickly, maintain the *Antiquity & Authority* of the *Points*, now used in our *Hebrew Bible*:<sup>21</sup> and wholly went into the *Buxtorfian* Apprehensions; But I now find myself, compelled unto the Sentiments of Dr. *Prideaux*, upon this Controversy; whereof the Sum, shall be now exhibited.<sup>22</sup>

The *Vowel-Points*, never having been received by the *Jews*, in their Synagogues, it appears from hence, that they were not of old esteemed an Authentic

19 Prideaux refers to Scaliger's critical notes ("animadversiones") on Eusebius's *Chronicon* in *Thesaurus temporum*, p. 117.

20 From Prideaux, *The Old and New Testament connected*, vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 273, Mather references Eusebius, *Chronicon*, lib. 1, cap. 18 [PG 19. 177]; Jerome, *Præfatio at 1 Regum and Commentarius in Ezekielem*, cap. 9 [PL 28. 547–49], where it says: "And Ezra, the scribe and doctor of the Law, after the capture of Jerusalem and the rebuilding of the Temple under Zerubbabel, is certain to have found other letters, which we now use, when up to that time the characters of the Samaritans and the Hebrews were the same." Reference is also made to the Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Sanhedrin 21b (Soncino, p. 119).

21 Mather here deleted "Devine" before "Antiquity & Authority."

22 From Prideaux, *The Old and New Testament connected*, vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 273–76. Mather here alludes to the famous seventeenth-century debate over the accentuation and vocalization of the Hebrew Bible (on the details, see *BA* 1:700–01). On the one side, the Basel Hebraists Johannes Buxtorf the Elder and the Younger were the most prominent representatives of those scholars asserting that all of the Hebrew Bible was divinely inspired and that the accentuations and vowel points were just as old as the letters. On the other side stood those convinced by the great Jewish scholar Elias Levita (1469–1549), who had argued for the later addition of the vowel points in his *Massoreth ha-Massoreth*, and the French Hebraist and professor of theology at Saumur, Louis Capellus, who held that the text of the Hebrew Bible as we know it was the product of a long history full of transformations. This, according to Capellus, made it generally impossible to assume a verbally inspired text handed down unchanged from the days of Ezra. More specifically, Capellus argued that the vowel points were later additions to the Masoretic text. Mather initially was a firm supporter of the Buxtorfs and wrote his 1681 Harvard M. A. thesis "Puncta Hebraica sunt originis divinae" (*Diary*, 1:26) in defense of the traditionalist position. This passage suggests that Prideaux was one author who influenced Mather to change his view during his later years. See also Samuel Mather, *Life*, pp. 5–6.

Part of the Old Testament, but reckoned an Invention added, for the more easy Reading of the Text, after the *Hebrew* was no more a vulgar Language among them.

And yett, it is most likely, that these *Vowel-Points* were the Invention of the *Masorites*, a little after the time of *Ezra*. The *Masorites* were a Sett of Men, whose Profession it was to write out Copies of the Sacred Scriptures, & critically to | keep & to teach, the True Reading thereof. And what they observed is by the [19v] Jews called, The *Masorah*, or The *Tradition*. The Use of the *Points*, most certainly now began to be absolutely Necessary; For the *Hebrew Language*, was now to be acquired only by Instruction. Indeed unto those, who thoroughly know the Language, the *Letters* with the Context, are enough to determine the Reading. All the Rabbinical Authors are unpointed; and yett all that Understand the Language can Read them without *Points*, as well as if they had them; Yea, much better, and not miss the True Reading at all. But how should they who did not understand the Language, be taught ever to Read it without Points; when they must first Read it, in order to understand it? As for that Fancy, that the Letters, *Aleph*, *He*, *Vau*, *Jod*, which they please to call *Matres Lectionis*, then served for *Vowels*, tis a meer Fancy. For there is a vast Number of Words, which have none of those Letters in them; and scarce any Words, wherein some of the Syllables are not without them. The other Languages of the Orient; the *Syriac*, the *Arabic*, the *Turkish*, the *Persian*, the *Malayan*, & others, have these Letters; and yett they have their Vowels too to help them. The *unpointed Words* in *Hebrew*, are like the Abbreviations in Latin: But it is impossible for a Novice, to learn the Latin Language, by Books wherein all the Words are so abbreviated. The *Hebrew* becoming a Dead Language about the Time of *Ezra*, it is most Reasonable to believe, that in or near his Time, the Vowels were introduced into it. Only since Necessity first introduced them, it is most likely there were used at first no more than there was a Necessity for. Three served the *Arabs*, and Five serve most other Nations, and probably the Jews had no more; The Augmenting of the Number to Fifteen, seems owing to the Nicety of the After-*Masorites*.<sup>23</sup>

23 See Prideaux, *The Old and New Testament connected*, vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 277–79. Masora denotes the rules for the exact copying and punctuation of the Hebrew Bible. The Masorites were the masters of the Masora, who knew, practiced, and passed on these rules. The primary task of a Masorite was to carefully check the consonant text made by a copyist. His corrections would usually have to do with the usage or deletion of the *matres lectionis* and the conjunction; that is, they added or canceled single characters. The second major task was the punctuation, which serves to guarantee the correct pronunciation and cantillation by adding vowel points and accents. Finally, the Masorites would also add explanatory annotations. For a long time, the Masora was orally transmitted before schools started to put the rules down in writing sometime between the two great Jewish insurrections. Modern scholars assume that the vowel points were not added to manuscripts before the sixth century, since they are neither known to Jerome nor the Talmud. It was not before the tenth century that Aaron ben Asher from Tiberias completed the vowel points for the entire Hebrew Bible, an endeavor on which his family had worked for at least five generations (*NBL*).



These Points were for some Ages, only of more private Use among the *Masorites*, and their Scholars. And this may be the Cause, why there is no Mention of them in the *Talmud*, or by *Origen* or *Jerom*. Anon the Jewish Doctors, finding the Importance of the *Punctuation* for the Preservation of the True Readings of the Sacred Scriptures, the most learned of the Rabbis, took it into the Divinity-Schools, and established it, as we now enjoy it. All the Criticisms, on the *Points*, which we now have in the *Masora*, were made by such *Masorites*, as lived after the Points had been received in the Divinity-Schools of the Jews. For this Profession of Men continued, from the Time of *Ezra*, to that of *Ben-Asher*, and *Ben-Naphthali*, who were Two famous *Masorites*, that lived about A. D. 1030. and were the last of them.<sup>24</sup>

It follows not from hence, That the Text of the Sacred Scriptures, will be left unto an Arbitrary and Uncertain Reading. Except the Bible, no *Hebrew Book* is pointed; only a few of late, by modern Hands. And yett every one who understands Hebrew, Reads them with all the Certainty that can be desired. Our Dr. *Prideaux* would chuse the Bible with Points; because they tell us, how the *Jews* did of old Read the Text;<sup>25</sup> But all other *Hebrew Books* without the Points, because in such they rather clog the Reading than help it. The Hebrew Language is not like our *Europæan*: for there is never more than one Vowel in one Syllable; and in most Syllables, only one Consonant. The *Consonants* here confine us to the *Vowels*, and soon determine how the Word is to be Read; or if *that* should not, the *Context* presently will. For, tho' the Combination of *Consonants* may be capable of Different *Punctuations*, and so, of Different *Significations*; and therefore when Alone, may have some Uncertainty for the Reading of them; it is quite otherwise, when they are joined in a Context with other Words; as tis in our English Word, *Lett*, which signifies either to *Permit*, or to *Hinder*; but the Context is to determine it. Tho' the *Hebrew Bibles* had not been pointed, we need not be sent unto *Rome*, or any where else, to fix the Reading of it: The Letters alone with the Context, are sufficient, when we understand the Language, to determine us.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>24</sup> See *Prideaux, The Old and New Testament connected*, vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 280–84.

<sup>25</sup> See *Prideaux, The Old and New Testament connected*, vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 284–85.

<sup>26</sup> See Appendix A.

## V. *Antiqua*. or, Our Sacred Scriptures illustrated, with some Accounts of the *Sabians* and the *Magians*.<sup>1</sup> [20r]

For many Ages, the Idolatry of the World was divided between Two Sects; The Worshippers of *Images*, who were called, *Sabians*,<sup>2</sup> and the Worshippers of *Fire*, who were called *Magians*.<sup>3</sup>

1 The following essay is also derived from Prideaux, *The Old and New Testament connected*, vol. 1, pt. 1, bk. 3–4, pp. 139–89. Prideaux, in turn, draws on a variety of sources, including Edward Pococke, *Specimen historiae arabum* (1650); Johannes Hottinger, *Historia orientalis* (1651); and, most importantly, Thomas Hyde's *Historia religionis veterum Persarum* (1700). The regius professor of Arabic and Hebrew at Oxford (succeeding Edward Pococke in 1691), Thomas Hyde (1636–1703), was the leading English orientalist of his generation (*ODNB*). His monumental comparative history of ancient Persian religions drew not only on Jewish-Christian and Greco-Roman but also Persian and Arabic (both Muslim and Zoroastrian) sources and included an edition of the Zoroastrian *Sad Dar*.

2 Like many scholars of the period, notably John Spencer and Thomas Hyde, Prideaux and Mather understood the “Sabians” or “Zabians” not so much as a distinct people but as a type of religion: the polytheistic idolatry that was believed to have originated in the Near East and to have spread from there across the world. In early modern discourse, the “Sabians” were often closely associated, or treated synonymously, with the “Chaldeans.” The label “Sabianism” was also applied by some authors to the polytheistic religion of ancient Greece or even the perceived idolatrous practices of the Native peoples in the New World. This understanding of Sabianism as idolatry ultimately goes back to Moses Maimonides; see his *More Nebuchim* or *Guide for the Perplexed*, 3.29. On this, see Guy Stroumsa, *A New Science: The Discovery of Religion in the Age of Reason* (2010), pp. 102–11. Mather refers to the Sabians throughout his commentary on the Pentateuch. See for instance, his annotations on Ex. 12, where he engages with Spencer (*BA* 1:197–203).

Current scholarship locates the historical people behind this generic and polemical concept of the “Sabians” in the territory of Harran and Sumatar in what is today the southeast of Turkey and the neighboring regions of Syria and Lebanon. According to the *Encyclopedia of Islam* (New Edition), the Sabians were “an old Semitic polytheistic religion, but with a strongly Hellenised elite, one of the last outposts of Late Antique paganism.” At the center of their religion was the worship of celestial bodies; the most important deity was the Babylonian moon god Sin, who was worshipped in the form of a holy stone in the main temple at Harran. Under Islamic pressure, this community adopted the Quranic name *Šābiʿa* during the last third of the ninth century in order to be able to claim the status of a “people of the Book” and thus avoid persecution. Nevertheless, the Sabian religion had disappeared by the thirteenth century.

3 In the narrower sense, the term “Magians” (Greek μάγοι [magoi]) refers to religious officials of ancient Persia and later the priests of Zoroastrianism. Persian as well as Greco-Roman sources associate the “Magians” with fire sacrifice to Ahura Mazda, the supreme god of the ancient Persians, whose cult was then also propagated by the prophet Zoroaster (or Zarathustra), the founder of Zoroastrianism. The Greek geographer Strabo of Amasia refers to these priests as *pyrethoi* (“fire kindlers”) and describes their function as follows: “In Cappadocia – for there the sect of the Magians, who are also called fire kindlers, is large – they have fire temples [pyrethaiā], noteworthy enclosures; and in the midst of these is an altar, on which there is a large quantity of ashes and where the Magians keep the fire ever burning. And there, entering daily, they make incantations for about an hour, holding before the fire their bundle of rods and wearing round their heads high turbans of felt, which reach down their cheeks far enough to

The True Religion taught by *Noah*, and us'd by *Abraham*, was, The Worship of one GOD, the supreme Creatour and Governour of all things, with hopes of His Mercy thro' a *Mediator*. The Necessity of a *Mediator* between GOD and Man, was a general Notion, which obtained among all Mankind from the Beginning. But having as yett no more than a Dark Revelation of a *Mediator*, they took upon them to address the Glorious & Holy GOD, by *Mediators* chosen by themselves. They imagined the *Sun* and *Moon* and *Stars*, to be the Tabernacles or Habitations, of *Intelligences* that animated them, as the Soul of Man does his Body, and were of a middle Nature between GOD and Them, & they therefore first made Choice of these for their *Mediators*; & they directed a Divine Worship to them, as being so. They worshipped these, first, by their *Sacella*, or *Tabernacles*; paying their Devotions towards the Star in which they supposed their *Mediator* to dwell. And then they came on to *Images*: For the Orbs being as much under as above the Horizon; they were at a Loss how to address them in their Absence. As a Remedy for this they had Recourse to *Images*; in which, after their Consecration, they thought these Inferiour Deities, to be as much present with their Influences, as in the Stars themselves. But anon, the Notion obtained, That the Spirits of good Men departed had a Power to Mediate with GOD; and then also many, who were thought such came to be Deified; and the Number of their GODS enormously increased.

This Religion began first among the *Chaldeans*, who by their skill in *Astronomy* were the more led unto it. And from this did *Abraham* separate himself, when he came out of *Chaldea*. From thence it passed into *Egypt*, and so into *Greece*, & so into all the western World. These *Idolaters* are since the Growth of Christianity and of Mahometism, reduced unto a more Inconsiderable Number. But there was a time, when almost all the World worshipped GOD by *Images*; And as *Maimonides* notes, almost all Mankind were infected with the Hæresy of the *Sabians*.<sup>4</sup> There is a Remainder of the Sect, at this day in the East, under the

---

cover their lips" (*Geography*, 15.3.15). In the wider sense, the "Magians" were all the adherents of this "fire worship." The "Magians" generally had a bad reputation among Greco-Roman authors (Plutarch and Plinius were especially critical) as well as early modern scholars before Hyde. They were said to have practiced not only fire worship but also astrology and even necromancy. See Jona Lendering, "Magians."

However, following Thomas Hyde, Prideaux (and with him Mather) suggest that the "Magian" religion had originally been monotheistic and hewed more closely to its Noahic origins. The worship of the sun and fire was understood symbolically, as representing the one true God. Only later, under the influence of "Sabianism" did the "Magians" lapse into actual idolatry and a dualistic form of polytheism. Drawing on Hyde, Prideaux and Mather interpret Zoroastrianism as a movement (influenced by ancient Judaism) to reform the corrupted religion of the "Magians," which, however, then devolved into new forms of false religion. On the diverging interpretations of Zoroaster and Zoroastrianism in the larger context of early-modern constructions of ancient religious history, see the Introduction.

<sup>4</sup> From Prideaux, *The Old and New Testament connected*, vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 140, a reference to Maimonides, *More Nebuchim*, 1.63; *Guide for the Perplexed*, p. 94.

Name of *Sabians*; pretending to receive their Name from *Sabins*, a Son of *Seth*. And one of the Books wherein their Doctrines are contained, is called, *The Book of Seth*; which they say, was written by that Patriarch. The best of the Eastern Astronomers are of the Sect; and in consecrating their Images, they use many Incantations, to draw down unto them, from the Stars, those Intelligences, for whom they have erected them. And hence, as Dr. *Prideaux* observes, the Foolery of the *Telesms*, or, *Talismans*, in our dayes, ha's its Original.<sup>5</sup> Opposite unto these were the *Magians*, who had their Original in the same Eastern Countreys. For these, abominating all *Images*, worshipped GOD only by *Fire*. They began first in *Persia*; and there, and in *India*, were the only Places, where the Sect was propagated; and they remain even to this day. Their chief Doctrine was, That there are *Two Principles*: one, which is the Cause of all *Good*; Another, which is the Cause of all *Evil*; that is to say, GOD, and the Diel. The former is represented by *Light*, and the other by *Darkness*, as their truest Symbols; and they look on all things as made with a Composition of these. The *good* God, they call, *Yazdan*, and, *Ormuzd*, and the *evil* God, *Ahraman*; The former is by the Greeks called *Oromasdes*, the latter, *Arimanius*. But concerning these Two Gods, there was this Difference of Opinion among them; Some held both of them to have been from Eternity; others held the good God only to be eternal, & the evil one to have been created. But they both agreed in this; that there will be a continual Opposition between these Two, till the End of the World; Then the *good* God shall overcome the *evil* one, and from thence forward each of them shall have his World unto himself; the *good* God | his World, with all good Men with him, and the evil God, his World, with all evil Men with him. And *Light* being the truest Symbol of the *good* God, while *Darkness* is of the *evil*, they therefore worshipped the *good* God before the *Fire*; as being the Cause & Seat of Light; but especially before the *Sun*, as being the most perfect *Fire*, and causing the most perfect *Light*. For this Reason in all their Temples, they had *Fire* continually burning on *Altars*; before which they offered up their public Devotions: as they did their private ones, before the *Fire* in their own Habitations. *Darkness* they alwayes hated, as being the Representative of the *evil* God, whom they ever had in as much Detestation, as we now have the *Divel*; As an Instance whereof, whenever they had any Occasion to mention his Name, they wrote it still backwards, and with some Inversion *uunuuqy*;<sup>6</sup>

[20v]

5 See Prideaux, *The Old and New Testament connected*, vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 141.

<sup>6</sup> From Prideaux, *The Old and New Testament connected*, vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 141–42. Prideaux and Mather rotate the word to visually emphasize their point. The cosmology of the ancient Indo-Iranian religion that developed into Zoroastrianism included a benevolent deity of wisdom, Ahura Mazda (Wise Lord; “Ormuzd” in Prideaux’s terminology), who was opposed by Angra Mainyu (“Ahraman”/“Arimanius”), a destructive spirit. In Zoroastrianism, which became the main religion in large parts of the Persian Empire between the sixth century BCE and the end of the Sassanid Empire in the seventh century CE, this opposition was reinterpreted in more monotheistic terms. Ahura Mazda is clearly the supreme deity but locked in constant

The Kings of *Persia*, *Cambyses* and *Smerdis*, who were the *Ahashuerus* and *Artaxerxes*, that obstructed the Building of the Temple, were great Patrons of the *Magians*. But *Smerdis* being discovered an Impostor, and an Usurper, by its being found that his Ears had been cutt off, seven of the Grandees conspired against him, and killed him.<sup>7</sup> The Detection of the Imposture, so enraged the People, that they fell upon the whole Sect, whereto *Smerdis* belonged, and made an horrid Slaughter among them; in Commemoration of which Action, there was kept for a long while an Annual Festival; which was called, *Magophonia*, or, The Slaughter of the *Magians*. And it was from this time, that they first had the Name of, *Magians*; which signifying, *The Crop-Ear'd*, was given them in a Contemptuous Remembrance of their Patron *Smerdis*. *Mige-Gush* then signified, one that had his Ears cropt. And the famous Arabic Lexicon called, *Camus*; tells us, That the Sect had their Name from a Ring-Leader, who was such an one. And what *Herodotus* and *Justin* & others, write of *Smerdis*, plainly shews, That he was the Man. After this, the whole Sect sunk into such Contempt, that it would have been utterly extinguished, if it had not been Revived anon, under the Name of a Reformation, by *Zoroaster*.

In the Reign of *Darius Hystaspes*, and about five Hundred Years, before the Incarnation of our SAVIOUR, there first appeared in *Persia*, that famous Prophet of the *Magians*, whom the *Persians* call, *Zerdusht*, or *Zaratush*; and the *Greeks* call *Zoroastres*.<sup>8</sup> After all the various Accounts given of this Man, in the Writings of the Ancients, Dr *Prideaux* ha's discovered & ha's determined what is most of all to be relied upon.<sup>9</sup>

He was the greatest Impostor, except *Mahomet*, that ever appeared in the World; but had much more Knowledge than he. He was doubtless a Jew, and thoroughly versed in the Sacred Scriptures; & in all the affairs of the Jewish Religion. As is generally said, That he had been a Servant unto one of the Prophets in *Israel*; And most probably *Daniel* was the Person; a Master under whom, he was as likely as under any, to acquire the Accomplishments wherewith he was furnished. He did not found a New Religion; but Revived and

---

struggle with the separately created evil principle of Angra Mainyu. See also the annotations on Rev. 21:1.

7 Reference is made to the Persian king Bardya, also known as Smerdis (Σμερδης), the son of Cyrus the Great and the younger brother of Cambyses II. Bardya ruled the Achaemenid Empire for a few months before he was deposed by Darius and died in 522 BCE. According to several ancient sources (most importantly Herodotus's *Histories*, 3.1–38, 3.61–88), Bardya actually never ascended the throne but was impersonated by a Magian priest called Gaumata, who, however, was eventually discovered on account of his cropped ears and killed.

8 The historical existence and biography of the prophet Zoroaster or Zarathustra, religious reformer and founder of Zoroastrianism, is hotly debated among modern scholars, but ancient Pahlawi writings date his birth 258 years before Alexander the Great in modern-day Iran (RGG).

9 This and the following are from Prideaux, *The Old and New Testament connected*, vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 167–79.

Reformed the old Religion of the *Magians*; which had for many Ages been the National Religion of the *Medes*, as well as of the *Persians*. Tho' *Sabianism* was now prevailing, yett the People had so much Affection for the Religion of their Fore-fathers prevailing among them, that *Zoroaster* thought the Restoration of *Magianism* would be the best Gaine for his Imposture; and that this old Stock, would be most advantageously grafted on. He made his first Appearance in *Media*, which is now called, *Aserbijan*.<sup>10</sup> The chief Reformation he made in the *Magian* Religion, was in the First Principle of it. He no longer held the Being and the Struggle of Two *First Causes*, *Light* and *Darkness*, but he introduced one supreme GOD, a Principle superiour to Both, who created both *Light* and *Darkness*, and out of these Two, according to the Pleasure of his own Will, made all Things else that are; According to Isa. XLV.5, 6, 7. *There is no GOD besides me; I form the Light & create Darkness*; which Words being spoken to the King of *Persia*, doubtless refer to the *Persian* | Sect of the *Magians*.<sup>11</sup> But, that he might not hold GOD, the Author of Evil, his Doctrine was, That GOD originally & directly created only *Light*, or *Good*, and *Darkness* and *Evil* followed it by Consequence, as a Shadow does a Person. He held, That there was one supreme GOD, Independent and Self-Existent from all Eternity: That under Him, there were Two Angels; The Angel of *Light*, who is the Author and Director of all *Good*, and the Angel of *Darkness*, who is the Author and Director of all *Evil*; And these Two from a Mixture of these, made all things that are: That they are in a perpetual Struggle with each other; and where the Angel of *Light* prevails, there the most is *good*; where the Angel of *Darkness*, there the most is *evil*: The Struggle to continue unto the End of the World: That then there shall be a general Resurrection, and a Day of Judgment, wherein a just Retribution shall be rendred unto all, according to their Works: After which, the Angel of *Light*, and His Disciples, will go into the World of their own; where they shall in everlasting Light receive the Recompence of their Godliness; And the Angel of *Darkness*, with His Disciples, will also go into a World of their own, where in everlasting Darkness they shall suffer the Punishment of their Wickedness. All this, the Remainder of that Sect, which is now in *Persia* and *India*, do without any Variation, after so many Ages hold still, even to this Day. Tis plain, *Zoroaster* was acquainted with the Revolt of the Fallen Angels, and the Entrance of Evil that Way into the World. But another Point of his Reformation was, that he caused *Fire-Temples* to be built wherever he came. Hitherto they had erected their *Altars* on which they kept their sacred Fire, on the Tops of Hills, and on

[21r]

<sup>10</sup> Modern scholars place the origins of Zoroastrianism in Chorasmia (Old Persian Uvârazmiya), an eastern satrapy of the Achaemenid Empire in Persia, from where it spread westward.

<sup>11</sup> See also Mather's annotations on Isa. 45:7 where he, via John Spencer, discusses the dualistic cosmology in the old Persian religious tradition and contrasts it with Judeo-Christian monotheism (BA 5:77–78).

High-Places in the open Air, and performed the Offices of their Worship there; where often by Rains and Storms, their *sacred Fire* was extinguished, and their Worship interrupted. But now, where Altars were erected, he would have Temples built over them; and all their public Worship, was performed before the *sacred Fire* in these Temples; as their Private was in their own Houses before the *Fire* burning there: Not that they worshipped the *Fire*, which they always disowned, but only GOD in the *Fire*. *Zoroastres* feigning that he was taken up into Heaven, to be instructed in the Doctrines, which he was to deliver unto Men, pretended, not as *Mahomet* more lately did, that he had seen GOD, but only heard him speaking from the Midst of a mighty Flame, and therefore he taught his followers, That the *Fire* was the truest *Shechinah* of the Divine Presence; and that the *Sun* being the most perfect *Fire*, GOD had there the Throne of His Glory after a more excellent Manner, than any where else; but next that, in the *Elementary Fire* with us; And for this Reason, he ordered them in their Worship of GOD, still to direct all towards the *Sun* first, (which they called, *Mithra*) and then towards their *sacred Fires*, as being the Things wherein GOD chiefly chose His Dwelling. And their ordinary Way was to do so, towards both; For when they came to worship at these *Fires*, they always approached them on the West-Side, that their Faces might be towards the Rising Sun, and them, at the same time. Indeed, this was not a New Institution of his; For to worship thus before the *Sun* and the *Fire*, was the Ancient Usage of the Sect; unto which may refer what we read of the Idolaters; Ezek. VIII.16. Their *Standing between the Porch & the Altar, with their Backs towards the Temple of the Lord, and their Faces towards the East, & they worshipped the Sun*: The Meaning of which is, That they turned their Backs upon the True Worship of GOD, and had gone over to that of the *Magians*; For the *Holy of Holies* (in which was the *Shechinah* of the Divine Presence resting over the Mercy-Seat) being at the Western End of the Temple at *Jerusalem*, all that entred thither to worship GOD, they did it with their Faces turned that Way; That was their *KEBLA*, or the Point towards which their Worship was always directed;<sup>12</sup> But the *KEBLA* of the *Magians* being the Rising *Sun*, they always worshipped with their Faces turned that Way. These *Five & Twenty Men* in the Visions of *Ezekiel*, had altered their *Kebla*; which was a Token of their Altering their whole Religion.<sup>13</sup> *Zoroastres* pretended, that at his Return from Heaven, he brought with him some of the *Fire*, from the Midst whereof he had heard GOD speaking unto him; which he placed on the *Altar* of the First *Fire-temple* he erected (at *Xiz* in *Media*;) From whence they say, it was propagated unto all the rest: And accordingly their Priests | watch it ever

[21v]

<sup>12</sup> In Islam, the *qibla* is the direction of prayer towards the Kaaba in the Sacred Mosque in Mecca.

<sup>13</sup> See Ezek. 8:16.

since, Day and Night, and never suffer its going out:<sup>14</sup> They superstitiously feed it also, only with Wood stripped of its Bark, and of that sort which they think most clean; and they never blow it, either with Breath or Bellows, for fear of polluting it; Yea, to do that, or to cast any unclean Thing into it, was no less than Death by the Law of the Land, so long as any of the Sect reigned in it; which from the Time of *Zoroastres*, to the Death of *Yardejerd*, the last *Persian* King of the *Magian* Religion, was about eleven hundred and fifty Years. Yea, the Superstition went so far, that the Priests themselves never approached this *Fire*, but with a Clothe over their Mouthes, that they might not breathe upon it; and this they did, not only when they tended the *Fire*, to lay more Wood upon it, or to do any other Service about it, but also when they came to read the daily Offices of their Liturgy before it. So that they mumbled rather than uttered their Prayers, as the Popish Priests do their Masses; without letting the People hear articulately one Word of what they read. And indeed, if they should now hear them, they would scarce understand them; For all their public Prayers, are even to this day in the old *Persian* Language, wherein *Zoroastres* first composed them above Two and twenty hundred Years agoe hereto the common People are now altogether Strangers.

It is Remarkable, That the Reformations of *Zoroastres*, very much followed the *Jewish Platform*. And now, having taken upon him, to be a Prophet sent from Heaven, to Reform the old Religion of the *Persians*, he Retired into a Cave, some while as a Recluse, wholly given up unto Devotions. And the more to amuse the People, who resorted unto him there, he dressed up his Cave, with several mystical Figures, representing *Mithra*, and other Mysteries; From whence it became for a long while after, an Usage among them, to take such Caves for their Devotions; which being in like Manner dressed up, were called, *Mithratic Caves*. In this Retirement, *Pythagoras* afterwards imitated his Master *Zoroastres*, & on the like Intention.<sup>15</sup> While he was in this Retirement, he composed the Book, wherein all his pretended Revelations are contained: which a Remnant of the *Magians* in *Persia* and *India*, have to this day among them. When he presented the Book unto: *Darius*, it was bound up in Twelve Volumns; whereof each consisted of an hundred Skins in Vellum. This Book is called, *Zendavesta*, and by

14 Reference is made to the concept of *atar* or “holy fire,” considered to be the visible presence of Ahura Mazda. The temple cult of fire (centered around a perpetual altar fire maintained by priests) developed long after Zoroaster’s time. In diametrical opposition to Prideaux and Mather, modern scholarship assumes that post-exilic Judaism was influenced by Zoroastrianism, including the command to never let the altar fire in the temple go out (Lev. 6:6).

15 Reference is made to the ancient Roman mystery religion of Mithraism, centered on the god Mithras. While some continuities with the Iranian worship of the Zoroastrian divinity (*yazata*) Mithra are acknowledged by modern scholarship, it is generally regarded as quite distinct. Several ancient sources connect Zoroaster with Pythagoras, including Plutarch in his *Moralia*, *On the Generation of the Soul in the Timaeus*, 1012E; LCL 427.



Contraction *Zend*; which is by the Vulgar pronounced *Zundavestow*, and *Zund*.<sup>16</sup> The Word originally signifies, *A Fire-kindler*: Such as a Tinder-box is with us; which Name, the Impostor gave it, because, as he pretended, all that would read this Book, with Meditation, might as from a *Fire-kindler*, from thence Enkindle in their Hearts, the *Fire* of all true Love to GOD and His Religion. The First Part of it, contains their *Liturgy*, which is used still among them, in all their Oratories, and Fire-Temples. The Rest handles all Points of their Religion. And according as their Actions do agree or disagree with this Book, they reckon them to be either good or evil. They call a Righteous Action; *Zend-aver*, that is, *what the Book Zend allows*; And a Wicked Action they call, *Na-zend-aver*, or, *what the Book Zend has disallow'd*. This Book *Zoroastres* feign'd; that he received it from Heaven, as *Mahomet* afterwards did for his *Alcoran*; and a Copy of it in the old *Persian* Language & Character is kept in all their Oratories & Fire-Temples; and at certain times the Priests Read a Portion of it unto the People. In this Book, there are found a great many Things taken out of our Sacred Scriptures. A great Part of the *Davidic Psalms* is inserted in it. It makes *Adam* and *Eve* the first Parents of Mankind; and gives the History of the Creation and of the Deluge, very much as *Moses* does: Only *Zoroastres* converts the six Days of the Creation into six Times, allowing several Dayes to Each of the Times, which being putt all together, amounted unto 365 Dayes, or a whole Year. It speaks of *Abraham*, and *Joseph*, and *Moses*, and *Solomon*, as our Sacred Scriptures do. And from a particular Veneration for *Abraham*, he called his Book, *The Book of Abraham*; and his Religion, *The Religion of Abraham*. For he pretended, that his Reformation was no more, than to bring back Things, unto the Purity, wherein [22r] *Abraham* had them. | Tis indeed Remarkable to see, what a vast Veneration

<sup>16</sup> The *Zend Avesta* is the holy book of Zoroastrianism. In Mather's period, it was only known to Western scholars by reference. Thomas Hyde's main Persian source for his account of Zoroastrianism was the much later ethical work *Sad dar*. The first modern edition and translation of the *Zend Avesta* was prepared by Abraham Hyacinthe Anquetil-Duperron (1731–1805) in 1771. Many modern scholars think that the *Avesta* was codified around 600 CE, but this library of sacred texts contains older material, such as the Gathas as well as the Yasna Haptanghaiti, hymns composed in Zoroaster's native dialect, Old Avestan, and which comprise the core of Zoroastrian thinking. These hymns were perhaps written in the fourteenth or thirteenth century BCE, almost two millennia before the codification of the *Avesta*. Some scholars think that they were composed by the prophet Zoroaster himself. Most of his life is known through these texts. From the Gathas, we learn that Zoroaster taught "that the supreme god Ahuramazda had created 'the world, mankind and all good things in it' through his holy spirit, Spenta Mainyu. The rest of the universe was created by six other spirits, the Amesha Spentas ('holy immortals'). However, the order of this sevenfold creation was threatened by The Lie." According to this cosmology, "good spirits and evil demons (daeva) were fighting and mankind had to support the good spirits in order to speed up the inevitable victory of Ahuramazda. The believer could side with Ahuramazda by avoiding lies, supporting the poor, several kinds of sacrifices, the cult of fire, et cetera." Later in the development of Zoroastrianism, the abstract concept of The Lie came to be personified by "Angra Mainyu, 'the hostile spirit.' He is described as the leader of the demons" (Lendering).

the Name of ABRAHAM ha's had all over the East, for many Ages; A Name from which all the Sects have Sought unto themselves a Reputation. For not only the *Jews*, and the *Magians*, and the *Mahometans*, but also the *Sabians*, yea, and the very *Indians* too, (whose *Brahama* is probably the same with our *Abraham*,) all challenge him to themselves, as their Patriarch and their Founder. This Book of *Zoroastres*, does also command the same Ordinances about clean and unclean Brutes, as *Moses* did; gives the same Law of paying Tithes to the sacerdotal Order; enjoins the same Care of avoiding all Pollutions; by frequent Purification; and the Law of the *Priesthood* imitates the *Mosaic*. The Rest of the Book is an Account of the Life, Actions, and Prophecies of the Author: With Rules and Exhortations of good Morality; in which he is pressing, and very exact. Only there is one point, in which he is very scandalous; and that is, The *Incest* allowed of. As if nothing of this Nature were unlawful, he allows a Man to marry, not only a Sister, but also a Daughter, yea, and a Mother: And in the Practice, it went so far with the Sect, that in the sacerdotal Tribe, one who was born of this last and worst sort of Incest, was look'd on as best qualified for the Priesthood. An Abomination, enough to render the whole Book detestable! The *Persian* Kings being exceedingly given to such Incestuous Marriages, this Indulgence was doubtless contrived, out of a vile Flattery to them; the better to engage them unto the Sect of the *Magians*. When *Alexander* conquered *Persia*, he putt an End unto this Abomination; and, by a Law severely forbad such Incestuous Copulations.

Among the *Magians* as well as among the *Jews*, none but the Son of a *Priest*, was capable of being in the *Priesthood*. And their *Learning* as well as their *Priesthood*, they very much confined unto their own Families. Only they instructed in it such as were of the Royal Family; whom they instructed, that they might be the better fitted for Government; and therefore their Kings always had some of them in Quality of *Tutors*, as well as of *Chaplains*, residing in their Palaces. And whether the *Magians* thought it a greater Credit unto Themselves or unto their Kings, the Royal Family among the *Persians*, as long as that Sect prevailed, were always reckoned of the sacerdotal Tribe. They were divided into Three Orders; The lowest were the Inferiour Clergy, who served in all the common Offices of their Divine Worship. Next above them were the Superintendents, who in their several Districts governed the Inferiour Clergy, as the Bishops do among the Christians. Above all was the *Archimagus*, or Arch-Priest, who, as the High-Priest among the Jews, or the Pope among the Romanists, was the Head of their whole Religion. The Temples in which they officiated also, were accordingly of Three Sorts. They had their parochial Churches, or Oratories; which were served by the Inferiour Clergy. Here they Readd the daily Offices out of their Liturgy; and at stated & solemn Times, they Readd Part of the sacred Writings to the People. In these Churches, there were no *Fire-Altars*; but the sacred Fire before which they worshipped here, was maintained

only in a Lamp. Next above these, there were Fire-Temples; in which Fire was continually kept burning on the Altars. And here, as in Cathedrals, there were the Superintendents, attended with several of the Inferiour Clergy, who performed the divine Offices under theirs, and constantly also watched the sacred Fire, day & night, by four and four in their Time. The Highest Church above all, was the Fire-Temple, where the *Archimagus* resided, & which was had in the same Veneration with them, as the Temple of *Mecca* among the *Mahometans*; to which every one of that Sect, thought themselves obliged, once in their Lives to make a Pilgrimage. This was by *Zoroastres* first settled at *Balch*, where he, as *Archimagus* had his usual Residence. But after the *Mahometans* had over-run [22v] *Persia*, in the Seventh Century | after the Coming of our SAVIOUR, they forced the *Archimagus* to remove thence into *Kerman*, which is a Province in *Persia*, lying upon the southern Ocean towards *India*, and there it hath continued even to this day; and the People pay to it, the same Veneration that they did unto that at *Balch* in the former Ages. This Temple, as well as the other *Fire-Temples* were endowed with large Revenues in Lands; but the parochial Clergy depended solely on the Tithes & Offerings of the People.

The Impostor having settled his New Scheme of *Magianism* throughout the Province of *Bactria*, as he had before done thro' that of *Media*, went next unto the Royal Court of *Susa*; where he managed his Pretensions with such Address, that he soon prevailed with *Darius* himself to become his Proselyte;<sup>17</sup> and his Exemple soon drew all the great Men of the Kingdome into the New Profession. The Ringleaders of the *Sabians* made great Opposition; but the Dexterity of the Impostor surmounted it all; and this continued the National Religion of the Countrey, until *Mahomet* supplanted it. He returned unto *Balch*, where he reigned in Spirituals, as the King did in Temporals. But employing the Authority of *Darius*, taking *Argasp*, King of the Oriental *Scythians*, (who was a violent *Sabian*) over to his Religion, the *Scythian* resented it with such Indignation, that he invaded *Bactria*, & having defeated the Forces of *Darius*, he slew *Zoroastres*, with all the Priests of his patriarchal Church; which were Eighty Four; and utterly demolished all the Fire-Temples in the Province. *Darius* quickly revenged it; for falling on the *Scythian* before he could make his Retreat, he overthrew him with a mighty Slaughter; And then he rebuilt the *Fire-Temples*, which had been demolished by the Enemy; Especially, that at *Balch*, which was the patriarchal Temple, and from the Name of the Restorer, was henceforth called, *Azur-Gustasp*, that is, The Fire-Temple of *Darius Hystaspis*; and he propagated the New Religion, after the Death of its Author, with the same Zeal that he had before. Yea, he took on himself to be the *Archimagus*; And from thence it proceeded,

<sup>17</sup> Darius I (c. 550–486 BCE), also known as Darius the Great, was the third Persian King of Kings of the Achaemenid Empire, reigning from 522 until his death. Whether Darius and his immediate successors were followers of Zoroaster is debated among modern scholars but he undoubtedly worshipped Ahura Mazda.

that the Kings of *Persia* were ever after esteemed of the sacerdotal Tribe, and were still initiated into the sacred Order of the *Magians*, before they were inaugurated into the Kingdome.

To illustrate all the Particulars of the Story given us in this plain Abridgment, a vast Army of Authors, might have been produced. But my Readers will for once forgive my Sparing them the Trouble of so many Quotations.

It is enough, to add, That even to this day, the *Mahometans*, and the *Sabians*, as well as the *Magians*, all over the Orient speak of *Zoroastres*, under the Title of *Hakim*, that is, A wise, a learned, a skilful *Philosopher*; & reckon him the most eminent of the Ancient Astronomers. And *Pythagoras*, is generally supposed, for to have been a Scholar unto him.<sup>18</sup>

*Abul-Phraragius*, a Christian Arab, tells us, That *Zerdusht*, (or *Zoroastres*) foretold unto his *Magians*, the Coming of CHRIST, at the Time of whose Birth a wonderful Star should appear, shining by day as well as by night; and left it in Command, that when that *Star* should appear, they should follow it, until they found Him, & pay their Adoration unto Him: And that this drew the Three that came to *Bethlehem*, as our Gospel ha's related it. Yea, *Sharistani*, a Mahometan Writer agrees with him, so far as to tell us, That *Zerdusht* foretold the Coming of a wonderful Person in the later Times, who should Reform the World, both in Religion and Righteousness, and that Kings & Princes would become obedient unto him.<sup>19</sup>

| Those of the Sect, who remain in *Persia*, have there the Name of *Gaurs*, [23r] which in *Arabic* signifies, *Infidels*; The usual Appellation, which the *Mahometans* bestow on all that are not of their own Religion; but upon These by Way of Eminency. The *Mahometans* use them as *Dogs*, esteeming them the worst of all those who differ from them: and it is with a wonderful Constancy that they bear the Oppression. Several of them some Ages ago fled into *India*, and settled about *Surat*; where their Posterity remain to this day; And there is another Colony of them, at *Bombay*, an Island belonging to the English. They are a Poor, Harmless, Honest Sort of People; Zealous in their Superstition; Rigid in their Morals, Exact in their Dealings; Professing the Worship of one GOD only, & the Beleef of a Resurrection & a Future Judgment; & utterly detesting all Idolatry, tho' reckoned by the *Mahometans*, the most guilty of it.

*Xerxes* returning from his disastrous Expeditions, being a zealous *Magian*, destroy'd all the Idolatrous Temples where-ever he came; except that of *Diana*, at *Ephesus*. Not only several Chief Doctors of the *Magians*, but *Ostanes* himself, the

<sup>18</sup> See Prideaux, *The Old and New Testament connected*, vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 180.

<sup>19</sup> From Prideaux, *The Old and New Testament connected*, vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 181, Mather references an apocryphal story from the Arab Christian historian, Abulfaragius (1226–1286), *Historia Compendiosa Dynastiarum*, ed. Edward Pococke (1663), p. 54; and the Persian Islamic scholar, Muhammad al-Shahrastāni (1086–1153), probably his *Book of Sects and Creeds*, from Hyde, *Historia religionis veterum Persarum*, cap. 31, pp. 381–82.

*Archimagus*, who seems to have been the Grandson of *Zoroastres*, accompanied *Xerxes*, as Chaplains, in his Expeditions. And by their Instigations it was, as *Tully* tells us, that all these Temples were destroy'd.<sup>20</sup> The *Magians* prevailed with *Xerxes*, to take *Babylon* in his Way, which was the chief Seat of the *Sabians*; but besides the Motive of Religion, it will not be uncharitable to beleieve, That *Xerxes* was willing to recruit his Losses,<sup>21</sup> with the Sports of the Temples there, the Wealth whereof, especially of the Temple of *Belus*, was beyond Imagination.

By Pillaging & by Destroying these Temples at *Babylon*, there was at last most compleatly & wondrously accomplished, what the Prophets in *Isaiah* and *Jeremiah* had foretold many Years before: Isa. XXI.9. *All the graven Images of her Gods, hath He broken unto the Ground.* Jer. LI.44. *I will punish Bel in Babylon; I will bring forth out of his Mouth what he hath swallowed.* LI. 47, 52. *And I will do Judgment upon all the graven Images in Babylon.* L. 2. *Bel is confounded; Merodach is broken in Peeces, her Idols are confounded, her Images are broken in Peeces.*

[23v] | [blank]

<sup>20</sup> From Prideaux, *The Old and New Testament connected*, vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 189, Mather references Marcus Tullius Cicero, *De Legibus*, 2.10; *LCL* 213, pp. 402–03. Xerxes I (c. 518–465 BCE), also known as Xerxes the Great, was the fourth King of Kings of the Achaemenid Empire, ruling from 486 to his death. He undertook a failed invasion of Greece in 480 BCE.

<sup>21</sup> The word “recruit” in this context reflects an older usage, meaning “to replenish the substance of (a thing) by the addition of fresh material” (*OED*).

VI. *Patriarcha*, or,  
The Religion of NOAH, considered for the Illustration of  
many Passages in the Bible.

The Subject now to be considered has been very particularly cultivated by Monsr. *Jurieu*, in his, *Critical History of the Doctrines & Worships of the Church*;<sup>1</sup> as well as by an Army of other Authors. And they are his Thoughts, that I shall now chiefly employ upon it.

One Century has hardly passed, since, *The Precepts of Noah*, which were scarce known unto Christians, are now every where talked of. The Books of the Jews, which make a frequent Mention of them, have given us a New Light into the *Religion of the Patriarchs* before the Days of *Moses*.

*The Precepts of Noah*, (whereof the first Six, the Jews tell us, were given to *Adam*, in *Paradise*;) are for Number *Seven*.<sup>2</sup>

- I. *De Cultu Extraneo*; Of the Worship of all False Gods, forbidden.
- II. *De Benedictione Nominis*; Of the Benediction of the Holy Name of GOD, required; All Blasphemy forbidden.
- III. *De Effusione Sanguinis*; Of the Effusion of Blood; Murther forbidden.
- IV. *De revelatione Pudendorum*; Of Fornication, Adultery, Incest, and Illegal Cohabitations; all forbidden.
- V. *De Raptu*; Of Stealing, Robbing, and Spoiling our Neighbours; Forbidden.
- VI. *De Judicijs*; Of Courts of Justice, and Judgment required on the Transgressors of the Law.
- VII. *De Membro Vivo*; Of the Members of living Creatures; Forbidding to feed upon Flesh with the Blood, are upon Things that are strangled; pursuant unto the Commandment given unto *Noah*, at his Coming out of the Ark.

<sup>1</sup> This essay is drawn from Pierre Jurieu, *A Critical History of the Doctrines & Worships (both good and evil) of the Church from Adam to our Saviour Jesus Christ*, 2 vols. (1705), vol. 1, ch. 6 and 7, pp. 55–74. This work was first published in French in 1704. As Mather points out, Jurieu's project of reconstructing a *prisca theologia* that could be traced back to the patriarch Noah built on and overlapped with the works of countless other sixteenth and seventeenth-century scholars. As reflected especially in his commentaries on the Pentateuch, Mather was well-familiar with many of these works, including John Selden's *De Diis Syris Syntagmata* (1617) and *De Iure Naturali & Gentium* (1640); Gerhard Voss's *De Theologia et philosophia Christiana sive de origine et progressu idolatrae* (1642); Edmund Dickinson's *Delphi Phoenicizantes, sive, Tractatus* (1655); Edward Stillingfleet's *Origines Sacrae* (1662); or Pierre Daniel Huet's, *Demonstratio Evangelica ad serenissimum Delphinum* (1679). On this, see the Introduction.

<sup>2</sup> The seven commandments of Noah or the Noahic Covenant are understood by the Talmud to be given by God as a binding set of universal moral laws for all of humanity or the "sons of Noah." See the Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Avodah Zarah, 8.4, and Sanhedrin 56a-b.

The first Five of these *Præcepts*, is an Abridgment of the Decalogue. The Commandment of, *Honour to Parents*, might seem unnecessary, at a Time, when *Parents* were *Kings*, and had also the Power of *Sacrificing* in their Families. The Commandment forbidding *False Testimony* may be also comprehended under that, *De Judicijs*. The Commandment which forbids *Coveting*, was to be understood; in that criminal Actions being prohibited, the *Thoughts* which had any Tendency to them, are to be supposed in the Prohibition.

The Jews look on this as the *Law of Nations*, or the *Jus Naturale*, which all the Children of *Noah* are oblig'd unto. And they say, That the whole Religion of Mankind from *Adam* to *Abraham* centred here; And that since the Establishment of the Church in the Family of *Jacob*, the Observation of the *Seven Præcepts* was enough to secure the Salvation of the other Nations, and their Fælicity in the World to come. These Things are abundantly delivered, by *Maimonides* formerly, and more lately by *Menasseh-ben Israel*; who writes in Latin, a thing almost peculiar to him among the Writers of his Nation.<sup>3</sup>

In Pursuance of this Doctrine, there were Two Sorts of *Proselytes* among the Jews.<sup>4</sup> First, there were the *Proselytes of Justice*, who abandoning Paganism, did become *Absolute Jews*, and were circumcised, & conformed unto all the Law of *Moses*. The *Rechabites* were such; whose Father, the Jews tell us, was a Pagan called *Jether*, which Name was afterwards changed into *Jethro*. And R. *David*

3 From Jurieu, *A Critical History*, p. 60, reference is made to Maimonides's *Mishneh Torah*, Sefer Shoftim ("Book of Judges"), Melachim uMilchamot ("Laws of Kings and Wars"), ch. 8.11 and 9.1–3; see Hershman's transl., pp. 230–31. Here Rambam argues that a "righteous heathen" may have a part in the world to come (*Olam Ha-Ba*) by observing the commandment of Noah and accepting it as given by Moses. Further reference is made to the famous work of Rabbi Manasseh ben Israel, *Conciliador o de la conveniencia de los lugares* (Amsterdam, 1632), subsequently translated into Latin as *Conciliator, sive De convenientia locorum S. Scripturae, quae pugnare inter se videntur* (Amsterdam, 1633, 1641, 1650); Deuteronomy, quest. 172 on Deut. 4:19; in the modern ed.: *The Conciliator of R. Manasseh Ben Israel: The Pentateuch*, ed. Elias Hiam Lindo, 2 vols. (1842), vol. 1, p. 277.

4 Reference is here made to the halakhic concept of the *ger toshav* (Hebrew: גֵּר תוֹשָׁב), i. e. the "righteous gentile" or "resident alien." As the *JÉ* explains ("Proselyte: Semi-Converts"): A *ger toshav* was a Gentile living in the Land of Israel who agrees to follow the seven commandments of Noah. In order to be recognized as such, "the neophyte had publicly to assume, before three 'haberim,' or men of authority, the solemn obligation not to worship idols, an obligation which involved the recognition of the seven Noachian injunctions as binding. ... The more rigorous seem to have been inclined to insist upon such converts observing the entire Law, with the exception of the reservations and modifications explicitly made in their behalf. The more lenient were ready to accord them full equality with Jews as soon as they had solemnly forsworn idolatry. The 'via media' was taken by those that regarded public adherence to the seven Noachian precepts as the indispensable prerequisite. ... The outward sign of this adherence to Judaism was the observance of the Sabbath."

*Kimchi* tells us the same of *Rahabs* Family.<sup>5</sup> *Josephus* also tells us,<sup>6</sup> That this was what *John Hyrcanus* compelled the *Idumæans* to; But then there were those which were styled, *The Proselytes of the Gate*; (or, of the *Habitation*; because, as *Menasseh* saith, a *Dwelling* in the Holy Land was permitted unto them.) These renounced *Idolatry*; but yett they did not submitt unto the Law of *Moses*. *Naa-man* the *Syrian* seems one of these. And of these is to be understood that Clause in the Fourth Commandment; *The Stranger that is within thy Gates*. An *Israelite* might not keep a Slave if he did not become one of these.

| The Jews durst not *eat* at the Tables of these *Proselytes*; for they had a Liberty of being served there with such Meats as were forbidden to the *Jews*. But the *Jews* not being under such Hazards at their own Tables, would admitt these *Proselytes* to eat with them at their Tables. They were scandalized at *Peters* going to eat in the House of the Uncircumcised; but they took no Offence at his Eating with such in his own House; which he did unto the Messengers of *Cornelius*. They looked on these *Proselytes*, as *Defiled according unto the Law*. But this was especially with Regard unto the *Temple*, into which they might enter no further than the *Court of the Gentiles*.<sup>7</sup> [24v]

But what appears most Remarkable to Monsr. *Jurieu*, is, That what we have thus understood concerning these *Proselytes*, and the Præcepts given to the *Noachides*, in Order to their Happiness in the Future State, is confirmed by the *Acts of the Apostles*, and the famous Decree of the Council at *Jerusalem* recorded there.

In the *Acts, of the Apostles*, we find frequent Mention of a certain People, called, Σεβομενοι In the XVI, XVII, XVIII, Chapters, they are often mentioned; and our Translation exhibits them, as *devout Persons*, and *Worshippers of GOD*. Since the *Hebrew* Language is better understood, we find, That these *devout Persons*, the Σεβομενοι, were no other than these *Proselytes of the Gate*; who had renounced *Paganism*, & yett not embraced *Judaism*; and were in the Way to Eternal Happiness.<sup>8</sup> In Act. XIII.16. The Address was made unto the *Men of Israel*, and unto *them that fear GOD*:<sup>9</sup> By the latter distinguished from the former, or *Noachides* are intended.

<sup>5</sup> Mather probably references *Kimchi's* gloss on Josh. 6:23; see *Mikraoth Gedoloth*, Joshua: "The Israelites placed them outside the camp until they would be converted to Judaism according to the prescribed ritual."

<sup>6</sup> From *Jurieu, A Critical History*, p. 61, reference is made to *Josephus, Jewish Antiquities*, 13.257–58.

<sup>7</sup> *Jurieu, A Critical History*, p. 62. See Acts 10.

<sup>8</sup> From *Jurieu, A Critical History*, p. 63. Reference is made to Acts 16:14; 17:4, 17; 18:7, 13; 19:27, among other places. Literally, σεβομενοι [sebomenoi] means "worshiper" and refers to a *ger toshav* who was not circumcised and did not completely observe the Torah. From σεβομαι [sebomai], to worship, adore, venerate etc. Another name for the *ger toshav* was "proselyte of the gate" (*ger ha-sha'ar*).

<sup>9</sup> ἄνδρες Ἰσραηλῖται καὶ οἱ φοβούμενοι τὸν θεόν [andres israelitai kai hoi phoboumenoi ton theon]: "Men of Israel and you who fear God" (ESV).



These *Proselytes*, had a peculiar Place assign'd them in the Jewish *Synagogues*, where they placed themselves every *Sabbath-day*, to hear the Law explained. The Apostles did indeed frequently preach in private Houses: But this Preaching did not bring in any Considerable Numbers of Converts. Be sure, they did not preach in the pagan *Temples*. The *Priests* would never have allow'd their Preaching there. Nor did the Apostles use to call People together by the Sound of the *Trumpett*, or any public Signals. Their *Voice was not heard in the Streets!* We find our Apostle *Paul*, rarely preaching, but in the *Synagogues* of the *Jews*; which were frequented by Two Sorts of People; First, the *Jews*, to whom he first addressed himself, calling them, *Israelites*, and the Race of *Abraham*; and then the *Proselytes*, or the *Gentiles*, who are called, *The Fearers of GOD*. Thus in the most excellent Sermon, which he preached in the Synagogue at *Antiochia* of *Pisidia*,<sup>10</sup> he addresses the *Israelites* and the *Fearers of GOD*, as Two different Sorts of People. And when the *Israelites* rejected the Word of GOD, the Apostles *turned themselves unto* the *Proselytes*, who were the *Gentiles* in a distinguished Quarter of the *Synagogue*. Thus when we read, Act. XIII.47. *We turn to the Gentiles*; we must not imagine, that the *Gentiles* here were pagan Idolaters; or that *Paul* went out of the *Synagogue*. How could he *turn to them*, if they had not been there? Or, How could they *Rejoice & Glorify GOD*, as they did, if they had not been present? Thus, at *Athens*, we find *Paul* disputing in the *Synagogue* every day, with the *Jews*, and with the *Σεβομενοι*, or, *Devout Persons* there. These *Proselytes* were commonly called, *Greeks*; and it is a Mistake, that by this Term are commonly meant such of the *Jews*, as lived abroad among the *Greeks*, & were styled *Hellenists*. Monsr. *Jurieu* acknowledges but one Passage, where the Term *Greek*, may be taken for a *Jew* of that kind; and this is, when the *Pharisees*, asked, whether our JESUS would *go preach among the Greeks*.<sup>11</sup> But the *Greeks* which the Gospel of *John* mentions, as *coming up to worship at the Feast*,<sup>12</sup> were these *Proselytes* from the *Gentiles*, which we are now speaking of. The *Jews* called them, *Demi-converts*; and in Act. XVII.4. They are called, *Greeks fearing of GOD*. By the Modern *Jews* they are called, *Chaside meummot*, or, *The Pious of the Nations*.<sup>13</sup> | In the N.T. they are sometimes called barely, *Greeks*, and *Gentiles*. [Act. XVIII.4. and XIII.42.]

And this Observation leads us to discover, How the Conversion of the *Gentiles* by the Apostles came to be carried on with so much Facility. They were *Demi-Converts*, before the Apostles made their Addresses to them. GOD in His Wisdome so ordered Matters, that about the Time of our SAVIOURs Coming, the *Jews* who were dispersed in all Parts of the World, had made a great Number

<sup>10</sup> See Acts 13:13–42.

<sup>11</sup> See John 7:35.

<sup>12</sup> John 12:20.

<sup>13</sup> Another term closely related to *ger toshav* is *chasid umot ha-'olam* (Hebrew: חסיד אומות העולם), meaning "pious/just people of the world."

of *Proselytes of the Gate*, who professed the same Religion with our Father *Noah*. These had Renounced Idolatry, & lived in Expectation of the *Messiah*; & so were more easily converted than the *Pagans*. Yea, they were more easily converted than the *Jews* themselves; inasmuch as they were not fond of the *Mosaic* Ceremonies, not having ever submitted unto them. They scarce made any Change of Religion, when they embraced Christianity; They had little more to do, than to look on our JESUS, as the *Messiah* whom they had been looking for. Indeed, tho' the Bigger Part of the first Christian Converts, were of these *Proselytes* or converted by the Means of these, who brought their Friends with them, (as *Cornelius* did) that they might hear the Gospel: Yett we must not imagine, that they were all such: The powerful Grace of GOD, had its Triumphs, both among *Jews* & *Pagans*.

From these things, Monsr. *Jurieu* hopes to Illustrate, the *Decree* of the Council at *Jerusalem*. The *Pharisees*, a Generation zealous for the *Mosaic* Law, being vexed at the Progress of the Gospel among the *Proselytes of the Gate*, resolved upon asserting, that the *Gentiles* who hoped for a share in the Blessings of the *Messiah*, were obliged not only to keep the Præcepts of *Noah*, but also to turn absolute *Jews*, & be circumcised. The Apostle *Paul* vigorously opposed this New Doctrine; and this Controversy produced that famous Decree of the Council; That it was enough, if the *Gentiles* *Abstain from Meats offered unto, Idols, from Blood, from things Strangled, & from Fornication*; which in Effect was to say, 'Tis enough if they stick to the Religion of *Noah*, and keep his Præcepts. This Decree contains all the Præcepts of the *Noachites*; To *abstain from Idolothytes*, comprehends Two of *Noahs* Præcepts. *Blood*, relates to the Third of them; and is to be interpreted of, *Murder*, not, as tis commonly taken, for the *Eating of Blood*; for that is forbidden in the Prohibition of *Strangulates*. And this Prohibition of *Strangulates*, is exactly the *Seventh* of *Noahs* Præcepts: For a Creature *strangled*, with the *Blood* still in it, ha's that in it, which was the *Life*. The *Fornication* forbidden, corresponds, with the Fourth Præcept of *Noah*; which is against unlawful Cohabitation. So that there are only Two of *Noah's* Præcepts omitted in this Decree; The *Fifth*, which forbids *Robbing*; and the *Sixth*, which refers to *Right Judgment*. But it is Remarkable, That in many Ancient Copies of the New Testament, these Words are found at the End of this Decree.<sup>14</sup> *Lett them not do to others, what they would not have to be done to themselves*. *Beza* assures us, He found it in Two Copies.<sup>15</sup> Yea, *Irenæus* found it [Adv. Hæres. L.3.c.12.]

<sup>14</sup> The Council of Jerusalem or Apostolic Council was held in Jerusalem around 50 CE and decided that Gentile converts to Christianity need not keep most of the Mosaic laws, including the rules concerning circumcision of males. As Acts 15:20, 29, and 21:25 report, the Council did, however, define as essential the prohibitions against fornication, idolatry, eating blood, meat containing blood, and meat of animals that were strangled.

<sup>15</sup> At Acts 15, Codex Bezae contains the addition of the Golden Rule expressed in a negative form. The critical Apparatus of NA 28<sup>th</sup> offers the following lists of variations in the manuscripts at Acts 15:20: D 323. 945. 1739. 1891 sa; Ir<sup>1739mg.lat</sup> Eus<sup>1739mg</sup>; and at v. 29: και οσα μη θελετε

in the Bible he commonly made use of. *Cyprian* in his Book, *Testimoniorum*, (which is a Collection of many Passages from the Sacred Scriptures) does insert it.<sup>16</sup> And *L. De Dieu* observes,<sup>17</sup> that it is found in the *Ethiopic* Translation. If this be allow'd, then those Two Præcepts of the *Noachites* are also found in the Decree of the Council. But suppose them omitted; there may be this Reason for it: *Robberies* were then punishable by all Humane Laws. And there was no Commonwealth without a Regular Tribunal, or Court of Justice.

[25v] | Behold now, why it was; that the Council imposed a *Ceremonial Matter* upon the Faithful. It was not in regard of the *Mosaic Law*: But because the *Jews* were fully perswaded, that the Dictates in the Religion of *Noah*, were to be observed in Order to Salvation. The Quæstion to be decided was, whether it were sufficient that the *Proselytes of the Gate* should adhære to the Religion of *Noah*; which was all that the Apostle *Paul* insisted on; and not be burthened with such other *Ceremonies*, as the *Pharisees* would have required. The Council decrees on the Side of *Paul*, against the *Pharisees*: And there was no need of granting him any more than he asked for. Here was no such Complement unto the *Jews*, as was imagined by *Jerom*, and his Followers.

And here also, we see why *Fornication* comes to be joined with a *Ceremonial Matter*. It is not because *Fornication* was esteemed an *Indifferent Thing* among the Pagans; But it is because the Religion of *Noah* was to be observed by the Converts among the *Gentiles*. And the Apostles used the Word *Fornication*, to express all *Carnal Impurities*, rather than, *Revelatio Pudendorum*, which is the Term in the Præcepts of *Noah*: Because the Law of GOD uses it; and it was better known among the Greeks; and there seems less of Obscænity in it.<sup>18</sup>

Upon the whole; We see that the Religion of the *Patriarchs*, had a Simplicity in it, & had very few Ceremonies loading of it. And that it was at all times esteemed salutiferous; Even when the *Mosaic Law* was in the full Vigour of it; And, finally, That the *Christian Religion* has made No Addition unto it, but only the more Distinct Knowledge of the SAVIOUR, whose Coming they looked for. *Christianity* is but the *Religion of the Patriarchs* brought unto the Perfection of

εαυτοῖς γίνεσθαι (γενεσθαι 614), ἑτέρω (ἑτεροῖς 323. 945. 1739 sy<sup>h</sup>) μὴ ποιεῖν (ποιεῖτε D<sup>2</sup> 614) D 323. 614. 945. 1739. 1891 l p w syh\*\* sa; It<sup>1739mg.lat</sup> Eus<sup>1739mg</sup> Cyp.

16 From Jurieu, *A Critical History*, p. 70, refers to Irenæus, *Against Heresies*, 3.12.14 [PG 7. 908]; and to Cyprian, *Testimoniorum*, 3.119 [PL 4. 780].

17 From Jurieu, *A Critical History*, p. 70, a reference to the work of Ludovicus de Dieu, *Animadversiones in acta apostolorum, ubi collatis Syri, Arabis, Aethiopici, Vulgati, Erasmi & Bezae versionibus, difficiliora quaeque loca illustrantur, & variae lectiones conferuntur* (1634), p. 146: "Aethiopicus ... in loco addit, & quod non vultis fieri vobis, ne facite proximo vestro."

18 "De revelatione pudendorum" refers to the fourth command of Noah and literally means: "Of the exposing of (one's) genitals."

it: which is a Thing that *Epiphanius* himself has observed unto us.<sup>19</sup> [But I have given you this Matter, better discussed, in the, *Historia Apostolica*.]<sup>20</sup>

---

<sup>19</sup> From Jurieu, *A Critical History*, p. 74, reference is made to the work of Epiphanius, *Panarion*, lib. 1, tom. 1, cap. 8 [PG 41. 193; GCS 31]. This was also the point that Mather kept making in his tracts for missionizing the Jews, esp. *The Faith of the Fathers* (1699).

<sup>20</sup> The last sentence was added later and refers to Mather's lengthy prolegomena before the commentary on Acts.

VII. *Scriptura Nucleus*, or, The *Marrow* of the whole Bible;  
 very much of it found  
 in the FIRST PROMISE,  
 which is in the *Head of the Volumn*.<sup>1</sup>

Our BIBLE, the First Book whereof contains the History of the World for the Space of Two Thousand three hundred & seventy Years, begins with the Beginning of this our World, and the History of its *Creation* by GOD.

All things conspire to confirm the *Mosaic* History of the *Creation*; and establish us in the *Faith* of This, *That the World was framed by the Word of God*.

Among other Demonstrations of it, there is a notable one, in this, That the Law of the *Sabbath* which has a Natural Relation to the *Creation*, was observed from the Beginning to the Time of *Moses*; Tho' it seems denied by some of the Christian Fathers, that the *Sabbath* was observed by the *Patriarchs*: Yett it is most evident, [Gen. II.3.] That the Institution and Consecration of the *Seventh Day*, was for a Commemoration of the Period, in which the *Creation* of our World by the Glorious GOD was finished. There can be nothing more probable, than that the *Patriarchs*, had a *certain Day* for their more solemn Worship. And we find a Probability, that it was the *Seventh Day*, in the Time which *Noah* took, to send forth his Birds from the *Ark* with an Expectation of a Blessing. The Term of a *Week* sett apart for the Feast of the *Nuptials* wherein *Jacob* was concerned, leads one to further Thoughts upon it.<sup>2</sup> And so does the Term of Mourning *Seven Days*, for the Dead, (observed by *Joseph*,) and perpetually by the Jews, as we find in *Ecclesiasticus*:<sup>3</sup>) which *Ammianus Marcellinus* finds observed by the *Asiatics*, and *Ambrose* tells us, it passed from them unto the *Christians*.<sup>4</sup> Yea, the Holy GOD seems to have had Respect unto it in the Plagues of *Egypt*; when *Seven days were fulfilled after that the Lord had smote the River*; the Plagues of *Blood*, and *Frogs*, and *Lice*, abode six days; and withdrew on the *Seventh*.

1 The first part of this essay is based on Pierre Allix, *Reflexions upon the Books of the Holy Scripture to establish the Truth of the Christian Religion*, 2 vols. (1688), vol. 1, pt. 1, ch. 7, pp. 34–44. The work was first published in French as *Reflexions sur les livres de l'écriture sainte* (1687) and dedicated to King James II. Pierre/Peter Allix (1641–1717) was a Huguenot pastor from Besançon, France. His religious writings were already recognized in Britain before he moved there with his family after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. He settled in London and there became one of the founders of a Huguenot refugee church (ODNB). Mather uses *Reflexions upon the Books of the Holy Scripture* and other works by Allix throughout the “Biblia.”

2 See Gen. 29:27–28.

3 Ecclesiasticus 22:12: “Mourning for the dead lasts seven days, but for the foolish or the ungodly it lasts all the days of their lives.”

4 From Allix, *Reflexions*, vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 38, Mather alludes to Ammianus Marcellinus, *History*, 1.19; LCL 300, pp. 474–75. The other reference is to Ambrose, *De Excessu Fratris sui Satyri* 2, *De Fide Resurrectionis* [PL 16. 1315].

Before the *Israelites* came to *Sinai*, we find the Gathering of *Manna* regulated by the Law of the *Sabbath*. And the Word that begins the *Fourth* Commandment, *Remember the Sabbath-Day*, intimates that it was no *New Commandment*. But it was probably thus expressed also, because *Pharaoh's* Tyranny had forced them to break this Law, by obliging them to deliver their Tale of Bricks every day, without excepting the *Sabbath*. *Pharaoh* expresses himself to *Moses*, in Terms which intimate, [Exod. V. 5.] that they had formerly observed a *Rest* on this Day. Be sure, GOD commanded the *Israelites*, to make their *Servants* observe and enjoy the *Sabbath*, because the *Egyptians* had on this Day compelled *Them* to labour. But the *Fourth Chapter* to the *Hebrews*, makes it beyond all Contestation, that the *Jews* always interpreted the *second Chapter* of *Genesis*, as we have done. Our Apostle discoursing on those Words of *David*; [Psal. XCV.] *To whom I swore in my Wrath that they should not Enter into my Rest*: Supposes a Threefold *Rest*.<sup>5</sup> The first, the *Rest* of the *Sabbath*. The second, The *Rest* in the Land of *Canaan*. The third, the *Rest* which remains for the People of GOD in the World to come, of which the Two former were but the Figures. He argues; That the Words of *David*, could not be understood, concerning the *Sabbath-Day*; forasmuch as from the Beginning of the World Men entred into that *Rest* of the *Sabbath*; which he proves, by citing the first Words in this Text of *Genesis*: *God rested the Seventh Day from His Works*. He supposes the *Hebrews* to whom he wrote, had no need of having the following Words quoted unto them; *GOD blessed the Seventh Day & sanctified it*; or consecrated it for His Worship & Service; For there was nothing more universally known among them.<sup>6</sup>

Unto the Beleeif of the *Creation*, there was added in our First Parents, and in the first Patriarchs descended from them, and so down to their later Posterity, the Faith and Hope of This, *That there should arise one of their Posterity, by whom the grand Enemy | of Mankind should be destroy'd, and Mankind be delivered from the Miseries which our Fall from GOD ha's brought upon us.* [26v] Now upon this Faith of the Expected REDEEMER, our whole BIBLE turns, more than upon any one thing in the World. And this Faith more than any one thing in the World, gives us a Key to Numberless Passages in this *Book of the MESSIAH*, which great Things may else appear strange Things unto us.

Having before me, the excellent *Reflexions* of Dr. Allix, upon the *Books of the Holy Scripture*, I will now pursue this Observation, and offer an Entertainment that shall be worthy of all Acceptation.

The first Patriarchs made this promised REDEEMER doubtless the chief Object of their Meditation; For indeed there could be nothing of more Importance. And they still handed this Matter down unto their Offspring.

<sup>5</sup> See Heb. 4:3–4, alluding to Ps. 95:7 and Ex. 20:11.

<sup>6</sup> The next sections are based on Allix, *Reflexions*, vol. 1, pt. 1, ch. 11–17, pp. 54–89.

The *Sacrifices* offered by the First Children of *Adam*, could not be without an Eye to the *First Promise*.

*Eve* doubtless took her first Son, to have been the *Messiah*, that had been promised.<sup>7</sup>

And the Envy of *Cain* against *Abel* seems to have been this; that he could not endure to see another dispute his Pretensions, of having the *First Promise* fulfilled in himself, or his Posterity.

*Eve*, upon further Satisfaction acquainted her Son *Seth* with her Hopes, that from him, or his, the Accomplishment of the *First Promise* was to be expected. This Information disposed *Seth* and his Posterity, for Piety, and infused the Spirit of Religion into them. And this also inclined them to separate from the Race of *Cain*; which GOD had bereft of the Title to fulfil the *First Promise*, unto which they might naturally have made Pretensions.<sup>8</sup>

The exemplary Punishment, which GOD inflicted on *Cain*, during the seven First Generations, according to those Words, *That he should be punished sevenfold*, made his Posterity apprehend, that GOD, for the Sin he had committed, had justly debarred him of the Right he might have had otherwise to Fulfil the First Promise. Yett they might conceive, that this Right, which belonged more properly to the elder, than to a younger Brother, was now to Return unto his Posterity, after the *seventh Generation*. And it seems as if in this View, *Lamech* affected *Polygamy*; hoping that among his multiplied Posterity there might be found one or other in whom the *First Promise* would be accomplished. He imitated indeed the Crimes of *Cain*; but yett he had been educated in the Hopes of his Father, & in some Conversation with the Offspring of *Seth*.<sup>9</sup>

Yea, we may now give a plausible Account, of the Violences exercised in the old World; and of their Strong Inclinations to Sensuality; and of those Alliances between the Family of *Seth*, & the Family of *Cain*, which did not happen till after *seven Generations*; when the Family of *Cain* pretended a Restoration unto their Ancient Right, which had been so long suspended; The Family of *Seth* proposing in this Way to secure their Pretensions to the *First Promise*. Doubtless, the Idæa of the *First Promise* was more lively in those First Ages, than is commonly thought for: And gave Rise to many Instances of *Jealousy*, which we find then occurring, & unto a more burning Desire of Posterity.

It is plain, *Lamech* the Father of *Noah*, had hopes, that he might prove the Person, who was to *comfort* Mankind, concerning the Misery that Sin had brought upon the World.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>7</sup> An allusion to Gen. 4:1–5 and to the protevangelium of Gen. 3:15.

<sup>8</sup> See Gen. 4:25–26.

<sup>9</sup> See Gen. 4:15; 23–24.

<sup>10</sup> See Gen. 5:28–29.

This Father of *Noah*, had seen *Adam*; and *Noah* in the Circumstances of the Flood, saw himself chosen of GOD in a peculiar Manner, to be the Depository of the *First Promise*, which *Adam* had left unto his Posterity.

*Cham*, the Son of *Noah*, seems to have been a profane Person, deeply tinctured with the Maxims of *Cain* and his Posterity. It is likely that he supposed the *First Promise*, to be what was no longer to be depended on: and so he made the Nakedness of a Father, who appear'd not likely to begett any more Children, the Subject of his Raillery. *Noah* in cursing his Posterity with him, considered him, as attacking the glorious GOD Himself, in making the *First Promise*, the Subject of his Mockery.<sup>11</sup> | *Abraham* lived one hundred and fifty Years, with *Shem*; and so the Faith of the *First Promise* was easily propagated. [27r] The *Jealousy* also among the Sons of *Noah*, about a Right unto a Share in the Accomplishment of it, had a tendency to establish it. And it is not Improbable, that from these old Pretensions hereunto, the *Canaanites* took Occasion to profane the most Holy Things, with such *Ideas*, as *Lucian* reports, when he tells us, that the Symbol of *Baal-Berith*, the God of the *Sichemites*, was the Figure of Humane Virilities.<sup>12</sup> It might also be in Detestation of these *Ideas*, that GOD ordered the Priest of Baal to be kill'd; and the *Canaanites* to be destroy'd.<sup>13</sup> This might also be a Reason, why the *Israelites* were drawn so easily into an Imitation of their Crimes. On this Account likewise the *Moabites* and *Ammonites*, might be so ready to take a *Chemosh*, for their God, and the Women of those Nations might be so zealous as *Jezebel* was, to propagate what Religion they had; but GOD required His People to detest an Alliance with them.<sup>14</sup>

The Religion of *Abraham*, with the Faith of the *First Promise*, tis well-known, was handed down unto his Posterity.

But *Lot* following *Abraham*, when he was called out of *Chaldaea*, might conceive some Hope, that the Call might separate Him, from the rest of the Posterity of *Shem*, and give him, as well as *Abraham*, a Right unto a share in the Fulfilment of the *First Promise*. And here the Incest of *Lots* Daughters, which appears in another View so monstrous, may have some Account given

<sup>11</sup> See the story of the curse of Noah in Gen. 9:21–27.

<sup>12</sup> From Allix, *Reflexions*, vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 70, a reference to the work of Lucian of Samosata (c. 125–after 180 CE), *De Dea Syria*, esp. cap. 16; see the ed. by Strong, p. 57. The work describes religious cults practiced at the temple of Hierapolis Bambyce, now Manbij, in Syria, where the goddess Atagartis was worshipped. The practices described by the text are centered on fertility/virility, and in ch. 16 a description is given of the huge phallic statues set up before the temple that are ceremoniously climbed once a year.

<sup>13</sup> See 2 Kings 10:19–25 and Deut. 20:16–18.

<sup>14</sup> The Moabites are referenced several times in the OT as “the people of Chemosh” (e.g. Num. 21:29; Jer. 48:46), and Solomon built a high place for “the abomination of Moab” (1 Kings 11:7). In Judg. 11:24, Chemosh is also mentioned as the deity of the Ammonites. King Ahab’s wife Jezebel seems to have been a devotee of the Phoenician god Baal and attempted to suppress worship of Yahweh (1 Kings 18:4, 13, 19).



of it.<sup>15</sup> The Jewish Doctors, plainly aver, that this was done by them, in hope of bringing forth the Promised Redeemer. They might consider their Father as one whom GOD had peculiarly chosen from among the Posterity of *Shem*, to execute the *First Promise*; They saw their Mother changed into a Statue of *Salt*; They thought that none of the *Canaanites*, upon whom GOD had begun to pour out a most hideous Vengeance, could ever marry them; They hop'd, that GOD might mercifully dispense with the Irregularity of their Action, because of the Extremity they were now reduced unto. We find, no Imputation upon their Chastity while they lived in *Sodom*, & in the very Midst of its gross Impurities. They also hold a Consultation with one another, in a Matter upon which the most Intimate Friends use to be upon the Reserve: So that the Motive of their Action does not seem to proceed from a Spirit of Uncleaness. And they were so far from Ashamed of the Action, that they gave Names unto the Children born of this Incest, which published & perpetuated the Memory of this Action to all Generations. These, Two Sons, became the Heads of Two great Peoples, whose Kingdomes lasted above Thirteen Hundred Years; and were on the Borders of the Holy Land. These People retained a *Jealousy* of *Abraham's* Posterity; who might pretend, that *Abraham* could not be chosen to fulfil the *First Promise*, before *Lot*, who was the Son of *Abraham's* elder Brother; and might for the sake of that *First Promise*, be saved alone from the Conflagration of *Sodom*. The *Moabites* look'd on the Pretensions of the *Israelites*, that the *Messiah* was to descend from Them, with great Impatience; and they sent for *Balaam* to decide the Difference between them. When *Ruth*, a *Moabite*, declared unto *Naomi*, *Thy GOD shall be my GOD, and thy People shall be my People*.<sup>16</sup> She renounces the Pretensions of her own People to the Fulfilment of the *First Promise*; and acquiesced in those of the *Israelites*. For which Cause also, we have her mentioned by Name in the Genealogy of our SAVIOUR.

From this Impression did proceed the violent Passion of *Sarah*, for a Son; which caused her, very contrary unto the Inclinations of her Sex, to deliver her Servant into the Bosom of her Husband;<sup>17</sup> who had no Inclination to any such thing; But he *sought the Seed of GOD*: [Mal. II.15.] that is to say, The *Seed* which GOD had promised. So do the *Jews* to this day, understand the Words of *Malachi*. It was indeed a prædominant Impression in the Family; and without a regard unto it, *Moses* would never have stoup'd unto the Relation of some otherwise very low Particulars in his History.

[27v] A *Jealousy* arose between *Ishmael* and *Isaac*, on this Occasion. Why did *Ishmael* | mock at the great Sin, that was made at the Weaning of *Isaac*, but because he thought, that he being the Eldest, could not be deprived of the Right

<sup>15</sup> Gen. 19:30–37.

<sup>16</sup> Ruth 1:16.

<sup>17</sup> An allusion to the story of Hagar in Gen. 16:1–16 and 21:8–21.

which he had unto the Fulfilment of the *First Promise*, by his Primogeniture. Had there not been this in it, the Anger of *Sarah* (approv'd by GOD) would not have been so vehement, against *Hagar*, who flattered *Ishmael* in these Pretensions; nor would *Abraham* have so far complied with it.

The same *Jealousy* arose anon between *Esau* and *Jacob*; And the Mother was willing to entail the Blessing on *Jacob*,<sup>18</sup> as being afraid that *Esau*, by his Marriage with the *Canaanites*, as well as other Miscarriages, had made himself incapable of it. *Esau* had been educated by his Father, in hopes of the Blessing; but he laugh'd at it in all his Actions. He married a Daughter of *Heth*; which declared that as he minded not the Blessing, so he was not at all discouraged by the *Curse* of GOD pronounced by *Noah* on the *Canaanites*, with relation to the *First Promise*. And he also married a Daughter of *Ishmael*, as if he would Renew the Pretensions of *Ishmael* against *Isaac*, his Father. He was afterwards pierced with extreme Sorrow for his Crimes, but he could not obtain a Pardon.

*Esau* was the Head of a great Nation, the *Edomites*, a People circumcised as well as the Jews, & living on the Borders of *Judea*; But banished from the Hopes of a Share in fulfilling the *First Promise*, by that Oracle; *The Greater shall serve the Lesser*.<sup>19</sup>

*Abraham* was not willing that *Isaac* should marry a *Canaanite*, as *Lot* had done. On this Occasion, the Servant employ'd by him, swears with putting his Hand under his Thigh, or touching the Part which was the Subject of *Circumcision*, and bore the Mark of the *Covenant*, which had the *First Promise* in it. *Jacob* observed the same Custome, in the Swearing of *Joseph*;<sup>20</sup> A Custome, wherein the Member that received *Circumcision*, was look'd on, as consecrated unto Religion: From whence anon arose the Worship of *Baal-Peor*; which was the Reason of such Garments being at Length præscribed unto the Priests of *Israel*, as might sufficiently cover them in the Exercise of their Ministry.<sup>21</sup>

It was upon the Jealousies of the Nations, and for the Limitation of Pretensions to the *First Promise*, that GOD came to be called, The GOD of *Abraham*, and of *Isaac*, & of *Jacob*; rather than the GOD of *Noah*, or of *Enoch*, or of *Adam*. The particular Engagement made unto those, as *Depositaries* of the *First Promise*, in Opposition to the Pretensions of their Neighbours, was the Occasion for this Denomination. He was the GOD of *Abraham*; and not of *Lot*, as the *Moabites* & *Ammonites* pretended; The GOD of *Isaac*, and not, of *Ishmael*, as the *Ishmaelites* pretended; The GOD of *Jacob*, and not of *Esau*, as the *Edomites* pretended.

The Hope of the *First Promise* was evidently continued in *Jacobs* Family.

<sup>18</sup> See Gen. 25:19–34.

<sup>19</sup> An allusion to the oracle of Rebecca in Gen. 25:23.

<sup>20</sup> See Gen. 24:1–9 and 47:29.

<sup>21</sup> An allusion to the Israelite lapse into idolatry with the Moabite god “Baal of Peor” (Num. 25:3–5; Hos. 9:10; Deut. 4:3; Ps. 106:28).

*Jacob*, the Depositary of it, chose a Wife accordingly; Yea, He follow'd *Lamech* in his *Polygamy* doubtless on the like Principle that we lately supposed in him.

From hence rose the Jealousies between the Wives of *Jacob*; and Barren *Rachels* Imitation of what had been done by *Sarah*, in the Substitution of an Handmaid.<sup>22</sup>

The Children of *Jacob*, whereof the most were born in the Native Countrey of *Abraham*, could not but enquire into the Religion for which their Great Grandfather was called out of that Countrey; and so the *First Promise* must become a great Matter with them.

The Custome of the *Leviratic Marriages*, which seems to have begun in *Jacobs* Time, had a Subservience to the Designs for the *First Promise* at the bottom of it.<sup>23</sup>

The Sin of *Onan*, was made yett the more odious, by his acting against the Beleeif of the *First Promise* in it.

A Greek Writer, namely *Theophylact*, gives this Account of the *Incest*, whereinto *Thamar* surprised *Judah*; Her desire to have Children out of a Family, in which the *First Promise*, was to be accomplished; for she had renounced the Idolatry of the *Canaanites*, and embraced the Religion of *Jacobs* Family.<sup>24</sup>

[28r] And therefore we see a particular Mention made of her in the Genealogy of our SAVIOUR; as well as of *Ruth*, *Jerom*, in his *Hebrew Traditions* | tells, that when *David* was reviled by *Shimei*, his Birth out of the Posterity of that *Moabitess* was reflected on.<sup>25</sup>

*Joseph*, the Firstborn of a Mother, whom his Father made his First Love to, might have some View of the Birthright, for this Purpose. And he might suspect that the Crimes of his Brethren might rank them with *Esau*, whom GOD had rejected. The Fury of his Brethren against him, as præferr'd by GOD in the affair of the *First Promise*, (which his Dreams might intimate) seems like that of *Cain*, & *Ishmael* & *Esau*, & might have the same Original.<sup>26</sup>

Tis possible, the Attempt of the *Egyptians*, to cutt off the Males of *Israel*, might be to defeat their Expectation of the great REDEEMER to be born among them.

Thus, From *Adam* to *Noah*, there is one Man, even *Methuselah*, who joined hands with both.

<sup>22</sup> See Gen. 30:1–24.

<sup>23</sup> In a levirate marriage, the brother of a deceased man is obliged to marry his brother's widow. Onan refused to enter marriage with Tamar, widow of his brother Er (eldest son of Judah) and was killed by God, according to Gen. 38:8–10.

<sup>24</sup> From Allix, *Reflexions*, vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 83, Mather references the work of Theophylact of Ochrid, *Enarratio in Evangelium Matthaei*, cap 1 [PG 123. 149–51].

<sup>25</sup> From Allix, *Reflexions*, vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 83, a reference to (Pseudo-)Jerome, *Hebraicae quaestiones in libros Regum*, In *Librum III Regum*, at 1 Kings 2:8 [PL 23. 1361].

<sup>26</sup> Gen. 37:1–10.

From *Noah* to *Abraham*, there is one Man, even *Shem*, who saw both of them.

From *Abraham* to *Joseph*, there is one Man, even *Isaac*, who saw both of them.

From *Joseph* to *Moses*, there is one Man, even *Amram*, who saw both of them.

How easily the *First Promise* thus convey'd thro' all these Generations!

There can be nothing more Incontestible, than the History which *Moses* gives, of *Israel* Redeemed from *Egyptian* Bondage, and formed into an Holy Commonwealth, with Laws brought from Heaven to the Nation: But there was an Aspect of the *First Promise* upon all these things; the Accomplishment whereof was now in this Nation to be looked for.<sup>27</sup>

And yett, here was a Marvellous Thing! *Moses* prædicts the *Vocation of the Gentiles*, which was by the following Prophets further explained and confirmed. Now this Prædiction carried in it a Declaration, That GOD would after the Coming of the *Messiah* use quite another Method than He had used before. For, whereas GOD seemed before, to Restrain the Priviledge of His Covenant unto one People; and Restrain the Honour of a Share in the Fulfilment of the *First Promise*, unto one sole *Nation* of the World; unto one sole *Tribe* of that Nation; unto one sole *Family* of that Tribe; unto one sole *Branch* of that Family, and anon unto one sole *Person* of that *Branch*; He would after the Coming of the *Messiah*, take a contrary Method, and call all Men to Salvation by Him.

We can't think that *Moses* or the *Jews*, could be the Forgers of a Prophesy, so disagreeable unto their Inclinations.

But it is evident, that *Moses* himself, in writing the Book of *Genesis* particularly had the same Expectation of the *First Promise*, which we find in the Ancients that preceded him.

There never was a greater and wiser Historian than he. His Manner of Writing is also extraordinary. And yett, for so Judicious an Historian, to be so punctual in Relating some Things, that at first appear too *Trivial*, and other Things that at first appear too *Odious* for such an History! -

But the very circumstantial Account given of *Abrahams* purchasing the Cave at *Macpelah*; was to shew the Purpose of Heaven to fix *Abraham* and his Posterity in that Country.<sup>28</sup> His Prospect was the same, when he relates the Burial of *Rachel* at *Ephratah*.

<sup>27</sup> The next sections are derived from Allix, *Reflexions*, vol. 1, pt. 2, ch. 10–22, pp. 181–260.

<sup>28</sup> The Cave of Machpelah, known as the Cave of the Patriarchs or Tomb of the Patriarchs to Jews and as the Sanctuary of Abraham to Muslims, is a series of caves located in the heart of the Old City of Hebron. According to Gen. 23:1–20, Abraham purchased the cave from the Hittites to bury his wife Sarah and was later entombed there himself, as were his son Isaac, Isaac's wife Rebecca, and their sons Jacob and Esau.

The Discretion of *Moses*, is very conspicuous, in the Choice he makes of the Actions done to perpetuate the Memory of the excessive Desire, in the Ancients, to fulfil the *First Promise*.

The Sufferings of the *Israelites* in *Egypt*, sufficiently convinced them, that *Joseph* was not their promised Redeemer; tho' doubtless the Dying Words of their Father *Jacob*, had notably strengthened their *Idea* of Him.

However, it was the Faith of the *Israelites* being the People with and from whom the *First Promise* was to be accomplished, that caused *Moses* to decline the Honours and Pleasures of the *Egyptian* Court, and adhære to that miserable People under all their Calamities. And yett, he excused his own Undertaking to act as their Deliverer, with a visible Allusion to the *Shiloh* that had been promised, *send by the Hand of Him whom thou wilt send*. | Being of the Tribe of *Levi*, he knew himself to be not of the particular Tribe, to which the *First Promise* was now known to be appropriated. But he tells the People, *The Lord thy GOD shall raise up unto thee a Prophet from the Midst of thee, of thy Brethren, like unto me*. The *Messiah* was to be also a *Priest* and a *King*; But His being a *Prophet*, is the thing here spoken of; to teach them that they should not mistake any of their *Priests* or *Kings* for the *Messiah*. He must be a *Prophet*, that was to be the Founder of a New Religion.

The *Moabites* being descended from *Lots* eldest Daughter,<sup>29</sup> *Balak* their King was desirous to have the *Israelites* cursed from GOD, & by one of His Prophets, that so the Blessing of the *First Promise* might be secured unto him, & his People. The Notion of the Curse which he intended, was directly opposite unto the Terms of the Promise unto *Abraham*, *In thy Seed shall all the Nations of the Earth be Blessed*;<sup>30</sup> that shutt out *Lots* Pretensions. But the Prophecy of *Balaam* is a Definitive Sentence. *The Star out of Jacob*.<sup>31</sup> determines against the Descendents from *Lot*; yea, against the Descendents from *Ishmael*, yea, against the Descendents from *Esau*. It resolves all Quæstions, that might excite Jealousies among all the Nations in the Neighbourhood. It is Remarkable, That tho' this Prophecy was pronounced at the Entry into *Canaan*, which was to distinguish the *Israelites* from other Nations, yett the Calling of the *Gentiles* to the Faith, is foretold in it. All the *Children of Seth*, are to be called unto the Communion of the *Messiah*. Some indeed, by the *Children of Seth* understand the Inhabitants of a certain Town in *Moab*; which is mentioned in the XV of *Isaiah* according to the *Septuagint*.<sup>32</sup> But an *Arabian* Interpreter of the *Samaritans*, one *Abusaid*,

<sup>29</sup> Gen. 19:30–38.

<sup>30</sup> Gen. 22:18.

<sup>31</sup> Num. 24:17: "a star shall come out of Jacob, and a scepter shall rise out of Israel; it shall crush the forehead of Moab and break down all the sons of Sheth" (ESV).

<sup>32</sup> The LXX version of Isa. 15 mentions several Moabite towns that do not appear (or appear under different names) in the Masoretic text, including "Lebedon" (*NETS*).

(in M.SS.) brings good Arguments to prove,<sup>33</sup> That the Text is to be understood of the *Messiah*; who is called, *The Head of the Children of Seth*, because that *Seth* was the Father of all Men since the Flood; yea, and of all the Faithful before the Flood; and those Words, Gen. IV.26. *Then began Men to call upon the Name of the Lord*, relate unto *Seth*, and not unto *Enos*, as tis commonly supposed.

Immediately on this, we see the Daughters of *Moab*, imitating the Carnal Contrivances which the Daughters of *Lot* had used, and courting the Alliance of the *Israelites*.<sup>34</sup> They might form a Design, according unto the Principles of their Education, to share in the Accomplishment of the *First Promise*, by having Children of Those, who according to the Prophecy of *Balaam*, had the Right unto it. How proper now was the Punishment inflicted on the *Israelites*, for their criminal Commerce with the *Moabites*.

The Fulfilment of the *First Promise*, had passed thro' *seven Restrictions*, when it was at Length limited unto the Tribe of *Judah*. Tis Remarkable, in how many of them, the *Younger* is preferred before the *Elder*. Yea, and what a Conformity there sometimes was, between the Pretenders to the Execution of the Promise. Yea, and what severe Accusations, they who were prefer'd, are charged withal. But, what a marvellous Care GOD upon all Occasions took of their Protection.

It was for the Sake of this *First Promise*, that GOD would have the Nation of *Israel* to be distinguished, so notably, from the rest of the World.

GOD fixed that Commonwealth in a certain Place, with a particular Service, aiming at This; That the *Messiah* should be known without Mistake, whenever He should be Born among them.

There were many Circumstances of the *Mosaic Laws*, (besides the Pomp of their Promulgation,) which were of such a Tendency. *Tanchuma*, a famous Jewish Author, observes, There was nothing left in the World, but what GOD gave His People some Laws about.<sup>35</sup> If a Jew went out to *Plough*, he was forbidden to do it with an Ox, & an Ass: If to *Sow* he was forbidden to do it with a Mixture of several Seeds; If to *Reap*, he was forbidden to Reap the whole Crop; If any were going to *Bake* any Bread, he was to take out of the Dough so much as to make a Cake thereof to consecrate it: If any one was to *Sacrifice* an Animal, he was to give unto the Priest, the Right Shoulder, with the Cheeks & Inwards; when any one found a *Birds-Nest*, he was to lett the old one fly away; If any one went

<sup>33</sup> See Allix, *Reflexions*, vol. 1, p. 191. Allix references an "Arabian interpreter of the Samaritans," which he accessed in "M.S. in the French King's Library, Note 4 upon Gen. IV.26." Abu Sa'id was a thirteenth-century Egyptian Samaritan who revised the Arabic translation of the Samaritan Pentateuch. In the Samaritan version of the Pentateuch, Seth and his lineage are highly regarded.

<sup>34</sup> Num. 25:1.

<sup>35</sup> Allix, *Reflexions*, vol. 1, pt. 2, p. 203. Reference is made to the fourth-century aggadist, Tanchuma bar Abba, in the aggadic compilation *Yalkut Shimoni* (first complete print in Venice, 1566), Pent fol. 228, col. 3.

[29r] on *Hunting*, he was to shed the Blood | of his Game, and cover it with Dust; When one had *Planted* any Trees, he was to count them as uncircumcised for the First Three Years; when any one found a *Sepulchre*, several Cautions were to be used on this Occasion. If any *Shaved* himself, the Corners of his Beard must be guarded: when one Built an *House*, there must a Belcony regulated; They must putt particular Threads into their *Garments*. Lett 'em do what they would, there were *Laws* to be considered in the doing of it. An Horror of Idolatrous Practices, and an Aversion for Communion with Idolaters, was one of the Things which these *Laws* aimed at. This was what the *Distinction of Meats*, very particularly turn'd upon. But *Circumcision* in a more singular Manner; To keep the *First Promise* in Mind, that is a Mark ordered for that Part of the Body that serves to Generation: And it is enjoined with a very great Severity. If some other Nations were also *circumcised*, yett there were Points wherein their Circumcision differed from that of the *Israelites*; and the Agreement of these *Rivals* with them, did help to keep up that *Spirit of Jealousy*, which was useful on this Great Occasion.

The three *Great Feasts*, unto the Annual Observation whereof, the Jews were obliged, were likewise a very notable Discrimination for them.

And in Pursuance of this Intention, to distinguish the *Tribe*, & the very *House*, of the *Messiah*, what a prodigious Care was enjoined upon the *Israelites*, to preserve their *Genealogies*; yea, the very Books of the Old Testament are filled with *Genealogical Tables*.

The last Limitation which it pleased the Glorious One to make, for the Line, wherein the *First Promise* was to be accomplished, was, The Family of *David*. Now, no Family so known as a *Royal Family*; yea, For this Cause it was, That GOD having chosen *David*, for the Head of the Family, from whence the *Desire of all Nations* was to proceed, He sett this Person at the Head of the Nation; He did wonderful Things for him; He made him one of the greatest Men that ever was in the World; There is more about him, than about any one Man, in all the Bible.

Tis true, the Tribe of *Ephraim*, had many Prerogatives, which kept alive in them, the Hope of a Claim to the *First Promise*. The Blessings of *Jacob* on *Ephraim*, was made a Form for After-Ages. *Josephs* Dreams were very much on the Side of *Ephraim*. The Rebellion of *Jeroboam* was marvellously Authorized & Countenanced.<sup>36</sup> Such things occurred, That even to this very Day, a *Messiah* of *Ephraim* is talked of. But now, to obviate all these Pretensions, the Tribe of *Ephraim*, with the other Nine, were so dispersed by the *Assyrian* Captivity, that if there should be any *Ephraimites* in the World at this day, tis impossible for any of them to Justify their Pedigree.

The *Genealogies* in *Judah* continued; so that both *Matthew* and *Luke* begin their Gospels with them. And yett presently after, the Apostle *Paul* condemns

<sup>36</sup> Gen. 48:19–21 and 2 Chron. 10–13.

the Study of *Genealogies*,<sup>37</sup> which (tho' then much continued among the Jews,) was now become an useless Thing. He took it for granted, that GOD had engaged every Jew, to study his own Pedigree with care, for no other End, but that the *Messiah* might be Distinctly known, when He should come into the World.

One of the chief Means, which GOD made use of, to distinguish His People *Israel* from the rest of Mankind, was to fix their Affections upon the Land of *Canaan*, as by a peculiar Concession from GOD belonging unto them. We cannot say, whether this Concession was derogatory, to the Right of the *Canaanites*, unto whom the Countrey fell in the Division of the Earth made among the Children of *Noah*; or whether it Re-established the Children of *Shem* in their ancient Right to whom, if we may credit the Tradition mentioned by *Epiphanius*, this Countrey did really pertain, tho' afterwards they were driven out of it, by the Children of *Ham*.<sup>38</sup> To this may *Moses* refer, where he saith, That when *Abraham* came into *Canaan*, the *Canaanite* was already in the Land;<sup>39</sup> that is, he had already invaded it. Neither can the War which he relates in the XIV Chapter well refer to any but such an Occasion.

From this Affection to that Land, where the *First Promise* was to be accomplished, the Dying Patriarchs, *Jacob* and | *Joseph*, ordered their Bones to be carried thither; and the other Patriarchs, as tis intimated by *Stephen*, did the same.<sup>40</sup> Hence also, notwithstanding all Temptations to the Contrary, the *Israelites* kept themselves unmixed with the *Egyptians*. Yea, many *Egyptians* went with them, to be indisputable Witnesses from among the Enemies of GOD, of what GOD wrought for them; which also was a Præsaige of what was to be afterwards done in the Calling of the *Gentiles*. For this Reason also GOD forbid them to marry with the Nations in the Neighbourhood; Tho' *Moses* himself had married a *Midianites*.<sup>41</sup> Yea, He ordered those *Israelites*, to be putt to the Sword, who married with the other Nations. [29v]

And could it be for any other End, that GOD so straitly charged the *Israelites*, to cutt off the Nations of *Canaan*, their very Women & Children? T'was to prevent the Mixture of His People with the Nations.

That the Tribe of *Judah*, wherein the *Messiah* was to be born, might be the better distinguished, the Cave of *Macpelah*, the Sepulchre of the Patriarchs, and *Ephratah*, (or *Bethlehem*) the Place of *Davids* Birth, foretold by *Micah*, to be that

<sup>37</sup> See, for instance, Rom. 4:13.

<sup>38</sup> From Allix, *Reflexions*, vol. 1, pt. 2, p. 228, Mather references the work of Epiphanius, *Panarion*, lib. 2, tom. 2, cap. 66 [PG 42. 161–62; GCS 31].

<sup>39</sup> Gen. 12:6.

<sup>40</sup> See Gen. 49:29 and 50:25 as well as Acts 7:15–16.

<sup>41</sup> Ex. 2:11–21.



of the *Messiah's*, [He that is the *Bread come down from Heaven*, must be Born at *Bethlehem*!] fell to *Judah*.<sup>42</sup>

The *Jubilee*, kept up the Distinction of the Tribes, and their Care of their *Genealogies*.

By the Law of the *Jubilee*, the Children look'd on their Parents, as only *Usu-fructuaries*. Their Possessions were so entailed, that the Heirs could not miss of the Reversion. An Alienation could extend no further than the Year of *Jubilee*. *Naboth* would rather Dy, than transgress the Law of GOD, by an Absolute Sale of his Estate. A King himself might not violate the Law.<sup>43</sup>

The Law of *lineal Retreats*, upon the Failure of a Male-Heir in a Family, still added unto the Obligations of this People, to enquire into their *Genealogies*.

But then, Because the *First Promise* was to be accomplished, in the Birth of the *Messiah* from a *Virgin*, in a supernatural Way,<sup>44</sup> 'tis a little surprising to see, that for this very Cause, GOD would have Care taken, by Laws about *Virginity*, to have this Character of the *Messiah*, acknowledged and established, when He should be born into the World. He secured the State of *Virginity*, with a Variety of Laws, that so this thing might not be Ambiguous, when it should be accomplished. That Law about, the *Tokens of Virginity*, has been often wondred at. But now, behold the True Original of it! In Pursuance of which, it was most severely inhibited for any Woman to marry, when there was the least Probability of her having her Courses upon her. And therefore GOD Himself did fasten a Blott upon *Leprous* Persons; it being apprehended, that they were conceived when their Mothers had their Courses; yea, the *Lepers* were debarred from ever coming into the Congregations of His People. The *Laws* that seem either too *Trivial*, or too *Severe*, do now appear well worthy the Wisdome of the Lawgiver.

Because the *Messiah* was to be a *First-born*, therefore also there were those Laws, wherein the *First-born* had so many Priviledges assign'd unto them.

And then, finally, the Laws about the *Tabernacle*, and so the *Temple*, and every Thing that belonged unto those *Buildings*, & the *Worship* to be attended at them, had a Tendency to fix *Idea's* of the *Messiah*, & so of the *First Promise*, in the Minds of the People.

It is also Remarkable, That this whole People, from the Time that any came unto the Use of Reason, even unto their Dying Hour, they were obliged still to keep up a continual Correspondence with the *Priests & Levites*, whom GOD for this Purpose dispersed among all the Tribes of *Israel*; and be Instructed by them from the *Law & Testimony*, how to govern themselves. This could not be, without carrying on their Prospect, unto the *First Promise*, whereof GOD had made them the Depositaries.

<sup>42</sup> Mic. 5:2. The name Bethlehem means "house of bread."

<sup>43</sup> Lev. 25 and 1 Kings 21.

<sup>44</sup> Isa. 7:14.

This *First Promise* was afterwards expanded & expounded in very many *Prophecies* of the *Messiah*. The *Prophecies* are with an amazing Artifice enterwoven with other Matters. GOD intending that every Thing should lead Men to the View of this Glorious One; The Bible is filled with the *Prophecies*, and the most particular Circumstances of the Glorious One are prædicted in them. Coming anon to the *New Testament*, we find them all most punctually Accomplished; and the Blindness, & Unbeleef & Rejection of the *Jewish Nation*, who had been entrusted in them, which was one of the *Prophecies*; This also we then find receiving a stranger Accomplishment. The Pulling down of the Scaffolds intimates that the Building is finished.

VIII. *Synagoga*. Or, The Original of SYNAGOGUES.

The Communications of Dr. *Prideaux*,<sup>1</sup> upon the Subject of the *Jewish Synagogues*, have much abridged our Labour in treating on it.

We may now observe, That *Nehemiah*, with *Ezra*, in their famous Reformation, observing the Good & Great Effects of the *Law read* unto the People, did from thence order, that the more learned *Levites*, and the Scribes that were skilful in the *Law*, should keep up the Exercise of *Reading the Law* unto them in every City.<sup>2</sup> At first, no doubt, this was done, as *Ezra* did it, by gathering the People together in some open Place of the City. But the Difficulties of the Weather soon obliged them to erect Houses for this Purpose; And this was the Original of *Synagogues* among them. That they had no *Synagogues* before the *Babylonish Captivity* is plain, from the Silence of them in the Scripture of the Old Testament. It is also a Common Saying of the Jews that *where there is no Book of the Law, there can be no Synagogue*; The main Service of the *Synagogue* being to Read the *Law* unto the People. Now, tis very sure, A Book of the *Law*, was a Rarity before the Captivity. When Teachers were sent by *Jehoshaphat* through all *Judea*, to instruct the People in the *Law*, they were under a Necessity of Carrying a *Book of the Law* with them. When *Hilkiah* found the *Law* in the Temple, there was no Occasion for him, with the King, to have been so surprised as they were if the Books of the *Law* had been in those Times common among the People.<sup>3</sup> And if the Copies of the *Law*, were not then usual among the People, it is plain, there were no *Synagogues* for them to resort unto, that they might have it read unto them; no *Synagogues* before the Captivity: They must begin in the Days, & on the Views of *Ezra*. Some of the Jews themselves, besides Maimonides, are of this Opinion.<sup>4</sup>

It became now a Rule, That a *Synagogue* should be erected in every Place, where there were Ten *Batelnim*; That is to say, Ten Persons of a sufficient Age & State, & always at Liesure to attend the Service of it. Less than Ten such would not make a Congregation, and without a Presence of such a Congregation, there could be no Part of the *Synagogue-Service* performed. At first the *Synagogues* were few, but afterwards they were greatly multiplied. In our SAVIOURs Time, there was no Town in *Judea*, which had not one or more of them. The Jews tell us *Tiberias* then had no fewer than Twelve; and *Jerusalem* had, they say, Four

<sup>1</sup> This essay is again based on Humphrey Prideaux, *The Old and New Testament connected in the History of the Jews and neighbouring Nations*, vol. 1, pt. 1, bk. 6, pp. 295–310.

<sup>2</sup> See Neh. 8.

<sup>3</sup> 2 Chron. 17:7–9 and 2 Kings 22:8.

<sup>4</sup> From Prideaux, Mather refers to Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah*, *Ahavah* (bk. 2 “Adoration”), Tractate *Tefilah*, ch. 1.3–4.

hundred and Eighty; But it is thought, that herein they spoke a little Hyperbolically. It is *Lightfoots* Opinion, That the Ten *Batelnim* were the Elders, or Ministers that governed & managed the Synagogue-Service. But this wants Confirmation.<sup>5</sup>

The Service performed in the *Synagogues*, was first, that of *Prayers*. These by Degrees grew into a *Liturgy*; and the *Prayers* therein became so many, as to make their Service very Tedious. About this *Leiturgy* there are so many Precations<sup>6</sup> & uncertain Things asserted in the Writings of learned Men, as they stand asserted, that I shall not stay about it. I will only recite the Words of R. *Bechai*, which are, *Thou mayst do well to know, that from the times of Moses our Master, to the times of the Great Sanhedrim, there was no usual & equal Form of Prayer in Israel; because every one made his Prayer for himself, according to his own knowledge & Wisdome & Utterance.*<sup>7</sup> And by Way of Return to the Gentlemen, who take so much Pains, as Dr. *Prideaux* does, to make the *Jewish Leiturgy*, an Occasion for their Indecent Insulting (as *Men perversely bent after their own Ways*,) | those who scruple to join in the Worship of the *English*, I will only add a *Jewish Tradition*, That the Christians have their *Prayer-book*, from *Armillus*; And who that is, every body knows. [30v]

The second Part of the Service in the *Synagogue* was, the Reading of the *Scriptures*. This was the Reading of the *Kiriath Shema*; and then the Reading of the *Law*, and of the *Prophets*. The *Kiriath Shema*, had Three Portions of the *Scriptures* belonging to it. The first was from Deut. VI. v. 4. to v. 9. The Second, from Deut. XI. v. 13. to v. 21. The Third, from Num. XV. v. 37. to the End of the Chapter. Because the First of these Portions begins with the Word, *Shema*, that is, *Hear*, they call them all by that Name.<sup>8</sup> They Repeat the *Shema*, twice a Day; and all Males of a free Condition are obliged unto it; and they think it of great Moment for the Preserving of Religion among them. The *Law* was divided into *Fifty four* Sections; whereof they Read one every *Sabbath*. In the Intercalated

<sup>5</sup> From *Prideaux, The Old and New Testament connected*, vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 296, a reference to John Lightfoot, *Chorographical Century*, ch. 36, in *Works* (2:35–36). According to Torah law, wherever ten Jews live, they need to form a synagogue.

<sup>6</sup> Meaning “a prayer, an entreaty” (*OED*).

<sup>7</sup> This passage with the citation from R. *Bechai* is not from *Prideaux* but interpolated from a defense of free prayer in the work of Increase Mather, *The Order of the Gospel Professed and Practised by the Churches of Christ in New England Vindicated* (1700), p. 76. Increase cites the Lutheran theologian and Hebraist, Johannes Saubertus (Saubert, 1638–1688), *Palestra Theologico Philologica, Sive Disquisitionum Academicarum Tomus Singularis* (1678), p. 123. Cotton Mather uses the same passage again (also in defense of the Dissenting practice of free prayer) in his own *Ratio disciplina fratrum Nov-Anglorum* (1726), p. 51. Reference is made to the work of Rabbi *Bechai Ben Asher, Kad ha-Kemah* (“The Flour-Jar”; Constantinople, 1515), ch. 10.

<sup>8</sup> As *Prideaux* explains, the *Shema* (Hebrew: “Hear”) is the oldest fixed prayer in Judaism. To be recited in the morning and evening, it is basically a confession of faith that, accompanied by appropriate prayers, consists of three scriptural texts (Deut. 6:4–9, 11:13–21; Num. 15:37–41). The name derives from the initial word of the scriptural verse “Hear, O Israel: The Lord our God is one Lord” (Deut. 6:4). The recital of the *shema (kiriath shema)* is also a central part of prayer services.

Years, there were *Fifty four Sabbaths*. On the other Years, they joined a Couple of Short ones into one. On *Antiochus Epiphanes* forbidding the Reading of the Law, they substituted *Fifty four Sections* of the *Prophets*; which have ever since been continued as a second Lesson.<sup>9</sup>

But the Third Part of the Service was, To *expound* the Scriptures, and preach to the People upon them. The first was performed, at the Time of Reading; the others, after the Reading of the *Law* and the *Prophets* was over. We find our SAVIOUR performing of Both, in the *Synagogues*.<sup>10</sup>

The *Times* for the Synagogue-Service, were Three Days in a Week; besides Holidays: And Thrice on every one of those Days; The Morning, the Afternoon, & the Evening. Their ordinary *Synagogue-Days*, in every Week, were *Munday*, and *Thursday*, and *Saturday*; that so three days might not pass without the public Reading of the Law among them. They give this mystical Reason for it. The *Israelites* [Exod. XV.22.] were in extreme Distress on their Travelling Three Days in the Wilderness without *Water*. By *Water*, they tell us, there is mystically meant the *Law*; which they ought not to be Three Days without the Hearing of. The Five Books of *Moses*, being divided into as many *Sections*, as there are *Weeks* in the Year; on *Monday* they began with that which was proper for that Week, and Read it halfway through; and on *Thursday* they went on to Read the Remainder; and on *Saturday*, which was their solemn *Sabbath*, they did Read all over again; and this both Morning and Evening.<sup>11</sup> On the *Weekdays* they read it only in the Morning; on the *Sabbaths* they read it, in the Evenings as well as in the Morning, for the sake of Labourers & Artificers, who could not leave their Work, to attend the Synagogues on the Week-days; that so all might hear Twice every Week, the whole Section of that Week read unto them. And when the Reading of the *Prophets* was added unto that of the *Law*, they observed the same Order in it. The *Reading* was also to be *Thrice* every day, for the Sake of the *Prayers*. For it was a constant Rule among them, that all men were to pray unto GOD Three Times a day: In the *Morning*, at the Time of the Morning-Sacrifice; In the *Afternoon*, at the Time of the Evening-Sacrifice.<sup>12</sup> And at the Beginning of the *Night*, because till then the *Evening-Sacrifice*, was left still burning on the Altar. For This they

9 Indeed, at morning services on the Sabbath and certain holidays, the service includes readings from the Torah and the Prophets. As the Jewish leap year is 54 weeks long, the Torah has been divided accordingly, so that each section is read and studied for a week and the entire Torah gets covered every year. Because regular years are about 50 weeks, shorter portions of the Torah readings are combined on a few weeks in regular years. Since Jews were forbidden at various times in their early history to recite the Law, they read roughly corresponding sections from the Prophets (a Haftarah), and in modern times, both the Torah portion and the Haftarah portion have been included.

10 See Jesus's debate at the synagogue in Capernaum (John 6:28–59).

11 As Prideaux explains, at Monday and Thursday morning services, a part of the upcoming Shabbat's Torah portion (about 10–15 verses; the first *aliyah* of the week's portion) is read.

12 Indeed, observant Jews pray three times a day: in the morning (*Shacharit*), in the afternoon (*Minchah*), and in evening (*Ma'ariv*).

have the Exemple of *David* and of *Daniel*. Indeed before the Use of *Synagogues*, they had no solemn Assemblies for *Praying* to GOD, except only at the *Temple*. So does our SAVIOUR, & so does *Isaiah* call it, *The House of Prayer*;<sup>13</sup> And for this Use did *Solomon* consecrate it. And there the *Times of Prayer* were fixed for the Times of the Morning & Evening Sacrifice: the former, *Nine* in the Morning; the Latter, *Three* in the Afternoon. But on extraordinary Days, as the *Sabbaths* and *Feasts* and *Fasts*, there being *Additional Sacrifices*, there were also Additions made unto the Times of offering them, and both the Morning and Evening Service did begin sooner than on other Days. As soon as they did begin, the *stationary Men* were present in the Court of *Israel*, to offer | up their Prayers [31r] for the whole Congregation of *Israel*; and other Devout Persons, who voluntarily attended, were without, in the Court called, *The Court of the Women*, praying for themselves. These all pray'd in private by themselves, according to their own private Conceptions, and without any public Ministers to officiate for them. Thus do our *Pharisee* & the *Publican*, in our SAVIOUR's Parable.<sup>14</sup> Particularly, while the *Incense* was offering on the Golden Altar, the People were without, engaged in *Praying* unto GOD. [Compare, Luk. I.9, 10, and Psal. CXLII. 2. and Rev. VIII.4.] The Jews apprehending, That the Oblation of the Daily *Sacrifices*, with the *Incense* accompanying of them, was to render GOD propitious to them, & procure Acceptance for their Prayers, were careful to make the Times of those *Offerings*, the Times of their *Prayers*. And therefore, when *Synagogues* were erected among them, the Hours of their *Prayers* on the *Synagogue-Days*, in the Morning & Evening, were the same with the Hours of the Offerings at the *Temple*. They took the same Hours also, for their more private Prayers, wherever they performed them. If it were a *Synagogue-Day*, they went into the *Synagogue*, & there pray'd with the Congregation: And if it were not a *Synagogue-Day*, they then pray'd in private by themselves. Yett, if they had Liesure, to go unto the *Synagogue*, they chose that Place to do it in. But if they had not Liesure to go unto such a Place, then they pray'd, wherever they were, at the *Hour of Prayer*, tho' it were in the Street, or Marketplace. [Compare Matth. VI.5.] Besides this, many had *Upper-Rooms* in their Houses, which were as *Chappels* peculiarly sett apart for this Purpose. [Compare Act. X.3, 30. and Act. X.9.]

The Ministration of the *Synagogue-Service* was not confined unto the sacerdotal Order. Any one that by Learning was qualified for it, was admitted unto it. But, that Order might be preserved, there were in every *Synagogue* some *Fixed Ministers*, to look after the Religious Duties to be performed; and by *Imposition of Hands*, they were solemnly ordained thereunto. There were, *The Elders of the Synagogue*, who governed all the Affairs of it. These are in the New Testament, called, Ἀρχισυναγωγοί [Mar. V. 35. Luk. VIII.41. and XIII.14

<sup>13</sup> Isa. 56:7; Matt. 21:13; Mark 11:17; Luke 19:46.

<sup>14</sup> Luke 18:9–14.

Act. XIII.15.]<sup>15</sup> How many these were, we know not; but they were certainly, more than one. [Mar. V. 22. Act. XIII.15. Act. XVIII.8, 17.] Next unto them, or perhaps one of them, was *The Minister of the Synagogue*; who because he was, as the *Messenger* delegated from the People, to speak in *Prayer* to GOD for them, was called, *Sheliach Zibbor*, that is, *The Angel of the Church*.<sup>16</sup> [Consider now, Rev. II. and, III.] But tho' the *Sheliach Zibbor*, were the ordinary Minister for this Office, yett others were sometimes extraordinarily called forth for the Discharge of it, provided they were by Skill, Age, & Piety qualified for it. Next to the *Sheliach Zibbor*, were the *Deacons*, or Inferiour Ministers of the *Synagogue*; in Hebrew called, *Chazanim*, or, *Overseers*; and who under the *Rulers of the Synagogue*, had the Oversight of all Things in it. They kept the Sacred Books, & other Utensels belonging to the *Synagogue*. They overlooked them that read the Lessons, & sett them right if they read amiss, and received the Book of them, when they had finished. [see Luk. IV.20.] For the *Rulers* called out any Members of the Congregation to read, that were able to perform it.<sup>17</sup> It was usually done in this Order. A *Priest* was usually called out first; and then a *Levite*, if any such were present; and after that, any other *Israelite*, until they made up the Number *Seven*. Whence of old, every Section of the *Law*, was divided into seven lesser Sections; for the Sake of the seven Readers. In some Hebrew Bibles, the lesser Sections are marked in the Margin; the first with the Word, *Cohen*, that is, *The Priest*; the Second, with the Word, *Levi*, that is, *The Levite*; The Third, with the Word, *Shelishi*, that is, *The Third*; and so the rest, with the Hebrew Words, that signify the Numbers following, to the *Seventh*.<sup>18</sup> But the next Officer, after the *Chazanim*, was, *The Interpreter*. He Interpreted into the *Chaldee*, the Lessons that had been read in the *Hebrew*, when they found a Man fitt for this | Office, they retained him with a *Salary*; and admitted him as a constant Member of

[31v]

<sup>15</sup> From Prideaux, *The Old and New Testament connected*, vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 305. The term ἀρχισυναγωγος [archisynagogos] refers to the leaders of the synagogue who were responsible for the physical arrangements for services and presided over it but also played a political, administrative, and financial role in the affairs of the congregation (BDAG). See Mark 5:22; Luke 8:49; Acts 13:15. In Hebrew, these ruling elders were called the *zeqenim*.

<sup>16</sup> The person leading the congregation in public prayers is called the *sheliach tsibbur* ("emissary" or "messenger of the congregation").

<sup>17</sup> In modern Judaism, the *hazzan* or *chazzan* (Hebrew: חַזָּן *hazzan*, plural *hazzanim*) is the prayer leader or cantor. But as the meaning of the term ("overseer" or "attendant") suggests, it was originally the designation of a synagogue officer with administrative and educational responsibilities. See Luke 4:20. Its Greek equivalent ἐπίσκοπος [episkopos] was applied in the early church to those charged with the affairs of a "see," hence bishop (*Historical Dictionary of Judaism*).

<sup>18</sup> In the Torah reading, the first *aliyah* is reserved for a *kohein* (priest), the second for a Levite, and the rest for other (male) members of the congregation. The priests were the descendants of the family of Aaron, who traditionally had performed the sacrificial rites in the Jewish Temple. Even after the destruction of the second Temple, the esteem bestowed upon the members of this family continued.

the *Synagogue*.<sup>19</sup> When the *Blessing* was to be pronounced, if there were a *Priest* present, he always did that Office. But if there were no *Priest* present, then the *Sheliach Zibbor* did it.

The present *Synagogues* do in diverse Things differ from the Ancient. But the Difference is not worth our Enquiring after it.

They who think *Synagogues* were before the *Babylonish Captivity*, alledge what we have in Psal. LXXIV.8. about, *The Synagogues of GOD in the Land*. But, besides the uncertain Date of the Psalm, the original Words are, *All the Assemblies of GOD*. And it is allow'd by Dr. *Prideaux*, That they who lived at a Distance from the *Tabernacle*, and afterwards from the *Temple*, might build *Courts*, like those which were pray'd in there; which Courts were in after-times called, *Proseuchæ*.

These *Proseuchæ* are mentioned by the Latin Poets. We find our SAVIOUR in them; [Luk.VI.12.] And *Paul* preaching to the *Philippians* in them. [Act. XVI.13, 16.] Here, every one pray'd by himself.<sup>20</sup> And they were open Courts, built, as *Epiphanius* tells us,<sup>21</sup> after the Manner of the *Forums*, in which the People under Democratical Governments, did use to meet for transacting their public Affairs. The *Synagogues* were built within the Cities, to which they belonged. But the *Proseuchæ* were mostly in *High Places*; and might be the same that in the *Old Testament* are called so: For they are not always condemned there, but only when they were used in a Schismatical or Idolatrous Way, with *Altars*, erected in them, in Opposition to the Place which GOD had chosen. We find good Men using of them. [1. Sam. IX.19. and, X.5.] These *Proseuchæ* probably had Groves within them, or about them, as the *High-Places* had. And no doubt, the *Sanctuary of the Lord*, wherein *Joshua* did sett up his Pillar, under the oaken Grove in *Shechem*, was one of these. [Josh. XXIV.26.] The *Proseuchæ* that *Philo* mentions at *Alexandria*, had Groves within them or about them.<sup>22</sup> And when we read of, *green Olive-trees in the House of GOD*, these *Proseuchæ* may be referr'd unto; The first Book of the *Macchabees*, tells us of such an one at *Mispa*. But tho' there were such *Proseuchæ* in our SAVIOURs time, yett *Synagogues* being

<sup>19</sup> Reference is made to the office of the *meturgeman*, whose duty it was after each verse of the law and after each three verses of the prophets to "targum" the Hebrew into the language (usually Aramaic) understood by the congregation.

<sup>20</sup> The word *προσευχή* [*proseuchē*] signifies "prayer" but was also used metonymically to designate a place where assemblies for prayer were held, often in the open air. In this sense, it seems to be used in Luke 6:12 and Acts 16:13, 16. For the Roman poets, see, for instance, Juvenal, *Satires*, 3.296.

<sup>21</sup> From *Prideaux*, *The Old and New Testament connected*, vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 307, Mather references the work of *Epiphanius*, *Panarion*, lib. 3, tom. 2, cap. 80 [PG 42. 757].

<sup>22</sup> From *Prideaux*, *The Old and New Testament connected*, vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 307, a reference to *Philo*, *In Legatione ad Gajum Caesarum*, 132; *LCL* 379, pp. 66–67.



then used for the like Intent, we find in *Josephus*, that these came to be called *Proseuchæ* too.<sup>23</sup>

Besides these, there were other Places, where the *Israelites* before the Captivity, often assembled on the account of Religion. They often resorted unto the Cities of the *Levites*, to be instructed in the *Mosaic* Law; and unto the *Schools of the Prophets* for Instruction in the Things of GOD. The *New Moons* and the *Sabbaths* were special Seasons for their doing so.

That the *Jews*, who were so prone to *Idolatry* before the *Babylonish* Captivity, became so obstinately & eternally fixed against it afterwards, Dr. *Prideaux* thinks, was very much owing to this; That they now had the *Law* and the *Prophets* constantly readd unto them in their *Synagogues*. This kept them in the Knowledge of GOD & of His Laws, & in the Terror of His awful Threatnings.

---

<sup>23</sup> See 1 Macc. 3:46. Josephus mentions *proseuchæ* in the *Jewish Antiquities*, 14.10, 23, and repeatedly in his *Life against Apion*, 44, 46, as places where people gather to pray.

IX. *Sibyllina*. Or, A brief & plain Account of the *Sibylline* Oracles, [32r]  
which have made so much Noise in the World.

My Labour is again very much abridged & abated, by the Lucubrations of Dr. *Prideaux*, when I am going to exhibit the true Story of the *Sibyls*, and their pretended Oracles.<sup>1</sup>

The common Opinion is, That the *Sibyls* were Women, of old endued & possessed with the *Prophetic Spirit*.<sup>2</sup> They talk as if there were *Ten* of them;

---

1 The first part of this essay is also drawing on *Prideaux*, *The Old and New Testament connected*, vol. 1, pt. 2, bk. 9, pp. 483–94.

2 Probably originating in Asia Minor, the Sibylline oracles of antiquity were oracles written in Greek hexameter and ascribed to the figure of a Sibyl; the earliest oracles probably date from the fifth century BCE. While initially a sibyl was described as a singular prophetic figure, over time sibyls began to be associated with multiple geographical locations. Two textual traditions and corpora need to be distinguished: a) There were the Sibylline Books (Lat. *libri Sibyllini*) of the official Roman cult center at the temple of Jupiter in Rome, where official patrician keepers looked after the books and consulted them in time of need. The books were destroyed when the temple burned down in 83 BCE and were subsequently replaced by a new collection gathered from across the Mediterranean world. In 12 BCE, Augustus had them moved to the Temple of Apollo, where they were destroyed in the early fifth century. But a number of fragments from these pagan Sibylline texts survive, often as citations or summaries in other writings. b) The Sibylline Oracles or Oracles of Sibyl is a primarily Judeo-Christian collection of prophecies, ranging from Creation to the Last Judgment and gathered in twelve or fourteen books. These prophecies were written in Greek between the second century BCE and the seventh century CE, addressing both believers (Jews and Christians) and pagans in the guise of an authority they respected, that of the Sibyls. Recent scholarship has distinguished the Jewish material from later Christian additions. Books 3 through 5 and 11 through 14 are of Jewish origin, 1, 2, and 8 contain a mixture of Jewish and Christian material, and 6 and 7 are purely Christian. The Jewish Sibyllines are primarily a product of Egyptian Hellenistic Judaism with later additions. The two main collections of Sibylline Oracles in Greek (1–8; 9–14) are collections created by Christians, though incorporating Jewish material. The Jewish and Christian Sibylline oracles typically prophesy judgments on the nations and eschatological events, but to these already traditional topics, the Christian texts add prophecies of Jesus Christ. In addition to the Greek collections, there is a Latin Sibylline text (*Mundus origo mea est*) from the fourth or fifth century. The oracle of the Tiburtine Sibyl is extant in Greek and Latin. Its original core dates from the late fourth century, but elaborated Latin versions were popular in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In this period new oracles – the Cumaean, Samian, and Erythrean Sibyls – were also composed, adapting the old Sibylline tradition to the circumstances of the later Middle Ages. The main manuscripts date to the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries (*RGG*).

From early on, Christian authors, including Emperor Constantine and many Church Fathers, cited the Sibylline oracles as prophetesses who had foreseen Christ, the gospel truths, and latter-day events. During the Middle Ages and the Renaissance period, the Sibylline Oracles were highly popular, esp. the Sibylla Tiburtina, Sibylla Eritrea, and Sibylla Cumana. Since the mid-sixteenth century, various editions and Latin translations were prepared and widely read, notably Xystus Betuleius, *Sibyllionorum oraculorum libri octo* (1545), and Sebastian Castellio's *Sibyllina oracula de Graeco in Latinum conversa et in eadem annotations* (1546). At the same time, Renaissance philologists began to question the authenticity of the Sibylline

the eldest of which having the Name of *Sibylla*, all the rest, who had the like Fatidical Power, were so named from her. The most noted of these, was the *Erythræa*, born at *Erythræ* in *Jonia*; who was also called *Cumæa*, because of her afterwards removing to *Cumæ* in *Italy*; where, *Justin Martyr*, who had been upon the Place, informs us, that there was in his time, a Chappel wondrously hewn out of a great Rock, where the *Sibyl*, having first washed herself, in some hollow Places filled with Water there, then went unto the Innermost Cell of the Chappel, & there from an advanced Seat uttered her Oracles.<sup>3</sup> *Onuphrius* writes, that it was to be seen as late as A. C. 1539. when an horrible Earth-quake totally overwhelmed it.<sup>4</sup> Tho', travellers are to this Day shown thereabouts, a Vault which they call, The Grotto of the *Sibyl*.

They tell us an odd Story,<sup>5</sup> of a certain strange Woman, bringing to *Tarquin* the Second, of *Rome*, Nine Books containing, the Oracles of the *Sibyls*; & offering to sell them for Three hundred Peeces of Gold. He refusing it, she burnt three of the Books, & offered the remaining Six, for the like Price; which he refusing, she burn'd three more; and still demanded the like Price for the Three that remained. Hereupon *Tarquin* consulted the *Augurs*, who blamed his Refusal of such a *Divine Gift*; upon which he paid the Money, and the Woman disappeared. So the Books were putt into a Stone-Coffer, which was laid up in a subterraneous Vault in the Capitol; and there were two of the Principal among the Nobility, to have the keeping of them; with a Charge never to divulge them, or to permitt any one living the perusal of them; on which *Marcus Attilius* trespassing, by allowing a friend of his to take a copy of them, he was, for his breach of Trust, sown up in a Sack, and thrown into the River; A Punishment for a *Parricide*! The Commonwealth craftily made these Books an *Engine of State*, for the Quieting of the People upon all Disturbances. The Keepers of these Books, who at first were Two, then Ten, lastly Fifteen & were Noblemen priviledged with great Immunities, always brought forth such Answers as would serve the present Purposes. When the Capitol was burnt, in the Civil Wars of *Sylla* and *Marius*, about Eighty Three Years before the Birth of our SAVIOUR, these

---

Oracles, while others defended them. On these debates and Mather's position on them, see the Introduction.

3 From Prideaux, *The Old and New Testament connected*, vol. 1, pt. 2, pp. 483–84, Mather references (Pseudo-)Justin Martyr, *Cohortatio Ad Graecos*, 37 [PG 6. 307–08].

4 From Prideaux, *The Old and New Testament connected*, vol. 1, pt. 2, p. 484, a reference to the work of Onofrio Panvinio, *De Sibyllis et Carmibus sibyllinis* (1567).

5 A reference to Tarquinius Superbus (reigned 534–509 BCE), the seventh and last king of Rome, who, according to legend, bought three Sibylline books from the Cumaean Sibyl and put them in the temple of Jupiter in Rome. Prideaux references the Greek historian and teacher of rhetoric, Dionysius Halicarnassus (first century BCE), *Roman Antiquities*, 4.62 (LCL 347, pp. 464–65); the Roman author and grammarian, Aulus Gellius (c. 125–after 180 CE), *Attic Nights*, 1.19 (LCL 195, pp. 88–89); Lactantius, *De falsa religione*, 1.6 [PL 6. 141–44]; Maurus Servius Honoratus's commentary on Virgil's *Aeneis* at 6.1–10. See *P. Vergilii Maronis opera* (1561), pp. 991–92.

Books perished in the flames. The Senate seven Years after the Capitol being rebuilt,<sup>6</sup> employ'd Agents, who found here & there scattered among the People, vast Numbers of Prophecies, pretending to be the *Sibylline Oracles*, whereof they brought home the Collections; only they had now this Disadvantage, that every body was acquainted with them; *Virgil* among the rest. The *Romans* made a Law therefore, that forbad People under Pain of Death to keep any of them, & requir'd all Copies to be brought in unto the Prætor: But this hindred not the Retaining of them in many private Hands, and the Increasing of them with New Forgeries continually. *Augustus* taking on him the High-Priesthood of *Rome*, revived the Law; whereupon a vast Multitude being brought in, an Examination was employ'd upon them; the Disapprov'd were destroy'd (no less than Two Thousand Volumns of them), the rest reserved for the Use of the Government. Afterwards *Tiberius* examined them over again, & burnt many more of them, & kept what were judged for the public Service; And there was the more of Recourse had unto them, inasmuch as the other Oracles of the Pagans very much ceased on the Coming of our SAVIOUR.<sup>7</sup> They continued in Use until the Year of our Lord, 399. when a Prophecy was rife among the Pagans, pretended of a *Sibylline* Original, That | *Peter* having by Magic founded the *Christian Religion* to last for no more than 365 Years, (which term from our Lords Ascension expired A. C. 398.) it was now to vanish out of the World. *Honorius* took this Advantage to convict these Writings of manifest Imposture, & ordered a general Conflagration for them; which was executed the next Year by *Stilico*, and the Temple of *Apollo*, in which they were then repositied, was utterly demolished.<sup>8</sup>

[32v]

We have yett eight Books of Greek Verse, which go under the Name of *Sibylline*; which Collection could not be made before the Year of our Lord, 138; because it mentions the next Successor to *Adrian*; and it could not be made after the Year, 167. because *Justin Martyr* often quotes it.<sup>9</sup> We find in the Book, such an Abstract of the Bible, as could be written by none but a Christian; yea, the Writer in one Place confesses himself to be one. Lib. 8.

<sup>6</sup> The Capitol burned down in 83 and was rebuilt in 76 BCE. See the work of the Greco-Roman historian Appian (c. 95–c. 165 CE), *Roman History IV: Civil Wars*, 1.378 (LCL 5, pp. 160–61); Tacitus, *Historia*, 3.72 (LCL 111, pp. 452–55); and Lactantius, *De falsa religione*, 1.6. [PL 6. 143].

<sup>7</sup> A general reference to Plutarch, *Obsolescence of Oracles*, in *Moralia*, 5.410–38 (LCL 306, pp. 350–502).

<sup>8</sup> According to tradition, in 405, Stilicho (c. 365–408), then de facto ruler of the Western Empire, destroyed the temple and the Sibylline oracles kept there.

<sup>9</sup> Prideaux, *The Old and New Testament connected*, vol. 1, pt. 2, p. 488. The reference is to (Pseudo-)Justin Martyr, *Cohortatio ad Graecos* 16 [PG 6. 271–74 and 307–10]. The Emperor Hadrian is alluded to in the *Sibylline Oracles*, 5.47. See *Sibyllinische Weissagungen*, ed. Alfons Kurfess, pp. 125–26.

*Nos igitur Christi Sancta de Stirpe Creati.*<sup>10</sup>

But can any one think, that GOD would reveal the Mystery of His CHRIST more clearly & fully to the Pagans, than to His chosen People, & His Holy Prophets? And yett the pretended *Sibyl* here, declares that she was Wife to one of *Noah's* Three Sons, and with him in the Ark during the whole Time of the Deluge.<sup>11</sup>

It is pleaded, That *Justin Martyr*, & others of the primitive Writers, appealed unto the *Sibylline* Books. But he was a Person of much Credulity; and the others too easily follow'd him. *Josephus* quotes them, for the Tower of *Babel*, & Confusion of Languages.<sup>12</sup> But this is a poor Proof that they are genuine. *Clemens Alexandrinus* reports,<sup>13</sup> that *Paul* frequently referred unto them, in his Preaching to the Gentiles. But this is a very uncertain Tradition. One of the shrewdest Plea's for them, is, That *Cicero* mentions *Acrosticks* found in the *Sibylline* Oracles,<sup>14</sup> and there are *Acrosticks* found in the Books we now have in our hands. But the *Acrosticks* mentioned by *Cicero*, were so written, that the Letters of the first Verse in every Section, began all the following Verses in the same Order; as they lay in that first Verse. As now, suppose the First Verse to be, *Aspice Venturo Latentur ut omnia Seclo.*<sup>15</sup>

The Letter, S, must begin the Second Verse; the Letter, P, the Third; the Letter, I, the Fourth; the Letter, C, the Fifth; the Letter, E, the Sixth; and so on, to the End, and when all the Letters of the first Verse were thus exhausted, there the Section ended. Whereas, the *Acrosticks* in our Books, whereto *Tertullian* alludes, & which are quoted by *Constantine* and by *Austin*, are of quite another sort. *Ιχθυσ*, the Initial Letters of *Ιησους Χριστος Θεου Υιος Σωτηρ*, make them.<sup>16</sup> The

10 "Therefore, we are children of the holy family of Christ." From Prideaux, *The Old and New Testament connected*, vol. 1, pt. 2, p. 487, Mather cites the Latin transl. of the *Sibylline Oracles*, 8.483. See Sebastian Castellio's annotated edition, *Sibyllinorum Oraculorum Libri VIII. Addita Sebastiani Castalionis interpretatione Latina quae Graeco eregionē respondeat* (1555), p. 259. See also *Sibyllinische Weissagungen*, ed. Alfons Kurfess, pp. 184–85.

11 In the *Sibylline Oracles*, 3.805–09, the Jewish Sibyl is identified as one of Noah's daughters-in-law. See *Sibyllinische Weissagungen*, ed. Alfons Kurfess, pp. 110–11. Bk. 2 of the *Sibylline Oracles* also contains a unique version of the flood story.

12 See *Sibylline Oracles*, 3.97–108; *Sibyllinische Weissagungen*, ed. Alfons Kurfess, pp. 78–79; *Josephus, Jewish Antiquities*, 1.4; *LCL* 242, pp. 56–57.

13 A reference to Clement Alexandrinus, *Stromata*, 6.5. [PG 9. 263–64].

14 The reference is to Cicero, *On Divination*, 2.54.110–11; *LCL* 154, pp. 496–97.

15 "See how all things rejoice in the age that is at hand." An oracle by the Cumaean Sibyl cited from Virgil, *Eclagues*, 4.52; transl.: *LCL* 63, pp. 52–53. Both the Cumaean Sibyl and Virgil were considered prophets of the birth of Christ, because the fourth of Virgil's *Eclagues* appears to contain a messianic prophecy by the Sibyl. In it, she foretells the coming of a savior, whom Christians identified as Jesus.

16 In Greek, *ιχθὺς* (*ichthys*, "Fish") represents the acrostic initials of "Jesus Christ the Son of God the Savior." From Prideaux, *The Old and New Testament connected*, vol. 1, pt. 2, p. 489, Mather references the works of Tertullian, *De Baptismo, Adversus Quintillam*, cap. 1 [PL 1. 1197–98]; Augustine, *The City of God*, 18.23; see *LCL* 415, pp. 440–43; and Eusebius, *Constantini Oratio ad Sanctorum Coetum*, cap. 18 [PG 20. 1285–90]. In this address, Constantine

English of these Words, being, *Jesus Christ the Son of GOD the Saviour*, and the Verses containing the History & Mystery of the Gospel, in a little Summary, none can imagine that these were known in the Days of *Cicero*. It is most probable, the Compiler, finding in *Varro*, in *Dionysius Halicarnasseus*, in *Cicero*; & others, a Mention of *Acrosticks*, he invented these to cloak the Imposture.<sup>17</sup>

It is very sure, The *Sibylline* Oracles had a very Ancient Reputation. Even *Plato*, and *Aristotle*, speak of them with great Regard;<sup>18</sup> But who, and how many the *Sibyls* were, & when & where they lived, we have little but Fable & Fiction to instruct us. And be their Gifts of *Prophecy* what it will, the Oracles produced from them, when they were consulted by the *Romans*, directed such Idolatrous & Abominable Rites, as carried great Impiety in them; Hideous were the *Humane Sacrifices* enjoined by them.

Indeed, among the Prophecies that went about under the Name of *Sibylline*, there were some that foretold the Coming of the *Messiah*, & the Righteousness & Blessedness of His Kingdome. Now, this was partly, from the Dispersion of the *Jews*, among the Nations; who had an earnest Expectation of the *Messiah*, quickly to appear unto the World; and had the Prædictions of *Daniel*, to raise it in them. Hence the Heathens gott the Notion of a great King, to come out of *Judea*, & reign over the whole World; which we find particularly celebrated by *Tacitus* and *Suetonius*. It is also, not unlikely, that as GOD compelled *Balaam* | to foretell what he did;<sup>19</sup> and led the *Magians* to address & adore our SAVIOUR; and forced the *Devils* to own the Son of the most High GOD; So He might make some of the *pagan Oracles*, to bear some Testimony unto the Approach of the Redeemer. Some Heathen *Greek* having digested these Things into a Book of Greek Verses, about the Time of our SAVIOUR, this operated something to the advantage of Christianity; And therefore the *Christians* in their Disputes with the *Pagans*, made such frequent Appeals to them, that they gott the Name of *Sibyllists*. This Book was afterwards, about the Time of the Emperour *Antoninus Pius*, interpolated with many Additions by some *Christian*, who wanted both *Discretion* & *Honesty*; and these *Adulterations* destroy'd the Authority of the *Whole*, to the Damage of the Christian Cause. What we now have, is this *wretched Mixture*; whereof, tho' the biggest Part is to be

[33r]

---

interprets the whole of Virgil's fourth eclogue as a reference to the coming of Christ and quotes a long passage of the Sibylline Oracles (bk. 8) containing an acrostic in which the initials from a series of verses read: "Jesus Christ, Son of God, Savior, Cross."

17 On acrostics in Sibylline oracles, see Cicero, *On Divination*, 2.112; LCL 154, pp. 496–97; Dionysius Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities*, 4.62 (LCL 347, pp. 464–65), citing Varro.

18 See Plato, *Phaedrus*, pp. 244–45; LCL 36, pp. 464–67; and Aristotle, *On Marvellous Things Heard*; LCL 307, pp. 276–77.

19 See Num. 22:5, 18. Presumably, the other references are to Tacitus, *Annales*, 6.12; LCL 312, pp. 174–75; and into the biography of the *The Deified Julius*, 79.3, in *Lives of the Caesars* (LCL 31, pp. 132–33) by the Roman historian and biographer, Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus (c. 70–after 122 CE).

condemned, yett my Doctor will not reject the *Whole*; but (which was as far as even our Adversary *Celsus*, that *roaring Lion* would go) charge an *Imposture* upon the *Interpolations* only.<sup>20</sup>

But tho' Dr. *Prideaux* has thus waded into the Matter, it shall not supersede, the Communications of Dr. *Chandler* upon it, in his *Defence of Christianity*.<sup>21</sup>

The Sum of what this learned Person delivers upon it, is This.

The Tradition of the expected *Messiah* and *Redeemer*, was what the *Gracians* and *Romans* came to be acquainted with, by Means of the *Jews* in *Asia Minor*, and the *Greek Islands*; who turned into *Greek Verses*, the better to be remembered, what they had learnt from the Prophets, concerning Him. These Verses were called, *Sibylline*, from an Hebrew or Chaldee Word of the same Sound, that signifies, *To Prophecy*. *Hesychius* calls it, *A Roman Word, that signifies, A Prophetess*.<sup>22</sup> Doubtless, he means *Etruscan*; which was the same with the ancient *Phenician*. It seems, the Word, / סבל / or / שבל / from the Sense of, *Bearing*, did come to be used for, *Propheying*: The *Prophets* did *Bear*, or *Carry*, the Divine Influence which was in them.<sup>23</sup> They were Θεοφοροι and Πνευματοφοροι. Thus / נשא / a Word of the like Signification, *To Bear*, or *Carry*, has the Sense also, *To Prophecy*.<sup>24</sup> And what we render *The Burden*, is, *The Prophecy*. It appears not, that there was any Person, that had for her proper Name, that of *Sibyl*. But, because these Verses were collected in different Countreys, a *Sibyl* was fancied, and so denominated from that Countrey where the Verses were collected. The Books of the *Sibyls*, purchased by *Tarquin*, were burnt with the Capitol in the Days of *Sylla*.<sup>25</sup> These had been kept so secret, that none knew what was contained in them, except they who had the Custody of them, & the Right of Consulting them. And from the Occasion of Consulting them, which were only in public & extreme Calamities, they appear to have been mainly *Ritual Books*, full of Directions concerning Sacrifices and Expiations. Whereas the Greek

<sup>20</sup> From *Prideaux, The Old and New Testament connected*, vol. 1, pt. 2, p. 494, a reference to Origen, *Contra Celsum*, 5.61 [PG 11. 1277–78].

<sup>21</sup> The rest of the essay is derived from Edward Chandler, *A Defence of Christianity from the Prophecies of the Old Testament* (1725), ch. 1, sect. 1, pp. 10–35.

<sup>22</sup> From Chandler, Mather is referring to the etymological explanation of the word σίβυλλα [sibylla] in the writings of the sixth-century Greek chronicler and biographer, Hesychius of Miletus, which were edited by the Dutch classical scholar, Johannes Meursius (1579–1639), *Hesychii Milesii Viri illustris Opuscula, partim hactenus non edita* (1613), p. 36 and the annotation on p. 106.

<sup>23</sup> Although Mather gives a valid translation of שבל[שב] is unattested], there is no connection with “propheying.”

<sup>24</sup> “God-bearer” and “Spirit bearer.” The word combines θεός [theos] and πνεῦμα [pneuma] with φέρω [phero] meaning “to bear” or “carry.” In the LXX of Hos. 9:7, the prophet is described as ὁ πνευματοφόρος [ho pneumatophoros], which, in turn, translates in Hebrew as אִישׁ הָרוּחַ [iś haruah], “man of the spirit.”

<sup>25</sup> Chandler, *A Defence of Christianity*, p. 11.

*Sibylline Books* were of another Nature, and spoke of Things to come; which were foretold in the *Jewish Prophecies*; and nothing more, for ought appears, than what was grounded on the Interpretation of those Prophecies; and are therefore thought by very learned Men (such as *Usher*, and *Grotius* and *Vossius*) to be a Jewish Composition,<sup>26</sup> designed for to propagate the Beleeif of the *Messias*, and præpare for the Way for His Reception among the Gentiles. From the *Greeks* they passed unto the *Romans*;<sup>27</sup> among whom for some time there were Prædictions both in Greek and Latin, concerning, A *Glorious King to come*. They were in every bodies hands; and many of them under the Title of, *Sibylline*. They were variously applied, as Men were disposed, either for the Courting of great Folks, or for the Bending of them to political Purposes. *Julius Cæsar* contrived a Motion in the Senate, for giving him the Title of a *King*, when he was employ'd against the *Parthians*, from something in these Books, that a *King* must be their *Saviour*.<sup>28</sup> *Cicero* doubted whether this could be found in what was collected of the *Tarquinian Sibyls*; because the Verse was an Acrostich, & because it favoured the Abolition of their pagan Religion.<sup>29</sup> But *Cicero's* Objections, were of no Force against the *Jewish Sibyls*. *Lentulus* applied this Oracle to himself, and was thereby drawn into the Conspiracy, that has made such a Noise in the Roman Story.<sup>30</sup> Upon the Conception of *Augustus*, it was commonly affirmed, That *Nature was then in Labour, to bring forth a King who should rule the Romans*; which *Virgil* explains more largely, in the *Sixth Æneid*,<sup>31</sup> of Prophecies concerning one who should be of the *Divum Genus*, the *Race of the Gods*, that should sett up the *Golden Age* again, and subdue the hitherto unconquered Nations, & reduce them all into one universal Empire. All this he ominates of *Augustus*. As their Hopes from *Augustus* dwindled, *Virgil* would needs revive them for the Son, that *Scribonia* the Wife of *Augustus* was then big withal. In his Fourth *Eclog*, he applies to this Child, the glorious Things which the *Sibyllin Verses* had foretold, of, *The great King to come*.<sup>32</sup> To the disgrace of the Poet, and his pretended Skill at the Interpretation of Prophecies, the Lady was delivered of a *Daughter*. However, *Virgil* | did not lose his End; which was, To ingratiate himself with *Augustus*.<sup>33</sup> And we also have the Benefit, of knowing the Subjects that chiefly

[33v]

26 References are made to the works of James Ussher, *The Annals of the World: Deduced from the Origin of Time, and Continued to the Beginning of the Emperour Vespasians Reign, and the Totall Destruction and Abolition of the Temple and Common-wealth of the Jews* (1658), p. 713 (4674, Julian Period); Grotius's annotations on Matt. 2:1 (*Opera* 2:16–17); and Isaac Vossius, *De Sibyllinis aliisque quæ Christi natalem præcessere oraculis: Acced. eiusdem Responsio* (1680).

27 Chandler, *A Defence of Christianity*, p. 12.

28 Another reference to Suetonius's biography of the *The Deified Julius*, 79.3, in *Lives of the Caesars* (LCL 31, pp. 132–33).

29 Another reference to Cicero, *On Divination*, 2.112; LCL 154, pp. 496–97.

30 Chandler, *A Defence of Christianity*, p. 13.

31 Reference is made to Virgil, *Æneid*, 6.791–800; LCL 63, pp. 588–89.

32 Another allusion to Virgil, *Eclogues*, 4.18–65; LCL 63, pp. 51–53.

33 Chandler, *A Defence of Christianity*, p. 14.



employ'd the Expectations of his Age; which appears to have been in *Substance*, and even in *Language*, much the same, with what we read in the *Jewish Prophets* concerning the *Messiah*. How *Virgil* should gett such a particular Knowledge of their Beleeif, tho' his whole Argument had not been found in the *Sibylline Verses*, may be easily guess'd. Great Numbers of *Jews* lived in one Quarter of *Rome*. *Herod* and his Followers, were about this time in *Rome*;<sup>34</sup> and probably Guests unto *Pollio*; as his two Sons were afterwards to him, to whom this *Eclogue* is inscribed. What he had heard of *them*, he dress'd up in his Poetic Manner; and recommended all together; under the splendid Name of *Sibyl*, or *Prophet*, whose Prædictions had something of this Nature in them.

However, *Virgil* declaring what he writes, to be taken from a *Prophetical Book* of a *Sibyl*, shews, That the Subject of the *Sibyls* Book was, the Coming of such a great King & Saviour as the *Jews* then had an Expectation of. And, as these Verses were not known before the old Roman *Sibylline Books* of *Tarquin* were burnt in *Sylla's* Days, nor before *Pompey's* Reduction of *Jerusalem*; It may Reasonably be thought, that they proceeded from the *Jews*, who seeing the *Syrian* Kingdome, one main Branch of the *Third Monarchy* fallen, concluded, the *Fourth* was commencing in the Days whereof the great Redeemer was to come into the World. The Fear of this glorious Person, made the *Roman* Magistrates very uneasy about the *Sibylline Verses*. And *Cicero* apprehending the Religion and Liberties of the Commonwealth to be threatened in them, raised Suspicions of them, and moved for the Calling of them in, & keeping them under Custody.<sup>35</sup> *Augustus* called them in, as far as he could; and lodged them in *Apollo's* Temple. *Tiberius* renewed, & perhaps extended, the Prohibition of having & reading them.<sup>36</sup> Nevertheless, all their Caution, could not root the Expectation of the great King out of the Minds of the People.

Dr. *Chandler* can't but profess himself much affected, and indeed who can be otherwise? – to see how patty the Passages in *Virgil* hitt with the Prophecies of the Old Testament.<sup>37</sup>

*Virgil* speaks of an *Age to come*, which he calls, *The last Age*; [and so, it must be the *Fifth*, succeeding to the *Iron Age*, which the Poets counted, the *Fourth*;) when the *grand Revolution* of the Former Times, and a *New Birth* of the *Old World* shall begin and *Nature* shall resume its *pristine Vigour*: when the Simplicity and Probity & Equity of the *Paradisical* State shall be restored, which was called, *Golden*, in respect unto the following Times; And Manners would be so Reformed, as if a *New Race* of Men were drop'd down from Heaven. In this New Kingdome *Virgil* promises an End of all *War*, an universal *Peace* throughout the World; a benign *Concord* between the most fierce & voracious Animals, & the

<sup>34</sup> Chandler, *A Defence of Christianity*, p. 15.

<sup>35</sup> A reference to the work of Cicero, *In Catilinam*, p. 3; LCL 32, pp. 108–11.

<sup>36</sup> A reference to Tacitus, *Annales*, 1.76; LCL 249, pp. 372–73.

<sup>37</sup> Chandler, *A Defence of Christianity*, p. 15.

weakest & such as are least able to defend themselves: And no *poisonous* Reptile or Vegetable remain in the World. For the Plenty & Security of that Age, *Virgil* says, The *Flocks* will need no Shepherds to look after them; They shall of their own Accord bring home their *Milk* unto their Owners: The *Earth* shall not want the Rake, nor the *Corn* the Plow, nor the *Vine* the Knife; nor shall the Merchants bring in foreign Commodities; but every Countrey shall produce every thing that is desireable; Ripe Grapes hang on the Bramble; Honey drop from the Oaks; and Spiknard be as common as Ivy.<sup>38</sup>

All appears fetch'd out of our Bible!

And when we observe the Titles given by *Virgil*, to his Prince; A *Child*; The *Son to be born*; The *Beloved Son of the Gods*; The *great Offspring of Jupiter*; The *New Seed that comes down from Heaven*; The *Honour of his Age*; who shall be *advanced unto high Dignity & Power*; one can't overlook the like Titles of the *Messiah* in the Prophets.<sup>39</sup>

---

<sup>38</sup> From Chandler, *A Defence of Christianity*, pp. 16–17, further references to Virgil, *Eclogues*, 4.4–47; *LCL* 63, pp. 48–52. Compare Isa. 2:4, 9:7, 11:6–8, 60:18–21, and 65:25; Hos. 2:21 and 27; and Ps. 85:11.

<sup>39</sup> From Chandler, *A Defence of Christianity*, p. 21, another reference to Virgil, *Eclogues*, 4.15–17; *LCL* 63, pp. 50–51.

X. *Chaldeans*. Or, some Account of the Jewish *Targums*.<sup>1</sup>

The Scriptures of the Old Testament, have been translated into the Language of the *Chaldeans*; which was of old used thro' all *Assyria*, and *Babylonia*, and *Mesopotamia*, and *Syria*, and *Palæstine*; and is to this Day the Language of the *Nestorian* and *Maronite* Churches, in the East, as *Latin* is of the *Papal* Churches in the *West*. These Translations are called, *Chaldee Paraphrases*; and the Name of *Targums*, which signifies, *Versions*, is also putt upon them.

These *Targums* were made for the Benefit of the *vulgar Jews*, after the *Babylonish* Captivity; when many of them living mixed with the *Babylonians* (otherwise than they did in *Egypt* with the *Egyptians*) lost very much of the *Hebrew Language*, in which the whole Old Testament is written, except the Book of *Daniel*, from Ch. II.4. to the End of Ch. VII. and the Book of *Ezra*, from Ch. IV.8. to Chap. VII.27. And Jer. X.11.<sup>2</sup>

From *Ezra's* time, when the Reader had read one Verse of the appointed Section in the Assemblies, the Custome was for an Interpreter still to render it in *Chaldee*; And when the Synagogues multiplied beyond the Number of able Interpreters, the help of *Chaldee Versions* was but Necessary.<sup>3</sup> The Use of the *Synagogues* made it necessary first for the *Law*, and afterwards for the *Prophets*; And the Use of the People in their *Families* made it necessary for all the rest of the Scriptures.

No doubt there were of old more of these *Targums* than, we now know of; which have been lost in the Length of Time. We have now *Eight Sorts* remaining, which were composed by different Pens, at different Times, & on different Books.

The *Targum* of *Onkelos* is to be first mentioned; which is only on the *Pentateuch*. The Style in which he writes, being the nearest unto the true Standard of *pure Chaldee* in *Daniel* and *Ezra*, inclines Dr *Prideaux* to make this the

1 This essay is again based on Prideaux, *The Old and New Testament connected*, vol. 1, pt. 2, bk. 8, pp. 413–32. As the essay explains, Targums/Targumim are translations or interpretative paraphrases of the books of the Hebrew Bible into Aramaic, made when Aramaic (or “Chaldee” in the parlance of Mather’s time) was the common spoken language among the Jews in Palestine-Syria as well as Babylonia. The dating of individual Targums is debated among specialists, but they are now generally assumed to have been produced between about 250 BCE and 300 CE and were usually read in the synagogues. In the following, information on the individual Targums is based on the article by G. Schelbert in *NBL*. Like many biblical interpreters and Christian Hebraists at the time, Mather makes frequent use of the Targums throughout the “*Biblia Americana*,” most frequently drawing on the Latin translations in Brian Walton’s *Biblia Polyglotta* (1653–1657).

2 These parts of the Hebrew Bible are written in Aramaic, which, however, Mather and his peers did not take as evidence for a later composition.

3 Reference is made again to the office of the *meturgeman* (see above).

*First-born* of all the *Targums*. It is rather a *Translation* than a *Paraphrase*; and has been all along in the highest Esteem among the Jews; among whom, as we are informed by *Elias Levita*, (who lived about the first Part of the Sixteenth Century,) it was very frequently to be mett withal, when of the other *Targums*, there was hardly above one or two of a Sort in a whole Countrey to be mett withal.<sup>4</sup> 'Tis unknown who this *Onkelos* was. Them that hold him to have been a Proselyte; and the same with *Akilas*, who is quoted in *Bereshith Rabba*, to have written a *Targum*, Dr *Prideaux* proves to have been mistaken.<sup>5</sup>

The next that appears, is the *Targum* of *Jonathan Ben Uzziel*, upon the *Prophets*. He is more *paraphrastical*, and inserts *Glosses* and *Stories* that sometimes are little to the Credit of the Work. The Books of *Joshua*, *Judges*, *Samuel*, and *Kings*, are called, *The Former Prophets*; and the Books of *Isaiah*, *Jeremiah*, *Ezekiel*, and the Twelve that follow, are called, *The Latter Prophets*.<sup>6</sup> The Jews admire this Gentleman so, that they not only give him the first Place of Eminency among all the Disciples of *Hillel*, but equal him even to *Moses* himself; and report miraculous Things attending him, while his Work was going on; As, That there was permitted nothing to give him any Disturbance in it, and if a Bird flew over him, or a Fly litt on his Paper, they were immediately consumed by Fire from Heaven. They tell us, That a Voice from Heaven forbad his proceeding with the *Targum* he intended for the *Hagiographa* (among which the Jews place the Book of *Daniel*), because it contained the End of the *Messiah*. Some *Christians* laying hold on this, against the *Jews*, to interpret it concerning the Death of our SAVIOUR foretold in the Prophecies of *Daniel*, the *Jews* have since taken upon them to alter the Passage.

The Third, is a *Targum* on the *Law*, which is ascribed unto *Jonathan Ben Uzziel*; which could not be his; as tis evident not only from the *Style*, but also from the Mention of Things in it, | which either had no *Being*, or at least not such *Names*, till after the Days of *Jonathan*.<sup>7</sup> It mentions the Six Books of the

[34v]

4 From *Prideaux*, *The Old and New Testament connected*, vol. 1, pt. 2, pp. 416–17, reference is made to the *Targum Onkelos*, the fairly literal Aramaic translation of the Torah that probably originates in the early second century CE but went through processes of redaction later on.

5 Traditionally, authorship was attributed to *Onkelos*, a famous convert to Judaism in Tannaic times (c. 35–120 CE). Although rejected by *Prideaux*, the theory that the author was identical with the famous proselyte to Judaism, *Aquila of Sinope* (fl. 130 CE), translator of the Torah into Greek, is today embraced by various scholars. The Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Megillah 3a, speaks of “*Onkelos the proselyte*” as the author of the *Targum* of the Torah, “according to the instructions of R. Eliezer and R. Joshua,” while the Jerusalem Talmud (Tractate Megillah 1:9 [10b]) says much the same about *Aquila*.

6 From *Prideaux*, *The Old and New Testament connected*, vol. 1, pt. 2, p. 418, reference is made to *Targum Jonathan*, the paraphrase and interpretation of the Prophets, attributed to *Jonathan ben Uzziel*, a pupil of *Hillel the Elder*, who lived during the Mishnaic period, which lasted from 10 to 220 CE. The process of redaction, however, continued into the period of Arabic conquest.

7 From *Prideaux*, *The Old and New Testament connected*, vol. 1, pt. 2, p. 419, reference is made to the *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan*, a late version (final redaction after the seventh century) of

*Mishnah*, which were not until Two Hundred Years after him. It mentions *Constantinople*; it mentions *Lombardy*; Terms never heard of, until several Hundred Years after him. The Author is utterly unknown; and the Work had so little Notice taken of it, that *Elias Levita* seems to have been an utter Stranger to it; nor was it considered, until it was first published at *Venice* about an hundred & threescore Years ago; when they putt the name of *Jonathan* upon it, probably to obtain Credit for it; and most of the Prophecies in the *Pentateuch* about the *Messiah*, being here interpreted the Christian Way, some Christians are willing if they can, to favour the *Misnomer* of the Title.

The Fourth *Targum* is on the *Law*; But by an Hand utterly unknown. It is called, The *Jerusalem Targum* (as is the *Jerusalem Talmud*.) because written in the *Jerusalem Dialect*.<sup>8</sup> For there were Three Dialects of the *Chaldean* or *Assyrian* Languages. The first was the *Babylonian* spoken at *Babylon*, the Metropolis of the *Assyrian* Empire; the Purity whereof we have in *Daniel* and *Ezra*, and the lowest Corruption in the *Babylonish Gemara*. The Second was the *Commagenian*, or *Antiochian*, which they spoke in *Syria*; wherein we have the Version of the Holy Scriptures, at this day used by the *Syrian* Christians. The Third was the *Jerusalem Dialect*; spoken by the *Jews* returning out of *Babylon*. The *Babylonian* and *Jerusalem Dialect*, were still written in the same Character: But the *Antiochian* in that which we call the *Syriac*. We reckon them as a Different Language, whereas the *Syriac* and *Chaldee* are the same Language, in different Characters, & only differ a little in their Dialect. All these Three Dialects, are so many Degeneracies from the old *Assyrian* Language. The purest of the *Jerusalem Dialect*, was in the Two first of the *Targums*. But in process of time, the Mixture of the *Jews* with other Nations, especially after our SAVIOURS Time, caused a Mixture of many exotic Words with it; from the *Latin*, and *Greek*, and *Arabian*, and *Persian*, & other Languages; which has made almost another Language. A View of this we have in the *Jerusalem-Targum*, even more than in the *Jerusalem-Talmud*; which argues that it was written after it. It is not a continued Paraphrase, like the rest, but on Parts here and there, where the Author thought there was Occasion: Sometimes only on a Verse, or perhaps a Peece of a Verse; yea, skipping whole Chapters over. There are several Things in it, which are delivered in the very same Words by our SAVIOUR & His Apostles in the New Testament.

The Fifth *Targum*, is that on the *Megilloth*; [i. e. *Ruth*, *Esther*, *Ecclesiastes*, *Canticles*, & the *Lamentations*.] The Sixth, is the Second on *Esther*; The Seventh

---

the *Targum Yerushalmi* (Jerusalem Targum) mixed with elements of the *Targum Onkelos* and haggadic traditions, which were mistakenly ascribed to Jonathan.

<sup>8</sup> From Prideaux, *The Old and New Testament connected*, vol. 1, pt. 2, p. 420, reference is made to the Palestinian or Jerusalem Targum, of which no authoritative text exists but which has been handed down in different versions that incorporate more or less haggadic material.

is on *Job*, the *Psalms*, & the *Proverbs*.<sup>9</sup> These are all written in the corruptest *Chaldee* of the *Jerusalem*-Dialect. Of the Two former, no Author is Named. The Last they assign, to *Joseph* the Blind; (that is, The *One-Ey'd*;) but it is not said, who he was, or when he lived. The Second *Targum* on *Esther*, which is larger than the First, seems by the Barbarity of the Style, to be the last that was written. That of the *Megilloth*, Part of which is the first *Targum* on *Esther*, mentions the *Mishnah* & the *Talmud* with the *Explication*; which if it mean the *Babylonish Talmud*, it must be written after A. C. 500. which is the most early date for the *Talmud*.

The Eighth & Last of the *Targums*, is on the Two Books of, *The Chronicles*; which was not known till the Year 1680. when *Beckius*, first published from an old Manuscript, at *Augsburgh*, that Part of it which is on the First Book; and three Years after, that on the Second.<sup>10</sup>

The *Targums* of *Onkelos* on the *Law*, & of *Jonathan* on the *Prophets*, tis generally thought, are as ancient as our SAVIOURS time, or perhaps more ancient. The *Jewish* Historians are positive in it; and (tho' they are often wretched Historians) we can in this Matter find no Manner of Reason to contradict them.

It is much that *Origen*, and *Epiphanius*, and *Jerom*, (as well as the rest of the Fathers who had less of the *Jewish Learning* than they,) knew nothing of them. However, this | Negative proves nothing. And the *Jews* were then very backward in Communicating their Books unto the *Christians*; Indeed neither of them cared much for Communicating with one another; Their mutual Aversion was notorious. Yea, The *Jews* were the more shy of Showing these Books unto the *Christians*, because there were *Explications* of the *Prophecies* in them, which would enable us to turn their own Artillery upon themselves. For which Cause, it was much above a Thousand Years after CHRIST, before the *Christians* knew any thing of the *Targums*; and scarce Three Centuries have passed, since they became common among us.

[35r]

When our SAVIOUR was called forth to read the second Lesson in the synagogue at *Nazareth*, He seems to have read it out of a *Targum*; for the Words

<sup>9</sup> From Prideaux, *The Old and New Testament connected*, vol. 1, pt. 2, p. 421. Although the Talmud does not "officially" acknowledge Targums to the Ketuvim, there are Targumic versions of all books included in that section, except Daniel and Ezra. They are written in a later western form of Aramaic mixed with Babylonian elements from Onkelos. Specific reference is made to the Targums of the Five Megillot or Scrolls: the Song of Songs, the Book of Ruth, the Book of Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, and the Book of Esther. There also exists a second Targum of Esther. All of these are post-Talmudic with final redactions in the eighth or ninth centuries.

<sup>10</sup> From Prideaux, *The Old and New Testament connected*, vol. 1, pt. 2, p. 422, reference is made to the Targum of Chronicles, which is of late, possibly medieval, composition and is attributed to a Rabbi Joseph. It was first printed as *Targum Shel Divrei Ha'yamim-Paraphrasis Chaldaica I Libri Chronicorum* with explanatory notes in Latin by Matthias Friedrich Beck (1680).

as recited by *Luke*, are neither in the *Hebrew* nor the *Greek*. And His Words on the Cross, are out of the *Chaldee* Paraphrase.<sup>11</sup>

But tho' the Two *Targums* aforesaid, are the most ancient Books the Jews have, next the *Hebrew Scriptures*; the rest seem to be written, some a little before, some a little after, the *Babylonish Talmud*.

The *Targums* are of great Use, for the better Understanding of the *New Testament*, as well as of the Old. They also determine, that the present *Hebrew* Text of the Old Testament must be genuine. They explain many Phrases in the *Hebrew* Original, They relate many ancient Customes, which illustrate the Sacred Scriptures. And finally, they serve the Christian Cause with Expositions of the Prophecies, against the Jewish Infidelity.

The *Targums* are published unto the best Advantage in the second Edition of the great *Hebrew Bible*, sett forth at *Basil*, by *Buxtorf* the Father. A. C. 1620.<sup>12</sup>

We are endebted unto Dr *Prideaux*, for this Account of the *Targums*. I have here given an Abridgment of his Memorials.

[35v] | [blank]

<sup>11</sup> From *Prideaux, The Old and New Testament connected*, vol. 1, pt. 2, p. 423, a reference to Luke 4:16–30, where Jesus is reading a Targumic version of Isa. 6:1–2a. He quotes the Aramaic version of Ps. 22 (“Eloi, Eloi, lama sabachthani”) from the Cross (see Matt. 27:46 and Mark 15:34).

<sup>12</sup> From *Prideaux, The Old and New Testament connected*, vol. 1, pt. 2, p. 431, a reference to the famous rabbinical Bible of Johannes Buxtorf, *Biblia Sacra Hebraica & Chaldaica: cum Masora, quae critica Hebraeorum sacra est, magna & parva : ac selectisissimis Hebraeorum interpretum cōmentariis* (2 vols., 1618; 4 vols., 1618–1619), containing, in addition to the Hebrew text, the Targums, punctuated in analogy to the Aramaic passages in Ezra and Daniel, and the commentaries of the “canonical” Rabbis with various other treatises.

The *musical Instruments* of the *Hebrews*, have been a Subject upon which the Wits and Pens of learned Men, have been considerably exercised. But it may be, none have cultivated the Subject more Critically or Accurately, than a late French Literator, whose Name is *Calmet*.<sup>1</sup>

It is a little surprising to find a Gentleman of his Profession, beginning his *Dissertation* with a Confession, “That *Chrysostom* and *Theodoret* observe, It was purely out of Condescension, that GOD permitted the *Hebrews* to make Use of *Music* and the Sound of Instruments, in His Temple. *David* was the Man who first established them.”<sup>2</sup> This he did for the Sake of an heavy flegmatic People, whose Devotion He was willing to enliven, in order to prevent their falling into Idolatrous & Superstitious Practices. The Christian Church, in her primitive Ages, while the Warmth & Fervour of Devotion was at the highest, had neither Music nor Instruments in her Assemblies; and perhaps never would have had Any, had it not been for the Weakness & Infirmities of the Faithful, who stand in need of some external Aids, to keep up the Fire of their Devotion, & to raise their Hearts & Minds unto GOD: But, by how much the Pomp & Sound of Instruments is inferiour to the True Worship, and that high Degree of Purity, GOD requires at the hands of His Servants, by so much does it excel the legal Ceremonies, and Bloody Sacrifices. How often have the Prophets exhorted the People to render unto GOD the Sacrifice of *Praise* and *Thanksgiving*, instead of *Burnt-Offerings* and the *Fatt of Lambs*? But, at the same time, they have taken particular Care to lett them know, that Righteousness and Holiness were the Life & Soul of their Musick & Praises; and that without Purity of Life, their Songs, & their Instruments were an Abomination unto the Lord.”

---

1 Mather extracts the following essay from Augustin Calmet’s “Dissertation sur le Instruments de Musique des Hebreux” in *Discours et dissertations sur tous les livres de l’Ancien Testament* (3 vols., 1715); vol. 2, pp. 629–78. The essay was translated as part of Calmet’s *Antiquities sacred and profane: or, a Collection of Curious and Critical Dissertations on the Old and the New Testament* (1724), sect. 1. The French Benedictine monk, Augustine Calmet (1672–1757) was a leading Catholic exegete of his generation who produced commentaries on all books of the Bible, published as the multivolume *Commentaire littéral sur tous les livres de l’Ancien et du Nouveau Testaments* (first ed., 1707–1716), which during the eighteenth century went through numerous editions and assumed quasi-official status in the Catholic church. However, Calmet is most famous for his great dictionary of the Bible (first French ed., 1720), first published in English as *An historical, critical, geographical, chronological, and etymological dictionary of the Holy Bible* (3 vols., 1732).

2 From Calmet, Mather references Chrysostom, *Expositio in Psalmos*, at Ps. 150 [PG 55. 495–98]; and Theodoret of Cyrus, *Interpretatio in Psalmos*, at Ps. 150 [PG 80. 1995–96].



Instead of consulting the *Bibliotheca Rabbinica* of Bartolucci,<sup>3</sup> to learn the *musical Instruments* of the *Hebrews*, we will confine ourselves to *Calmet*. And instead of Transcribing his curious *Dissertation*, which is full of Erudition, we will content ourselves, with exhibiting to an ocular View, the *Figures* of the *Instruments*.

The Rabbins, and the greatest Part of Commentators, reckon up no less than Thirty Four Several *Instruments*. But he at once cutts off no less than Fourteen of the Number.

*Neginoth*, he will have to signify, *The Women* who play on Instruments.<sup>4</sup> *Hannehiloth* means, *The Chorus's* of the *Dancing-Women*.<sup>5</sup>

*Hasheminith*, means, *The Eighth Band of Musicians*; mentioned in 1. Chron. XV.21. which is to be read, *with Harps to præsides over the Eighth Band* –<sup>6</sup>

*Shiggajon*, means, *A consolatory Song in Affliction*; q. d. *Tristia*, or, *An Elegy*. *Quære*, whether any Footsteps of this, in the Musical Women among the *Turks*, at this day, called; *Tschingenes*.<sup>7</sup>

*Gittith*; implies, That the *Psalms* with such a Title, were address'd unto the Præsident of the *Gathian* Band: For, as *David* had a Company in his Guards from *Gath*, so he might have a Sett of *Women-Musicians* from thence; or this Name, it might be given to *Israelitish* singing Women, for some Reasons unknown to us. There were most certainly Companies of *Women-Musicians* belonging, even to the *Temple*.<sup>8</sup>

*Alamoth*, most certainly signifies, *Young Damsels*.<sup>9</sup>

*Mictam*, signifies no more than *A Psalm inscribed with the Name of David*. *Aquila*, & *Symmachus*, & *Jerom* read it, *A Psalm of Humble & Upright David*.<sup>10</sup>

3 Giulio Bartolucci (1613–1687) was an Italian Cistercian Hebrew scholar and author of the four-volume *Bibliotheca Magna Rabbinica* (1675–1693).

4 The Hebrew word נְגִינֹת [neginot], plural of נְגִינָה [neginah], basically means “playing of music,” usually on a stringed instrument. In the headings of several Psalms, the word occurs in musical directions and probably refers to songs accompanied by string instruments. See, for instance, the headings of Ps. 4:1, 5:1, or 6:1. See the transl. of 4:1 “on stringed instruments” (NAS); “with stringed instruments” (ESV).

5 See the musical directions at the beginning of Ps. 5 and 6. The phrase אֶל־הַנְּחִילֹת [‘el ha-nehilot] is usually translated as “for the flutes” (ESV) or “for pipes” (NIV).

6 See Ps. 6:1 and 11:11. The Hebrew עַל־הַשְּׁמִינִית [‘al hašeminith] is translated by the ESV as “with stringed instruments; according to The Sheminith.” For 1 Chron. 15:21, the ESV offers “with lyres according to the Sheminith.” The exact meaning of the musical term Sheminith remains debated among modern scholars.

7 See the heading of Ps. 7, where the musical term שִׁגְיֹן [siggayon] occurs, the exact meaning of which remains debated. Renditions offered include: “lamentation, staggering verse, a song provoking excitement by its performance” (HALOT; BDB).

8 See, for instance, the musical directions in the headings of Ps. 8, 80, or 83. The ESV renders the Hebrew הַגִּתִּית [ha-gittit] as “according to The Gittith.”

9 Calmet refers to Ps. 9:1 and 1 Chron. 15:20 עַל־עֲלָמוֹת [binvalim ‘al-‘alamoth], which the ESV translates as “with harps according to Alamoth.”

10 See the heading of Ps. 16 (15 in VUL). Again, modern scholars are in disagreement as to what the Hebrew term מִכְתָּם [miktam] signifies exactly, and it is simply rendered “a Miktam

*Ajeleth Hashahar*, is the Name of a Company of Men or Women Musicians. The Reason of the Name is unknown to us.<sup>11</sup>

*Shoshannim*, signifies, *Rejoicings*. All the Psalms having this Title, are Songs of *Mirth* and *Joy*.<sup>12</sup>

*Mahalath*, signifies *Dancing*. We often read of *Religious Dances*. [Exod. XV.20. Judg. XXI.21. 1. Sam. XVIII. 6. 1. King. I.40. Psal. LXVIII.25.]<sup>13</sup>

*Jonath-Elem Rechokim*; intends most probably a Band of Musicians; But we cannot now so much as guess at the Reasons for which they were called so.<sup>14</sup>

*Higgajon*, is generally, explained by *Meditation*, or by *Reflection*; It comes from a Root that signifies, To speak with Consideration.<sup>15</sup>

*Maschil*, signifies, *An Instructor*. It is præfixed unto Twelve Psalms. In Psal. XLVII.7. it seems to signify, A *skilful Singer*; A Master at it. *Sing, O Maschil*.<sup>16</sup>

*Al-taschcheth*, found over Four Psalms, q. d. *Do not Corrupt, or, Destroy*; denotes, that they were to be preserved with great Care, free from Alterations.<sup>17</sup>

| The Number is now reduced unto Twenty; but some of these may be synonymous. [36v]

They may be divided into Eight *Stringed* Instruments; and Seven *Wind* Instruments; and *Four* more, that have no Relation to either of them.

We will no longer Defer our Figures.<sup>18</sup>

---

[of David]" by the ESV. Aquila of Sinope (fl. 130 CE) and Symmachus (fl. late 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE) were both translators of the Hebrew Bible into Greek. Their translations were included by Origen in his Hexapla (c. 240), which only survives in fragments. Jerome used their translations in preparing the Vulgate, which renders the heading: "humilis et simplicis David custodi me Deus quoniam speravi in te tituli inscriptio ipsi David [the inscription of a title to David himself]."

11 See the Hebrew phrase אֵילֶת הַשָּׁחַר [ʾayyelet hašāḥar] in the heading of Ps. 22:1, which the ESV and NIV interpret as the title of a tune and translate: "The Doe of the Dawn."

12 The direction "set to שִׁשְׁנִים [šośannim]" is mentioned in the headings of Ps. 45 and 69 and basically means "[to] the lilies." Whether it refers to an instrument, a specific tune, or a musical genre remains debated.

13 The word מַחֲלָת [maḥalat] frequently occurs in Psalm headings and is more usually understood to refer to a tune.

14 The heading of Ps. 56 gives the direction to set the Psalm to יוֹנָת אֵלֶם רְחוֹקִים [yonat ʾelem reḥoqim], which the ESV renders "The Dove on Far-off Terebinths" and the NIV "A Dove on Distant Oaks." Again, this was probably the name of some well-known tune.

15 The word הִגְגָּיוֹן [higgayon] occurs three times in the Psalms. Its meaning is uncertain, and it is usually left either untranslated as a musical direction in Ps. 9:16 or translated as "meditation" (ESV and NAS) in 19:14 and as "with resounding music" (NAS) or "music of the lute and harp" (ESV) for 92:3.

16 From שָׂכַל [sakal], "to be prudent, wise, or skillful." In Ps. 47:7, מַשְׁכִּיל [maskil] has been variously understood as "with understanding" (KJV); "with a psalm" (ESV); or "with a psalm of wisdom" (NAS).

17 In the heading of, among others, Ps. 57:1, we find the direction אֶל-תַּשְׁחֶת [ʾal-tašhet], "according to Do Not Destroy" (ESV) "set to Al-tashheth," which probably was also a specific tune.

18 The following captions with their Roman numerals correspond to the cut-out illustration from Calmer's *Antiquities sacred and profane* that Mather pasted into the manuscript below.

Fig. I. The *Nebel*, or *Nable*; The ancient *Psalterion*; almost in the Shape of a *Delta*, Δ. The Hollow Part was Above; and it was plaid upon Below; either with the Fingers; or with rather a Sort of a Bow.<sup>19</sup>

II. The ancient *Cythara*, or the *Hazur* and Ten-stringed Instrument. It was the same with our *Harp*; of a Triangular Form; having its Hollow Part below. It was plaid upon, with the Fingers, or with a Bow.<sup>20</sup>

III. The ancient *Lyra*, or *Kinnor*, with Three Strings. Its Belly was a Tortoise-Shell, with Two Arms, to sustain the Strings.<sup>21</sup>

IV. An Ancient *Lyra*; taken from a Signet of *Nero's*.

V. The *Lyra* of *Timotheus*; with Nine Strings.<sup>22</sup>

VI. A *Lyra*, as represented on the Medals struck in the Time of *Judas Maccabeus*.<sup>23</sup>

VII. The *Symphonia*, or, *Cymbal*. It had a Belly, & a Neck, with Four Strings; Two of which serve as Drones; the two others are stretch'd along the Neck, & serve for a perpetual *Monochord*, and make all sorts of Notes, by the Means of Ten Small Steps, which make as it were so many Keyes. Towards the top there is a wooden Wheel, turned round by an handle. It is represented here without the Cover that the Parts may be the better distinguished.

---

The captions are also from Calmet.

19 The *nevel* or *nabla* (Hebrew: נֶבֶל; Greek: νάβλα) was a string instrument used by the ancient Hebrews and neighboring peoples. Its exact nature remains a matter of debate, but it likely was not a harp (as in Calmet's picture) but a type of lyre belonging to the yoke-lute kind. Its strings rose up from its sound box and were attached to a yoke that sat in the same plane as the sound-table and consisted of two arms and a cross-bar. The strings were plucked by the player. The *nevel* is mentioned 28 times in the Hebrew Bible, often in association with the *kinnor*, an instrument specific to the Levitical guild (1 Ch. 15:16; 20; 25:1, 6). It is mentioned when the ark was transferred (2 Sam. 6:5; 1 Chron. 1:8), at the dedication of the wall (Neh. 12:27), during victory celebrations (2 Chron. 20:28), and as an instrument of ecstatic prophecy (1 Sam. 10:5). It was made of the same material as the *kinnor*, namely almug wood (1 Kings 10:5). See Joachim Braun, *Music in Ancient Israel/Palestine: Archaeological, Written, and Comparative Sources* (2002), pp. 22–23.

20 Calmet assumes that the *nevel*<sup>k</sup> *asor* is a version of the *nevel* with ten strings. However, Ps. 92:4 mentions *nevel* and *asor* as separate instruments. In the NT, the κιθάρα [kithara; VUL *cithara*] is mentioned five times as an instrument (1 Cor. 14:7; Rev. 5:8, 14:2, and 15:2).

21 The *kinnor* (Hebrew: כִּנּוֹר) was also a string instrument, probably a lyre similar to the *nevel* but played with a plectrum. It is very frequently (42 times) mentioned in the Hebrew Bible in various contexts: secular celebrations (Gen. 31:27; Isa. 24:8), the transportation of the ark (2 Sam. 6:5; 1 Chron. 15:16; and Ps. 43:4, 98:5, 149:3, and 150:3), or prophetic ecstasies (1 Sam. 10:5).

22 The Greek dithyrambic poet Timothy of Miletus (c. 450–360 BCE) is seen as a pioneer of the “new music,” which aimed to break up and mix existing genre conventions to create more emotional and dramatic effects. While the traditional Greek lyre (λύρα) had seven strings, Timothy, despite much resistance, added one or several strings for playing his music.

23 Reference is probably made to the Bar Kokhba coins (made during the second Jewish revolt c. 132–135) on which two different types of lyres and a pair of wind instruments appear; these coins were intended as an anti-Roman symbol enjoining both religious and political freedom. See Braun, *Music in Ancient Israel/Palestine*, p. 252.

VIII. The ancient *Sambuca*; A stringed Instrument; much like the modern Psaltery, or Dulcimer.<sup>24</sup>

IX. Several Sorts of Trumpetts or Horns.<sup>25</sup>

X. Ancient *Flutes*;<sup>26</sup>

XI. The *Hugab*, or, Ancient *Organ*. It was composed of several Pipes made of Reeds, joined with Wax, of different Lengths. The Sound of it was very Harmonious; caused by blowing into the Pipes, as they passed successively along the under-lip.<sup>27</sup>

XII. *Flutes* with Several Pipes.

XIII. The *Tympanum*, or, *Drum* of the Ancients. It was an Instrument used on Festival Days; very like our *Taber*; having a Skin stretched only on one Side, in the Manner of a Sieve.<sup>28</sup>

XIV. The *Timbrel*, or *Kettle-Drum*. The Ancient was much the same with our modern ones; only smaller.

XV. The *Sistrum*, or *Citern*.<sup>29</sup>

XVI. XVII. Ancient *Cymbals*, of a very shril & piercing Sound. They were made in Shape of a Cap, & struck one against another.<sup>30</sup>

XVIII. A Triangular Instrument, with Rings of Metal, which are putt in Motion with an Iron Rod.

24 The *סומפֿוניה* [sumefoniyā; VUL *symphonia*] and *סבֿכֿח* [sabbkha; VUL *sambuca*] appear in Nebuchadnezzar's orchestra (Dan. 3:5, 7, 10, and 15). It is not clear what kind of instruments they were, but the *symphonia* might have been a kind of bagpipe and the *sambuca* a kind of harp.

25 The most important trumpets or horns are the *חֶצְצֶרֶה* [ḥaṣṣera], a silver trumpet frequently mentioned in ritualistic contexts (see, for instance, 2 Kings 12:13 and Num. 10:1–7), and the *שׁוֹפָר* [šofar], the horn of the ram (see, for instance, Lev. 25:9; Ps. 8:14; and Joel 2:1) used, among other contexts, in the temple for diverse festival services. The NT mentions the *σάλπιγξ* [salpinx; VUL *tuba*] 22 times (Matt. 6:2 and 24:31; 1 Cor. 14:8 and 15:52; 1 Thess. 4:16; Heb. 12:19; and sixteen times in Rev.). It is often mentioned in connection with divine communication or activity.

26 One of these flutes or pipes would be the *חֲלִיל* [ḥalil], mentioned in, among other places, Isa. 30:29; 1 Sam. 10:5; and 1 Kings 1:40.

27 Reference is made to the *עֹגָב* [‘ugav], mentioned in, among other places, Gen. 4:21 and Job 21:12 and 30:31. The nature of this instrument is also much debated, but possibly it was a kind of reed-pipe (BDB) or flute like a Pan's pipe (*organon*), made up of several reeds together.

28 The *תֹּף* [tof], a tambourine-like instrument, is mentioned in, among many other places, Ex. 15:20; Judg. 11:34; and 1 Sam. 10:5.

29 2 Sam. 6:5 mentions the *מִנַּעֲנָע* [mena‘na‘; VUL *sistrum*], a type of rattle or castanet.

30 Calmet probably has in mind the *צִלְצְלִים* [šelšelim], mentioned in 2 Sam. 6:5 and Ps. 150:5, which is usually translated as “cymbal.” The word suggests a buzzing sound (cf. *צִלְצַל* [šelašal] in Deut. 28:42, Job 40:31, and Isa. 18:1). For the NT, see, for instance, the *κύμβαλον* [kymbalon] mentioned in 1 Cor. 13:1.

XIX. Another, much the same. These Instruments were invented to accompany the Sound of the *Cymbal*. In all Probability, they were the *Shahshim* of the Hebrews.<sup>31</sup>

XX. XXI. Small Tinkling Bells; These probably were what the Hebrews called, *Metsilothaim*.<sup>32</sup>

*Calmet* beleeves, with many others of the Learned, that usually in the Temple, on solemn Days, there were *Women*, who sang & play'd; & that they had their Chiefs or Præsidents, called *Mnatseach*, who first of all struck up the Tune for the Psalm, or Hymn.<sup>33</sup> These were commonly the Daughters of the *Levites*. This was done with all possible Decency and Reserve. They did not mix with the Men, but made separate Companies by themselves. When the Children of *Heman*, one of the Three grand Præsidents of the Temple-Music, are numbred, there is a Mention of *Twelve Sons*, and *Three Daughters*.<sup>34</sup> There can be no Reason why the *Daughters* are mentioned; but because they were employ'd like the *Sons*, in singing the Praises of the Lord. When the Ark was brought from *Kirjathjsarim* to *Jerusalem*, we find Choirs of young Damsels, led by the Præsidents of the Music. [Psal. LXVIII.26.] *Ezra* among his Returned Captives, reckons Two Hundred Singing-Men, and Singing-Women. [Ezr. II.65.] doubtless designed for the Service of the Temple. *Lyra* is of this Opinion, and proves it from the Daughters of *Heman*. [1. Chron. XXV.5.]<sup>35</sup>

The *Chaldee* Paraphrast, says, That *Solomon* introduced them into the Temple. And so say *Tostatus* and *Menochius*, and *Grotius*,<sup>36</sup> [on, 1. Chron. XV.20.] where we read in the Hebrew, That *Zacharias*, *Aziel*, *Shemiramoth*, and others, præsidèd over the Seventh Band of Musicians, which was that of [*Alamoth*; or,] the *young Damsels*. The Ninth Psalm, is address'd unto *Ben*, or

31 1 Sam. 18:6 mentions that the women of Israel met Saul with dancing, joy, and "with musical instruments" (Hebrew וְבַשְּׁלִישִׁים [uvešališim]). The nature of these instruments (which are nowhere else mentioned) has been much debated. Possible translations include three-stringed lyres, lutes, cymbals, cornets, or triangles, as *Calmet* suggests. See Braun, *Music in Ancient Israel*, pp. 41–42.

32 The Hebrew Bible frequently mentions the מְצִלְתַּיִם [mešiltayim], e. g. in 1 Chron. 13:8 and 2 Chron. 5:13. This instrument is also understood to be a type of cymbal.

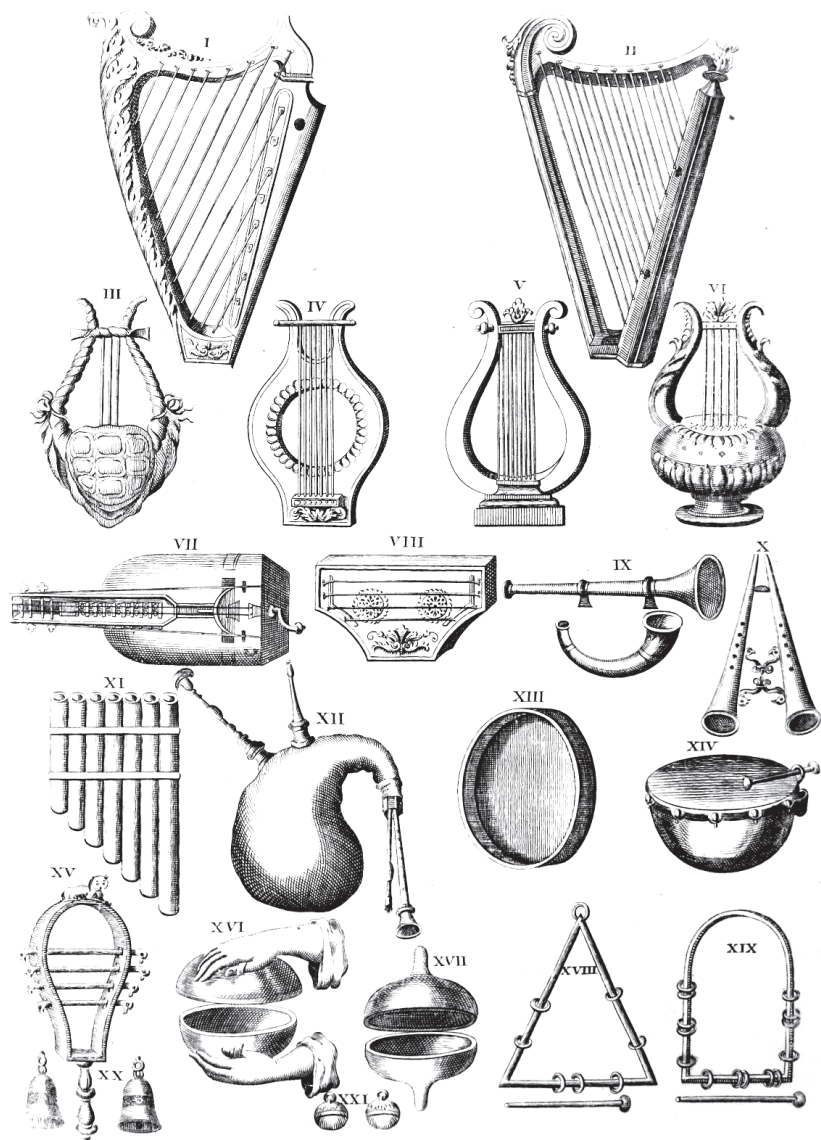
33 See, for instance, Ps. 68:24 and Ex. 15:20.

34 This passage also appears in *Trip paradisus*, p. 266. As Smolinski explains: The Levite Heman, grandson of the prophet Samuel, led his fourteen sons and three daughters in song through the temple (1 Chron. 6:33, 15:17–19; and 2 Chron. 5:11–12) and presided with Asaph and Jeduthun over the temple musicians during the reigns of David and Solomon.

35 A reference to Nicholas of Lyra, *Postilla litteralis super totam Bibliam*, at 1 Chron. 15.

36 Reference is made to the commentary on 1 Chron. by the Spanish theologian, Alonso Tostado (also Alphonsus Tostatus, Tostatus Abulensis, c. 1410–1455), *Commentaria in lib. primum Paralipomenon*, in *Opera*, vol. 16 (1728), pp. 275–76; the great Bible commentary (first ed., 1630) of the Italian Jesuit biblical scholar, Giovanni Stefano Menochio (1575–1655), at 1 Chron. 15:20, *Commentarii totius Sacrae Scripturae* (ed. 1743), vol. 1, pp. 214–15; and the annotations on 1 Chron. 15:20 by Grotius in *Opera* (1:178).

*Benajas*, one of the Masters in Music, to the Band of *young Damsels*. The Temple of the Lord, was like the Palace of a Monarch.



[37r]

| [blank]

[37v]

[38r] | From the *Music* tis very proper to make a Transition unto the *Poetry* of the Ancient Hebrews.<sup>37</sup>

*Fleury* observes, That as there are Circumstances, wherein tis Natural for Men to *Dance* and *Sing*, so there are lively Passions which cause Men to break out into a *Language*, which abounds more with Figures, than the common Forms of Speaking; or to measure their Words that they may be rendred more Tuneable, and have a Cadence from time to time for fitt Returns. Hence, in all Ages, and in all Nations, we still find some Sort of Poetry; Even the most Barbarous are no Exceptions.

Of all the Ancient Oriental Writings, none but those of the *Hebrews* have reached our Times; and the Remains we have of the *Poetry* among the *Hebrews*, are in the *Sacred Scriptures*.

All the *poetical Works* in the *Sacred Scriptures*, are either *Hymns*, that express the raised Sentiments and Affections of the Mind, or Collections of *moral Sentences* to instruct Men in their Duty. The Book of *Job*, is composed of Both. The *Proverbs* of *Solomon* are the latter; and so are some of the *Psalms*. But the most of these, which are dispersed thro' the Bible are the former.

The Expressions in *Poetry*, must be Noble & Sublime. And this is the Distinguishing Beauty of the *Hebrew Poetry*; None excells or equals it. All is Figurative; and the Figures are frequently & suddenly changed; and not only the Figures but the Persons also who are speaking, do on a sudden, & insensibly vary. One while it is the Prophet; Another while it is GOD Himself. Now again, it is the Righteous Man, that speaks; Now the Sinner. Sometimes, a Sense and Voice is given to Inanimate Things. The Majesty of the Glorious GOD is described, under strong & lively Images. The Allusions are thick sown; and are taken from things familiar to those that had the Songs written for them. And here, we must not imagine, that every Circumstance of a Similitude is to be applied; but the Resemblance generally falls upon some one single Circumstance, and the rest are added, not as Parts of the Comparison, but for to give of some Agreeable Image of the thing from whence the Comparison is taken.

37 The next section draws on an essay originally penned by "Abbot Fleury" but printed as part of Calmet's *Antiquities* under the title "A Discourse Concerning Poetry in General, and concerning that of the Hebrews in Particular," pp. 1–18. The author presumably is the French church historian and educator, Claude Fleury (1640–1725), Abbot of Loc-Dieu in the Diocese of Rhodéz.

Mather also comments on the nature of Hebrew poetry and prosody in his introductory annotations on the Psalms in the *BA* (4:323–26) and the preface to his own translation of the Psalms from the Hebrew into English blank verse, the *Psalterium Americanum* (1718), pp. xii–xiii. Here, Mather's main source for arguing that "the Ancient Hebrewes, knew no *Measure*, but that of the now unknown *Music*, whereto it was to bee accommodated," is the work of August Pfeiffer (1640–1698), *Dubia Vexata Scripturae, Sive Loca Difficiliora Vet. Test* (1679), in *Opera* (1704), lib. 1, at cent. 3, loc. 46, pp. 279–82. In his translations, Mather employed an ingenious device in which the Psalms could be variously sung in common meter or long meter by either including or omitting words that were indicated in parenthesis in the text.

The most Ancient Piece of *Poetry* in the World, is that of *Lamechs*, in the Fourth Chapter of *Genesis*.<sup>38</sup>

The Thoughts which are clothed with the Figurative Language of the Hebrew Poetry, are not only True, Solid, & Useful, but also have shining Beauties, and soaring Sublimities, in them.

In certain Poems, where the Matter was to have no necessary Connexion, the *Acrostich* Manner is used, no Doubt, that they may be less Burdensome to the Memory. Of this kind, are some Chapters of *Jeremiahs* Lamentations; *Diverse of the Psalms*; and *Solomons* Description of a *virtuous Woman*.<sup>39</sup>

In the Poems, whereof the Subjects are purely moral Matters, the Want of Tender and Moving Sentiments, is amply compensated, by the fine Painting used upon them; the elegant and most chosen Metaphors, & those Noble *Comparisons*, from whence their Name is derived. The Obscurity of the Style, is no greater than what serves to exercise the Mind agreeably, while the weighty Truths convey'd under such lively Images, make deep Impressions on the Heart.

While we behold the Charms of the Hebrew *Poetry*, thro' the Veil of a Translation, their Lustre is greatly impaired. But tho' we discover exquisite Charms, even under this Disadvantage, yett there are other considerable ones, entirely unknown to us; and even to the Jews themselves. For the ancient Pronunciation of the Hebrew, as well as of all the other Dead Languages, is entirely lost; and the Harmony of the Words, & the Quantity of the Syllables, wherein Verses have their Beauties, tis what we can have no Notion of. In their Poems, we find Letters added or cutt off, at the End of the Words, which argues that they were confined unto Numbers; But it is impossible for us, to Recover what they were. *Jerom* speaks, as if he knew their Verses;<sup>40</sup> But if he did, since his time the Jews have entirely lost the Art of their Ancient Versification; and its room have substituted one which they have borrowed from the *Arabians*.

We have nothing left us, but the Naked Letter, stript of its external Ornaments; The Songs doubtless had yett further Charms, in the Mouth of the Musician, sett off with all the Magnificence of the Festivals they were designed for.

It is to be observed, That even the Narrative-Style, in the *Historical Psalms*, is very different from that of a meer History. None but the *principal Events* have any Notice taken of them; and if any Circumstance indulges the Prophet in his

<sup>38</sup> Lamech's song in Gen. 4:23–24 is structurally and linguistically an example of early Hebrew poetry (*JE*).

<sup>39</sup> For these acrostics, see Lam. 1–4; Ps. 25, 34, 37, 111, 112, 119, and 145; as well as Prov. 31:10–31.

<sup>40</sup> From Calmet, *Antiquities*, p. 9, Mather references Jerome, *Praefatio in Librum Job* [PL 28. 1081–82].



poetic Flight, he never fails of raising it unto the *Sublime*. Consider the History of *Joseph*, in the CV Psalm.<sup>41</sup>

[38v] The CXXXIX Psalm is an unparallel'd Instance of the *Sublime*; and the Sentiments also are extremely Delicate; which compels *Fleury* to break forth; "Lett the modern Witts, after this, look upon the honest Shepherds of *Palastine*, as a Company of rude & unpolished Clowns; Lett them, if they can, produce from any profane Authors, Thoughts that are more sublime, | or more Delicate, or better turn'd; Not to mention the profound Divinity & solid Piety, couch'd under these Expressions."<sup>42</sup>

But where is the Man, who can boast, that he is a perfect Master of the *Hebrew Tongue*? Be sure, many things which are essential Graces to all Poetry, and were in the *Hebrew*, no Man on Earth now knows any thing of them. That even the Pronunciation of the *Hebrew Tongue* is lost, is evident, from the Writing of *Hebrew Words* in Greek or Latin Letters, by the LXX, and *Jerom*, & others. How little then, can the *Tunes* and *Airs* of the *Psalms*, which were all to be sung, be known unto us?<sup>43</sup>

A deal of adoo there has been, to determine the *Verse*, to which the *Hebrew Poetry* was conformed. But after all that we find in *Josephus*, & *Origin*, and *Eusebius*, and *Jerom*,<sup>44</sup> of old, upon it; and after all that has been since offered by *Scaliger*, and *Eugubio*, and *Mercer*, and *Herbert*, and *Gomarus*, and *Cappel*, and, the Author of the *Bibliothèque Universelle*, & others;<sup>45</sup> I find myself compelled

<sup>41</sup> Ps. 105:16–22.

<sup>42</sup> From Calmet, *Antiquities*, p. 12.

<sup>43</sup> The last section is derived from Calmet's own "A Dissertation Concerning the Poetry of the Antient Hebrews," in *Antiquities*, pp. 19–36.

<sup>44</sup> From Calmet, *Antiquities*, p. 19, Mather refers to Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, 4.44; see LCL 490, pp. 146–47; Origen, *Selecta in Psalmos*, 118 [PG 12. 1585–86]; Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica*, 11.5 [PG 21. 853–54]; and Jerome, *Praefatio in Chronic. Eusebius* [PL 27. 223]; on Deut. 32 (Canticum Deuteronomii) in *Prolegomenon IV. De Titulis* [PL 28. 129]; and *Epist.* 30 (Ad Paulam) [PL 22. 442]. Jerome claimed that Hebrew poetry was also composed in quantitative meters similar to that of Greco-Roman poetry.

<sup>45</sup> Reference is made to the critique of Jerome's view of Hebrew poetry by Joseph Scaliger in his *Thesaurus temporum* (1606), "Animadversiones," pp. 6–7. According to Scaliger, no quantitative meters could be identified in the Hebrew writings. He argued that neither in the Psalms nor "in the Lamentations is there any song bound by the laws of meter. There is solely prose animated by a poetic style. Further, the language of Isaiah and the other prophets is sometimes figurative like poetry, but you wouldn't be correct to call it poetry on that account." The Italian humanist and OT scholar, Agostino Steuco, basically agreed with Scaliger's assessment in his *Enarrationes in Librum Job* (1567), as did the French Hebraist, Jean Mercier (Mercerus, 1510–1570), *Commentary in librum Job* (1573). In his *Davidis lyra: seu nova Hebraea S. scripturae ars poetica: cum selectorum poematum analyt poetica* (1637), the great Dutch humanist, Franciscus Gomarus (François Gomaer, 1563–1641), a student of Scaliger, disagreed with his teacher in arguing that the now lost Hebrew prosody could be systematically reconstructed and that the Psalms and other poetic books could be scanned in their entirety using Greek and Roman metrical forms. Against Gomarus, Louis Cappel in his *Ad novam Davidis lyram animadversiones* (1643) maintained that Hebrew could not be compared with Greek and Latin, arguing that "we

into the Opinion of *Calmet*; That the Soul & very Essence of *Poetry*, does consist in an animated & affectuous Manner of Discourse, Enriched with Bold and Surprising Figures. *Versifying* alone does no more make a Poet, than the Numbers & Measures make the Poetry. The Ancients tell us, That *Plato*, and *Florus*, and other Authors, composed *Poetical* Works in *Prose*; and *Horace* makes this Remark upon himself; that his *Verse* comes nearer to *Prose* than *Verse*; and *Quintilian* thought *Lucan* ought rather to be ranked among the *Orators* than the *Poets*.<sup>46</sup>

*Natural Poetry*, is Passion breaking forth with Spirit; with Vehemence of Expressions, daring Figures, & Elevation of Thoughts, in Proportion to the Quality of the Subject. *Artificial Poetry*, does all this; but then it studies Terms, confined with Measure and Cadence.

Tis chiefly the former, that is the ancient Poetry of the *Hebrews*. We have it in the Speech of *Lamech*; in the Blessing of *Noah*; in the Dying Words of *Jacob*; (and in the Book of *Job*,) long before the Days of *Moses*. It appears not, that the Poetry of the *Hebrews* ever underwent any Change. We find it the same, in the time of *David*, of *Isaiah*, of *Jeremiah*, that it was in the time of *Moses*. And the Hymns of the *New Testament* are like those of the *Old*.

No Poetry was reduced unto the *Rules of Art* any where, in the Days of *Moses*. The oldest Verses we have of any *Eastern* Writers, came from the *Arabians*. Of these there were indeed Poets that lived before *Mahomet*, whose Verses are like those of the present Age as to *Rhymes*, and make no Distinction as to long & short Syllables. It is reported, that *Harmonius* the Son of *Bardanes*, in the second Century of the Church, composed musical Verses, in the *Syriac* Tongue, in imitation of the *Greeks*.<sup>47</sup> But, how modern are these things compared unto the Time of *Moses*? Even *Homer* and *Hesiod* were six hundred Years after him.

Had the *Poetry* of the *Hebrews* been reduced unto any, *Rules of Art*, would they be now wholly unknown, when the Oriental Tongues are so successfully

---

simply do not know whether the Hebrews had long and short syllables." At the same time, as Haugen explains, he "also mounted an aesthetic argument about how the poetic books should be understood instead. His alternative aesthetic approach to biblical Hebrew recalls Joseph Scaliger's words about "prose animated by a poetic style": although the Hebrew Bible is "freer" than Greek and Latin verse and "more like prose," Cappel argued, "God has his own Poetics suited to the genius of the language" (11). This is essentially what Calmet and Mather propose as well. See Kristine Louise Haugen, "Hebrew Poetry Transformed, or, Scholarship Invincible Between Renaissance and Enlightenment" (2012).

<sup>46</sup> A reference to Horace, *Satires*, 1.4; see LCL 194, pp. 194–95; and Quintilian, *The Orator's Education*, 10.1; LCL 127, pp. 300–01.

<sup>47</sup> Harmonius Bardaisan (154–222), known in Arabic as Ibn Daisan and in Latin as Bardesanes, was a Syriac or Parthian gnostic and founder of the Bardaisanites. He had a son called Harmonius, who, according to Sozomen's *Ecclesiastical History*, was "deeply versed in Grecian erudition, and was the first to subdue his native tongue to meters and musical laws; these verses he delivered to the choirs." Mather references the work of Sozomen, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, lib. 3, cap. 16 [PG 67. 1089].

studied? Indeed, the *Poems*, were for the most Part, extemporary Productions; and the sudden Effects of a *supernatural Impulse*. The Performance of the most *Illiterate* in them were also not Inferior to what was done by the *Men of Letters*.

*Poetry*, confined unto *Rules of Art*, must be cramp'd, and kept under Fetters; Words must be transposed, and the Lines must be stuff'd with Epithetes. There is nothing of this in the Poetry of the *Hebrews*; nor indeed will their Language bear it.

No; It consisted in the *Grandeur* of the *Thought*, and *Style*; in *Vivid*, & even *Daring* Figures; *Pathetic* Expressions, *Concise* Discourse; a *Turn* florid, and even surprizing; and a more effectual Display of *Images*, than what is in the *common Forms of Speech*; And being Inspired from above, it had not the Restraints of *methodical Poetry* kept upon it. The Hebrews were not so fond of *Novelties*; as to think on Refining or Altering of it.<sup>48</sup>

---

<sup>48</sup> See Calmet, *Antiquities*, p. 36.

XII. *Kiriath-Sepher*. Or,  
The Manner of *Writing*, among the *Ancients*; more  
particularly among the *Hebrews*.

About the most Ancient Manner of *Writing*, the Collection which *Lewis* has made in his *Origines Hebraeæ*, will much facilitate the Labour, of our Enquiries.<sup>1</sup>

We are sensible, it was, by engraving *Figures* or *Letters* upon *Wood* or *Stone*. Such were the oldest Monuments of the *Chaldeans* and the *Egyptians*. And *Josephus*, in his *Antiquities*, will have us to believe, that this Way of Writing was in Writing before the Flood.<sup>2</sup>

*Lucan* tells us,

*Phœnicos Primi, Famæ si credimus, ansi  
Mansuram rudibus Vocem formare Figuris.*<sup>3</sup>

And tho' the vainglorious *Græcians*, would fain arrogate unto themselves the Invention of all Arts, yett they join in the Confession of *Herodotus*, That it was *Cadmus* who brought Letters into *Greece*. Yea, the very Names of their four first Letters, are an evident Proof that they derived their Letters from the *Hebrews*: which is also as good as confessed by *Diodorus Siculus*.<sup>4</sup>

The *Ancients* wrote these on Tables, or Plates of *Coper* and of *Lead*. Plates of *Coper* were generally used for the Recording of Alliances, Treaties, Edicts, & Laws. The Works of *Hesiod*, were engraven on thin Plates of *Lead*, which were kept with great Care, in the Temple of the Muses in *Beotia*.

The *Chaldeans* engraved their Astronomical Observations on Brick. The Laws of *Solon* were engraved, the more general ones, & those which concerned Sacrifices, on *Stone*; the more private ones on *Wood*. The Tables of *Stone* were Triangular, and called *Kyrbeis*. Those of *Wood*, called *Axes*, or *Axones*, were square. Both Sorts were usually written after the Manner that the Greeks call *Boustraphedon*, that is, one Line went from the Left Hand to the Right, and the next on the contrary, from the Right Hand to the Left, just as *Furrows* are made in *Plowing*. This was *Exarare*.<sup>5</sup>

1 The following essay is derived from the work of the High Church Anglican controversialist and antiquarian, Thomas Lewis (1689–c. 1737), *Origines Hebraeae: the Antiquities of the Hebrew Republic* ([1724] 1725), vol. 4, bk. 7, ch. 22, pp. 125–32. This work was in the Harvard library.

2 Josephus reports that Adam and Eve inscribed their discoveries on “two pillars, one of brick and the other of stone.” *Jewish Antiquities*, 1.3; *LCL* 242; pp. 32–33.

3 “These Phœnicians first made bold, if report speak true, to record speech in rude characters for future ages.” From *Lucan*, *The Civil War*, 3.5; transl.: *LCL* 220, pp. 130–31.

4 From Lewis, Mather references the work of Herodotus, *The Persian Wars*, 5.58; *LCL* 119, pp. 62–63; and of Diodorus, *The Library of History*, 3.67; *LCL* 303, pp. 304–05.

5 In Athens, the laws of Dracon and Solon were recorded on numbered *axons* (Greek ἀξωνες [axones]). The term *kyrbeis* was another name for *axons*. Probably there were three- or

The Laws of the *Twelve Tables* among the *Romans*, were engraven upon Tables of *Oak*, according to *Scaliger*, or of *Ivory* according to *Pomponius*.<sup>6</sup>

The Tables were generally covered over with *Wax* upon which they writt with a *Bodkin*, or *Style*, made of *Iron*, or *Coper*, or *Bone*; pointed at one End, for to engrave the Letters, and Broad at the Other, to blott them out.

These *Tables*, when Joined, or Fastned together, made a *Book*, which was called *Candex*, or *Codex*; that is, A Trunk of a Tree: Because of its Resemblance to the Body a Tree sawn into Thin Boards.

The *Letters*, or *Epistles*, that were sent by private Persons unto one another, were commonly written upon these *Tables*: which they tied with a Flaxen Threed; and then sealed the Knott, with a Sort of *Wax* which they had from *Asia*.

To these *Tables*, there succeeded, first, the *Leaves* of the *Palm-tree*; And after That, the finest & thinnest *Barks* of Trees; as, the *Linden-tree*, the *Ash*, the *Maple*, the *Beach*, the *white Popler*, and the *Elm*. Hence, the Word, *Liber*, given to all sorts of Writings, which signifies, The *Bark* of a *Tree*. These *Barks*, being *Rolled* up, to carry them with the greater Ease from one Place to another, the *Rolls* were called *Volumns*; as were likewise the *Rolls* of *Parchment* and *Paper*, which were later Inventions.

*Papyrus*, (whence the Word, *Paper*) is a sort of *Bul-rush*, growing on the Banks of the *Nile*. The Body of it, is made up of several Films or Leaves, one within another. These Leaves are taken apart, and separated, by the Help of a Needle, and then stretched upon a wett Table, to the Breadth which the Sheet of *Paper* is designed. The Leaves thus extended, are covered over with a very fine Paste, or with some of the muddy Water of the *Nile*, præpared for that Purpose, upon which other Leaves are spread, and so the whole sett in the Sun to dry. Several Sheets of this *Paper*; being Rolled up together, were what we call, a *Quire* of *Paper*. These *Rolls* in the Time of *Pliny*, consisted of *Twenty* Sheets;<sup>7</sup> They were afterwards reduced unto *Ten*. When the Sheets were used for large Works, they pasted them together at the Ends in Proportion to the Length of the Works,

---

four-sided wooden pillars that were mounted vertically on axes in such a way that a person looking at them could turn them. In the fourth century BC, it was probably still possible to read and study them; at the time of Plutarch, small fragments were still in existence (*NP*). See Plutarch, *Life of Solon*, 25; *LCL* 46, pp. 472–73.

<sup>6</sup> Reference is made to the *lex duodecim tabularum*, or “Law of the Twelve Tables,” the most important legislation of the Roman Republic. Probably written around 450 BCE, they have not survived in epigraphic form. Text and content must be reconstructed from ancient literature – a favorite pursuit of Renaissance scholars (*NP*). The name originates in the tradition that they were written on twelve tablets. These were probably made of oak or *roboreas*, as it ought to read, rather than *eboreas*, “ivory,” as it reads in the legal commentaries of the second-century jurist, Sextus Pomponius, preserved in the Justinian *Digest* (of Roman law), 1, 2, 4. This philological correction was argued by Joseph Justus Scaliger in his “Animadversiones in Melchioris Guilandini,” printed in the posthumous *Opuscula varia antehac non edita* (1610), pp. 18–19.

<sup>7</sup> A reference to Pliny, *Natural History*, 13.22–23; *LCL* 370, pp. 140–45.

and wrote only upon one Side; Unless in Accounts & Minutes, and the like Writings, which were not intended for Præservation.

The *Books* were kept in *Libraries*, rolled round a Stick; adorned at both Ends, with Ivory, or some curious Wood. The *Stick* was placed at the End of the Roll, and called, *Umbilicus*: whence the Phrase, *perducere ad umbilicum*, to finish a *Book*, or bring any other *Work* to an End.

| *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, the King of *Egypt*, having erected a prodigious *Library*, the Kings of *Pergamus* had an Emulation to do the like<sup>8</sup>. But the Kings of *Egypt*, Jealous of being outdone, prohibited the Exportation of *Paper* out of their Kingdome. This putt the Kings of *Pergamus*, upon Inventing *Vellum*, or *Parchment*, called, *Pergamenums* from the City of *Pergamus*; or, *Membrana*, because made of the *Skins* which cover the *Members* of Animals. [39v]

The *Books* that were made of this *Vellum*, were of Two Sorts. There were some like those of *Paper*, consisting of several *Skins* pasted together long-ways, which made the *Roll* to be longer or shorter, according to the Length of the Writing it contained. Others were made of several *Skins* cutt square, and bound up together, like the *Books* of our Days.

The *Rolls*, the *Volumina*, had Writing but on one Side; and in this they differed from the Square and Bound *Books*, which were usually written on Both Sides. That Side of the *Roll*, which was writt upon, was called, *Pagina*: And what we call the *Pages* of a *Book* written on Both Sides, went by the Name of *Tabula*, or *Tabellæ*.

But now for the *Books* of the Ancient *Hebrews*; *Moses* makes a frequent Mention of *Books*: But he describes none; except the *Two Tables* on which GOD wrote the *Ten Commandments*. These were of polished *Stone*, engraved (as *Calmet* notes) on Both Sides. The Particularity used by *Moses* about them, seems as if it were to Distinguish them from other *Books*, which were made of *Tables*, not of *Stone*, but of *Wood*, and engraven on but one Side only.<sup>9</sup>

The Way of Writing upon *Tables* of *Stone* and *Wood*, is the most Ancient that we know of. There is no Expression in the Writings of *Moses* concerning *Books* but what may be understood of these *Tables*; not the least Word, that intimates the Use of *Rolls* made of *Barks*, or *Papyrus*, or *Parchment*. The Word *Book*, always means, *Table-Books*, made of Small Thin Boards. The Word *Volumn*, is not found any where, but in the XL Psalm, and *Jeremiah*, and *Ezekiel*, and *Ezra*, and *Zechariah*. When the Hebrew Lawgiver, speaks of, *The Book of the Covenant*; A, *Book of Divorce*; The *Book* which had written on it the *Curses*, to be scraped off into the *Water of Jealousy*; And, the *Book* the *Levites* were to

<sup>8</sup> Reference is made to the famous Library of Alexandria established by Ptolemy I and II in the third century BCE and destroyed by Julius Caesar in 47. At its height, the library contained half a million papyrus rolls or more.

<sup>9</sup> From Lewis, p. 129, a reference to Calmet, *Antiquities*, vol. 3, Dissertation "The Form of the Books and Way of Writing among the Antients." See Ex. 31:18 and 34:1.

putt in the Side of the *Ark*: and the like: We are to understand, the *Table-Books* whereon the *Law* was engraven; or, small *woodden Plates* or *Boards*, which had the other things written on them.

The Gentlemen whom we call, the LXX, always express the *Hebrew Word Sepher*, by the Word *Axones*.<sup>10</sup> Now these *Axones*, were *Tables* on which the *Laws* were engraven. The Author of, The Book of *Job*, alludes plainly to this Way of Writing upon *Tables*, or *Tablets*. [Job. XIX.23, 24.] *Oh! That my Words were now written! Oh! That they were engraven in a Book! That they were engraven with an Iron Pen, and Lead, yea, in the Rock forever.* Here is express Mention of Writing on *Wood*, & on *Lead*, and on *Stone*. *Solomon* exhibits to us, this Use of *Tables*. [Prov. III.3.] *Write them on the Table of thy Heart.* *Jeremiah* does the same, in a very lively Manner. [Jer. XVII.1.] *The Sin of Judah is engraven on the Tables of their Hearts, with a Pen of Iron, & with the Point of a Diamond.* GOD commands *Isaiah*, [Isa. XXX.8. Vulg.] to write His Threatnings against the *Jews*, on *Tables of Box*. He commands *Ezekiel*, [Ezek. XXXVII.16.] to take a *Stick* for a *Writing-Table*, and write upon it, for *Judah*; and to do the like for *Joseph*; and then join them together in *one Stick*, or *Book*. He commands *Habakkuk*, [Hab. II.2.] *Write the Vision, and make it plain upon Tables, that he may run that reads it.* The Letter which *David* sent unto *Joab*, for the Murder of *Uriah*, and what *Jezabel* wrote for the Murder of *Naboth*,<sup>11</sup> is called, *Sepher*; a Term for such a *Table*. The *Letters* were probably written on *Tables*, and sealed like those of the *Gracians* and *Romans*, already described.

The *Edicts*, as well as the *Letters*, of Princes, were thus written on *Tablets*, and sealed with their Signets. [Est. IX.10.]

[40r] The Custome of *Sealing up Letters*, and *Edicts*, and the *Tablets* on which the Prophets wrote their Visions, is in the Scripture plainly alluded to. [see Jer. XXIX.11.] GOD orders the Prophet, [Isa. | VIII.16, 17.] To tie up with a *Threed*, and seal the *Tables* on which he wrote his Prædictions: *Bind up the Testimony, seal the Law among my Disciples.* GOD bids *Daniel*, to seal up his Prophecies till such a Time: [Dan. XII.4.] *Shutt up the Words, and seal the Book, even to the Time of the End.* The Prædictions of the Prophets were so many *Letters* from GOD unto the People: which He would not have opened, until such Time, as it should please Him to order it. [see Dan. XII.9.]

Such was the Book sealed with *Seven Seals*, that *John* saw in the *Revelation*. This Book, tho' written on *Both Sides*, within and without, could be Read by no body, because it was bound all over with the *Threed*, and sealed up with *Seven Seals*.

<sup>10</sup> Reference is made to the Hebrew word סֵפֶר [sefer], meaning "a missive, document, writing, book," and the Greek word ἄξωνες [axones] that signifies a billets of wood on which characters could be engraved (see above).

<sup>11</sup> 2 Sam. 11:14.

The Practice of Writing on *Rolls* made of *Barks*, was also very Ancient. *Job* alludes to it. [Chap. XXXI. 35, 36.] *O, that my Adversary had written a Book; Surely, I would take it on my Shoulder, and bind it as a Crown unto me.* The Letter brought by *Rabshakeh*, from *Sennacherib*, to *Hezekiah*, was written on such *Rolls*, which *Hezekiah* therefore *spreed before the Lord*.<sup>12</sup>

These *Rolls* are more expressly mentioned by *Jeremiah*, and *Ezekiel*, and *Zechariah*. The Term of *Megilloth*, or a *Volumn*, is used on this Occasion.<sup>13</sup>

In those Days, they wrote on them with *Reeds* and *Ink* as they do at this very time all over the eastern Contreys. The best *Reeds* or *Canes*, grow towards *Aurach*, along the *Persian Gulf*. They are gathered in *March*; and laid in small Bundles in a Dunghil for Six Months; when they grew hard & firm, and acquire that beautiful & shining Varnish, with which they are covered; or grow Yellow or Black.

We read, in *Jeremiah*, that *Baruch* made Use of *Ink*, and wrote with *Ink* in the *Book*.<sup>14</sup>

The Scripture no where Names the *Instrument*, with which they writt upon *Rolls*; but several times it mentions the *Styles* for *Tables*. They carried the *Styles* and the *Tablets* at their *Girdles*; and in *Cases*, called by the Hebrews, *Keset*, and by the Græcians, *Graphiarium*.<sup>15</sup>

The *Rolls*, or *Volumns*, were generally written, but upon *one side only*. This is mentioned by *Ezekiel*, [Ch. II.9.] who observes, he saw one of an *extraordinary Form written on both Sides*.

In the Time of our SAVIOUR, the Jews had, in their *Synagogues*, as to this day they continue to have, *Rolls*, on which they have written the *Law* & the *Prophets*.

Our Apostle *Paul* plainly distinguishes between the *Books* written on the *Papyrus* of *Egypt*; and those written on the *Vellum* of *Pergamus*. [2. Tim. IV.13.] *Bring with thee the Books, but especially the Parchments.* This is the only place where *Vellum* is mentioned.

I will only add; The Use of *Tablets* is evident from the Father of *John* the *Baptist*, asking for one to write his Name upon.<sup>16</sup>

And now – *Manum de TABULA*.<sup>17</sup>

| [blank]

[40v]

12 2 Kings 18:14.

13 The pl. form of מגילה [megillah], meaning “scroll” or “roll.” See Jer. 36:28–29; Ezek. 3:1–3; and Zech 5:1–2.

14 Jer. 36:18 mentions דֵּיּוֹ [deyo] or “ink.”

15 The Greek word γραφιδάριον [graphiarion] refers to an instrument of writing.

16 Zechariah the priest was struck dumb by an angel until the birth of his son, when he wrote on a writing table (Greek: πινακίδιον [pinakidion]): “His name is John” (Luke 1:63).

17 “Hand off the picture,” or, as Mather’s pun suggests, “Hands off the writing table”; an idiomatic Latin phrase meaning “Enough,” “hold it.” For an explanation, see Pliny, *Natural History*, 35.36. Mather cut out the rest of the right column of 40r and hence the left column of 40v, but it seems no text was removed.



[41r] XIII. EXPECTANDA. Or, The State of Things in the KINGDOM of our SAVIOUR, to be look'd for.<sup>1</sup>

I. The *Second Coming* of the Lord, will be at and for the Destruction of the *Man of Sin*, and Extinction of the *Roman Monarchy*, under the *Papal Form* of it.<sup>2</sup> They that interpret, the *Brightness of His Coming*, and His *Coming in the Clouds of Heaven* for this Purpose, as if it meant any thing but the Second, Literal, Personal *Coming* of the Lord,<sup>3</sup> give us Cause to wonder, how tis possible for any wise Men, to speak so unaccountably. Their Interpretations leave us destitute of any Proof, that our Lord will *ever come at all*; and indeed, they go very far towards a Trespass against the *Third Commandment*.

II. At the Second Coming of the Lord, there will be the Terrible *Conflagration*, which the Oracles of our GOD have in strong Terms described unto us; and which *all the Prophets* with open Mouth, & with *one Mouth*, have warned us of. To make the *Petrine Conflagration* signify<sup>4</sup> no more, than the Laying of *Jerusalem* and her Daughters, in Ashes: To make the *New Heavens & New Earth*, signify no more than the Church-State of the *Gospel*; Away with so shameful Hallucinations! As for the *New Earth*, before the Arrival of which no Man can Reasonably expect Happy Times for the Church of GOD upon *Earth*, – for any one to say, That this *New Earth*, is to take Place, *Before the Petrine Conflagration*, tis an Absurdity so very marvellous, one cannot but be surprized at any one falling into it. One can have no Prospect of Arguing to any Purpose, with such as can talk so very foolishly.

III. Upon the *Conflagration*, the glorious GOD, will *create New Heavens* and a *New Earth*.<sup>5</sup> In the *New Heavens*, or the upper Parts of our Atmosphære, there will be the *Holy City*, which our GOD has *prepared* for them whom He is a GOD unto. This *Holy City* will be Inhabited by the *Raised Saints*, attending upon our SAVIOUR there, and receiving the Inconceivable Recompences of all

---

1 The title (“Things to be Looked for”) and theme of this essay recall an earlier apocalyptic treatise by Mather on the signs and events of the last days, yet it does not seem Mather directly copied from the earlier work for it. See Mather, *Expectanda: Or, Things to be Look'd for* (1691). Among other things, this early publication asserted that the national conversion of the Jews was a necessary sign for the Second Coming. The content of this final essay reflects Mather's late eschatological views (in particular regarding the national conversion of the Jews, the Petrine conflagration, and the date for the onset of the millennium) as laid out in his *Triparadus* (written c. 1726/27), and therefore must have been written during these last years of his life. On this, see Smolinski's “Introduction,” pp. 21–79.

2 2 Thess. 2:3–10.

3 See Appendix A. The rest of this paragraph is a marginal insertion, presumably added later. See Mather's annotations on 2 Pet. 3 in this volume.

4 The text from “no more” to the end of paragraph is another marginal insertion.

5 See Mather's annotations on Rev. 20 in this volume.

their Services & Sufferings for Him. The *New Earth*, will be a *Paradise* prepared for another People, and *full of the Goodness of the Lord*.

IV. It is impossible to find any Inhabitants for the *New Earth*, but a Sett of People, that shall escape the *Conflagration*. It is a Thing plainly now Reveled unto us; That our Descending Redeemer, while He is yett at a further Distance than He will anon be when He sett's *Fire* to the Earth, will by His Almighty Voice *Raise the Dead* whom He intends for Blessedness, and | so fetch them to Him, as to bring them with Him. As He is going in His Nearer Approach with His Illustrious Retinue, to give Order for the tremendous *Fire*, He will hear the Cries of His Chosen & Called & Faithful Ones, and He will send His *Angels* to do for them, as once for *Elijah*.<sup>6</sup> These Hundred & fourty four Thousand Servants of God, & Walkers with Him,<sup>7</sup> that have the *Mark* of GOD upon them, when the Destroyers are going to *Hurt the Earth*, shall be *caught up to meet the Lord*; and *with Him they shall be in Safety*, while they shall see the Earth flaming under them.<sup>8</sup> [41v]

THESE are They, who shall Return to the *New Earth*, and possess it, and People it, and soon multiply unto mighty Nations in it.<sup>9</sup>

V. The Process of *Judgment* on the *Sheep* and the *Goats*, in the *Twenty fifth* Chapter of *Matthew*, has not one of the *Raised from the Dead* concerned in it: But it is a Quick Division and Decision made by our Lord among the Christians who cry for Mercy, when they see the *Fire of GOD* ready to sieze upon them; determining, who shall be *caught up to meet the Lord*, and who shall be left unto the *Perdition of ungodly Men*, in the *Flames* before them. And there shall not one *ungodly Man* be left living in the World.

VI. The *Raised Saints*, in the *New Heavens*, will not *marry nor be given in Marriage*, but be *equal to the Angels*. The *changed Saints* on the *New Earth*, will *Build Houses and Inhabit them*; will *plant Vineyards & eat the Fruit of them*, will have an *Offspring that shall be with them the Blessed of the Lord*: And if *Blessed*, then *Deathless*, and *Sinless*.<sup>10</sup> The Sacred Scriptures have expressly declared, this *Difference* between them.

VII. While the *Holy People* on the *New Earth*, shall be circumstanced like *Adam* and *Eve* in *Paradise*, and in a spotless Manner living unto GOD, the *Raised Saints*, being somewhat more *Angelically* circumstanced, will be sent from time to time, down from the *New Heavens* unto them, to be their *Teachers* and *Rulers*, and have *Power over Nations*; and the *Will* of GOD will be *done on Earth as it is done in Heaven*. This Dispensation will continue at least for a | *Thousand* [42r]

<sup>6</sup> 2 Kings 2:11.

<sup>7</sup> See Rev. 7:4 and Mather's annotations on that passage in this volume.

<sup>8</sup> 1 Thess. 4:17.

<sup>9</sup> See Appendix A.

<sup>10</sup> Compare *Trip paradisus*, pp. 244–90. See also Mather's annotations on Isa. 65 (BA 5:847–51).

*Years*. Whether the Translations from the *New Earth* to the *New Heavens*, will be successively during the Thousand Years, or all together after it, has not been discovered.

VIII. The *New Heavens* in Conjunction with the *New Earth* under the Influences thereof, is that *Heavenly Countrey*, which the Patriarchs look'd for. When the great GOD promised them, that He would be *Their GOD*, and *Bless* them, they understood it, of His bringing them into this *Deathless* and *Sinless* World. They who expect the *Rest* promised for the Church of GOD upon *Earth*, to be found any where but in the *New Earth*; and they who expect any Happy Times for the Church, in a World that has *Death* and *Sin* in it, these *do err, not knowing the Scriptures, nor the Kingdome of GOD*.<sup>11</sup>

IX. Such a *Conversion of the Israelitish Nation*, with a Return to their ancient Seats in *Palestine*, as many excellent Persons of later Years, have been perswaded of; How is it consistent with the *Coming* of the Lord, and the *Burning* of the World, at the Fall of *Antichrist*; before which Fall, no body imagines that Conversion? Or, How is it consistent with the *Deep Sleep*, in which the *Diluvium Ignis*,<sup>12</sup> must, as that of *Water* did, surprise the World? The *Holy People*, of the Prophecies is found among the *Gentiles*; the *Surrogate Israel*. The *New Testament* seems to have done with a *carnal Israel*. The *Eleventh* Chapter to the *Romans*, is marvellously misunderstood; There we find *All Israel saved*, by a *Filling up with the Gentiles*; which we mistranslate, *The Fulness of the Gentiles*.<sup>13</sup> The Prophecies of the *Old Testament* that seem to have an Aspect upon such a Nation, are either already accomplished unto that Nation in the Return from the *Chaldean* Captivity: Or, they belong to that *Holy People* whom a Succession to the Piety of the Patriarchs will render, what our Bible has taught us to call them, *The Israel of GOD*: But the final Fulfilment of them all will be, in the *World to come*; or the *New Heavens* & the *New Earth*, where *GOD will dwell with Men*, & be *Their GOD*. Of what Advantage, Now to the Kingdom of GOD, can the Conversion of the *Jewish Nation* be any more, than<sup>14</sup> the Conversion any *other Nation*, except we should suppose to remain upon the *Jewish Nation* after their Conversion, something to *Distinguish* them from the rest of the Christian Beleevers? To suppose This, would it not be to Rebuild a *Partition-Wall* that our SAVIOUR has demolished & abolished;<sup>15</sup> which a *Christian*, one would think, would no sooner go to do, than to rebuild the fallen Walls of *Jericho*!

[42v] | By all just and fair Computations the *Twelve Hundred Sixty Years* allowed for the *Papal Empire* must be near if not quite, expired. By consequence, the *one*

<sup>11</sup> Matt. 22:29. See also Mather's annotations on Heb. 4:10 in this volume.

<sup>12</sup> "Flood of fire."

<sup>13</sup> See Mather's annotations on that key chapter (BA 9:147–50).

<sup>14</sup> From "the Conversion" until the end of the paragraph is a marginal insert.

<sup>15</sup> Gal. 3:28.

*Thousand three hundred & thirty five Years*, which bring us to the *Time of the End*, when *Daniel* (and every other good Man) is to Rise & Stand in his Lott, are not likely to extend beyond the present Century.<sup>16</sup> Yea, For aught any man alive can say, The *Midnightcry* may be heard before to morrow Morning.<sup>17</sup> Those awful Things, which our Lord foretold, as, *The Signs of His Coming*; have been *all* actually exhibited; we have had 'em *all*, in all the Persons of them; and a stupid World has not understood them!

Coronis.

1. Many who propose rather to *carp*, than to *search*, may think they have at once routed all Hopes to understand the *Sacred Scriptures*, and secured an unintelligible *Obscurity* and *Ambiguity* to the *Divine Oracles*, by only demanding with an Air of Contempt: *Where will you find Gog and Magog?* They ordinarily are not capable of reading a Rational Answer, till they have more seriously thought on, what is to arrive a Thousand Years, before, the Rising of *Gog* and *Magog*.<sup>18</sup> Suppose (what yett I do not Allow) the Quæstion to be what cannot yett be answered; is there no Quæstion to be asked concerning the *Raised Bodies* of the Faithful, which these People will confess, cannot yett be answered? And yett, I hope, they will not Renounce the *Faith* of the *Resurrection*. – *I will also ask you one thing, which if ye tell me, I in like wise will tell you;* – The *Bodies* of the *Raised*, shall they be furnished with *Teeth*, or no?

2. They who think it Impossible, or Incredible, that so Dreadful a Thing, as a *Conflagration*, should be ordered for. So *sinful* a World, as this *present evil World*, may do will over again, to Think on the Infinite *Evil* in Sin: And there withal Remember and Consider, that the *Antediluvian* World had fine Buildings; and Cities, and Artifices in it, and probably more People than there are in ours. No more than *Eight Persons* were saved out of the Destruction, which a Flood of Water brought on the World;<sup>19</sup> But there will be many<sup>20</sup> more saved out of the *Fiery Flood*, which we have to look for.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Rev. 11:3 and Dan. 12:12. In his annotations on Dan. 12, Mather included a large excerpt from William Burnet's 1724 *An Essay on Scripture-Prophecy*, in which it is proposed that the rapid decline of Antichrist's reign had begun in 1715 and that the millennium would begin around 1790.

<sup>17</sup> Matt. 25:6.

<sup>18</sup> See Mather's annotations on Rev. 20:7–10 in this volume.

<sup>19</sup> Gen. 7:13, 1 Pet. 3:20, and 2 Pet. 2:5.

<sup>20</sup> See Appendix A.

<sup>21</sup> The stumps of three pages that were ripped out after 42v (the end of the "Biblia"-manuscript) are still visible in the gutter.



## Appendix A

The holograph MS reveals literally thousands of smaller cancellations and emendations. In accordance with the editorial principles, this appendix only records those cancellations and excisions that substantively impact Mather's commentary. The vast majority of Mather's textual emendations consists of false starts or minor orthographic or stylistic revisions.

### Heb. 1.2r

231 9. Here Mather canceled the following entry and moved it to its correct place at Heb. 11:1:

Q. Faith, how the Substance of things hoped for? v. 1.

A. The Word, Ὑποστασις, implies not only an Expectation of Good, but also a firm, fixt, immovable Posture, against whatever may oppose or disturb. So we say, *υφίστασθαι καπρον*. And in Latin, *subsistere*; not to give way, but withstand the Violence of a Wildbeast. Faith includes Patience in it.

### Heb. 1.2r.

233 21. Mather added the following passage to the preceding paragraphs, canceling the "Q." and "A." as well as the verse and index number, which were rendered illegible.

### Heb. 2.4r.

240 54. Here Mather canceled the original "Q." for this entry ("How can it be said, That the Diuel had the Power of Death? v. 14") when he connected it to the new annotation derived from Turner. Then follow two crossed out lines in a different handwriting, followed by initials: "{However then}, the Popish Crosses {may,}/ This Cross {seems to} [Keep the Diuel away] {R. H.?.}"

The initials might also be P.H. There also is a blotted out and now illegible index number.

## Heb. 4.6r.

246 75. Here Mather canceled: “In that Rest, the Church of the Hebrewes, are to have a particular & peculiar Concern, tho’ the Gentiles also shall not bee excluded.”

## Heb. 5.8r.

251 100. Here a long passage on verse 7 (with reference to Ps. 28:2) was crossed out, which appears to be in a different handwriting. Mather seems to have added an introductory sentence (“That Passage, in the Psalms,”), before finally canceling the entire entry: “That Passage, in the Psalms, Harken to the Voice of my Supplication is rendred by the Apostle here *ικετηρίας*. In this place alone is the Word used in the Scripture. Originally it signifies a Bough or Olive Branch wrapt about with Wool or Bays, or something of the like Nature, which those carried in their Hands & lifted up, who were Suppliants unto others for the obtaining of {Peace} or the averting of their Displeasure. Hence came the Phrase of *velamenta præferre* to hold out such covered Branches. So Livy, *De Bell. Punis*.

*Ramas oleæ, ac Velamenta alia supplicantium portantes, orant ut reciperent sese.* Which Custom Virgil declares in his *Æneas* addressing himself to *Evander*.

*Optime Grajugenum, cui me Fortuna precari,  
et vitta comptos voluit prætere Ramos.*

And they called them *ικετηρίας θαλλους*, Branches of Supplication. See Dr. Owen, of the Work of the Spirit in Prayer. [\*illeg.]”

## Heb. 9.14r.

267 166. Mather canceled a new “Q.” here, which began: “Ha’s Whitby nothing to Illustrate this?” This entry was marked with the index number 4506.

## Heb. 11.22r.

284 229. Mather here replaced the word “Heavenly” with “Spiritual”

## Jas. 3.6r.

319 71. Mather here canceled: “The Jewes have a Saying”

## 1 Pet. 1.2r.

337 8. Mather originally wrote “of a singular Share which the [\*\*\*\*] Israelitish Nation”

## 1 Pet. 1.2v.

340 19. There is a crossed-out and now illegible Latin sentence scribbled onto the inner margin of the manuscript. It was written in the ornamental handwriting that also appears elsewhere in the “Biblia” and signed with R. H. or something similar.

## 1 Pet. 5.7v.

358 74. Here Mather originally wrote and then crossed out: “Hee will in due Time exalt that Nation wonderfully”

## 2 Pet. 3.12v.

396 145. Mather here canceled: “Our Lord foretells great Mutations in the Heavenly Bodies, about the Time of His Coming”

## Jude. 1r.

430 14. Mather originally wrote “Michael,” but then crossed it out.

## Jude.3r.

433 30. Here Mather originally wrote “for my Part, I,” but then crossed it out.

## Rev. 1.4r.

452 34. Mather here crossed out: “of the most Ancient and Undoubted Manuscripts”



## Rev. 1.5r.

455 47. Mather here canceled: “Q. A Remark on our Lords Walking in the Midst of the Churches? v. 12.”

## Rev. 5.14v.

490 173. Mather here canceled “Dr. Goodwins”

## Rev. 5.15r.

491 179. Mather here canceled: “Some observe, That this answers to Dan. VII.14. where, upon His being brought unto the Father, Kingdome is given unto Him, of which this Book is a Symbol; as being, The Book of the Kingdome of Christ. Only”

## Rev. 5.15v.

493 187. Mather crossed out two lines here: “(3) Thou mighty Arm of God canst Do / All that thou wilt, All with a Word”

## Rev. 6.17r.

501 214. Mather here canceled a marginal insertion: “the grætest, sæies Lipsius, that ever was read of”

## Rev. 7.21r.

514 263. Mather here crossed out:

Q. Were it not better to lay aside the Thoughts of a surrogate Israel from among the Gentiles, as intended here? Doubtless the proper Israelitish Nation, to be reserved for the Glory of the Latter Dayes, is intended in this Vision, & Prophecy. And then, a further Cause, why Ephraim should be omitted in this List of the Tribes? v. 8.

A. Ephraim is comprehended under the Name of Joseph. Mr. Mede observes, he may be here look'd upon as unworthy to be called by his own Name, in the

Catalogue of Converts, because he had been a Ringleader in Idolatry. But this is not all. In the Revelation here foretold, the Tribes are to become one Kingdome. The Envy befallen Ephraim and Judah shall depart. And the Name of Ephraim is conceled, because he had formerly been the Occasion of dividing the Tribes into Two Kingdomes.

## Rev. 7.22r.

515 266. The entry originally began with: "I do not Reject your Illustrations," before continuing with the sentence that now opens the question. Following that, Mather originally wrote: "I deny not, that the Spirit of Prophecy may have some Regard unto the Subjects, which have been mentioned. But yett, it is possible that you may have some further Thoughts upon the Matter, more satisfactory than my of the former? v. 9

A. I have so. I think, That." The beginning of this last sentence was then replaced by "According to them"

## Rev. 11.34v.

556 402. Mather originally concluded this sentence with "and in my poor Opinion, truly, a pretty Fair one." This remark was then crossed out.

## Rev. 13.45v.

598 555. Mather here cancelled "(as was confessed by Steuchus, the Bishop of Agobio)"

## Rev. 16.59r.

635 651. Mather here canceled: "Nor do I meet with any Objections against it but what seems natural, easy to be answered. And if I had no body but myself to satisfy, it may be I should now proceed no further."

## Rev. 16.60r.

640 667. Mather here originally wrote and then crossed out: "For my own Part, if I must now tell you my Mind."

Rev. 20.88v.

726 959. Here Mather originally wrote and then crossed out: “Two” sayings, which was followed by this entry: “First; If This be the True State of the Case, Then the Scriptures that seem to foretel a General Conversion of the Israelitish Nation, with a Reduction to their Ancient Seats, and the Kingdome Restored unto them, so that the People of the Saints of the Most High shall be singularly exalted among the Nations, and they shall in the New Earth, with the Nations of the Righteous, then, Build Houses & Inhabit them, and Plant Vineyards & Eat the Fruit of them, and have an Offspring that shall be the Blessed of the Lord, and long enjoy the Work of their Hands; These require to be further Thought upon. And the Bodies of the Saints in the Holy City will also after the First Resurrection have more {lasting Glorifications} than is commonly imagined.

And yett, it may be, This will not be altogether so unacceptable and unpalatable unto Them, who then are prone to think it a, Thing somewhat below the Dignity and Sanctity and Piety, which belongs unto the Kingdome of God, for the Posterity of one Tribe to be preferr’d before Another of equal Piety, and for genealogical Tables, which also are enveloped in the greatest Uncertainties, to be the Rule of the Divine Proceedings: or, To know the Blessed JESUS, after the Flesh any more.

But secondly”

Rev. 22.91v.

732 988. Here Mather originally wrote and then crossed out: “Q. *The Leaves, for the Healing of the Nations*. May not this intimate, That the Nations here meant, have Remains of Distemper and Corruption among them, which require Cure, and the Use of Medicines; and that while the Raised Saints, caught up to the Lord, are in an Incorruptible State, the Living Saints here on the Earth, have still some used of a Further Healing? v. 2.

A. —”

Rev. 22.92v.

737 1008. Here Mather originally wrote and then crossed out: “The Jewes were so far in the right of it, That it would have been Blasphemy, for to assign this Glory of being, The Son of Man coming in the Clouds of Heaven, unto any but the CHRIST. What a Double Blasphemy then is thine, O Grotius, to

assign this Incommunicable Glory, unto a Thing, which neither Thou nor any one else, ever took to be the Christ?"<sup>1</sup>

Rev. 22.93r.

739 1013. Mather here originally wrote "Jewish Nation" and then changed it to "Israel of God"

Rev. 22.93r.

739 1015. Mather originally finished this sentence with "which for its Rebellion against the Lord-Messiah, it is fallen into" instead of "is yett upon it"

Rev. 22.93r–93v.

740 1019. Mather here canceled the following passage: "I will chuse to incorporate it into this Argument, rather than to make a New One of it: This Demonstration.

If the Conversion of the Jewish Nation, shall not long præcede the Second Coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, then the Second Coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, will not be at the Conclusion of the Blessed Thousand Years; but if not at the Conclusion, then at the Beginning of it.

But the Second Coming of the Lord, shall be not long after the Conversion of the Jewish Nation.

Therefore. –

There is a famous Text for this Purpose; Act. 3.19. Consult our Illustrations upon it. Thus we read, Isa. 24.22, 23. After many Dayes they shall be visited; and it soon followes, The Lord of Hosts, shall Reign before His Ancient People gloriously: The Holy Daniel having mentioned the Resurrection of the Dead, which is to be, at the Second Coming of the Lord, we are assured, by the Oath of the Angel, [Dan. 12.7.] That when the Time for Scattering the Jewish Nation should be accomplished, it should not be long, before, All these things are Finished.

Indeed, there are shrewd Intimations in the Scriptures, That what Conversion of the Jewish Nation, to be looke'd for, should be rather AT and BY the Appearance of our Lord Jesus Christ, than long after. Consider, 1. Tim. 1.17.

---

<sup>1</sup> Mather canceled the same passage in the manuscript of his "Problema Theologicum." See pp. 392 and 433.

and, Rev. 1.7. and, Rom. 11.26. [93v] I am unconcerned, in the Decision of this particular Circumstance. Either Way, our Argument will hold.

I am sensible, That many learned Men, probably conjecture a Transient Appearance of our Lord for the Conversion of Israel, a little before His Appearing, with a more constant Residence to Judge and Rule the World.

I will only relate the true Matter of Fact, about the Conversion of Constantine the Great. The Father of that admirable Man was a Christian; and he himself, being invited by the Senate of Rome, to rescue them from those Tyrants, (whose frequent Plotts against his own Person he had before this miraculously defeated) he Resolved, that in this glorious Undertaking, he would Rely only upon the God whom his Father worshipped, and earnestly pray'd unto Heaven, that he might have the Knowledge of Him, and a Succour from Him. He was here upon like Paul, honoured with a coelestial Vision, wherein he saw over the Sun at Mid-day, this Figure,  $\text{XPICTO}$  made with a Light of a golden Colour. This Figure was composed of the Four First Letters of  $\text{XPICTO}$  and had a Resemblance of the Cross also; but it might be called, A visible Sign of the Son of Man in Heaven; and it had this Inscription,  $\text{τουτω νικα}$ . The whole Army, which was then upon the March with him, saw the same; as tis attested not only by Theodoret, and Socrates, and Sozomen, at some distance, but also by Artemius, who testifies, that he himself likewise, was an Eyewitness of it; and by Eusebius, who affirms, that he had it from Constantines own Mouth, with a solemn Oath to the Truth of it. Constantine applied himself with great Concern unto the Christians, for the Meaning of these things, who took the Occasion so to preach Christ crucified, and His Religion, unto him as to confirm him in it. Perhaps, this one Story well considered, may solve our Difficulty."

Rev. 22.93v.

741 1021. After "That the," Mather originally wrote and then crossed out, "Coming of the Son of Man in the Clouds of Heaven with a Kingdome given unto Him"

Rev. 22.93v.

741 1023. After "That the," Mather canceled "Coming of the Son of Man in the Clouds of Heaven"

## Rev. 22.95v.

748 1039. Following this sentence, Mather originally wrote and then crossed out: “One would have expected such a Fancy, in a Poem of Miltons, rather than in a Treatise of Divinity. Nor”

## Rev. 22.95v.

749 1044. Here Mather canceled “in an Humane Shape,”

## Rev. 22.97r–97v.

753 1052. Mather here canceled the following passage: “will not presently be universal. T’wil be partial, and liesurely, and progressive.

Perhaps, the Authority of Lactantius will not be strong enough, to satisfy it, That *Quaedam Nationes relinquentur, ut à Justis Triumphentur*; we have a Greater, which tells us, [Isa. 66.19.] of, Nations that shall escape; and, [Rev. 21.24.] of, saved Nations.” At some point Mather changed “T’wil” to “may at first” before he then crossed out the whole passage.<sup>2</sup>

753 1053. Mather originally had “this Conflagration” instead of “it”

753 1053. Mather originally had “doubtless” instead of “perhaps”

754 1055. Mather originally wrote: “How far it shall proceed, we do not know; But after it ha’s done its Work upon the Roman Territories, [Dan. 7.12.] The Rest of the Beasts have their Lives prolonged for a Season. The Earth of old occupied by the Babylonian, and Persian, and Græcian Kingdomes, will yett remain untouched.

Nor is it uneasy to conceive, how the Conflagration of some Territories may produce an incomparable Fertility and Salubrity to the remaining.” At some point, Mather inserted “there seems an Intimation, that” after the “But”; he also replaced “untouched” with “for a while untouched,” before canceling the entire passage.

754 1055. Mather originally wrote “Conflagration” instead of “Devastation”

---

<sup>2</sup> For these canceled passages compare Mather’s “Problema Theologicum,” pp. 420–21.

754 1059. Mather here canceled: “Fourthly. I Expect, That At, and By, and On, this Illustrious Revolution, those Nations, which are to walk in the Light of the New Jerusalem, and be the Inhabitants of the New Earth wherein shall dwell Righteousness, will be Turned unto Righteousness.

The Condition of those Nations, and their Communion with the New Heavens, will elevate them unto a most admirable Pitch of Holiness. Perhaps, the Least of it, will be, that in their whole Conversation, they shall be as Holy, as the Inspired Saints of old were, in the Minutes of their Inspiration from the Holy Spirit of God.”

Instead of “Condition” Mather originally had “Conversion.” After canceling the passage, Mather added “Fourthly. I expect” to create a transition to the next paragraph and deleted an “also” after the “then.”

754 1060. Mather here canceled: “But it is intimated in the Scriptures of Truth, as if the Nations in the Remoter Skirts of the World, will not be under so high a Dispensation of Christianity, as those that ly nearer to the City of God; and under its more Direct and Shining Influences.

The Rulers of the New World may have more Occasion, to employ a Rod of Iron among these Nations, and break them to Slivers as the Vessels of a Potter, and execute Punishments upon them, even the Judgments, which in the Hundred and forty ninth Psalm is written of.

Quære; How far Sin shall be extinguished and extirpated among the Righteous, by whom the New Earth is now inhabited?

Answer: Tis one of the, Things hard to be understood. Yett, it won’t be long, before we shall try for an Answer to it.” The last sentence seems to have been part of a first round of revisions that then got canceled along with the rest.

#### Rev. 22.98r.

756 1064. Mather here canceled the following passage: “Quære, whether the Saints found Alive at the Second Coming of the Lord, will be then immediately changed and caught up, unto the City of God in the Air; or, stay to take the same Fate, with such as are to be called Home unto the Lord by His Coming.”

Again, Quære, whether the Translation of the later Saints, will be during the Thousand Years, personally and successively carried on, as each Person growes in a Ripeness for it, or be all at once, at the End of the Thousand Years. Answer; These also are some of the Things hard to be understood.”

## Postscript. 98v.

759 1072. Here Mather canceled: "If you will now turn to the Fourteenth Chapter, in the Third Book of Eusebius, you will find another mention of this Vision."

## Postscript. 99v.

762 1087. Mather here canceled: "could not be ignorant"

## Coronis. 102v.

776 1131. After "Course" Mather crossed out: "thereof upon them, & make a final"

## Coronis. 106r.

791 1184. Mather here canceled: "We may withal observe, That when the Eastern or Græcian Branch of the Roman Empire, is mention'd at any time in the Prophecy, no other Parts are to be understood, than such as adjoin to the Western."

## Coronis. 107v.

796 1201. Mather here canceled: "the Restoration of the Jewes, and"

## An Essay. 1r

797 1. Mather here crossed out "Life," and replaced it with "Truth"

## Some Remarks. 4v.

XX. Mather here canceled "The best Criticks, after much Examination, conclude" and replaced it with "some have thought"



## VATES. 6r.

823 19. Mather here canceled “and in the Revelation”

## VATES. 12r.

844 103. Mather here canceled “Persecutions” and replaced it with “Prosecutions”

*Ezra. 19v.*

888 26. Here followed a short poem, written in a different, more ornamental hand, which was later canceled: “Strive on, Sr. still in Holy Words, profound/  
,The Times anticipating by your Sound/, Wherein the promised Knowledge shall abound”

## EXPECTANDA. 41r–41v.

960 3. Mather here canceled: “are guilty of such [\*] egregious Folly; that [\*\*\*]. It seems as if it were in vain to throw away an Argument upon them, that one might Reasonably wonder, how tis possible for any wise Man to talk so very foolishly”

961 9. Before “in it” (which was added later) Mather here originally wrote: “; But be {made} a Deathless and a Sinless People, they and their Offspring with them”

## Coronis. 42v.

963 20. Mather here crossed out: “, perhaps one hundred & fourty four Thousand,”

## Appendix B: Silent MS Deletions

### Heb. 1.2v

234 30. Mather here inserted the following instructions: “The next Column. [ooo].”

### Heb. 2.4r

239 45. Mather’s running title “Hebrewes. Chap. 2.” at the top of [4r] was deleted.

### Heb. 9.15r.

269 178. Mather’s running title “Hebrewes. Chap. 9.” at the top of [15r] was deleted.

### Heb. 10.17r.

274 191. Mather’s running title “Hebrewes. Chap. 10,” at the top of [17r] was deleted.

### Heb. 11.20r.

283 225. As instructions for the insertion of the entry on Heb. 11:15 Mather noted: “[Here insert from the Two next, smaller Leaves. HHH]”

### Heb. 11.20v.

287 243. Mather wrote: “[Here insert the Illustrations, on v. 26. which are on another Leaf.]”

## Heb. 11.21r–22v.

288 248. Mather's running titles "Hebrewes. Chap. 11." at the top of [21r] and [22r] were deleted.

## Heb. 11.23r.

288 249. Mather's running title "Hebrewes. Chap. 11" at the top of [23r] was deleted.

## Heb. 12.25r.

294 275. Mather's running title "Hebrewes. Chap. 11." at the top of [25r] and the directions "See the following page. [o.o.o.]" were deleted.

## Heb. 12.25v.

296 282. Before the insert from [25r] Mather noted: "See the Foregoing Page. [o.o.o.]"

## Jas. 3.6r.

317 63. Mather's running title "James. Chap. 3." at the top of [6r] was deleted.

## 1 Pet. 1.2r.

336 4. Mather's running title "1. Peter. Chap. 1." at the top of [2r] was deleted.

## 2 Pet. 1.2r.

363 13. Mather's running title "2. Peter. Chap. 1." at the top of [2r] was deleted. 2 Pet. 1.2r.

2 Pet. 1.2r.

367 32. Mather's running title "2. Peter. Chap. 1." at the top of [3r] was deleted.

2 Pet. 1.4r.

368 36. Mather's running title "2. Peter. Chap. 1." at the top of [4r] was deleted.

2 Pet. 1.5r.

371 42. Mather's running title "2. Peter. Chap. 1." at the top of [5r] was deleted.

2 Pet. 1.8r.

378 72. Mather's running title "2. Peter. Chap. 1." at the top of [8r] was deleted.

2 Pet. 3.11r.

392 132. Mather's running title "2. Peter. Chap. 3." at the top of [11r] was deleted.

2 Pet. 3.12r.

395 142. Mather's running title "2. Peter. Chap. 3." at the top of [12r] was deleted.

I John 5.9r.

409 36. Mather's running title "I. John. Chap. 5." at the top of [9r] was deleted.

## I John 5.8r.

409 39. Mather's running title "I. John. Chap. 5." at the top of [8r] was deleted.

## I John 5.7r.

415 58. Mather's running title "I. John. Chap. 5." at the top of [7r] was deleted.

## I John 5.10r.

419 81. Mather's running title "I. John. Chap. 5." at the top of [10r] was deleted.

## Jude. 2r.

431 19. Mather's running title "Jude" at the top of [2r] was deleted.

## Jude. 3r.

433 28. Mather's running title "Jude" at the top of [3r] was deleted.

## Jude. 4r.

439 60. Mather's running title "Jude" at the top of [4r] was deleted.

## Rev. 1.3r.

448 25. Mather's running title "Revelation. Chap. 1." at the top of [3r] was deleted.

Rev. 1.4r.

449 28. Mather's running title "Revelation. Chap. 1." at the top of [4r] was deleted.

Rev. 1.5r.

454 44. Mather's running title "Revelation Chap. 1." at the top of [5r] was deleted.

Rev. 1.5r.

455 48. Mather's directions "Here insert the Illustrations on v. 14, 15, 16. [ooo]" were deleted.

Rev. 2.10r.

474 117. Mather's running title "Revelation. Chap. 2." at the top of [10r] was deleted.

Rev. 4.13r.

485 165. Mather's running title "Revelation. Chap. 4." at the top of [13r] was deleted.

Rev. 5.15r.

491 178. Mather's running title "Revelation. Chap. 5." at the top of [15r] was deleted.

Rev. 6.17r.

497 198. Mather's running title "Revelation. Chap. 6." at the top of [17r] was deleted.

## Rev. 6.18r.

502 224. Mather's running title "Revelation. Chap. 6." at the top of [18r] was deleted.

## Rev. 6.19r.

508 247. Mather's running title "Revelation. Chap. 6." at the top of [19r] was deleted.

## Rev. 7.21r.

513 259. Mather's running title "Revelation. Chap. 7." at the top of [21r] was deleted.

## Rev. 7.22r.

515 265. Mather's running title "Revelation Chap. 7." at the top of [22r] was deleted.

## Rev. 7.23r.

518 277. Mather's running title "Revelation. Chap. 7." at the top of [23r] was deleted.

## Rev. 8.25r.

522 295. Mather's running title "Revelation. Chap. 8." at the top of [25r] was deleted.

## Rev. 9.27r.

531 325. Mather's running title "Revelation. Chap. 9." at the top of [27r] was deleted.

Rev. 9.29r.

536 352. Mather's running title "Revelation. Chap. 9." at the top of [29r] was deleted.

Rev. 9.30r.

536 362. Mather's running title "Revelation. Chap. 9." at the top of [30r] was deleted.

Rev. 11.39r.

578 473. Mather's running title "Revelation. Chap. 11." at the top of [39r] was deleted.

Rev. 12.41r.

581 477. Mather's directions "[Here insert the Illustrations, on v. 2. H. H. H. Then those on v. 3. & v. 4, & v. 5. ]" were deleted.

Rev. 12.42r.

582 479. Mather's running title "Revelation. Chap. 12." at the top of [42r] was deleted.

Rev. 12.43r.

586 506. Mather's running title "Revelation. Chap. 12." at the top of [43r] was deleted.

Rev. 12.44r.

591 526. Mather's running title "Revelation. Chap. 12." at the top of [44r] was deleted.



## Rev. 13.46r.

596 547. Mather's running title "Revelation. Chap. 13." at the top of [46r] was deleted.

## Rev. 13.47r.

599 560. Mather's running title "Revelation. Chap. 13." at the top of [47r] was deleted.

## Rev. 13.48r.

602 574. Mather's running title "Revelation. Chap. 13." at the top of [48r] was deleted.

## Rev. 13.49r.

605 586. Mather's running title "Revelation. Chap. 13." at the top of [49r] was deleted.

## Rev. 13.50r.

607 590. Mather's running title "Revelation. Chap. 13." at the top of [50r] was deleted.

## Rev. 14.53r.

615 614. Mather's running title "Revelation. Chap. 14." at the top of [53r] was deleted.

## Rev. 14.54r.

618 623. Mather's running title "Revelation. Chap. 14." at the top of [54r] was deleted.

Rev. 17.63r.

646 692. Mather's running title "Revelation. Chap. 17." at the top of [63r] was deleted.

Rev. 17.64r.

650 707. Mather's running title "Revelation. Chap. 17." at the top of [64r] was deleted.

Rev. 17.67r.

659 740. Mather's running title "Revelation. Chap. 12, 13, 17." at the top of [67r] was deleted.

Rev. 18.81r.

703 882. Mather's running title "Revelation. Chap. 18." at the top of [81r] was deleted.

Rev. 19.83r.

707 895. Mather's running title "Revelation. Chap. 19." at the top of [83r] was deleted.

Rev. 19.83r.

708 898. Mather's directions "Here insert, the Illustration on v. 15. ###" were deleted.

Rev. 19.84r.

710 906. Mather's running title "Revelation. Chap. 19." at the top of [84r] was deleted.

## Rev. 20.87r.

720 941. Mather's running title "Revelation. Chap. 20." at the top of [87r] was deleted.

## Rev. 20.88r.

723 952. Mather's running title "Revelation. Chap. 20." at the top of [88r] was deleted.

## Rev. 22.92r.

734 994. Mather's running title "Revelation. Chap. 22." at the top of [92r] was deleted.

## Bibliography

- Works in the Mather Family libraries (as listed in Julius H. Tuttle, “Libraries,” “Catalogue of Dr. Cotton Mather’s Library Purchased by Isaiah Thomas,” and “Remains of Mathers’ [*sic*] Library Folio & 4to. Purchased by I. Thomas”), but not necessarily in the same edition.
- ◆ Works accessible at Harvard College Library during Mather’s life-time (as listed in *Catalogus Librorum Bibliothecae Collegij Harvardini*. Boston, 1723, 1725, in *The Printed Catalogue of the Harvard College Library 1723–1790*), but not necessarily in the same edition.

### Primary Works

- Abravanel, Isaac ben Judah (Abrabanel, Abarbanel). *Ma’yanei ha-Yeshu’ah*. Ferrara, 1551.  
 –. [*Perush ‘al nevi’ im aharonim.*] *Commentarius celeberrimi Rabbi Ishak Abarbanel. Super Iesaiam, Ieremiam, Iehazkelen, et Prophetas XII Minores*. 1520. Amsterdam, 1642.
- Achmed (son of Seirim). *The Oneirocriticon of Achmet: A Medieval Greek and Arabic Treatise on the Interpretation of Dreams*. Translated by Steven Oberhelman. Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press, 1991.
- Aelianus, Claudius. *On Animals*. 3 vols. Translation by A. F. Schofield. LCL 446/448/449. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1958–1959.
- Aeschylus. *Agamemnon. Libation-Bearers. Eumenides*. Translation by Alan H. Sommerstein. LCL 146. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 2015.
- Aetius Amidenus. *Aetii Medici Graeci Contractae ex Veteribus Medicinae Tetrabiblos*. 1542. Lyon, 1549.
- Aetius Isidorus Hispalensis. *De Serpentibus*. [PL 82. 423–472].
- Agatharchides of Cnidus. *On the Erythraean Sea*. Translated and edited by Stanley M. Burstein. London: Taylor & Francis, 1989.
- ◆ À Lapide, Cornelius (Cornelis van den Steen). *Commentarius in Apocalypsin S. Iohannis*. 1627. Antwerp, 1698.
- Alard, Lambert. *Pathologia sacra novi testamenti continens significantiora ejusdem & cum emphasi singulari usurpata loca*. Leipzig, 1635.
- Albo, Joseph. *Buch Ikkarim: Grund- und Glaubenslehren der Mosaischen Religion*. Translated by W. Schlessinger and L. Schlesinger. Frankfurt am Main, 1844.  
 –. *Sefer ha-Ikkarim: Book of Principles*. Translated by Isaac Husik. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1929–1930.
- ◆ Alcasar, Ludovicus. *Vestigatio arcani sensus in Apocalypsi*. Antwerp, 1614.
- Alciphron, Aelian, Philostratus. *Alciphron, Aelian, and Philostratus: The Letters*. Translated by A. R. Benner and F. H. Fobes. LCL 383. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1949.

- Alleine, William. *Some Discovery of the new Heavens, and the new Earth*. In *The Mystery of the Temple and City described in the nine last Chapters of Ezekiel unfolded*. London, 1679.
- Allix, Pierre. *The Judgment of the Ancient Jewish Church, Against the Unitarians*. London, 1699.
- . *Reflexions sur les livres de l'écriture sainte*. London, 1687.
- . *Reflexions upon the Books of the Holy Scripture to establish the Truth of the Christian Religion*. 2 vols. London, 1688.
- . *Remarks upon the Ecclesiastical History of the Ancient Churches of the Albigenses*. London, 1692.
- . *Some Remarks upon the Ecclesiastical History of the Ancient Churches of Piedmont*. London, 1690.
- Alsted, Johann Heinrich. *The Beloved City, or, The Saints Reign on Earth a Thousand Yeares asserted and illustrated from LXV Places of Holy Scripture, besides the Judgement of holy learned Men both at home and abroad, and also Reason it self*. Translated from Latin by William Burton. London, 1643.
- –. *Diatribe de mille annis apocalypticis, non illis chiliastarum & phantastarum, sed BB. Danielis & Johannis*. Herborn, 1627.
- Alting, Jacob. *Opera omnia theologica, analytica, exegetica, practica, problematica, et philologica*. 5 vols. Amsterdam, 1685–1687.
- Ambrosius Ansbertus (Autpertus). *In sancti Iohannis apostoli & euangelistae Apocalypsim libri decem*. Cologne, 1536.
- Ambrose of Milan (Ambrosius Mediolanensis). *De Excessu Fratris sui Satyri 2. De Fide Resurrectionis*. [PL 16. 1315–1354].
- Ammersbach, Johann Arndt Heinrich. *Geheimnis der letzten Zeiten*. Amsterdam, 1665.
- Ammianus Marcellinus. *History*. 3 vols. Translated by John C. Rolfe. *LCL* 300. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1956.
- Amphilochius of Iconium. *Iambi ad Seleucum*. [PG 37. 1451–1600].
- Amyraut, Moyse (Amyraldus). *Du règne de mille ans ou de la Prospérité de l'Église*. Saumur, 1654.
- Anastasius Bibliothecarius. *Anastasii bibliothecarii Vitae seu Gesta Romanorum Pontificum*. Edited by J. Busaeus. Mainz, 1602.
- . *Historia de vitis pontificum Romanorum*. [PL 127. 1003–1528, PL 128. 1–1406].
- [ACW=] *Ancient Christian Writers. The Works of the Fathers in Translation*. Gen. eds. J. Quasten and J. C. Plumpe. 66 vols. New York/Westminster, Md.: Paulist P/Newman, 1946–2012.
- Andlau, Peter (Petrus de Andlo). *De Imperio Romano, regis et Augusti creatione, inauguratione, administratione: officio & potestate electorum, aliisque Imperii partibus, iuribus, ritibus & ceremoniis*. Strasbourg, 1612.
- Andrewes, Lancelot. *XCVI Sermons*. London, 1629.
- Anonymus von Cyzicus. *Kirchengeschichte. Griechisch-deutsch*. Edited and translated by G. C. Hansen. 2 vols. Brepols: Turnhout, 2008.
- Anselm of Canterbury. *Divi Anselmi Cantuariensis archiepiscopi ... Omnia quae reperiri potuerunt opera, tribus distincta tomis*. Cologne, 1572.
- [ANF=] *Ante-Nicene Fathers: The Writings of the Fathers Down to A. D. 325*. Edited by A. Roberts and J. Donaldson. 10 vols. 1885. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1999.
- The Apostolic Fathers, Vol. I: I Clement. II Clement. Ignatius. Polycarp. Didache*. Edited and translated by Bart D. Ehrman. *LCL* 24. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 2003.

- The Apostolic Fathers, Vol. II: Epistle of Barnabas. Papias and Quadratus. Epistle to Diognetus. The Shepherd of Hermas.* Edited and translated by Bart D. Ehrman. *LCL* 25. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 2003.
- Apostolic Teachings and Constitutions.* In *Fathers of the Third and Fourth Centuries.* Edited by A. Roberts and J. Donaldson. *ANF* 7. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1885.
- Appian. *Roman History, Volume IV: Civil Wars, Books 1–2.* Edited and translated by Brian McGing. *LCL* 5. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2020.
- Apuleius (Lucius Apuleius Madaurensis). *Apologia. Florida. De Deo Socratis.* Edited and translated by Christopher P. Jones. *LCL* 534. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 2017.
- Aquinas, Philippus (Juda Mordechai). *Dictionarium Hebraeo-Chaldaeo-talmudicorabbinicum.* Paris, 1629.
- Aquinas, Thomas. *Summa Theologiae Supplementum* 69–99. Translated by Laurence Shapcote. *Opera Omnia.* Vol. 22. Steubenville: Emaus Academic, 2017.
- Arethas of Caesarea. *Commentarius in Apocalypsin.* [PG. 106. 207–786].
- Aristophanes. *Birds. Lysistrata. Women at the Thesmophoria.* Edited and translated by J. Henderson. *LCL* 179. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 2000.
- . *Unattributed Fragments.* Edited and translated by A. H. Sommerstein. *LCL* 505. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 2009.
- Aristotle. *Minor Works: On Colours. On Things Heard. Physiognomics. On Plants. On Marvellous Things Heard. Mechanical Problems. On Indivisible Lines. The Situations and Names of Winds. On Melissus, Xenophanes, Gorgias.* Edited and translated by W. S. Hett. *LCL* 307. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1936.
- Arnobius Afer (the Elder). *Disputationum adversus gentes libri septem.* [PL 5. 713–1288].
- Arnold, Gottfried. *Impartial History of the Church and Hereticks. From the Commencement of the New Testament, to the Year of our Lord, 1688.* London, 1744.
- . *Unparteyische Kirchen- und Ketzer-Historie.* 2 vols. Leipzig and Frankfurt am Main, 1699–1700.
- ◆ Arrowsmith, John. *Armillae catecheticae. A Chain of Principles. Or, an orderly Concatenation of theological Aphorismes and Exercitations; wherein, the chief Heads of Christian Religion are asserted and improved.* Cambridge, 1659.
  - . *A great wonder in heaven, or, A lively picture of the militant church drawn by a divine pencil: Revel. 12, 1, 2: discoursed on in a sermon preached before the honourable House of Commons.* London 1647.
  - –. *The Covenant Avenging Sword Brandished.* London, 1643.
- Astell, Mary. *Serious Proposal to the Ladies for the Advancement of their True and Greatest Interest.* London, 1694.
- (Pseudo-)Athanasius. *Disputatio contra Arium.* [PG 28. 437–502].
- . *Quaestiones in psalmos.* [PG 28. 743–796].
- Athenagoras of Athens. *Legatio pro Christianis.* [PG 6. 890–974].
- Augustine of Hippo (Aurelius Augustinus). *The City of God against the Pagans.* Vol. 2: Books IV–VII. Translated by William M. Green. *LCL* 412. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1963.
- . *The City of God against the Pagans.* Vol. 3: Books VIII–XI. Translated by David S. Wiesen. *LCL* 413. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1968.
- . *The City of God against the Pagans.* Vol. 6: Book XVIII, Chapter XXXVI–Book XX. Translated by William Chase Greene. *LCL* 416. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1960.

- . *Contra Faustum Manichaeum*. [PL 42. 207–518].
- . *De Baptismo Contra Donatistas Libri Septem*. [PL 43. 107–244].
- ♦ –. *De civitate Dei*. [PL 41. 13–804].
- . *De civitate Dei. Libri XI–XXII*. Edited by B. Dombart and A. Kalb. CCSL 48. Turnhout: Brepols, 1955.
- . *De civitate Dei libri XXII*. Edited by E. Hoffmann. 2 vols. CSEL 40. Vienna, 1899/1900.
- . *De doctrina Christiana libri quatuor*. [PL 34. 15–121].
- . *De doctrina Christiana libri quattuor*. Edited by W.M. Green. CSEL 80. Vienna: Gerold, 1963.
- . *De doctrina christiana. De vero religione*. Edited by K. D. Daur and J. Martin. CCSL 32. Turnhout: Brepols, 1962.
- . *De Genesi Crista ad litteram*. [PL 34. 219–284].
- . *De haeresibus ad Quotvultdeum*. [PL 42. 21–50].
- . *De fide rerum invisibilium; Enchiridion ad Laurentium de fide et spe et caritate; De catechizandis rudibus; Sermo ad catechumenos de symbolo. Sermo de disciplina christiana; De utilitate ieiunii; Sermo de excidio urbis Romae; De haeresibus*. Edited by M. P.J. van den Hout, et al. CCSL 46. Turnhout: Brepols, 1969.
- . *De sententia Jacobi, seu epistola CLXVII*. [PL 33. 733–742].
- . *Enarrationes in Psalmos*. [PL 36. 67–1028, PL 37. 1033–968].
- . *Enarrationes in Psalmos 101–150*. 5 vols. Edited by F. Gori. CSEL 95. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2003–.
- . *Epistola CII, Ad Deogratias, sex quaestiones contra paganos*. [PL 33. 121–470].
- . *Epistulae CI–CXXXIX*. Edited by K. D. Daur. CCSL 31B. Turnhout: Brepols, 2009.
- ♦ –. *Opera tomis undecim comprehensa*. 11 vols. Paris, 1635–1637.
- . *Quaestiones Evangeliorum*. Edited by Almut Mutzenbecher. CCSL 44B. Turnhout: Brepols, 1980.
- . *Sermones de sanctis*. [PL 38. 1274–484].
- . *Sermones de Scripturis*. [PL 38. 23–994].
- Aurelius Victor. *Historiae Abreviatae*. Edited by Mehran A. Nickbakht und Carlo Scardino. Paderborn: Schöningh, 2021.
- Avicenna (Abu Ali al-Husain Ibn Abdullah Ibn Sina). *The Canon of Medicine (al-Qanun fi'l-tibb)*. 2 vols. Edited by L. Bakhtiar. Translated by O. C. Grunder and M. H. Shah. Chicago: Great Books of the Islamic World, 1999.
- Avraham, Yitzchak bar. *Chizuk Emunah*. 1681. Amsterdam, 1705.
- Bar Hebraeus, Gregory (Abu al-Faraj ibn Harun). [*Luma' min ahbar al-'arab*=] *Specimen historiae Arabum, sive Gregorii Abul Farajii Malatiensis. De origine & moribus Arabum succincta narratio, in linguam latinam conversa, notisque e probatissimis apud ipsos authoribus, fusius illustrata*. Edited, translated into Latin and annotated by Edward Pococke. Oxford, 1650.
- Baronius, Caesar (Cesare Baronio). *Annales ecclesiastici a Christo nato ad annum 1198*. 12 vols. First edition. Rome, 1588–1607. Revised and continued by A. Pagi, O. Rinaldi, G. D. Mansi, et al. 38 vols. Lucca, 1738–1759.
- Bartholin, Thomas. *Bartholinus Anatomy: Made from the Precepts of His Father, and from the Observations of All Modern Anatomists. In Four Books and Four Manuals*. London, 1668.
- . *De latere Christi aperto dissertatio*. Leiden, 1646.
- –. *Historiarum anatomicarum rariorum centuria*. 4 vols. Copenhagen, 1654–1661.
- Basil the Great (Basilius Caesariensis). *Homiliae IX in Hexaemeron*. [PG 29. 3–208].

- . *Homiliae IX in Hexaemeron*. In *The Nine Homilies of the Hexaemeron and the Letters of Saint Basil the Great*. Translated by Rev. Blomfeld Jackson. NPNFii 8. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1995.
- ♦ Baxter, Richard. *Catholick theologie, plain, pure and peaceable, for the pacification of the dogmatical word-warriors*. London, 1675.
- . *The Certainty of the Worlds of Spirits Fully Evinc'd*. London, 1691.
- . *A Paraphrase on the New Testament, with notes doctrinal and practical*. London, 1695.
- ♦ Bayle, Pierre. *Dictionnaire historique et critique*. 2 vols. Rotterdam, 1697.
- . *General Dictionary, historical and critical, in which a new and accurate Translation of that celebrated Mr. Bayle with the Corrections and Observations printed in the late Edition at Paris, is included*. 10 vols. 1702. Second edition. Edited by J. P. Bernard et al. London, 1734–1740.
- Beaumont, John. *An historical, physiological and theological treatise of spirits, apparitions, witchcrafts, and other magical practices. Containing an account of the genii ... With a refutation of Dr. Bekker's World bewitch'd; and other authors*. London, 1705.
- Beausobre, Isaac de and Jacques Lenfant. *A New Version of all the Books of the New Testament, with a Literal Commentary on all the Difficult Passages*. London, 1726.
- . *Le Nouveau Testament de notre seigneur Jesus-Christ*. 2 vols. Amsterdam, 1718.
- R. Bechai Ben Asher (Bahya ben Asher). [=Be'ur 'al ha-Torah]. *R. Bechai, sive Bachie ben Ascer Biur al Hatorah. Elucidatio in Legem Moysis; in qua totus Pentatheuchus elucidatur triplici via, Litterali, Allegorica, et Cabalistica*. 1492. Venice, 1544.
- . *Kad ha-Kemah*. Constantinople, 1515.
- . *Midrash Rabbeinu Bachya: Torah Commentary by Rabbi Bachya Ben Asher*. Translated and annotated by Eliyahu Munk. 7 vols. Jerusalem: Lampada Publishers, 1998.
- . *Parasha Trumah*. Venice, 1546.
- Beck, Matthias Friedrich. Editor. *Targum shel divre hay-yamim. Paraphrasis chaldaica*. Augsburg, 1680.
- ♦ Bede the Venerable (Beda Venerabilis). *Ecclesiastical History*. Vol. 1: Books 1–3. Translated by J. E. King. LCL 246. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1930.
- . *Explanatio in Apocalypsim libri III*. [PL 93. 129–206].
- . *Expositio Apocalypseos*. Edited by R. Gryson. CCSL 121A. Turnhout: Brepols, 2001.
- ♦ –. *Opera, quotquot reperiri potuerunt omnia*. 8 vols. Cologne, 1612.
- Bellarmino, Robert (Roberto Francesco Romolo Bellarmino). *De Romano Pontifice*. Venice, 1599.
- ♦ –. *De septem verbis a Christo in cruce prolatis libri duo*. Antwerp, 1668.
- ♦ –. *Disputationes de controversiis Christianae Fidei*. 1581. 4 vols. Lyon, 1610.
- Bernard, Nicholas. *The Life and Death of the Most reverend and Learned Father of Our Church Dr. James Usher*. Dublin, 1656.
- Berthold of Chiemsee. *Onus Ecclesiae ... de septem ecclesiae statibus, de septem ecclesiae statibus, abusibus quoque grauissimis, et futuris eiusdem calamitatibus ex sanctorum prophetijs et nouarum reulationum vaticinijs*. 1519. Cologne, 1531.
- Besold, Christoph (Besoldus). *Axiomata Philosophiae Christianae*. 1616. 2 vols. Strasbourg, 1626–28.
- ♦ Beveridge, William. *Synodikon, sive Pandectae canonum ss. Apostolorum et conciliorum ab ecclesia graeca receptorum*. 2 vols. Oxford, 1672.
- Beverley, Thomas. *A Calendar of Prophetick Time, Drawn by an Express, Scripture-Line; From the Creation to the New Jerusalem*. London, 1684.
- . *A Scripture-line of Time*. 1684. In *Works*: 1–202.



- . *The Thousand Years Kingdome, in its Full Scripture-State: answering Mr. Baxter's new treatise in opposition to it*. London, 1691.
- . *Works of Thomas Beverley*. London, 1687.
- Beza, Theodore. *Annotationes majores in Novum Domini Nostri Jesu Christi Testamentum*. Geneva, 1589.
- . *Novum Jesu Christi Domini nostri Testamentum latine jam olim a veteri interprete, nunc denuo a Theodoro Beza versum: cum ejusdem annotationibus, in quibus ratio interpretationis redditur*. Geneva, 1559.
- . *The New Testament of our Lord Jesus Christ: Translated out of Greek by Theodore Beza; with Brief Summaries and Expositions upon the Hard places by the said Author*. 2 vols. London, 1599.
- [LUT=] *Die Bibel nach der Übersetzung Martin Luthers. Bibeltext in der revidierten Fassung von 1984*. Translated into German by Martin Luther. Edited by the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Germany (EKD). Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2013.
- [Bible de Port-Royal=]. *La sainte Bible traduite en françois sur la Vulgate; avec de courtes notes pour l'intelligence de la lettre*. Translated into French by Louis-Isaac Lemaistre de Sacy. Paris, 1672–1693.
- The Bible in Aramaic. Based on Old Manuscripts and Pointed Texts*. Edited by A. Sperber. Vol. 4A. *The Hagiographia. Transition from Translation to Midrash*. Leiden: Brill, 1968.
- [BHS=] *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*. Edited by K. Elliger and W. Rudolph of the *Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft*. Fourth corrected edition. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1997.
- ♦ *Biblia latina cum glossa ordinaria*. Facsimile reprint of the *editio princeps* by Adolph Rusch of Strassburg, 1480/1481. Introduction by Karlfried Froehlich and Margaret T. Gibson. 4 vols. Turnhout: Brepols, 1992.
- Biblia Rabbinica* [=Mikraot Gedolot/Second Rabbinic Bible]. Edited by Jacob ben Hayim Ibn Adoniya. 4 vols. Venice: Daniel Bomberg, 1524–1525.
- ♦♦ *Biblia Sacra cum glossa ordinaria primum quidem a Strabo Fuldensi monacho Benedictino. Nunc vero novis patrum cum fraecorum tum latinorum explicationibus locupleta, et postilla Nicolai Lyrani Franciscani nec non additionibus Pauli Burgensis episcopi et Mathiae Thoringi replicis opera et sutio theologorum Duacensium diligentissime emendatis*. 7 vols. Douai, 1617.
- ♦ *Biblia Sacra, hebraice, chaldaice, graece, et latine. Philippi II. Reg. cathol. pietate, et studio ad sacrosanctae ecclesiae usum* [=Biblia Polyglotta Regia]. Edited by Benedictus Arias Montanus (Benito Arias Montano). 8 vols. First edition. Antwerp, 1569–1573. Revised edition. 2 vols. Heidelberg, 1599.
- ♦♦ [Biblia Polyglotta=] *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta. Complectentia textus originales, hebraicum, cum Pentateucho samaritano, chaldaicum, graecum, versionumque antiquarum, samaritanæ, graecæ LXXII interp., chaldaicæ, syriacæ, arabicæ, ethiopice, persicæ, Vulg. lat. Quicquid comparari poterat. Cum textuum, & versionum orientalium translationibus latinis*. 6 vols. Edited by Brian Walton. London, 1653–1657.
- ♦♦ [Biblia sacra=] *Testamenti Veteris Biblia sacra, sive libri canonici priscae Judaeorum ecclesiae a Deo traditi, latini recens ex hebraeo facti, brevibusque scholiis illustrati ab Immanuele Tremellio, & Francisco Junio*. Translated and Annotated by Immanuel Tremellius and Franciscus Junius. 1579. Geneva, 1630.
- [VUL=] *Biblia Sacra Iuxta Vulgatam Versionem*. Third edition. Edited by Rober Weber, et al. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1983.

*Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum et Antiquorum Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latine.* 8 vols. Paris, 1575.

Biondo, Flavio (Flavius Blondus). *Romæ Instauratæ Libri Tres.* 1482, Verona, 1510.

Birchensha, John. *The History of Divine Verities.* London, 1655.

- ♦ Bisterfeld, Johannes Heinrich. *De Uno Deo Patre, Filio, Spiritu Sanctu contra Jo. Crellium breviter defensum.* Leiden, 1639.
- ♦ Blackwall, Anthony. *The Sacred Classics Defended and Illustrated.* London, 1725.
- Blumberg, Christian Gotthelf. *Mystērion Coronæ Meretricis Babylonice Frontispicium, sive Exercitium Anti-Bossueticum: quô Mysteriorum Nomen in Corona Papali olim fuisse conspicuum ex Apoc. 17. 5. adversus Jacobum Benignum Bossuet Meldensem in Gallia Episcopum demonstratur.* Leipzig, 1694.
- ◆ Bochart, Samuel. *Geographia sacra. Cujus pars prior: Phaleg de dispersione gentium & terrarum divisione facta in ædificatione turris Babel; Pars posterior: Chanaan de Colonij & sermone Phœnicum.* 1646. Leiden, 1707.
- ◆ –. *Hierozoicon sive bipertitum opus de animalibus Sacrae Scripturae. Pars prior. De animalibus in genere. Et de quadrupedibus viviparis et oviparis. Pars posterior. De avibus, serpentibus, insectis, aquaticis, et fabulosis animalibus.* 2 vols. London, 1663.
- ♦ –. *Opera omnia. Hoc est Phaleg, Chanaan, et Hierozoicon.* Fourth edition. Leiden, 1707–1712.
- ♦ Böhme, Anton Wilhelm (Boehme, Boehm). *The Character of Love: Set forth in a Sermon preach'd at St. James's, in the Chappel of His Royal Highness Prince George of Denmark.* London, 1713.
- Boethius, Anicius Manlius Severinus. *The Theological Tractates.* With an English Translation by H. F. Stewart and E. K. Rand. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1962.
- Boheme, Mauritius (Bohemus). *A Christians Delight, or, Scripture Meditations.* London, 1654.
- Bossuet, Jacques-Bénigne. *L'Apocalypse avec une explication.* The Hague, 1690.
- Boxhorn, Marcus Zuerius. *Originum gallicorum Liber.* Amsterdam, 1654.
- Boyer, Pierre. *Abrégé de l'histoire des Vaudois.* The Hague, 1691.
- . *The History of the Vaudois. Wherein is shewn their original; how God has preserved the Christian religion among them in its purity, from the time of the Apostles to our days.* London, 1692.
- Boyle, Robert. *The Excellency of Theology compar'd with Natural Philosophy (as both are objects of men's study) / discours'd of in a letter to a friend by T. H. R. B. E.* London, 1674.
- . *Some Considerations about the Reconcilableness of Reason and Religion.* London, 1675.
- Bradbury, Thomas. *The primitive Tories, or, three Precedents, of Persecution, Rebellion, and Priestcraft, consider'd. In a Sermon preach'd November 5. 1717.* London, 1718.
- Bragge, Robert. *A Brief Essay concerning the Soul of Man. Shewing what, and how noble a Being it is.* London, 1725.
- Brenius, Daniel. *Tractatus de regno ecclesiae glorioso per Christum in terris erigendo.* Amsterdam, 1657.
- Brerewood, Edward. *Enquiries Touching the Diversity of Language and Religions.* London, 1614.
- Brès, Guido de. *Confessio Belgica.* Amsterdam, 1559.
- ◆ Brightman, Thomas. *Apocalypsis Apocalypseos. Id est, Apocalypsis D. Joannis analysi et scholiis illustrate.* London, 1609.
- . *A Revelation of the Revelation, that is the Revelation of St John Opened Clearly with a Logickall Resolution and Exposition.* 1611. London, 1615.

- Brisson, Barnabé (Barnabas Brissonius). *De formulis et sollempnibus populi Romani verbis*. Paris, 1583.
- Brochmand, Jesper Rasmussen. *Succincta sed solida causarum, quibus ... Christianus Wilhelmus, Marchio Brandenburgensis ... a Lutherana ecclesia defecit et se ecclesiae Pontificiae mancipavit, refutatio*. Copenhagen, 1634.
- Broughton, Hugh. *A revelation of the Holy Apocalyps*. London, 1610.
- ♦ Browne, Thomas. *Pseudodoxia epidemica: Or, Enquiries into very many received Tenents, and commonly presumed Truths [= Treatise on vulgar Errors]*. 1646. In *Works* I.
- . *The Works of the Learned Sr Thomas Browne, Kt. Doctor of Physick, late of Norwich. Containing I. Enquiries into vulgate and common Errors. II. Religio medici. With Annotations and Observations upon it. III. Hydriotaphia, or, Urn-Burial. Together with The Garden of Cyrus. IV. Certain Miscellany Tracts. With alphabetical Tables*. London, 1686.
- Brydges, Egerton. *Restituta; or, Titles, extracts, and characters of old books in English literature, revived*. London, 1814–1816.
- Bull, George. *Some important Points of primitive Christianity maintained*. 3 vols. London, 1714.
- Bullinger, Heinrich. *A Hundred Sermons Upon the Apocalypse of Iesu Christe reueiled in dede by thangel of the Lorde*. London, 1561.
- Burchard of Ursperg (Burchard of Biberach). *Chronicon Urspergensis*. In *Chronica et annales aevi Suevic*. Edited by G. H. Pertz. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, SS 23i. Hanover: Hahn, 1874. 1–1027.
- Burnet, Gilbert. *An Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England written by Gilbert Bishop of Sarum*. 1699. London, 1705.
- ♦ Burnet, Thomas. *The Sacred Theory of the Earth: Containing an Account of the Original of the Earth*. 2 vols. 1690. London, 1697.
- Burnet, William. *An Essay on Scripture-Prophecy, wherein it is endeavoured to explain the three Period contain'd in the XIIth Chapter of the Prophet Daniel. With some Arguments to make it possible, that the first of the Periods did expire in the Year 1715*. New York, 1724.
- Burroughs, Jeremiah. *Jeruselems Glory breaking forth into the World*. London, 1684.
- ♦ –. *Moses His Choice, With his Eye fixed upon Heaven*. London, 1650.
- Buxtorf, Johannes (the Younger). *Exercitationes ad historiam I. arcae foederis, II. ignis sacri et coelestis, III. Urim et Thummim, IV. Mannae, V. petrae in deserto, VI. serpentis aenei*. Basel, 1659.
- ♦♦ –. *Florilegium hebraicum: continens elegantes sententias, proverbia, apophthegmata, similitudines*. Basel, 1648.
- Buxtorf, Johannes (the Elder). Editor. *Biblia Sacra Hebraica & Chaldaica: cum Masora, quae critica Hebraeorum sacra est, magna & parva: ac selectissimis Hebraeorum interpretum cōmentariis*. 4 vols. Basel, 1618–1619.
- ♦♦ Buxtorf, Johannes (the Elder) and Buxtorf, Johannes (the Younger). *De Abbreviaturis Hebraicis liber novus & copiosus: Cui accesserunt operis Talmudici brevis recensio, cum ejusdem librorum & capitum indice. Item Bibliotheca Rabbinica nova, cum appendice, ordine alphabetico disposita*. Basel, 1613. Franeker, 1696.
- ♦♦ –. *Lexicon chaldaicum, talmudicum et rabbinicum, in quo omnes voces chaldaicae, talmudicae et rabbinicae, quotquot in universis Vet. Test. paraphrasisibus chaldaicis, in utroque Talmud, Babylonico & Hierosolymitano, in vulgaribus & secretioribus hebraeorum scriptoribus, commentatoribus, philosophis, theologis, cabalisticis & jureconsultis extant, fideliter explicantur*. 1621. Basel, 1639.
- . *Synagoga Judaica: das ist Jüden Schul*. Basel, 1603.

- Calamy, Edmund. *Thirteen Sermons concerning the Doctrine of the Trinity: preached at the Merchant's-Lecture, at Salter's-Hall*. London, 1722.
- Calmet, Augustin. *Antiquities sacred and profane: or, a Collection of Curious and Critical Dissertations on the Old and the New Testament*. London, 1724.
- . “Dissertation sur le Instruments de Musique des Hebreux.” In *Discours et dissertations sur tous les livres de l'Ancien Testament*. 3 vols. Paris, 1715.
- Calvin, John. *Ioannis Calvini opera quae supersunt omnia: Tractatus theologici minores*. CR 33. Braunschweig: Schwetschke, 1866.
- . *Commentary on the Catholic Epistles*. Translated by J. Owen. Edinburgh: Calvin Translation Society, 1855.
- ♦ –. *Opera omnia*. 9 vols. Amsterdam, 1667–1671.
- ♦ Camerarius, Philipp. *Operae Horarum Subcisivarum, Sive Meditationes Historicae: Continentes accuratum delectum memorabilium Historiarum, et rerum tam veterum, quam recentium singulari studio inuicem collatarum, quae omnia lectoribus et uberem admodum fructum, et liberalem pariter oblectationem affere poterunt*. 1591. Frankfurt am Main, 1609.
- Cameron, John. *Myrothecium evangelicum. Hoc est Novi Testamenti loca quamplurima ab eo, post aliorum labores, aptè & commodè vel illustrata, vel explicata, vel vindicate*. Geneva, 1632.
- Camfield, Benjamin. *A Theological Discourse of Angels: And Their Ministries. Wherein Their Existence, Nature, Number, Order and Offices, are Modestly Treated Of*. London, 1678.
- Campanella, Tommaso. *Atheismus triumphatus, seu reductio ad religionem per scientiarum veritates*. 1605–1607. Dubray, 1636.
- ♦ Cappel, Jacques (Jacobus Cappellus the Younger) and Jean Petit. *Theses theologicae, in quibus observationes in caput quintum Epistolae ad Hebraeos continentur*. Sedan, 1621.
- Cappel, Louis (Ludovicus Cappellus). *Ad novam Davidis lyram animadversiones*. Saumur, 1643.
- . *Chronologia sacra a condito mundo ad eundem reconditum per Dominum N. I. Christum, atque inde ad ultimam Iudaeorum per Romanos captivitatem deducta*. Paris, 1655.
- ♦ –. *Critica sacra, sive de variis, quae in sacris veteris testamenti libris occurrunt lectionibus libri VI*. Paris, 1650.
- . *Observationes in novum testamentum, exceptis actibus Apostolorum et Apocalypsi divi Joannis*. Amsterdam, 1657.
- ♦ Cartwright, Christopher. *Mellificium hebraicum seu observationes diversimodae ex Hebraeorum, praesertim antiquorum, monumentis desumptae, unde plurimi cum Veteri cum Novi Testamenti loci vel explicantur vel illustrantur*. First edition in *Critici Sacri, sive, Doctissimorum virorum in SS. Biblia annotationes & tractatus*. Edited by J. Pearson et al. Vol. 9. London 1660. Second edition in *Critici Sacri*. Vol. 8. Amsterdam, 1698.
- Cartwright, Thomas. *A plaine explanation of the whole Revelation of Saint John*. London, 1622.
- Cassiodorus, Flavius Magnus Aurelius. *The Letters of Cassiodorus Being a Condensed Translation of the Variae Epistolae of Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator*. With an Introduction by Thomas Hodgkin, London: Henry Frowde, 1886.
- . *Variarum libri duodecim*. [PL 69. 501–880].
- . *Variarum libri XII*. Edited by A. J. Fridh and J. W. Halporn. CCSL 96. Turnhout: Brepols, 1973.

- Cassius Dio (Lucius Cassius Dio Cocceianus). *Roman History*, Vol. V: Books 46–50. Translated by Earnest Cary, Herbert B. Foster. *LCL* 82. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1917.
- . *Roman History*. Vol. VIII: Books 61–70. Translated by Earnest Cary and Herbert B. Foster, *LCL* 176. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1925.
- Castellio, Sebastian (Sebastianus Castellionus). *Biblia Vet. et Nov. Test. ex versione Seb. Castalionis*. Basel, 1551.
- . *Sibyllinorum Oraculorum Libri VIII. Addita Sebastiani Castalionis interpretatione Latina quae Graeco eregionè respondeat*. Basel, 1555.
- ♦ Cave, William. *Primitive Christianity. Or The Religion of the Ancient Christians in the First Ages of the Gospel*. London, 1697.
- . *Scriptorum ecclesiasticorum historia litteraria a Christo nato usque ad saeculum XIV... digesta... Accedunt scriptores gentiles christianae religionis oppugnatores*. 2 vols. London, 1688.
- Chalkokondyles, Laonikos (Laonicus Chalcondylas). *De origine et rebus gestis Turcorum libri decem*. 1556. Paris, 1652.
- ♦ Chandler, Edward. *A Defense of Christianity from the Prophecies of the Old Testament wherein are considered all the Objections against this kind of Proof, advanced in a late Discourse of the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion*. London, 1725.
- Chrysostom, John (Joannes Chrysostomus). *Baptismal Instructions*. Edited by Johannes Quasten/Walter J. Burghardt, S.J. *ACW* 31. Mahwah: Paulist Press, 1993.
- . *Expositio in Psalmos* [PG 55. 35–582].
- . *Homiliae XLIV in Epistolam primam ad Corinthios*. [PG 61. 9–382].
- . *Homiliae XXXIV in Epistolam ad Hebraeos*. [PG 63. 9–236].
- . *Homiliae LXXXVIII in Joannem*. [PG 59. 23–482].
- . *Homiliae XC in Matthaeum*. [PG 57. 13–472, PG 58. 471–794].
- Chytraeus, David (Kochhaffe). *Explicatio apocalypsis Joannis perspicua et brevis*. Wittenberg, 1564.
- Cicero, Marcus Tullius. *De officiis libri tres: Cato Maior, vel De senectute. Laelius, vel De amicitia. Paradoxa stoicorum sex. Somnium Scipionis, ex libro sexto De republica*. Edited by P. Manuzio and G.M. Bruto. Frankfurt am Main, 1597.
- . *In Catilinam 1–4. Pro Murena. Pro Sulla. Pro Flacco*. Translated by C. MacDonald. *LCL* 324. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1976.
- . *On Old Age. On Friendship. On Divination*. Translated by W.A. Falconer. *LCL* 154. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1923.
- –. *Opera omnia. Cum Gruteri et selectis variorum notis & indicibus locupletissimis, accurate C. Schrevelio*. Amsterdam, 1661.
- ♦ –. *Operum omnium*. Vols. 1–3. Basel, 1521–1528.
- . *Pro Milone. In Pisonem. Pro Scauro. Pro Fonteio. Pro Rabirio Postumo. Pro Marcello. Pro Ligario. Pro Rege Deiotaro*. Translated by N.H. Watts. *LCL* 252. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1931.
- Cinnamus, Johannes. *Ioannu Kinnamu Basiliku Grammatiku Historiön Logoi*. Paris, 1670.
- Clarke, Samuel. *A generall Martyrologie... whereunto are added, the Lives of sundry modern Divines*. London, 1651.
- Claude, Jean. *Les oeuvres posthumes de Mr. Claude*. Amsterdam, 1689.
- Claudian (Claudius Claudianus). *On Stilicho's Consulship 2–3. Panegyric on the Sixth Consulship of Honorius. The Gothic War. Shorter Poems. Rape of Proserpina*. Translated by M. Platnauer. *LCL* 136. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1922.

- . *Panegyric on Probinus and Olybrius. Against Rufinus 1 and 2. War against Gildo. Against Eutropius 1 and 2. Fescennine Verses on the Marriage of Honorius. Epithalamium of Honorius and Maria. Panegyrics on the Third and Fourth Consulships of Honorius. Panegyric on the Consulship of Manlius. On Stilicho's Consulship 1.* Translated by M. Platnauer. LCL 135. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1922.
- Clement of Alexandria (Titus Flavius Clemens, Clemens Alexandrinus). *Cohortatio ad gentes* [=Protrepticus]. [PG 8. 49–246].
- . *Paedagogus*. [PG 8. 247–684].
- . *Paedagogus*. Edited by M. Marcovich and J. C. M. van Winden. *Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae* 61. Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2002.
- . *Propheticus und Paedagogus*. Edited by O. Stählin, L. Früchtel, and U. Treu. GCS 12. Third edition. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1972.
- . *Protrepticus*. Edited by M. Marcovich. *Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae* 34. Leiden/Boston: Brill, 1995.
- . *Stromata*. [PG 8. 685–1382, PG 9. 9–602].
- . *Stromata*. Vol. 2. *Books 1–6*. Edited by O. Stählin, L. Früchtel, et al. GCS 52. Third edition. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1960.
- . *Stromata*. Vol. 3. *Books 7–8. Excerpta ex Theodoto. Eclogae propheticae. Quis dives salvetur. Fragmente*. Edited by O. Stählin, L. Früchtel, et al. GCS 17. Second edition. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1970.
- . *The Stromata, or Miscellanies*. Translated by W. L. Alexander. Edited by A. Cleveland Coxe. ANF 2. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1994.
- Clement of Rome (Clemens Romanus). *Epistola ad Corinthios*. [PG 1. 199–328].
- Cocceius, Johannes (Johannes Koch). *Cogitationes de Apocalypsis S. Johannis theologi*. Leiden, 1665.
- . *Opera omnia theologica, exegetica, didactica, polemica, philologica*. First edition. 8 vols. Amsterdam, 1673–1675. Third edition. 10 vols. Amsterdam, 1701.
- The Codex of Justinian: A New Annotated Translation, with Parallel Latin and Greek Text*. Translation by Justice Fred H. Blume and Bruce W. Frier. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016.
- Codex Theodosianus cum perpetuis commentariis*. Edited by Jacques Godefroy. Leiden, 1665.
- Colbatch, John. *An Account of the Court of Portugal*. London, 1700.
- Columella, Lucius Junius Moderatus. *On Agriculture*. Vol. 2. Translated by E. S. Foster, Edward H. Heffner. LCL 407. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1954.
- Comenius, John Amos (Jan Amos Komenský). *Didactica magna*. Amsterdam, 1657.
- –. *Historia persecutionum Ecclesiae Bohemicae*. Leiden, 1648.
- . *Lux in tenebris*. Amsterdam, 1657.
- . *Orbis pictus*. Nuremberg, 1658.
- . *Zelo Sine scientiâ & charitate, Admonitio Fraternalis J. A. Comenii ad D. Samuelem Maresium: Pro minuendis odiis, & ampliandis favoribus*. Amsterdam, 1669.
- [Complutensian Polyglott=] *Biblia Polyglotta*. 6 vols. Edited by Francisco Ximénez (Jiménez) de Cisneros. Alcalá, 1514–1517.
- Conciliorum generalium Ecclesiae Catholicae tomus quartus Pauli V. Pont. Max. auctoritate editus*. 4 vols. Rome, 1612.
- Concilium Tridentinum: Diariorum, actorum, epistularum, tractatum nova collection*. Volume 7. Part 2. Issue 1. Edited by Theobald Freudenberger. Freiburg: Herder, 1976.

- [CCCM=] *Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Medievalis*. 316 vols. Turnhout: Brepols, 1966–.
- [CCSL=] *Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina*. 201 vols. Turnhout: Brepols, 1953–.
- [CSEL=] *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*. Edited by the Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. 95 vols. Vienna et al., 1866–.
- Cotelier, Jean-Baptiste (Johannes Baptista Cotelierius). *Ecclesiae graecae monumenta*. 3 vols. Paris, 1677–1686.
- Coton, Pierre. *Contredits au libelle diffamatoire intitule*. Paris, 1601.
- Cotton, John. *An Exposition upon the thirteenth chapter of the Revelation*. London, 1655.
- ♦ –. *A practical Commentary, or an Exposition with Observations, Reasons, and Uses upon the first Epistle generall of John*. London, 1656.
- . *The Churches Resurrection, or the Opening of the Fifth and Sixth Verses of the 20<sup>th</sup> Chapter of Revelation*. London, 1642.
- ♦ Crabbe, Pierre. *Concilia omnia, tam generalia quam particularia*. 2 vols. Cologne, 1538–67.
- Crell, Johannes (Crellius). *Ad librum Hugonis Grotii quem de satisfactione Christi*. Raków, 1623.
- . *De Deo et eius attributis*. Raków, 1630.
- . *A learned and exceeding well-complied Vindication of Liberty of Religion*. London, 1646.
- . *The two Books...touching on God the Father. Wherein many things also concerning the Nature of the Son of God, and the Holy Spirit are discoursed of*. London, 1665.
- . *Vindiciae de religionis libertate*. Raków, 1639.
- Cressener, Drue. *A Demonstration of the First Principles of the Protestant applications of the Apocalypse*. London, 1690.
- . *The Judgments of God upon the Roman-Catholick Church, from its first rigid Laws for universal Conformity to it, unto its last End*. London, 1689.
- ♦ *Critici Sacri, sive, Doctissimorum virorum in SS. Biblia annotationes & tractatus*. Edited by John Pearson, Anthony Scattergood, Francis Gouldman, and Richard Pearson. 9 vols. London, 1660. Amsterdam, 1698.
- ♦ Cross, Walter. *An Exposition of the second verse of the fourth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans*. London, 1694.
- ♦ –. *The Thagmical Art: or, the Art of expounding Scripture by the Points, usually called Accents, but are really tactical: A grammatical, logical, and rhetorical Instrument of Interpretation*. London, 1698.
- Crull, Jodocus. *A Continuation of Samuel Puffendorf's Introduction to the History of the Principal Kingdoms and States of Europe, Brought down to this present Year*. London, 1705.
- ♦ Culverwell, Nathanael. *An elegant and learned Discourse of the Light of Nature*. 2 vols. Oxford, 1652.
- Cumberland, Richard. *An essay towards the recovery of the Jewish measures & weights: comprehending their monies: by help of ancient standards, compared with ours of England. Useful also to state many of those of the Greeks and Romans, and the eastern nations*. London, 1686.
- ♦ Cunaeus, Petrus (Peter van der Kun). *De republica Hebraeorum libri tres. Hebraea & graeca omnia verbo tenus reddita latine sunt, aut, postquam relata abunde sententia eorum est, apponuntur, ut tardare haec res lectorem non possit*. 1617. Leiden, 1703.

- Cusa, Nicholas of (Cusanus). *Complete Philosophical and Theological Treatises of Nicholas of Cusa*. Translated by Jasper Hopkins. 2 vols. Minneapolis: The Arthur J. Banning Press, 2001.
- ♦ –. *Opera*. Basil, 1565.
  - C. W. (anonymous). *Common-Prayer-Book Devotions, episcopal Delusions; or, the second Death of the Service-Book*. London, 1666.
  - Cyprian of Carthage (Thascius Caecilius Cyprianus). *Ad Donatum. De mortalitate. Ad Demetrianum. De opere et eleemosynis. De zelo et livore. De dominica oratione. De bono patientiae*. Edited by M. Simonetti and C. Moerschini. CCSL 3A. Turnhout: Brepols, 1976.
  - . *Ad Quirinium. Ad Fortunatum. De lapsis. De ecclesiae catholicae unitate*. Edited by R. Weber and M. Bévenot. CCSL 3. Turnhout: Brepols, 1972.
  - . *De Unitate Ecclesiae*. [PL 4. 494–520].
  - . *De Unitate Ecclesiae*. Edited by Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson. ANF 5. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1995.
  - . *Epistola I–LXVIII*. [PL 4. 1–437].
  - . *Epistle to Jubaianus*. Edited by Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson. ANF 5. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1995.
  - . *Liber de Lapsis*. [PL 4. 463–94].
  - ♦ –. *Opera, recognita et illustrata a Joanne Felio. Editio tertia cui additae sunt dissertationes Cyprianicae Henrici Dodwelli*. Amsterdam, 1700.
  - Cyril of Alexandria (Cyrillus Alexandrinus). *Commentarius in Ioannis Evangelium*. [PG 74. 9–758].
  - . *De adoratione et cultu in Spiritu et veritate libri XVII*. [PG 68. 133–1126].
  - ♦ –. *Opera omnia*. Edited by J. Aubert. 6 vols. Paris, 1638.
  - Cyril of Jerusalem (Cyrillus Hierosolymitanus). *Catecheses*. [PG 33. 331–1059].
  - . *Mystagogiae*. In *Catéchèses mystagogiques. Introduction, texte critique et notes d'Auguste Piédagnel*. Translated by Pierre Paris. SC 126. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1966.
  - Dacier, Anne Le Fèvre. *Préface de l'Illiade*. In *Les œuvres d'Homère*. 7 vols. Paris, 1731.
  - Damascene, John (John of Damascus, Ioannes Damascenus). *De haeresibus*. [PG 94. 578–789].
  - . *Écrits sur l'Islam*. Edited by Raymond Le Coz. SC 383. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1992.
  - . *On Heresies*. Translated by Frederic H. Chase, Jr. FC 37. Washington, D. C.: Catholic U of America P, 2003.
  - Davenport, John. *Another Essay for Investigation of the Truth, in answer to two questions, concerning I. The subject of baptism. II. The consociation of churches*. Cambridge, 1663.
  - Decretum Gratiani*. [PL 187. 10–1870].
  - Decretum magistri Gratiani. Ed. Lipsiensis secunda post Aemilii Ludovici Richteri curas ad librorum manu scriptorum et editionis Romanae fidem recognovit et adnotatione critical instruxit Aemilius*. Leipzig: Friedberg, 1879.
  - . *Concordia discordantium canonum*. [PL 187. 29–1704].
  - De Dieu, Ludovicus. *Critica Sacra, sive Animadversiones in loca quaedam difficiliora Veteris et Novi Testamenti*. Amsterdam, 1693.
  - De Luzancy, Hippolyte du Chastelet. *A Treatise of the two Sacraments of the Gospel, Baptism, and the Lord's Supper*. London, 1701.
  - Demosthenes. *Demosthenis et Aeschinis principum Graeciae oratorum Opera*. Frankfurt, 1604.



- ◆◆ –. *Orationes Olynthiacæ et Philippicæ græce et latine simul editæ cum argumentis Libanij*. Basel, 1620.
- De Ribera, Francisco. *In sacram Beati Ioannis Apostoli, & Evangelistæ Apocalypsin Commentarii*. Lyon, 1591.
- D'Espagne, Jean. *New Observations upon the Creed, or, The first of the four Parts of the Doctrine of Christianity preached upon the Catechism of the French Churches*. London, 1647.
- Dieterich, Johann Conrad (Dietericus). *Antiquitates biblicæ*. 1641. Giessen, 1671.
- ◆ Diodorus Siculus (Diodorus of Sicily). *Bibliothecæ historicae libri quindecim de quadraginta*. Paris, 1559.
- –. *En damus Diodori Siculi historici graeci, quæ nunc quidem extare noscuntur opera nempe*. Basel, 1531.
- . *Library of History*, Vol. II: Books 2.35–4.58. Translated by C. H. Oldfather. *LCL* 303. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1935.
- Diogenes Laertius. *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*. 2 vols. Translated by R. D. Hicks. *LCL* 184/185. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1925.
- Dionysius the Carthusian (Dionysos Carthusianus). *Elucidatio V. P. D. Dionysii Cartusiani in Psalmos, Cantica et Hymnos, in Psalmos*. 2 vols. Monesterol, 1892.
- Dionysius Halicarnassus. *Roman Antiquities, Volume II: Books 3–4*. Translated by Earnest Cary. *LCL* 347. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1939.
- Documents of the Christian Church*. Edited by Henry Bettenson and Chris Maunder. 1943. Fourth edition. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2011.
- Dodwell, Henry. *Disserationes Cyprianicæ*. Oxford, 1684.
- . *Dissertationes in Irenaeum*. Oxford, 1689.
- Drusius, Johannes (Jan van den Driessche). *Observationum libri XII*. Antwerp, 1584.
- . *Annotationes in Coheleth*. Amsterdam, 1635.
- . *Adagia Hebraica*. London, 1660.
- Dunton, John. Editor. *A Supplement to the Athenian Oracle. Being a Collection of the remaining Questions and Answers in the old Athenian Mercuries. Intermixt with many Cases in Divinity, History, Philosophy, Mathematicks, Love, Poetry, never before publish'd. To which is prefix'd The History of the Athenian Society, and an Essay upon Learning. By a Member of the Athenian Society*. London, 1710.
- . Editor. *The Athenian Mercury*. London, 1691–1697.
- Du Pin, Louis Ellies. *A Compleat History of the Canon and Writers of the Books of the Old and New Testament*. London, 1699.
- Ebert, Theodor. *Electa hebraea septingenta quinquaginta, e libro rabbinico Mibhchar Happheninim*. Frankfurt an der Oder, 1630.
- Echard, Laurence. *The Roman history: from the building of the city, to the perfect settlement of the empire by Augustus Cæsar*. Seventh edition. London, 1713.
- Edwards, John. *A Discourse concerning the Authority, Stile, and Perfection of the Books of the Old and New Testament*. 3 vols. London, 1693–1695.
- . *An Enquiry into four remarkable Texts of the New Testament*. Cambridge, 1692.
- . *Exercitationes critical, philosophical, historical, theological on several important Places in the Writings of the Old and New Testament*. 2 parts. London, 1702.
- . *The Hearer*. In *The Preacher. The second Part* . . . London, 1706.
- . *The Preacher, A Discourse, Showing, what are the Particular Offices and Employments of Those of that Character in the Church*. 1702. 3 vols. London, 1705.

- ♦ –. *Theologia reformatata: Or, the Body and Substance of the Christian Religion, comprised in distinct Discourses or Treatises upon the Apostles Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments*. 2 vols. London, 1713.
- Elieser (Rabbi Eliezer ben Hyrcanus). *Pirke de-Rabbi Eliezer* [= *Pirke Rabbi Elieser*]. *Capitula R. Elieser. Continentia inprimis succinctam historiae sacrae recensionem circiter 3400 ann. sive a creatione usque ad Mardochei aetatem, cum veterum rabbinorum commentariis*. Translated from Hebrew into Latin by W.H. Vorst. Leiden, 1644.
- . *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer. The Chapters of Rabbi Eliezer the Great. According to the Text of the Manuscript belonging to Abraham Epstein of Vienna*. Translated and annotated by G. Friedlander. Second edition. New York: Hermon P, 1965.
- Elmacin, George (Georgius Elmacinus, Girgis Al-Makin, Ibn-Amid). *Historia Saracenica, qua res Gestae Muslimorum*. Leiden, 1625.
- Epictetus. *Discourses, Books 3–4. Fragments. The Encheiridion*. Translated by W.A. Oldfather. LCL 218. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1928.
- ♦ Epiphanius of Salamis (Epiphanius Constantiensis). *Ancoratus*. [PG 43. 11–236].
- ♦ –. *Ancoratus. Panarion haereses 1–80. De fide*. Edited by K. Holl. 3 vols. GCS 25/31/37. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1915–1933. Revised by J. Dummer. 2 vols. Leipzig, 1980–1985.
- . *Opera omnia*. Edited by D. Petavius (Petau). 2 vols. Paris, 1622.
- . *The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis. Book I (Sects 1–46)*. Translated by Frank Williams. Leiden/New York/Köln: Brill, 1997.
- . *Panarium, sive arcula adversus octoginta haereses*. [PG 41. 173–1199, PG 42. 11–832].
- ♦ Episcopus, Simon. *Institutiones theologicae in quatuor libros distinctae*. In *Opera theologica*. Amsterdam, 1650.
- Erasmus, Desiderius (Erasmus of Rotterdam). *Annotationes in Epistolam ad Romanos*. In *Opera Omnia Desiderii Erasmi*. Vol. VI.7. Edited by P.F. Hovingh. Leiden: Brill, 2011.
- . *Inquisitio de fide. A Colloquy by Desiderius Erasmus Rotterdam*. Edited by Craig R. Thompson. New Haven: Yale UP, 1950.
- . *Inquisitio in fide*. Rotterdam, 1524.
- . *In universas epistolas apostolorum ab ecclesia receptas*. Basel, 1522.
- . *Novum Instrumentum omne, diligenter ab Erasmo Rot. Recognitum et Emendatum*. 1516. Second edition. 1519. Third edition. 1522.
- . *Opera omnia*. 10 vols. Leiden, 1703–6.
- . *Prolegomena to the Adages*. In *Collected Works of Erasmus*. Vol. 30. Translated by John N. Grant. Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto P, 2017.
- Est, Willem Hessels van Est (Estius). *Commentariorum In Omnes Canonicas Apostolorum Epistolas*. Paris, 1666.
- –. *In omnes divi Pauli apostoli epistolas ... in quinque epistolas catholicas commentaria*. 2 vols. Douai, 1614–1616.
- Estienne, Robert (Étienne; Robertus Stephanus). *Novum testamentum ex bibliotheca regia, Ex officina Roberti Stephani typographi regia, typis regia*. 1550. Paris, 1566.
- [ESV=] *The Holy Bible. English Standard Version*. Wheaton, IL: Good News Publishers, 2001.
- Eusebius of Caesarea (Eusebius Pamphili). *Chronicon libri duo*. [PG 19. 90–600].
- . *Constantini Oratio ad Sanctorum Coetum*. [PG 20. 1285–90].
- . *De vita Constantini imperatoris libri quatuor*. [PG 20. 910–1233].
- . *Ecclesiastical History*. Translated by Kirsopp Lake. LCL 176. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1926.

- . *Ecclesiastical History*. Vol. I: Books 1–5. Translated by Korsopp Lake. *LCL* 153. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1926.
- . *Ecclesiastical History*. Vol. II: Books 6–10. Translated by J. E. L. Oulton. *LCL* 265. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1932.
- . *Eusebius: Church History, Life of Constantine, and Oration in Praise of Constantine*. Edited by Philip Schaff and Henry Wace. *NPNFii* 1. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1995.
- . *Eusebius Werke. Erster Band, erster Teil. Über das Leben des Kaisers Konstantin*. Ed. Friedhelm Winkelmann. *GCS* 6.1–2. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1975.
- ◆ –. *Historia ecclesiastica*. [PG 20. 9–908].
- . *Histoire ecclésiastique, Livres I–IV*. Edited by I. G. Bardy. *SC* 31. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1952.
- . *Praeparatio evangelica*. [PG 21. 21–1408].
- ◆ –. *Praeparatio evangelica*. Edited by F. Viger. Paris, 1628.
- . *Preparatio evangelica. La préparation évangélique*. Vol. 1. *Book 1*. Edited by É. des Places. Translated by O. Zink. *SC* 206. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1974.
- . *Preparatio evangelica. La préparation évangélique*. Vol. 3. *Books 4–5, 17*. Edited by É. des Places. Translated by O. Zink. *SC* 262. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1979.
- . *Preparatio evangelica. Preparation for the Gospel*. Edited and translated by E. H. Gifford. 5 vols. 1903. Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock Publ., 2002.
- . *Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi In Hieremiam prophetam libri sex. Recensvit Sigofredus Reiter*. *CSEL* 59. Vindobonae/Lipsiae: Tempsky/Freytag, 1913.
- . *Vita Constantini*. [PG 20. 910–1234].
- . *Werke*. Vol. 4. *Contra Marcellum. De ecclesiastica theologia*. Edited by E. Klostermann. *GCS* 14. Third edition. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1972.
- . *Werke*. Vol. 6. *Demonstratio evangelica*. Edited by I. A. Heikel. *GCS* 23. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1913.
- Eutropius (Flavius). *Abridgement of Roman History*. Translated by John S. Watson. London, 1853.
- Excerpta de Legationibus: ex Dexippo Atheniense, Eunapio Sardiano, Petro Patricio et Magistro*. Paris, 1609.
- Fabricius, Johann Albert. *Codex pseudepigraphus Veteris Testamenti*. Hamburg, 1713.
- Favorino, Varino. *Etymologicum magnum, sive thesaurus universae linguae Graecae ex multis variisque autoribus collectus*. Venice, 1523.
- [FC=] *The Fathers of the Church. A New Translation*. Founded by L. Schopp. 127 vols. Washington, D. C.: Catholic University of America P, 1947–.
- Ferguson, Robert. *A sober Enquiry into the Nature, Measure and Principle of moral Virtue*. London, 1673.
- Fevardentius, Francis (Francois Fuardent). Editor. *Sancti Irenaei Lugdunensis episcopi adversus . . . haereses libri quinque*. Paris, 1576.
- Flavel, John. *Planetologia, a succinct and seasonable discourse of the occasions, causes, nature, rise, growth, and remedies of mental errors*. London, 1691.
- Fleming, Robert. *Apocalyptical Key: An Extraordinary Discourse on the Rise and Fall of Papacy*. In *Discourses on Several Subjects*. London, 1793.
- . *Christology: A Discourse Concerning Christ Consider'd*. 2 vols. London, 1705.
- . *Discourses on Several Subjects*. 1701. London, 1793.
- Florentinus, Antoninus (Antonius of Florence). *Chronicon partibus tribus distincta ab initio mundi ad MCCCCLX*. 1477. Lyon, 1586.

- Forbes, Patrick. *An Learned Commentarie Upon the Revelation of Saint Iohn: Wherein Both the Course of the Whole Booke, as Also the More Abstruse and Hard Places Thereof, are More Cleerly and Evidently Explained Then Heretofore They Have Bene. Newly Corrected, and the Defectes and Errors of the First Edition, Supplied & Amended.* 1613. London, 1614.
- ♦ Francke, August Hermann. *Manuductio ad lectionem scripturae sacrae Augusti Hermanni Franckii, S. Th. Prof. Hallens: cum nova prefatione, de impedimentis studii theologici.* London, 1706.
  - ♦ –. *Programmata diversis temporibus in Academia Hallensi publice proposita.* Halle an der Saale, 1714.
  - . *Schriften zur biblischen Hermeneutik I.* Edited by Erhard Peschke. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2003.
  - Freher, Marquard. *De Imperio Romano, regis et Augusti creatione, inauguratione, administratione: officio & potestate electorum, aliisque Imperii partibus, juribus, ritibus & ceremoniis.* Strasbourg, 1612.
  - Fuller, Thomas. “The Second Reconciler.” In *A Triple Reconciler, Stating the Controversies Whether Ministers have an Exclusive Power of Communicants from the Sacrament. Any Persons Unordained may lawfully Preach. The Lords Prayer ought not to be used by all Christians.* London, 1654.
  - Gabriol, Solomon ben Yehuda Ibn (Avicbron, Avencebrol). *Electa hebraea septingenta quinquaginta, e libro rabbinico Mibhchar Happheninim.* Edited by Theodor Ebert. Frankfurt an der Oder, 1630.
  - . *Mukhtar al-Jawahir.* Soncino, 1484.
  - . *Solomon Ibn Gabirol’s Choice of Pearls.* Translated by Abraham Cohen. New York, 1925.
  - Garrett, Walter. *A Discourse Concerning Antichrist. ... Shewing, that the Church of Rome is that woman mentioned Rev. xvii. 3. and the bishops of Rome that eighth King spoken of v. II. who is usually known by the name of Antichrist.* London, 1680.
  - Gataker, Thomas. *Adversaria miscellanea, in qibus Sacrae Scripturae primo, deinde aliorum Scriptorum locis aliquam multis lux redditur.* Edited by Thomas Gataker Jr. London, 1659.
  - . *Opera critica.* 2 vols. London, 1698.
  - Gell, Robert. *An Essay toward the Amendment of the last English-Translation of the Bible.* London, 1659.
  - Gellius, Aulus. *Attic Nights, Volume I: Books 1–5.* Translated by J. C. Rolfe. LCL 195. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1927
  - ♦ Génébrard, Gilbert. *Chronographiae libri quatuor. Priores duo sunt de rebus veteris populi, & praecipuis quatuor millium annorum gestis.* Paris, 1585.
  - Gennadius Massiliensis. *Liber de Scriptoribus ecclesiasticis.* [PL 58. 1053–1120].
  - Geörgarinēs, Iōsēph. *A description of the present state of Samos, Nicaria, Patmos, and Mount Athos.* Translated by Henry Denton. London, 1678.
  - Giovio, Paolo (Paulus Jovius). *Historiarum sui temporis: tomus primus.* Strasbourg, 1556.
  - Gomarus, Franciscus. *Davidis lyra: seu nova Hebraea S. scripturae ars poetica: cum selectorum poematum analyt poetica.* Leiden, 1637.
  - ♦ Goodwin, Thomas (Godwin, 1586/7–1642). *Moses and Aaron: Civil and ecclesiastical Rites, used by the ancient Hebrews; observed, and at large opened, for the Clearing of many obscure Texts thorowout the whole Scripture. Herein likewise is shewed what Customes the Hebrewes borrowed from Heathen People. And that many Heathenish Customes, originally have bene unwarrantable Imitations of the Hebrewes.* 1625. London, 1634.

- . *Moses et Aaron, seu civiles & ecclesiastici ritus antiquorum Hebræorum ... nunc autem cum versione latina adjectæ sunt perpetuæ notæ, emendata sphalmata, punctatæque, ad faciliorem lectionem, hebrææ ac rabbinicæ voces a Joh. Henrico Reizio .... Cui accesserunt Hermannii Witsii dissertationes duæ, de theocratia Israelitarum et de Rechabitis*. Edited and translated into Latin by J. H. Reitz. Third edition. Utrecht, 1690.
- ◆ Goodwin, Thomas (1600–1680). *Christ the Mediator*. London, 1692. In Goodwin, *Works*, vol. 5.
- ◆ –. *A Discourse of the Blessed State of Glory which the Saints Possess after Death*. In *Works*, 7:339–471.
- ◆ –. *An Exposition of the Book of Revelation*. In *Works*, 3:1–225.
- ◆ –. *The Works of Thomas Goodwin D.D.* 6 vols. 1681–1704. 12 vols. Edited by John C. Miller. Edinburgh: James Nichol. 1860–1866.
- Gouge, William. *A Commentary on the Whole Epistle to the Hebrews*. 1655. 3 vols. Edinburgh: James Nichol, 1866.
- Grabe, John Ernest. *Dissertatio de variis vitiis LXX interpretum versioni*. Oxford, 1710.
- . *Septuaginta interpretum*. 4 vols. Oxford, 1707–1720.
- ◆ –. *Spicilegium patrum et hæreticorum sæculi post Christum natum I, II & III*. 2 vols. Oxford, 1698–1699.
- Graserus, Cunradus (the Younger). *Isagoge prophetica et historica pars prima, quæ vocatur prophetica*. Thorn, 1623.
- Gregory, John. *Gregorii opuscula, or, Notes and Observations upon some Passages of Scripture*. Edited by J. Gurgany. Second edition. Oxford, 1646.
- . *The Works of the Reverend and Learned Mr. John Gregory, ... in two Parts: the first containing Notes and Observations upon severall Passages in Scripture: the second his Posthuma, being divers learned Tracts upon various Subjects*. London, 1665.
- Gregory the Great (Gregory I, Gregorius Magnus). *The Book of Pastoral Rule and Selected Epistles*. Translated by J. Barmby. *NPNFii* 12. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1989.
- . *Epistolæ*. [PL 77. 451–1326].
- . *Expositio Veteris ac Novi Testamenti*. [PL 79. 684–1424].
- . *La Règle pastorale: Tome I*. Edited by I. B. Judic, F. Rommel, C. Morel. *SC* 381. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1992.
- . *La Règle pastorale: Tome II*. Edited by B. Judic, F. Rommel. *SC* 382. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1992.
- . *Moralia in Iob. Libri I–X*. Edited by M. Adriaen. [PL 75. 527–952]. *CCSL* 143. Turnhout: Brepols, 1979.
- . *Moralia in Iob. Libri XI–XXII*. Edited by M. Adriaen. [PL 75. 953–1162, PL 76. 9–250]. *CCSL* 143A. Turnhout: Brepols, 1979.
- . *Moralia in Iob. Libri XXIII–XXXV*. Edited by M. Adriaen. [PL 76. 250–750]. *CCSL* 143B. Turnhout: Brepols, 1985.
- . *Moralium libri XXXV sive exposito in librum beati Job*. [PL 76. 750–786].
- . *Morals on the Book of Job*. Translated by J. Bliss. 3 vols. *A Library of Fathers of the Holy Catholic Church* 18–31. London/Oxford: Parker, 1844–1850.
- . *Pastoral Care*. Translated and annotated by H. Davis. *ACW* 11. Westminster, MD.: Newman P, 1950.
- . *Registri Epistolarum*. [PL 77. 448–450].
- . *Regula pastoralis. La règle pastorale*. Edited by M. B. Judic and F. Rommel. Translated by C. Morel. 2 vols. *SC* 381/382. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1992.

- . *Regula pastoralis liber, ad Joannem Episcopum civitati Ravennae*. [PL 77. 13–128].
- ♦ Gregory of Nazianzus (Gregorius Nazianzenus). *Opera*. 2 vols. Edited by F. Morel, J. de Billy, et al. Paris, 1630.
  - . *Orationes*. [PG 35. 395–1252, PG 36. 9–664].
  - . *Orationes. Discours 38–41*. Edited by C. Moreschini. Translated by P. Gallay. *Sources chrétiennes* 358. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1990.
  - . *Orations*. In *Cyril of Jerusalem, Gregory Nazianzen*. Edited by P. Schaff. Translated and introduced by E. H. Gifford. *NPNFii* 7. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1995.
- Gregory of Nyssa. *De Vita B. Gregorii Thaumaturgi* [PG 46. 893–958].
  - . *On the Baptism of Christ*. In *NPNFii* 5: 514–520.
  - . *On the Soul and the Resurrection*. In *NPNFii* 5: 427–467.
- ♦ *Opera*. 3 vols. Paris, 1638.
  - . [GNO=] *Gregorii Nysseni Opera*. Founded by W. Jaeger and H. Langerbeck. 10 vols. Berlin: Weidmann, 1921–1925. Reprint. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1960–.
- ♦ Grelotus, Antonius. *Prodromus In D. Joannis Apocalypsin: In quo hactenus minus bene intellecte explicantur, dum Opus integrum paratur*. Leiden, 1675.
- ♦ Grew, Nehemiah. *Cosmologia sacra: Or a Discourse of the Universe as it is the Creature and Kingdom of God. Chiefly written, to demonstrate the Truth and Excellency of the Bible; which contains the Laus of his Kingdom in this Lower World*. London, 1701.
  - [GCS=] *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte*. Founded by A. Harnack, T. Mommsen, et al. 75 volumes. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1891–2010.
- ♦ Grotius, Hugo (Hugo/Huig de Groot). *Annotationes in Novum Testamentum*. 1641–1650. In *Opera omnia theologica*. Vol. 2.
  - . *Opera omnia theologica, in tres tomos divisa. Ante quidem per partes, nunc autem conjunctim & accuratius edita. Quid porro huic editioni prae caeteris accesserit, praefatio ad lectorem docebit*. 3 vols. London, 1679.
- ♦ Guyse, John. *Jesus Christ God-Man, or, the Constitution of Christ's Person, with the Evidence and Importance of the Doctrine of his true and proper Godhead*. London 1719.
- Hales, John. *A Tract concerning the Sin against the Holy Ghost*. 1646. In *Several Tracts by the Ever-memorable Mr. John Hales*. London, 1721.
- –. *Tract concerning Schisme and Schismatics*. 1636. In *Several Tracts by the Ever-memorable Mr. John Hales*. 1677. London, 1721.
- ♦ Hammond, Henry. *A Paraphrase and Annotations upon all the Books of the New Testament. Briefly explaining all the difficult Places thereof*. 1653. 4 vols. Oxford, 1845.
- Hanneman, Johann Ludwig. *MYSTERIUM Papali Coronae ascriptum non-ens; seu, commentarius in caput XVII. Apocalypseos. v. 5. quo demonstratur, Papali Coronae MYSTERIUM nunquam fuisse inscriptum*. Hamburg, 1698.
- Hardy, Nathaniel. *The first General Epistle of St. John the Apostle, unfolded and applied*. 1659. Edinburgh: James Nichol, 1865.
- Harris, Robert. *Navigantium atque itinerantium bibliotheca, or, A compleat collection of voyages and travels consisting of above four hundred of the most authentick writers, beginning with Hackluit ... and continued with others of note ... relating to any part of Asia, Africa, America, Europe or the islands thereof, to this present time*. 2 vols. London, 1705.
- Heidegger, Johann Heinrich. *Rashe 'avot, sive de historia sacra patriarcharum exercitationes selectae*. 2 vols. Amsterdam, 1667–1671.
- ♦ Heinsius, Daniel (Daniel Heins). *Sacrae exercitationes ad Novum Testamentum*. Leiden, 1639.

- Heliodorus of Emesa. *The Aethiopica: Literally and completely translated from the Greek, with Introduction and Notes*. Athens, 1897.
- Helmont, Johan Baptista van. *Ortus Medicinae, id est, initia physicae inaudita Progressus medicinae novus, in morborum ultionem, ad vitam longam*. Amsterdam, 1648.
- Henry, Matthew. *Popery a Spiritual Tyranny*. London, 1712.
- ◆ Herle, Charles. *Wisdom's Tripos, Or rather its Inscription, Detur Sapienti*. London, 1670.
- Herodian (Herodianus). *History of the Empire*. Translated C.R. Whitaker. LCL 454. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1969.
- Herodotus. [*Historiae*=] *The Persian Wars*. Vol. 1. *Books 1–2*. Translated by A. D. Godley. LCL 117. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 2004.
- . [*Historiae*=] *The Persian Wars*. Vol. 2. *Books 3–4*. Translated by A. D. Godley. LCL 118. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1921.
- . [*Historiae*=] *The Persian Wars*. Vol. 3. *Books 5–7*. Translated by A. D. Godley. LCL 119. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1922.
- ◆◆ –. *Historie libri IX, & de vita Homeri libellus*. Edited by H. Estienne. Translated by L. Valla, and C. Heresbach. Frankfurt am Main, 1595.
- Hesiod (Hesiodus). *Theogony. Works and Days. Testimonia*. Edited and translated by G. W. Most. LCL 57. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 2006.
- Heylin, Peter (Heylyn). *Cosmographie in four bookes: containing the chorographie and historie of the whole world, and all the principall kingdomes, provinces, seas and isles thereof*. London, 1652.
- Hickes, George. *An Apologetical Vindication of the Church of England*. London, 1706.
- . *The Constitution of the Catholick Church and the Nature and Consequences of Schism*. London, 1716.
- . *The Spirit of Enthusiasm exorcised. ... With two Discourses Occasioned by the New Prophets Pretensions to Inspiration and Miracles. The first: The History of Montanism, by a Lay-Gentleman. The other: The New Pretenders to Prophecy examined. By N. Spinckes, a Presbyter of the Church of England*. Fourth edition. London, 1709.
- . *Two Treatises, one Of the Christian Priesthood and the other Of the Dignity of the Episcopal Order*. London, 1707.
- Hilton, Walter. *The Scale (or Ladder) of Perfection*. London, 1659.
- Historia Augusta*. Volume 1. *Hadrian. Aelius. Antoninus Pius. Marcus Aurelius. L. Verus. Avidius Cassius. Commodus. Pertinax. Didius Julianus. Septimius Severus. Pescennius Niger. Clodius Albinus*. Translated by David Magie. LCL 139. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1921.
- . Vol. 2. *Caracalla. Geta. Opellius Macrinus. Diadumenianus. Elagabalus. Severus Alexander. The Two Maximini. The Three Gordians. Maximus and Balbinus*. Translated by David Magie. LCL 140. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1924.
- . Vol. 3. *The Two Valerians. The Two Gallieni. The Thirty Pretenders. The Deified Claudius. The Deified Aurelian. Tacitus. Probus. Firmus, Saturninus, Proculus and Bonosus. Carus, Carinus and Numerian*. Translated by David Magie. LCL 263. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1932.
- Holy Bible: From the Ancient Eastern Text: George M. Lamsa's Translations from the Aramaic of the Peshitta*. Translated by George M. Lamsa. San Francisco: HarperOne, 1985.
- Holstein, Lucas. *Passio Sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis*. Paris, 1664.
- Homer. *Iliad*. Volume I: Books 1–12. Translated by A. T. Murray. LCL 170, 171. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1924.

- . *Odyssey*. Translated by A. T. Murray, Revised by George E. Dimock. *LCL* 104, 105. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1919.
- ♦ Homes, Nathanael. *Apokalypsis anastaseos: The Resurrection revealed, or, The Dawnings of the Day-Star. About to rise and radiate a visible incomparable Glory far beyond any since the Creation upon the universal Church on Earth for a thousand Yeers yet to come, before the ultimate Day of general Judgement to the Raising of the Jewes, . . .* London, 1653.
- Hooke, John. *Catholicism without Popery: An Essay to Render the Church of England a Means and a Pattern of Union to the Christian World*. London, 1699.
- Hooke, William. *A Discourse Concerning the Witnesses*. London, 1681.
- Horace (Quintus Horatius Flaccus). *Satires. Epistles. The Art of Poetry*. Translated by H. R. Fairclough. *LCL* 194. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1926.
- . *Odes and Epodes*. Translated by Niall Rudd. *LCL* 33. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 2004.
- Hottinger, Johann Heinrich. *Dissertatio continens historiae reformationis ecclesiasticae partem I*. Zurich, 1648.
- ♦ –. *Historia Orientalis: Quae, Ex Variis Orientalium Monumentis Collecta*. Zurich, 1650.
- ♦ –. *Juris hebraeorum: Leges CCLXI*. Zurich, 1655.
- Howe, John. *The Blessedness of the Righteous*. London, 1668.
- . *A Discourse concerning the Redeemer's Dominion over the Invisible World*. London, 1699.
- ♦ –. *The Works of John Howe*. Vol. 1. London: The Religious Tract Society, 1862.
- Howel, Laurence. *A Compleat History of the Holy Bible*. Second edition. 3 vols. London, 1716.
- Huetius, Petrus Daniel (Pierre Daniel Huet). *Demonstratio Evangelica ad serenissimum Delphinum*. 1679. Frankfurt am Main, 1722.
- Hugh of Flavigny (Hugo Flaviniacensis). *Chronicon*. [PL 154. 17–432].
- Hulsius, Antonius (Anton Hüls). *Riv Yahwe 'im Yehuda sive Theologiae Iudaicae pars prima de Messia, eaque kataskeuastik doctrinae Judaeorum, ex verbo Dei confutatae. Additio breviario locorum Scripturae, quae a vanis Rabbīnorum glossematis repurgata, veritati restituantur*. Breda, 1653.
- Hussey, Joseph. *The Glory of Christ Unveil'd*. London, 1706.
- Hutchinson, Samuel. *Declaration of a Future Glorious Estate of a Church to be here upon Earth*. London, 1667.
- Hyde, Thomas. *Historia religionis veterum Persarum, eorumque Magorum*. Oxford, 1700.
- Hymns and Spiritual Songs of the Old and New Testaments: Faithfully Translated into English Metre*. 10th edition. Boston, 1702.
- Iamblichus. *On the Pythagorean Way of Life*. Translated by J. Dillon and J. Hershbēll. Atlanta, GA: Scholars P, 1991.
- Ibn-Sirin, Muhammed. *Apomasaris Apotelesmata, sive de significatis et eventis insomniorum*. Frankfurt, 1577.
- Idrisi, Ash-Sharif al. *Kitab nuzhat al-mushtaq fi ikhtirāq al-afaq*. Rome, 1592.
- (Pseudo-)Ignatius of Antiochia (Ignatius Theophorus). *Polycarpi et Ignatii Epistolae, una cum vetere vulgata interpretatione Latina, ex trium manuscriptorum codicum collatione integritati suae restituta. Accessit & Ignatianarum epistolarum versio antiqua alia, ex duobus manuscriptis in Anglia repertis*. Edited by James Ussher. London, 1644.
- ♦ –. *Letters*. Edited and translated by Bart D. Ehrman. *LCL* 24. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 2003.
- . *Letter to the Trallians*. In *The Apostolic Fathers, Justin Martyr, Irenaeus*. Edited by A. Roberts, J. Donaldson, and A. C. Coxe. *ANF* 1. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1995.



- . *S. Ignatii epistolae interpolatae, Epistola ad Trallianos*. [PG 5. 674–873].
- Irenaeus of Lyon (Irenaeus Lugdunensis). *Adversus haereses*. [PG 7. 437–1224].
- . *Adversus haereses. Contre les hérésies. Book 2*. Edited by A. Rousseau et al. 2 vols. SC 293/294. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1982.
- ♦ –. *Adversus haereses. Contre les hérésies. Book 5*. Edited by A. Rousseau et al. 2 vols. SC 152/153. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1969.
- . *Against Heresies*. In *The Apostolic Fathers, Justin Martyr, Irenaeus*. Edited by A. Roberts, J. Donaldson, and A. C. Coxe. ANF 1. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1995.
- . *Contra Haereses*. [PG 7. 1263–1320].
- . *Contre les hérésies, Livre IV: Tome I*. Edited by A. Rousseau, B. Hemmerdinger, C. Mercier, L. Doutreleau. SC 100. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1965.
- ♦ –. *Contra omnes haereses libri quinque. Textus graeci partem haud exiguum restituit. latinam versionem antiquissimam e quatuor MSS codicibus emendavit. Fragmenta aliorum tractuum deperditorum subjunxit. Omnia notis variorum, et suis illustravit Joannes Ernestus Grabe*. Oxford, 1702.
- –. *Opus adversus haereses, in quinque libros digestum, in quibus mire reteggit et confutat veterum haerenseon impias portentosas opiniones, ex vetustissimorum codicum collatione quantum licuit Des. Erasmi Roterdami opera emendatum*. Paris, 1563.
- Isidore of Seville (Isidorus Hispalensis). *Etymologiae*. [PL 82. 9–728].
- . *Isidore of Seville's Etymologies: Complete English Translation of Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Etymologiarum sive Originum Libre XX*. vol. 2. Translated by Priscilla Throop. Charlotte, VT: MedievalMS, 2005.
- . *Sententiae*. Edited by P. Cazier. CCSL 111. Turnhout: Brepols, 1998.
- . *Sententiarum libri tres*. [PL 83. 537–737].
- Pseudo-Isidore. *Collectio Decretalium*. [PL 130. 2–1177].
- Isma'il (Sultan of Morocco). *The King of Morocco's Letter by his Ambassador to the King of England*. London, 1682.
- Ivo of Chartres (Ivo Carnutensis). *Decretum*. [PL 161. 9–1036].
- . *Panormia, De continentia ordinandorum*. [PL 161. 1037–2428].
- ♦ Jenkin, Robert. *The Reasonableness and Certainty of the Christian Religion*. 2 vols. London, 1696–1697. Fourth edition. London, 1715.
- . *Remarks on some Books lately publish'd; viz. Basnage's "History of the Jews," Whiston's "Eight Sermons, Lock's Paraphrase and Notes on St. Paul's Epistles, Le Clerc's "Bibliothèque Choisie."* London, 1709.
- Jenkyn, William. *An Exposition Upon the Epistle of Jude: Delivered in Christ-Church*. London, 1653.
- Jerome (Eusebius Hieronymus Stridonensis). *Against Vigilantius*. [PL 23. 338–352].
- . *Altercatio Luciferiani et Orthodoxi*. Edited by A. Canellis. CCSL 79B. Turnhout: Brepols, 2000.
- . *Chronicon or Temporum liber*. [PL 27. 9–508].
- . *Commentaria in Isaia prophetam*. [PL 24. 17–705].
- . *Commentaria in Michaeam*. [PL 25. 1151–1231].
- . *Commentarii in Epistolam ad Ephesios*. [PL 26. 439–555].
- . *Commentarii in Epistolam ad Titum*. [PL 26. 555–599].
- . *Commentarii in epistulas Pauli apostoli ad Titum et ad Philemonem*. Edited by F. Bucchi. CCSL 77C. Turnhout: Brepols, 2003.
- . *Commentarii in Evangelium Matthaei*. [PL 26. 15–219].

- . *Commentarii in prophetas minores*. Edited by M. Adriaen. CCSL 76. Turnhout: Brepols, 1969.
- . *Commentarioli in Psalmos / Hieronymi, qui deperditi hactenus putabantur; edidit, commentario critico instruxit, prolegomena et indices adjecit*. Edited by Germanus Morin. 1895.
- . *Commentariorum in Daniele*. [PL 25. 491–584].
- . *Commentariorum in Daniele libri III*. Edited by F. Glorie. CCSL 75A. Turnhout: Brepols, 1964.
- . *Commentariorum in Esaiam libri I–XI*. Edited by M. Adriaen. CCSL 73. Turnhout: Brepols, 1963.
- . *Commentariorum in Esaiam libri XII–XVIII*. In *Esaiam parvula abbreviatio*. Edited by M. Adriaen and G. Morin. CCSL 73A. Turnhout: Brepols, 1963.
- . *Commentariorum in Jeremiam prophetam libri VI*. [PL 24. 679–900].
- . *Commentariorum in Jeremiam prophetam libri VI*. Edited by Sigofredus Reiter. CSEL 59. Vindobonae/Lipsiae: Tempsky/Freytag, 1913.
- . *Commentariorum in Matheum libri IV*. Edited by D. Hurst, M. Adriaen. CCSL 77. Turnhout: Brepols, 1969.
- . *Commentariorum at Zechariam*. [PL 25. 13–491].
- . *Contra Jovinianus*. [PG 23. 211–338].
- . *Dialogus contra Luciferianos*. [PL 23. 135–83].
- . *Epistolae*. [PL 22. 325–1224].
- . *Epistolae*. 3 vols. Edited by I. Hilberg. CSEL 54/55/56. Vienna: Tempsky, 1910/1918. Editio altera supplementis aucta. 1996.
- . *In Hieremiam libri VI*. Edited by S. Reiter. CCSL 74. Turnhout: Brepols, 1960.
- . *Jerome: Letters and Select Works*. Edited by Philip Schaff and Henry Wace. NPNFii 6. Peabody, MA: Henrickson Publishers, 1995.
- . *Liber de viris illustribus*. [PL 23. 634–760]. Edited by Claudia Barthold. Fohren-Linden: Carthusianus Verlag, 2010.
- . *The Life of Malchus*. In *Jerome: Letters and Select Works*. Edited by Philip Schaff and Henry Wace. NPNFii 6. Peabody, MA: Henrickson Publishers, 1995.
- . *On the Promises*. In *Theodoret, Jerome, Gennadius, Rufinus: Historical Writings, Etc.* Edited by Philip Schaff and Henry Wace. NPNFii 3. Peabody, MA: Henrickson Publishers, 1995.
- ♦ –. *Opera omnia, quae extant. Mariani Victorii Reatini labore et studio ad fidem m. s. & vetust. exemplarium emendata, argumentis & scholiis illustrata*. 9 vols. Cologne, 1616.
- . *Praefatio in Chronic. Eusebius*. [PL 27. 9–682].
- . *Prolegomenon IV. De Titulis*. [PL 28. 102–136].
- . *S. Hieronymi Presbyteri Opera. Opera exegetica. Commentarii in Prophetas Minores*. Edited by M. Adriaen. Turnholt: Brepols, 1970.
- . *Translatio Homiliarum Origines In Visiones Isaiae*. [PL 24. 335–336].
- . *Vitæ S. Pauli, S. Hilarionis et Malchi*. [PL 23. 13–61].
- (Pseudo) Jerome. *Breviarium in Psalmos*. [PL 26. 821–1278].
- . *Hebraicae quaestiones in libros Regum et Paralipomer*. [PL 23. 1329–1401].
- Johnston, John. *Thaumatographia Naturalis: in decem Classes distincta, in quibus Admiranda*. Amsterdam, 1632.
- ♦ Jones, Jeremiah. *A new and full Method of Settling the canonical Authority of the New Testament*. 1726–1727. 3 vols. Oxford, 1798.

- Jordanus, Raymundus. *Contemplationes Idiotae de amore diuino, de Virgine Maria, de vera patientia, de continuo conflictu carnis et animae, de innocentia perdita, de morte*. Paris, 1519.
- ♦ Josephus (Titus Flavius Josephus). *Jewish Antiquities*. 9 vols. Translated by H. S. J. Thackeray, R. Marcus, et. al. LCL 242–490. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1930–1965.
  - ♦ –. *The Jewish War*. 3 vols. Translated by H. S. J. Thackeray. LCL 203/487/210. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1927–1928.
  - . *The Life. Against Apion*. Translated by H. St. J. Thackeray. LCL 186. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1926.
  - Junius, Franciscus (the Elder). *Apocalypsis S. Ioannis apostoli et evangelistae, methodica analysi argumentorum, notisque breuibus ad rerum intelligentiam*. Heidelberg, 1591.
  - . *The Apocalyps, or Revelation of S. John the Apostle and Evangelist of our Lord Jesus Christ*. Cambridge, 1596.
  - . *Notae in Apocalypsim*. Geneva, 1589.
  - ♦♦ –. *Opera theologica*. Geneva, 1607.
  - . *Sacrorum parallelorum libri tres: id est, Comparatio locorum Scripturae sacrae, qui ex Testamento vetere in Novo adducuntur*. London, 1588.
  - Jurieu, Pierre. *L'Accomplissement Des Propheties Ou La Delivrance Prochaine De L'Eglise*. 2 vols. Rotterdam, 1686.
  - . *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies, Or, The Approaching Deliverance of the Church. In Two Parts*. London, 1687.
  - . *A Critical History of the Doctrines and Worships (both good and evil) of the Church from Adam to our Saviour Jesus Christ. Giving an Account of the Origin of alle the Idolatries of the ancient Pagans, as far as they relate to the Jewish Worship*. 2 vols. Translated from French by J. C. London, 1705.
  - Jurin, James. *The Correspondence of James Jurin (1684–1750): Physician and Secretary to the Royal Society*. Ed. Andrea Alice Rusnock. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1996.
  - Justin (Marcus Junianus Justinus). *Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus*. Translated by J. S. Watson. London: H. G. Bohn, 1853.
  - Justin Martyr (Iulinius Martyrs). *Apologia prima pro Christianis ad Antonium Pium*. [PG 6. 327–440].
  - . *Apologia secunda*. [PG 6. 441–71].
  - . *Apologie pour les chrétiens*. Edited by C. Munier. SC 507. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2006.
  - . *De monarchia liber*. [PG 6. 311–326].
  - . *De Monarchia*. In *The Apostolic Fathers, Justin Martyr, Irenaeus*. Edited by A. Roberts, J. Donaldson, and A. C. Coxe. ANF 1. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1995.
  - . *Dialogue with Trypho*. In ANF 1: 194–270.
  - ♦ –. *Dialogus cum Tryphone*. Edited by M. Marcovich. *Patristische Texte und Studien* 47. Berlin/New York: De Gruyter, 1997.
  - . *Dialogus cum Tryphone Iudaeo*. [PG 6. 469–800].
  - . *The First Apology of Justin*. In ANF 1: 163–87.
  - ♦ –. *Opera, graece ex bibliotheca regi*. Paris: S. Nivellius, 1552.
  - ♦ –. *Opera, item Athenagorae Atheniensis, Theophili Antiocheni, Tatiani Assyrij, & Hermiae philosophi tractatus aliquot, quos sequens pagina indicabit. Quae omnia graece & latine emendatione prodeunt*. Paris, 1636.
  - Pseudo-Justin. *De Resurrectione*. In *The Apostolic Fathers, Justin Martyr, Irenaeus*. Edited by A. Roberts, J. Donaldson, and A. C. Coxe. ANF 1. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1995.

- . *Ouvrages apologétiques: Exhortation aux Grecs, Discours aux Grecs, Sur la monarchie*. Edited by B. Pouderon. SC 528. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2009.
- . *Pseudo-Justin: Über die Auferstehung. Patristische Texte und Studien* 54. Edited by Martin Heimgartner. Berlin: De Gryter, 2001
- Juvenal (Decimus Iunius Iuvenalis). In *Juvenal and Persius*. Edited and translated by S. M. Braund. LCL 91. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 2004.
- ◆ –. *Satyrae*. London, 1716.
- Karo, R. Joseph (Yosef Caro, or Qaro). *Avkath Rochel*. 1566. Salonika, 1791.
- Keach, Benjamin. *The Jewish Sabbath abrogated, or, The Saturday Sabbatarians confuted in two parts*. London, 1700.
- ◆ Kempis, Thomas à. *De Imitatione Christi*. Augsburg, 1418–1427.
- ◆ Kidder, Richard. *A Demonstration of the Messiah. In which the Truth of the Christian Religion is proved, against all the Enemies thereof; but especially against the Jews. In three Parts*. 1684. Second edition. London, 1726.
- ◆ Kimchi, David (Radak). *Rabbi Davidis Kimbhi Commentarii in Psalmos Davidis regis et prophetarum ex hebraeo latine redditi a domino Ambrosio Janvier Congregationis S. Mauri Monacho Benedictino*. 1666.
- [KJV=] *The Holy Bible, containing the Old and New Testament. Translated out of the original Tongues. And with the former Translations diligently compared and revised. By His Majesty's special Command. Appointed to be read in Churches*. Edited by Benjamin Blayney. Oxford, 1769.
- [KJV=] *The Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments: Newly Translated out of the Original Tongues and with the Former Translations Diligently Compared and Revised*. Oxford, 1715.
- [KJV 1611=] *The Holy Bible, conteyning the Old Testament and the New. Newly translated out of the originall Tongues. & with the former Translations diligently compared and revised, by his Maiesties speciall Com[m]andement. Appointed to be read in Churches*. London, 1611.
- Knatchbull, Norton. *Animadversiones in libros Novi Testamenti*. London, 1672.
- . *Annotations upon some difficult texts in all the books of the New Testament*. London, 1693.
- Knight, James. *Eight Sermons preached at the Cathedral Church of St. Paul*. London, 1721.
- Knorr von Rosenroth, Christian [= A. B. Peganius]. *A Genuine Explication of the Visions of the Book of Revelation. Full of sundry New Christian Considerations*. London, 1679.
- . *Eigentliche Erklärung über die Gesichter der Offenbarung S. Johannis/Voll unterschiedlicher neuer christlicher Meinungen*. o. O., 1670.
- . *Kabbala Denudata: The Kabbalah Unveiled, Containing the Following Books of the Zohar. 1. The Book of Concealed Mystery. 2. The Greater Holy Assembly. 3. The Lesser Holy Assembly*. Translated into Latin by C. Knorr von Rosenroth. Translated from the Latin version into English by S. L. MacGregor Mathers. First edition 1887. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1951.
- König, Samuel Heinrich. *Etymologicon Helleno-Hebraeum: seu primitiva Graeca ex Hebraeo fonte vicinisque orientis linguis, uti Chaldaea, Syra, Arabica atque Aethiopica deducta*. Frankfurt am Main, 1722.
- Krag, Niels (Nicholaum Cragium). *De Republica Lacaeadaemoniorum*. Geneva, 1593.
- Lactantius (Lucius Caecilius Firmianus Lactantius). *Divinae institutiones*. [PL 6.112–1094].

- ◆ –. *Divinarum institutionum libri VII. De ira Dei liber I. De opificio Dei liber I. Epitome in libros suos, liber acephalos. Phoenix. Carmen de dominica resurrectione. Carmen de passione Domini.* 1521. Antwerp, 1555.
- . *De mortibus persecutorum.* [PL 7. 190–275].
- . *De mortibus persecutorum – Die Todesarten der Verfolger.* Lat./dt., übersetzt und eingeleitet von Alfons Städele. *Fontes Christiani.* Vol. 43. Brepols, Turnhout 2003.
- . *A Relation of the Death of the Primitive Persecutors.* Edited by Gilbert Burnet. London, 1687.
- Lacy, John. *The General Delusion of Christians, touching the Ways of God's revealing Himself, to, and by the Prophets, evinc'd from Scripture and Primitive Antiquity.* London, 1713.
- Lampe, Friedrich Adolf. *Commentarius analytico-exegeticus tam literalis quam realis Evangelii secundum Joannem.* Basel, 1726.
- Larenus, Daniel. *In Apocalypsin B. Ioannis notationes proëmiales.* 1642.
- Launay, Pierre De. *Paraphrase et Exposition de l'Apocalypse.* Geneva, 1651.
- Le Clerc, Jean (LeClerc, Johannes Clericus). *Ars critica, in qua ad studia linguarum latinae, graecae et hebraicae via munitur, veterumque emendandorum, & spuriorum scriptorum a genuinis dignoscendorum ratio traditur.* 2 vols. Amsterdam, 1697.
- . *Epistolae criticae et ecclesiasticae, in quibus ostenditur usus artis criticae, cuius possunt haberi volumen tertium. Accessere epistola de Hammondo & critica, ac dissertatio, in qua quaeritur, an sit semper respondendum calumniis theologorum.* Amsterdam, 1700.
- ◆ –. *Opera philosophica.* Edited by G. F. Jenichen. Amsterdam, 1710.
- . *A Supplement to Dr. Hammond's Paraphrase and Annotations on the New Testament.* London, 1699.
- ◆ Lee, Samuel. *Orbis miraculum, or, the Temple of Solomon, portrayed by Scripture-Light.* London, 1659.
- –. *Antichristi Excidium.* 1659. London, 1664.
- Le Fèvre, Tanneguy. *Tannaquilli Fabri Epistolæ.* Saumur, 1674.
- Leo Africanus. *History and Description of Africa and of the Notable Things Therein Contained (Della descrizione dell'Africa et delle cose notabili che ivi sono).* 3 vols. Edited by Robert Brown. London, 1896.
- Leo the Great (Pope Leo I, Leo Magnus). *Appendix ad opera S. Leonis Magni.* [PL 56. 353–748].
- . *The Letters and Sermons of the Leo the Great.* NPNFii 12. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1995.
- . *Sermones in praecipuis totius anni festivitatis ad Romanam plebem habiti.* [PL 54. 137–467].
- Leslie, Charles. *A short Method with the Jews.* In *The Theological Works of the Reverend Mr. Charles Leslie.* 2 vols. London, 1721.
- Lessius, Leonardus. *De Antichristo et eius Praevrsoribus Disputatio Apologetica gemina.* Antwerp, 1611.
- Leti, Gregorius. *L'histoire de la vie du Pape Sixte Cinquième.* 1685. Paris, 1690.
- Leunclavius, Johannes (Löwenklau). *Historiae Musulmanae Turcorum, De Monumentis Ipsorum Exscriptae, Libri XVIII.* Frankfurt am Main, 1591.
- ◆ Lightfoot, John. *The Harmony, Chronicle, and Order of the New Testament.* 1655. In *Works* 1.
- ◆ –. *Horae hebraicae et talmudicae.* London, 1658–1674.

- ◆ –. *A Prospect of the Temple Service. Or The Temple, especially as it stood in the Days of our Saviours*. In *Works* 1.
- . *Some genuine remains of the late pious and learned John Lightfoot, D. D. consisting of three tracts . . . : together with a large preface concerning the author, his learned debates in the assembly of divines, his peculiar opinions, his Christian piety, and the faithful discharge of his ministry*. London, 1700.
- ◆ –. *The Works of the Reverend and Learned John Lightfoot, D. D., Late Master of Katherine Hall in Cambridge*. 2 vols. London, 1684.
- Limborch, Philipp van. *Commentarius in Acta Apostolorum et in Epistolas ad Romanos et Hebraeos*. Rotterdam, 1711.
- . *Institutiones theologiae christianae, ad praxin pietatis et promotionem pacis, christianae unice directae*. Amsterdam, 1686.
- Lipsius, Justus. *De Constantia Libri Duo, Qui alloquium praecipue continent in Publicis malis*. Antwerp, 1547.
- . *Amiranda, sive, Magnitudine Romana Libri Quator*. Antwerp, 1598.
- Lister, Martin. *A Journey to Paris In the Year 1698*. London, 1699.
- Livy (Titus Livius). *History of Rome*. Volume II: Books 3–4. Translated by B. O. Foster. LCL 133. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1922.
- . *History of Rome*. Volume III: Books 5–7. Translated by B. O. Foster. LCL 172. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1924.
- . *History of Rome*. Vol. IV: Books 8–10. Translated by B. O. Foster. LCL 191. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1926.
- . *Titi Livii Patavini Historiarum Libri Qui Extant*. Paris, 1679.
- Locke, John. *A Letter Concerning Toleration: Humbly Submitted*. London, 1689.
- [LCL=] *Loeb Classical Library*. Founded by James Loeb. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1912–.
- ◆ Lucan (Marcus Annaeus Lucanus). *The Civil War (Pharsalia)*. Translated by J. D. Duff. LCL 220. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1928.
- Lucaris, Cyril (Loukaris). *Confessio fidei Reverendissimi Domini Cyrille Patriarchae Constantinopolitani nomine et consensus Patriarcharum Alexandrini et Kierosolymitani, aliorumque Ecclesiarum Orientalium Antistitum scripta*. Geneva, 1629.
- Lucian of Samosata. *The Syrian Goddess*. Translated and edited by Herbert A. Strong and John Garstang. London, Constable, 1913.
- Lucretius (Titus Lucretius Carus). *On the Nature of Things*. Translated by W. H. D. Rouse. LCL 181. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1924.
- Ludolf, Hiob (Leutholf, Job Ludolphus). *Historia Aethiopica*. Frankfurt am Main, 1681.
- . *A new History of Ethiopia. Being a full and accurate Description of the Kingdom of Abessinia, vulgarly, though erroneously called the Empire of Prester John. In four Books*. Translated from Latin by J. P. Gent. London, 1682.
- Lushington, Thomas. *The Justification of a Sinner*. London, 1650.
- Luther, Martin. *D. Martin Luthers Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe [=Weimarer Ausgabe/Weimar Edition, WA/WA DB]*. 120 vols. Weimar, 1883–2009.
- . *Doctoris Martini Lutheri Colloquia Mensalia: Or, Dr Martin Luther's Divine Discourses at His Table*. Translated by Henry Bell. London, 1659.
- ◆◆ –. *Omnium operum*. 7 vols. Wittenberg, 1558–1585.
- Lydius, Jacobus. *Agonistica sacra: sive syntagma Vocum et Phrasium Agonisticarum, quae in S. Scriptura, inprimis vero in Epistolis S. Pauli apostoli, occurrunt*. Rotterdam, 1657.

- Lyranus, Nicolaus (Nicholas of Lyra). In *Biblia Sacra, cum glossis, interlineari, et ordinaria, Nicolai Lyrani postilla, ac moralitatibus, Burgensis additionibus, et Thoringi replicis* ... 6 vols. Venice, 1588.
- ◆◆ —. In *Biblia Sacra cum glossa ordinaria primum quidem a Strabo Fuldensi monacho Benedictino. Nunc vero novis patrum cum graecorum tum latinorum explicationibus locupleta, et postilla Nicolai Lyrani Franciscani nec non additionibus Pauli Burgensis episcopi et Mathiae Thoringi replicis opera et sutio theologorum Duacensium diligentissime emendatis*. 7 vols. Douai, 1617.
  - ◆ —. *Postilla litteralis super totam Bibliam*. Strasbourg, 1492. Reprinted. Frankfurt am Main: Minerva, 1971.
  - Macrobius. *Saturnalia*. Volume I: Books 1–2. Edited and translated by Robert A. Kaster. LCL 510. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 2011.
  - Maimonides, Moses (Moses Ben Maimon, Rambam). [*More Nebuchim*=] *Doctor Perplexorum. Ad dubia & obscuria Scripturae loca rectius intelligenda veluti clavem continens* ... . *Primum ab autore in lingua arabica ante CCCCI. circiter annos in Aegypto conscriptus. Deinde a R. Samuele Aben Tybbon Hispano in linguam hebream* ... *translatus. Nunc ... in linguam latinam perspicue & fideliter conversus a Johanne Buxtorffio, Fil.* Translated by Johannes Buxtorf (the Younger). Basel, 1629.
  - . *The Guide for the Perplexed*. Translated and annotated by M. Friedländer. Reprint of the second, revised edition. New York: Dover, 1956.
  - . *Hilkhot Yesode ha-Torah Rabbi Moshe ben Maimoni* [= *Constitutiones de fundamentis legis Rabbi Mosis F. Maiiemon*]. Ed. Willem Henricus Vorstius. Amsterdam, 1636.
  - . *Mischna sive Totius Hebraeorum Iuris, Rituum, Antiquitatum, ac Legum Oralium Systema: Seder Neziqin sive Legum Mischnicarum Liber qui inscribitur Ordo Damnorum*. Amsterdam, 1702.
  - . *Mishneh Torah. The Book of Knowledge by Maimonides*. Edited according to the Bodleian (Oxford) Codex with Introduction, Biblical and Talmudical References, Notes and an English Translation by Moses Hyamson. Jerusalem/New York: Feldheim Publishers, 1974.
  - . *Mishneh Torah. A New Translation with Commentary and Notes*. Translated by Eliyahu Touger. 29 vols. New York/Jerusalem: Moznayim, 1986.
  - . *The Code of Maimonides* [= *Mishneh Torah*]. *Book Three: The Book of Seasons*. Translated by Solomon Gandz and Hyan Klein. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961.
  - . *The Code of Maimonides* [= *Mishneh Torah*]. *Book Eight: The Book of Temple Service*. Translated by Mendell Lewittes. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957.
  - . *The Code of Maimonides* [= *Mishneh Torah*]. *Book Fourteen: The Book of Judges*. Translated by Abraham M. Hershman. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957.
  - . *Maimonides' Commentary on the Mishnah: Tractate Sanhedrin*. [= *Mishneh Torah*] Transl. into English with Introduction and Notes by Fred Rosner. New York: Sepher-Hermon Press, 1981.
  - . *Moses Maimonides' Treatise On Resurrection*. Edited and translated by Fred Rosner. Lanham: Roman & Littlefield, 1997.
  - ◆ —. *Porta Mosis, sive, dissertationes aliquot a R. Mose Maimonide, suis in varias Mishnaioth, sive textus Talmudici partes, commentariis praemissae, quae ad universam fere Judaeorum disciplinam aditum aperiunt*. Edited and translated into Latin by Edward Pococke. Oxford, 1655.
  - ◆◆ Maldonado, Juan (Ioannes Maldonatus). *Commentarii in quatuor evangelistas*. 1596. Lyon, 1601.

- . *Commentarii in Prophetas quatuor. Jeremiam, Baruch, Ezechielem, & Danielelem*. Lyon, 1611.
- ♦ Malvenda, Tomas. *De Antichristo libri XI*. Rome, 1604.
- ◆ Manasseh ben Israel. *Conciliator sive De la convenientia de locorum S. Scripturae quae pugnare inter se videntur*. Frankfurt, 1632.
- . *The Conciliator of R. Manasseh ben Israel: A Reconcilement of the Apparent Contradictions in Holy Scripture*. Translated by E. H. Lindo. 2 vols. London, 1842.
- Manton, Thomas. *Christ's Temptation and Transfiguration practically explained and improved, in several sermons*. London, 1685.
- ♦ –. *A Practical Commentary, or an Exposition with Notes on the Epistle of Jude*. London, 1658.
- ◆ –. *A Practical Commentary or an Exposition, with Notes on the Epistle of James*. London, 1653.
- . *A Third Volume of Sermons Preached by the Late Reverend and Learned Thomas Manton D. D.* London, 1689.
- Mantuanus, Alphonsus Conradus. *Commentarius in apocalypsin Iohannis*. 1560. Basel, 1573.
- Mantuanus, Baptista (Johannes Baptista Spagnolo). *Adulescentia*, in *Secundus operum B. Mantuani tomus*. Paris, 1513.
- . *De suorum temporum calamitatibus*. Deventer, 1497.
- Marckius, Johannes (Johannes a Marck, van der Mark). *Exegeticae exercitationes ad quinquaginta selecta loca Veteris & Novi Testamenti*. Amsterdam, 1697.
- Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. [*Meditations*=] *The Communings With Himself*. Edited and translated by C. R. Haines. LCL 58. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 2003.
- Maresius, Samuel. *Antirrheticus, sive defensio pii pro retinenda recepta in Ecclesiis Reformatis doctrina*. Groningen, 1669.
- Marion, Elias. *Prophetical Warnings*. London, 1707.
- ♦ Marsham, John. *Chronicus canon ægyptiacus, ebraicus, græcus, & disquisitiones*. London, 1672.
- ♦ Martial (Marcus Valerius Martialis). *Epigrams*. Translated by D. R. Shackleton Bailey. 3 vols. LCL 94/95/480. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1993.
- Martini, Raymond (Raimundus Martinus, Ramón Martí). *Pugio Fidei adversus Mauros, et Judaeos; nunc primum in lucem editus*. Edited by Joseph de Voisin. Paris, 1651.
- ◆ Martinius, Matthias (Martini). *Lexicon philologicum praeipue etymologicum et sacrum*. Bremen, 1623. Second edition. Frankfurt am Main, 1655.
- Mather, Cotton. *American Tears upon the Ruines of the Greek Churches: A Compendious, but Entertaining History of the Darkness come upon the Greek Churches, in Europe and Asia*. Boston, 1701.
- . *The Angel of Bethesda: Visiting the Invalids of a Miserable World*. New-London, 1722.
- . *The Angel of Bethesda: An Essay upon the Common Maladies of Mankind*. Edited by Gordon W. Jones. Barre, MA: American Antiquarian Society, 1972.
- . *Benedictus. Good men described, and the glories of their goodness, declared. With some charaters & history of one who belonged unto the tribe: namely Mr. Thomas Bridge, a late Pastor of the First Church in Boston*. Boston, 1715.
- . “Biblia Americana” (holograph manuscript), 6 vols. folio. The Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston. In *The Papers of Cotton Mather*, Part I, “Biblia Americana” (Reels 10–13).



- . [BA=] *Biblia Americana. America's First Bible Commentary. A Synoptic Commentary on the Old and New Testaments*. General Editors R. Smolinski and J. Stievernann. 10 vols. 2010–.
- ◆ –. *Bonifacius. An Essay upon the Good, that is to be devised and designed, by those who desire to answer the great End of Life, and to do Good while they live . . .* Boston, 1710.
- . *Bonifacius. An Essay upon the Good*. Edited by David Levin. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1966.
- ◆ –. *The Christian Philosopher: A Collection of the Best Discoveries in Nature with Christian Improvements*. London, 1721.
- . *Cotton Mather's Verse in English*. Edited by Denise D. Knight. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1989.
- . *The Diary of Cotton Mather*. Edited by W.C. Ford. 2 vols. *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*. 7<sup>th</sup> series. Vol. VII–VIII. Boston, 1911–1912.
- . *The Diary of Cotton Mather for the Year 1712*. Edited by William R. Manierre II. Charlottesville: UP of Virginia, 1964.
- –. *A Discourse on the Wonders of the Invisible World*. Boston, 1693.
- . *Eleutheria: Or an Idea of the Reformation in England*. London, 1698.
- . *The Everlasting Gospel. The Gospel of Justification by the Righteousness of God; as 'tis held and preach'd in the Churches of New-England: expressed in a brief discourse on that important article; made at Boston in the year 1699*. Boston, 1700.
- . *Expectanda: Or, Things to be Look'd for*. Cambridge, 1691.
- . *Faith at work. A brief and plain essay, upon certain articles of the Gospel, most necessary to be understood by every Christian: to wit, the nature, the order, and the necessity of the good works, by which the faith of a Christian is to be evidenced*. Boston, 1697.
- . *Hades look'd into: The Power of our great Saviour over the Invisible World, and the Gates of Death which lead into that World*. Boston, 1717.
- . *Johannes in eremo. Memoirs, relating to the lives of the ever-memorable, Mr. John Cotton, Mr. John Norton, Mr. John Wilson, Mr. John Davenport, and Mr. Thomas Hooker*. Boston, 1695.
- –. *Magnalia Christi Americana: Or, the ecclesiastical History of New-England. From its first Planting in the Year 1620. Unto the Year of our Lord, 1689. In seven Books*. 2 vols. London, 1702. Hartford: S. Andrus & Son, 1855.
- . *Malachi, Or, The Everlasting Gospel Preached Unto the Nations*. London, 1717.
- ◆ –. *Manuductio ad ministerium. Directions for a candidate of the ministry*. Boston, 1726.
- . *A Midnight Cry*. Boston, 1692.
- ◆ –. *Parentator. Memoirs of remarkables in the life and the death of the ever-memorable Dr. Increase Mather*. Boston, 1723.
- . *Paterna: The Autobiography of Cotton Mather*. Edited by R.A. Bosco. Delmar, NY: Scholar's Facsimiles & Reprints, 1976.
- . *Pietas in Patriam: The Life of His Excellency Sir William Phips, Knt. late Captain General and Governor in chief of the Province of the Massachusset-Bay, New England, containing the memorable Changes undergone, and Actions performed by him. Written by one intimately acquainted with him*. London, 1697.
- . *"Problema Theologicum": An Authoritative Edition*. Edited by Jeffrey Scott Mares. Worcester, MA: American Antiquarian Society, 1995.
- ◆ –. *Ratio disciplinæ fratrum Nov-Anglorum. A faithful account of the discipline professed and practised; in the churches of New-England*. Boston, 1726.

- . *Selected Letters of Cotton Mather*. Edited by Kenneth Silverman. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State UP, 1971.
- . *Some American Sentiments on the Great Controversy of the Time*. Boston, 1720.
- . *The Stone cut out of the Mountain*. Boston, 1716.
- . *The Temple Opening. A Particular Church considered as a Temple of the Lord. In a Sermon preached on a Day, when such a Church was gathered, and a pastor ordained*. Boston, 1707.
- . *Things to be more thought Upon: A Brief Treatise on the Injuries offered unto the Glorious and only Saviour of the World*. Boston, 1713.
- . *Thoughts for the Day of Rain. In Two Essay: The Gospel of the Rainbow ... II. The Saviour with His Rainbow*. Boston, 1712.
- . *Three Letters from New-England, relating to the Controversy of the Present Time*. London, 1721.
- . *The Threefold Paradise of Cotton Mather: An Edition of 'Triparadisus'*. Edited by Reiner Smolinski. Athens/London: U of Georgia P, 1995.
- –. *The Wonders of the Invisible World being an Account of the Tryals of several Witches lately excuted [sic] in New-England, and of several Remarkable Curiosities therein occurring*. Boston, 1693.
- ♦ Mather, Increase. *Angelographia, or A discourse concerning the nature and power of the holy angels, and the great benefit which the true fearers of God receive by their ministry: delivered in several sermons*. Boston, 1696.
- ♦ –. *Diatriba de Signo Filii Hominis et de Secundo Messiae Adventu*. Amsterdam, 1682.
- . "A Discourse Concerning the glorious state of the church on earth under the new Jerusalem" (c. 1692–95). Edited by Mason I. Lowance and David Watters. In "Increase Mather's 'New Jerusalem': Millennialism in late Seventeenth-Century New England." *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 87.2 (1977): 343–408.
- . *A Dissertation Concerning the Future Conversion of the Jewish Nation*. London, 1709.
- . *The Mystery of Israels Salvation*. London, 1669.
- . *The Order of the Gospel Professed and Practised by the Churches of Christ in New England Vindicated*. Boston, 1700.
- . *Some important truths concerning conversion, delivered in several sermons*. London, 1674.
- Mather, Nathanael (CM's uncle). *The Righteousness of God Through Faith Upon All Without Difference who Believe*. 1694. London, 1710.
- ♦♦ Mather, Samuel (CM's brother). *A Discourse concerning the Necessity of Believing the Doctrine of the Holy Trinity*. London, 1719.
- Mather, Samuel (CM's son). *A Dissertation concerning the most venerable Name of Jehovah*. Boston, 1760.
- . *The Life of the very Reverend and Learned Cotton Mather, D. D. & F. R. S.* Boston, 1729.
- ♦♦ Mather, Samuel (CM's uncle). *The Figures and Types of the Old Testament*. London, 1705.
- Maton, Robert. *Christs personall reigne on earth, one thousand yeares with his saints, containing a reply to A. Petrie*. London, 1652.
- . *Israel's redemption, or, The propheticall history of our Saviour's kingdom on earth*. London, 1642.
- . *Israel's redemption redeemed, or, The Jewes generall and miraculous conversion ... and our Saviour's personall reigne on earth cleerly proved*. London, 1646.
- Mechiltha. *Ein tannaitischer Midrasch zu Exodus*. Edited by Jakob Winter and August Wünsche. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1909.
- ♦♦ Mede, Joseph (Mead, Meade). *The Apostasy of the latter Times*. In *Works* 3.

- –. *Clavis apocalyptica. Ex innatis et insitis visionum characteribus eruta et demonstrata. Una cum commentario in Apocalypsin. Quibus accessit hac tertia editione Conjectura de Gogo et Magogo, ab eodem autore.* 1627. Third edition. Cambridge, 1649. In *Works* 3.
- ♦♦ –. *Commentationum Apocalypticarum.* In *Works* 3.
- –. *De Gogo et Magogo conjectura.* In *Clavis apocalyptica.* 1627. Third edition. Cambridge, 1649. In *Works* 3.
- ♦♦ –. *De regno Christi accipiendum illud apostoli ad Hebraeos cap. 2. vers. 5.* In *Works* 3.
- ♦♦ –. *Discourses on divers Texts of Scripture.* In *Works* 1.
- . *The Key of the Revelation, searched and demonstrated out of the naturall and proper charecters of the Vision, with a Comment thereupon, according to the Rule of the same Key.* Translated by Richard More. 1643. London, 1650.
- ♦♦ –. *Several Discourses and Treatises concerning Churches.* In *Works* 2.
- ♦♦ –. *The Works of the pious and profoundly-learned Joseph Mede, B.D., sometime Fellow of Christ's Colledge in Cambridge.* 1664. Fourth edition. 5 vols. London, 1677.
- Melanchthon, Philip. *Annotationes in Epistolas.* In *Opera Quae Supersunt Omnia. Corpus Reformatorum.* Vol. 15. Edited by Karl Gottlieb Bretschneider. Halle: Schwetckhe, 1848.
- . *Enneratio epistolae Pauli ad Romanos.* Wittenberg, 1556.
- Menachem ben Benjamin Recanati. *Menachem Recanati, Perusch al ha tora.* Edited by Amnon Gross. 2 vols. Jerusalem, 2003.
- ♦ Menochio, Giovanni Stefano (Joannes Stefanus Menochius). *Commentarii totius Sacrae Scripturae.* Venice, 1743.
- ♦♦ Mercier, Jean (Joannes Mercerus). *Commentarii in librum lob.* Geneva, 1573.
- Meursius, Johannes. *Hesychii Milesii Viri illustris Opuscula, partim hactenus non edita.* Leiden, 1613.
- The Midrash on Psalms.* Edited by L. Nemoy et al. Translated from the Hebrew and Aramaic by W.G. Braude. 2 vols. *Yale Judaica Series* 13. New Haven, CT: Yale UP, 1987.
- Midrash Rabbah.* Vol. 1. *Genesis.* 2 vols. Edited by H. Freedman and M. Simon. Third edition. London et al.: Soncino P, 1983.
- Midrash Rabbah.* Vol. 2. *Exodus. Leviticus.* Edited by H. Freedman and M. Simon. Third edition. London et al.: Soncino P, 1983.
- Midrash Rabbah.* Vol. 6. *Numbers.* 2 vols. Edited by H. Freedman and M. Simon. Third edition. London P: Soncino P, 1983.
- Midrash Rabbah.* Vol. 8. *Ruth. Ecclesiastes.* Edited by H. Freedman and M. Simon. Third edition. London P: Soncino P, 1983.
- Midrash Rabbah.* Vol. 9. *Esther. Song of Songs.* Edited by H. Freedman and M. Simon. Third edition. London et al.: Soncino P, 1983.
- Midrash Shir ha-Shirim. Printed from a Geniza Manuscript.* Edited by J. C. Wertheimer. Jerusalem, 1897. Second edition. Jerusalem: Ktav, 1971.
- Midrash Tehillim.* Edited by D. Bomberg. 2 vols. Venice, 1546.
- Der Midrasch Wajikra Rabba: das ist die haggadische Auslegung des dritten Buches Mose.* Revised and annotated by J. Fürst. Reproduction of the Leipzig edition 1883–85. Translated by A. Wünsche. Hildesheim. Olms, 1967.
- [*Mikraot Gedoloth*=] *The Commentators' Bible. The JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot Exodus.* Edited, translated, and annotated by M. Carasik. First edition. Philadelphia, PA.: Jewish Publication Society/London: Kuperard, 2005.

- Mikraoth Gedoloth. Joshua. A New English Translation. Translation of Text, Rashi and Other Commentaries* by A. J. Rosenberg. New York: Judaica P, 2002.
- Mikraoth Gedoloth. Daniel; Ezra; Nehemiah: A New English Translation. Translation of Text, Rashi and Other Commentaries* by A. J. Rosenberg. New York: Judaica P, 1991.
- Mikraoth Gedoloth. The Book of Kings 1. A New English Translation. Translation of Text, Rashi and Other Commentaries* by A. J. Rosenberg. New York: Judaica P, 1995.
- Mikraoth Gedoloth. The Book of Kings 2. A New English Translation. Translation of Text, Rashi and Other Commentaries* by A. J. Rosenberg. New York: Judaica P, 1993.
- Mikraoth Gedoloth. Isaiah. A New English Translation. Translation of Text, Rashi and Other Commentaries* by A. J. Rosenberg. 2 vols. New York: Judaica P, 1995–1997.
- Mikraoth Gedoloth. The Twelve Prophets. A New English Translation. Translation of Text, Rashi and Other Commentaries* by A. J. Rosenberg. 2 vols. New York: Judaica P, 1991.
- ♦ Mill, John. *Novum Testamentum graecum, cum lectionibus variantibus MSS.* Oxford, 1707.
- Minor Latin Poets.* 2 vols. English translation by J. Wight Duff and Arnold M. Duff. *LCL* 434. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1982.
- Minucius Felix (Marcus Minutius Felix). *Octavius*. [PL 3. 231–366].
- ♦ –. *Octavius*. Cambridge, 1643.
- . *Octavius*. Edited by Carolus Halm. *CSEL* 2. Vindobonae: Gerold, 1867.
- The Mishnah.* A New Translation. Jacob Neuser. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988.
- Mission, Maximilien. *A Cry from the Desert: or Testimonials of the Miraculous Things Lately Come to Pass in the Cèvennes or Southern Part of France*. London, 1707.
- Moine, Stephanus le (Étienne Le Moyne, Monachus). *Dissertatio theologica ad locum Jeremiae XXIII:V.* Dordrecht, 1700.
- Molinaeus, Petrus (Pierre Du Moulin). *Vates, seu De praegognitione futurorum & Bonis Malique Prophetis Libri V.* Leiden, 1640.
- Momma, Wilhelm. *De varia conditione et statu Ecclesiae Dei sub Triplici Oeconomia.* Amsterdam, 1683.
- ♦ Montagu, Richard (Mountague). *Diatribae upon the first part of the late History of Tithes.* London, 1621.
- More, Henry. *Apocalypsis Apocalypseos, Or, The Revelation of St. John the Divine Unveiled: Containing a Brief But Perspicuous and Continued Exposition, from Chapter to Chapter, and from Verse to Verse, of the Whole Book of the Apocalypse.* London, 1680.
- Moréri, Louis. *Le Grand Dictionnaire historique, ou le mélange curieux de l'histoire sacrée et profane.* 1674. Basel, 1733.
- R. Moses ben Jacob Kotzensis (Cotzensis, Kozensis, Coucy). *Sefer Mitzvoth Gadol. Liber Magnus Praeceptorum.* Soncino, 1488.
- Napier, John. *A Plaine Discovery of the Whole Revelation of St. John.* Edinburgh, 1593.
- [NAU=] *The New American Standard Bible Updated Edition.* Edited by The Lockman Foundation. 1995.
- Nauclerus, Johannes (Naukler). *Chronica.* Cologne, 1544.
- [NETS=] *A New English Translation of the Septuagint and the Other Greek Translations Traditionally Included Under that Title.* Oxford: Oxford UP, 2007.
- ♦ Newton, Isaac. *Observations upon the Prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse of St. John.* London, 1733.
- Nicander (of Colophon). *The Poems and Poetical Fragments.* Edited with a Translation and Notes by A. S. F. Gow and A. F. Scholfield. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1953.
- [NPNFi=] *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers. A Selected Library of the Christian Church.* First Series. 14 vols. 1886. Edited by P. Schaff. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1999.

- [NPNFii=] *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers. A Selected Library of the Christian Church.* Second Series. 14. vols. 1890. Edited by P. Schaff and H. Wace. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1999.
- Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopulus. *Ecclesiasticae Historiae libri XVIII.* Libri VIII–XIV. [PG 146. 9–1274.]
- Noldius, Christianus (Christian Nolde). *Concordantiae particularum ebraeo chaldaicarum, in quibus partium indeclinabilium, quae occurrunt in fontibus, & hactenus non expositae sunt in lexicis aut concordantiis, natura & sensuum varietas ostenditur.* Copenhagen, 1679.
- Norris, John. *Letters concerning the Love of God.* London, 1695.
- ◆ Noyes, Nicholas. *New Englands Duty and Interest.* Boston, 1698.
- Oecumenius Episcopus. *Commentarius in epistolam ad Hebraeos.* [PG 119. 272–452].
- . *Commentaria in Novum Testamentum.* [PG 118. 35–1326, 119. 9–722].
- . *Oecumenii Commentarius in Apocalypsin.* Edited by Marc De Groote. *Traditio Exegetica Graeca* 8. Uitgeverij Peeters, Leuven, 1999.
- Olivétan, Pierre Robert. *La Bible.* 1535. Amsterdam, 1687.
- Origen (Origenes Alexandrinus). *Against Celsus.* Translated by F. Crombie. *ANF* 4. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishing, 1995.
- . *Commentaria in Evangelium Joannis.* [PG 14. 21–831].
- . *Commentarii in evangelium Joannis.* Edited by C. Blanc. *Origène. Commentaire sur le Saint Jean.* 3 vols. *Sources chrétiennes* 120, 157, 222. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1966–75.
- . *Commentaria in Evangelium secundum Matthaeum.* [PL 13. 829–1901].
- . *Der Kommentar zum Evangelium nach Mattäus.* Eingeleitet, übersetzt und mit Anmerkungen versehen von H. J. Vogt. Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1983–1993.
- ◆ –. *Contra Celsum.* [PG 11. 637–1710].
- . *Contra Celsum. Contre Celse.* Vol. 3. *Livres V–VI.* Edited and translated by M. Borret. *SC* 147. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1969.
- . *Homélies sur Ézéchiel.* Edited by M. Borret. *SC* 352. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1989.
- . *Homélies sur l'Exode.* Edited by M. Borret. *Sources chrétiennes* 321. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1985.
- . *Homélies sur les Nombres XI–XIX: Tome II.* Edited by L. Doutreleau. *SC* 442. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1999.
- . *Homiliae in Exodum.* [PG 12. 359–60].
- . *Homiliae in Ezechielem.* [PG 13. 663–767].
- . *Homiliae IV in Jeremiam.* [PG 13. 253–513].
- . *Homiliae XIV in Jeremiam.* [PG 13. 253–513].
- . *Homiliae in Jeremiam. Homélies sur Jérémie.* Vol. 1. *Livres I–XI.* Edited and translated by M. P. Nautin et al. *SC* 232. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1976.
- . *Homilies on Jeremiah, Homily on 1 Kings 28.* Translated by J. C. Smith. *FC* 97. Washington, D. C.: Catholic U of America P, 1998.
- . *Homiliae in Numeros.* [PG 12. 583–805].
- . *Selecta in Psalmos.* [PG 12. 1050–1686].
- Orosius, Paulus. *Histoires (Contre les Païens).* Tome II. Livres IV–VI. Texte établi et traduit par Marie-Pierre Arnaud-Lindet, Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1991.
- . *The Seven Books of History Against the Pagans.* Translated by Roy J. Deferrari. Washington: Catholic U of America P, 1964.
- The Orphic Argonautica. An English Translation with Selected Roman and Medieval Writers on the Voyage of the Argonauts.* Translated by Jason Colavito. Albany, 2011.

- Osiander, Lucas (the Elder). *Osianderbibel: Biblia Mit der Außlegung. Das ist: Die gantz heilige Schrift*. Lüneburg, 1650.
- Otto of Freising. *Chronica sive Historia de duabus civitatibus*. Edited by A. Hofmeister. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, SSrerGerm* 45. Hanover: Hahn, 1912. 1–457.
- Ovid (Publius Ovidius Naso). *Art of Love. Cosmetics. Remedies for Love. Ibis. Walnut-tree. Sea Fishing. Consolation*. Translated by J. H. Mozley. Revised by G. P. Goold. *LCL* 232. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1929.
- . *Fasti*. Translated by James G. Frazer. Revised by G. P. Goold. *LCL* 253. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1931.
- . *Heroides. Amores*. Translated by G. Showerman. Revised by G. P. Goold. *LCL* 41. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1931.
- . *Metamorphoses*. Vol. 1. *Books 1–8*. Translated by F. J. Miller. Revised by G. P. Goold. *LCL* 42. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1999.
- . *Metamorphoses*. Vol. 2. *Books 9–15*. Translated by F. J. Miller. Revised by G. P. Goold. *LCL* 43. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1999.
- . *Tristia*. Ex Ponto. Translated by A. L. Wheeler. Revised by G. P. Goold. *LCL* 151. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1924.
- ♦ Owen, John. *A Continuation of the exposition of the Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Hebrews viz, on the sixth, seventh, eight, ninth, and tenth chapters*. London, 1680.
- . *A Continuation of the exposition of the Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Hebrews (viz) on the eleventh, twelfth & thirteenth chapters, compleating that elaborate work*. London, 1684.
- ♦♦ –. *Exercitations on the Epistle to the Hebrews, Also Concerning the Messiah, wherein the promises concerning him to be a spiritual redeemer of mankind are explained and vindicated, his coming and accomplishment of his work according to the promises is proved and confirmed, the person, or who he is, is declared, the whole oeconomy of the mosaical law, rites, worship, and sacrifice is explained ... with an exposition and discourses on the two first chapters of the said epistle to the Hebrews*. London, 1668.
- ♦ –. *Exercitations on the epistle to the Hebrews, concerning the priesthood of Christ wherein the original, causes, nature, prefigurations, and discharge of that holy office, are explained and vindicated: with a continuation of the exposition on the third, fourth, and fifth chapters of said epistle to the Hebrews*. London, 1674.
- –. *Of the divine originall, authority, self-evidencing light, and povver of the Scriptures. With an answer to that enquiry, how we know the Scriptures to be the Word of God. Also a vindication of the purity and integrity of the Hebrew and Greek texts of the Old and New Testament; in some considerations on the prolegomena, & appendix to the late Biblia polyglotta. Whereunto are subjoynd some exercitations about the nature and perfection of the Scripture, the right of interpretation, internall Light, revelation, &c.* London, 1659.
- ♦♦ Paggitt, Ephraim. *Christianography, or the description of the multitude and sundry sorts of christians not subject to the pope*. London, 1636.
- Pagi, François. *Breviarium historico-chronologico-criticum illustriora Pontificum romanorum gesta, conciliorum generalium acta ... complectens*. 4 vols. Antwerp, 1717–27.
- Panciroli, Guido (Pancirolli[a]). *Notitia dignitatum, utriusque Imperii Orientis scilicet et Occidentis ultra Arcadii honorique tempora*. Geneva, 1623.
- Pannonius, Stephanus. *De circulo operum et judiciorum Dei*. Belgrade, 1608.
- Panvinio, Onofrio (Onuphrius Panvinus). *Epitome pontificum romanorum a S. Petro usque ad Paulum IV, gestorum videlicet electionisque singulorum et conclavium compendiarum*

- narration; cardinalium item nomina, dignitatum tituli, insignia legations, patria et obitus.* Venice, 1557.
- . *De praecipuis urbis Romae sanctioribusque basilicis.* Rome, 1570.
- . *De Sibyllis et Carmibus sibyllinis.* Venice, 1567.
- Paraeus, David (Wängler). *A Commentary Upon the Divine Revelation of the Apostle and Evangelist John.* Amsterdam, 1644.
- . *In divinam Ad Romanos S. Pauli Apostoli Epistolam Commentarius: Quo praeter accuratam textus sacri Analysin atque interpretationem, de quaestionibus controversis Dubia Clxxix. Explicantur.* Frankfurt and Heidelberg, 1613.
- . *In Divinam Apocalypsin S. Apostoli Et Evangelistae Johannis Commentarius.* Second edition. Heidelberg, 1622.
- ♦♦ –. *Operum theologicorum.* Vol. 1. *Scripta exegetica sive commentarios in S. Scripturae libros canonicos Veteris & Novi Testamenti.* Frankfurt am Main, 1628.
- Paris, Matthew (Matthæus Parisiensis). *Historia Anglorum, sive, ut vulgo dicitur, Historia minor. Item, ejusdem Abbreviatio chronicorum Angliæ.* Vol. 2. London, 1866.
- The Passau Anonymous.* In *Maxima bibliotheca veterum patrum et antiquorum scriptorum ecclesiasticorum.* Vol. 25. *Continens scriptores ab ann. Christi 1200 ad ann. 1300.* Edited by Philippe Despont, and Marguerine de la Bigne. Lyon, 1677.
- Der Passauer Anonymus.* In *Ein Sammelwerk über Ketzer, Juden, Antichrist aus der Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts.* Edited by A. Patschovsky. *Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica* 22. Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1968.
- Patin, Charles. *Quatre relations historiques.* Basel, 1673.
- Patrick, Simon (Symon). *The Witnesses to Christianity, or, the Certainty of our Faith and Hope.* London, 1675.
- Patrizi, Agostino (Augustinus Patritius). *Sacrarvm Ceremoniarvm, sive rituum ecclesiasticorum Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ libri tres.* Cologne, 1572.
- [PG=] *Patrologiae Cursus Completus. Series Graeca.* 161 vols. Gen. ed. J.-P. Migne. Paris: Migne, 1857–1866.
- [PL=] *Patrologiae Cursus Completus. Series Latina.* 221 vols. Gen. ed. J.-P. Migne. Paris: Migne, 1844–1855.
- Paulus Diaconus. *De Gestis Longobadorum.* [PL 95. 443–672].
- Paulus Orosius. *Historiae adversus Paganos.* [PL 31. 635–1215].
- Pausanias. *Description of Greece.* Vol. I: Books 1–2 (Attica and Corinth). Translated by W. H. S. Jones. *LCL* 93. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1918.
- . *Description of Greece.* Vol. IV: Books 8.22–10 (Arcadia, Boeotia, Phocis and Ozolian Locri). Translated by W. H. S. Jones. *LCL* 297. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1935.
- ♦ Pearson, John and Anthony Scattergood, et al. Editors. *Critici Sacri, sive, Doctissimorum virorum in SS. Biblia annotationes & tractatus.* 9 vols. London, 1660. Amsterdam, 1698.
- . *An Exposition of the Creed.* London, 1723.
- . *VINDICIAE Epistolarum S. IGNATII.* Cambridge, 1672.
- Peganius, A. B. See Christian Knorr von Rosenroth.
- Pereyra, Benito. *Centum octoginta tres disputationes selectissimae super libro Apocalypsis beati Ioannis Apostoli.* Venice, 1607.
- ♦ Perkins, William. *A Cloud of Faithfull Witnesses, Leading to the Heavenly Canaan: Or A Commentarie Upon the II. Chapter to the Hebrewes.* London, 1607.
- Perron, Jacques Davy Du. *Replique à la Responce du Serenissime Roy de la Grand Bretagne.* Douay, 1630.

- Pesikta Rabbati. Discourses for Feasts, Fasts, and Special Sabbaths.* Translated by W. G. Braude. 2 vols. *Yale Judaica Series* 18. New Haven, CT: Yale UP, 1968.
- ♦ Pétau, Denis (Dionysius Petavius). *De Angelis.* In *Dogmata theologica*, 3 vols. Paris, 1644.
  - . *Epitome Historiarum Ab orbe condito usque ad annum 1595.* Cologne, 1649.
  - . *Opus de doctrina temporum.* 2 vols. Paris, 1627.
  - . *Rationarium Temporum in partes duas, Libros tredecim distributum.* Paris, 1652.
  - Petrarca, Francesco. *Epistole di Francesco Petrarca.* Edited by Ugo Dotti. Turin: Unione Tipografico-Editrice Torinese, 1978.
  - ♦ Phavorinus, Guarinus (Guarino da Favera). *Dictionarium magnum illud ac perutile multis variisque ex autoribus collectum, totius linguae Graecae commentarius.* 1538. Basel, 1801.
  - Phelps, Charles. *A Commentary: Or an Exposition with Notes on the Five First Chapters of the Revelation of Jesus Christ.* London, 1678.
  - Philo of Alexandria (Philo Judaeus). *The Embassy to Gaius. General Indexes.* Translated by F. H. Colson. *LCL* 379. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1968.
  - . *Every Good Man is Free. On the Contemplative Life. On the Eternity of the World. Against Flaccus. Apology for the Jews. On Providence.* Translated by F. H. Colson. *LCL* 363. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1941.
  - . *On Abraham. On Joseph. On Moses.* Translated by F. H. Colson. *LCL* 289. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1935.
  - . *On Flight and Finding. On the Change of Names. On Dreams.* Translated by F. H. Colson and G. H. Whitaker. *LCL* 275. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1934.
  - . *On the Cherubim. The Sacrifices of Abel and Cain. The Worse Attacks the Better. On the Posterity and Exile of Cain. On the Giants.* Translated by F. H. Colson. *LCL* 227. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1929.
  - . *On the Confusion of Tongues. On the Migration of Abraham. Who Is the Heir of Divine Things? On Mating with the Preliminary Studies.* Translated by G. H. Whitaker. *LCL* 261. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1932.
  - . *On the Creation. Allegorical Interpretation of Genesis 2 and 3.* Translated by F. H. Colson and G. H. Whitaker. *LCL* 226. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1929.
  - . *On the Unchangeableness of God. On Husbandry. Concerning Noah's Work As a Planter. On Drunkenness. On Sobriety.* Translated by F. H. Colson and G. H. Whitaker. *LCL* 247. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1930.
  - . *Questions on Genesis.* Translated by Ralph Marcus. *LCL* 380. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1953.
  - . *Philonis Judaei libri quattuor.* Antwerp, 1556.
  - ♦ –. *Syngrammata. Opera omnia graece et latine. De septenario libellus. De providentia Dei fragmenta.* Edited by A. Turnèbe and D. Hoeschel. Translated by S. Gelen. Paris, 1640.
  - Philostratus and Eunapius. *Lives of the Sophists. Eunapius: Lives of the Philosophers and Sophists.* Translated by Wilmer C. Wright. *LCL* 134. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1921.
  - Philostratus of Athens. *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana.* Edited and translated by C. P. Jones. 3 vols. *LCL* 16/17/458. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 2005–2006.
  - Philipot, Jacques. *A New System of the Apocalypse; or, Plain and Methodical Illustrations of all the Visions in the Revelation of St. John.* London, 1688.
  - . *Eclaircissements sur l'Apocalypse de S. Jean: Systeme nouveau, où l'on fait voir l'an, où a commencé l'empire Papat, & celui où il doit finir, l'an où a commencé la puissance des Jesuites & celui où elle doit prendre fin, avec le temps du retablissement de la Reformation en France, & une explication sommaire du regne de mille ans.* Amsterdam, 1687.



- . *Sur les justes bornes de la Tolérance: avec la defense des mysteres du Christianisme; contre l'avis sur le tableau de Socinianisme*. Amsterdam, 1691.
- ◆◆ Photius Constantinopolitanus. *Bibliotheca Graecè cyn bitus / Davidus Hoescheli & cum Latinè Interpretatione et Scholiis Andreae Schotti*. Rothomagi, 1653.
- . *Bibliotheca*. Edited by R. Henry. Photius. Bibliothèque. 8 vols. Paris (France): Les Belles Lettres, 1959–77.
- . *The Library of Photius*. Translated by J. H. Freese. New York: Macmillan, 1920.
- –. *Photiu Myriobiblon, Sive Bibliotheca Librorum Quos Photius Patriarcha Constantinopolitanus legit & censuit*. Genevae, 1611.
- Pigge, Steven Winand (Stephanus Winandus Pighius). *Annales Magistratuum Romanorum*. Antwerp, 1599.
- Pirke Aboth. The Ethics of the Talmud: Sayings of the Fathers*. Edited, translated, and annotated by R. T. Herford. Ninth edition. New York: Schocken Books, 1978.
- *Pirke avot capitula patrum. Hebraicae & latine edita, verbi divini in aede Christi apud Cantuarienses concionatoris*. Edited by F. Taylor. London, 1651.
- ◆ Piscator, Johannes. *Commentarii in omnes libros Novis Testamenti*. Herborn, 1658.
- . *In apocalypsin Johannis commentaries*. Herborn, 1613.
- Plato. *Cratylus. Parmenides. Greater Hippias. Lesser Hippias*. Translated by Harold North Fowler. LCL 167. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1926.
- . *Euthyphro. Apology. Crito. Phaedo. Phaedrus*. Translated by H. N. Fowler. LCL 36. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 2005.
- . *Lysis. Symposium. Gorgias*. Translated by W. R. M. Lamb. LCL 166. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1925.
- . *Republic*. Vol. 1: Books 1–5. Edited and translated by Chris Emlyn-Jones. LCL 237. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 2013.
- . *Republic*. Vol. 2: Books 6–10. Edited and translated by Chris Emlyn-Jones and William Preddy. LCL 276. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 2013.
- . *Timaeus. Critias. Cleitophon. Menexenus. Epistles*. Translated by R. G. Bury. LCL 234. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1929.
- Pseudo-Plato. *Axiochus*. In *Plato: Complete Works*. Edited by John M. Cooper and D. S. Hutchinson. Cambridge: Hackett Publishing Company, 1997.
- ◆ Pliny (the Elder, Gaius Plinius Secundus). *The Historie of the World. Commonly called, the Naturall Historie of C. Plinius Secundus*. Translated into English by Philemon Holland Doctor of Physicks. London, 1601.
- . *Natural History*. 10 vols. Translated by H. Rackham, W. H. S. Jones, et al. LCL 330–418. New ed. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 2003–2006.
- ◆◆ –. *Naturalis historiae libri XXXVII*. Edited by J. de Laet. 3 vols. Leiden: Elzevir, 1635.
- Pliny (the Younger, Plinius Caecilius Secundus). *Letters*. Vol. I. *Books 1–7*. Translated by W. Melmoth. Revised by W. M. L. Hutchinson. LCL 55. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1957.
- ◆ –. *Letters*. Vol. II: *Books 8–10. Panegyricus*. Translated by Betty Radice. LCL 59. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1969.
- Plutarch (Lucius Mestrius Plutarchus). *De Iside et Osiride*. Edited and translated by J. G. Griffith. Cardiff: U of Wales P, 1970.
- –. *Lives*. Translated by B. Perrin. 11 vols. LCL 46–103. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 2002–2006.
- . *Moralia*. Translated by F. C. Babbitt, W. C. Helmbold, et al. 16 vols. LCL 197–499. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1927–2004.

- . *Moralia. Superstition*. Vol. 2. Translated by Frank Cole Babbitt. LCL 222. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1928.
- . *Moralia, Volume V: Isis and Osiris. The E at Delphi. The Oracles at Delphi No Longer Given in Verse. The Obsolescence of Oracles*. Translated by Frank Cole Babbitt. LCL 306. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1936.
- ♦ –. *Opera quae extant omnia. Cum latina interpretatione Hermanni Cruserii, Guilelmi Xilandri*. 2 vols. Frankfurt am Main, 1599.
- ♦♦ –. *Plutarch's Morals. Translated from the Greek by several Hands*. 5 vols. London, 1690.
- ♦ Pococke, Edward. *A Commentary on the Prophecy of Hosea*. In *The Theological Works of the Learned Dr. Pocock, sometime Professor of the Hebrew and Arabick Tongues, in the University of Oxford, and Canon of Christ-Church. Containing his Porta Mosis, and English Commentaries on Hosea, Joel, Micah, and Malachi. To which is prefixed, an Account of his Life and Writings* . . . . Vol. 2. London, 1740.
- ♦ –. *A Commentary on the Prophecy of Malachi*. In *The Theological Works of the Learned Dr. Pocock, sometime Professor of the Hebrew and Arabick Tongues, in the University of Oxford, and Canon of Christ-Church. Containing his Porta Mosis, and English Commentaries on Hosea, Joel, Micah, and Malachi. To which is prefixed, an Account of his Life and Writings* . . . . Vol. 1. London, 1740.
- . *Notae miscellaneae philologico-biblicae: Quibus Porta Mosis Sive Praefationum R. Mosis Maimonidis in libros Mischnajoth Commentariis praemissarum & a Pocockio ex Arabico Latine versarum fascis olim stipata prodit*. Leipzig, 1705.
- . Editor. *Porta Mosis, sive, Dissertationes aliquot a R. Mose Maimonide*. Oxford, 1655.
- Poiret, Pierre. *L'économie divine, ou système universel et démontré des oeuvres et des desseins de Dieu envers les hommes*. 7 vols. Amsterdam, 1687.
- . *The Divine Economy*. 6 vols. London, 1713.
- Polybius. *The Histories*. Translated by W. R. Paton, Revised by F. W. Walbank and Christian Habicht. LCL 160. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 2010.
- Pomponius Mela. *Description of the World*. Edited by F. E. Romer. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1998.
- –. *De situ orbis libri tres*. Edited by J. Vadianus and J. Camers. Tübingen, 1550.
- ♦ Poole, Matthew. *Annotations upon the Holy Bible. Wherein the sacred Text is inserted, and various Readings annex'd together with parallel Scriptures, the more difficult Terms in each Verse are explained, seeming Contradictions reconciled, Questions and Doubts resolved, and the whole Text opened*. 2 vols. London, 1683–1685.
- ♦♦ –. *Synopsis criticorum aliorumque Sacrae Scripturae interpretum et commentatorum* . . . . 5 vols. London, 1669–1676. Frankfurt am Main, 1678–1679.
- Pope, Alexander. *The Iliad of Homer*. London, 1715–1720. London, 1743.
- ♦♦ Porta, Giambattista della (Johann Baptist Porta). *Magiae naturalis sive de miraculis rerum naturalium*. Naples, 1558.
- Porter, Edmund. *Theos anthropophoros. Or, God incarnate. Shewing, that Jesus Christ is the onely, and the most high God*. London, 1655.
- ♦♦ Potter, Francis. *An Interpretation of the Number 666 wherein, not onely the Manner, how this Number ought to be interpreted, is clearly proved and demonstrated*. London, 1642.
- ♦ Prideaux, Humphrey. *The Old and New Testament connected in the History of the Jews and neighbouring Nations, from the Declension of the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah to the Time of Christ*. 2 vols. 1716–1718. 4 vols. London, 1729.
- Probus (Marcus Valerius Probus). *Valerii Probi Grammatici De Literis Antiquis Opusculum*. Basel, 1522.

- Propertius. *Elegies*. Edited and translated by G. P. Goold. *LCL* 18. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1990.
- Prosper of Aquitaine (Prosper Tiro). *De gratia Dei et libero arbitrio liber contra collatorem*. [PL 51. 213–76].
- ♦ —. *Opera: accurata vetustorum exemplarium collatione a mendis pene innumeris repurgata quid vero in hac editione praeter ditissimum indicem, tam scripturarum quam rerum, accesserit, versa pagina demonstrat*. Douai, 1577.
- Pseudo-Prosper of Aquitaine (Quodvultdeus). *De promissionibus et praedictionibus Dei*. [PL 51. 733–858].
- Prudentius (Aurelius Prudentius Clemens). *Preface. Daily Round. Divinity of Christ. Origin of Sin. Fight for Mansoul. Against Symmachus I*. Translated by H. J. Thomson. *LCL* 387. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1949.
- Ptolemy. *Tetrabiblos*. Translated by F. E. Robbins. *LCL* 435. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1940.
- Pufendorf, Samuel Freiherr von. *An Introduction to the History of the Principal Kingdoms and States of Europe*. Translated by Jodocus Crull. Second edition. London, 1697.
- ♦ —. *The Divine Feudal Law: Or, Covenants with Mankind, Represented*. London, 1703.
- . *Einleitung zu der Historie der vornehmsten Reiche und Staaten, so itziger Zeit in Europa sich befinden*. Frankfurt am Main, 1684.
- Puteanus, Erycius (Hendrick van den Putte). *Historia insubricae sive barbaricae ab origine gentis ad Othonem Magni*. Frankfurt, 1678.
- ♦ Pyle, Thomas. *A Paraphrase with some Notes, on the Acts of the Apostles, and upon all the Epistles of the New Testament*. London, 1715.
- The Pythagorean Sourcebook and Library: An Anthology of Ancient Writings which relate to Pythagoras and Pythagorean Philosophy*. Translation by Kenneth Sylvan Guthrie. Edited by David R. Fidler. Grand Rapids, MI: Phanes Press, 1987.
- Quintilian (Marcus Fabius Quintilianus). *The Orator's Education*. Volume V: Books 11–12. Edited and translated by Donald A. Russell. *LCL* 494. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 2002.
- Quodvultdeus. *Opera Quodvultdeus Carthaginensi episcopi tributa, Dimidium temporis*. Edited by R. Brown. *CCSL* 60. Turnhout: Brepols, 1976.
- Rabeinu Machir. *Avkat Rochel*. Rimini, 1526.
- Rader, Matthias. *Chronicon Alexandrinum idemque astronomicum et ecclesiasticum*. Munich, 1615.
- ♦♦ Rainolds, John. *De Romanae ecclesiae idolatria*. Geneva, 1596.
- Rallius, Andreas. *Halcyonia ecclesiarum evangelicarum, sive De regno Christi glorioso in terries*. Geneva, 1659.
- ♦ Ray, John. *Three Physico-theological Discourses*. London, 1713.
- Reeves, William. *The Apologies of Justin Martyr, Tertullian, and Minutius Felix in Defence of the Christian Religion: With the Commonitory of Vincentius Lirinensis Concerning the Primitive Rule of Faith; Translated from Their Originals with Notes, for the Advantage Chiefly of English Readers, and a Preliminary Discourse Upon Each Author, Together with a Prefatory Dissertation about the Right Use of the Fathers*. 2 vols. London, 1709.
- Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*. 2 vols. Edited by Augustus Potthast. 1874–1875. Graz: Akademische Druck- U. Verlagsanstalt, 1957.
- Relazione all' eminentissima Congregazione de propaganda fide et extirpandis haereticis*. Turin, 1636.
- Rhodiginus, Coelius (Lodovico Ricchieri). *Antiquarum Lectionum Libri XXX*. Lyon, 1530.

- Ribera, Francisco de. *In Sacrum Beati Ioannis Apostoli, & Evangelistiae Apocalypsin Commentarij*. Lyon, 1590.
- Riccobaldo of Ferrara. *Compilatio Chronologica*. Edited by A.T. Hankey. Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 2000.
- Rocca, Angelo. *Bibliotheca apostolica vaticana a Sixto V, ... in splendidiorem... locum translata et a fratre Angelo Roccha, ... commentario variarum artium ac scientiarum materiis curiosis ac difficillimis, scituque dignis refertissimo illustrate*. Rome, 1591.
- Rosinus, Johannes (Johann Roßfeld). *Antiquitatum romanarum corpus absolutissimum*. 1585. Chout, 1640.
- Rubens, Hieronymus. *Historia Ravennatum, libri decem*. Venice, 1572.
- Rupert of Deutz (Rupertus Tuitiensis). *Commentarii in Genesim*. [PL 167. 200–566].
- . *De sancta trinitate et operibus eius I: Libri I–IX*. Edited by H. Haacke. CCCM 21. Turnhout: Brepols, 1971.
- Rutilius Namatianus. *De reditu suo*. In *Minor Latin Poets, Volume II: Florus. Hadrian. Nemesianus. Reposianus. Tiberianus. Dicta Catonis. Phoenix. Avianus. Rutilius Namatianus. Others*. Translated by J. Wight Duff. LCL 434. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1934.
- Rycaut, Paul. *The Present State of the Greek and Armenian Churches, Anno Christi 1678*. London, 1679.
- Sacchi, Bartolomeo (Platina). *Liber de vita Christi ac pontificum omnium*. Cologne, 1479.
- Salmeron, Alfonso. *Commentarii in Evangelicam Historiam, Disputationum in Epistolas Diui Pauli tombs Tertius*. Morges, 1615.
- ♦ Salvian of Marseille (the Presbyter, Salvianus Massiliensis). *De gubernatione Dei*. [PL 53. 25–158].
- Sarrau, Claude (Claudius Saravius). *Claudii Sarraui senatoris Parisiensis Epistolae. Opus posthumum ad serenissimam Christinam Suediae reginam*. Orange, 1654.
- Sarson, Laurance. *An Analysis of the I Timoth., I, 15: And Appendix, which May be Called Chronologia Vapulans*. London, 1650.
- Saubertus, Johannes (the Younger). *Palæstra Theologico Philologica, Sive Disquisitionum Academicarum Tomus Singularis*. Altdorf, 1678.
- Saurin, Jacques. *Discours historiques, critiques, théologiques et moraux sur les Événements les plus mémorables du Vieux et du Nouveau Testament*. Amsterdam, 1720–1728.
- ♦ –. *Dissertations, historical, critical, theological and moral, on the most memorable Events of the Old and New Testament*. Vol. 1. London, 1723.
- ♦ Scaliger, Joseph Justus. *Exotericarum exercitationum liber XV. de subtilitate, ad Hieronymum Cardanum*. Paris, 1557.
- ♦ –. *Opus de emendatione temporum: castigatius & multis partibus auctius, ut novum videri posit. Item veterum Graecorum fragmenta selecta*. 1583. Geneva, 1629.
- . *Opuscula varia antehac non edita*. Paris, 1610.
- ♦ –. *Thesaurus temporum, Eusebii Pamphili Caesareae Palaestinae episcopi, Croniconum Canonum*. 1606. Leiden, 1658.
- Schickard, Wilhelm. Editor. *Jus Regium Hebræorum e Tenebris Tabbinicis erutum & luci donatum*. Straßburg, 1625.
- Schlichting, Jonas. *Confessio fidei Christiane edita nomine ecclesiarum Polonicarum*. Amsterdam, 1642.
- Schlichting, Jonas and Johann Crell (Crellius). *Commentarius in Epistolam ad Hebraeos*. Raków, 1634.

- . *The Expiation of a Sinner in a Commentary upon the Epistle to the Hebrewes*. London, 1646.
- Schott, André (Andreas Schottus). *Adagialia sacra Novi Testamenti græco-latina*. Antwerp, 1629.
- Scott, S. P. *The Civil Law. Including The Twelve Tables, The Institutes of Gaius, The Rules of Ulpian, The Opinions of Paulus, The Enactments of Justinian, and The Constitutions of Leo. Translated from the Original Latin, edited, and compared with all Accessible Systems of Jurisprudence Ancient and Modern*. 17 vols. Cincinnati: Central Trust Co, 1932.
- Seager, John. *A Discoverie of the World to come according to the Scriptures*. London, 1650.
- Sefer Zerubbabel: *The Prophetic Vision of Zerubbabel ben Shealtiel*. In *Old Testament Pseudepigraph*, Vol. 1. Edited by J. M. Charlesworth. London: English Dominicans, 1984.
- Sefer Zerubbabel: *The Prophetic Vision of Zerubbabel ben Shealtiel*. In *Old Testament Pseudepigraphs: More Noncanonical Scriptures*. Edited by Richard Bauckham, James R. Davila, Alex Panayotov. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2013.
- Seidenbecher, G. Laurentius. *Problema Theologicum, De Regno Sanctorum in Terris Millenario*. Amsterdam, 1664.
- ♦ Selden, John. *De diis Syris syntagmata II*. London, 1617.
- ♦ –. *De synedriis et praefecturis juridicis veterum Ebraeorum libri tres*. 3 vols. London, 1650–1655.
- . *The historie of tithes that is, the practice of payment of them, the positive laws made for them, the opinions touching the right of them*. London, 1618.
- Seneca (Lucius Annaeus Seneca). *Epistles*. Vol. I: Epistles 1–65. Translated by Richard M. Gummere. *LCL* 75. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1917.
- . *Epistles*. Vol. III: Epistles 93–124. Translated by Richard M. Gummere. *LCL* 77. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1925.
- ♦ –. *Epistolæ, quæ extant, ex recensione I. Lipsii & Io. Fr. Gronovii*. Leiden, 1649.
- . *Natural Questions*. Translated by Thomas H. Corcoran. *LCL* 450. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1971.
- ♦ –. *Tragedies*. Volume II: Oedipus. Agamemnon. Thyestes. Hercules on Oeta. Octavia. Edited and translated by John G. Fitch. *LCL* 78. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 2004.
- [LXX=] *Septuaginta, id est Vetus Testamentum Graece iuxta LXX interpretes*. Edited by Alfred Rahlf. 2 vols. Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalten, 1935.
- ♦ *Septuaginta, sive Vetus Testamentum juxta septuaginta interpretes*. Edited by J. E. Grabe. 4 vols. Oxford, 1707.
- Serarius, Petrus. *Assertion du règne de mille ans*. Amsterdam, 1657.
- Servius (Maurus Servius Honoratus). *Comentarii*. In *P. Vergilii Maronis opera, quae quidem extant, omnia, cum veris in Bucolica, Georgica, & Aeneida commentariis Tib. Donati & Servij Honorati, summa cura ac fide a Georgio Fabricio Chemnicense emendatis*. Basil, 1561.
- Seyssel, Claude de (Claudius Sesselius). *Adversus errores et sectam Valdensem disputationes*. Paris, 1520.
- Sharrock, Robert. *De officiis secundum naturæ jus*. Oxford, 1660.
- ♦ Sherlock, Thomas. *The Use and Intent of Prophecy in the several Ages of the World*. London, 1725.
- ♦ Sherlock, William. *A practical Discourse concerning a future Judgment*. London, 1692.

- Sherwin, William. *Iero-metropolis, or, The holy, the great, the beloved new Jerusalem shortly to come down from God out of heaven: being the work of Gods own hands*. London, 1670.
- Sibyllinische Weissagungen*. Edited and translated by Alfons Kurfess. Sammlung Tusculum. München: Heimerla, 1951.
- Sidonius Apollinaris. *Poems. Letters: Books 1–2*. Translated by W. B. Anderson. LCL 296. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1936.
- Siebertus Gemblacensis (Siebert of Gembloux). *Chronicon sive Chronographia*. In *Chronica et annales aevi Salici*. Edited by G. H. Pertz. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, SS 6. Hannover: Hahn, 1844.
- Sigonio, Carolo (Carolus Sigonius). *Fasti consulares ac triumphali acti à Romulo rege usque ad Ti. Caesarem; eiusdem In Fastos et triumphos*. Basil, 1559.
- . *Historiarum De Occidentali Imperio Libri XX*. 1578. Hannover, 1618.
  - . *Historiarum De regno Italiae*. 1574. Bologna, 1575.
  - . *Opera omnia*. 6 vols. Argelati, 1732–1737.
- Simon, Richard. *Histoire critique du texte du Nouveau Testament*. Rotterdam, 1689.
- ◆ Smith, John. *Christian Religion's Appeal from the Groundless Prejudices of the Sceptick, To the Bar of Common Reason*. London, 1675.
  - . *Select Discourses*. London, 1660.
  - Smith, Joseph. *Modern Pleas for Schism and Infidelity reviewed*. 2 vols. London, 1716.
- Smith, Thomas. *Remarks upon the Manners, Religion and Government of the Turks, together with a Survey of the Seven Churches of Asia*. London, 1678.
- Sobeaus, Johannes. *Florilegium ad Manuscriptorum Fidem Emendavit et Supplevit*. 4 vols. Lipsiae, 1823.
- Socrates of Constantinople (Scholasticus). *Historia Ecclesiastica*. [PG 67. 30–843].
- Sozomenos, Salaminus Hermias. *The Ecclesiastical History of Sozomen*. Translated by Chester D. Hartranft. Edited by Philip Schaff and Henry Wace. NPNFii 2. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1995.
- . *Historia ecclesiastica*. Edited by J. Bidez and G. C. Hansen. *Sozomenos. Kirchengeschichte*. GCS 50. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1960.
- Spencer, John. *De legibus Hebraeorum ritualibus et earum rationibus. Libri tres*. 2 vols. Cambridge, 1685.
- Spener, Philipp Jacob. *Chiliasmus Sanctus*. Amsterdam, 1660.
- . *Consilia Theologica Latina; Opus Posthumum, .... Pars Tertia, ....* Frankfurt am Main, 1709.
  - . *Pia Desideria: Oder Hertzliches Verlangen, Nach Gottgefälliger Besserung der wahren Evangelischen Kirchen*. Frankfurt am Main, 1675.
- Stalham, John. *The Reviler rebuked: Or, A Reinforcement of the Charge Against the Quakers*. London, 1657.
- Staynoe, Thomas. *Salvation by Jesus Christ alone ... agreeable to the rules of reason and the laus of justice ... to which is added a short inquiry into the state of those men in a future life who never heard of Jesus Christ*. London, 1700.
- ◆ Stephanus of Byzantium (Stephanus Byzantinus). [*Ethnica*=] *Peri poleon. De uribus. Quem primus Thomas de Pinedo Lusitanus Latii jure donabat, & observationibus scrutinio variarum linguarum, ac praecipue hebraicae, phoeniciae, graecae & latinae detectis illustrabat. His additae praeter ejusdem Stephani fragmentum collationes Jacobi Gronovii cum codice Perusino*. Edited and annotated by Thomas de Pinedo Lusitanus. With an appendix by Jacobus Gronovius. Amsterdam, 1678.

- ♦ Stephens, Nathaniel. *A Plain and Easie Calculation of the Name, Mash and Number of the Name Beast*. London, 1656.
- Steuco, Agostino (Augustinus Steuchus Eugubinius). *Contra Laurentium Vallam: De falsa donatione Constantini libri duo*. Lyon, 1547.
- . *Enarrationes in Librum Job*. Venice, 1567.
- Strabo. *Geography*. With an English Translation by Horace Leonard Jones. 8 vols. Vol II. LCL 50. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1960.
- . *Geography*. Vol. VII: Books 15–16. Translated by Horace Leonard Jones. LCL 241. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1930.
- ♦ –. *Rerum geographicarum libri XVII. Isaacus Casabonus recensuit, summoque studio & diligentia, operiam veterum codicum, emendavit, ac commentariis illustravit ... Adiecta est etiam Guilielmi Xylandri Augustani latina versio, cum necessariis indicibus*. Geneva, 1587.
- ♦ Strong, William. *Heavenly treasure, or man's chiefest good*. London, 1656.
- ♦ –. XXXI. *select sermons, preached on special occasions*. London, 1656.
- ♦ Stucki, Johann Wilhelm (Stuckius). *Antiquitates conviviales*. Zurich, 1582.
- ♦ Suetonius Tranquillus, Gaius. *De vita duodecim caesarum*. Annotated by P. Beroaldus. Venice, 1506.
- ♦ –. *Lives of the Caesars*. Vol. I: *Julius. Augustus. Tiberius. Gaius. Caligula*. Translated by J. C. Rolfe. Introduction by K. R. Bradley. LCL 31. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1914.
- Suicerus, Johann Caspar (Johann Kaspar Schweitzer). *Thesaurus ecclesiasticus*. Amsterdam, 1682.
- Suidae lexicon, graece et latine. Textum graecum cum manuscriptis codicibus collatum a quamplurimis mendis purgavit, notisque perpetuis illustravit*. 3 vols. Cambridge, 1705. 4 vols. Edited by Ada Adler. Leipzig: Teubner, 1928–1935.
- ♦ *Suidas, cuius integram latinam interpretationem, & perpetuam graeci textus emendationem Aemilius Portus ... opus nunc primum in lucem emissum ...* Edited by Aemilius Portus. 2 vols. Geneva, 1619.
- Sykes, Arthur Ashley. *An Essay upon the Truth of the Christian Religion: wherein its real Foundation upon the Old Testament is shewn*. London, 1725.
- Tacitus (Cornelius Publius/Gaius). *Annals. Books 4–6, 11–12*. Translated by John Jackson. LCL 312. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1937.
- . *Histories: Books 4–5. Annals: Books 1–3*. Translated by C. H. Moore. LCL 249. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 2005.
- . [Annales=] *Opera quae extant. Marcus Zuerius Boxhornius recensuit & animadversionibus nonnullis illustravit. Accedunt ejusdem epistolae duae, quibus & quaedam Taciti explicantur*. Amsterdam, 1653.
- ♦ *Talmud Babylonicum*. 10 vols. Amsterdam, 1644–1647.
- The Babylonian Talmud. Translated into English with Notes, Glossary and Indices*. Edited by I. Epstein. 35 vols. London: Soncino P, 1978.
- The Talmud of the Land Israel*. Edited by Jacob Neusner. 22 vols. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.
- The Targum of Ezekiel*. Translated by S. H. Levey. *The Aramaic Bible* 13. Edinburgh: Clark, 1987.
- The Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan Ben Uzziel on the Pentateuch, with the Fragments of the Jerusalem Targum*. Translated by J. W. Etheridge. 2 vols. London: Green, 1862–1865. Reprinted edition. New York: Ktav, 1968.

*Targum Yerusalem. Targum Hierosolymitanum, in quinque libros legis e lingua chaldaica in latinam conversum, opus Francisci Tayleri, Angli, verbi divini in aede Christi apud Cantuarienses concionatoris. Una cum notis marginalibus sensum locorum difficultum exprimentibus.* Edited by Francis Taylor. 1649.

- ♦ Tatian (Tatianus). *Oratio adversus Græcos*. [PG 6. 803–890].
- Templer, John. *A Treatise: Relating to the Worship of God*. London, 1694.
- Tertullian (Quintus Septimius Florens Tertullianus). *Ad martyres*. [PL 1. 619–628].
- . *Ad Scapulum*. [PL 1. 697–706].
- . *Adversus gnosticos Scorpiace*. [PL 2. 121–154].
- . *Adversus Judæos*. [PL 2. 596–642].
- . *Adversus Marcionem*. [PL 2. 239–524].
- . *Adversus Praxeas*. [PL 2. 154–196].
- . *Against Praxeas*. In *Systematic Theology: Roman Catholic Perspectives*. Edited by Francis Schüssler Fiorenza and John P. Galvin. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2011.
- . *Apologeticum*. Edited by H. Hoppe. CSEL 69. Vienna, 1939.
- . *Apologeticus adversus gentes pro Christianis*. [PL 1. 257–560].
- . *Apology. De Spectaculis. Minucius Felix, Octavius*. Translated by T.R. Glover, Gerald H. Rendall. LCL 250. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1931.
- . *Contre Marcion: Tome III (Livre III)*. Edited by René Braun. SC 399. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1994.
- . *De anima adversus philosophos*. [PL 2. 642–752].
- . *De Baptismo, Adversus Quintillam*. [PL 1. 1197–1224].
- . *De cultu feminarum libri duo*. [PL 1. 1303–34.].
- . *De jejuniis*. [PL 2. 953–78].
- . *De praescriptionibus adversus haereticos*. [PL 2. 10–74].
- . *De praescriptione haereticorum, De cultu feminarum, Ad uxorem, De exhortatione castitatis, De corona, De carne Christi, Adversus Judæos*. Edited by E. Kroymann. CSEL 70. Vienna, 1942.
- . *The Prescription Against Heretics*. In *Latin Christianity: Its Founder, Tertullian: I. Apologetic; II. Anti-Marcion; III. Ethical*. Edited by A. Roberts and J. Donaldson. ANF 3. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishing, 1995.
- . *De pudicitia*. [PL 1. 979–1030].
- . *De resurrectione carnis*. [PL 2. 791–886].
- . *Five Books Against Marcion*. In *Latin Christianity: Its Founder, Tertullian: I. Apologetic; II. Anti-Marcion; III. Ethical*. Edited by A. Roberts and J. Donaldson. ANF 3. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishing, 1995.
- . *La Pudicité: Tome I & II*. Edited by C. Micaelli, C. Munier. SC 394–95. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1993.
- . *Liber de Resurrectione Carnis*. [PL 2. 792–886].
- ♦ –. *Opera*. Edited by Aemilli Kroymann. CSEL 47 Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1906.
- . *Opera I: Opera catholica. Adversus Marcionem*. Edited by E. Dekkers, J. G. P. Borleffs, R. Willems, R. F. Refoulé, G. F. Diercks, A. Kroymann. CCSL 1. Turnhout: Brepols, 1954.
- . *Opera II: Opera montanistica*. Edited by A. Gerlo, A. Kroymann, R. Willems, J. H. Waszink, J. G. P. Borleffs, A. Reifferscheid, G. Wissowa, E. Dekkers, J. J. Thierry, E. Evans, A. Harnack. CCSL 2. Turnhout: Brepols, 1954.
- . *Quinti Septimi Florentis Tertulliani opera*. Ex recensione Aemilii Kroymann. Pars. III. CSEL 47. Vindobonae/Lipsiae: Tempsky/Freytag, 1906.



- . *Scorpiace*. In *Latin Christianity: Its Founder, Tertullian: I. Apologetic; II. Anti-Marcion; III. Ethical*. Edited by A. Roberts and J. Donaldson. ANF 3. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishing, 1995.
- . *The History of the Works of the Learned*. London, 1700.
- Theoderet of Cyrus (Theodoretus Cyrensis). *Historia ecclesiastica*. [PG 82. 897–1280].
- . *Interpretatio in Psalmos*. [PG 80. 857–1998].
- ◆ –. *Opera, in duos tomos distincta*. 2 vols. Cologne, 1573.
- Theophanes Homologetes (Confessor). *Chronographia*. Edited by C. de Boor. Leipzig: Teubner, 1883.
- . *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor: Byzantine and Near Eastern History, AD 284–813*. Translated by Geoffrey Greatrex and Roger Scott. New York: Oxford UP, 1997.
- Theophilus of Antioch (Antiochenus). *Apologia ad Autolyicum*. [PG 6. 1023–1176].
- Theophylact of Ohrid. *Argumentum catholicae Iacobi epistolae*. [PG 125. 1131–34]
- . *Commentaria in epistolas Pauli*. [PG 124. 319–1358, 125. 9–404].
- . *Expositio in epistolam prior S. Petri*. [PG 125. 1190–1288].
- Thorndike, Herbert. *Millennianism: or, Christ's Thousand Years Reign upon Earth, considered, in a Familiar Letter to a Friend*. London, 1693.
- ◆ Tillotson, John. *The Works of the Most Reverend Dr. John Tillotson*. 1712. London, 1722.
- Timotheus Presbyterus (Timothy of Constantinople). *De iis qui ad ecclesiam accedunt, sive, de triplici receptione haereticorum*. [PG 86. 11–73].
- Toledot Yeshu: *The Life Story of Jesus: Two Volumes and Database*. Edited and translated by Michael Meerson and Peter Schäfer. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014.
- Torrey, William. *A brief Discourse concerning Futurities or Things to come*. Boston, 1757.
- Tostado, Alonso (Alphonsus Tostatus, Tostatus Abulensis). *Commentaria in lib. primum Paralipomenon*. In *Opera*. Vol. 16. 1596. Venice, 1728.
- Tournefort, Joseph Pitton de. *A Voyage into the Levant*. 2 vols. London, 1741.
- . *Relation d'un Voyage du Levant*. 2 vols. Paris, 1717.
- ◆ Trapp, John. *A clavis to the Bible. Or A new comment upon the Pentateuch: or five books of Moses*. London, 1649.
- ◆ –. *Annotations on the Old and New Testaments*. 5 vols. London, 1662.
- Trench, Edmund. *Some remarkable Passages in the holy Life and Death of the late Reverend Mr Edmund Trench*. London, 1693.
- Turmain, Johann Georg. *Annalium Boiorum Libri Septem*. Ingolstadt, 1554.
- ◆ Turner, John. *The Wisdom of God in the Redemption of Man, Eight Sermons preach'd in the Year 1708, of the Lecture founded by R. Boyle*. London, 1708.
- Turretin, Francis. *De Tribus Testibus Coelestibus*. In *Opera*. Leiden, 1674.
- Tusi, Nasir al-Din. *Elements: Euclidis Elementorum geometricorum libri tredecim*. Rome, 1594.
- Ursinus, Zacharias. *Opera theologica. Quibus orthodoxae religionis capita perspicue & breviter explicantur . . .*. Vol. 3. *Qui complectitur eruditissimum commentarium in prophetiam Iesaeae, et alia, quorum elenchum exhibet pagina proxima a praefatione*. Heidelberg/Frankfurt am Main, 1612.
- ◆◆ Ussher, James. *Annales Veteris Testamenti. A prima mundi origine deducti: una cum rerum Asiaticarum et Aegyptiacarum chronico, a temporis historici principio usque ad Maccabaicorum initia producto*. London, 1650.
- . *The Annals of the World: Deduced from the Origin of Time, and Continued to the Beginning of the Emperour Vespasians Reign, and the Totall Destruction and Abolition of the Temple and Common-wealth of the Jews*. London, 1658.

- –. *Gravissimae quaestionis, de christianarum ecclesiarum, in Occidentis praesertim partibus, ab Apostolorum temporibus, ad nostram usque aetatem, continua successione et statu, historica explicatio*. 1613. Hannover, 1658.
- . *Strange and Remarkable Prophecies and Predictions of ... James Usher*. London, 1676.
- . *The Whole Works of the Most Rev. James Ussher, D. D.* 17 vols. 1625. Dublin, 1864.
- ♦ Valerius Maximus. *Memorable Doings and Sayings*. Translated by D. R. Shackleton Bailey. LCL 492. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 2000.
- Varro (Marcus Terentius Varro). *On Agriculture*. Translated by W. D. Hooper, Harrison Boyd Ash. LCL 283. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1934.
- . *On the Latin Language*. With an English Translation by Roland G. Kent. 2 vols. Vol. I: Books V–VIII. LCL 333. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1958.
- Vatabl, Franciscus (François Vatable, Watebled). *Commentarii*. In *Sacra Biblia, hebraice, graece et latine. Latina duplex est, altera vetus, altera nova. Cum annotationibus Francisci Vatabli ...* 2 vols. Edited by Robert Estienne. 1545. Heidelberg, 1599.
- Victorinus of Pettau. *Scholia in Apocalypsin Beati Ioannis*. Edited by Johannes Hausleiter. CSEL 49. Vindobonae/Lipsiae: Tempsky/Freytag, 1916.
- Vignier, Nicholas. *La Bibliothèque Historiale: Contenant la dispositio & concordance des temps, des histoires & des historiographes, ensemble l'estat tant de l'Eglise*. 4 vols. Paris, 1587–1650.
- Virgil (Publius Vergilius Maro). *Eclogues. Georgics. Aeneid: Books 1–6*. Translated by H. Rushton Fairclough. Revised by G. P. Goold. LCL 63. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard UP, 1916.
- Vitranga, Campegius (the Elder). *Observationum sacrarum libri sex, in quo de rebus varii argumenti, & utilissimae investigationis, critice ac theologicæ, disseritur. Sacrorum imprimis librorum loca multa obscuriora nova vel clariore luce perfunduntur editio novissima cui accessit auctoris geographia sacra anecdota et praemissa est eiusdem vita*. Jena, 1723.
- Vives, Juan Luis. *In publici Vergilii Maronis Bucolica, interpretatio, potissimum allegorica*. 1537. Antwerp, 1543.
- ♦ Voisin, Joseph de. *Theologia Iudaeorum: opus, in quorem ipsam, quae nunc Christiana religio nuncupatur, etiam apud Antiquos fuisse, priusquam Christus veniret in carne, ex Hebraeorum libris ostenditur. Errores vero, quos post natum Christum Iudei per fraudem et malitiam attulerunt, coarguuntur*. Paris, 1647.
- ♦ Vossius, Gerardus Joannes (Gerhard Johannes Vossius, Gerrit Janszoon Vos). *De theologia gentili, et physiologia christiana, sive de origine ac progressu idololatriæ, ad veterum gesta, ac rerum naturam, reductæ; deque naturæ mirandis, quibus homo adducitur ad Deum. Liber I, et II*. First edition. Amsterdam, 1642. *Libri IX. Editio nova. Quorum IV libri priores ab auctore plurimum aucti, addendaque in calce eorum sui locis inserta. Posteriores V libri ex auctoris autographo nunc primum prodeunt. First completed edition*. Amsterdam, 1668.
- Vossius, Issac. *De Sibyllinis aliisque quæ Christi natalem præcessere oraculis: Acced. eiusdem Responsio*. Leiden, 1680.
- . *Theses theologicæ et historicæ de variis doctrinæ*. The Hague, 1658.
- ♦ Wake, William. *The Genuine Epistles of the Apostolic Fathers, S. Barnabas, S. Ignatius, S. Clement, S. Polycarp, the Shepherd of Hermas, and the Martyrdoms of Ignatius and St. Polycarp*. London, 1710.
- Walker, Obadiah. *The Greek and Roman History illustrated by Coins & Medals representing their Religions, Rites, Manners, Customs, Games, Feasts, Arts and Sciences*. London, 1692.
- Wallis, John. *A Defense of the Christian Sabbath*. London, 1693.

- . *Theological Discourses, containing VIII Letters and III Sermons concerning the blessed Trinity*. London, 1692.
- ♦♦ Walton, Brian. Editor. [=Biblia Polyglotta] *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta. Complectentia textus originales, hebraicum, cum Pentateucho samaritano, chaldaicum, græcum, versionumque antiquarum, samaritanæ, græcæ LXXII interp., chaldaicæ, syriacæ, arabicæ, æthiopicæ, persicæ, Vulg. lat. Quicquid comparari poterat. Cum textuum, & versionum orientalium translationibus latinis*. 6 vols. London, 1653–1657.
- Waple, Edward. *The Book of the Revelation Paraphrased; with Annotations on Each Chapter*. London, 1693.
- Watt, Robert. *Bibliotheca Britannica, Or a General Index to British and Foreign Literature*. Edinburgh, 1824.
- Wedelius, Georg Wolfgang. *Exercitationum Medico-Philologicarum Sacrarum Et Profanarum Decas II*. Jena, 1708.
- ♦ Wheeler, George and Jacob Spon, *Journey Into Greece, 6 Books with Variety of Sculptures*. London, 1682.
- Whiston, William. *A Collection of Ancient Monuments relating to the Trinity and Incarnation, and to the History of the Fourth Century of the Church*. London, 1713.
- . *A Commentary on the three Catholick Epistles of St. John*. London, 1719.
- . *An Essay on the Revelation of Saint John: so far as concerns the Past and Present Times: to which are added two Dissertations*. London, 1706.
- . *A short View of the Chronology of the Old Testament, and of the Harmony of the four Evangelists*. Cambridge, 1702.
- . *Athanasius convicted of forgery: in a letter to mr. Thirlby [in reply to An answer to mr. Whiston's seventeen suspicions concerning Athanasius]*. London, 1712.
- . *Primitive Christianity Reviv'd in Four Parts*. 4 vols. London, 1711–1712.
- Whitby, Daniel. *Additional Annotations to the New Testament: With Seven Discourses; and an Appendix Entituled Examen Variantium Lectionum Johannis Millii, S. T. P. in Novum Testamentum*. London, 1710.
- ♦ –. *A Paraphrase and Commentary on the New Testament*. 2 vols. London, 1703.
- White, Samuel. *A Commentary on the Prophet Isaiah, wherein the literal Sense of his Prophecy's is briefly explain'd*. London, 1709.
- White, Thomas. *The Treatise of the Power of Godlinesse*. London, 1658.
- ♦ Willet, Andrew. *Hexapla in Daniele: that Is, a Six-fold Commentarie Upon the Most Divine Prophetie of Daniel*. London, 1610.
- ♦ –. *Synopsis papismi: that is, a General View of Papistrie wherein the Whole Mysterie of Iniquitie and Summe of Antichristian Doctrine is Set down*. London, 1592.
- Witsius, Hermann (Herman Wits). *De oeconomia foederum Dei cum hominibus libri quatuor*. Leeuwarden, 1677.
- . *Exercitationes sacrae in symbolum quod Apostolorum dicitur et in orationem dominicam*. Gyselaar, 1689.
- . *Meletemata Leidensia. Quibus continentur prælectiones de vita et rebus gestis Pauli apostoli. Nec non dissertationum exegeticarum duodecas. Denique commentarius in Epistolam Judæ apostoli*. Leiden, 1703.
- . *Miscellaneorum sacrorum libri IV. Quibus de prophetis & prophetia, de tabernaculi Levitici mysteriis, de collatione sacerdoti Aaronis & Christi...* 1692–1700. Editio nova ab auctore recognita, & præfatione aucta. 2 vols. Leiden, 1736.
- Wolseley, Charles. *The Mount of Spirits, that glorious & honorable state to which believers are called by the Gospel explained in some meditations upon the 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24*

- verses of the 12th chapter to the Hebrews: with some previous reflections upon that whole Epistle and the people of the Jews. London, 1691.
- Woodhead, Abraham, Richard Allestree, and Obadiah Walker. *A Paraphrase and annotations upon all the epistles of St. Paul, done by several eminent men at Oxford*. 1675. London, 1708.
- ♦ Woodward, John. *An Essay towards a Natural History of the Earth*. 1695. London, 1723.
- Worthington, John. *Miscellanies, viz: i. Observations concerning the Millenium*. London, 1704.
- Xenophon. *Cyropaedia*. Translated by W. Miller. 2 vols. *LCL* 51/52. Cambridge, MA/ London: Harvard UP, 1914.
- The Zohar. An English Translation*. Edited by H. Sperling, M. Simon, et al. 5 vols. London: Soncino P, 1984.
- [*The Zohar*=] *Sefer ha-Zohar 'al ha-Torah* .... Mantua, 1558–1560.
- The Zohar*. Pritzker Edition. Edited and translated by Daniel C. Matt. 6 vols. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003–2011.
- Zonaras, Johannes. *Canon in SS. Deiparam*. [PG 135. 413–22].
- . *Epitome Historion. Libri I–XVI*. [PG 134. 39–1414].
- Zosimus Constantinopolitanus. *Historia nova*. 4 vols. Edited by F. Paschoud. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1971–89.
- . *Zosimus: New History*. Translated by Ronald T. Ridley. Byzantina Australiensia 2. Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2017.

### Secondary Works

- Ács, Pál. *Reformation of Hungary in the Age of the Ottoman Conquest*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2019.
- Anchor Bible Dictionary*. Edited by David Noel Freedman et al. 6 vols. New York: Doubleday, 1992.
- [*ADB*=] *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*. 56 vols. Munich: Duncker & Humblot, 1875–1912.
- [*ANB*=] *American National Biography*. Gen. eds. J.A. Garraty and M. C. Carnes. 24 vols. New York: Oxford UP, 1999. Online edition. <www.anb.org> .
- [*BDAG*=] *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*. Edited by Frederick W. Danker. Third Edition. Based on Walter Bauer's *Griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der frühchristlichen Literatur*, Sixth Edition, ed. Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland, with Viktor Reichmann and on previous English editions by W.F. Arndt, F.W. Gingrich, and F.W. Danker. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.
- [*BDB*=] *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament with an Appendix Containing the Biblical Aramaic Based on the Lexicon of William Gesenius As Translated by Edward Robinson*. Edited by Francis Brown, S.R. Driver, and Charles A. Briggs. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906.
- Berger, David. *The Jewish-Christian Debate in the High Middle Ages: A Critical Edition of the Nizzabon Vetus*. American Council of Learned Societies, 2008.
- [*BBK*=] *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*. Edited by T. Bautz et al. 35 vols. Nordhausen et al.: Bautz et al., 1975–2014. Online edition. <www.bbkl.de> .
- Brady, David. “The Number of the Beast in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century England.” *The Evangelical Quarterly* 45 (1973): 219–240.

- Braun, Joachim. *Music in Ancient Israel/Palestine: Archaeological, Written, and Comparative Sources*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2002.
- Brockelmann, Carl. *Lexicon Syriacum*. Halle: Niemeyer, 1928.
- Cambers, Andrew. *Godly Reading: Print, Manuscript and Puritanism in England, 1580–1720*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2011.
- [CE=] *Catholic Encyclopedia: An International Work of Reference on the Constitution, Doctrine, Discipline, and History of the Catholic Church*. Edited by C. G. Herbermann et al. 16 vols. New York: Encyclopedia P, 1914.
- Charlesworth, James H. *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 2010.
- Dan, Joseph. Editor. *The Christian Kabbalah: Jewish Mystical Books and Their Christian Interpreters. A Symposium*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard College Library, 1997.
- . *Kabbalah: A Very Short Introduction*. New York: Oxford UP, 2007.
- Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Eight Edition. Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2009.
- The Encyclopedia of Islam*. Edited by P. Bearman, T. Bianquis, C. E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W. P. Heinrich. Second Edition. Leiden: Brill, 1964–2007.
- [EDNT=] *Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament*. Edited by H. Balz and G. Schneider. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1990–1993.
- Force, James. E. *William Whiston: Honest Newtonian*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1985.
- Friedländer, Michael. *Essays on the Writings of Abraham ibn Ezra*. London: The Society of Hebrew Literature, 1877.
- Gallagher, Edmund L. and John D. Meade. *The Biblical Canon Lists from Early Christianity: Texts and Analysis*. New York: Oxford UP, 2017.
- [LSJ=] *A Greek-English Lexicon. With a Revised Supplement. Compiled by Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott. Revised and Augmented Throughout by Henry Stuart Jones With the Assistance of Roderick McKenzie and With the Cooperation of Many Scholars*. Ninth edition. Oxford: Clarendon P, 1996.
- Guillemin Thomas. “Jalons pour une étude du corpus huguenot sur la tolérance au moment de la Révocation.” *Annales de Bretagne et des pays de l’Ouest* 125.1 (2018): 33–44.
- Hardy, Nicholas. *Criticism and Confession: The Bible in the Seventeenth Century Republic of Letters*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2017.
- [HCBD=] *HarperCollins Bible Dictionary*. Revised Edition. General editor Paul Achtemeier. San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1996.
- Haugen, Kristine Louise. “Hebrew Poetry Transformed, or, Scholarship Invincible Between Renaissance and Enlightenment.” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 75 (2012): 1–29.
- [HALOT=]. *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*. Third Edition. Edited by Ludwig Koehler and Walter Baumgartner. Translated and edited under the supervision of M. E. J. Richardson. Brill: Leiden and New York, 2000.
- Historical Dictionary of Judaism*. Edited by Norman Solomon. Lanham, MD: Scarecrow P, 1998.
- Hotson, Howard. *Paradise Postponed: Johann Heinrich Alsted and the Birth of Calvinist Millenarianism*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic, 2000.
- Hyland, William P. “American Tears: Cotton Mather and the Plight of Eastern Orthodox Christians,” *The New England Quarterly* 77.2 (2004): 282–290.

- Isler, Andreas. *Alles Derwische? Anschauungen, Begriffe, Bilder. Zur Darstellung von islamischen Ordensleuten in westlichen Orientwerken der frühen Neuzeit*. Zürich: Völkerkundemuseum, 2019.
- [JE=] *The Jewish Encyclopedia. A Descriptive Record of the History, Religion, Literature, and Customs of the Jewish People from the Earliest Times to the Present Day*. Edited by I. Singer, C. Adler, et al. 12 vols. New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1901–1906.
- Johnston, Warren. *Revelation Restored: The Apocalypse in Later Seventeenth-Century England*. Rochester, NY: The Boydell Press, 2011.
- McLachlan, H. J. “Lushington, Thomas (1590–1661).” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. 23 Sep. 2004. Online Edition. Accessed 15 Dec. 2020. <www.oxforddnb.com>
- . *Socinianism in Seventeenth-Century England*. New York: Oxford UP, 1951.
- McMahon, Madeline. “Making a Case for Bishops’ Authority in the Second and Seventeenth Centuries.” *Journal of the History of Ideas* (blog). September 21, 2015.
- Metzger, Bruce. *The Canon of the New Testament: Its Origin, Development, and Significance*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1997.
- Miert, Dirk van, Piet Steenbakkers, and Jetze Touber, eds. *Scriptural Authority and Biblical Criticism in the Dutch Golden Age: God’s Word Questioned*. New York: Oxford UP, 2017.
- Mulsow, Martin. *Radikale Frühaufklärung in Deutschland 1680–1720: Band 1: Moderne aus dem Untergrund*. Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2018.
- [NBL] *Neues Bibel-Lexikon*. Edited by Manfred Görg and Bernhard Lang. 3 vols. Zürich and Düsseldorf: Benzinger, 1995.
- [NP=] *Der Neue Pauly. Enzyklopädie der Antike*. Edited by Hubert Cancik. 18 vols. Stuttgart: Metzler, 1996–2007.
- [ODNB=] *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Gen. eds. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2005. Online edition. < www.oxforddnb.com>.
- [=OED] *Oxford English Dictionary*. 2nd edition. 20 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989.
- Potestá, Gian Luca. “Radical Apocalyptic Movements in the Middle Ages.” In *The Continuum History of Apocalypticism*. Edited by Bernard McGinn, John Collins, and Stephen Stein. London: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2003.
- Randall, Catharine. *From a Far Country: Camisards and Hugenots in the Atlantic World*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2009.
- [RGG=] *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*. Edited by H. D. Betz et al. 9 vols. Fourth edition. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998–2007.
- Roessli, Jean-Michel. “Inspiration divine ou possession démoniaque? John Twysden (1607–1688) et la défense des sibylles et des Oracles sibyllins.” In *Stimmen der Götter: Orakel und ihre Rezeption von der Spätantike bis in die Frühe Neuzeit*. Edited by Lucia Maddalena Tissi, Helmut Seng, and Chiara Ombretta Moreschini. Heidelberg: Winter, 2019. 145–165.
- Roggema, Barbara. *The Legend of Sergius Bahirā. Eastern Christian Apologetics and Apocalyptic in Response to Islam*. Brill, Leiden, 2009.
- Sangha, Laura. *Angels and Belief in England, 1480–1700*. London: Routledge, 2012.
- Stievermann, Jan. “A ‘Syncretism of Piety’: Imagining Global Protestantism in Early Eighteenth-Century Boston, Tranquebar, and Halle.” *Church History* 89.4 (December 2020): 829–856.
- . *Prophecy, Piety, and the Problem of Historicity*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016.

- Stroumsa, Guy G. *A New Science: The Discovery of Religion in the Age of Reason*. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 2010.
- [TDNT] *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*. Edited by G. Kittel and G. Friedrich. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1964–1976.
- Thomas, Isaiah. “Catalogue of Dr. Cotton Mather’s Library. Purchased by Isaiah Thomas and by him Given to the American Antiquarian Society” (AAS copy).
- . “Remains of Mathers’ [*sic*] Library Folio & 4to. Purchased by I. Thomas and by him presented to the American Antiqn. [*sic*] Society” (AAS copy).
- Touber, Jetze. *Spinoza and Biblical Philology in the Dutch Republic, 1660–1710*. New York: Oxford UP, 2016.
- [TRE=] *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*. Edited by G. Krause, G. Müller, et al. 42 vols. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1997–2007.
- Tuttle, Julius H. “The Libraries of the Mathers.” *Publications of the American Antiquarian Society* 20. New Series (1920): 269–356.
- VanderKam, James C and William Adler. *The Jewish Apocalyptic Heritage in Early Christianity*. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1996.
- Van der Wall, Ernestien G. E. “Chiliasmus Sanctus: De Toemomstverwachting van Georg Lorenz Seidenbecher (1623–1663).” *Nederlands archief voor kerkgeschiedenis / Dutch Review of Church History* 63.1, Nieuwe Serie (1983): 69–83.
- Versluis, Arthur. *Wisdom’s Children: A Christian Esoteric Tradition*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999.

## Index of Biblical Passages

### *Old Testament*

#### *Genesis*

|          |            |          |          |
|----------|------------|----------|----------|
| 1        | 463        | 17:2     | 826      |
| 1:2      | 236        | 18:5     | 300      |
| 1:26     | 716        | 18:15    | 346      |
| 2        | 909        | 19:16    | 441      |
| 2:2      | 246        | 19:30–37 | 912      |
| 2:3      | 908        | 19:30–38 | 916      |
| 3        | 677        | 21:8–21  | 912      |
| 3:1      | 585        | 22:1–2   | 823      |
| 3:8      | 823        | 22:11    | 822      |
| 3:15     | 677, 910   | 22:14    | 884      |
| 3:24     | 249        | 22:18    | 916      |
| 4:1–5    | 910        | 23:1–20  | 915      |
| 4:15     | 910        | 24:1–9   | 913      |
| 4:21     | 947        | 25:19–34 | 913      |
| 4:23–24  | 910, 951   | 25:23    | 913      |
| 4:25–26  | 910        | 29:27–28 | 908      |
| 4:26     | 381–2, 917 | 30:1–24  | 914      |
| 5:22     | 370        | 31:27    | 946      |
| 5:28–29  | 910        | 32:10    | 286      |
| 6:7      | 299        | 33:19    | 338–9    |
| 7:11     | 313        | 36:3     | 884      |
| 7:13     | 963        | 36:31    | 649      |
| 8:13–22  | 825        | 37       | 823      |
| 9:21–27  | 911        | 37:1–10  | 914      |
| 10:5     | 472        | 38:8–10  | 914      |
| 10:9     | 642        | 41       | 823      |
| 11:2     | 351        | 41:43    | 381      |
| 12       | 284        | 42:6     | 480      |
| 12:6     | 884, 919   | 47:29    | 913      |
| 13:17    | 550        | 47:31    | 285      |
| 14:14    | 885        | 48       | 284      |
| 14:18    | 260        | 48:19–21 | 918      |
| 14:20    | 257        | 49       | 488, 622 |
| 16:1–16  | 912        | 49:1     | 622      |
| 16:7–13  | 822        | 49:29    | 919      |
| 16:10–12 | 823        | 50:22–26 | 284      |
|          |            | 50:25    | 919      |



*Exodus*

|            |          |
|------------|----------|
| 2:11–21    | 919      |
| 3:2–4      | 822      |
| 3:14       | 282, 446 |
| 4:16       | 597      |
| 4:22       | 401      |
| 5:5        | 909      |
| 7:1        | 597, 826 |
| 7:10–12    | 363      |
| 7:22       | 363      |
| 9:10       | 624      |
| 12         | 889      |
| 12:22      | 355      |
| 13:21      | 750      |
| 13:21–22   | 825      |
| 14:9       | 750      |
| 14:14      | 825      |
| 14:24      | 825      |
| 15:20      | 947–8    |
| 15:22      | 924      |
| 16         | 476      |
| 16:1–36    | 750      |
| 16:33      | 477      |
| 16:35      | 884      |
| 17:5–6     | 733      |
| 17:7       | 243      |
| 19         | 825      |
| 19:3–7     | 730      |
| 19:4       | 591      |
| 19:6       | 447      |
| 19:18      | 296      |
| 20         | 749      |
| 20:11      | 909      |
| 22:5–6     | 355      |
| 22:6       | 355      |
| 24:6       | 269      |
| 24:7       | 268      |
| 24:7–8     | 268      |
| 24:16      | 233      |
| 25:1–27:19 | 698      |
| 25:8       | 698      |
| 25:9       | 698      |
| 28:17      | 694      |
| 28:18      | 694      |
| 29:10      | 253      |
| 29:21      | 518      |
| 31:2–4     | 826      |
| 31:18      | 957      |

|          |     |
|----------|-----|
| 32       | 749 |
| 32:5     | 381 |
| 32:32    | 479 |
| 34:1     | 957 |
| 34:33–35 | 848 |
| 39:10    | 694 |
| 40:34–38 | 825 |
| 40:38    | 234 |

*Leviticus*

|          |     |
|----------|-----|
| 1:4      | 253 |
| 3:2      | 253 |
| 3:8      | 253 |
| 3:13     | 253 |
| 4:4      | 253 |
| 4:15     | 253 |
| 4:23–24  | 269 |
| 4:24     | 253 |
| 4:29     | 253 |
| 4:33     | 253 |
| 6:6      | 895 |
| 8        | 269 |
| 8:30     | 518 |
| 9:3      | 269 |
| 9:3–4    | 269 |
| 9:23–24  | 234 |
| 10:2     | 234 |
| 13:47    | 441 |
| 14:7     | 269 |
| 14:52    | 269 |
| 15:17    | 441 |
| 16:2     | 267 |
| 16:15    | 269 |
| 16:21    | 253 |
| 16:29    | 267 |
| 17:7     | 538 |
| 19:5     | 311 |
| 19:28    | 605 |
| 21:9     | 659 |
| 23:34–43 | 515 |
| 25       | 920 |
| 25:9     | 947 |
| 25:23    | 401 |
| 26:12    | 472 |
| 26:22    | 775 |
| 26:26    | 500 |

*Numbers*

|          |          |          |          |
|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| 1:16     | 510      | 12:10    | 246      |
| 3:40     | 479      | 12:18    | 300, 435 |
| 3:43     | 479      | 14:1     | 401      |
| 4:15     | 397      | 17:14    | 272      |
| 10:1–7   | 947      | 20:16–18 | 911      |
| 10:4     | 510      | 21:10–14 | 707      |
| 10:9–10  | 519      | 23:4     | 384      |
| 10:36    | 510      | 25:19    | 246      |
| 11       | 324      | 26:12    | 435      |
| 11:16–18 | 233      | 26:22    | 775      |
| 11:25    | 828      | 28:42    | 947      |
| 11:27–29 | 324      | 29:18    | 294      |
| 12:8     | 822      | 31:20–21 | 678      |
| 14:14    | 825      | 32:1–43  | 376, 952 |
| 14:17    | 313      | 32:6     | 376      |
| 15:37–41 | 923      | 32:17    | 538      |
| 16:28    | 374      | 32:24    | 775      |
| 21:29    | 911      | 32:33    | 584–5    |
| 22:5     | 933      | 32:34    | 495      |
| 22:18    | 374, 933 | 33:2     | 436      |
| 22:22    | 822      | 33:3     | 472      |
| 22:22–28 | 825      | 33:5     | 649      |
| 24:2     | 374      | 34       | 884      |
| 24:4     | 825–6    | 34:6     | 430      |
| 24:13    | 374      |          |          |
| 24:17    | 916      |          |          |
| 24:19    | 639      |          |          |
| 25:1     | 917      |          |          |
| 25:3–5   | 913      |          |          |
| 25:4–5   | 476      |          |          |
| 28:3     | 490      |          |          |
| 31:5     | 510      |          |          |
| 35:3–5   | 879      |          |          |

*Deuteronomy*

|          |     |
|----------|-----|
| 1:33     | 825 |
| 2:12     | 884 |
| 3:11     | 884 |
| 4:3      | 913 |
| 4:19     | 902 |
| 4:24     | 296 |
| 5        | 749 |
| 6:4–9    | 923 |
| 7:6      | 343 |
| 8:11     | 244 |
| 8:19     | 678 |
| 11:13–21 | 923 |

*Joshua*

|          |     |
|----------|-----|
| 1:5      | 299 |
| 6:4      | 678 |
| 6:23     | 903 |
| 7:21     | 643 |
| 12:7     | 356 |
| 12:21–22 | 632 |
| 17:11    | 632 |
| 21:44    | 246 |
| 22:4     | 246 |
| 24       | 885 |
| 24:26    | 927 |
| 24:32    | 284 |

*Judges*

|         |     |
|---------|-----|
| 1:27    | 632 |
| 5:19    | 632 |
| 6:5     | 779 |
| 6:11–26 | 823 |
| 6:34    | 828 |
| 7       | 823 |
| 7:12    | 779 |
| 11:24   | 911 |

|                 |            |                     |               |
|-----------------|------------|---------------------|---------------|
| 11:34           | 947        | 19:11               | 579           |
| 13:3            | 822        | 19:11–12            | 824           |
| 13:25           | 828        | 19:12               | 823           |
| 14–15           | 826        | 19:18               | 510, 579      |
| 14:6            | 828        | 21                  | 920           |
| 21:21           | 945        |                     |               |
|                 |            | <i>2 Kings</i>      |               |
| <i>Ruth</i>     |            | 1:10                | 579, 685      |
| 1:8             | 352        | 1:12                | 579           |
| 1:16            | 912        | 2:1–18              | 370           |
|                 |            | 2:11                | 579, 827, 961 |
| <i>1 Samuel</i> |            | 3:22                | 579           |
| 1:8             | 664        | 4:34–35             | 579           |
| 2:10            | 551        | 6:14–17             | 825           |
| 3:4–14          | 823        | 6:17                | 825           |
| 9:19            | 927        | 7:6                 | 823           |
| 10:5            | 927, 946–7 | 10:6–7              | 469           |
| 10:10           | 374        | 10:19–25            | 911           |
| 18:6            | 945, 948   | 12:13               | 947           |
| 18:10           | 829        | 18:14               | 959           |
| 19:9–10         | 829        | 18:21               | 285           |
|                 |            | 19:4                | 677           |
| <i>2 Samuel</i> |            | 19:31               | 677           |
| 5:23–25         | 823        | 21:3                | 507           |
| 6:5             | 946–7      | 21:5                | 507           |
| 6:16            | 829        | 22:8                | 922           |
| 7:4             | 597        | 23:4–5              | 507           |
| 11:14           | 958        | 25:10               | 366           |
| 15:27           | 824        |                     |               |
| 17:10           | 488        | <i>1 Chronicles</i> |               |
| 18:18           | 481        | 1:8                 | 946           |
|                 |            | 2:1–2               | 513           |
| <i>1 Kings</i>  |            | 6:33                | 948           |
| 1:40            | 945, 947   | 13:18               | 948           |
| 2:8             | 914        | 15                  | 948           |
| 4:12            | 632        | 15:16               | 946           |
| 7:23–26         | 622        | 15:17–19            | 948           |
| 8:9             | 265, 267   | 15:20               | 944, 946, 948 |
| 8:15            | 597        | 15:21               | 944           |
| 8:24            | 597        | 25:1                | 946           |
| 10:5            | 946        | 25:6                | 946           |
| 11:7            | 911        | 25:5                | 948           |
| 17:1            | 579        | 29:18               | 698           |
| 17:21–22        | 579        |                     |               |
| 18:4            | 911        | <i>2 Chronicles</i> |               |
| 18:13           | 911        | 4:2–5               | 622           |
| 18:19           | 477, 911   | 5:11–12             | 948           |
| 19:7–8          | 826        | 5:13                | 948           |

|                 |          |               |          |
|-----------------|----------|---------------|----------|
| 10–13           | 918      | 38:31         | 456      |
| 11:15           | 538      | 40:31         | 947      |
| 15:1            | 374      | 41:1–34       | 594      |
| 16:9            | 490      |               |          |
| 17:7–9          | 922      | <i>Psalms</i> |          |
| 20:14           | 829      | 1:2           | 227      |
| 24:20           | 374      | 2             | 288, 587 |
| 20:28           | 946      | 4:1           | 944      |
| 32:6            | 695      | 5:1           | 944      |
| 33:2            | 507      | 5:11          | 808      |
| 33:5            | 507      | 6:1           | 944      |
| 35:22           | 632      | 7             | 944      |
|                 |          | 8             | 463, 944 |
| <i>Ezra</i>     |          | 8:5           | 261      |
| 2:62–63         | 479      | 8:14          | 947      |
| 2:65            | 948      | 9             | 948      |
| 2:69            | 880      | 9:1           | 944      |
| 4:2             | 567      | 9:16          | 945      |
| 4:8–7:27        | 938      | 11:11         | 944      |
|                 |          | 15            | 313      |
| <i>Nehemiah</i> |          | 16            | 481, 944 |
| 1:3             | 677      | 16:6          | 879      |
| 4:12            | 664      | 17:14         | 357      |
| 8               | 881, 922 | 18            | 288      |
| 8:1             | 881      | 18:13–14      | 484      |
| 12:27           | 946      | 19:14         | 945      |
| 13:2            | 384      | 20            | 288      |
|                 |          | 21            | 288      |
| <i>Esther</i>   |          | 22            | 942      |
| 4:11            | 731      | 22:1          | 945      |
| 5:2             | 731      | 24            | 623      |
| 6:11            | 503      | 25            | 951      |
| 8:4             | 731      | 25:14         | 464      |
| 9:10            | 958      | 33:6          | 631      |
|                 |          | 34            | 951      |
| <i>Job</i>      |          | 34:8          | 341      |
| 3:19            | 727      | 37            | 951      |
| 4:12–17         | 822      | 37:5          | 798      |
| 19:3            | 664      | 39:7          | 279      |
| 19:23–24        | 958      | 40            | 957      |
| 21:12           | 947      | 40:6          | 272–74   |
| 29:7            | 695      | 43:3          | 946      |
| 30:31           | 947      | 45            | 945      |
| 31:35–36        | 959      | 45:7          | 243      |
| 32:19           | 829      | 46:2          | 523      |
| 33:13           | 822      | 47:7          | 945      |
| 33:17           | 822      | 48            | 623      |
| 38:1            | 824      | 50            | 301, 340 |

|           |          |                                    |       |
|-----------|----------|------------------------------------|-------|
| 56        | 945      | 110:1                              | 491   |
| 57:1      | 945      | 110:4                              | 259   |
| 67:6      | 754      | 111                                | 951   |
| 65:2      | 308, 420 | 112                                | 951   |
| 68:3      | 524      | 113:4–5                            | 262   |
| 68:24     | 948      | 115:16                             | 238   |
| 68:25     | 945      | 119                                | 951   |
| 68:26     | 948      | 119:105                            | 398   |
| 68:34–35  | 754      | 122                                | 755   |
| 69        | 945      | 127:1                              | 441   |
| 69:28     | 479      | 139                                | 952   |
| 69:36     | 808      | 141:2                              | 925   |
| 72:17     | 480      | 145                                | 951   |
| 74:8      | 927      | 148:7                              | 582   |
| 74:9      | 827      | 149:3                              | 946   |
| 74:14     | 671      | 149:5                              | 755   |
| 78:55     | 879      | 150:3                              | 946   |
| 79:12     | 772      | 150:5                              | 947   |
| 80        | 944      |                                    |       |
| 81        | 623      | <i>Proverbs</i>                    |       |
| 82        | 623      | 3:3                                | 958   |
| 83        | 944      | 5:22                               | 348   |
| 85:11     | 937      | 8:1                                | 381   |
| 88:8      | 253      | 15:33                              | 798   |
| 89:27     | 488      | 16:7                               | 798   |
| 90:16     | 244      | 16:14                              | 333   |
| 91:15     | 798      | 16:17                              | 319   |
| 92        | 623      | 18:4                               | 591   |
| 92:3      | 945      | 19:17                              | 798   |
| 92:4      | 946      | 25–29                              | 885   |
| 93        | 623      | 26:11                              | 385   |
| 94        | 623      | 30:27                              | 531   |
| 95        | 909      | 30:33                              | 339   |
| 95:7      | 909      | 31:10–31                           | 951   |
| 95:8–11   | 246, 338 |                                    |       |
| 96:1      | 492      | <i>Ecclesiastes</i>                |       |
| 97        | 238      | 2:8                                | 343   |
| 97:3      | 297      | 3:7                                | 308   |
| 98:5      | 946      | 5:5                                | 319   |
| 102:25    | 235      | 7:3                                | 352   |
| 104:4     | 235      | 11:8                               | 267–8 |
| 105       | 952      | 25:15                              | 529   |
| 105:16–22 | 952      | 26:7                               | 529   |
| 106:28    | 913      | 28:10                              | 319   |
| 106:37    | 538      |                                    |       |
| 107:34    | 254      | <i>Song of Solomon (Canticles)</i> |       |
| 108:11    | 639      | 1:3                                | 332   |
| 109       | 431      | 1:5                                | 447   |

|               |                 |          |               |
|---------------|-----------------|----------|---------------|
| 1:12          | 483             | 29       | 819           |
| 3:11          | 707             | 29:11    | 824           |
| <i>Isaiah</i> |                 | 30:8     | 958           |
| 1:16          | 418             | 30:29    | 947           |
| 2:4           | 937             | 30:30    | 521           |
| 2:19          | 507             | 32:4     | 757           |
| 4:5–6         | 755             | 32:19    | 521           |
| 6:1           | 482, 698–9, 942 | 33:12    | 715           |
| 7:3           | 827             | 33:14–15 | 715           |
| 7:14          | 920             | 34:3     | 626           |
| 8:3           | 827             | 34:4     | 506           |
| 8:16–17       | 958             | 42:7     | 348           |
| 9:5           | 469             | 43:2     | 715           |
| 9:6           | 481             | 43:7     | 481           |
| 9:7           | 937             | 44:6     | 454           |
| 9:14–15       | 585             | 45:5–7   | 893           |
| 9:15          | 531             | 45:7     | 728, 893      |
| 11            | 744             | 48:12    | 454           |
| 11:4          | 603             | 49:2     | 249           |
| 11:6–8        | 937             | 49:9     | 348           |
| 11:10         | 488             | 49:12    | 563           |
| 11:10–11      | 740             | 50:5     | 823           |
| 12:3          | 517             | 50:17–18 | 394           |
| 13:19         | 463             | 51:23    | 705           |
| 13:19–22      | 706             | 53:11    | 253           |
| 14            | 381             | 54:1     | 423           |
| 14:12–13      | 572             | 55:1     | 517, 733      |
| 14:13         | 560             | 56:7     | 925           |
| 14:30         | 488             | 59:20    | 714           |
| 15            | 916             | 60       | 489           |
| 17:5          | 619             | 60:14    | 480           |
| 18:1          | 947             | 60:18–21 | 937           |
| 19:5          | 522             | 60:21    | 284           |
| 19:15         | 585             | 61:1     | 348           |
| 20:2–4        | 827             | 61:6     | 447           |
| 21:2–4        | 825             | 62:2     | 481           |
| 21:9          | 900             | 62:11    | 732–3         |
| 22:14         | 463             | 63       | 708           |
| 22:21–22      | 469             | 63:1     | 708           |
| 22:22         | 479             | 63:2     | 619           |
| 24:8          | 946             | 65       | 394, 753, 961 |
| 24:21–23      | 707             | 65–66    | 751           |
| 24:22         | 721             | 65:20    | 438           |
| 24:23         | 483             | 65:21    | 752           |
| 26            | 493             | 65:25    | 937           |
| 27:13         | 772             | 66:8     | 713, 847      |
| 28:2          | 521             | 66:16    | 713           |

*Jeremiah*

|          |          |
|----------|----------|
| 1        | 825      |
| 1:11–12  | 532      |
| 2:11     | 234      |
| 2:20     | 507      |
| 3:6      | 507      |
| 3:23     | 507      |
| 4:19     | 829      |
| 4:23     | 506      |
| 7:16     | 421      |
| 8:7–9    | 819      |
| 10:11    | 938      |
| 13:1     | 828      |
| 15:16    | 826      |
| 17:1     | 958      |
| 17:16    | 828      |
| 19:10    | 758, 765 |
| 20:9     | 828      |
| 22:24    | 456      |
| 23:5     | 709      |
| 23:16    | 374      |
| 23:26    | 374      |
| 25:26    | 358–9    |
| 27:1–7   | 827      |
| 27:9     | 462      |
| 29:11    | 958      |
| 31:25–26 | 822      |
| 31:31–33 | 268      |
| 31:32    | 263      |
| 36:18    | 959      |
| 36:28–29 | 959      |
| 48:46    | 911      |
| 49       | 427      |
| 49:14–15 | 823      |
| 50:2     | 900      |
| 50:13    | 706      |
| 50:26    | 706      |
| 51:13    | 641      |
| 51:25    | 541      |
| 51:33    | 619      |
| 51:36    | 522      |
| 51:41    | 358      |
| 51:44    | 522, 900 |
| 51:47    | 900      |
| 51:52    | 900      |

*Lamentations*

|     |     |
|-----|-----|
| 1–4 | 951 |
|-----|-----|

|       |     |
|-------|-----|
| 2:9   | 824 |
| 4:6–7 | 500 |
| 4:21  | 639 |

*Ezekiel*

|          |          |
|----------|----------|
| 1        | 337, 482 |
| 1:3      | 827      |
| 1:15–24? | 774      |
| 1:15–26  | 698      |
| 1:26     | 483      |
| 1:27–28  | 232      |
| 2:6      | 529      |
| 2:9      | 959      |
| 3:1–3    | 959      |
| 3:3      | 826      |
| 3:12     | 824      |
| 3:14     | 825–6    |
| 3:23     | 826      |
| 5:17     | 775      |
| 8:14     | 825      |
| 8:16     | 894      |
| 9:4      | 510      |
| 13:17    | 374      |
| 13:18    | 328      |
| 14:15    | 775      |
| 14:21    | 775      |
| 20:10    | 447      |
| 20:49    | 827      |
| 21:8     | 355      |
| 24:2     | 253      |
| 28:13    | 694      |
| 31:4     | 522      |
| 32:6     | 626      |
| 32:26–27 | 721      |
| 35:2     | 708      |
| 36:25    | 418      |
| 36:35    | 283      |
| 37       | 573, 823 |
| 37:1     | 827      |
| 37:9     | 579      |
| 37:16    | 958      |
| 38:22    | 711–3    |
| 39:8–17  | 721      |
| 43:1–5   | 772      |
| 43:7     | 482      |
| 43:10–11 | 565      |
| 44:7     | 429      |

|               |                 |                |          |
|---------------|-----------------|----------------|----------|
| <i>Daniel</i> |                 | 12:1           | 699      |
| 1:20          | 664             | 12:1–3         | 618      |
| 2             | 822–3           | 12:2           | 743      |
| 2:4–7:28      | 938             | 12:3           | 756      |
| 2:31–45       | 748             | 12:4           | 495, 958 |
| 2:34–35       | 791             | 12:6           | 550      |
| 2:37          | 661             | 12:7           | 743, 772 |
| 2:39          | 661             | 12:9           | 825, 958 |
| 2:44          | 373, 661, 791   | 12:12          | 618, 963 |
| 2:45          | 616, 788        |                |          |
| 3             | 354, 611        | <i>Hosea</i>   |          |
| 3:5           | 947             | 1:3            | 827      |
| 3:7           | 947             | 2:21           | 937      |
| 3:8–25        | 354             | 2:27           | 937      |
| 3:10          | 947             | 4:13           | 507      |
| 3:15          | 947             | 6:2            | 569      |
| 3:20          | 715             | 6:6            | 301      |
| 4:31          | 824             | 9:3            | 401      |
| 5:16          | 462             | 9:7            | 934      |
| 7             | 442, 594, 740–1 | 9:10           | 913      |
| 7:4           | 529, 680        | 10:8           | 507      |
| 7:5           | 680             | 11:1           | 287      |
| 7:6           | 680             | 11:10          | 551      |
| 7:7           | 741             | 12:10          | 827      |
| 7:8           | 790             | 14:2           | 301      |
| 7:9           | 698             | 14:2–3         | 301      |
| 7:9–10        | 297             | 14:3           | 312      |
| 7:12          | 791             |                |          |
| 7:13          | 737, 740        | <i>Joel</i>    |          |
| 7:14          | 373, 595        | 1:4            | 768      |
| 7:17          | 661             | 2              | 527      |
| 7:23          | 661             | 2:1            | 947      |
| 7:24          | 652             | 2:8–11         | 506      |
| 7:25          | 768             | 2:28           | 822      |
| 8:13–14       | 789             | 3:13           | 619      |
| 8:14          | 783             | 3:14           | 711      |
| 8:17          | 826             |                |          |
| 8:18          | 827             | <i>Amos</i>    |          |
| 9:24          | 600             | 1:2            | 484      |
| 10:5          | 550             | 6:9            | 664      |
| 10:7          | 825             | 8:2            | 532      |
| 10:9–10       | 827             | 8:14           | 514      |
| 10:13         | 699             |                |          |
| 11:1          | 699             | <i>Obadiah</i> |          |
| 11:40         | 533             | 1:1            | 823      |
| 11:44         | 563             | 18             | 711–2    |
| 11:45         | 571             |                |          |
| 12            | 563, 963        |                |          |



*Micah*

1:13–14

473

4

723

5:2

920

5:8

489

*Nahum*

2:3–13

641

3

641

*Habakkuk*

2:2

958

3:2

823

3:16

827

*Haggai*

2:6

699

2:23

232

2:24

456

*Zechariah*

1–6

830

1:8

825

1:21

485

3:2

430

3:3

518

3:9

233

4:1

830

4:10

490

5:1–2

959

5:7–11

825

6:1–8

825

8:23

664

11:15

828

12–14

713

12:11

632

14:3

711–2

*Malachi*

2:7

459

2:15

912

3:10

798

3:17

343

4

713

4:1

488

*New Testament**Matthew*

1–2

823

1:20

799

2:1–11

825

2:11

799

2:15

287

2:23

532

3:4

799

3:7

349

3:11

335

3:16–17

413

3:17

824

4:1

799

4:11

327

6:2

947

6:4

800

6:5

925

6:6

800

6:24

800

7:1

800

7:11

800

7:15

801

8:29

380

9:2

801

9:16

801

9:37

619

10:17

311

10:19

801

10:28

352

10:30

801

10:41

801

11:5

837

11:12

270

11:18–19

801

11:30

802

12:24

802

12:31–32

825

12:36

825

13:3

402, 802

13:6

516

|             |          |             |          |
|-------------|----------|-------------|----------|
| 13:15       | 804      | <i>Luke</i> |          |
| 13:21       | 516      | 1:3         | 245      |
| 13:30       | 619      | 1:9–10      | 925      |
| 14:26       | 802      | 1:63        | 959      |
| 15:33       | 802      | 1:70        | 597      |
| 16:16–19    | 342      | 2:36–38     | 832      |
| 16:18       | 341      | 4:6         | 598      |
| 16:25       | 803      | 4:16–30     | 942      |
| 17:4        | 803      | 4:20        | 926      |
| 17:6        | 824      | 6:12        | 927      |
| 17:11–12    | 446      | 8:41        | 925      |
| 17:27       | 803      | 8:49        | 926      |
| 18:3        | 819      | 9:54        | 685      |
| 19:17       | 347      | 13:14       | 925      |
| 21:13       | 925      | 14:13       | 435      |
| 22:7        | 394      | 16:9        | 698      |
| 22:14       | 725      | 16:12       | 428      |
| 22:29       | 962      | 16:16       | 428      |
| 22:32       | 401      | 16:23       | 458–9    |
| 23:23       | 473      | 17:5–10     | 397      |
| 24          | 500      | 18:9–14     | 925      |
| 24:6        | 323      | 19:14       | 764      |
| 24:6–7      | 667      | 19:46       | 925      |
| 24:24       | 335      | 21:23       | 774      |
| 24:29       | 739      | 21:24       | 563, 739 |
| 24:30       | 744      | 21:27       | 740      |
| 24:31       | 947      | 22:38       | 601      |
| 24:32–51    | 774      | 22:43       | 327      |
| 25          | 754, 961 | 22:53       | 729      |
| 25:6        | 963      | 23:38       | 532      |
| 26:26       | 435      | 24:27       | 296      |
| 26:64       | 737      | 24:44       | 881      |
| 27:19       | 822      |             |          |
| 27:46       | 942      | <i>John</i> |          |
| 28:19       | 413      | 1:1–18      | 412      |
|             |          | 1:5         | 372      |
| <i>Mark</i> |          | 1:12        | 401      |
| 1:13        | 807      | 1:14        | 353, 410 |
| 1:23        | 827      | 1:51        | 823      |
| 5:2         | 827      | 2:6         | 880      |
| 5:22        | 926      | 3:2         | 381      |
| 5:35        | 925      | 3:5         | 335      |
| 6:13        | 828      | 3:8         | 340      |
| 11:17       | 925      | 3:31–32     | 296      |
| 13:26       | 740      | 4:35        | 619      |
| 13:35–37    | 394      | 4:38        | 619      |
| 15:34       | 942      | 4:52        | 663      |
|             |          | 6:28–59     | 924      |

|             |          |          |               |
|-------------|----------|----------|---------------|
| 7:35        | 904      | 10:17    | 825           |
| 7:38–39     | 829      | 10:30    | 925           |
| 10:30       | 412–3    | 11:3     | 440           |
| 12:20       | 904      | 12:24    | 832           |
| 12:36       | 398      | 13:1     | 832           |
| 12:40       | 804      | 13:13–42 | 904           |
| 13:34       | 473      | 13:15    | 427, 881, 926 |
| 13:35       | 473      | 13:16    | 903           |
| 14:2        | 755      | 13:27    | 881           |
| 14:6        | 432      | 13:41    | 423           |
| 14:16       | 833      | 13:42    | 904           |
| 14:21       | 464      | 13:45    | 309           |
| 14:23       | 755      | 13:46    | 423           |
| 15:12       | 473      | 13:47    | 904           |
| 17:19       | 278      | 14:14    | 832           |
| 18:11       | 601      | 14:22    | 349           |
| 19:20       | 532      | 15:4     | 433           |
| 19:30       | 416      | 15:20    | 905           |
| 19:34       | 416, 418 | 15:22    | 245           |
| 19:35       | 416      | 15:29    | 467, 905      |
| 20:22       | 417      | 15:31    | 840           |
| 21:8        | 813      | 16:13    | 927           |
| 21:23       | 450      | 16:14    | 903           |
|             |          | 16:16    | 927           |
| <i>Acts</i> |          | 17:4     | 903–4         |
| 1:9         | 741      | 17:5     | 309           |
| 1:11        | 741      | 17:17    | 903           |
| 1:14        | 832      | 18:4     | 904           |
| 2:2         | 823      | 18:7     | 433, 903      |
| 2:4         | 832      | 18:8     | 926           |
| 2:15–17     | 847      | 18:13    | 903           |
| 2:17        | 832      | 18:17    | 926           |
| 2:41        | 831      | 19:18–20 | 464           |
| 3:26        | 348      | 19:23    | 464           |
| 4:31        | 831      | 19:27    | 903           |
| 6:1         | 228      | 20:7     | 451           |
| 6:5         | 476      | 20:19    | 311           |
| 7:15–16     | 919      | 20:19–21 | 464           |
| 7:20        | 286      | 20:29–30 | 464, 473      |
| 7:38        | 353, 823 | 21:8–9   | 468           |
| 7:54–60     | 749      | 21:9     | 832           |
| 7:55        | 699      | 21:25    | 905           |
| 8:23        | 348      | 22:2     | 631           |
| 8:39        | 827      | 23:5     | 672           |
| 9:4         | 826      | 26:11    | 311           |
| 10          | 903      | 26:18    | 730           |
| 10:3        | 925      | 28:26    | 767           |
| 10:9        | 925      |          |               |

*Romans*

|          |          |
|----------|----------|
| 1:4      | 572      |
| 1:17     | 364      |
| 1:21     | 616      |
| 1:23     | 616      |
| 2:4      | 396      |
| 2:8      | 309      |
| 2:12–16  | 726      |
| 2:18     | 320      |
| 2:22     | 309      |
| 2:28–29  | 473      |
| 3:4      | 589      |
| 4:13     | 919      |
| 5:5      | 427      |
| 5:8      | 420      |
| 6:6      | 369      |
| 6:7      | 369      |
| 6:10     | 369      |
| 6:12     | 369      |
| 7:17     | 370      |
| 7:23     | 369      |
| 7:24     | 369      |
| 7:25     | 369, 371 |
| 8:3      | 369      |
| 8:5      | 353      |
| 8:10     | 369      |
| 8:17     | 401      |
| 8:23     | 369      |
| 8:26     | 829      |
| 8:29     | 488      |
| 8:37     | 371      |
| 9:5      | 708      |
| 10:5     | 453      |
| 11       | 517      |
| 11:25–26 | 774      |
| 11:26    | 396, 714 |
| 11:32    | 396      |
| 12       | 814      |
| 12:1     | 341      |
| 14:10–11 | 745      |
| 16       | 467      |
| 16:23–24 | 433      |

*1 Corinthians*

|         |     |
|---------|-----|
| 1:20    | 320 |
| 2:1–2   | 252 |
| 2:14–15 | 819 |
| 3:1–2   | 252 |

|          |          |
|----------|----------|
| 3:4      | 576      |
| 3:10     | 730      |
| 3:11     | 254      |
| 3:18     | 320      |
| 4:13     | 809      |
| 5:1      | 472      |
| 6:11     | 484      |
| 8:4–5    | 422      |
| 10:9     | 243      |
| 10:13    | 300      |
| 10:19–20 | 422      |
| 10:20    | 538, 729 |
| 11:1     | 347      |
| 11:5     | 831–2    |
| 11:24    | 465      |
| 11:30    | 469      |
| 12       | 814      |
| 12:7     | 838      |
| 12:12    | 287      |
| 12:28    | 833      |
| 13:1     | 947      |
| 14       | 817      |
| 14:3     | 840      |
| 14:7     | 946      |
| 14:8     | 947      |
| 14:12    | 831      |
| 14:25    | 480      |
| 15:5     | 832      |
| 15:5–8   | 832      |
| 15:7     | 832      |
| 15:25    | 491      |
| 15:26    | 241      |
| 15:27    | 491      |
| 15:37    | 370      |
| 15:46    | 352      |
| 15:47    | 296      |
| 15:52    | 947      |
| 15:54–55 | 371      |
| 16:2     | 451      |

*2 Corinthians*

|         |     |
|---------|-----|
| 1:3     | 427 |
| 1:8     | 464 |
| 1:20    | 797 |
| 3:6–9   | 419 |
| 3:12–14 | 848 |
| 3:14–18 | 372 |
| 4:7–10  | 371 |

|                  |                 |                        |          |
|------------------|-----------------|------------------------|----------|
| 4:11             | 404             | <i>Philippians</i>     |          |
| 4:16             | 369             | 2:1                    | 840      |
| 4:17             | 682             | 2:3                    | 811      |
| 5:1              | 683             | 2:12–13                | 440      |
| 5:2              | 369             | 2:17                   | 503      |
| 5:13             | 829             | 3:12                   | 240      |
| 6:8              | 613             | 3:20                   | 371      |
| 8:17             | 840             | 4:8                    | 365      |
| 9:4              | 279             |                        |          |
| 11               | 832             | <i>Colossians</i>      |          |
| 11:4             | 254             | 1:11                   | 371      |
| 11:17            | 279             | 1:16                   | 383      |
| 11:20            | 377             | 2:11                   | 369      |
| 12:2             | 699, 827        | 2:18                   | 383      |
| 12:2–4           | 825             | 2:20                   | 820      |
| 12:9             | 371             | 3:1                    | 697      |
| 13:4             | 371             | 3:16                   | 839      |
| <i>Galatians</i> |                 | <i>1 Thessalonians</i> |          |
| 2                | 817             | 1:1                    | 832      |
| 2:12             | 440             | 2:6                    | 832      |
| 3:16             | 287             | 2:7–8                  | 359      |
| 3:26             | 401             | 2:14–16                | 465–6    |
| 3:28             | 962             | 4:4                    | 299      |
| 4:13             | 404             | 4:13                   | 757      |
| 4:25             | 423             | 4:16                   | 947      |
| 5:17             | 326             | 4:17                   | 961      |
| 6:16             | 510             | 5:4–5                  | 398      |
|                  |                 | 5:11                   | 757      |
| <i>Ephesians</i> |                 | 5:21                   | 838      |
| 1:15–16          | 464             | 5:23                   | 248      |
| 1:19             | 572             | <i>2 Thessalonians</i> |          |
| 1:21             | 383             | 1:7–8                  | 741      |
| 2:2              | 378–9, 730      | 2                      | 687, 710 |
| 2:14             | 427             | 2:1–12                 | 660      |
| 2:17             | 348             | 2:3                    | 710, 774 |
| 2:18             | 414             | 2:3–7                  | 667      |
| 2:20             | 341             | 2:3–10                 | 610, 960 |
| 2:20–22          | 565             | 2:8                    | 714, 743 |
| 4                | 814             | 2:8–11                 | 667      |
| 5:1              | 398             | <i>1 Timothy</i>       |          |
| 5:8              | 398             | 1:18                   | 839      |
| 5:11             | 398             | 1:20                   | 472      |
| 5:19             | 839             | 3                      | 832      |
| 5:25–27          | 613             | 4:1–3                  | 538      |
| 6:12             | 378–9, 383, 729 | 4:13                   | 840      |
| 6:17             | 681             |                        |          |

|                  |          |                |          |
|------------------|----------|----------------|----------|
| 5:9–10           | 433      | 11:16          | 401      |
| 5:23             | 814      | 11:34          | 715      |
|                  |          | 12:16          | 309      |
| <i>2 Timothy</i> |          | 12:19          | 947      |
| 1:10             | 241      | 12:27          | 699      |
| 2:12             | 238      | 13:2           | 433      |
| 2:19             | 495      |                |          |
| 2:26             | 348      | <i>James</i>   |          |
| 3                | 377      | 1:1            | 510      |
| 3:5              | 309      | 1:6            | 815      |
| 3:8              | 363      | 1:17           | 729      |
| 4:1              | 742      | 5:14           | 828      |
| 4:2              | 464      | 5:16           | 333, 829 |
| 4:5              | 464      | 5:17           | 579      |
| 4:6              | 503      |                |          |
| 4:13             | 959      | <i>1 Peter</i> |          |
|                  |          | 1              | 397      |
| <i>Titus</i>     |          | 1:10–12        | 831      |
| 1                | 832      | 1:23           | 402      |
| 1:5              | 840      | 2:5            | 565      |
| 1:10–11          | 377      | 2:9            | 365      |
| 1:12             | 839      | 3:20           | 963      |
| 3:5              | 484      | 4:6            | 370      |
| 3:10             | 472      | 5:13           | 423      |
|                  |          |                |          |
| <i>Hebrews</i>   |          | <i>2 Peter</i> |          |
| 1:3              | 231, 234 | 1:13–14        | 683      |
| 1:5              | 235      | 1:18           | 824      |
| 2:2              | 830      | 1:20           | 462      |
| 2:3              | 412      | 1:20–21        | 830      |
| 2:5              | 755      | 1:21           | 831      |
| 2:14             | 404      | 2:5            | 963      |
| 3:14             | 279      | 2:9            | 715      |
| 4:3–4            | 909      | 2:10           | 465      |
| 4:9              | 401      | 2:13–15        | 465      |
| 4:10             | 338, 962 | 3              | 960      |
| 5:7              | 404      | 3:3            | 439      |
| 8:2              | 600      | 3:5            | 412      |
| 8:3              | 697      | 3:7            | 412      |
| 9:11             | 600, 683 | 3:9            | 774      |
| 9:19             | 418      | 3:10–11        | 751      |
| 9:23             | 600      |                |          |
| 9:23–24          | 697      | <i>1 John</i>  |          |
| 9:28             | 714      | 1:5            | 729      |
| 10:20            | 600      | 2:8            | 669      |
| 10:22            | 484      | 2:18           | 774      |
| 11:5             | 370      | 2:18–22        | 610      |
| 11:13            | 401      | 2:18–24        | 667      |

|                   |          |          |          |
|-------------------|----------|----------|----------|
| 2:20              | 335      | 5:6      | 830      |
| 3:9               | 340      | 5:8      | 946      |
| 4:1               | 831, 838 | 6–8      | 775      |
| 4:1–5             | 667      | 6:8      | 775      |
| 4:4               | 371      | 7:4      | 961      |
| 4:9               | 275      | 8        | 776      |
| 5:6               | 268      | 8:4      | 925      |
|                   |          | 8:7      | 768      |
| <i>2 John</i>     |          | 9        | 779, 782 |
| 10                | 472      | 10:2     | 769      |
|                   |          | 10:9–10  | 826      |
| <i>Jude</i>       |          | 11       | 783      |
| 1:3               | 363      | 11:1–14  | 783, 837 |
| 1:14              | 749      | 11:3     | 963      |
| 4                 | 378, 465 | 11:8     | 784      |
| 6:34              | 288      | 12:6     | 783      |
| 8                 | 465      | 13:5     | 783      |
| 8–9               | 383      | 13:14–15 | 792      |
| 10                | 383–4    | 14:2     | 946      |
| 12                | 465      | 15:2     | 946      |
| 14–15             | 361–2    | 16       | 771      |
| 23                | 469      | 17       | 786, 792 |
|                   |          | 19:13    | 249      |
| <i>Revelation</i> |          | 19:15    | 249      |
| 1:16              | 249      | 19:21    | 249      |
| 1:17              | 826–7    | 20       | 960      |
| 1:20              | 825      | 20:7–10  | 963      |
| 2                 | 926      | 21       | 282, 394 |
| 2:2               | 832      | 21:1     | 892      |
| 2:6               | 430      | 21:10    | 825      |
| 2:14              | 384      | 21:12    | 832      |
| 2:15              | 430      | 21:14    | 341, 832 |
| 2:16              | 249, 376 | 22:6     | 831      |
| 3                 | 926      |          |          |

*Apocrypha*

|                                |     |                    |     |
|--------------------------------|-----|--------------------|-----|
| <i>Book of Wisdom</i>          |     | 28:13              | 319 |
| 7:17                           | 396 |                    |     |
| 7:25–26                        | 233 | <i>1 Maccabees</i> |     |
| 18:15–16                       | 249 | 3:46               | 928 |
| <i>Ecclesiasticus / Sirach</i> |     | <i>2 Maccabees</i> |     |
| 8:4                            | 319 | 5:11–14            | 569 |
| 22:12                          | 908 | 6:18–31            | 289 |
| 28:10                          | 319 | 8:11               | 705 |

|                    |     |        |     |
|--------------------|-----|--------|-----|
| <i>4 Maccabees</i> |     | 12:15  | 520 |
| 9:22               | 290 | 14:3–7 | 772 |
|                    |     | 14:4   | 772 |
| <i>Tobit</i>       |     |        |     |
| 10:11              | 705 |        |     |



## General Index

- A New System of the Apocalypse. See also*  
Philipot, Jacques 37–8, 166, 524,  
535, 581–2, 585–6, 588, 590–2, 598,  
602, 604–5, 607–8, 614–5, 636, 642,  
644–5, 648, 650
- Aaron 256, 265–7, 297, 515, 557, 566,  
597, 784, 826, 926
- Aaron ben Asher 887
- Abdul Rahman Al Ghafiqi 780
- Abel. *See also* Blood 276, 280–1, 294–6,  
910
- Abihu 566
- Abimelek 822
- Abraham 134–5, 138, 185, 191, 194,  
241–2, 257–60, 298, 300, 315, 438,  
464, 747, 756, 821–3, 826, 890,  
896–7, 902, 904, 911–6, 919
- Abravanel, Judah (Abrabanel) 312  
on Daniel 639  
on Exodus 733  
on Genesis 716  
on Isaiah 708  
on Kings 267
- Absalom 481
- Abstinence. *See also* Fasting 365–7,  
656
- Abu Ma'shar 560
- Abu Sa'id 917
- Abulfaragius. *See* Bar Hebraeus
- Acts, Book of 59, 91, 122, 465, 473, 475,  
815–6, 828, 835, 903
- Adam 35, 57, 132, 134, 136, 183, 238,  
241, 258, 275, 281, 295, 409, 437–8,  
577, 717, 755–6, 835, 896, 901–2,  
910–1, 913–4, 955, 961  
*The Life of Adam and Eve. See also*  
Pseudepigrapha 100, 362  
Second Adam. *See* Christ
- Adams, Hugh 622
- Adoption 306, 401, 774
- Adoptionism. *See also* Heresy 110–1, 230,  
422
- Adrian of Tyre 812
- Adultery 299, 319, 324, 468, 613, 625,  
644, 901
- Aelian (Claudius Aelianus) 583, 591,  
774
- Aetius Amidenus (Aëtius of Amida) 582,  
584
- Aetius, Flavius 545, 658, 664, 778–9
- Africa, African, Africans 195, 304, 468,  
498, 500, 521, 525, 542–5, 584, 653,  
655, 658, 663–4, 738, 774, 777–8,  
787, 814, 842, 846
- Agatharchides of Cnidus 583
- Agrippa II, Herod 96, 304
- Ahab 510, 566, 579, 827, 911
- Ahasuerus 892
- Akiba (Rabbi) 308
- Alard, Lambert (Lampertus Alardus)  
250, 298–300
- Alaric I (Alaricus) 520, 523, 544, 667,  
777
- Albigensian(s). *See* Cathars
- Albo, Joseph 268, 312
- Alcasar, Ludovicus 736
- Alexander of Jerusalem 842
- Alexander the Great 477, 627, 680, 706,  
892, 897
- Alexander the Phrygian 836
- Alexandria 46, 264, 330, 460, 511, 519,  
583, 842–3, 927,  
Library of 957
- Alleine, William 29, 306
- Allestree, Richard 95, 254
- Allix, Pierre 36, 48, 52–3, 132–4, 136,  
149, 783–4, 804, 908–9
- Alphabet of ben Sirach* 320, 329
- Alsted, Johann Heinrich 4–5, 44, 145,  
158, 169, 185, 232, 571, 760, 766

- Altar. *See also* Sacrifice 123, 267, 290, 336, 339, 482, 491, 503, 515, 556–7, 563–6, 581, 596, 608, 620–3, 626, 637, 656, 700, 703–4, 717, 825, 879, 889, 891, 893–5, 897–8, 924–5, 927
- Alting, Heinrich 266
- Alting, Jacob 18, 265–6, 738–9
- Ambrose (of Milan) 908
- Amillennialism. *See* Millennium
- Ammersbach, Heinrich 765–6
- Ammia of Philadelphia 835
- Ammianus Marcellinus 530, 543, 596–7, 908
- Ammonites 911, 913
- Ammonius 281
- Amphilochius of Iconium 95, 303
- Amram 915
- Amyraut, Moyse 766
- Analogy. *See* Interpretation; Rhetoric of Faith 63, 716
- Anastasius I (Emperor) 505
- Anastasius I of Antioch 524
- Anastasius Bibliothecarius 655–6, 780
- Andlau, Peter von 686
- Andrewes, Lancelot 307
- Angel(s), Angelical, Angelology 30, 50, 115, 117, 123, 139, 175, 178, 182–84, 229–31, 237, 239, 261, 284, 289, 297–8, 326–7, 334, 337, 382–83, 405, 430–2, 441, 447, 459, 464, 472, 475, 484, 511, 515, 520, 526, 531, 533, 536, 538, 549–50, 563, 595, 600, 615–8, 620–3, 626, 647, 660–3, 668, 676, 678, 680, 693, 699–700, 707, 713, 722, 730, 732, 740–1, 745, 747, 749–50, 753, 756, 771, 775, 792, 796, 807, 833, 842, 848, 926, 959, 961
- Agency of 821–5, 830–1
- Cherubim 232, 248–9, 698–9, 824–5 of Death. *See* Death
- Evil Angels, Fallen Angels. *See also* Demons 30, 236, 238, 241, 361–2, 378–81, 588, 671–2, 722, 729, 893
- Gabriel (Archangel) 537
- of Light and Darkness 139, 893
- Metatron 698
- Michael (Archangel) 361, 383, 430–2, 537, 584, 588, 671–2, 681, 699, 701
- Ministry of 117, 120, 235–6, 238, 847
- Samael (Archangel) 430, 515
- Anglicanism, Anglican 12–3, 20, 23, 25–6, 28–30, 33, 38, 41, 44, 51–4, 57, 64, 72, 80, 92, 105, 107, 110–4, 117, 120–2, 127, 146, 148–50, 155, 193, 228–9, 243, 249, 252, 254–5, 263, 276, 279, 281, 322, 338, 350–1, 368, 373, 380–1, 403, 406, 408, 427, 429, 432, 446, 450, 452, 461, 464, 504, 522, 564, 577, 648, 659, 710, 722, 769, 772, 816, 834, 838, 846, 878, 923, 955
- Animal(s). *See also* Revelation, Imagery in the Book of 51, 376, 384, 386, 389, 440, 482, 484–5, 490, 681, 726, 768, 774, 905, 917, 936, 957
- Dog 385, 747
- Dragon. *See also* Satan 161, 173, 466, 506, 512, 531, 582–90, 591, 595, 597, 601, 631–2, 669–77, 679, 681, 685, 737, 786–7
- Eagle 187, 485, 545, 591, 593, 633, 654, 669, 672–4, 676, 679, 755, 774, 786
- Frog 631, 633, 908
- Goat 268–9, 535, 578, 723, 829, 961
- Lamb. *See also* Christ 339, 490, 517–8, 589, 601, 622, 829, 943
- Lion. *See also* Christ 485, 488–93, 551, 594, 597, 680, 774, 934
- Scorpion 529, 531
- Serpent. *See also* Satan 128, 281, 370, 463, 466, 531, 536, 582, 584–6, 591–2, 672, 674–5, 760, 796
- Sheep 302, 344, 467, 470, 570, 578, 828, 961
- Swine 385, 467
- Anointing 235, 331–3, 400, 579, 600, 828–9
- Ansbertus, Ambrosius (Autpertus) 460
- Anselm of Canterbury 300
- Antediluvian 43, 295, 963
- Antichrist. *See also* Man of Sin; Gog and Magog; Revelation, Imagery in the Book of
- Battle against. *See* Armageddon

- Corruption of the Church by 143, 160, 175, 432, 485, 550, 563–5, 571–2, 577, 593, 637, 779, 784
- Fall of 38, 41, 49, 52, 102, 126, 144–5, 166–7, 171, 186, 394, 487, 490, 504, 510, 556, 558, 561, 616, 633, 638–9, 692, 718, 741–3, 746, 752–3, 762, 765, 788, 962–3
- Pope/Rome/Catholic Church as the 35, 40, 56, 143, 154, 162, 460–1, 526, 607–9, 617, 628, 646, 654, 667, 677, 689, 736–7, 790
- Reign of 37, 42, 105, 118–9, 122–3, 125–7, 158, 162–73, 179–80, 519, 551, 556–8, 566, 568, 585, 588, 590, 602–3, 605–6, 608–11, 618–20, 624–5, 631, 635, 641, 651–5, 658–60, 687, 700, 710–1, 717, 770, 773–4, 847
- Spirit of 403, 565, 594, 632
- Antioch 66, 264, 536, 592, 840, 940
- Antioch of Pisidia 904
- Antiochus IV Epiphanes 569–70, 881, 924
- Antipas 466–7
- Antiphates 339
- Anton, Paul 805
- Antoninus Florentinus 655, 980
- Antoninus Pius 836, 933
- Aphrodite 377
- Apocalypse, Apocalyptic, Apocalypticism. *See also* Eschatology; Millennialism 6, 8, 10, 36–9, 43, 46, 49, 56, 60–1, 65, 119, 124, 126, 128–9, 142, 144, 146–50, 152, 154, 156–7, 162–3, 167, 169, 195, 362, 393, 437, 446, 449, 461, 463, 511, 531, 540, 552–4, 636, 641, 667, 685, 689, 692, 720, 736–8, 765, 792, 818, 960
- Apocrypha. *See* Bible
- Apollinaris of Laodicea (Apollinarius) 126, 719, 764
- Apollo 282, 507, 532–3
- Temple of. *See* Temple
- Apollonius of Tyana 464–6, 583
- Apologetics 6, 10, 19, 27, 29–30, 32, 52, 61–2, 67, 72, 74, 78, 85, 95, 101, 115, 138–9, 227, 229, 233–4, 240, 249, 281, 373, 414–5, 474, 561, 593, 644–5, 722, 829, 835, 843
- Apostasy, Apostate(s) 41, 94–5, 98, 120–1, 135, 168–9, 174, 253, 277–8, 294, 335, 373, 385, 394, 421, 511–4, 543, 552–3, 557, 566, 570, 587, 590, 610–1, 645, 658, 671–2, 677–8, 680, 713, 749, 821
- Apostolic. *See also* Primitivism 58, 65, 69, 83–6, 88–92, 95–7, 99–101, 104, 107–8, 110, 112–3, 119–22, 145, 152, 158, 178, 194, 279, 305, 315, 317, 358, 368, 377, 427, 445, 479, 510, 553, 564, 616, 655, 670–1, 678, 720, 815–6, 834, 836, 847, 905
- Apostolic Constitutions. See also* Pseudepigrapha 86, 88, 91–2, 112–3, 305, 815–6
- Appian 931
- Apuleius Madaurensis, Lucius 298, 538
- Aquila of Sinope 939, 944–5
- Aquinas, Philipppus (Juda Mordechai) 602
- Aquinas, Thomas 722
- Arab, Arabia, Arabic 22, 66, 137, 160, 257, 263, 295, 308, 328–9, 382, 443, 448, 486, 506, 519, 526–33, 537, 539–42, 546, 548, 552, 560, 584, 703–4, 706, 779–81, 822, 887, 889, 892, 899, 916–7, 939–40, 95, 953
- Arcadius 505–6, 544, 653, 655
- Ares 365
- Arethas of Caesarea 466
- Argonautica* 406
- Arian, Arianism, Arius 10, 20–1, 24, 26–7, 30, 41, 62, 71–3, 75, 87, 91, 105, 111–9, 125, 142, 172, 187, 193, 230, 243, 251, 410, 412–3, 422, 468, 486, 537, 547, 558, 591–2, 596, 673, 676, 767
- Aristophanes 345
- Aristotle 31, 367, 446, 933
- Ark. *See also* Covenant 232, 265–7, 295, 349–50, 382, 430, 599, 698, 771, 829, 901, 908, 932, 946, 948, 958
- Arlotto of Prato 883
- Armageddon 165–6, 177–8, 631–2, 634, 748

- Armilus 43, 602–3, 700–1, 711–2, 923  
 Arminian, Arminianism 18, 20–1, 29, 55,  
     57, 59, 73, 106–9, 111, 156, 256, 348,  
     415, 592, 792  
 Arndt, Johann Gottfried 765  
 Arnobius 495, 502  
 Arnold, Gottfried 121, 758, 845, 847  
 Arnold of Brescia 616  
 Arrian of Nicomedia 811  
 Arrowsmith, John 29, 231, 353, 442,  
     497, 596, 817  
 Artaxerxes 892  
 Artemidorus 583  
 Artemon 117, 230  
 Asaph 948  
 Asceticism 9, 365–6, 519, 552, 656,  
     808  
 Asclepius 466  
 Asia 18, 46, 90, 98, 102, 131, 155, 157,  
     159, 234, 264, 304, 335, 397, 449,  
     461, 464, 466, 471–2, 475, 479, 481,  
     521, 533–4, 554, 630, 738, 777, 814–5,  
     833, 929, 934, 956  
 Asia Minor 90, 155, 234, 264, 481, 519,  
     533–4, 630, 814–5, 929, 934  
 Assyrian(s) 532, 533, 680, 709, 918, 940  
 Astell, Mary 408  
 Astrology, Astronomy. *See also* Celestial  
     Bodies; Cosmology 295, 307, 329,  
     339, 396, 437, 446, 456, 560, 625,  
     729, 738, 789, 792, 806, 890–1, 899,  
     955  
 Ataulphus (Athaulf) 544  
 Athalaric 546  
 Athanaric 544  
 Athanasius of Alexandria 75, 91, 112, 412,  
     755, 815  
     Pseudo-Athanasius 755  
 Atheism 20, 281, 606, 844  
 Athenagoras of Athens 117, 119, 234,  
     836  
 Athens 777, 819, 904, 955  
 Athias, Joseph 884  
 Atilius Regulus, Marcus 930  
 Atlantic World 129, 143, 156, 185, 561  
 Atonement 25, 108, 273–4, 276, 332,  
     336, 340, 368–70, 409, 414, 416, 418,  
     773  
 Attalus, Priscus 523  
 Attila 545, 664, 778–9  
 Augsburg, Peace of 555  
 Augsburg Confession 127, 635  
 Augustine 111, 120, 274, 503, 655, 736,  
     761, 765, 805, 932  
     on James 311  
     on 1 John 397  
     on Jude 436  
     on 1 Peter 339  
     on 2 Peter 377, 379, 385  
     on Psalms 582  
     on Revelation 446, 516, 520, 582–4,  
     590, 653, 655, 660, 723, 736  
 Augustus (Title) 293, 503–5, 686, 776,  
     795  
 Augustus, Caesar (Octavian) 583, 604,  
     794, 929, 931, 935–6  
 Augustus, Romulus (Augustulus) 169,  
     523, 545, 595, 642, 658, 779  
 Aurelian (Emperor) 501  
 Aurelius Cleander, Marcus 499  
 Aurelius Victor, Sextus 498  
 Austria 549, 553, 555, 638, 788  
 Avicenna. *See* Ibn Sina  
 Avignon Papacy 628–30, 634  
 Aziel 948  
 Baal 476–7, 510, 566, 579, 911, 913  
 Babylon (Babel), Babylonian. *See also*  
     Chaldea; Rome 98, 167, 176, 180, 335,  
     358–9, 607, 635, 641, 702, 704–6,  
     732, 748, 789, 791, 900, 940  
     Exile and Captivity 59, 77, 190, 335,  
     394, 449, 510, 514, 557, 568, 574, 659,  
     881, 885, 922, 927–8, 938, 962  
     Fall of 541, 617–9  
     Mystical Babylon 160, 162–3, 335,  
     567, 614–6, 618, 621, 628, 642–4,  
     680–1, 706  
     Tower of 57, 258, 351, 932  
     Whore of. *See* Whore(dom)  
 Bacchus 604  
 Baghdad 533, 706, 781  
 Balaam 384, 432, 467, 475–6, 760,  
     825–6, 830, 912, 916–7, 933  
 Balak 384, 916  
 Balsamon, Theodoros 815

- Baptism 94, 194, 253, 367, 410, 415,  
 418, 566, 592, 608, 693, 695, 730,  
 808, 841  
     of Christ. *See* Christ  
     of the Holy Spirit 831, 838, 840  
     Infant Baptism 616  
     Saving Efficacy of 349–50  
 Baptist(s) 38, 107, 114, 124, 126  
 Bar Hebraeus 527, 899  
 Bar Kokhba, Simon (bar Kochba) 154,  
 497, 667  
 Barak 288  
 Barnabas 83, 89, 228, 425, 814, 832  
 Barnabas, Epistle of 87, 93, 121, 305,  
 847  
 Barnabas, Gospel of. *See also*  
     Pseudepigrapha 85  
 Baronio, Cesare (Caesar Baronius) 40,  
 443, 608, 625, 667, 718–9  
 Bartholin, Thomas 416, 478  
 Bartolucci, Giulio 944  
 Baruch 959  
 Basil the Great 462  
 Basilides 842  
 Bath Kol 824  
 Baxter, Richard 28, 34, 38, 150, 156, 161,  
 189, 430, 689  
 Bayezid I 630  
 Bayle, Pierre 35, 645  
 Beaumont, John 31, 405  
 Beausobre, Isaac de 46, 475–6  
 R. Bechai Ben Asher (Bahya ben Asher)  
 622, 698, 708–9, 923  
 Beck, Matthias Friedrich 941  
 Bede the Venerable (Beda Venerabilis)  
 736  
 Beelzebub 530, 802  
 Beg, Tuğrul (Tughril) 534, 548  
 Bellarmine, Robert  
     on Hebrews 239  
     on Revelation 605, 609, 615, 659,  
     661–2, 666–7, 682, 687  
 Belshazzar 789  
 Ben Sira. *See Alphabet of ben Sirach*;  
     Sirach, Book of  
 Benaja 949  
*Bereshith Rabbah*. *See* Midrash  
     on Genesis
- Berthold of Chiemsee 765  
 Besold, Christoph 48, 806–9  
 Bethlehem 825, 899, 915, 919–20  
 Beveridge, William 92, 816  
 Beverley, Thomas 38, 64, 148–9, 166,  
 169, 495, 610, 636  
 Beza, Theodore 18, 68, 70, 905  
     on Hebrews 237, 261, 276–7, 290  
     on 1 John 410, 417–8  
     on 2 Peter 368  
 Bezalel 826  
 Bible, Scripture(s), Word of God. *See*  
     *also* Pseudepigrapha; Index of Biblical  
     Passages  
     Apocrypha, Apocryphal 22, 51, 83,  
     85–7, 89–90, 93, 98, 100, 249, 319,  
     362–3, 396, 772, 814–6, 899  
     Authority of, Divine Inspiration of 6,  
     8, 10–1, 23, 27, 55–65, 67–69, 73,  
     76–78, 82–84, 87–93, 104–5, 112, 127,  
     129, 132, 143, 228, 272, 360, 427, 437,  
     467, 592, 716, 735, 797, 813–7, 830,  
     884–6  
     Canon (Formation), Canonization,  
     Canonicity 48, 58, 65, 82–95, 101,  
     108, 121, 127, 228, 303, 305, 314, 360,  
     362, 437, 442, 445, 473, 547, 735,  
     751, 764, 772, 814–7, 847, 881–8  
     Contradictions in 75–6, 79, 84, 97,  
     107–8, 263, 265, 272–3, 314–5, 817  
     Interpretation of. *See* Interpretation  
     Proposals for Revised Translations of  
     231, 241, 243, 245, 251–2, 261, 265,  
     269, 276–7, 279, 292, 311, 317–8, 321,  
     326, 333, 336, 346, 350, 366, 372,  
     374–8, 380–2, 421, 426, 428–9, 446,  
     456, 458–9, 482, 597, 630, 632,  
     Text (Variants, Corruptions) 59,  
     65–81, 76–8, 87–8, 112, 251, 273, 290,  
     397, 410–3, 884, 886–8  
     Transcriptions/Copying of Manuscripts  
     71–2, 74, 274, 290, 360–2, 397, 411,  
     437–8, 696, 708, 811, 885  
     Verified by Natural Science and  
     Philosophy 60–1, 386–92, 446,  
     607–10  
     Verified by Pagan Sources 131, 136,  
     140–2, 256–258, 293, 298, 306, 343,

- 378, 380, 395, 434–5, 437, 530,  
648–9, 728–9, 760–1, 811–2, 843,  
929–37
- Bible, Versions or Translations of  
Ancient Manuscripts 21, 23, 66–71,  
74, 78, 87–8, 91, 96, 272, 308, 351,  
368, 397, 410, 423, 452, 707, 815, 831,  
882, 887  
*Biblia Polyglotta* 23, 66, 71, 78, 80–1,  
155, 279, 311, 316, 319, 365, 376, 410,  
426, 480, 584, 603, 699, 769, 938  
*Codex Alexandrinus* 70, 368  
*Codex Bezae* 905  
*Complutensian Polyglott* 69, 351  
Douay-Rheims 269  
English New Testament 71, 411  
Ethiopic 80, 319, 906  
French (*Bible de Genève*, 1535) 71, 81,  
333, 411, 736  
German (*Deutsche Bibel*, 1546) 81, 97,  
314, 321, 571  
King James Version 51, 68–71, 78,  
80–1, 108, 231, 238, 263, 279, 350–1,  
356, 411, 425, 444, 448, 456, 480,  
538, 576, 705, 707–8, 775, 831, 878,  
945  
Masoretic Text 76, 78–9, 263, 273–4,  
285, 886, 916  
*Mikraot Gedolot*. *See* *Mikraot Gedolot*  
*Novum Instrumentum omne*. *See*  
Erasmus of Rotterdam  
*Novum Testamentum Domini Nostri Jesu*  
*Christi*. *See* Beza, Theodore  
*Novum testamentum ex bibliotheca regia*.  
*See* Estienne, Robert  
*Novum Testamentum graecum, cum*  
*lectionibus variantibus MSS*. *See* Mill,  
John  
Septuagint [LXX] 78–9, 81, 263, 266,  
272–4, 279, 285, 290, 301, 339, 343,  
356, 368, 381, 446, 624, 632, 652,  
730, 772, 916, 934, 952, 958  
Syriac (Peshitta) 66, 80, 87, 155, 290,  
311, 318–9, 365, 426, 584, 769  
*Textus Receptus* 65, 68–70, 76, 264,  
351, 376, 410, 448, 707, 729, 831, 884  
Vulgate [VUL] 70, 74, 81, 83, 85, 261,  
269, 279, 285, 368, 375, 397, 405,  
410, 426, 571, 576, 617, 643, 882, 884,  
944–7
- Biblia Americana* [BA]  
Condition and History of Manuscript  
(vol. 10) 214–24,  
General Characteristics 3–11, 55–65  
Insertions by a Different Hand 215  
Sources of 16–54  
Stages of Composition 11–6
- Biondo, Flavio (Blondus) 598–9
- Birchensha, John 495
- Bisterfeld, Johannes Heinrich 232
- Bithynia 98, 335, 397, 543
- Blackwall, Anthony 31–2, 262, 427
- Blasphemy 110, 170, 383–4, 595–6,  
599–601, 625, 629, 638, 642, 660,  
662, 668, 680–3, 709, 790, 901  
against the Holy Spirit. *See* Sin
- Blessing(s), Blessedness 8, 79, 151, 176,  
178, 183, 190, 246, 259, 272, 285, 306,  
324–5, 353, 369, 407, 444, 446–7,  
453, 460, 467–8, 471, 493–4, 513,  
617–8, 692, 718, 725, 729, 738, 748,  
753, 759, 762–4, 798, 905, 908, 913,  
916, 918, 927, 933, 953, 961–2
- Blood 268–9, 275–8, 292, 304, 335–6,  
338–9, 489–90, 497, 504, 520–3, 534,  
540–1, 544–5, 547, 557–8, 566, 579,  
589, 619, 621, 625–7, 637–8, 672,  
678, 726, 774, 777, 802, 835, 901,  
905, 908, 918, 943  
of Abel 294–6  
of Christ. *See* Christ  
of the Covenant 277–8, 302  
as Requirement for Salvation 276, 281,  
339, 518, 699  
of the Saints 644, 646, 669, 677, 681
- Blount, Charles 255
- Blumberg, Christian Gotthelf 646
- Bochart, Samuel 130, 367, 437, 500,  
529–30, 582–3, 585, 591, 643
- Body, Bodies  
of Christ. *See* Christ  
Death of 338, 368–371, 570, 717–8  
Resurrection of 179–180, 184, 190,  
282, 352, 369–70, 401, 405, 570, 579,  
714, 717–8, 726, 746, 755, 820–1,  
963

- and Soul 250, 313–4, 338, 352,  
 369–70, 408, 416, 459, 531, 538, 702,  
 705, 717, 809  
 Boheme, Mauritius (Bohemus) 326  
 Bohemia, Bohemian 119, 163, 552–5,  
 617, 634, 638, 691  
 Böhme, Anton Wilhelm 47–8, 804, 847  
 Böhme, Jakob 42, 806  
 Bonaventure 683  
 Book of the Covenant 772, 957  
 Book of Life 479, 681, 726, 733, 850  
 Book of Zohar. *See* Zohar  
 Born Again. *See* New Birth  
 Bossuet, Jacques-Bénigne 645–6  
 Botany 46, 449, 704  
 Boulducus 259  
 Bourignon, Antoinette 748  
 Boxhorn, Marcus Zuerius 577  
 Boyer, Pierre (Peter) 36, 562, 783  
 Boyle, Robert 5, 147, 446, 821  
     Boyle Lectures 30, 41, 50, 240  
 Bradbury, Thomas 429  
 Bragge, Robert 577, 720  
 Brahma 897  
 Bread 275, 300, 461, 498–9, 750, 800,  
 802, 879, 917, 920  
 Breath, Breathing 108, 314, 390, 405,  
 417, 509, 829, 895  
 Brenius, Daniel 766  
 Brerewood, Edward 738  
 Bridge, Thomas 20, 799  
 Bridge, William 19  
 Brightman, Thomas 102, 145, 151, 181,  
 185, 461, 472, 479, 482, 484–5, 548,  
 568, 606, 641, 736  
 Brisson, Barnabé (Barnabas Brissonius)  
 329  
 Britain 542–5, 571, 635, 663, 690–1,  
 787–8  
 Brochmand, Jesper Rasmussen 411  
 Broughton, Hugh 259, 736  
 Bucer, Martin 735–6  
 Bull, George 30, 115, 316–7  
 Bullinger, Heinrich 689  
 Burchard of Ursperg (Burchard of  
 Biberach) 666  
 Burgundian(s) 523, 544, 663, 690–1,  
 780, 787  
 Burnet, Gilbert 30, 52, 117, 229, 508  
 Burnet, Thomas 148, 395  
 Burnet, William 45–6, 147–8, 172–3,  
 578–9, 640, 963  
 Burroughs, Jeremiah 19, 39, 472, 485  
 Buxtorf, Johannes (the Elder) 76–7, 259,  
 451, 883, 886, 942  
 Buxtorf, Johannes (the Younger) 76–7,  
 246, 266–7, 299, 308, 321, 332–3,  
 351–2, 354–5, 455, 481, 516, 578, 602,  
 641, 733, 826, 828, 883, 886  
 Byzantine Empire. *See* Empires  
 Bzowski, Abraham (Bzovius) 608  
  
 Cadmus 955  
 Caelestius 655  
 Caesar(s) 344, 503, 603, 686, 776, 779,  
 791–5  
 Caesar, Julius 935, 957  
 Caesarea 228, 249, 534, 536  
 Cain 276, 280–1, 432, 438, 642, 910–1,  
 914  
 Cainan 381  
 Cajetan, Thomas (Thomas de Vio) 83,  
 259, 315  
 Calamy, Edmund 30, 49–50, 118, 414,  
 449, 818–9  
 Caleb 557, 885  
 Caligula 154, 603, 667  
 Caliphate, Caliph(s) 642, 780  
     Abu Bakr 537  
     Ali 537  
     Omar 519, 537  
     Osman 537  
 Calmet, Augustin 53, 943–8, 950–4, 957  
 Calvin, John 18, 68, 96, 237, 290,  
 347–8, 417–8, 454, 577, 884  
 Calvinism, Calvinist 19–21, 27, 107, 109,  
 281, 373, 422, 511, 635  
 Cambyses II 892  
 Camerarius, Philipp 807  
 Cameron, John 241, 459  
 Camisards. *See* French Prophets  
 Campanella, Tommaso 766  
 Canaan, Canaanites. *See also* Millennium  
 133, 191, 283–6, 338, 401, 557, 613,  
 682, 750, 884, 909, 911–4, 916, 919  
 Canon Law 601, 631–4, 656, 815

- Capitolinus, Iulius 812  
 Cappadocia 98, 335, 397, 428, 536, 889  
 Cappel, Jacques 140  
 Cappel, Louis (Capellus) 55, 76–8, 258, 273, 324, 886, 952–3  
 Captivity. *See* Babylon  
 Caracalla 466, 843  
 Carpocrates, Carpocratians 384, 435, 468  
 Carpov, Johann Benedict 339, 474  
 Carthage, Carthaginians 234, 257, 435, 500, 596, 626, 787, 842  
 Cartwright, Christopher 28  
   on Hebrews 237, 244, 246, 271, 299, 302  
   on James 308–9, 313, 318, 333  
   on 1 John 398  
   on Revelation 731  
 Cartwright, Thomas 736–7  
 Cassiodorus 546  
 Cassius Dio 497, 583, 587  
 Castellio, Sebastian 140, 765, 929, 932  
 Cathars, Catharism 165, 552–3, 593, 615–6, 626, 688, 779, 784  
   Albigensian Crusade 552  
 Catholicism, Catholic, Catholic Church.  
   *See also* Papacy 13, 33, 36, 40, 48, 51, 53, 58, 64, 67, 70, 84–6, 98, 105, 123, 143, 146, 149, 154, 161, 164–6, 171, 181, 193, 254, 259, 265, 274, 285, 322, 335, 342, 368, 381, 442, 460, 467, 511, 540, 546, 553, 559, 561, 565, 569–70, 575, 593, 595, 602, 604–6, 609, 617–8, 623, 625, 628, 632, 634–5, 637–8, 644–5, 648, 653, 665–7, 683–4, 689, 710, 719, 736, 739, 742, 769, 772, 785, 806, 817–8, 884, 895, 897, 943  
   Analogy to the Roman Empire 166, 174, 522, 561, 579, 582, 585, 589, 591, 594–6, 598–9, 602–4, 611–2, 617, 619, 621, 625, 632, 634, 642–7, 652, 672, 674, 686, 689–92, 702  
   Corruption and Idolatry of 143, 161, 540, 547, 552, 565, 599, 613–7, 651, 668, 677, 683, 704, 784  
   Judgment of 125, 442, 539, 547, 600–1, 629, 637–8  
   Latter-day Fall of the Roman Church 125, 149, 156, 160, 163, 165, 171, 174, 620, 654, 689, 704, 710, 741, 743, 746, 789–90, 792, 796, 960  
   Unity of 193, 601, 615, 846  
   as Whore of Babylon 667, 669–70, 674–6  
 Cave, William 92, 115, 816, 838, 845  
 Celestial Bodies. *See also* Astronomy  
   138, 307, 396, 446, 505, 806, 889  
   Moon 506–7, 512, 525, 541, 545, 581, 669, 695, 731, 744, 776, 779, 889–90, 928  
   Star(s) 137, 307, 372–3, 375, 396, 436, 446, 456, 469, 506–7, 523–6, 541, 545, 560, 581, 585, 587, 669–71, 756, 776, 778–9, 825, 890–1, 899, 916  
   Sun 51, 116, 138, 161, 233, 306–7, 378, 389, 392, 409, 506–7, 516, 525, 532, 541, 545, 550, 581, 627–9, 633, 638, 669, 695, 730–2, 746, 775, 779, 890–1, 894, 956  
 Ceremony, Ceremonies 85, 124, 130, 134–5, 139, 143, 253, 295, 300, 336, 418, 463, 515, 537, 644, 669, 906, 911, 943  
 Cerinthus, Cerinthians 464, 473, 765  
 Cessationism 120–1, 829, 834, 836, 838, 843, 846–7  
 Cevennes 36, 49, 783, 819  
 Chaldea, Chaldeans. *See also* Babylon 52, 77, 135, 137–8, 140, 358, 381, 506, 642, 706, 768, 789, 828, 889–90, 911, 938–42, 955, 962  
 Chalkokondyles, Laonikos 535, 595  
 Chandler, Edward 53, 139–41, 934–7  
 Chanina ben Dosa 643  
 Charity. *See* Virtues  
 Charlemagne 497  
 Charles I of England 23  
 Charles II of England 489, 575  
 Charles V (Holy Roman Emperor) 555, 631  
 Charles Emmanuel II (Duke of Savoy) 559  
 Charles Martel 667, 780



- Charm(s). *See* Magic
- Chemosh 911
- Children, Childhood 36, 101, 109, 134, 280, 286, 293, 349, 384, 399, 423, 439, 442, 469, 477–9, 483, 499, 512–3, 516, 527, 551, 603, 669, 673, 677, 700, 717, 749–50, 770, 772, 786, 800, 819–20, 822, 826, 839, 841, 847, 902, 910–2, 914, 916–7, 919–20, 935, 948  
of God 107, 121, 238, 370, 401, 600, 620, 692–3, 753, 821, 844, 932
- Chiliasm. *See* Millennialism
- China, Chinese 142, 443, 529
- Christ, Jesus, Lord, Messiah, Redeemer, Savior. *See also* Atonement; Judgment; Salvation; Second Coming; Trinity  
as Advocate 399, 420  
as Alpha and Omega 448–9  
Ascension of 50, 158, 234, 348, 485–6, 560, 569, 574, 639, 697, 762, 773, 786, 833, 843, 931  
Baptism of 118, 409, 413–5, 418  
Birth of 43, 116, 128–9, 133, 141–2, 586, 639, 711, 716, 736, 760, 823, 899, 914–5, 917, 919–20, 930, 932–3, 935–6  
Blood of 268, 277, 294–6, 335–6, 338–9, 370, 414, 447, 484, 518, 589, 672  
Body of 151, 275, 369–70, 416, 432, 570, 683, 700  
as Bridegroom 106, 599, 692, 789  
Brothers of 240, 488  
Burial of 235, 414  
Crucifixion of, Death of 239, 251–2, 260, 268, 275, 280–1, 295, 368–71, 376, 404, 409, 414, 416–8, 456, 492, 532, 569, 575, 614, 704, 709, 736, 739, 807, 809, 812, 939, 942  
Divinity of 26, 30, 75, 112, 115–8, 136, 138, 229–30, 231, 243, 341, 412–4, 419–20, 422, 449, 465, 533, 593, 683, 707, 762, 817, 842  
Dominion of 126, 151, 175, 238, 323, 406  
Genealogy of 439, 912, 914  
Generation of 25, 235, 340  
as High-Priest, Priesthood of 107, 247, 250, 252, 256, 258–9, 261–2, 271, 274–5, 307, 418, 432, 455, 477, 490, 599, 700, 731  
Human Nature of, Incarnation of 101, 112, 115–6, 118, 136, 177, 243, 259, 275, 309, 403–4, 521, 706, 708, 892  
Innocence of, Sinlessness of 250, 271, 409, 415, 418, 620  
Intercession of 261–2, 700  
as Judge. *See also* Judgment 189, 379, 436, 493, 516, 722–3, 726, 742, 744, 754–5, 762  
Kingdom of, Reign of. *See also* Millennium 33, 65, 127–8, 139, 142, 144–6, 158–60, 162, 167, 170, 174–5, 178, 190, 192, 289, 297, 338, 439, 474, 485–7, 489, 493, 519, 522, 532, 551, 572, 577, 586–7, 589, 594, 613–4, 720, 734, 741–2, 746, 757, 760, 762, 764–5, 771, 783, 960–2  
Kingly Office of 432, 490  
as Lamb 175, 188, 338–9, 483, 489–94, 508, 517–8, 567, 589, 601, 613, 622, 672, 679, 684–5, 687–8, 693, 695, 707, 710, 730, 754, 779  
as Lion 488–93, 551,  
as Logos 112, 230, 233, 247–8, 412  
as Mediator 138, 490, 890  
Miracles of 341, 372, 409, 414, 439, 709, 802, 811  
Obedience of 108, 112, 252, 273, 314–5  
Prophetic Office of 432  
Resurrection of 86, 235, 275, 337, 341, 350, 372, 414, 453–4, 470, 713, 762, 832  
Sacrifice of. *See also* Sacrifice 78, 107, 248, 253–4, 259, 261, 270, 273–7, 295, 300, 414, 418, 817  
as Second Adam 239, 577  
Second Coming of. *See* Second Coming  
as Servant 79, 272, 344  
as Son of David 488  
as Son of God 115–8, 230, 234–5, 238, 247, 250, 353, 277, 283, 296,

- 309, 402, 407, 413–4, 418–20, 422, 454, 488, 702, 761, 836, 932–3  
 as Son of Man 238, 463, 586, 620, 737, 739–43, 801  
 Spirit of 236, 288, 325, 336, 349, 587  
 Suffering of 239, 251, 315, 341, 409, 414, 418, 456, 470, 489, 575, 586, 639, 773, 800  
 as Sun of Righteousness 51, 581, 669  
 as Surety 108, 261, 314  
 Temptation of 243, 326–7, 799, 807–8  
 Transfiguration of 118, 372–3, 413, 753, 824  
 Wounds of 344, 416–7, 608  
 Chrysippus of Soli 532  
 Chrysostom, John 8, 295–6, 418, 436, 445, 460, 516, 655, 832, 943  
 Church. *See also* People of God; Schism(s)  
 as Bride of Christ 106, 692, 788–9  
 Clergy. *See* Clergy  
 Corruption of. *See* Antichrist  
 Eastern church. *See* Eastern Orthodoxy  
 Elders 19, 126, 233, 331–2, 482–4, 491–2, 719, 828, 840, 923, 925–6  
 of England. *See* Anglicanism  
 False Teachers in. *See* False Teachers  
 Happy State of. *See* Millennium  
 Idolatry of 120–1, 168–9, 511, 552, 554, 556, 573, 587, 590, 615, 617, 658, 677, 686  
 of Jerusalem. *See* Jerusalem; Christian  
 Church of  
 Jewish Church. *See* Jews  
 Latin Church. *See* Catholicism  
 Primitive Church, Early Church. *See also* Apostolic; Primitivism 3, 8–10, 41, 43, 51, 62, 64, 82, 85, 89, 95–6, 104–29, 136, 143, 151, 154–5, 159–61, 165, 194, 360, 445, 451, 475, 556, 590, 658–9, 718, 730, 764, 774, 783–4, 833, 835, 838, 845, 926  
 Relation to the State 601, 686  
 of Rome, Roman Church. *See* Catholicism  
 True Church 42, 123, 145, 161, 168, 188, 514, 540, 563, 565, 567, 581, 608, 613–14, 642, 809  
 Universal Church 106, 159, 485  
 Church Fathers 13, 21–2, 31, 75, 83, 85, 100–1, 105, 111, 115–6, 119–20, 124, 126–7, 140, 233, 241, 264, 305, 322, 360, 378–9, 383, 385, 413, 418, 430, 445, 458, 516, 609, 719, 739, 758, 764, 834, 908, 929, 941  
 Chytraeus, David (Kochhaffe) 735–6  
 Cicero, Marcus Tullius 304–5, 761, 813, 900, 932–3, 934–5  
 Cinnamus, Johannes 527  
 Circumcision 94, 193, 229, 309, 335, 349, 369, 424, 426, 440, 474, 902–3, 905, 913, 918  
 Clarendon Code 574–5  
 Clarke, Samuel 21, 26, 72–3, 85, 111, 113, 337  
 Claude, Jean 28, 325  
 Claudian (Claudius Claudianus) 520, 595, 670  
 Claudius 84, 768  
 Cleander, Marcus Aurelius 499  
 Cleansing, Washing. *See also* Purification 253, 268–9, 277, 327, 349, 414, 418, 435, 445, 447, 458, 482, 484, 518, 667, 762, 783, 789, 796, 837, 930  
 Clement of Alexandria (Clemens Alexandrinus) 91–2, 127, 264, 290, 343, 345, 377, 384, 435, 445, 453, 457, 476, 520, 762–3, 816, 932  
 Clement of Rome (Clemens Romanus, Saint Clement I) 83, 85–6, 91, 121, 228, 305–6, 816, 834, 847  
 Clement V 632–4  
 Clement VII 628–9  
 Clergy (pastors, ministers). *See also* False Teachers 294, 300, 309, 316–7, 333, 335, 356, 400, 421, 425–6, 456, 459, 503, 508–9, 524, 531, 560, 565–6, 570, 577, 588, 600, 603, 605, 613, 615–6, 631–2, 643, 655, 671–2, 676–9, 685, 687, 693, 699, 784, 814, 816, 832–5, 838–40, 843, 897–8, 922–3, 925–6  
 Cloppenburg, Johann 259  
 Cloud(s) 233–4, 337, 378, 387, 436, 517, 555, 560, 579, 638, 675–6, 749–50, 754–5, 796, 824

- of the Second Coming 174, 449–50, 620, 737, 739–42, 960
- of Witnesses 120, 292
- Cocceius, Johannes 18, 102, 145, 266, 461, 463
- Colbatch, John 648
- Columella, Lucius Junius Moderatus 385
- Comenius, John Amos (Jan Amos Komenský) 4–5, 43–4, 127–8, 553, 758, 760–6
- Commandments. *See also* Law; Sin 119, 133–5, 244, 249, 261, 269, 305, 312, 347, 363, 409, 473, 492, 678, 647, 677–8, 749, 810, 901–3, 909, 957, 960
- Commodus 499
- Conflagration. *See also* Eschatology; Rapture; Second Coming 7, 44, 61, 99, 126, 144, 153–4, 156, 173–5, 177–83, 192, 194, 338, 379, 382, 386, 392–3, 395–6, 438, 450, 520, 620–1, 640, 712–6, 718, 724, 730, 748, 751–5, 762, 771, 773, 775, 809, 912, 931, 960–1, 963
- Global Reach of 179, 194, 753–4
- Preservation of the Saints at the 179, 190, 712, 714–5
- Congregationalism 19, 27, 35, 39, 44, 114, 122–4, 165, 261, 564, 573, 598
- Conscience 126, 315, 345, 350, 354, 403, 453, 473, 512, 519, 566, 570, 572, 665, 705, 726
- Freedom of 41, 125, 429, 547–8, 575–7, 637
- Constans, Flavius Julius 542–4
- Constantine (Pope) 666
- Constantine I (Constantine the Great) 39, 125, 127, 155–6, 475, 503–5, 508, 520, 503–5, 508, 520, 522, 542–3, 547, 568, 585–6, 588, 590, 593, 595, 643, 650–1, 653, 662, 671–2, 709, 736–7, 764, 776, 786, 795, 834, 838, 845, 929, 932–3
- Conversion of 161, 504, 588, 590, 650, 736–7
- Donation of 590, 643
- Constantine II (Constantinus) 505, 542–4
- Constantinople 46, 377, 466–7, 511–2, 521–2, 526, 528, 592, 595, 606, 655, 662, 666, 781, 787, 795, 815
- Fall of 160, 519, 534–6, 548, 555, 630, 639, 781
- Constantius Chlorus 503
- Constantius II (Flavius Julius) 505, 542–3, 596
- Conversion, Converts 109, 122, 134, 229, 331, 334, 348, 426, 476, 500, 560, 614, 669–70, 692, 717, 725, 814, 824, 838, 840, 842, 898, 902–6, 939
- of Constantine. *See* Constantine I
- of the Jews. *See* Jews
- Corinth, Corinthians 101, 370, 422, 425–6, 433, 520, 817, 832, 840
- Cornelius (the Centurion) 903, 905
- Corpus Juris Canonici*. *See* Canon Law
- Cosmology. *See also* Astronomy 138, 728, 748, 891, 893, 896
- Cotelier, Jean-Baptiste (Johannes Baptista Cotelierus) 377
- Coton, Pierre 747
- Cotton, John 33, 143, 145, 149, 151, 337, 399, 598, 717
- Council(s) 85, 87, 89–92, 119, 125, 453, 524, 547, 592, 655, 657, 719, 814–7, 846
- of Antioch 92, 591–2, 816
- of Ariminum 591–2
- of Basel 552–3, 634
- of Carthage 435
- of Chalcedon 170, 665
- of Constance 553, 619–20, 628–9, 634
- of Constantinople 592
- of Ephesus 275
- of Florence 634
- of Jerusalem 903, 905–6
- of Laodicea 82, 90–2, 435, 815–6
- of the Lateran I 612
- of the Lateran III 688
- of the Lateran V 634
- of Nicaea I. 75, 91, 112, 116, 120, 127, 233, 412, 665, 709, 764, 816
- of Nicaea II 611, 614
- of Pisa 634
- of Rome 127, 764

- of Seleucia 591–2
- of Sirmium 591–2
- of Trent 239, 592, 609, 614
- of Trullo 435
- of Tyre 591–2
- Covenant 18–9, 109, 134, 190–1, 261, 263, 265–6, 336, 401, 588, 678, 693, 721–2, 825, 901, 913, 915, 957
  - Blood of the 277–8, 295, 302, 336, 418
  - New and Old Covenant 190–1, 264, 278, 295, 302, 370, 418, 453, 721–2, 816
- Crabbe, Pierre 655
- Crassus, Marcus Licinius 257
- Crates of Mallus 378
- Creation 60–1, 79, 113, 129, 132–3, 179, 191, 236, 246, 272, 406, 453, 463, 492, 623, 908–9
- Creed(s) 72, 107, 110–4, 293, 417, 511, 593, 609, 844
- Crell, Johannes 24–5, 110, 232, 235, 251
- Cressener, Drue 33, 38–9, 125, 149, 160, 166, 169, 504, 539–49, 577, 636–9, 744–5, 770, 776, 786, 791
- Crete 451, 511, 781, 840
- Critics. *See* Interpretation
- Croesus 479
- Cromwell, Oliver 19, 29, 39, 44, 227, 347, 573
- Crops 254, 313, 319, 355, 370, 498–500, 619, 718, 937
- Cross. *See* Christ
- Cross, Walter 19, 78, 249
- Crull, Jodocus 782, 790
- Crusades 166, 529, 552, 561, 604, 615, 617, 626, 630, 633–4, 781
- Culverwell, Nathaniel 70, 367–8
- Cumberland, Richard 51–2, 878
- Cunaeus, Petrus (Peter van der Kun) 258
- Curse 183, 254, 320, 492, 514, 566, 629, 632, 668, 696, 728, 754, 835, 913, 916, 957
  - of Noah 911
- Cyprian the Carthage (Thascius Caecilius Cyprianus) 75, 410, 412, 445, 495, 502, 820, 844, 906
- Cyprus 259, 497
- Cyriacus II of Constantinople 526
- Cyril of Alexandria (Cyrillus Alexandrinus) 275, 418
- Cyril of Jerusalem 91, 445, 730, 815
- Cyrus (the Great) 335, 568, 576, 749, 789, 892
- Dacia 521
- Dacier, André 32, 381
- Dacier, Anne Le Fèvre 381
- Damnation 194, 353, 370, 723, 748
- Dan, Tribe of 188, 513, 514, 885
- Daniel (Book of) 45, 168, 373, 639, 652, 720, 740, 748, 789, 938–42
- Daniel (Prophet) 8, 139, 449, 454, 522, 535, 571, 574, 585, 594, 642, 652, 698, 701, 702, 713, 720, 737, 741, 756, 760, 768, 773, 783, 789, 791, 823, 825, 826, 830, 881, 892, 925, 958, 963
  - Visions of 8, 128, 141, 154, 156, 172, 176, 297, 373, 449, 522, 535, 571, 574, 585, 594, 642, 652, 708–9, 713, 737, 741, 748, 760, 773, 783, 789, 791, 823, 825, 826, 830, 933, 939, 958
- Darius I (Darius the Great) 138, 880, 892, 895, 898
- Daughter(s). *See* Children
- Davenport, John 44, 181, 573, 641, 758
- David (King) 191, 235, 243, 246, 272–3, 288, 338, 469, 483, 488, 492, 613, 698, 750, 757, 764, 808, 823, 824, 829, 909, 914, 918, 925, 943, 944–5, 948, 953, 958
  - as Type of Christ 243, 246, 272–3, 469, 479–80, 488, 757
- Days
  - Day of Atonement 274, 332, 336
  - Day of Judgment, Day of God, Day of the Lord. *See* Judgment
  - Day of Pentecost 454, 823, 830–1, 847
  - The Lords Day. *See* Sabbath
- De Dieu, Ludovicus 469, 906
- De Luzancy, Hippolyte du Chastelet 322
- Death, Dying 160, 163, 165, 270, 286–7, 289, 415, 420–1, 438, 500–1, 512, 541, 547, 558–9, 561, 647, 671–3, 681, 784–6, 809, 895, 931
  - Angel(s) of. *See also* Satan 515, 730

- of the Body. *See* Body  
 of Jesus. *See* Christ  
 of Moses 59, 884–5  
 Overcoming of 175, 190, 192, 241,  
 338, 368–71, 456, 459, 491, 693,  
 717–8, 752, 756, 961–2  
 as a Result of Sin 175, 183, 193,  
 239–41, 368, 371  
 Deborah (prophetess) 830  
 Decius 249, 843  
 Deism, Deist(s) 30, 52–3, 61, 67, 85,  
 130–1, 134, 142, 193, 255, 410, 828  
 Demon(s). *See also* Angel(s) 30, 51, 177,  
 183, 261, 315, 369, 378–80, 430, 456,  
 466–7, 507, 537–8, 589–90, 631, 684,  
 729–30, 748, 763, 802, 806, 809, 837,  
 841, 848, 896, 933  
 Demosthenes 813  
 Denmark 619, 635, 691, 788  
 D'Espagne, Jean 46, 518  
 Devil. *See* Satan  
 Diana (goddess) 464, 899  
 Dickinson, Edmund 130, 901  
 Dieterich, Johann Conrad 686  
 Diocletian 443, 475, 496, 503–4,  
 507–8, 570, 595, 604, 795  
 Diodorus Siculus 583, 955  
 Diogenes (the Cynic) 811  
 Diogenes Laertius 378  
 Dionysius of Alexandria (Dionysius the  
 Great) 8, 445, 460, 734–5, 842–3  
 Dionysius the Carthusian (Denis the  
 Carthusian) 585  
 Dionysius Exiguus 443  
 Dionysius of Halicarnassus 930, 933  
 Diotrophes 425–6  
 Diphilus 457  
 Discipleship, Disciples 286, 292, 337,  
 341, 345–7, 372, 399, 403, 407, 414,  
 417–8, 435, 557, 574, 602, 656, 762,  
 802, 823, 831–2, 835–6, 893  
 Dispensations, Dispensationalism 102,  
 178, 183, 243, 394, 450, 461, 467, 489,  
 640, 697–8, 722, 798, 802  
 Dissent, Dissenters 18–20, 29, 35, 39, 44,  
 53–4, 65, 72, 86–7, 105, 107, 113–4,  
 121–2, 125, 146, 148–50, 156, 193, 282,  
 437, 544, 547, 577, 923  
 Dod, John 336–7  
 Dodwell, Henry 820, 837–44  
 Domitian 92, 102, 157, 400, 449, 464,  
 689, 746, 769, 774, 792  
 Doubt(s) 93, 142, 157, 163, 173, 305–6,  
 360, 420, 802, 837–8  
 Doujat, Jean (Doujatius) 794  
 Dragon(s). *See* Animals, Satan  
 Dream(s) 50, 59, 88, 429–30, 462, 466,  
 475, 513, 560, 611, 822–3, 843, 914,  
 918  
 Druids (Gallic) 395, 709  
 Drusius, Johannes (Jan van den  
 Driessche) 266, 316, 343, 378–9, 398,  
 645  
 Du Fresne, Charles 527  
 Du Perron, Jacques Davy 644  
 Du Pin, Louis Ellies 86, 274  
 Dualism. *See also* Zoroastrianism 138–9,  
 408, 728, 890, 893  
 Dunton, John 514  
 Ear(s) 78–9, 272–4, 420, 429, 455, 464,  
 683–4, 823, 892  
 Earinus 466  
 Earthquakes 153, 164, 390–2, 469,  
 470–1, 479, 499, 504, 520, 555, 558,  
 560, 562, 569, 571–2, 576–7, 579,  
 634–5, 776, 796, 930  
 Eastern Orthodoxy 46, 296, 377, 510–2,  
 533, 536, 555, 592, 631  
 Ebion, Ebionites 85, 93, 422, 464  
 Echard, Laurence 657  
 Eden (Garden of) 129, 132–3, 136, 142,  
 283, 585  
 Edict  
   of Fontainebleau 36, 52  
   of Nantes 36, 163, 325, 508, 559–61,  
   568, 579, 908  
   of Milan 503–6  
   of Speyer 555  
   of Worms 555  
 Edom, Edomites 506, 603, 611, 700,  
 708–9, 903, 913  
 Edward IV 765  
 Edwards, John 20–1, 71, 73, 107, 110,  
 139, 281, 309–10, 348, 382, 415–20  
 Edwards, Jonathan 62, 82, 130, 149

- Egypt, Egyptian 131, 135, 142, 233, 257,  
 286–7, 342, 358, 363, 376, 381, 447,  
 480, 497, 503, 507, 511, 519, 527,  
 534, 539–40, 542, 553–4, 557, 566,  
 573, 577, 617, 620, 622, 624, 636–7,  
 670–1, 706, 734, 747, 763, 770, 779,  
 789, 799, 827, 879, 890, 908, 914–7,  
 919, 929, 938, 955, 957, 959  
 Eldad 324–5  
 Elder(s). *See* Church  
 Eleazar 289–90  
 Elect Lady 101, 423  
 Election, Elect 69–70, 108, 133, 189–90,  
 192, 194, 314, 242, 335, 338, 367–8,  
 371, 385, 513, 618, 725, 727, 736, 740,  
 809, 916, 919  
 Eliakim 469, 479  
 Eliezer (Rabbi) 244, 939  
 Elihu 829  
 Elijah 288, 370, 430, 448, 515–6, 557,  
 566, 579, 590, 685, 701, 713, 715, 784,  
 823–6, 830, 961  
 Elisha 289, 439, 557, 566, 579, 784,  
 825, 839  
 Elizabeth I 145, 165, 637  
 Elmacin, George (Georgius Elmacinus,  
 Giris Al-Makin, Ibn-Amid) 382  
 Emes, Thomas 50, 837  
 Empire(s)  
   Achaemenid 892–3, 898, 900  
   of Antichrist. *See* Antichrist  
   Babylonian. *See* Babylon  
   Byzantine, Eastern Empire 160, 166–7,  
   180, 228, 255, 486, 503, 505, 519, 528,  
   534–6, 546, 548, 555, 591, 606, 611,  
   627–8, 630–1, 639, 642, 653, 663–6,  
   650, 653, 665, 673, 680, 691, 730–1,  
   741, 779, 781–2, 786–7, 790–1, 794  
   German (Holy Roman) 555, 559, 571,  
   579, 594, 619, 629, 638, 686, 689–90,  
   788, 791–2  
   Habsburg 549, 559  
   Mughal 443, 529  
   Ottoman 156, 158, 160, 164, 166, 180,  
   511, 519, 533–7, 548–9, 630, 653,  
   781–2  
   Papal. *See* Catholicism, Papacy  
   Parthian 100, 397, 706, 935  
   Persian 167, 180, 431–3, 443, 529,  
   533, 680, 709, 791, 891–2  
   Roman. *See* Rome  
   Seljuk 519, 533–4, 548  
 Enemies. *See* Judgment  
 England. *See also* Anglicanism 410, 489,  
 568, 574–7, 579, 594, 617, 619, 627,  
 637, 691, 788, 899  
 Enlightenment 5–7, 55, 59–62, 82, 107,  
 130–1, 144, 150, 152  
 Enoch. *See also* Pseudepigrapha 362,  
 370, 381, 430, 437–9, 756, 913  
 Prophecies of 100, 361–2, 436–7,  
 749  
 Rapture of 370, 430, 756  
 Enos 381–2, 917  
 Enthusiasm, Ecstatic Practices. *See also*  
   French Prophets; Montanism; Super-  
   natural Experiences 6, 9, 36, 49–50,  
   65, 120–1, 146, 150, 154, 364, 818–9,  
   825–6, 829, 837, 839, 846, 946  
 Epaminondas 293  
 Ephesus, Ephesian(s) 100–2, 275, 396,  
 403, 425, 430, 449, 452, 464–6,  
 471–4, 832, 899  
 Ephraim, Tribe of 188, 513–4, 700, 918  
 Epictetus 811  
 Epicurus, Epicurean(s), Epicureanism  
   395, 809, 811, 844–5  
 Epimenides 839  
 Epiphanes (Gnostic) 384  
 Epiphanius of Salamis 259, 383–4, 435,  
 587, 768, 833, 836, 907, 919, 927, 941  
 Episcopius, Simon 348, 415  
 Erasmus of Rotterdam 65–6, 68, 70–1,  
 73, 83–4, 93, 228, 290, 315–6, 410–1,  
 437, 685, 707–8, 884  
 Ertuğrul 534  
 Esau 294, 611, 711, 913–6  
 Eschatology. *See* Conflagration; Eternal  
   Life; Heaven; Interpretation (Preterist);  
   Jews; Judgment; Millennium; New  
   Heaven and New Earth; Resurrection  
   of Cotton Mather 4, 8, 10, 14–5,  
   28–9, 33–9, 42–5, 50, 54, 60, 64–5,  
   102, 104–6, 113, 122–3, 126–8, 133,  
   143–57, 162–3, 166–95, 282–3, 960–3  
 Essenes 458

- van Est, Willem Hessels (Estius) 374, 426
- Estienne, Robert (Étienne; Robertus Stephanus) 66–7, 71, 73–4, 351, 410–1, 884
- Eternal Life. *See also* Heaven; New Heaven and New Earth; Resurrection 178, 184, 239, 246, 300, 306, 370, 467, 627, 903
- Ethiopia, Ethiopian(s) 66, 257, 362, 501, 527, 529, 583
- Eucharist 336, 415, 418, 435, 553, 592, 683, 839–40
- Euclid 328–9
- Eugene of Savoy 782
- Eugenius 520
- Euphrates 100, 403, 431, 533–4, 536, 540, 548, 630–1, 638, 641, 706, 775–6, 781
- Europe 6, 64, 71, 105–6, 130, 143, 167, 172, 180–2, 304, 444, 511, 521, 542, 549–50, 560, 562–3, 571–5, 577, 579, 594, 602–3, 619, 626–9, 635, 638, 648, 652–3, 563, 704, 744, 776–8, 781–2, 788
- Eusebius of Caesarea (Eusebius Pamphili) 51, 95–8, 127, 762, 769, 786, 793, 795, 833–6, 841–3, 846, 886, 932, 952  
on Hebrews 275, 290  
on James 303, 314  
on 1 Peter 358  
on 2 Peter 360, 376, 396  
on Revelation 445, 460, 465–6, 475, 586–7, 609, 720, 734–5, 751
- Eutropius, Flavius 498, 795
- Eutychius (exarch) 650
- Eve 132, 136, 183, 755, 896, 910, 955, 961
- Evil  
Origin of 139, 292–3, 307, 728–9, 893
- Excommunication(s) 629, 632, 634, 655, 685, 688, 696, 757
- Exegesis. *See* Interpretation
- Ezekiel (Prophet) 8, 126, 177, 232, 283–4, 297, 337, 449, 454, 482, 600, 699, 712–3, 719, 725, 750, 755, 759, 774, 783, 823–8, 830, 894, 958–9
- Ezra 52, 59, 76–7, 138–9, 215, 826, 881–8, 922, 938, 940–2, 948
- Fabricius, Johann Albert 362
- Faith 279–85, 288, 336, 364–6, 397, 413, 416, 457, 492, 497, 547, 557, 592–3, 669, 676, 730, 762, 802–3, 819, 909, 916  
Fruits of 108, 313–4, 368  
Justification by 7, 27, 95, 97, 105, 107–9, 300, 309, 313–5, 468, 748, 817, 833  
Lukewarm 104, 305, 461, 464
- Faithfulness, Faithful 238, 240, 252, 303, 358, 370–3, 399–401, 407, 418, 420, 447, 462, 557–8, 567, 577, 589, 618, 620, 633, 641, 678, 684, 718, 724–5, 744, 765, 797, 800, 821, 829, 840–1, 906, 917, 943, 961, 963
- Fall (of Adam) 281, 717, 835
- False  
Apostles 464, 473, 822,  
Messiahs 101, 404, 497  
Prophets 161, 328, 360–2, 374, 406, 579, 585, 597, 628, 631–2, 689, 710, 738, 792, 827, 831,  
Teachers 52, 99, 317, 360–1, 363, 376, 406, 426, 433, 436, 531, 537, 615, 617, 675
- Famine(s) 159, 488, 499–502, 703, 775
- Fasting 366, 499, 519, 537, 656, 808, 925
- da Favera, Guarino (Guarinus Phavorinus) 432
- Favorino, Varino 374, 378
- Fear 245, 326, 345, 379, 383, 394, 403, 407, 441, 490, 570, 632, 750, 802–3, 812, 823  
of God. *See* God
- Feast(s), Feasting 233–5, 300, 327, 351–2, 384, 432–5, 467, 469, 481, 581, 569, 581, 649, 695, 707, 733, 749, 892, 904, 908, 918, 925, 947, 951  
of Tabernacles (Sukkot) 188, 514–7
- Felicity (martyr) 842
- Ferguson, Robert 365
- Feuardent, François (Franciscus Fevardentius) 719

- Ficino, Marsilio 448  
 Flavel, John 396  
 Fleming, Robert (the Younger) 19–20,  
     163, 364, 374–5, 552–6  
 Flesh. *See also* Body  
     Sinfulness of 326, 349, 352–3,  
     369–71, 399, 802, 820  
 Fleury, Claude 53, 950, 952  
 Flood 131–3, 295, 313, 348–50, 370,  
     382, 437, 591–2, 675–7, 825, 896, 911,  
     917, 932, 955, 963  
 Florus 953  
 Food 252, 270, 300, 366, 389, 591, 656,  
     798–9, 903, 918  
     sacrificed to Idols 430, 473, 905  
 Forbes, Patrick 102, 461, 511  
 Forgery, Forgeries. *See also*  
     Pseudepigrapha 24, 91, 100, 112,  
     251–2, 362, 424, 452, 931  
 France. *See also* French Prophets and  
     Protestants 17, 36, 49, 52, 146, 163–4,  
     171, 524, 542, 552–5, 559–62, 568,  
     579, 594, 605, 615, 629, 635–8, 688,  
     715, 765–6, 777–9, 787–8, 836  
 Francke, August Hermann 9, 47–8,  
     803–5, 848  
 Freher, Marquard 686  
 Freinsheim, Johann 794  
 French Prophets 9, 36, 49–51, 65, 120–1,  
     818–9, 829, 837, 846–7  
 French Protestants 28, 35–7, 39, 43, 46,  
     49–50, 52, 149, 163–4, 171, 258, 325,  
     367, 381, 431, 443, 446, 452, 476,  
     508, 518, 524, 560–2, 568, 579, 635,  
     709, 783, 818, 908  
 Fruit(s). *See also* Faith 183, 254, 301, 310,  
     514–5, 522, 619–20, 695, 714, 752,  
     802, 937, 961  
     Forbidden 239, 241  
     of Righteousness 322  
 Fuller, Nicholas 176, 721  
 Fuller, Thomas 427  
  
 Gainas 544  
 Gaius (of Ephesus) 101, 425, 433  
 Galatia 98, 335, 426, 428  
 Galatians (Epistle) 24–5, 97, 108, 314,  
     396, 817  
 Galerius 503, 795  
 Gallienus 501  
 Gamaliel 308  
 Garrett, Walter 13, 44, 148, 170, 659–88,  
     786  
 Gataker, Thomas 68, 290, 324, 402  
 Gaul, Gauls 234, 521, 523, 542–5,  
     627, 630, 658, 663–4, 780  
 Gaumāta 892  
 Gelasius of Cyzicus (Anonymous of  
     Cyzicus) 764  
 Gell, Robert 80–1, 279, 352, 356  
 Gellius, Aulus 930  
 Générard, Gilbert 609–10  
 Genesis (Book of) 8, 38, 40, 60, 94, 132,  
     260, 285, 386, 437, 767, 816, 885,  
     909, 915  
 Geneva. *See also* Bible 397, 511, 784–5,  
     787,  
 Gennadius Massiliensis 655–6  
 Genseric (Gaiseric) 169–71, 525, 658–9,  
     783  
 Gentiles(s) 35, 69, 123, 128, 168, 191,  
     323, 343, 348, 351, 434, 442, 465,  
     487, 563–65, 571, 658, 678, 789,  
     796  
     Conversion of 133, 141–2, 162, 186,  
     188, 309, 327–8, 330–1, 425–6, 510,  
     514, 725, 814, 840, 903–6, 915–6, 919,  
     935, 962  
 Geology 386–92  
 Geōrgarinēs, Iōsēph 450  
 George I 30, 240  
 George of Denmark 47, 804  
 German Empire. *See* Empire  
 Germanic Peoples and Kingdoms 160–1,  
     167, 169–72, 519, 653  
     Alans 169, 519–20, 525, 544, 663,  
     690–1, 783  
     Allemanni 521, 690–1  
     Burgundians 523, 544, 663, 690, 787  
     Franks 171, 544, 663, 690, 780, 787,  
     790  
     Goths 443, 486, 519–21, 523, 541,  
     544–6, 595, 598, 658, 665, 777  
     Heruli 520, 541, 779  
     Lombards 650–1, 780, 790  
     Marcomanni 520



- Ostrogoths 595, 654, 663, 690–1, 787  
 Saxons 22, 295, 496–7, 544–5, 663, 654, 690–1, 787  
 Suebi 521, 544, 654, 663, 690–1, 787  
 Vandals 169, 519–21, 523, 525, 544, 598, 654, 658, 663–4, 690–1, 777–8, 783, 787  
 Visigoths 520, 654, 663, 690–1, 779, 787  
 Germany 521, 555, 559, 571, 579, 594, 619, 629, 631, 635, 637–8, 766, 788  
 Gibeon, Gibeonites 750  
 Gideon 288, 822–3, 828  
 Gifts. *See* Holy Spirit, Prophesy  
 Giovio, Paolo (Paulus Jovius) 583  
 Glorious Revolution 37–40, 51, 71, 110–1, 146, 149, 165, 255, 342, 539, 576, 659  
 Gnostic, Gnosticism 42, 99, 234, 430, 435, 765, 953  
 God. *See also* Trinity  
   as Ancient of Days 185, 741  
   as Creator 132, 410, 524, 683  
   Essence of 73, 112, 119, 184, 282, 364, 406, 420, 696  
   as Father 112–3, 115–8, 229–30, 234–6, 240, 249, 252, 293, 306–7, 340, 353, 376, 401, 412–4, 420, 427, 449, 491, 572, 697, 699, 761–2, 773–5, 800, 826  
   Fear of 122, 297, 306, 565, 616, 760, 772, 903–4  
   Friendship with 250, 468, 798  
   Glory of 115–6, 175, 232, 305, 369, 371, 599, 637, 693, 754, 802, 894  
   Goodness of 249, 313, 396, 405–6  
   Grace of, Mercy of 107, 138, 234, 241, 294–5, 300–1, 307, 313, 321, 324–5, 329, 369, 376, 414, 420, 427, 452, 655, 677–8, 750, 788, 835, 905, 912  
   Hand of 277, 357, 442, 491, 493, 507, 572, 628, 638, 733  
   as the Holy One 295, 400, 481, 789, 824  
   Infinity of 115, 420, 449, 696, 822, 847  
   as Jehovah 185, 234, 328, 341, 709  
   Judgement of. *See* Judgment  
   Justice of 307, 313, 339, 357, 369, 371, 381, 421, 533, 664, 776  
   Kingdom of 50, 151, 174, 186, 188, 193, 349, 371, 515, 589, 716, 762, 775, 962  
   Love of 167, 184, 250, 252, 306, 406, 408, 420, 427, 442, 473, 801, 803, 810  
   Name of 271, 328, 448, 599, 627, 683, 697, 808, 822, 901  
   Omnipotence of, Sovereignty of 94, 107–8, 119, 307, 357, 464, 707  
   People of. *See* People of God  
   Power of 234, 247–8, 250, 281, 306, 338, 367, 420, 835, 905  
   Presence of 271, 401, 696, 825, 841  
   Providence of 76, 135, 142, 156, 160, 171, 176, 181, 187, 257, 265, 442, 467, 490, 493, 576, 611, 633, 665, 691, 727, 748, 759, 767–8, 771, 777, 779, 802–3, 821  
   Vengeance of. *See* Vengeance  
   Voice of, Mouth of 191, 243, 246, 249, 551, 560, 589–90, 700, 749, 796, 823–4  
   Will of 172, 183, 247, 272–3, 420, 461, 654, 695, 766, 819, 821–2, 826–7, 830, 839  
   Wrath of, Anger of 247, 293, 295–6, 299, 349, 416, 491–2, 533, 570, 617, 623, 635, 637, 674, 771  
 Gog and Magog. *See also* Armageddon  
   29, 175–8, 183, 712, 720–6, 746–8, 750, 963  
 Gold 265–7, 305, 330, 336, 338, 345, 455, 467–8, 482–3, 491–2, 514, 529, 540, 570, 584, 620, 643–4, 668, 693–5, 699–700, 730, 749, 810, 880, 925, 930  
 Gomar, Franciscus 766, 952–3  
 Goodwin, Thomas 18–9, 32, 34–5, 37, 39, 123, 125, 147, 149, 158, 164–5  
   on Hebrews 261  
   on James 327  
   on 1 John 397  
   on 1 Peter 344, 349–50  
   on Revelation 482–93, 495, 499–500, 502–3, 506–8, 510–11, 519, 563–73, 605–7, 622–3

- Gospel 21, 108, 134, 138, 140, 142, 151, 155, 163, 172, 175, 243–5, 251, 270, 277, 300, 309–10, 314, 325, 363, 371–2, 393–4, 415, 419, 429, 492, 497, 563–4, 602, 631, 669, 676, 809, 847–8, 933  
 Preaching of, Spreading of 97, 187, 322, 340, 352–3, 356, 425, 469, 550, 615–6, 618, 672, 678, 720, 722, 724–5, 731, 748, 796, 814, 831, 835, 841, 905  
 Gospel of the Nazarenes. *See also* Pseudepigrapha 93  
 Goths. *See* Germanic Peoples and Kingdoms  
 Gouge, William 27, 228, 276  
 Governance, Government 125, 161, 173, 175, 187, 231, 237, 243, 247, 249, 263, 330–1, 344, 354, 356, 382–3, 429, 431, 466, 469, 480, 488, 542, 545–7, 554, 569, 573, 575, 594, 598, 628, 649–50, 655, 662–3, 665, 699, 702, 725, 729, 747, 750, 755, 776, 779, 792–5, 897, 927, 931, 936  
 Grabe, John Ernest (Johannes Ernst) 70, 368, 835  
 Graserus, Cunradus (the Younger) 571  
 Gratian (emperor) 505,  
 Gratian (jurist) 632–3, 656–7  
 Greece 46, 90, 129, 137, 176, 434, 449, 511, 520, 553, 630–1, 690, 748, 777, 813, 815, 889–90, 900, 955  
 Greek, Greeks 229, 329, 356, 361, 434–5, 446, 468, 471, 474, 479, 497, 522, 528, 532–3, 535, 555, 651, 584, 606, 666, 690, 813, 891–2, 904, 906, 914, 933–5, 953, 955, 958–9  
 Empire. *See* Empire(s): Byzantine  
 Language 21, 83, 94, 100, 116, 141, 227–8, 237, 241–2, 245, 260, 272–3, 290, 294, 298–9, 317, 339–41, 348, 351, 382, 396, 440, 448, 473, 475, 481, 501, 508, 531–2, 592, 602, 609, 624, 725, 934–5, 940, 942, 952  
 New Testament. *See* Bible  
 Orthodox Church. *See* Eastern  
 Orthodoxy  
 Philosophy. *See* Philosophy  
 Poet(s). *See* Poetry  
 Gregory, John 22, 295, 328–9  
 Gregory the Great (Gregory I, Gregorius Magnus) 322, 366–7, 468–9, 524, 526, 690, 723  
 Gregory of Nazianzus 303, 418, 445  
 Gregory of Nyssa 843  
 Gregory Thaumaturgus 843  
 Grellotus, Antonius (Anton Grelot) 43, 129, 446–8, 450, 453–6, 474, 476–8, 480–5, 489, 501, 515–7, 520, 577, 589, 591, 601, 603, 609, 622, 639, 641, 643, 647, 703–4, 708–9, 711, 715–6, 730–1, 733  
 Grew, Nehemiah 256  
 Grotius, Hugo 22–3, 27, 34, 48, 56, 58, 66, 68, 71, 75, 84, 87, 93, 96, 98–102, 108, 140–1, 154–7, 161, 188–90, 769, 806, 885, 935, 948  
 on Hebrews 228, 245, 252, 267, 275, 285, 290  
 on James 307, 310–1, 314, 317–20, 333  
 on 1 John 397, 399, 403–4, 412, 415, 418  
 on 2 John 423  
 on Jude 435  
 on 1 Peter 352  
 on 2 Peter 360, 365, 393–5  
 on Revelation 448, 458–9, 473, 514, 643, 667, 689, 708, 733, 737, 745, 752  
 Gunther (archbishop of Cologne) 628  
 Guyse, John 30, 422  
 Habakkuk 823, 826, 958  
 Hades 386, 456–9, 721  
 Hadrian 99, 140, 348, 394, 497, 931  
 Hagar 463, 823, 912–3  
 Haggai 296  
 Hail 387, 389, 520–1, 541, 543–4, 635, 776–7  
 Hales, John 276–7, 421  
 Halle. *See* Pietism  
 Ham (Son of Noah) 259, 911  
 Haman (the Agagite) 709  
 Hammond, Henry 23, 34, 56, 69, 71, 93–4, 96, 98–9, 101–2, 155–7, 161, 178, 189

- on Hebrews 228, 240, 285, 289–90, 292, 299, 769
- on James 307
- on 1 John 407, 412, 415
- on 2 John 423
- on Jude 431
- on 1 Peter 335
- on 2 Peter 365, 374, 382, 393
- on Revelation 491, 587, 589, 618, 667, 689, 745, 752
- Hannah (Mother of Samuel) 551
- Hanneman, Johann Ludwig 646
- Happiness. *See also* Millennium 109, 245, 284, 353, 414, 427, 515, 724, 729, 751, 903
- Hardy, Nathaniel 399
- Harris, John 738
- Harvest 21, 322, 615, 618–21, 635, 917
- Healing. *See also* Medicine 50, 120, 332, 819, 828, 837, 841
- Heart(s) 106, 109, 243, 247–8, 292, 300, 305, 324, 347, 372–5, 405, 415, 417, 474, 488, 494, 557, 564, 567, 606, 694, 757, 762, 798, 800–2, 806, 809, 826, 838, 896, 943, 951
- of Christianity 75, 118
- Heathen(s). *See also* Paganism 130, 141, 143, 178, 281, 308, 321, 327, 331, 353, 354, 362, 406, 422, 429, 488, 500, 505, 507–8, 520, 524, 533, 547, 590, 604, 644, 662, 664, 669–70, 672–3, 675, 677, 681, 684, 686, 697, 730, 759, 768–9, 786, 811–2, 836, 841, 902, 933
- Heaven. *See also* Eternal Life, Millennium, New Jerusalem, New Heaven and New Earth 43, 50, 70, 75, 118, 152, 161–2, 174–5, 177–80, 182–4, 192, 235, 238, 249, 258, 261–2, 270–1, 296, 306, 313, 319, 325, 327, 334, 337–8, 342, 347, 369, 378–82, 386, 393–4, 401, 405, 407, 409, 412–5, 419–21, 432, 440, 457–8, 467–8, 486–7, 489, 493, 502, 505–7, 520, 523–6, 537, 541, 550–1, 555, 557–8, 560, 563, 566, 568–9, 571–2, 574, 579, 585, 588–9, 599–602, 611, 614, 618, 620–1, 627, 634–5, 665, 669–73, 676, 682–3, 65, 691, 694, 696–702, 707, 710, 712–3, 724, 737, 740–1, 746, 749–56, 759, 761, 766, 771, 796, 798, 807, 818–9, 821, 823–4, 830, 835, 842, 848, 915, 920, 936–7, 939, 961–2
- in the Book of Zohar 482–3
- Promise of 133
- Third Heaven 275, 282, 699
- Hebraism, Hebraists 25, 28, 42–3, 57, 76–7, 124, 135, 227, 234, 237–8, 246, 257–9, 266–8, 339, 438, 445–8, 474, 733, 736, 884, 886, 923, 938, 952
- Hebrew(s). *See also* Israel, Jews 53, 142–3, 191, 266, 270, 299, 301–2, 308, 313, 318, 351, 404, 450, 578, 585, 698, 708, 710, 824, 828, 886, 909
- Bible. *See* Bible
- Language 22, 35, 76–80, 116, 137, 263, 272–3, 285–6, 300–1, 317, 338–9, 343, 361, 423, 446–8, 462, 475, 480, 520, 530–2, 578, 609, 631–2, 639, 693, 729, 772, 826, 829–30, 881, 886–8, 903, 914, 926, 934, 942, 957–9
- Music and Poetry of the Ancient Hebrews. *See also* Poetry 943–54
- Vowel Points 76–8, 886–7
- Hebrews (Epistle) 7, 10, 14–20, 22, 29, 33, 79, 82–4, 107, 110, 115, 117, 303, 817
- Authorship of 89, 93–4
- Target Audience 228–9, 248, 287
- Heidegger, Johann Heinrich 18, 100, 258–60, 436–7
- Heinsius, Daniel (Heins) 260, 307, 318
- Heliodorus of Emesa 584
- Hell. *See also* Eschatology 30, 131, 152, 176–8, 183, 253–4, 261, 320, 370, 378–9, 380, 386, 439, 456–9, 467, 500, 502, 530–1, 590, 612, 647, 702, 721, 727, 747–8, 809
- Gehenna 458, 467, 590
- Hades. *See* Hades
- as Place of Torment 178, 240, 254, 379, 386, 456–8, 502
- Tartarus 378, 386

- Hellenism, Hellenists 94, 100, 141,  
     228–9, 242, 257, 264, 356, 362, 385,  
     544, 569, 884, 889, 904, 929  
 Heman 948  
 Henry, Matthew 11, 21, 704–5  
 Henry IV (Holy Roman Emperor) 612,  
     627, 747  
 Henry VIII 444  
 Henry of Lausanne 616  
 Hercules (of Tyre) 256–7, 507, 630  
 Heresy, Heretics. *See also* Arianism;  
     Ebionites; False; Gnosticism;  
     Montanism; Nicolaitans; Socinianism  
     20, 24, 41, 75, 90, 107, 113, 119, 121,  
     126–7, 137, 140, 160, 193, 234, 377,  
     382, 384, 410, 413, 424, 426, 429,  
     464, 468, 473, 537, 552–3, 558,  
     592–3, 600, 615–7, 633, 673, 675–6,  
     680, 688, 718–9, 723, 764, 844–5,  
     890  
 Herle, Charles 432  
 Hermes, Hermeticism, Hermetic. *See also*  
     Kabbalah; Platonism; Sibylline Oracles  
     63, 140, 448, 458  
 Herod (the Great) 345, 586, 809,  
     936  
 Herodes Atticus 812  
 Herodian 466, 499  
 Herodotus 31, 342, 533, 892, 955  
 Hesiod 31, 406, 953, 955  
 Hesychius of Miletus 934  
 Heylin, Peter 664, 790  
 Hezekiah 637, 885, 959  
 Hickes, George 846  
 Hierocles 406  
 Hilkiah 922  
 Hillel the Elder (Rabbi) 244, 939  
 Hilton, Walter 404–5  
*Historia Augusta* 498–9, 501, 812  
 History  
     Church History 86, 102, 120–1, 123–4,  
     127, 129, 143–5, 148, 155, 157–78, 376,  
     431, 453, 461, 464, 612, 736, 764, 792,  
     833, 845  
     of Religion(s) 10, 128–43  
 Hobbes, Thomas 227, 255, 885  
 Holiness 371, 395, 414, 418, 645, 713,  
     718, 775, 797, 803, 814, 943  
 Holy of Holies. *See also* Tabernacle 262,  
     264, 267, 275, 482, 600, 698–9, 772,  
     804, 894  
 Holy Land. *See also* Palestine, Promise  
     94, 166, 172, 175, 177, 184–6, 192,  
     229, 616, 626, 712, 754, 903, 912  
 Holy Roman Empire. *See* Empire(s)  
 Holy Spirit, Holy Ghost  
     as Author of Scripture 88–9, 93, 104,  
     373–4, 569, 607, 813–4, 831  
     Effusion of 122, 400, 814, 831, 837,  
     847  
     Gifts of 3, 48–50, 65, 89, 120–2, 324,  
     454, 814, 826, 831–49, 933  
     as Mother of Christianity 120  
     Sin against 277, 420–1  
     as Third Person of the Trinity 73, 75,  
     112, 115, 118–22, 136, 413–4, 427  
 Homer 31, 262, 298, 366, 378, 380–1,  
     457, 584, 704, 880, 953  
 Homes, Nathanael 438  
 Honorius, Flavius 506, 523, 544, 653,  
     658, 665, 667, 931  
 Hooke, John 710  
 Hooke, William 44, 573–4, 576  
 Horace (Quintus Horatius Flaccus) 31,  
     255, 604, 643, 648, 953  
 Hosea 312  
 Hottinger, Johann Heinrich 301, 313,  
     527, 554, 889  
 Howe, John 39–40, 347, 456–9  
 Howel, Laurence 787  
 Huetius, Petrus Daniel (Pierre Daniel  
     Huet) 98–9, 360, 901  
 Hugh of Flavigny (Hugo Flaviniacensis)  
     643  
 Hugh of Saint-Cher (Hugo de Sancto  
     Charo) 882–3  
 Huguenot. *See* France; French Protestants  
 Hulsius, Antonius (Anton Hüls) 701,  
     711, 828  
 Hungary 43, 511, 549, 553, 559–60, 594,  
     631, 635, 637–8, 691, 705, 782, 788  
 Huns 523, 664, 778–9  
 Hus, Jan. *See also* Hussites 163, 552–3,  
     604, 617  
 Husband(s) 254, 263, 346, 435, 658,  
     912

- Hussey, Joseph 704  
 Hussites 553, 617, 634  
   Taborites 553–4  
 Hutchinson, Samuel 732  
 Hyde, Edward 574–5  
 Hyde, Thomas 137–9, 889–90, 896, 899  
 Hymn(s) 406, 493, 648, 839–40, 896, 948, 950, 953
- Iamblichus 345  
 Ibn Ezra, Abraham 352, 447, 708  
 Ibn Sina 582  
 Ibn Sirin, Muhammad 560  
 Iconoclasm 611, 650  
 Idolatry, Idol(s) 51, 104, 112, 117, 119, 125, 132–8, 142–3, 160–1, 188, 199, 288, 327, 358, 373, 376, 394, 420, 422, 430, 465–8, 471, 473, 476, 505, 507–8, 513–4, 536, 538, 540, 547, 554, 556, 563, 566, 586, 588, 593, 598, 600, 604, 609, 611, 613–8, 621, 624, 628–9, 631, 633, 642–4, 651, 656, 662, 668, 671, 673–4, 677–88, 702, 722, 738, 749–50, 772, 779, 783, 795, 889–90, 894, 899–905, 913–4, 918, 927–8, 933, 943  
 al-Idrisi, Ash-Sharif 329  
 Ignatius of Antioch, Pseudo-Ignatius, 86, 101–2, 120, 377–8, 452–3, 464–5, 469–70, 648  
 Ignatius of Loyola 648  
 Immortality 133, 180, 235, 238, 241, 281, 290, 353, 430, 732, 842, 896  
 Incarnation. *See* Christ  
 Incense 257, 267, 358, 491, 596, 629, 651, 668, 700, 704  
 India, Indian 138, 533, 583, 646–7, 704, 841, 891, 893, 895, 897–9  
 Inheritance 122, 161, 189, 191–2, 260, 284, 338, 356, 371, 401, 487–8, 514, 764, 768, 879  
 Interpretation, Methods of. *See also* Revelation, Imagery and Prophecies  
   Allegorical, Analogical, Typological. *See also* Type(s) 32–3, 57, 61–4, 116, 127, 143, 150–1, 153–4, 156, 162–3, 178, 188–91, 195, 233, 243, 249, 375, 393–4, 411, 461–3, 517, 532, 577, 613, 643, 692, 692, 707, 716–7, 719, 734, 737, 741, 745, 752, 763, 785  
   Contextual 247, 258, 292, 300, 311, 318, 375, 583–4, 887–8  
   Etymological 242, 263, 277, 286–7, 428, 434, 457, 530, 532, 603, 681, 826, 934  
   Experiential 8–9, 47, 75, 106, 118, 803, 806, 850  
   Historical-Contextual Criticism 10, 22–3, 55–64, 72, 83–5, 102, 150, 154–7, 360, 394, 410  
   Historicist. *See also* Preterist 50, 62–3, 86, 102, 104, 111, 156–8, 167, 416, 461–2, 469–70, 752, 787  
   Jewish, Rabbinic 13, 22, 28, 43, 58, 76–7, 79–80, 94, 105, 124, 129–30, 134, 142, 154, 184–5, 227, 231, 233, 241, 248, 255, 258–9, 264–7, 274, 284, 294, 299, 301, 312, 331, 337, 360–3, 374, 376, 398, 430, 433, 437, 446–8, 450, 453, 456–7, 474, 477–9, 481–2, 484, 489, 513–5, 517, 578, 602–3, 622, 639, 641, 643. 667, 700–1, 708–9, 711, 715–6, 730, 741, 747, 755, 824, 881–8, 909, 912, 917, 922–3, 929, 935, 938–42, 951  
   Key(s) to 155, 243, 256, 292, 303–4, 354, 377–8, 442–3, 516, 531, 668, 776, 909  
   Literal 24, 61–3, 112, 150–1, 283, 447, 640, 716, 765  
   Preterist (of Prophecies). *See also* Grotius; Hammond; Thorndike 34, 56, 84, 102, 127, 145, 150, 154–6, 174, 189–90, 393–4, 461, 643, 689, 736, 769, 792  
   Spiritual, Mystical. *See also* Mysticism 22, 28, 33, 48, 61–4, 104, 145, 150, 154–5, 174, 177–8, 186, 189, 243, 284, 394, 416–7, 516, 624, 707, 717, 736–7, 765, 804  
 Investiture Controversy 612, 627  
 Irenaeus of Lyon 89–90, 92, 116, 120, 126–7, 234, 305, 362, 268, 377–8, 383–5, 438, 440, 445, 453, 475–6, 609, 719–20, 735, 762, 768, 791, 815–7, 836–8

- Isaac 438, 823, 828, 912–3, 915,  
 Isaiah (Prophet) 8, 53, 126, 139, 154–6,  
 178, 180–4, 249, 290, 340, 381, 394,  
 490, 698, 708, 719, 744–5, 751, 755,  
 771, 819, 823, 825–7, 900, 916, 925,  
 939, 952–3, 958  
 Ishmael 823, 912–4, 916  
 Isidore of Seville (Isidorus Hispalensis)  
 584, 589–90, 681, 723  
 Isidorus Mercator 424  
 Islam, Islamic 52, 85, 136, 142, 160, 328,  
 510–1, 531, 533, 536–7, 550, 560, 642,  
 738, 780, 889–90, 894, 899  
 Muslims 130, 160, 328–9, 511–2, 519,  
 526, 531, 533, 537, 550, 593, 617, 626,  
 642, 653, 683, 781, 897–9, 915  
 Isma'il, Sultan of Morocco 489  
 Israel, Israelites. *See also* Dan, Ephraim,  
 Holy Land, Jews Simeon 79, 110, 133,  
 181, 228, 243, 245, 247, 259, 267,  
 271–2, 284–8, 313, 339, 384, 396,  
 435, 447, 477, 479, 515, 519, 573, 587,  
 591, 642, 670–1, 675, 687, 693, 700,  
 711–5, 730, 732, 749, 754–5, 760,  
 772–4, 823–5, 828, 833, 884, 903–4,  
 909, 915–19, 924–6, 928, 944, 948  
 Conversion and Restoration of Old  
 Israel. *See* Jews  
 Idolatry of 135, 188, 476, 513–4, 538,  
 671, 678, 749–50, 822, 911–3  
 New Israel 176–7, 186–92, 194–5,  
 337–8, 510, 514–7, 725, 739, 962  
 Tribes of 188, 309, 483, 510, 513–7,  
 587, 687, 693, 739, 885, 920  
 Italy. *See also* Rome 133, 169, 305, 451,  
 520, 522–3, 525, 528–9, 541, 543–6,  
 554, 571, 578, 592, 594–5, 616, 625,  
 629, 631, 651, 653, 664–7, 690–1, 705,  
 753, 777, 779, 781, 790, 930  
 Ivo of Chartres (Ivo Carnutensis) 656–7  
 Ivory 704, 956–7  
 Jacob 134, 284–6, 338, 475, 639, 714,  
 821–3, 902, 908, 913–6, 918–9, 953  
 Jacob bar Addai (Baradaeus) 537  
 Jahaziel 829  
 James (Apostle) 82, 304, 335, 352, 685  
 James (Epistle) 7, 14–7, 29, 82, 91, 816  
 Authorship and Canonicity of 84–5,  
 89, 93, 95–7, 108, 303  
 Dating of 323  
 Target Audience of 95–7, 303–5, 309  
 James II of England 37–8, 110, 575, 659,  
 908  
 Jannes and Jambres. *See also*  
 Pseudepigrapha 363, 437  
 Japheth 133, 176–7, 227, 471–2,  
 Jeconiah 568  
 Jeduthun 948  
 Jehoshaphat 722, 922  
 Jehovah. *See* God  
 Jenkin, Robert 29, 86–92, 255, 590,  
 811–7  
 Jenkyn, William 19, 437, 439, 441  
 Jephtha 288  
 Jeremiah 290, 329, 358, 541, 823,  
 825–7, 829, 900, 939, 951, 953, 957–9  
 Jericho 280, 541, 636, 771, 962  
 Jeroboam 513–4, 918  
 Jerome, Pseudo-Jerome 8, 71, 79, 82–3,  
 95–7, 111, 127, 762–3, 765, 778,  
 886–7, 914, 945, 951–2, 986  
 on Hebrews 274  
 on James 303, 314  
 on 1 John 400, 410, 421  
 on 1 Peter 343, 358–9  
 on 2 Peter 379–80, 384, 396  
 on Revelation 444, 460, 462–3,  
 467–8, 516, 530, 544, 584, 596, 656,  
 719, 723, 735, 741, 758  
 Jerome of Prague 553, 604  
 Jerusalem. *See also* New Jerusalem 86,  
 96, 101, 181, 305, 363, 366, 423–4,  
 466, 474, 476, 515, 532, 534, 563,  
 569, 587, 616–7, 659, 701, 707,  
 772–3, 842, 885–6, 903, 905, 922–3,  
 940–1, 948, 960  
 Destruction of 60, 84, 98–100, 154,  
 156–7, 178, 330, 335, 355, 358, 360,  
 392–5, 404, 496, 587, 736, 752,  
 768–9, 833, 936  
 Temple of 123, 282, 563, 565, 658,  
 698–9, 894  
 Jeshua (the High Priest) 557  
 Jesus of Nazareth. *See* Christ  
 Jesus Pandira 332

- Jethro 902
- Jewel(s), Gems 282, 310, 314, 343, 345, 456, 643, 694, 731
- Jews, Jewish, Judaism. *See also* Israel; Restoration 9–10, 28, 43, 60, 85, 99–101, 124, 128–41, 143, 162, 183, 194, 229, 234, 236, 257, 274, 276, 304–5, 311–2, 317, 320–1, 323, 327–35, 340, 343, 348–9, 353–6, 362, 376, 382, 401, 406, 426, 431–6, 440, 442, 448, 452, 459, 465–6, 470–1, 473, 496–7, 500, 532, 537, 539, 547–8, 563, 569, 587, 593, 697–9, 712–3, 723, 738, 762, 768, 772, 789, 811, 834–5, 890, 892, 895, 897, 901–7, 918–9, 921, 923–4, 926, 928–9, 933–6, 939, 958–9 (Eschatological) Conversion and Restoration of 10, 14, 33–4, 39, 43, 52–3, 124, 132, 136, 143–4, 150, 154, 157, 165–6, 172–73, 178, 184–95, 246–7, 283, 338, 394, 461, 482–3, 510–7, 572–4, 576, 712, 725–6, 738–40, 765, 771–3, 796, 847, 96–2
- Interpretation, Tradition, Writings. *See* Interpretation. *See also* Midrash, Talmud
- Jezebel 468, 477–8, 579, 590, 911, 958
- Joab 958
- Job 131, 325, 437, 727, 816, 824, 941, 950, 953, 958–9
- Joel 65, 122, 454, 711, 768, 842
- Johannine Comma (*Comma Johanneum*) 7, 26, 30, 68, 70–3, 112, 117, 409–12
- John (Apostle, Evangelist) 8, 18, 33, 40, 46, 75, 82–4, 90, 92, 100–2, 104, 123–4, 126–7, 154–5, 157–61, 177, 183, 314, 335, 394, 444–5, 448–50, 452–3, 461, 463–5, 471, 541, 563–4, 567, 609–10, 644, 649–50, 653, 660, 668–9, 679, 685, 696–7, 710, 712–3, 719, 734–5, 752, 755, 759, 752, 768–70, 776, 783, 792, 815, 817, 823–7, 833–4, 844, 958
- John, First Epistle of 7, 10, 14–7, 74, Authorship of 100, 403–4
- Target Audience of 100, 397, 403–4
- John, Second Epistle of 7, 14–6, 87, 89, 303, 816
- Authorship of 82–4, 93, 95, 100–1, 423
- Target Audience of 303, 423
- John, Third Epistle of 7, 14–7, 87, 89–90, 303, 816
- Authorship of 82–4, 93, 95, 100–1, 425
- John, Gospel of 7, 66, 75, 84, 100–2, 412, 423, 445, 452, 723, 817, 904
- John I of Antioch 537
- John IV of Constantinople 526
- John of Antioch (historian) 514
- John the Baptist 345, 415, 799, 801, 829, 838, 959
- John of Damascus (John Damascene) 377
- John Hyrcanus 903
- John the Presbyter 83, 445
- Johnston, John 544
- Jonathan ben Uzziel. *See* Targum (Pseudo-)Jonathan
- Jones, Jeremiah 69, 86–7, 89, 93, 351
- Jordan 230, 413, 587, 833
- Jordanes 665
- Josaphat, Valley of 722
- Joseph 284–6, 437, 513–4, 823, 896, 908, 913–6, 952, 958
- Joseph of Arimathea 570
- Joseph ben Ephraim Karo (Yosef Caro, Qaro) 639, 711
- Joseph of Nazareth 799
- Josephus, Flavius 22, 31, 96, 264, 275, 282, 290, 304, 321, 323, 327, 330–1, 343, 354, 364, 434–5, 587, 881, 903, 928, 932, 952, 955
- Joshua 246, 280, 299–300, 324, 356, 431, 488, 518, 557, 566–7, 784, 927, 939
- Joshua, Book of 356, 816, 885, 939
- Joshua (Rabbi) 337, 939
- Joy 289, 300, 306, 313, 324, 370, 401, 467, 497, 511, 517, 569, 575, 589, 604, 614, 732, 738, 772–3, 904, 913, 922, 932–3, 945, 948
- Jubilee 609, 788, 920
- Judah, Tribe of 261, 488–9, 701, 731, 917–20, 958
- Judaism. *See* Jews

- Judas of Galilee 323, 431  
 Judas Iscariot 709–10, 808  
 Judas Maccabeus 946  
 Jude (Apostle) 97–8, 383, 746  
 Jude (Epistle) 7, 14, 16–7, 19, 82–5, 87, 90–1, 93, 214, 303, 360–3, 376, 383, 816  
   Authorship and Target Audience of 97–100, 361  
 Judea 94, 96, 101, 186, 227–9, 303–4, 323, 330, 404, 569, 712, 759, 881  
 Judges, Book of 527, 816, 939  
 Judgment. *See also* Eschatology;  
   Vengeance  
   Day of Judgment, Final Judgment, Last Judgment 139, 151, 155, 158, 173–5, 178–9, 181, 183, 189–90, 192, 238, 253, 338, 349, 373, 379–80, 393, 395, 407, 436, 439, 449–50, 485, 489, 504, 572, 616, 631, 633–4, 660, 710, 714–5, 718–9, 722–4, 726–7, 736–7, 742, 744–5, 751, 753, 762, 770, 773–4, 789, 792, 893, 899, 929, 961  
   of the Dead 352–3, 744–5  
   on the Enemies of God and the Church 162, 174–5, 179, 429, 450, 467, 487–8, 519, 539–41, 547, 563, 569–76, 579, 606, 618, 620, 623, 637–8, 641, 683–4, 712–3, 747, 754, 762, 771, 784, 900, 919  
   of God 49, 104, 154, 234, 247–8, 254, 270, 276–7, 281, 299, 313, 354–5, 369–70, 379, 382, 393, 431, 438, 484, 493, 495, 509, 523, 544, 557, 624, 626, 632, 636, 678, 749, 754–5, 771, 776, 819  
 Julian (emperor) 385, 543, 569–70, 575, 590, 672  
 Julian Calendar 630, 789  
 Junius, Franciscus (the Elder) 68, 290, 324, 428, 736, 970  
 Jupiter 262, 298, 306, 507, 604, 929–30, 937  
 Jurieu, Pierre 33, 35–7, 39, 52, 131, 134–5, 149, 163–4, 166, 170, 783, 901–7  
   on Revelation 442–3, 496–8, 501–7, 521–31, 534–5, 550–1, 556–61, 579, 595, 598–603, 605, 607, 618–21, 624, 628, 635–6, 640, 642–7, 649, 657–9  
 Jurin, James 583  
 Justice. *See* God  
 Justification. *See* Faith. *See also* Salvation  
 Justin II (Emperor) 534  
 Justin (Marcus Junianus Justinus) 257  
 Justin Martyr, Pseudo-Justin 92, 116, 120, 126–7, 140, 233, 320, 331, 368, 380–1, 384, 396, 435, 445, 453, 457, 466, 719, 762, 816–7, 820, 834–6, 892, 930–2  
 Justinian I (Emperor) 255, 424, 545, 597, 956  
 Juvenal 927  
 Kabbalah, Kabbalistic 19, 28, 42–3, 63, 284, 445, 448, 482, 698  
 Karlowitz, Treaty of 548, 782  
 Karlstadt, Andreas 554  
 Kempis, Thomas à 808  
 Kidder, Richard 29, 249, 268–9, 274, 278, 513  
 Kimchi, David 312, 447, 450, 480, 484–5, 517, 708, 756, 903  
 Kingdom  
   of Christ. *See* Christ. *See also* Millennium  
   of God. *See* God  
   of Heaven. *See* Heaven  
 Knatchbull, Sir Norton 27, 81, 260, 265, 279, 283, 295–6, 353, 366, 375  
 Knight, James 119, 296, 341, 472  
 Knorr von Rosenroth, Christian. *See also* Kabbalah 12, 42–3, 63, 149, 184, 445, 448, 455–6, 473, 475, 480, 488, 505–7, 532–3, 537, 689–700  
 König, Samuel Heinrich 242, 368  
 Konrad of Halberstadt the Older 883  
 Korah (son of Izhar) 432, 442, 566, 722  
 Krag, Niels (Nicholaum Cragium) 434  
 Lactantius, Lucius Caecilius Firmianus 127, 308, 508–9, 646–7, 722, 763–4, 775, 793, 795, 930–1  
 Lacy, John 9, 49–51, 120–1, 818–47  
 Lamech 381, 910, 914, 951, 953  
 Lampridius, Ælius 498



- Language(s)  
 Arabic 22, 66, 137, 263, 295, 308, 328, 382, 560, 584, 822, 887, 892, 899, 917  
 Aramaic 320, 381–2, 448, 462, 474, 589, 772, 883, 927, 938–9, 941–2  
 Chaldee 77, 381, 589, 632, 772, 881, 885–6, 926, 934, 938, 940–1  
 Ethiopic 22, 66, 100, 295, 362 529  
 Greek. *See* Greek  
 Hebrew. *See* Hebrew  
 Latin 25, 43, 48, 71, 77, 100, 106, 140–1, 147, 227, 269, 279, 339, 382, 426, 501, 522, 532, 536, 609, 882, 887, 896, 902, 927, 935, 938, 940, 952,  
 Persian 137, 328–9, 887, 889, 895–6, 940  
 Syriac 22, 290, 295, 311, 316, 365, 426, 584, 631–2, 887, 940, 953  
 Laodicea 461, 464, 470, 472, 481  
 Council of. *See* Council(s)  
 Lapidé, Cornelius à (Cornelius van den Steen) 467, 564, 719, 766  
 Larenus, Daniel 766  
 Launay, Pierre De 37, 598, 607, 766  
 Law. *See also* Commandments; Canon  
 Law 57, 85–6, 110, 125, 137, 163, 165, 175, 257, 421, 493, 506, 547, 556, 575, 686, 705, 711, 895,  
 Ceremonial Law 135, 300, 336, 514, 518, 581, 731  
 Fulfillment through Jesus Christ 267–8, 314–5, 409, 418–9, 516, 630, 715  
 and Gospel 622, 726  
 Mosaic Law 79, 89, 97, 135, 227–8, 243, 257, 260–1, 267–9, 273, 275, 277–8, 296, 312, 327–8, 353, 426, 436, 473, 697, 749, 824, 881–2, 886, 897, 901–6, 908–9, 915, 917–8, 920, 922–8, 938, 958–9  
 Natural Law 60–1, 132, 134, 265,  
 Roman Law 254–5, 793–4, 931, 956  
 Lazarus 371  
 Le Clerc, Jean 57–9, 62, 71, 84, 285, 294, 431  
 Le Fèvre, Tanneguy 760  
 Le Moine, Stephanus (Étienne Le Moyne, Monachus) 709  
 Lead, Jane 846  
 Lee, Francis 119–20, 846  
 Lee, Samuel 37, 148–9, 170, 172, 342, 651–5, 657  
 Lemuel 885  
 Lenfant, Jacques 46, 476  
 Leo I (Leo the Great). *See* Pope(s)  
 Leo III the Isaurian (Emperor) 611, 650–1, 666  
 Leo Africanus 584  
 Leo of Juda 884  
 Leopold I (Holy Roman Emperor) 559, 705  
 Leprosy 336, 441, 920  
 Leslie, Charles 373  
 Lessius, Leonardus 645  
 Leti, Gregorius 702  
 Leunclavius, Johannes (Löwenklau) 534, 560  
 Leusden, Johannes 884  
 Levant 46, 449, 471, 534, 617  
 Levi, Levites, Levitical. *See also* Priesthood; Sacrifice 253, 256, 259–60, 301, 349, 397, 409, 418, 435, 459, 483, 491, 513–4, 516, 731, 879, 916, 920, 922, 926, 928, 946, 948, 957  
 Levi ben Josua (Rabbi) 244  
 Leviathan 594  
 Levita, Elias 76–7, 883, 886, 939–40  
 Leviticus 253, 267, 514, 604, 816  
 Lewis, Thomas 53–4, 955, 957  
 Liberty of Conscience and Religion. *See* Conscience  
 Licinius 504, 508–9, 786, 795  
 Lightfoot, John 22, 34, 42, 94, 98, 178, 189–90, 192–3, 824, 840, 885, 923  
 on Hebrews 227–9, 277, 287  
 on James 331–2  
 on 1 John 418  
 on Jude 433–4  
 on 1 Peter 335, 337, 349  
 on 2 Peter 376, 393  
 on Revelation 623  
 Lightning 153, 235, 392, 484, 520, 589, 634, 685, 776  
 Limborch, Philipp van 256, 348, 792

- Lipsius, Justus 501, 608  
 Lister, Martin 549  
 Liutprand (King of the Lombards) 650  
 Livy (Titus Livius) 255, 627, 793–4  
 Locke, John 8, 21, 72, 107, 111, 113, 255–6, 408  
 Locusts. *See* Revelation  
 Logos. *See* Christ  
 Lombardy, Lombards 593, 650–1, 777–8, 780, 940  
 Lord's Supper. *See* Eucharist  
 Lot 298, 441, 714, 911–3, 916–7  
 Louis IX (Saint Louis) 626–7  
 Louis XIV 35, 49, 163–4, 171, 508, 559, 638, 818  
 Louis William (of Baden) 782  
 Love 100, 321, 398–9, 401, 404–5, 425, 433–5, 694–6, 784, 808, 847, 896, 914 of God. *See* God  
 Lucan 584, 953, 955  
 Lucaris, Cyril (Loukaris) 46, 511  
 Lucian of Samosata 911  
 Lucretius 385, 395  
 Ludolf, Hiob (Leutholf, Job Ludolphus) 529  
 Luke of Prague (Lukáš Pražský) 554  
 Lust. *See* Vices  
 Luther, Martin 17, 81, 84, 94, 127, 154, 554–5, 577, 617, 667  
     on Daniel 571  
     on Hebrews 239  
     on James 84, 96–7, 108, 314–5, 321  
     on 1 John 411, 415  
     on the Psalms 805  
 Lutheranism, Lutheran(s) 25, 33, 42, 47–8, 64, 107, 122, 127–8, 135, 150, 193, 250, 339, 359, 368, 411, 474, 555, 635, 645–6, 736, 757, 765, 804, 845, 923  
 Lycurgus 434  
 Lydius, Jacobus 292  
 Maccabees (people) 290, 569,  
 Maccabees, Books of. *See also* Bible (Apocrypha); Index of Biblical Passages 816, 927  
 Macedonia 520, 631, 655  
 Machpelah, Cave of 915, 919  
 Macrobius 532–3  
 Magians, Magianism 52, 137–9, 728, 889–95, 897–900, 933  
 Magic, Magicians 137, 323, 363, 448, 625, 709, 931  
 Maimonides (Moses ben Maimon) 135, 137, 267, 284, 309, 311, 313, 318, 433, 447, 454–5, 478, 506, 516–7, 519, 733, 824, 889–90, 902, 922  
 Maldonado, Juan (Ioannes Maldonatus) 380, 742  
 Malta 451  
 Malvenda, Tomas 742  
 Manasseh ben Israel (Menasseh) 268, 451, 708, 902–3  
 Manichaeism, Manichaean(s) 139, 728, 784  
 Manna 265–7, 313, 467–8, 476–7, 884, 909  
 Manton, Thomas 27, 97, 243, 311–2, 314, 328, 345, 427–8  
 Mantuanus, Alphonsus Conradus 766  
 Mantuanus, Baptista (Johannes Baptista Spagnolo) 704  
 Mar Zutra 302  
 Marcian 505, 655  
 Marcion 89, 234, 468, 759  
 Marckius, Johannes (Johannes a Marck, van der Mark) 28, 317–8  
 Marcus Aurelius Antoninus 462, 499, 812  
 Maresius, Samuel (Jacon van Meurs) 44, 127, 738–9, 760–1  
 Marius, Gaius 930  
 Mark (Gospel of) 91, 394, 816  
 Mark (Evangelist) 101, 229, 425  
 Maronite Church 938  
 Marriage 57, 258, 280, 298–9, 346, 384, 408, 537, 707, 710, 827, 897, 912–4, 919–20  
     between Christ and Church. *See* Christ  
     Marital Duties 329, 346  
     in the New Heaven 182–3, 753, 961  
     Prohibition of 473, 656  
 Mars 507, 582, 604, 703, 807  
 Marsham, John 789  
 Martialis, Marcus Valerius (Martial) 466, 596, 710

- Martini, Raymond 474, 716  
 Martinus, Matthias 459  
 Martyrs. *See also* Stephen 89–90, 92, 96,  
 98–102, 105, 116, 120, 127, 140, 233–4,  
 265, 292, 305, 320, 331, 360, 362,  
 368, 377–8, 381, 383–6, 435, 438,  
 440, 445, 452–3, 466, 475–6, 519,  
 548, 553–4, 556, 568, 609, 614, 644,  
 672, 684, 720, 735, 758, 765, 768,  
 775, 779, 791, 812, 815–7, 820, 834–8,  
 842, 844, 905–6, 930–2  
 Resurrection of 126, 173–5, 289, 692,  
 714, 717–9, 724, 756, 762–3  
 Suffering of 68, 125, 415, 444, 465,  
 503–4, 512, 540, 547, 554, 570, 841  
 of Thyatira 756–7  
 Two Witnesses of Revelation 35, 37,  
 46, 123, 157, 160, 162–66, 168, 171,  
 552–63, 565–79, 591, 638, 678, 770,  
 783–7, 795–6  
 Mary, mother of Jesus 258, 683, 920  
   Veneration of 614  
 Mary Magdalene 574  
 Masoretes 76–7, 882, 887–8  
 Mathematics 5, 41, 51, 124, 147–8, 152,  
 167–8, 173, 411, 539, 640, 767  
 Mather, Cotton  
   *American Tears upon the Ruines of the*  
   *Greek Churches* 46, 511–2, 536  
   *Angel of Bethesda* 332  
   Autobiographical References 561–2,  
   797–8  
   *Benedictus* 47, 799  
   *Biblia Americana. See Biblia Americana*  
   *Bonifacius* 258  
   *The Christian Philosopher* 14, 60, 821  
   *Diary of Cotton Mather* 18, 47, 77, 113,  
   122, 187, 193–4, 886  
   *Eleutheria* 593  
   *Everlasting Gospel* 493, 576, 616  
   *Expectanda: Or, Things to be Look'd for*  
   163, 169, 960  
   *Faith at work* 108, 314  
   *Faith of the Fathers* 136  
   *Free Grace* 107  
   *Hades Look'd Into* 456  
   *Johannes in eremo* 758  
   *Magnalia Christi Americana* 4, 44, 176,  
   327, 337, 342, 747, 758  
   *Malachi* 106, 136, 847–9  
   *Manuductio ad ministerium* 106, 381,  
   848  
   *Midnight Cry* 163, 169, 783  
   *A New Offer* 64, 128  
   *Parentator* 334  
   *Paterna* 47, 334, 797  
   “*Problema Theologicum*” 39, 126, 144,  
   169, 173, 175–6, 180, 188–9, 214, 597,  
   716–9, 734–5, 737–9, 741–51, 753–4,  
   756–7, 759  
   *Ratio Disciplinae* 122, 923  
   *A Seasonable Testimony* 107  
   *Selected Letters* 45, 51  
   *Stone cut out of the Mountain* 103, 106,  
   108–9, 115, 122, 125, 128, 171–2, 616,  
   848, 850–77  
   *The Temple Opening* 622  
   *Theopolis Americana* 176, 186  
   *Things to be more thought Upon* 106,  
   113–4, 848  
   *Thoughts for the Day of Rain* 297  
   *Three Letters from New-England* 106,  
   115, 848  
   *Trip paradisus* 14, 38, 45, 142, 144–5,  
   153, 155, 163, 165, 167–73, 176–8,  
   180–7, 189–95, 283–4, 338, 360, 393,  
   395, 438, 443, 562, 608, 621, 651, 712,  
   721, 741, 747, 749, 752–3, 756, 759,  
   948, 960–1  
   *Wonders of the Invisible World* 357,  
   422, 444, 561  
 Mather, Increase 20, 30, 33–4, 38, 140,  
 143, 146, 148–9, 151, 156, 182, 236,  
 242, 327, 923  
 Mather, Nathaniel 20, 253, 409  
 Mather, Samuel (CM's brother) 30, 74–5,  
 86, 114, 410–3, 449  
 Mather, Samuel (CM's son) 77, 113, 215,  
 422, 886  
 Mather, Samuel (CM's uncle) 336, 341  
 Maton, Robert 29, 63, 283, 517, 716–7  
 Matthew (Evangelist) 918  
 Maurice of Saxony 555  
 Maxentius 504, 508, 795  
 Maximian 503, 595

- Maximilian II 555  
 Maximilian Emanuel (of Bavaria) 782  
 Maximinus Daza 503–4, 508 795  
 Maximinus Thrax 501, 509  
 Meat 252, 300, 656, 798–9, 903, 905, 918  
 Mecca 527, 894, 898  
 Medad 32'74–5  
 Mede, Joseph 34–5, 42, 45, 49, 154, 185, 238, 283, 461, 472, 482, 586, 721, 766, 792  
     on 2 Peter 393, 396  
     on Revelation 37, 40–1, 123, 145, 147–9, 151, 158–63, 165–70, 172, 175–6, 498–9, 506, 522, 528–30, 537, 548, 556–7, 560, 572, 621, 658, 739–40, 748, 769–70, 773  
 Medes 893  
 Medicine. *See also* Healing 6, 42, 308, 332–3, 386, 704, 836  
 Mediterranean Sea 181, 451, 534, 781  
 Mehmed II (Mehmed the Conqueror) 535–6, 548, 630  
 Melanchthon, Philip 370  
 Melchizedek  
     Genealogy and Priesthood of 18, 255–6, 259–60  
     as Shem 258–9  
     as Type of Messiah 255, 259–60  
 Melito of Sardis 762, 835  
 Menahem Recanati (Rabbi) 284  
 Menasseh Ben Israel (Manasseh) 268, 451, 708, 902–3  
 Menochio, Giovanni Stefano 948  
 Mercier, Jean (Mercerus) 952  
 Mercy. *See also* God 125, 138, 234, 241, 294–5, 301, 307, 313, 321, 333, 355, 396, 427, 620, 772, 800, 808, 890, 961  
 Mercy Seat 482, 696, 699, 842, 879, 894  
 Mesopotamia 497, 938  
 Messiah. *See* Christ  
 Messiah ben David 700–1  
 Messiah ben Joseph 700–1  
 Metal. *See also* Gold; Silver 282, 337, 810, 817, 947  
 Methuselah 437, 914  
 Meursius, Johannes 934  
 Micah 514, 919  
 Micaiah 825  
 Michael (Archangel). *See* Angel  
 Midian, Midianites 527, 919  
 Midrash  
     on Ecclesiastes 268, 308  
     on Exodus 446–7, 729–30  
     on Genesis 236, 299, 351, 731, 939  
     on Isaiah 489  
     on Kohelet 733  
     on Numbers 313, 731  
     on Psalms 227, 244, 313  
     on Ruth 271  
     on the Song of Songs 447  
     on Tobit 772  
 Mikkotsi, Moses (Moses ben Jacob of Coucy) 267  
*Mikraot Gedolot* 80, 447–8  
     on Daniel 756  
     on Exodus 733  
     on Isaiah 517  
     on Joshua 903  
     on 1 Kings 267  
     on the Twelve Prophets 312, 485, 708  
 Milan 230, 595, 779, 785  
 Milk 252, 341, 817, 937  
 Mill, John 67–9, 73–4, 351  
 Millennialism, Millenarianism. *See also* Apocalypse; Eschatology 4–6, 8, 10, 14–5, 19–20, 33–4, 36–8, 40–2, 44–5, 48, 60, 65, 113, 122–3, 126–8, 143–57, 162–3, 167–9, 171–9, 183–7, 189–93, 238, 246, 261, 282–3, 306, 338, 373, 393, 460–1, 482, 499, 517, 522, 526, 541, 561, 578, 588, 597, 610, 640, 659, 704, 711, 716–9, 721, 734–7, 748, 751, 754, 756, 758, 762–3, 765–6, 769, 792, 806, 846–7  
     Postmillennialism 33, 150, 717  
     Premillennialism 33, 39–40, 50, 65, 106, 113, 150, 460, 541, 597, 712, 716, 734  
 Millennium. *See also* Conflagration; Eschatology; New Heaven and New Earth; New Jerusalem 5, 8, 10, 33, 39, 43, 64, 83, 105, 128, 133–4, 144, 146, 150–2, 157–8, 173–9, 181, 184–5, 188, 190–5, 237–8, 245–7, 265, 283–5,

- 289, 301, 338, 401, 438–9, 461, 469,  
483, 514–5, 692, 713, 718, 725, 727,  
732, 724, 734–46, 750–2, 754–5,  
756–7, 760, 762, 771, 902–3, 909,  
962  
and Conversion of the Jews. *See* Jews  
Date of Beginning. *See also* Second  
Coming 144–5, 148, 166–9, 172, 539,  
549, 960, 963  
Imminence of 3, 35, 41, 64–5, 106,  
125, 147, 166, 168, 193, 195, 283, 737,  
783  
Spiritual Understanding of. *See also*  
Preterism 156, 736, 763  
Milton, John 85, 109, 748  
Minister(s). *See* Clergy  
Ministry 96, 120, 235, 238, 356, 406,  
415, 565, 614, 785, 822, 824, 827,  
831–2, 838, 841, 847, 913  
Minucius Felix, Marcus (Minutius Felix)  
728, 843  
Miracle(s), Miraculous. 6, 49–51,  
120–1, 235, 341, 372, 400, 409, 414–5,  
438–9, 466, 520, 561, 602, 631, 633,  
656, 685–7, 709–10, 747, 750, 802,  
811–2, 823, 828, 837–8, 841, 843–4,  
847–8, 939  
Miriam 319  
Misson, François Maximilien 49, 819  
Mithra, Mithras, Mithraism. *See also*  
Zoroastrianism 894–5  
Moab(ites) 911–4, 916–7  
Molinaeus, Petrus (Pierre Du Moulin)  
258  
Momma, Wilhelm 733  
Monarchianism. *See also* Heresy 230  
Money 339–40, 356, 803, 808, 880,  
930  
Monks 608, 630, 657, 702, 882  
Montagu, Richard 57, 257  
Montanism, Montanus 89–90, 119–21,  
234, 468, 814, 816, 844–7  
Montfort, Simon de 552  
Morality. *See* Virtue(s)  
Moravia 43, 553, 559  
Mordecai 709  
More, Henry 42, 147–8, 552, 704  
Moréri, Louis 781  
Mortality, Immortality. *See also* Heaven;  
Resurrection 133, 180, 235, 238, 241,  
258–60, 281, 290, 353, 369, 430, 469,  
538, 596, 662, 671, 732, 842  
Moses, Books of. *See* Pentateuch  
Moses, Mosaic 79, 110, 130–6, 227, 230,  
232–3, 247, 266, 268–9, 272, 282,  
285–7, 296, 313, 324–5, 336, 386,  
430, 437–9, 442, 463, 473, 479, 490,  
496, 510, 513, 557, 566, 581, 622, 624,  
631, 671, 678, 696–8, 713, 749–50,  
756, 770, 784, 822–6, 848, 879, 881,  
884–5, 896–7, 901–3, 905–6, 908–9,  
912, 915–7, 919, 923, 928, 939, 953,  
957  
Authorship of the Torah 58–60, 60,  
259, 294, 885  
Burial of 227, 430  
Law of. *See* Law  
as Symbol of the Law and Jewish  
Church 227, 432  
Song of 34, 376, 622–3, 636  
Moses de León (Moses ben Shem-Tov)  
448  
Mosque(s) 471, 894  
Mother(s) 255–6, 442, 488, 592, 614,  
709, 807, 849, 897, 912–4  
Mount(ain) 619, 648–9, 661, 668, 674,  
697–8, 749, 793  
Athos 512  
Calvary 613  
Ida 262  
Moriah 884  
Sinai. *See also* Law 133, 135, 296,  
436–7, 729–30, 749, 830  
Tabor 613  
Zion. *See* Zion  
Mughal Empire. *See* Empire  
Muhammad 139, 526–7, 531–2, 536–7,  
609, 738, 779, 892, 894, 896, 898,  
953  
Murder, Murderer(s) 327, 354, 657–8,  
812, 905, 958  
Music. *See also* Worship 53, 491–3, 614,  
618, 830, 839–40, 943–53  
Musical Directions in Psalms 944–5  
Musical Instruments of the Bible 3, 9,  
53, 491–2, 943–9

- Muslim. *See* Islam  
 Musso, Cornelio 592  
 Mustafa II. *See also* Zenta, Battle of 782  
 Mystery, Mysteries 8, 118, 135, 252, 265, 268, 309, 359, 373, 378, 413–4, 418, 444, 463, 468, 471, 512, 519, 528, 607, 610, 614, 644–7, 668, 680, 695, 698, 715, 721–3, 745, 773, 806, 808, 816, 832, 932–3  
 Mysticism, Mystic 6, 9, 22, 28, 42–3, 48, 63–4, 154, 160, 163, 243, 337, 342, 375, 377, 416–7, 448, 469, 515, 531, 536, 567, 584, 608, 613, 618, 628, 680, 698, 707, 742, 744, 791, 806, 895, 924  
 Naaman (the Syrian) 903  
 Nabonidus 789  
 Naboth 920, 958  
 Nachmanides (Rabbi Mosheh ben Nahman) 476, 885  
 Nadab (and Abihu) 566  
 Nahum 641  
 Nantes, Edict of. *See* Edict  
 Naomi 912  
 Napier, John 145, 792  
 Narcissus of Jerusalem 842  
 Nasir al-Din al-Tusi 328–9  
 Natalius (Antipope) 842  
 Nathan (Prophet) 597  
 Nathan, Isaac 883–4  
 Nathan ben Jehiel 578  
 Nathan, Mordecai 883–4  
 Native Americans 142, 176–7, 195, 738, 748  
 Natural Philosophy, Natural Science. *See* Bible  
 Nazareth 941  
 Nazarite 80, 352  
 Nebuchadnezzar (II) 568, 611, 642, 658, 680, 822–4  
 Nehemiah 881, 922  
 Nepos of Arsinoe 127, 734–5, 762–3  
 Nero 96, 98–9, 323, 330, 357, 360, 395, 475, 587, 946  
 Nestorian Church 938  
 Netherlands, Dutch 17–9, 22, 24, 28, 34–7, 39, 42–3, 55, 106, 145, 223, 256, 283, 325, 446, 476, 482, 518, 524, 559, 637, 758  
 New Birth 120, 190, 239, 340–1  
 New England 568, 573, 712  
 New Heaven and New Earth. *See also* Millennium 126, 151, 157, 173–5, 178–9, 182–4, 186–7, 190, 192–4, 283, 338, 393–4, 438, 516, 572, 692, 718–9, 750–6, 764, 835, 960–2  
 New Jerusalem. *See also* Millennium 43, 126, 152, 162, 175, 178, 183–4, 186, 188, 195, 284, 394, 438, 474, 477, 479–80, 487, 492, 510, 516, 519, 563, 572, 607–8, 692, 713, 719, 725, 731, 747–8, 752, 754–6, 759, 825  
     in the Book of Ezekiel vs. Revelation 713, 755  
     as Heavenly City 162, 175, 178, 183–4, 192, 394, 487, 492, 516, 563, 722, 730–1, 752  
     Rebuilt on Earth 152, 188, 516  
     Saints of 175, 337, 438, 516, 747–8, 756  
 New Testament. *See also* Bible 248, 256, 273, 288, 294, 365, 383, 397, 404, 419, 429, 437, 442, 451, 462, 483, 565, 671, 725, 744, 816, 819, 826, 828–9, 832, 839, 884, 904–5, 921, 925, 940, 962  
 Newton, Isaac 5, 41, 45, 49, 72, 111, 126, 132, 136, 152, 411, 578, 767  
     on the Seven Vials and Trumpets 147–8, 640  
 Nicaea *See* Council  
 Nicander 584  
 Nicanor 453  
 Nicholas of Cusa (of Kues, Cusanus) 788–9  
 Nicholas of Lyra 765, 948  
 Nicolaitans 376–7, 383–4, 429–30, 440, 465, 467–9, 473, 475–6  
 Nicolas of Antioch. *See* Nicolaitans  
 Nicomedia 595  
 Nile 342, 499, 956  
 Nineveh 641  
 Noah. *See also* Flood 3, 43, 57, 128, 142, 179, 258, 295, 347–50, 361, 381–2, 714–5, 913–5, 953

- Ark of 295, 349–50, 901, 908  
 Religion of 9, 35, 52, 129, 132, 134,  
 136, 138, 142, 890, 901–7  
 Seven Laws of 134, 901–3, 905–6  
 Sons of 131, 133, 138, 177, 349–50,  
 715, 910–1, 919, 932  
 Noldius, Christianus 266–7  
 Norris, John 408  
 Noyes, Nicholas 38–9, 44, 144, 150, 169,  
 597, 612, 716  
 Numantine War 583  
  
 Oath(s) 254, 285, 546, 605  
 Obadiah 427, 708, 823  
 Obedience, Disobedience 108, 112, 244,  
 246–7, 251–2, 273, 281, 314–5, 347–9,  
 431, 601, 617, 629, 631, 648, 666, 678,  
 725, 785, 821, 830, 899  
 Odo the Great (Eudes, Eudo) 780  
 Odoacer, Flavius 169, 545, 595, 779  
 Oecumenius of Tricca (Oecumenius  
 Episcopus) 264, 303, 346, 358, 377,  
 379, 465  
 Offering(s). *See also* Sacrifice 246, 276,  
 295, 301, 339, 763, 822–3, 898, 925,  
 943,  
 Peace Offering 251, 269, 300  
 Sin Offering 269, 271  
 Oil. *See also* Anointing 331–3, 335–6,  
 400, 428, 498–9, 567, 703, 828  
 of Gladness 235  
 Old Testament. *See also* Bible 34, 38,  
 58, 77–8, 89, 116, 136, 139, 156, 185,  
 191–2, 232–3, 243, 246, 263, 273,  
 280, 288, 295–6, 319, 381, 439, 442,  
 448, 463, 477, 483, 490, 506, 557,  
 566, 575, 641–2, 693, 704, 708, 727,  
 732, 771–2, 774, 830–1, 838, 887, 918,  
 922, 927, 936, 938, 942, 962  
 Onan 914  
 Oppression 466, 484, 510, 512, 532, 558,  
 560, 576, 737, 899  
 Oribasius 367  
 Orient, Oriental(s) 329, 351, 506, 511,  
 537, 655–6, 710, 887, 898–9, 950, 953  
 Origen 95, 98, 249–50, 290, 303, 362,  
 379–80, 438, 445, 453, 462, 500, 841,  
 843, 888, 934, 941, 945, 952  
 Orosius, Paulus 503, 578  
 Orphan 310, 833  
 Orpheus. *See also* Argonautica 406, 445  
 Orthodox, Orthodoxy (doctrinal) 18, 20,  
 22–3, 26, 44, 55, 60, 62, 67, 71, 75–7,  
 85, 89, 93, 107, 110, 112, 114, 121, 150,  
 160–1, 301, 386, 395, 412, 426, 448,  
 606, 665, 673, 676–7, 716, 718–20,  
 746, 762, 846  
 Osiander, Lucas (the Elder) 765–6  
 Osiris myth (Isis and Osiris) 728  
 Osman (Othman) 537  
 Osman I (Osman Ghazi) 534–5, 782  
 Ostanos 899  
 Otto III (Holy Roman Emperor) 444, 781  
 Otto of Freising 666  
 Ottoman Empire. *See* Empire  
 Owen, John 23, 26–7, 79, 93, 115–6, 178,  
 191, 228, 231, 235, 240, 245–8, 252–3,  
 267, 273–4, 285, 288, 292, 294, 296,  
 300  
 Ovid 31, 298, 375, 395, 434, 584, 649,  
 661, 751  
  
 Paganism, Pagan(s) 9, 32, 57, 125, 129,  
 131, 133–4, 136, 139–43, 155, 159, 161,  
 256, 293, 298, 306, 359, 378, 380,  
 395, 437, 455, 475, 486, 495, 497,  
 499, 502, 504–8, 520, 524, 530, 540,  
 547, 570, 576, 582, 586, 588–91, 596,  
 598, 602, 642, 646–7, 650, 652, 669,  
 672, 674, 689, 722–3, 726, 728–9,  
 812, 843, 889, 902–6, 929, 931–3, 935  
 Paggitt, Ephraim 738  
 Pain 298, 348, 394, 509, 581, 587, 608,  
 628–9, 659, 669, 682, 694, 752, 784,  
 923, 931  
 Palestine. *See also* Holy Land 184, 249,  
 497, 519, 554, 639, 938  
 Paliwka, Andreas 553–4  
 Palm(s). *See* Plant(s)  
 Palmoni 789  
 Palsy 801  
 Panciroli, Guido 544  
 Pannonia 523, 663, 787  
 Pantaenus 841  
 Panvinius, Onuphrius (Onofrio Panvinio)  
 608, 651, 666, 930

- Papacy. *See also* Catholicism; Canon Law;  
 Pope(s) 40, 58, 109, 127, 149, 156, 161,  
 165, 167–8, 170, 172, 322, 524, 526,  
 546, 552–4, 556, 558–61, 563, 565–6,  
 574, 590, 595, 597–9, 601–2, 605–6,  
 609, 612, 615–7, 620, 624, 627–9,  
 631–5, 637–9, 645–7, 650, 654–6,  
 665, 667, 673, 684–7, 702, 705, 738,  
 741, 764, 766, 780, 783, 789, 842,  
 895, 960  
 as Antichrist. *See* Antichrist  
 Universal Bishop, Papal Primacy 169,  
 172, 526, 546, 665, 783, 790  
 Papias of Hierapolis 127, 358, 364, 445,  
 720, 762, 835  
 Papinian 500  
 Papists. *See* Papacy; Catholicism  
 Parable(s) 256, 284, 700, 827, 925  
 of the Samaritan 321  
 Paradise. *See also* Millennium; New  
 Heaven and New Earth 37, 128–9,  
 132–4, 136, 142, 152, 178, 183–4, 338,  
 448, 453, 458, 503, 516, 614, 755, 760,  
 823, 901, 961  
 Paraeus, David (Wängler) 517, 736  
 Parents. *See also* Mother(s) 136, 260, 286,  
 293, 349, 406, 582, 585, 823, 896,  
 902, 909, 920  
 Paris, Matthew (Matthæus Parisiensis)  
 529, 627  
 Parthia, Parthian Empire 100, 397, 403,  
 706, 935  
*Passau Anonymous* 593  
*Passio Sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis*  
 842  
 Passover 135, 286, 336, 447, 569  
 Pastor(s). *See* Clergy  
 Patience. *See* Virtue(s)  
 Patin, Charles 397  
 Patmos (Island) 92, 101–2, 400, 449, 452,  
 465, 768–9  
 Patriarchs 100, 131–7, 142–3, 183–4,  
 191–2, 259, 275, 283–4, 286, 362, 438,  
 460, 569, 608, 693, 700, 713, 754,  
 825, 891, 897, 901, 906, 908–9, 915,  
 919, 962  
 Patrick, Simon 12, 21, 71, 107, 148, 415,  
 418  
 Paul (Apostle) 7, 17, 20, 26–7, 33, 78–9,  
 83–4, 88–91, 93–4, 97–8, 100–1,  
 107–8, 116–7, 122, 185, 228–9, 269,  
 274, 285, 290, 314–5, 337–8, 342,  
 358, 362–3, 379, 383, 396, 425, 437,  
 451, 464, 473, 610, 656, 658, 660,  
 665, 697, 699, 708, 725, 729, 740,  
 813–6, 824–5, 827, 829, 832, 837–40,  
 904–6, 918, 927, 932, 959  
 Paulinus (Bishop of Nola) 83, 444  
 Paulus Diaconus (Warnefridus,  
 Barnefridus) 780  
 Pausanias Periegetes 458, 583  
 Pearson, John 11–2, 22, 28, 71, 96, 101,  
 108, 228, 237, 245–6, 252, 266–7,  
 271, 275, 285, 299, 302, 307–10,  
 313–4, 316–20, 333, 352, 365, 378,  
 397, 404, 417–8, 423, 448, 452, 459,  
 473, 514, 733, 769  
 Pedro de Luna 619  
 Pelagius, Pelagianism 655  
 Pella 587, 833  
 Pentecost 454, 823, 830–1, 847  
 People of God, The Faithful. *See also*  
 Church; Martyrs 75, 95, 104, 119,  
 174, 179–81, 191, 238, 240, 245–6,  
 252, 271–3, 280, 292, 303, 361, 370,  
 372–3, 393–4, 400–1, 418, 420, 429,  
 437–9, 447, 462, 480, 510, 549, 551,  
 553, 557–8, 561, 567, 589, 611, 617–8,  
 620, 633–4, 641–2, 646, 678, 715,  
 718, 724–5, 734, 737, 743, 752, 765,  
 785, 797, 809, 821, 824, 826, 829,  
 833, 840–1, 906, 909, 917, 943, 963  
 Preservation of 160–1, 179, 185, 187,  
 190, 349, 389, 470, 486–7, 510, 512,  
 539, 615, 618, 677, 712, 714–5, 779  
 Pereyra, Benito (Benedict Pereira) 736  
 Pergamum 430, 466–7, 471, 477, 957,  
 959  
 Perkins, William 18, 280, 284  
 Perpetua 842  
 Persecution. *See also* French Protestants;  
 Martyrs 35, 37, 60, 92, 98, 100, 125,  
 149, 155, 158, 161, 163–4, 168, 335,  
 354, 358, 442–3, 449, 465–7, 469,  
 475, 486, 488, 496, 502–4, 507–8,  
 524, 547–8, 553, 555–6, 558–9, 562,



- 568, 570, 573, 581, 586–8, 590, 604, 615, 617–8, 670–1, 673–6, 681, 718, 736–7, 769, 779, 838, 881
- Persia, Persian 3, 137–8, 167, 176, 180, 431–3, 443, 529, 533, 535, 680, 709, 768, 791, 887, 889, 891–3, 895–9, 940, 959
- Pesikta Rabbati* 489
- Pétau, Denis (Dionysius Petavius) 40, 379, 504, 637, 666, 780
- Peter (Apostle) 83, 96–7, 98, 100, 178, 180, 229, 303, 314, 335, 341–3, 358–9, 360–3, 372, 379, 383, 392, 394–5, 397, 465, 599, 603, 608, 621, 625, 640, 644, 656, 665, 678, 703, 751–2, 754, 774, 824–5, 831, 847, 903  
as Rock 342, 526, 657
- Peter, First Epistle of 7, 14–7, 91, 97, 816  
Dating and target audience of 335
- Peter, Second Epistle of 7, 14–7, 60–1, 91, 104, 153–4, 156, 178, 427, 735, 816  
Authenticity and Canonicity of 56, 82–5, 87, 89–90, 93, 95, 97–100, 127, 303, 360–3  
Main Teachings of 372
- Peter of Bruys (Pierre De Bruys, Peter de Bruis) 616
- Petronius Maximus 658
- Pfeiffer, August 950
- Pharaoh 462, 587, 624, 637, 671, 770, 823, 909  
Daughter of 442
- Pharisees 286–7, 349, 569–70, 575, 802, 806, 809, 904–6, 925
- Phelpes, Lynn Charles 472
- Philadelphia, Philadelphians, Philadelphia Society 119, 323, 461, 464, 469, 471, 479–80, 835, 845–6
- Philemon 7, 90, 457
- Philip (the Evangelist) 826, 830, 834–5
- Philip II of Spain 462
- Philipot, Jacques. *See also A New System of the Apocalypse* 33, 37–8, 164, 524, 592, 636, 650
- Philo of Alexandria (Philo Judaeus) 22, 233, 248–9, 274, 304, 364, 374, 430, 435, 582, 585, 695–6, 829–30, 927
- Philology. *See also Interpretation* 10, 13–4, 21–2, 55, 57, 60, 68, 70–2, 76, 79, 81–3, 85, 98, 140, 235, 258, 286, 295, 339, 360, 374, 381, 428, 461, 734, 740, 760, 794, 929
- Philosophy, Philosophers. *See also* Epicurus; Platonic; Sophism; Stoic(s) 6, 13, 31–2, 37, 45, 48, 51, 60–3, 107, 111, 131, 280, 337, 365, 381, 386, 392, 395, 442, 448, 588, 617, 646, 728, 763–4, 811–2, 819–20, 899  
Greek 111, 233, 249, 457, 811–2
- Philostorgius 583
- Philostratus, Flavius (the Athenian) 464, 583, 812
- Philpot, Thomas 524
- Phineas Ben Chamas (Rabbi) 332
- Phocas. *See also Pope Boniface III* 169, 526, 546, 790
- Phoebe (of Cenchrea) 433
- Phoenicia, Phoenician 51, 514, 530, 885, 934, 955
- Photinus 117, 230
- Photios I 795
- Pico della Mirandola, Giovanni. *See also Kabbalah* 448
- Piedmont. *See also French Protestants* 163, 171, 553, 558–9, 562, 593, 615, 779, 781, 784
- Pietism 5, 9, 42, 47–8, 63, 121, 149, 185, 758, 804–6, 808–9, 845–6
- Piety, Impiety 4–5, 9, 48, 50–1, 106, 125, 128, 134, 192, 245, 293, 306, 317–8, 432, 435, 536, 547, 557, 593, 616, 618, 655, 677, 680, 693, 734, 750, 803, 806, 845–50, 910, 926, 933, 952, 962
- Pigge, Stephan Winand (Stephanus Winandus Pighius) 794–5
- Pilgrim(s) 283, 286, 298, 754, 898
- Pirke Aboth* 237, 244, 287, 308, 378–9
- Piscator, Johannes 324, 717, 745, 760, 765–6
- Plague(s). *See also Famine; Judgment* 159, 299, 500–2, 509, 530, 535–6, 539–40, 542, 547–8, 557, 566, 623–4, 626–8, 631, 637–9, 678, 771–2, 775, 777, 784, 796

- of Egypt 539–40, 557, 624, 636, 779, 908
- Planets. *See also* Astronomy 307, 396, 446, 806
- Plant(s). *See also* Fruit 254, 309–10, 319, 355, 498–500, 506, 619, 823, 917–8, 937, 956
- Flower(s) 340, 658
- Grass 340, 520, 528, 777
- Myrtle Tree 514–5
- Olive Tree 566–7, 927
- Palm Tree 514–6, 956
- Thorns 254, 355, 715
- Thuja 704
- Willow 514–5
- Wormwood 523, 541, 778
- Plato 31, 347, 406, 457–8, 538, 933, 953
- Platonic, Neoplatonic, Platonism. *See also* Hermeticism; Philosophy 42, 45, 72, 112, 116, 131, 233, 249, 368, 445, 448, 458, 538, 763
- Pleasure 139, 245, 265, 286, 462, 465, 543, 618, 641, 756, 839, 893, 916
- Pliny the Elder (Plinius) 3, 31, 257, 385, 428, 455, 477, 527, 530, 533, 582, 584, 694, 890, 956, 959
- Pliny the Younger 293, 435, 468
- Plumptre, Henry 577
- Plutarch 31, 257, 281–2, 382, 434, 458, 728–9, 794–5, 812, 890, 895, 931, 956
- Pluto 530
- Pocock, Edward 52, 263, 301, 312, 447, 459, 527, 551, 889
- Poetry, Poet(s) 31–2, 139, 262, 362, 458, 530, 604, 648, 661, 703, 732, 839, 927
- Acrostic 644, 932–3, 935, 951
- Hebrew 53, 950–4
- Greek 141, 457
- Poiret, Pierre 747–8
- Poison 509, 529, 531, 585, 590–1, 596, 625, 644, 937
- Poland 24–5, 558–9, 594, 615, 788
- Polybius 382
- Polycarp 90, 92, 101, 452–3, 465–6, 609, 720, 735, 815, 835
- Polycrates of Ephesus 396
- Polygamy 910, 914
- Pompey 656, 936
- Pomponius Mela 533
- Pontius Pilate 5 69, 809, 822
- Pontus (region) 98, 335, 397
- Pope(s) 40, 56, 118, 154, 161, 169–70, 460, 486, 522, 524, 563, 566, 594–6, 598, 603, 605–7, 616, 619–20, 624–9, 631–4, 638, 642–3, 645–6, 648–55, 667, 670, 680, 684–6, 689, 702, 736–7, 789–90, 792, 796, 897
- Pope Alexander III 688
- (Anti)Pope Benedict XII. *See* Pedro de Luna
- Pope Boniface III 606 169, 172, 526, 546, 690, 790
- Pope Boniface VIII 601, 632
- Pope Clement I. *See* Clement of Rome
- Pope Clement V 628, 632–4
- (Anti)Pope Clement VII 628–9
- Pope Damasus I 127, 524, 655, 719, 764–5
- Pope Fabian (Fabianus) 842
- Pope Gregory I. *See* Gregory the Great
- Pope Gregory II 650–1, 666
- Pope Gregory VII (Hildebrand of Sovana) 597, 612, 627
- Pope Gregory IX 632–3
- Pope Gregory XI 628
- Pope Hormisdas 424
- Pope Innocent I 170, 655–7
- Pope Innocent III 552
- Pope John XXII 632, 634
- Pope Julius II 645
- Pope Leo I 170, 657, 664–5, 783
- Pope Leo III 651
- Pope Leo X 342
- Pope Liberius 673
- Pope Martin V 604, 619, 634
- Pope Miltiades 846
- Pope Nicholas III 601
- Pope Pius IV 609
- Pope Sixtus V 702
- Pope Sylvester 593, 643, 703, 709
- Pope Urban VI 628–9
- Pope, Alexander 31, 380–1
- Portugal 594, 648, 663, 691, 777, 787–8
- Poseidon (Neptune) 390–1
- Possession, Possessed 748
- by the Devil 51, 177, 333, 748, 827

- by the Holy Spirit 50, 65, 324, 333–4, 454, 835, 847, 929
- Potamia (Potamiaena) 842
- Potitus, Lucius Valerius 794
- Potter, Francis 38, 607, 688
- Poverty, Poor, the Poor 301–2, 310–2, 356, 434–5, 465, 473, 488, 512, 565, 590, 593, 798
- Praise. *See* Worship
- Prayer(s) 81, 106, 124, 251–2, 294–5, 305, 327, 332–4, 346, 373, 419–21, 427, 460, 465, 484, 492, 519, 538, 614, 620, 668, 684, 695, 700, 704, 711, 784, 797–8, 800–1, 805, 807, 812, 823, 829, 836, 839, 841, 848, 894–5, 923–7
- Preacher(s), Preaching 101, 227, 243, 245–6, 308, 322, 336, 340–1, 347–9, 352–3, 381–2, 400, 404, 415, 425, 464, 466, 468, 470, 516, 554, 556–7, 561, 569, 592, 615–8, 622, 631, 634–5, 671–2, 675, 772, 808, 831–2, 835, 840, 842, 848, 904, 924, 927, 932
- Preterism, Preterist. *See* Interpretation.
- Prideaux, Humphrey 52, 59, 76–7, 124, 137–41, 881–92, 895, 899–900, 922–4, 926–32, 934, 938–42
- Priest, Priesthood. *See also* Levi: Sacrifice 57, 96, 124, 188, 247–8, 239–40, 250, 252, 256–62, 264, 267, 271, 274–5, 277–8, 294, 297, 307, 336–7, 429, 431, 447, 455, 459, 469, 477, 479, 483, 492–3, 503, 505–6, 508, 512, 515–6, 518, 526, 531, 563, 565, 566, 581, 588, 592, 595–6, 599, 622, 625, 643, 645, 656, 659, 678–80, 698, 700, 702, 710, 731, 809, 824, 828, 881, 889, 892, 894–8, 904, 911, 913, 916–7, 926–7, 931, 959
- of Christ. *See* Christ
- of Melchizedek. *See* Melchizedek
- Priestly Office 107, 316, 418, 432, 490, 678, 692,
- Urim and Thummim 307, 824
- Primitivism (Christian). *See also* Apostolic; Church 9–10, 41, 43, 62, 64, 72, 85–6, 89, 104–6, 108–9, 111–3, 115–6, 118–22, 124–6, 128–9, 136, 143, 151, 160–1, 165, 174, 253, 273, 275, 358, 395, 413, 433, 435, 437, 475, 485, 512, 556, 590, 658–9, 670, 673, 718–9, 734, 741, 746, 762–3, 764, 774, 783–5, 816, 820, 832–3, 835, 837–8, 845, 847–8, 932, 943
- Prince(s). *See also* Satan 48, 164, 166, 231, 259, 323, 335, 406, 444, 459, 496, 498, 533, 547, 555, 560, 567, 575–6, 596, 599, 604, 629, 631, 633, 638–9, 648, 651, 666, 684, 695, 699, 702, 709, 780, 899, 937, 958
- Prince, Thomas 44, 173, 712
- Printing 74, 411, 883
- Prisca theologia* 9, 130, 140, 142, 901
- Prison 175, 347–8, 370, 386, 502, 651, 707, 760, 763, 784
- Probus, Marcus Valerius 702–3
- Proculus 843
- Promise(s) 126, 156, 179, 181–2, 190, 194, 245, 281, 286, 299, 326, 394, 421, 447, 714–5, 774, 793, 797, 811, 814, Land of. *See also* Holy Land 246, 283, 587
- of Redemption 132–4, 142–3, 157, 284, 352, 467, 702, 735, 751–3, 910–21
- Propertius, Sextus 649
- Prophecy. *See also* False Prophets
- Fulfillments of 5, 46, 49, 84, 102, 104, 122, 142, 152, 154, 156, 160, 163, 165, 174, 178, 181, 185, 190–2, 194–5, 235, 277, 330, 393, 436, 531, 539, 576, 586, 600, 604, 611, 616, 623, 688, 747, 754, 757, 765, 767, 769, 771, 773, 776, 783, 786, 962
- Gift of, Spirit of. *See also* Holy Spirit 9, 34, 49–50, 120–1, 364, 415, 468, 551, 556, 605, 641, 676, 768, 782, 818–49, 933
- Propitiation. *See also* Atonement; Sacrifice 273, 276, 280–1, 300, 336, 339, 418, 470, 695, 773, 934
- Prosper of Aquitaine 596
- Prosperity. *See also* Wealth 175, 193, 293, 306, 496, 590, 620, 718, 754
- Protestantism, Protestants. *See also* Reformation, French Protestants 9, 46,

- 64, 104, 106–7, 121, 143, 149, 152, 163, 165, 184, 247, 255, 374, 452, 460, 508, 511, 526, 552, 555, 559, 562, 564, 568, 570, 575–7, 579–80, 635, 637, 689, 736–8, 743, 772–3, 784, 845, 848
- Prudentius 584, 729
- Prussia 36, 559, 788
- Psalmist, Psalms 52, 91, 187, 238, 243, 259–60, 262, 272–4, 288, 296, 301, 313, 325, 340, 431, 441, 450, 463, 480–1, 587, 623, 631, 683, 747, 754–5, 815–6, 839–40, 881–2, 896, 927, 941, 944–5, 948, 950–2, 957
- Pseudepigrapha. *See also* Bible (Apocrypha)
- Apocryphal Book in the Name of Seth 100, 362, 891
- Book of Enoch 83, 100, 362, 437–8
- Book of Jannes and Jambres 363, 437
- Book of Zerubbabel. *See* Zerubbabel
- Disputatio contra Arium 75, 412
- Epistle of Barnabas. *See* Barnabas
- Epistles of St. Clement and St. Ignatius 86
- Gospel of Barnabas. *See* Barnabas
- Gospel of the Nazarenes 93
- Shepherd of Hermas. *See* Shepherd of Hermas
- The Life of Adam and Eve 100, 362
- Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs 100, 362
- Pseudo-Ignatius 377–8, 465
- Ptolemies, Ptolemaic dynasty 706
- Ptolemy, Claudius 527, 789
- Ptolemy I (Soter) 957
- Ptolemy II (Philadelphus) 583, 957
- Pufendorf, Samuel Freiherr von 705, 790
- Pumbedita 335
- Punishment. *See also* God 60, 125, 139, 159, 178, 247, 250, 254, 281, 286, 289, 291, 293, 313, 355, 368, 379–80, 421, 501–3, 531, 563, 585, 696, 721–2, 775, 893, 910, 917, 930
- Purgatory 524, 618, 704
- Purification. *See also* Cleansing; Sacrifice 104, 107, 270, 336, 370, 418, 457, 581, 600, 730, 897
- Puteanus, Erycius (Hendrick van den Putte) 528
- Pyle, Thomas 26, 97, 101, 243, 245, 255, 268, 274, 280, 288, 292, 294, 304, 306, 310, 312, 317, 333, 340–1, 353, 355, 358, 367, 382, 409, 421, 425–6, 429, 432, 436, 439
- Pythagoras 345, 895, 899
- Quadratus (of Athens) 834–5
- Quaker(s) 126, 373,
- Quintilian 953
- Quodvultdeus 596
- Qu'ran 100, 328, 537, 896
- Rabbis. *See also* Interpretation 134–5, 318, 741, 824, 828, 883, 888, 942, 944
- Rabeinu Machir 701
- Rabshakeh 959
- Rachel 914–5
- Radagaisus 544, 777
- Rahab 750, 903
- Rainolds, John 444
- Rallius, Andreas 766
- Ramban. *See* Nachmanides
- Raphael (Raffaello Sanzio da Urbino) 342
- Rapture. *See also* Conflagration; Second Coming 180, 190, 194, 560, 712, 827, 839
- of Elijah 370, 430
- of Enoch 370, 430, 439
- of Moses 430
- Rashi (Shlomo Yitzchaki; Salomon ben Isaac; Jarchi) 715
- Rationalism. *See also* Bible; Interpretation 6, 21, 29, 88, 107, 150, 156, 255, 281, 341, 406, 522, 529, 694, 722, 813, 819–20, 829, 963
- Ravenna 523, 595, 650, 665–7, 787, 790
- Ray, John 393, 395
- Raynaud, Théophile (Théophile) 809
- Rechabites 902
- Redemption. *See* Atonement; Salvation
- Reeves, William 256
- Reformation 13, 17, 24, 35, 38, 56, 65, 72, 76–8, 80, 83–4, 104–6, 109, 119, 123, 125, 127, 139, 143–4, 158, 161, 163–6, 171–2, 185, 194, 267, 288, 314,

- 381, 435, 479, 485, 550, 552, 554, 556,  
559–60, 563–4, 566, 569, 571, 573–4,  
577, 593, 604, 606, 615, 619–20,  
631–2, 634–8, 710, 737–8, 765, 784,  
845, 886, 892–3, 895–6, 922
- Reformed. *See also* Lutheranism;  
Calvinism 18, 20, 36, 39, 43, 46, 61,  
70, 102, 106–7, 123–4, 127, 129, 135,  
143, 145, 152, 158, 163, 165, 167, 193,  
228, 232, 259, 374, 461, 511, 554,  
558–60, 563, 571, 588, 606, 635,  
637
- Reformers 97, 127, 171, 555, 571, 607,  
617, 635, 765
- Religion. *See* Chaldeans; Christianity;  
Greek; History; Islam; Judaism;  
Magians; Noah; Paganism; *Prisca  
theologia*; Roman; Sabians; Zoroas-  
trianism
- Remonstrants. *See also* Arminianism 792,  
846
- Repentance 94–5, 244, 253–4, 270, 276,  
382, 396, 421, 502, 536, 540, 542,  
627–9, 727, 750, 776, 842
- Rest  
Heavenly Rest. *See* Millennium  
Temporal Rest. *See* Sabbath
- Restoration.  
of Jewish People. *See* Jews  
of Spiritual Gifts. *See also* Holy Spirit  
65  
Stuart 19–20, 27, 29, 37, 110, 146, 148,  
154, 165, 227
- Resurrection. *See also* Immortality;  
Judgment; Millennium; New Heaven  
and New Earth 241, 253, 289, 401,  
598, 899, 963  
of Christ. *See* Christ  
Corporality of 43, 190, 352, 369–70,  
570, 714, 716–8, 745, 755, 820  
General Resurrection (Second  
Resurrection) 139, 173–4, 177, 181,  
692, 714, 719, 721, 724–6, 746, 893  
of the Saints (First Resurrection) 43–4,  
126, 150–1, 162, 173–4, 180, 191, 459,  
618, 692, 707, 712–4, 716–20, 724–6,  
742–3, 745–7, 753, 755–6, 759, 788  
Third Resurrection 177, 724, 726  
of the Two Witnesses 35, 160, 162–6,  
561–2, 568, 571–3, 576–7, 579, 638,  
737, 783–5
- Reuchlin, Johannes. *See also* Kabbalah  
448
- Revelation(s) 5, 51, 62, 64, 88, 93, 118,  
120–1, 129, 131–3, 138–9, 142, 187,  
257, 305, 340, 353, 405, 450–1, 468,  
485, 491, 495–7, 590, 636, 697–8,  
723, 738, 819–20, 823–5, 827, 831,  
833, 837, 839, 841–2, 846–7, 890,  
895, 958
- Revelation (Book of). *See also* Inter-  
pretation; Revelation; Imagery and  
Prophecies 3–4, 8, 14–6, 18–20, 23,  
29, 32–46, 60, 64, 104, 106, 113,  
118–9, 121, 123, 125–6, 129, 144–51,  
153, 155–9, 162, 167–8, 170, 177–8,  
188, 195, 762, 773, 775–6, 813, 815–6,  
958  
Authorship and Canonicity of 82–4,  
87, 90, 100, 102, 444–5, 762, 768–9  
Dating of 100, 444  
Key to 442–4  
Obscurities of 8, 460
- Revelation, Imagery and Prophecies  
(Interpretations of)  
Beast 161–3, 167–8, 170, 174, 486,  
495, 526, 539–40, 547, 553, 555, 563,  
569, 571, 594–5, 597–611, 613, 615–7,  
628–9, 631–2, 636, 642–3, 646–9,  
651–4, 657, 660–70, 675, 679–90,  
709–10, 738, 741, 770–1, 775, 781,  
787, 789–93, 796  
Binding of the Dragon. *See also*  
Millennium 173, 601, 736–9  
Dating of the Reign of Antichrist  
(1260) 444, 461, 555–8, 568, 587,  
599, 619, 651–4, 658, 663–4, 671, 690,  
741, 743, 772, 783–9, 796  
Earthquake(s) 469–71, 479, 504–5,  
520, 558, 562, 569, 571–2, 576–7,  
579, 634–5, 796  
False Prophet 161, 597, 628, 631–2,  
689, 710, 738, 792  
Four Creatures (Lion, Ox, Man, Eagle)  
167, 442, 482, 484–5, 490, 747–8,  
768, 774, 786, 791

- Four Horsemen 159, 496–501, 511, 535  
 Frogs 631–3  
 Gog and Magog. *See* Gog and Magog  
 Golden Candlesticks 455, 482, 566–7, 570, 699  
 Great Star 523–4, 541, 545  
 Great White Throne 722–3  
 Image of the Beast 603–4, 611, 615, 617, 628, 636, 646, 685–90, 770, 791–2  
 Lamb 188, 483, 489–94, 508, 517–8, 567, 589, 613, 622, 672, 679, 684–5, 687–8  
 Locusts 511, 526–31, 536, 779, 781, 799  
 Man-Child 45, 161, 168, 581, 586–8, 670–2  
 Mark of the Beast 539, 604, 687  
 Number of the Beast (666) 38, 162, 165, 569, 571, 597, 604, 607–12, 687–8, 791  
 Red Dragon. *See* Satan  
 Remnant (144 000) 119, 160–1, 185, 188–90, 194, 486–7, 510–1, 539, 573, 592–3, 613, 618, 674, 677–9, 721, 740, 779, 796  
 Sea 482, 484, 522, 541, 544–5, 594, 622, 624–6, 637, 673, 679, 775  
 Seven Churches. *See also* Golden Candlesticks 460–82.  
 Seven Seals 104, 147, 159–60, 462, 486, 490–1, 495–6, 502–5, 508–9, 519–20, 540, 769, 774–5,  
 Seven Trumpets 104, 123, 125, 147, 152, 159–60, 162–7, 462, 486, 490–1, 495, 504, 511, 515, 519–26, 533, 536, 538–48, 552, 563–4, 568, 575, 579, 630, 635–6, 640, 678, 701, 740, 744, 749, 753, 769–85, 796, 824, 836, 904, 947  
 Seven Vials/Bowls 37, 46, 104, 147, 152, 159–67, 173, 462, 487, 490–2, 539, 623–40, 678, 769–72, 775–6, 784, 796  
 Storm of Hail 521, 541, 543–4, 777  
 Three Woes 147, 160, 163, 540, 546–7, 770–1  
 Two Witnesses. *See* Martyrs. *See also* Resurrection  
 Whore of Babylon. *See* Whore(dom)  
 Woman 161, 168, 581, 584, 587, 590–3, 613, 642–4, 646, 648, 660–1, 668–79, 682, 770, 786, 793, 796  
 Revenge 247–8, 322, 417, 491, 502, 536, 540, 558, 638, 658, 721, 898  
 Revenue. *See also* Tithes 258, 468, 505, 702, 898  
 Reverence. *See* Worship  
 Revolt. *See* Obedience  
 Reward(s) 139, 240, 244–5, 261, 282, 286–7, 313, 322, 324, 334, 367, 384, 432, 474, 732–3, 744, 800, 893, 960  
 Rhetoric, Figures of Speech  
     Analogy 264, 431, 785  
     Ellipsis 348  
     Metaphor 233, 250, 479, 518, 570, 589, 685, 717, 746, 951  
     Metonymy 518, 564  
     Synecdoche 567  
 Rhodiginus, Coelius (Lodovico Ricchieri) 458  
 de Ribera, Francisco 40, 460–1, 517, 541  
 Riccobaldo of Ferrara 656  
 Richard I (King of England) 529  
 Right(s) 97, 238, 258, 265, 270, 301, 315, 354, 408, 434, 625, 667, 670, 910–2, 917, 919, 934  
 Righteousness, Righteous 51, 70, 79, 81, 84, 108, 122, 175, 187, 272, 276, 288, 295, 298, 314–5, 322, 333, 350, 355, 364, 371, 381–2, 394, 396, 438, 453, 457, 476, 481, 581, 626–7, 669, 677, 693, 718, 745, 751, 753, 756, 763, 772–3, 809, 896, 899, 902, 933, 943, 950  
 River(s) 230, 342, 777–8  
     Danube 653, 777–8  
     Euphrates 100, 166, 403, 431, 533–4, 536, 540, 548, 630–1, 638, 641, 706, 775–6, 781, 828  
     Oxus 533  
     Po 621, 777  
     Rhine 653, 777–8  
     Rhône 523, 777

- Tanais 521  
 Tigris 706  
 Rocca, Angelo 608  
 Roger I (of Sicily) 781  
 Roman Catholic. *See* Catholicism  
 Romanists. *See* Catholicism  
 Romans (Epistle) 7, 24, 97, 108, 186, 314, 467, 517, 962  
 Rome, Roman *See also* Catholicism 98, 100–1, 127, 129, 161–2, 305, 332, 342, 360, 403, 443, 445, 451, 467–8, 498–9, 511, 521, 565, 569, 571, 578, 582–3, 586, 588–9, 593–602, 608, 612, 617, 621, 625–30, 641, 648–52, 657–8, 661–2, 666–74, 679, 686–90, 700, 702–3, 708, 738, 776–7, 781, 785, 787, 793, 795, 813, 842, 888, 895, 929–31, 933–6, 946, 956, 958  
 as Antichrist. *See* Antichrist  
 as Babylon 98, 154, 160, 162–3, 167, 335, 358, 541, 614–7, 621, 628, 642–4, 667–8, 680–1, 702, 789, 791  
 Church. *See* Catholicism  
 Council of. *See* Council  
 Destruction of. 38, 144, 165, 169–71, 174, 179, 519–25, 528, 532–4, 537, 539–48, 607, 625, 636, 639, 665, 702, 744, 779, 783, 787, 960  
 Empire 60, 84, 100–1, 105, 124–5, 141–2, 154–6, 159–61, 163, 167–70, 174, 176, 255, 257, 305, 322–3, 330–1, 344, 359, 425, 431, 434, 442–3, 475, 486, 495–500, 502–3, 505, 507–8, 555, 561, 578, 582, 586, 589, 595–6, 598–603, 627–8, 630, 642–54, 657–90, 709–12, 736–8, 741–2, 748, 752, 768, 773–9, 786–95, 843  
 Law. *See* Law  
 Rosicrucianism 48, 806  
 Rosinus, Johannes (Johann Roßfeld) 359, 643  
 Rubeus, Hieronymus 666  
 Rudolf II 555  
 Rupert of Deutz (Rupertus Tuitiensis) 379  
 Russia 521, 554  
 Ruth 816, 912, 914, 940–1  
 Rutilius Naumatianus 561  
 Rycaut, Paul 46, 512  
 Ryswick, Peace of 164, 193, 562  
 Sabbath. *See also* Millennium 124, 132–3, 191, 245–6, 270, 313, 331–2, 424, 433, 438–9, 451–4, 623, 716, 735, 750, 753, 756, 807, 881, 902, 904, 908–9, 923–5, 928  
 Sabians, Sabianism. *See also* Heresy, Religion 52, 135, 137–8, 728, 889–91, 893, 897–900  
 Sacchi, Bartolomeo (Platina) 590, 656  
 Sacconi, Rainer 593  
 Sacraments. 91, 105, 122, 418, 553, 574, 614, 625, 683, 693, 816, 838–40  
 Baptism. *See* Baptism  
 Eucharist. *See* Eucharist  
 Sacrifice(s). *See also* Christ 57, 124–5, 135, 248, 253–4, 258–9, 261, 270, 273–7, 280–1, 295, 300–1, 313, 336, 340, 391, 414, 418, 430, 434, 473, 481, 490, 494, 503, 506, 538, 547, 557, 565, 581, 588, 596, 604, 613, 615, 621–2, 656, 683, 704, 731, 789, 817, 889, 910, 917, 924–5, 933–4, 943, 955  
 Sadducee(s) 96, 287, 827  
 Saints. *See* Resurrection  
 Salah ad-Din (Saladin) 617  
 Salem Witchcraft Crisis. *See also* Demons 164, 561  
 Salmeron, Alfonso 687  
 Salomon/Solomon 193, 235, 265–6, 442, 462, 484, 488, 696, 698, 816, 822–3, 885, 896, 911, 925, 948, 950–1, 958  
 Salvation. *See also* Christ 26, 59, 84, 95, 108, 114–5, 118, 131, 134, 175, 186–7, 188–9, 239, 243, 254, 261, 271, 315, 338, 348–50, 363, 372, 396, 414, 421, 491, 513, 517, 589, 599, 601, 639, 712, 714, 723–6, 733, 745, 747, 750, 806, 823, 902, 906, 915, 962  
 Salvian 664  
 Samael (Archangel). *See* Angel  
 Samaritans, Samaria 22, 195, 321, 331, 567, 569, 823, 831, 881, 885–6, 916–7  
 Samosatenus, Paulus (Paul of Samosata) 117, 230  
 Sampson 288, 826, 828

- Samuel (Prophet) 288, 823–4, 829, 939, 948
- Sanctification 70, 108–9, 190, 277–8, 299, 315, 369–70, 410, 417, 427, 588, 717, 826
- Sanctuary. *See also* Tabernacle 264–5, 270, 347, 397, 519, 623, 698, 783, 789, 796, 915, 927
- Sanhedrin. *See* Talmud
- Saracen(s). *See* Arab(s)
- Sarah 346, 463, 912–5
- Sardis 469, 471–2, 479
- Sarrau, Claude (Claudius Saravius) 707–8
- Sarson, Laurance 731
- Satan, Devil, Lucifer 133, 151, 159, 175–8, 183, 240–1, 293, 326–7, 333, 351, 369, 371, 379, 383, 405, 421–2, 430–2, 465–9, 474, 486, 490, 506–7, 514, 526, 531, 538, 573, 582, 585–6, 588–90, 598, 626, 632, 638, 658, 672, 674, 682, 714, 721–2, 724–5, 729, 732, 738–9, 743, 746, 748–50, 765, 786, 790, 799, 802, 807–8, 827, 829, 847, 891, 898, 909
- Angel of Death. *See* Angel(s)
- as Dragon 506, 531, 582, 585, 631–2, 670
- as Prince 236, 293, 379, 421, 430, 530, 729, 754, 763, 802
- as Serpent 182, 370, 463, 531, 582, 584–6, 591–2, 672, 674–5, 760, 796
- Satisfaction. *See* Atonement
- Saturn 761
- Saubertus, Johannes 923
- Saul 319, 826, 829, 948
- Saurin, Jacques 28, 431–2
- Savonarola, Girolamo 554
- Savoy, Duchy of. *See also* Charles Emmanuel II; Eugene of Savoy; Victor Amadeus II 559, 579, 782, 784–5, 788
- Saxons. *See* Germanic Peoples and Kingdoms
- Saxony 663, 803
- Scaliger, Joseph Justus 55–6, 91, 140, 438, 474, 504, 583–4, 886, 952–3, 956
- Scapula 500, 843
- Schickard, Wilhelm 339
- Schism(s) 112, 429, 439, 513, 619, 628–9, 631, 734, 927
- Schlichting, Jonas 24–5, 66, 110, 232, 235, 251
- Scholem, Gershom 448
- Schott, André (Andreas Schottus) 385
- Scotland 19, 461, 552, 594, 637, 788
- Scribonia 935
- Scripture. *See* Bible
- Scythia, Scythian(s) 176–7, 443, 521, 534–5, 748, 777, 898
- Sea(s)
- Adriatic 571, 777, 788
- Aegean 630
- Baltic 571
- Black Sea 630
- Bosphorus 630–1, 634
- Tyrrhenian Sea 571
- Seager, John 178–9, 192, 338
- Second Coming, Parousia. *See also* Conflagration; Christ; Eschatology; Millennium; Rapture 3–4, 8, 33, 38, 41, 45, 52, 61, 64–5, 102, 106, 126, 147, 153, 157, 164, 167, 174–5, 179–81, 185–9, 192–5, 238, 283, 338, 393, 438, 450, 461, 551, 616, 620, 712–4, 734, 736–7, 739–45, 747–8, 751–2, 755–6, 783, 790, 796, 835, 847, 960
- Date of 4, 38, 42, 52, 147, 169–72, 238, 588, 762, 783, 786–90
- Signs of 164, 185, 195, 960
- Seidenbecher, Georg Laurentius 757–8, 765–6
- Selden, John 22, 56–7, 130, 257, 295, 507, 532–3, 901,
- Seleucia 592, 706
- Seleucus I Nicator 477, 706
- Seneca, Lucius Annaeus 31, 255, 395, 811–2
- Sennacherib 959
- Septimius Severus 498–500, 503, 657, 774, 795, 842
- Septuagint [LXX]. *See* Bible
- Serarius, Petrus 766
- Sermon(s) 14, 19, 28–9, 34, 47, 97, 111, 146, 227, 241, 245, 314, 357, 367, 393,



- 422, 429, 456, 465, 482, 561, 592,  
616, 622, 665, 689, 704, 740, 797,  
799, 904
- Servant(s) 230, 247, 287, 339, 344, 433,  
461, 604–5, 842, 892, 909, 912–3,  
of God 79, 97, 175, 245, 272, 274,  
369, 396, 432, 480, 510, 513, 519, 539,  
565, 575, 590, 613, 672, 683, 686,  
707–8, 747, 754–5, 757, 773, 800–3,  
808, 825, 943, 961
- Servius (Maurus Servius Honoratus) 455,  
930
- Seth 295, 891, 910, 916–7  
Book of. *See* Pseudepigrapha
- Severus II (Flavius Valerius Severus) 503,  
795, 843
- Severus Alexander 498–9
- Sextus Pomponius 956
- de Seyssel, Claude (Claudius Sesselius)  
593
- al-Shahrastānī, Muhammad 899
- Shammai (Rabbi) 299
- Sharrock, Robert 403
- Shekhinah 116, 136, 233, 692, 696, 740,  
825, 894
- Shem 131, 138, 227, 258–9, 471, 911–2,  
915, 919
- Shemiramoth 948
- Shepherd(s) 302, 479, 570, 828, 937,  
952
- Shepherd of Hermas. *See also* Pseudo-  
epigrapha 85–6, 89, 90, 93, 121, 305,  
814–6, 847
- Sherlock, Thomas 30, 98–100, 148, 276,  
360–3, 372,
- Sherlock, William 110, 380
- Sherwin, William 29, 282
- Shiloh 916
- Shimei 914
- Sibylline Oracles 52–3, 128–9, 137,  
139–42, 760–1, 929–37
- Sibyls 140–1, 761, 929–30, 932–6
- Sicily 329, 704, 781
- Sickness, Sick 183, 285, 298, 331–3, 356,  
421, 469, 757, 801, 804, 828, 837
- Sidonius Apollinaris 584
- Sigebert of Gembloux (Sigebertus  
Gemblacensis) 666
- Sigismund (Holy Roman Emperor) 553,  
634
- Sigonio, Carlo (Carolus Sigonius) 40,  
595, 651, 666, 778
- Silas (Silvanus) 832
- Silver 330, 338, 514, 540, 781, 880, 947
- Simeon, Tribe of 513
- Simeon (Bishop of Jerusalem) 99, 360
- Simeon Metaphrastes 468
- Simeon ben Yohai (Shimon bar Yochai)  
448
- Simon, Richard 57–60, 66–7, 71, 94,  
140, 229, 885
- Simon the Just 881
- Simon Magus 154, 468, 667
- Simony 616, 629–30
- Sin. *See also* Atonement, Death, Vices 25,  
75, 107–9, 115, 125–6, 153, 174–5, 179,  
186, 192–3, 239–41, 247, 250, 253,  
269–71, 274, 276–7, 281, 286, 292–3,  
296, 300, 311–2, 316, 318, 328, 333–4,  
338, 342, 344, 353, 361, 367–71, 380,  
398–9, 402, 409–10, 412, 419–21, 441,  
447, 489, 492, 553, 577, 664, 717,  
720, 722, 754, 764, 801–2, 809, 835,  
889, 910, 912, 914, 958, 962–3  
Against the Holy Spirit 277, 420–1  
Man of Sin 162, 174, 181, 359, 600,  
610, 611–2, 714, 734, 960
- Sinlessness  
of Adam 180, 183, 409, 577, 755  
of Christ. *See* Christ
- Sinner 95, 108, 177, 254, 276, 301, 314,  
334, 420, 429, 438, 614, 950
- Sirach (Ecclesiasticus, Wisdom of Sirach).  
*See also* Bible (Apocrypha), Index of  
Biblical Passages 816, 908
- Slaughter 157, 163–5, 173, 290, 330,  
476, 497–8, 522–3, 531, 534, 552, 558,  
562, 567–9, 571, 573–6, 626, 647, 711,  
779–80, 783–4, 892, 898
- Slave(s). *See also* Servant(s) 79, 272, 305,  
344, 471, 524, 569, 626, 629, 705,  
778, 784, 827–8, 903  
Slave Trade 705
- Smith, John (1618–1652) 312–3,  
Smith, John (fl. 1675–1711) 29, 721–3  
Smith, Thomas 46, 471

- Smyrna 465, 471, 474–5  
 Socinians, Socinianism, Unitarianism.  
     *See also* Arianism, Heresy 20–1, 24–7,  
     66, 71, 73, 86, 105, 109–11, 115, 117,  
     230, 232, 235, 251, 410–1, 413, 558–9,  
     817, 837  
 Socrates 458  
 Socrates Scholasticus (Socrates of Con-  
     stantinople) 435, 544, 786  
 Sodom, Sodomite 361, 441, 577, 625,  
     753, 842, 912  
 Soldier(s) 36, 254, 501, 530, 559, 578,  
     641  
 Sophism, Sophist(s) 464, 812  
 Sophocles 375  
 Soul(s). *See also* Conscience 108–9, 118,  
     120, 231, 241, 246, 248, 250, 270, 301,  
     308–9, 314, 326, 328, 338–9, 348–50,  
     352, 357, 364, 366, 369–71, 405, 420,  
     425, 440, 450–1, 456–9, 493, 503,  
     509, 512, 531, 538, 557, 582, 613, 625,  
     637, 692, 694–5, 702, 704–5, 717,  
     734, 801, 809, 829, 835, 848, 890,  
     943, 953  
 Sozomen 655, 953  
 Spain 146, 164, 308, 448, 462, 497,  
     521, 523, 542–4, 579, 594, 619, 637,  
     663–4, 691, 774, 777, 780, 787–8  
 Sparta 397, 520  
 Spartianus, Aelius. *See Historia Augusta*  
 Spencer, John 57, 132, 135, 137, 257,  
     605, 889, 893  
 Spener, Philipp Jakob 9, 757, 805, 845  
 Spinoza, Benedict 885  
 Spon, Jacob 481  
 Stalham, John 373  
 Stars. *See also* Celestial Bodies; Sun 137,  
     307, 372–3, 375, 396, 436, 446, 456,  
     469, 506–7, 523–6, 541, 545, 560,  
     581, 585, 669–71, 756, 776, 778–9,  
     825, 890–1, 899, 916  
 Statius, Publius Papinius 466  
 Staynoe, Thomas 29, 339–40, 723–6  
 Stephanus of Byzantium (Stephanus  
     Byzantinus) 378, 477  
 Stephanus Pannonius of Belgrade 748  
 Stephen (Martyr) 352–3, 699, 749–50,  
     919  
 Stephens, Nathaniel 789–90  
 Stephens, Robert 73, 410, 884  
 Steuco, Agostino (Agostinus Steuchus)  
     599, 952  
 Stilicho, Flavius 777, 931  
 Stillingfleet, Edward 901  
 Stobaeus, Johannes 339  
 Stoic(s), Stoicism. *See also* Philosophy  
     255, 378, 395, 501, 532, 655, 811–2  
 Stoning 68, 289–90, 658, 748–9  
 Strabo (Historian) 31, 304, 395, 470,  
     479, 578, 583, 889  
 Stranger(s) 228, 259, 286, 298, 322,  
     397, 401, 433, 595, 606, 725, 895,  
     903, 940  
 Strong, William 320, 739–40  
 Stucki, Johann Wilhelm (Stuck, Stuckius)  
     434  
 Suarez, Cajetan 259  
 Suetonius Tranquillus, Gaius 583, 933,  
     935  
 Suffering(s). *See also* Punishment 126,  
     354–5, 379, 386, 625, 627–9, 631–2,  
     648, 660, 675, 720, 755, 762, 812,  
     893, 916  
     of Christ. *See* Christ. *See also*  
     Atonement  
     For Christianity. *See also* Martyrs 35,  
     97, 161, 239–40, 250–1, 304, 322,  
     326, 352, 407, 432, 465, 503, 556,  
     561, 570, 581, 588, 606, 618, 718, 746,  
     961  
 Suidas 374, 378  
 Sulla 257, 930, 934, 936  
 Sulpicius Severus 127, 762–3  
 Sun 116, 138, 161, 233, 306–7, 378, 389,  
     392, 409, 506–7, 516, 525, 532, 541,  
     545, 550, 581, 627–9, 633, 638, 669,  
     695, 730–2, 746, 775, 779, 890–1,  
     894, 956  
 Supernatural Experiences. *See also* Angels;  
     Demons; Enthusiasm; French Pro-  
     phets; Holy Spirit; Miracles  
     Automatic Writing 49, 88, 819  
     Ecstasy 826, 828–9  
     Glossolalia 49, 120–1, 814, 819, 829,  
     837,  
     Healing 50, 120, 819, 828, 841

- Prophecy. *See* Prophecy  
 Trance 50, 827  
 Superstition, Superstitious. *See also* Magic  
   5, 125, 137, 139, 280, 465, 471, 507,  
   519, 547, 552, 554, 556, 573, 585,  
   615–6, 626, 630, 644, 669, 673, 686,  
   688, 812, 814, 891, 895, 899, 943  
 Sura 335  
 Sweden, Swedish 24, 43, 521, 553, 619,  
   635, 638, 691, 788  
 Switzerland 17, 36, 461, 554, 637, 784  
 Sword(s) 68, 168, 175, 247–50, 276, 290,  
   348, 467, 489, 496–7, 500, 537, 601,  
   665, 681, 684, 686, 702–3, 710, 713,  
   721, 785, 919  
 Sykes, Arthur Ashley 30, 350  
 Symmachus 944–5  
 Synagogue(s) 77, 124, 194, 311, 320,  
   433, 447, 465, 474, 637, 881–2, 904,  
   922–8, 938, 941, 959  
 Syria, Syrians 66, 92, 116, 227, 233, 323,  
   330, 377, 511, 519, 583, 617, 638, 816,  
   880, 889, 903, 911, 936, 938, 940  
 Syriac. *See* Bible  
 Tabernacle 184, 233, 264, 266–8,  
   270–1, 282, 336, 477, 566, 571, 581,  
   599–600, 614, 622, 637, 643, 678,  
   682–3, 692, 696–700, 879, 890, 920,  
   927  
   Feast of. *See* Feast  
 Tacitus, Publius Cornelius 321, 470, 931,  
   933, 936  
 Talmud, Talmudic 22, 27, 43, 76–7,  
   227–8, 267, 332, 474, 476, 481, 517,  
   698, 709, 882, 886–8, 901, 940–2  
   Gemarah, Gemarists 227, 940  
   Mishnah 237, 313, 349, 447, 940–1  
   Tractate Abodah Zarah (Avodah Zarah)  
     332, 901  
   Tractate Baba Bathra (Bava Batra) 318,  
     332–3, 481, 731, 882  
   Tractate Baba Kamma 355  
   Tractate Berakoth 474  
   Tractate Chagigah 698  
   Tractate Eruvin 244  
   Tractate Gittin 302  
   Tractate Hagigah 337  
   Tractate Kelim 578  
   Tractate Ma'aser Sheni 332, 474–5  
   Tractate Megillah 227, 308, 882, 939,  
     959  
   Tractate Nedarim 882  
   Tractate Sanhedrin 284, 311, 313, 349,  
     398, 447, 715–6, 886, 901  
   Tractate Shabbath 313, 331–2, 433,  
     730, 924  
   Tractate Sotah 227  
   Tractate Yoma 313, 332  
 Tamar 914  
 Tanchuma bar Abba 917  
 Targum(s) 52, 448, 938–42  
   on Chronicles 941, 948  
   on Deuteronomy 585  
   on Exodus 447  
   on Ezekiel 328  
   on Isaiah 517, 603, 699, 942  
   on Numbers 639  
   on Psalms 480, 639  
*Targum Jerusalem* 259, 940  
*Targum (Pseudo-)Jonathan* 258–9, 514,  
   517, 699, 939, 942  
*Targum Onkelos* 447, 938–42  
 Tarquinius Superbus 930  
 Tarsus (Cilicia) 509, 703, 812  
 Tatars 443, 529, 533, 535  
 Tatian the Assyrian 116, 233, 379  
 Teaching, Teacher(s) 89, 175, 183, 294,  
   309, 316–7, 400, 456, 570, 615–6, 719,  
   733, 747, 764, 814, 832–3, 835, 840,  
   922, 961  
   False Teachers. *See* False Teacher(s)  
 Tears 46, 251, 390, 437, 509, 647  
 Temperance. *See* Abstinence  
 Temple(s) 104, 123, 160, 163, 172, 175,  
   187, 233, 243, 409–10, 434, 467, 475,  
   482, 491, 503, 505–8, 510, 513, 515–6,  
   518, 547–8, 556–7, 563–9, 575, 589,  
   596, 600, 622–3, 634, 637, 658, 678,  
   694–700, 709, 730, 755, 770–3, 783,  
   789, 796, 824, 881, 884, 886, 889,  
   891–900, 903–4, 911, 920, 922, 925–7,  
   943–4, 947–9, 955  
   of Apollo 929, 931, 936  
   of Asclepius 466  
   of Delphi 281

- of Jerusalem 123–4, 175, 282, 331, 496, 563, 565, 658, 698–9, 772, 886, 894
- of Jupiter 929–30
- of Leto 342
- Templer, John 381
- Temptation(s), 113, 179, 183, 242, 289–90, 300, 305, 326–7, 371, 430, 469–70, 511, 585, 694, 715, 724, 782, 800, 848, 919
- of Jesus. *See Christ*
- Tertullian 75, 89–90, 92, 117, 119, 127, 234, 256–7, 275, 290, 358, 377, 379–80, 383, 400, 407, 412–3, 435, 438, 445, 453, 467, 495, 499–500, 502, 588, 659–60, 759, 762, 812, 814–7, 843, 932
- Thanksgiving 301, 575, 839, 943
- Theatre 158, 292, 482, 485, 634
- Theodoret of Cyrus 264, 943
- Theodoric the Great 546, 595, 779
- Theodosius I 505–6, 520–1, 544, 592, 653, 673
- Theodosius II 665
- Theophanes the Confessor 666
- Theophilus of Antioch 396, 840–1, 843
- Theophylact of Ohrid (Theophylactus of Ochrida) 265–6, 303, 346, 914
- Theosophy 42, 48, 766, 806
- Thessalonians 660, 743
- Thief, Thieves 354, 531, 631, 633, 642, 906
- Thirty Years' War 43, 165, 553, 638
- Thorndike, Herbert 155, 157, 769
- Thrace, Thracian 501, 520–1, 554, 595, 630, 775, 777
- Thyatira 468, 471, 477, 479, 756–7
- Tiberius 434, 931, 936
- Tillotson, John 364
- Timothy (of Ephesus) 101, 425, 832
- Timothy, First Epistle of 832–3
- Timothy, Second Epistle of 100, 362–3, 832–3
- Timothy of Constantinople (Timotheus Presbyterus) 377
- Timothy of Miletus 946
- Timur (Tamerlane) 630
- Tithes, Tithing 56–7, 256–60, 313, 798, 897–8
- Titus (Apostle, Epistle) 832–3, 840
- Titus (Roman emperor) 496, 774, 789
- Tobit, Book of. *See also Bible* (Apocrypha); Index of Biblical Passages 705, 720, 772
- Toledot Yesu 709
- Torrey, William 44–5, 173–4, 177, 179, 186, 712–5
- Torture. *See also Martyrs* 68, 249, 289–90, 380, 509, 528, 682
- Tostado, Alonso (Alphonsus Tostatus) 948
- Tostaius 259
- Tournefort, Joseph Pitton de 46, 449, 471
- Tours, Battle of 780
- Trade 471, 481, 577, 604, 688, 695, 703–5, 917
- Trajan 102, 435, 452, 469, 497, 774
- Transgression. *See Sin*
- Transubstantiation 616–7, 683
- Transylvania 232, 549, 559, 637–8
- Trapp, John 441
- Trench, Edmund 357
- Trial(s) 41, 113, 164, 239, 354, 403, 558, 722, 730, 757, 838
- of Faith 284, 336, 355
- Trinity, Trinitarianism. *See also God*; Christ; Holy Spirit 7, 10, 21, 24–7, 30, 41, 60, 62, 66–7, 70–5, 87, 104–5, 109–22, 136, 142, 250, 409–19, 427, 533, 677
- Troas 469
- Trojan War 457
- Trullo 435
- Tudor, Mary 568
- Turmair, Johann Georg (Aventinus) 628, 686–7
- Turner, John 30, 240, 280–1
- Turniellus 259
- Turks, Turkish. *See also Empire(s)* 156, 160, 163, 165–6, 185–6, 443, 461, 471, 479, 486, 512, 519, 529, 531, 533–7, 540, 548–9, 555, 568, 630–1, 634, 638, 653, 712–3, 744, 781–2, 887, 944
- Tyndale, William 71, 73, 411

- Type(s). *See also* David; Interpretation;  
 Melchizedek 135, 191–2, 246, 255–6,  
 260, 272, 280, 284, 287, 295, 336,  
 349–50, 394, 401, 418, 432, 462–3,  
 479–80, 488, 513, 566, 579, 582, 587,  
 594, 642, 670, 676, 695, 706  
 Tyre 249, 592, 703–4
- Ulpian 428, 500  
 Unitarianism. *See* Heresy, Socinianism  
 Uriah 958  
 Ursinus, Zacharias 18, 265–6  
 Ussher, James 101–2, 141, 452, 458, 557,  
 688, 935  
 Utrecht, Peace of 164, 193, 562
- Valens 486, 505, 543, 777  
 Valentinian I 505, 543, 673  
 Valentinian III (Placidus Valentinianus)  
 443, 525, 541, 545, 650, 657–8, 665,  
 783  
 Valentinians 377, 505  
 Valerius Maximus 434  
 Valla, Lorenzo 365  
 Vandals (Vandal Kingdom). *See* Germanic  
 Peoples and Kingdoms  
 Varro, Marcus Terentius 385, 578, 649,  
 933  
 Vatable, François (Franciscus Vatablus)  
 356, 884  
 Vengeance 525, 619, 712  
 of God. *See also* Judgment 194, 254,  
 286, 294–5, 349–50, 382, 469, 502,  
 519–20, 633, 664, 751, 912  
 Venice, Venetian 511, 535, 645, 691, 788,  
 883, 940  
 Verus, Lucius 812  
 Vespasian, Titus Flavius 496, 774, 789  
 Vices  
 Arrogance 345, 429, 837  
 Carnality, Lust, Sensuality 287, 320,  
 324, 353, 399, 563–4, 367, 439, 465,  
 476, 713, 764, 806–7, 848, 906, 910,  
 917  
 Covetousness, Envy 293, 299, 310,  
 323–6, 330, 377–8, 399, 524, 593,  
 633, 676–7, 902, 910  
 Disobedience. *See* Obedience  
 Fornication 309, 376, 467, 473,  
 613–4, 644, 668–9, 680, 710, 901,  
 905–6  
 Gluttony 366, 809  
 Greed, Luxury 331, 356, 435, 470,  
 669, 673  
 Incest 139, 435, 897, 901, 911–12, 914  
 Infidelity 96, 193, 304, 354–5, 394,  
 404, 429, 498, 642, 644, 692, 711,  
 722, 820, 838, 841, 843, 899, 942  
 Lasciviousness 345, 376–7, 384  
 Malice 322, 326, 343–4, 369, 395,  
 421, 436, 465, 468, 615, 671–2, 798  
 Pride 318, 325, 346, 371, 385, 399,  
 538, 630, 633, 643, 669, 806, 811,  
 827–8  
 Rashness 164, 316, 757, 800, 806  
 Seduction 241, 369, 440, 467, 582,  
 585, 674, 724–5, 750  
 Unbelief 179, 185  
 Victor Amadeus II (Duke of Savoy) 559,  
 784  
 Victorinus of Pettau 127, 656, 762–3  
 Vienna 166, 511, 549, 575, 631, 705,  
 782, 787  
 Vignier, Nicholas 651  
 Vintage 166, 615, 618–21, 635  
 Violence 49, 153, 160, 163, 179, 270,  
 279–80, 298, 321, 369, 378, 390, 501,  
 509, 521, 533, 545, 552–3, 559, 568,  
 613, 615, 632, 673, 675, 678, 685,  
 715, 717, 781–2, 818, 828, 845–6, 898,  
 910, 912  
 Virgil (Publius Vergilius Maro) 129, 141,  
 359, 455, 501, 530, 648, 761, 930–7  
 Virgin(s), Virginity 161, 258, 487, 613–4,  
 683, 732, 844, 920  
 Virtue(s), Virtuous. *See also* Faith, God  
 (Fear of), Wisdom 139, 308, 310, 322,  
 336, 357, 364–6, 405, 432, 499, 593,  
 694, 734, 810, 812, 951  
 Charity 229, 302, 317, 334, 353, 365,  
 367, 421, 433–4, 700, 798, 800, 847  
 Chastity 613, 695, 912  
 Compassion 252, 295, 329, 417, 615  
 Courage 403, 407, 491, 512, 671, 831  
 Diligence 294, 356, 367, 760  
 Fortitude 365, 812

- Godliness 139, 297, 365, 570–1, 607, 672, 695, 715, 773, 893  
 Gentleness 309, 341, 367, 425, 470, 615, 684, 800  
 Humility 293, 325, 357–8, 373, 396, 405, 524, 604, 734, 764, 798, 807, 819, 836, 944  
 Patience 81, 237, 252, 279, 348, 365–7, 432, 464, 491, 588, 602, 615, 617–8, 690, 755, 786, 802, 806–7, 912  
 Trust 76, 240, 285, 305, 405  
 Vitringa, Campegius (the Elder) 28, 145, 368–71  
 Vives, Juan Luis 128–9, 760–1  
 de Voisin, Joseph 454, 474  
 Volcano 390–1, 621  
 Vorstius, G. H. 259, 455  
 Vossius, Gerardus Joannes (Gerhard Voss) 130, 507  
 Vossius, Isaac 141, 708, 739–40, 935  
 Vulgat(e). *See Bible*  
  
 Wadsworth, Benjamin 47, 799  
 Wake, William 120, 834  
 Waldensians, Vaudois. *See also* French  
   Prophets 119, 163–5, 171, 552–4, 559, 561–2, 593, 615–7, 626, 688, 779, 783–4, 796, 845  
 Waldo, Peter 552, 616  
 Walker, Obadiah 95, 254, 588  
 Wallis, John 74, 102, 110, 124, 411, 451–3  
 Walton, Brian 23, 66, 71, 81, 155, 279, 311, 316, 319, 365, 376, 410, 426, 480, 584, 603, 699, 769, 938  
 Waple, Edward 41–2, 148, 450, 454, 459, 472–5, 477, 479–81, 483, 500–1, 519–23, 526–34, 536, 550–1, 586, 588–90, 595, 600, 607, 613–4, 618, 640, 706–7, 720, 731,  
 War(s) 36, 43, 49, 128, 146, 158, 161, 163–5, 171, 175, 177, 257, 288, 321, 323, 330, 365, 457, 497, 501–3, 529, 541, 548–9, 552–3, 558–9, 562, 568–9, 578, 584, 587–8, 592, 600, 616, 629, 634–5, 638–9, 672, 674, 677, 679–81, 684, 711–2, 728, 741, 760, 781–2, 784, 796, 818–9, 833, 919, 930, 936  
 Wealth 306, 311–2, 330–1, 339–40, 343, 470, 480, 674, 704, 900  
 Wedelius, Georg Wolfgang 704  
 Wells, Edward 338–9  
 Westphalia, Treaty of 638  
 Wheeler, George 481  
 Whigs 26, 30, 41, 148–9, 575  
 Whiston, William 5, 21, 26, 40–1, 45, 49–51, 60, 62–3, 72–3, 79, 86, 91, 111–3, 117–20, 126, 140, 147–9, 152, 166–7, 170–2, 185, 187, 193  
   on Hebrews 243, 255  
   on 1 John 419  
   on Revelation 767–73, 775–6, 778–96  
 Whitby, Daniel 12, 17, 20–2, 33, 63, 67–70, 73, 79, 93–6, 98–9, 101, 107, 116–7, 151  
   on Hebrews 228, 231, 233–4, 240–1, 243, 246, 251, 264, 266–8, 272, 274–5, 284, 288–91, 301  
   on James 303–6, 308–9, 312–3, 319–23, 327–328, 330–1, 334  
   on 1 John 397, 400–2, 405–6  
   on 2 John 423–4  
   on 3 John 426  
   on Jude 428, 430, 432–3, 440  
   on 1 Peter 335, 341, 343, 345–6, 349, 351, 354, 356–9  
   on 2 Peter 360, 364, 367, 373–4, 376–80, 382–5, 393–4, 396  
 White, Samuel 155, 394  
 White, Thomas 367  
 Whore(dom) 161, 299, 319, 345, 465, 596, 659  
   of Babylon 34, 154, 161, 487, 579, 641–3, 653, 659, 667–70, 674–6, 689, 710  
 Widow(s) 310, 673, 702, 914  
 Wife, Wives 299, 346, 377, 435, 656, 707, 710, 911, 914–15, 932, 935  
 Willet, Andrew 736, 739–40  
 William III of England (William of Orange) 164, 429, 539, 562, 576  
 Wine 331–2, 498–9, 585, 613–5, 617, 621, 635, 644, 704, 814, 822, 880  
 Winthrop, Wait 456  
 Wisdom 32, 80, 125, 135, 230, 235, 274, 284, 307–9, 317–8, 321–2, 352–3, 355,

- 357–8, 364, 371, 414, 460–1, 463, 493,  
516–7, 564, 607, 610, 728, 733, 747,  
801–2, 804, 806, 814, 819–20, 899,  
904, 920, 923, 945  
Wise Men, Sage(s) 174, 241, 308–9,  
318, 320–2, 329, 333, 405–6, 639,  
825, 960  
Wisdom, Book of. *See also* Bible (Apocry-  
pha), Index of Biblical Passages 59,  
233, 249, 396  
Withrow, Abraham 837  
Witness, Witnesses. *See* Martyrs, Reve-  
lation  
Witsius, Hermann 18, 102, 104, 116, 232,  
323–5, 343, 428, 434–6, 460–70, 739  
Wittekind (Widukind) 497  
Wolseley, Charles 29, 227  
Woman, Women 121, 139, 141, 289,  
313, 330, 345–6, 370, 384, 408, 433,  
468–9, 530–1, 613, 625, 644, 700,  
786, 825, 831–5, 839, 842, 911, 920,  
925, 929, 944–5, 948–9, 951  
in Ministry 433, 468, 831–5, 839  
Woodhead, Abraham 95, 254  
Woodward, John 153, 386–92  
World  
Invisible World 298, 326, 507, 538,  
820  
Old World 150, 174, 176, 179, 265,  
348–9, 381, 399, 427, 625, 715, 718,  
732, 737, 748, 755, 891, 893, 910  
World to Come, New World. *See*  
Heaven; Millennium  
Worldly 109, 124, 127, 190, 264–5, 324,  
406, 439, 526, 563, 601, 613, 673–4,  
677, 687, 764, 800  
Worship 122–5, 132–3, 135, 137–8, 149,  
174, 229, 238, 243, 251, 265, 285, 311,  
328, 341, 422, 435, 464, 466, 480,  
484, 496, 504–7, 513–4, 533, 537–8,  
547, 556–7, 563–7, 574, 588–9, 599,  
602–4, 606, 611, 614–5, 623, 628,  
636, 642, 656, 658, 668, 672, 678,  
680–1, 683–5, 688, 699–700, 707–8,  
722, 738, 769, 773, 779, 783, 811–2,  
823, 825, 839–40, 889–91, 894–5,  
897–9, 901–4, 908–9, 911, 913, 920,  
923, 943  
Worthington, John 45, 586, 728–30  
Wrath. *See* God  
Wycliffe, John 165, 552–3, 604, 617,  
735–6  
Xanthopulus, Nicephorus Callistus 655  
Xenodochion 433  
Xenophon 749, 789  
Xerxes I (Xerxes the Great) 899–900  
Yitzchak bar Avraham of Troki 513  
Zadok 824  
Zealots 309, 321, 323, 327, 330–1, 343,  
353–4, 382, 426, 440, 565  
Zechariah 290, 431, 484, 567–8, 713,  
825, 828, 830, 948, 957, 959  
Zedekiah 568  
Zenta, Battle of 548, 782  
Zerubbabel 557, 566–7, 784, 886  
Zerubbabel, Book of. *See also* Pseudo-  
epigrapha 641  
Zeus 380, 458  
Zion (Mount) 571, 613, 707, 714, 733,  
755  
Žižka, Jan (John Zizka) 634  
Zohar, Book of (Sefer ha-Zohar) 28,  
236, 246, 448, 476, 482, 698, 716  
Zonaras, Johannes 666, 815  
Zoroaster, Zoroastrianism. *See also*  
Religion 137–9, 728–9, 889–900  
Zosimus 505, 656  
Zwingli, Ulrich 554