BIBLIA AMERICANA

Cotton Mather

Volume 3: JOSHUA – 2 CHRONICLES

Edited, with an Introduction and Annotations, by Kenneth P. Minkema

BIBLIA AMERICANA

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Volume 3

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Cotton Mather

BIBLIA AMERICANA

America's First Bible Commentary

A Synoptic Commentary on the
Old and New Testaments

Volume 3
JOSHUA – 2 CHRONICLES

Edited, with an Introduction and Annotations,

by

Kenneth P. Minkema

Mohr Siebeck
Baker Academic

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To the Mather team

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Kenneth P. Minkema
New Haven, Connecticut
February 2013

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List of Abbreviations

ANF	*Anti-Nicene Fathers* (10 vols.)
BA	*Biblia Americana*, vols. 1ff. (Mohr-Siebeck/Baker Academic)
BDB	Brown-Driver-Briggs, eds., *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*
CCEL	Christian Classics Ethereal Library
HOL	William A. Holladay, ed., *A Concise Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*
KJV	King James Version (1611)
LXX	Septuaginta
ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*
NAU	*New American Standard Bible Updated* (1995)
NJB	*The New Jerusalem Bible*
NPNFi	*Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers.* (First Series). 14 vols.
NPNFii	*Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers.* (Second Series). 14 vols.
PG	*Patrologia Graeca*
PL	*Patrologia Latina*

Part 1

Editor's Introduction

Section 1

Mather on Joshua-Chronicles

In his entry on 2 Kings 2:22 in the "Biblia Americana," Cotton Mather writes, "Lett it be Remembred, That the *Miraculous* and *Extraordinary* Occurrences, Ever now & then mentioned in the Bible, are designed for Prælibations and Exhibitions of what shall be more notably & more commonly done, in the *New Heavens*, and the *New Earth*, and *World of Righteousness*, and *Land of Rectitude*, which *according to His Promise* we *look* for." Mather loved to provide his readers with this sort of insight, or "key," into how to read the Bible, how to understand everything from the height of Goliath to the nature of biblical poetry, from the locations of biblical sites to the "Hebrew Elegancy" in the name of Solomon. Mather admitted in his entry on 1 Chron. 29:19, "There are thousands of such elegant Allusions, in the Language of the Bible; which I cannot propose to Collect and Insert in our *Biblia Americana*." But the vast array of passages and topics that Mather addresses here conveys his conviction that Scripture contains in its narratives the past, present, and future, prophecy and fulfillment.

The Historical Books

This, the third volume of the "Biblia Americana," contains some 1250 of Mather's "illustrations," as he called them, on the books of Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles. It follows volumes presenting Mather's extensive commentaries on Genesis (vol. 1) and on Exodus through Deuteronomy (vol. 2), both edited by Reiner Smolinski. Traditionally called, in combination with the books of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther, "The Historical Books," as if they composed a deliberate unit, these writings have over time actually been grouped in different ways and given different names. Joshua, Judges, and Ruth, for example, were by early commentators (such as Augustine and Procopius Gazaeus) combined with the five books of the Torah, otherwise known as the writings of Moses or the Pentateuch, to form The Octateuch, or Eight Books. Joshua, Judges, Samuel and Kings in the Jewish commentarial tradition are called the "The Former Prophets" or "The First Prophets." And Samuel and Kings, which were divided into two parts each only when they were translated

into Greek from the Hebrew Scriptures in the centuries immediately preceding the beginning of the Common Era, have been called Kings (latinized as *Regum*), books one to four. Although Chronicles is customarily viewed within Christian circles as a complementary text to Samuel and Kings, of the same genre, it is viewed in the Jewish commentarial tradition as belonging to a different category of writings. Whereas Samuel and Kings are part of the First or Former Prophets, Chronicles is one of the *Chetubim,* or "Hagiographa." With the books of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther, Chronicles is supposed by scholars to have been written after the return from the Babylonian Captivity.

In the 1940s, German scholar Martin Noth famously proposed that the books of Joshua through Kings comprise what he called the "Deuteronomistic History." He argued that these books, written by several scribes and historians sometime in or around the seventh century BCE, share a common theological perspective that drew on earlier materials.[1]

Writing in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, Mather would of course have had no inkling of this twentieth-century modern critical thesis. Certainly the school of historical criticism was on the rise in Mather's day, and he addressed some aspects of it. But in regards to the Historical Books – a term Mather did not use – he subscribed for the most part to the accepted wisdom about the titular authors and textual histories of the various books. Therefore, the contemporary assumptions for each of the books provides an important context for understanding Mather's methods and conclusions regarding these pieces of the sacred canon. Entering into the Historical Books, Mather would no longer have to engage in the contemporary controversy over the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. He did, however, have to enter into different kinds of controversies, such as harmonizing seemingly contradictory chronologies and accounts, a topic that saw renewed interest beginning in the sixteenth and extending into the early seventeenth centuries at the hands of scholars such as Sebastian Münster (1488–1552), Joseph Scaliger (1540–1609), and David Pareus (1548–1622).[2] Regardless, these Hebrew texts were part of divine revelation, and for Mather a tantamount concern was to convey and

---

1 Martin Roth, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien* (1943); transl. *The Deuteronomistic History* (1961). For continuing scholarship, *see* Linda S. Schearing & Steven L. McKenzie, eds., *Those Elusive Deuteronomists: The Phenomenon of Pan-Deuteronomism* (1999); Thomas Römer, ed., The *Future of the Deuteronomistic History* (2000); and Römer, *The So-Called Deuteronomistic History* (2005).

2 On harmonizing Scripture accounts, *see*, for example, entries on: 2 Kings 1; 8:16, 26; 17:1; 18:9 (length of kings' reigns); 2 Kings 25:17 (height of temple); 1 Chron. 1 (inconsistencies in histories); I Chron. 13:5 (on David's numbering the people); 2 Chron. 9:25 (number of horses in Solomon's stable); 2 Chron. 16:1 (Baasha and Asa); 2 Chron. 22:2 (Jehoram and Ahaziah); 2 Chron. 35:24 (Josiah); and 2 Chron. 36:9 (Jehoiachin). See Anthony Grafton and Joanna Weinberg, *"I have always loved the Holy Tongue"* (198–99).

uphold that status to his reader and to the learned community. Towards that end he employed a great variety of methods.

Joshua

While Joshua's early life was described in the Pentateuch, the book bearing his name recounts his role as the leader of the Hebrews in conquering the "promised land" of Canaan, his governance of the people, and his final words and death, according to the biblical account, at the age of one hundred and ten. The authorship and textual history of the book of Joshua were not greatly debated in Mather's time, and he himself did not comment on these issues for this particular book. In his commentary, John Calvin said the author of the whole book may have been Eliazar the priest, but ultimately it remains a mystery, and "it is better to suspend our judgment than to make random assertions." Mather, however, characteristically sought a bit more certainty. His view is represented by an exegete whose name appears with great regularity in the pages below, Bishop Simon Patrick (1626–1707).[3] Patrick wrote, "there wants not arguments to prove that *Joshua* was the Author of this Book," as ancient Talmudists asserted, excepting the last five verses of the book. To Patrick, as to Mather, it seemed reasonable to deduce from the supposed example of Moses that Joshua "would not neglect to write himself, as *Moses* did what passed in his time."[4]

Judges

The *Sepher Shophtim*, as it is called in the Hebrew, gives the collective biographies of the majority of the judges of the commonwealth of Israel over a period of about three hundred years, roughly the fourteenth to the eleventh century BCE. Structurally, the book of Judges is in two parts. Chapters 1–16 are chronological, telling the stories of the judges, male and female, from Othniel, the first judge, to Samson. Chapters 17–21 relate miscellaneous accounts of the days "when there was no king in Israel." Patrick, Mather's primary interlocutor for the Historical Books, argued that the author of this book was Samuel, the last of the Judges. For his part, Mather in his entry on Judges 1:21 echoes the supposition of "The Hebrewes," as taken from Patrick, that Samuel was indeed "the Writer of the Book of *Judges*."

Ruth

This "novella" tells of the trials of the Moabitess Ruth, the widow of a Hebrew who decides to leave her native land and go with her mother-in-law Naomi to make her home among the Israelites. Arriving in Palestine, they are

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3 On Patrick, *see* below, p. 10.

4 John Calvin, *Commentary on Joshua*, Preface, p. 1; Simon Patrick, *A Commentary upon the Books of Joshua, Judges and Ruth* (1702), 1–2.

impoverished, so Ruth gleans stubble from the field. Boaz, a landowner, notices her, shows her kindness, and eventually marries her. Patrick says of this short history that it "is a kind of Appendix to the Book of *JUDGES*, and Manuduction to the Book of *SAMUEL*; and therefore fitly placed between them." As with Judges, he attributes the writing of it to Samuel, as was traditionally the case.[5] Ruth, a "stranger," becomes one of the ancestors of David, and, consequently for Christians, of Jesus of Nazareth.

1 and 2 Samuel

Because they narrate the commencement of the monarchy, these books are known in Jewish tradition as the first and second book of the Kings. They continue and conclude the history of the period of the Judges, ending with Samuel, and take up the reigns of Saul and David, approximately in the eleventh century BCE. In Mather's time, the common assumption among biblical commentators was that Samuel authored the first twenty-four chapters of 1 Samuel, and Nathan the Prophet and Gad the Seer the remainder.[6]

1 and 2 Kings

Alternatively titled the third and fourth books of the Kings, in these texts the kingdom of Israel reaches its zenith during the reign of Solomon, but thereafter the tale is one of decline and dissipation, including the division of the kingdom into the two tribes of Judah and the ten tribes of Israel. The account ends with the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple, and the captivity of the Israelites, under Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, in the seventh century BCE – "*a Melancholy Conclusion*," sighs Matthew Henry (1662–1714), the famous English commentator.[7] But it also includes the works of the prophets Elijah and Elisha, who "out-shone" the rulers and kept the word and works of Jehovah before the people.

Mather's entries on Kings account for nearly one third of the total in this volume. Samuel and Chronicles each warrant about three-quarters of the entries devoted to Kings. Where Mather commits to the "Biblia" about 300 entries each on Samuel and Chronicles, he writes 400 for Kings, despite the fact that Kings is the shortest of these three "twinned" books.

1 and 2 Chronicles

The Chronicles, or *Paraleipomenon* in the Greek, covers much the same ground as Samuel and Kings, but also contains some unique materials, such as a genealogy from Adam to David, as well as historical details and events not

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5 Patrick, *A Commentary* (634).

6 Simon Patrick, *A Commentary upon the two Books of Samuel* (1703), 1–2.

7 Henry, *An Exposition of the historical Books of the Old Testament; Viz. Joshua, Judges, Ruth, I. & II. Samuel. I. & II. Kings, I. & II. Chronicles Ezra* (1717), Preface to 2 Kings, unpaginated.

related elsewhere. It provides a rehearsal of the glory days of kings David and Solomon, more details on the building of the temple, and the sorry history of the monarchy until its extinction.

Chronicles is the only biblical book in this section for which Mather queries who the penman may have been. In the entries on 1 Chronicles 1, he acknowledges that the "Common Conjecture, for *Ezra*, is well known," following his return from captivity. Here Mather agrees with writers such as Patrick and French scholar Pierre-Daniel Huet (1630–1721), who exemplified the turn to the Hebrew sources and interpreters among Christian exegetes during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. In the end, however, Mather acknowledges it could have been an anonymous scribe with access to the writings of the Former Prophets.

While some commentators, such as the English theologian and historian William Whiston (1667–1752),[8] pointed to Chronicles as having the greatest number of textual inaccuracies of any book in the Hebrew Testament, Mather does his best to explain some of the apparent, and sometimes real, discrepancies between Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles. In the end, Mather asserted that if some of the wording was possibly confused through human error (or, alternatively, that human understanding of the text was and is inadequate), the lessons of Israel's rise and fall, and therefore the accuracy of God's Word and the truths that history conveys, remain firm and everlasting.

Method of the "Biblia Americana"

The customary method used by scripture commentators in the Jewish and Christian traditions for millennia, and readily accessible to a polyglot such as Mather in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and several European languages, was fairly straightforward. Glosses on the sacred text would be provided seriatim, following canonical order, and arranged sometimes in conjunction with or surrounding the sacred text, arranged as marginalia. Alternatively, expecting readers to have access to a copy of the original text in their preferred translation(s), a commentator provided merely an indication of the verse number or a portion of the verse, allowing for segmentation of commentary on a verse. The latter format was utilized in the most recent and regarded publications in Mather's lifetime, as those by the seventeenth-century commentators Matthew Poole (1624–79) in Latin or Matthew Henry in English, and thus was the most accustomed and popular format for Mather to emulate.

But he did not do so – and here is where Mather's inventiveness, his liveliness, and his acquaintance with current trends come into play. While he

8 On Whiston, *see* below, p. 17.

undoubtedly would have had his "Biblia," had he been able to have it printed, follow traditional chapter and verse order, he used a dialogic format of questions-and-answers, reflecting both a Socratic as well as a catechetical method.[9] This method reflected shifting views on the use of memorization as a means of acquiring and retaining knowledge and on pedagogical practices in general. Beginning during the Renaissance, scholars increasingly downplayed the efficacy of memorization as a means of organizing information in favor of writing out references, original-source excerpts, and ideas.

This scribal approach found its way into teaching, as educational reformers of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries criticized rote memorization. They advocated instead a "familiar" method, involving conversational exchange between teacher and student, often based on a student's written work.[10] During the third quarter of the seventeenth century, instructional and educational manuals boasting "a plain, and familiar method of instructing" the young or those of "meaner capacities" began to issue from the press, treating subjects as varied as learning the catechism, arithmetic, the bass viol, even do-it-yourself "surgery."[11] As if aware of this epistemic shift, Mather incorporated the language of accessibility for all ages and intelligences into his own publications, such as his *Much in a little: Or, Three brief essayes, to sum up the whole Christian religion, for the more easy, & pleasant instruction of the weakest capacities* (1702). In the "Biblia," most importantly for our consideration here, he began each illustration with a question followed by comments couched as an answer, a response or series of responses. The result was to make the "Biblia" a process of inquiry, learning, and discovery, with the reader, like Dante, being led by Mather, in the roles of Virgil or Beatrice, through the Divine Comedy.

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9 For more on Mather's didactic technique, *see BA* 1:62–64. The Q & A approach was also efficient for Mather because it limited the need to rewrite previous annotations when he added new material.

10 Ann M. Blair, *Too much to know* (2010), 75–80; Kenneth P. Minkema, "Jonathan Edwards on Education and His Educational Legacy" (31–49).

11 *See*, for example, on educational methods, Samuel Hoadly, *The natural Method of teaching* (1688) and Thomas Lye, *A plain and familiar Method of instructing the younger Sort* (1672); on learning arithmetic, Edmund Wingate, *Mr. Wingate's Arithmetick containing a plain and familiar Method for attaining the Knowledge and Practice of common Arithmetick* (1670), and Edward Cocker, *Cockers Arithmetick being a plain and familiar Method suitable to the meanest Capacity* (1678); on learning musical instruments, Benjamin Hely, *The compleat Violist, or, An Introduction to ye Art of playing on ye Bass Viol wherein the necessary Rules & Directions are laid down in a plain & familiar Method* (c. 1700); on medical procedures, M. Le Clerc, *The compleat Surgeon or, the whole Art of Surgery explain'd in a most familiar Method* (1696); and on mythology, François Pomey, *The Pantheon representing the fabulous Histories of the heathen Gods and most illustrious Heroes in a short, plain and familiar Method by way of Dialogue* (1698).

Biblia Americana: Composition, Structure, and Sources

The holograph manuscript of the "Biblia Americana" reveals Mather drafting, rethinking, and reshaping his ideas over a period of thirty-five years. Reiner Smolinski, following a lengthy and extensive study, has discerned four recognizable stages or phases of Mather's composition and revision process, each with its own characteristic features:[12]

Stage I: August 1693 to May 1706
Stage II: May 1706 to the end of 1711
Stage III: 1711 to Feb. 1713/14, 1716
Stage IV: February 1713/14, 1716 to end of 1728

Stage I. During this initial phase, Mather created fascicles of blank folio leaves, creased down the middle and at the margins. To these fascicles, organized by scripture books and chapters, he committed 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 to determining the dating of entries, since he discontinued the practice in the spring of 1706. Only about a third of the entries in the "Biblia" have a number, so we can state with some certainty that they were made during this stage, which ends with Mather's first effort to have the whole published. Many of the entries drawn from Simon Patrick's commentaries had their origins in the latter part of this stage, with termini a quo for entries on Joshua, Judges, and Ruth no earlier than 1702, and entries on subsequent books no earlier than the years from 1703 to 1706.

Stage II. After a hiatus of about five years, Mather began to add daily or nearly daily illustrations to the whole. 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. However, entries written on quarto-sized sheets do not automatically date from this stage.

Stage III. This phase, more difficult to determine, probably commenced sometime in 1711 and ended in 1716, when Mather realized that the "Biblia" would 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."

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12 This section condenses Smolinski's discussion of the stages in *BA* 1:51–61.

Stage IV. This final phase comprehends the last dozen or so years of Mather's life. During this time, he adds significant new content regarding chronologies of both the Old and New Testaments, as well as philological and textual issues. The most intense concentrations of Mather's re-working of the "Biblia" during these years occurred sometime after 1715 and again after 1724, when he modified his views on the history of the Jewish diaspora, their conversion, and future return to the Holy Land. He also apparently culled from a "considerable Article" in the "Biblia" what would become *The Christian Philosopher*, published in 1721.

Mather's Interlocutors

In his illustrations on the Historical Books, Mather cites a wealth of scholars, commentators, observers, and narrators. There are, however, a choice number of names that appear again and again, on whose work Mather drew, sometimes naming his source, but mostly – in a time when conscientious annotation had not become the norm – not. While we cannot treat every individual or work that Mather utilized, a survey of some of the chief figures will help the reader ascertain the circle on which Mather primarily depended, presumably because he regarded their work most highly.

A survey of the authors highlighted here provides some revealing clues about Mather's preferences. He was geographically expansive, drawing on scholars from a number of countries and traditions, reflecting, as he aged, his increasingly non-provincial perspective in favor of a multinational pan-Protestantism. But if Mather was fully current on the latest scientific knowledge coming out of Europe, the scripture commentators he chose as his fellow travelers for commentary on the Historical Books were, for the most part, from a generation or more before him. The majority were born in the period from the mid-sixteenth to the early seventeenth century. Very few of the English exegetes he cites were born after 1640, having come of age during the Cromwellian period and negotiated the Restoration.[13] Whether this reflects a certain identification with figures from this trying period, or some other factor, is a matter for further study.

Simon Patrick (1626–1707)

Unquestionably, the single-most cited author in the pages below is the English Bishop of Ely, Simon Patrick. Although raised in a puritan household, Patrick's years at Cambridge brought him off from Calvinist doctrines and towards more latitudinarian beliefs and the legitimacy of episcopal ordination.

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13 In the final decade or so of this life, it seems that Mather gravitated to French Protestant writers that were more his contemporaries, including Pierre-Daniel Huet, Pierre Jurieu, Jacques Basnage, Louis Du Pin, and Charles Le Cène, among others.

He went on to earn his doctorate at Oxford in 1666, and so it is that Mather, a fellow D. D., refers to him throughout the "Biblia" as "our Dr. *Patrick*." Patrick's high-church Anglicanism was no barrier to the scion of the New England dissenting tradition, because of the broad-based ecumenism that Mather came to espouse as he matured. Early in his career, Patrick became known on the one hand as a severe critic of Catholicism (to the consternation of King James) and on the other for his efforts to bring dissenters into the fold of the Church of England, though as he aged he became more respectful of dissenters. He was confirmed as Bishop of Chichester in 1689, and two years later as Bishop of Ely, dying at Ely at the age of eighty.[14]

Although Patrick wrote on a wide range of topics, devotional, moral, homiletical and polemical, he is most known for his exegetical writings. His commentaries on the Old Testament books from Genesis through Esther, first collected and published together in 1727, constituted the source that Mather uses most in his own exposition of the Historical Books. This gathering, however, came too late for Mather; he used the commentaries as they came out of the London press in pieces, first on Joshua, Judges and Ruth (1702), then on the books of Samuel (1703), Kings (1705), and Chronicles (1706). Patrick seems to have appealed to Mather, not only for his latitudinarianism and his toleration of dissenters, but for his thorough-going scholarship, his basically conservative approach to scriptural interpretation, and his knowledge of languages, the Church Fathers, and later authors. From Patrick, too, Mather was able to reap a rich harvest of other commentators from different traditions and countries, including Huet, Scaliger, the German Protestant theologian Conrad Pellican (1478–1556), the Dutch polymath Hugo de Groot (1583–1645), and the German Lutheran philosopher Victor Strigel (1524–69).

Samuel Bochart (1599–1667)

Bochart was a Huguenot, a French protestant pastor, academy member, and biblical scholar who, like many of Mather's interlocutors, and like Mather himself to a significant degree, was part of the post-Reformation "sacred antiquarian" movement whose participants, including Johann Buxtorf in his *Juden Schul* (1603), examined the details of ancient objects, sites, and texts for clues to understanding the biblical narratives.[15] Bochart, despite his many duties as the pastor of a Protestant church at Caen in Basse-Normandie, made time to become an accomplished linguist, specializing in the Oriental tongues. Such was his reputation that he was invited to Sweden to study Arabic manuscripts in the queen's collections, after which he became a member of the academy at Caen.

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14 *ODNB.*

15 On antiquarianism, *see* Grafton and Weinberg, *"I have always loved the Holy Tongue"* (127–28). Buxtorf's work was translated into Latin and published as *Synagoga Judaica* (1603).

Mather made numerous direct or, more often, indirect references to the "rare" Bochart's two principal works, the *Geographia Sacra* (1646) and the *Hierozoicon* (1663), copies of both of which were in Mather's library. The former is a study of the topography, places, and place names of the Holy Land, an indispensable resource to Mather, who delved into issues surrounding geography at a fairly constant rate in the "Biblia." The latter is nothing less than a consideration of all the animals mentioned in scripture, replete with a wealth of information on related topics. Although Mather in the range of these entries often cites Bochart second-hand, and mostly from Patrick, he is worth noting as an important source for the "Biblia" because of the frequency with which Mather bothered to copy out Patrick's references, perhaps to capitalize on Bochart's caché as an authority among biblical commentators for his work on biblical geography, flora, and fauna.[16]

John Selden (1584–1654)

In the "Biblia" entry on 1 Kings 17:12, Mather calls him "the most accomplished *Selden*." And accomplished he was. Graduate of Oxford, member of the Inner Temple, he spent his career as a barrister but was also a widely known historian and linguist. He associated with the members of the metaphysical circle of poets, including John Donne and George Herbert, and even wrote poetry himself. Selden learned over a dozen languages, including Oriental ones, which served his interests in ancient culture. He published in legal history, both about England and biblical times, and served as a member of Parliament.[17]

As a young man, Selden had dismissed rabbinic interpretations of Scripture as fictitious. But as he aged, he came to have great respect for the integrity of this tradition and applied himself both to learning it and to espousing its wisdom. Several of Selden's books in this vein were important for Mather. An extensive treatment of the gods of the ancient Middle East, *De Diis Syris* (1617), was perhaps most useful to Mather, as the Historical Books mention a panoply of deities worshipped by the Israelites' neighbors, and occasionally by the Israelites themselves.[18] In this treatise, Selden made particular reference to medieval rabbinical sources, which Mather freely borrowed and amplified. Other works by Selden and used by Mather that further explored Hebraic language and sources included *De Successionibus* (1636), in which he derived basic moral principles; and *Uxor Hebraica* (1646), a treatise on Jewish marriage law, which proved especially relevant to Mather in his consideration of the relationship of Ruth and Boaz.

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16 On Bochart, *see* William Whittingham, "Essay on the Life and Writings of Samuel Bochart" (107–68); Zur Shalev, *Sacred Words and Worlds* (2012).

17 See *ODNB*; G. J. Toomer, *John Selden* (2009); Reid Barber, *John Selden* (2003).

18 On this theme, *see* below, pp. 19–22.

Sebastian Münster (1488–1552)

Educated at Tübingen and Heidelberg, Münster initially entered the Franciscan order, but converted to Lutheranism in 1529, thereafter becoming one of the most significant scholars of his time. He was the first German to publish a geography of the world (*Cosmographia* [1544]) and to edit the Hebrew Bible. He also compiled Hebrew and Chaldean grammars and dictionaries. His erudition in Hebrew earned him a professorship at Basel, where he died of the plague.[19]

Mather used Münster's knowledge of Hebrew to explore the multivalent meanings of the original texts, as in Münster's translation of the late twelfth/early thirteenth century French-born rabbi and commentator David Kimhi's Hebrew grammar. For example, in the entry on Judges 4:1, Mather noted, "What we render, *Harosheth of the Gentiles*, is by *Munster* translated, *The Woods of the Gentiles*." These sorts of variants were found either in Münster's *Hebraica Biblia* (1534), or as anthologized in Brian Walton's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (1654–57), in which Münster was one of the five featured commentators on the Old Testament.[20]

John Lightfoot (1602–1675)

Rector, member of the Westminster Assembly, and master of St. Catherine's College, Cambridge, Lightfoot was one of the preeminent English Hebraists and biblical scholars of his time. He was active in religious matters leading up to and during the Interregnum, and was sympathetic to Presbyterian doctrines and forms. He was outspoken in some respects – such as his rejection of millenarianism, his stance against Independency, and his views on state control of religion – but he worked assiduously in affairs of church and state.[21]

Mather drew upon Lightfoot's comprehensive biblical study, *Horae Hebraicae & Talmudicae*, which came out in six parts starting in 1658. Lightfoot's *Harmony, Chronicle and Order of the Old Testament* (1647), arranged chart-like and similar in conception to James Ussher's *Annals*, provided reputedly precise dates for incidents recorded in the Historical Books. And for passages in the books of Kings and Chronicles that rehearse the building of Solomon's Temple, Mather had recourse to Lightfoot's *Temple Service as it stood in the Dayes of our Saviour* (1649).

Brian Walton (1600–1661)

Graduate of Cambridge, cleric, and bishop of Chester, Walton supported the anti-puritan policies of Archbishop Laud and feuded with parishioners who

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19 For a study of Münster, *see* Matthew McLean, *The Cosmographia of Sebastian Münster* (2007).

20 On Walton, *see* below, p. 13.

21 *See* Richard A. Muller, "John Lightfoot" (208–212); Jace R. Broadhurst, "The via media approach to sensus literalis in the hermeneutic of John Lightfoot" (2010).

were sympathetic to church reform. For his royalist opinions during the English Civil War he was deprived of his position and fined when he was among the party of the Duke of York that surrendered in 1646.

If Walton's career was inauspicious, his lasting contribution to scholarship was the great London Polyglot bible, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta*.[22] He began work on it in 1652, and it was printed in six volumes from 1654 to 1657, an edition of which was in the Mather library. Carrying on the tradition of sacred-source gathering, previously epitomized in works such as the sixteenth-century Complutensian Polyglot, Walton's update was one of the earliest works in England published by subscription; it was regarded as a signal that the English intellectual community had come into its own. Walton, who was at Oxford at a time when Oriental studies were flourishing, acquired a number of languages and put that knowledge to use in his new polyglot. Here, he marshaled different versions together for ease-of-reference. For someone like Mather who explored the original texts and comparative translations of Scripture, Walton provided at one's fingertips the Hebrew and Chaldee Paraphrase, the Vulgate and Septuagint, the Syriac and Arabic, even the Samaritan and the Persic versions, rendered in the original and in Latin.

John Pearson (1613–1686)

Like many of the English figures on whom Mather relied, Pearson was active during the Interregnum and Restoration periods. A steadfast apologist for the Church of England, his career suffered during the Civil War; he was deprived of his living and his work towards a doctorate was postponed till after 1660 because of the "late irregularities." In 1672, he was elevated to the bishopric of Chester.

Whatever challenges his early career and his declining bodily and mental health offered him, Pearson was a thorough scholar. His great contribution to biblical commentary was his *Critici Sacri* (1660), actually a gathering of commentary by five eminent interpreters: Sebastian Münster, Hugo Grotius, French Hebraist and theologian Franciscus Vatablus (d. 1547), Italian translator Isidorius Clarius (1495–1555), and Flemish divine Joannes Drusius (1550–1616).[23] Complementing Walton's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* for its collection of scripture texts in the original translations, Pearson's compilation of secondary literature was a great boon to scholars such as Mather who might not have had access to all of the individual commentaries.

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22 Peter N. Miller, "The 'Antiquarianization' of Biblical Scholarship and the London Polyglot Bible (1653–57)" (463–82).

23 *ODNB.*

Matthew Poole (1624–1679)

Conspicuous for its absence from Mather's long list of authors and works in this section of the "Biblia" is the name of a rough contemporary of Pearson's, and a rival chronicler of biblical commentary, Matthew Poole. An English Nonconformist, Poole had a rather unremarkable career as a sometime rector and preacher. But the great work that secured his fame, one of the most renowned commentaries of the early modern period, was his *Synopsis Criticorum Aliorumque S. Scripturae Interpretum*, published in five folio volumes in London from 1669 to 1676. The *Synopsis* was a digest of biblical commentary, bringing together the thoughts of some one hundred and fifty different figures from across a range of periods and traditions.[24]

In his lengthy entry on 1 Chron. 1:1, Mather writes, "I have, in composing this Collection, all along studiously avoided, ever to look into our *Polan*s [i.e., Poole's] Annotations; nor can I call to Mind, that I have above once look'd into them, for an Illustration; (except when we come to *Ezekiel*s Prophecies.)." Mather may have been a bit disingenuous in declaring his freedom from Poole, since entries throughout the "Biblia" have similarities to Poole's glosses, but this likeness may have been unavoidable since Poole and other writers ultimately referenced the same sources. Perhaps Mather avoided Poole, or at least claimed to avoid him, because his work was so widely cited, or because Poole was his major competitor in the English market, and Mather wished to set his work apart. Whatever the reason, Poole's opus forms a major counterpoint for Mather's project.

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These, then, were just a few of the figures in a network of theologians, exegetes, and philologists that Mather regularly referenced and that formed part of his intellectual world. But he also drew on certain writers for extended treatments of select topics, including the Jewish diaspora, the nature of prophecy, Solomon's Temple, and discrepancies among details in the Historical Books. Let us therefore turn to examine several of these writers.

Hermann Witsius (1636–1708)

This Dutch graduate of the universities of Groningen, Leiden, and Utrecht began his career as the pastor of several towns. He was then appointed professor of divinity at the University of Franeker in 1675 and at Utrecht five years later. He ended his career at the University of Leiden as the successor of Friedrich Spanheim the younger. Caught between two factions within Dutch Reformed theology lead by Gisbertus Voetius (1589–1676) and Johannes Cocceius (1603–

24 *ODNB.*

69), he tried to reconcile orthodoxy and federalism, or covenant theology, most famously in his book, *De Oeconomia Foederum Dei cum Hominibus* (1677).[25]

Mather listed "the excellent *Witsius*" among his "Correspondencies" in 1706.[26] In his "Biblia" entries on the Historical Books, he first makes the most extensive use of Witsius in his illustration on 1 Kings 12:33, reviewing the history of the Ten Tribes after they revolted "from the God of *Israel*, and from His Temple and Worship." Here he resorts to Witsius' *Aegyptiaca et Dekaphylon* (1683), which describes the end of the monarchy and the entry into captivity, referring to ancient accounts, such as that of Josephus, and to the recent scholarship of Bochart and Huet. And in the entry on 1 Chronicles 29:29, Mather embarks on a lengthy and detailed distinction of seers, discerners, and prophets, referring to "My Incomparable Witsius" and his work on the subject in the first volume of his *Miscellaneorum Sacrorum* (1692).

John Bunyan (1628–1688)

One of the most famous religious writers in the history of English literature, Bunyan was born of a poor family and as a young man volunteered for service in the New Model Army. His early life was, by his own admittance, profane and violent, but in 1649 an "inner voice" struck terror into him. His spiritual turmoil continued; he joined a Separatist church in 1655 and began public exhorting, and it was not until 1657 or 1658 that he experienced some spiritual assurance. He was jailed for preaching without ordination following the Restoration, a time that prompted him to write and publish both prose and poetry, including his autobiography. Released from prison in 1672, he became pastor of several independent congregations and inveighed against Baptists and latitudinarianism.[27]

Although Mather on occasion punctuates the "Biblia" with "evangelical" meditations, we do not find Bunyan's incredibly popular *Pilgrim's Progress* referenced, at least not in any illustrations that appear in this volume. The allegory of *Pilgrim's Progress* no doubt appealed to Mather, but it was Bunyan's pursuit of typology that was of more interest to him in the context of the "Biblia," where he brought to bear Bunyan's late work, *Solomon's Temple spiritualiz'd* (1688). In this extensive "digest" of the book exploring the typological meanings of nearly every known aspect of the Temple, Mather provides no less than seventy different pious implications for his reader.

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25 For a biography of Witsius, see the introduction by William Pringle to Witsius, *Sacred Dissertations on the Lord's Prayer* (1839); and for general studies, *see* Jan van Genderen, *Herman Witsius* (1953), and G.A. van den Brink, *Herman Witsius en het antinomianisme: met takst en vertaling van de Animadversiones Irenicae* (2008).

26 Mather, *Diary* 1:225, 249.

27 Richard L. Greaves, *Glimpses of glory: John Bunyan and English dissent* (2002); Michael A. Mullett, *John Bunyan in context* (1996); *John Bunyan and his England, 1628–88*, ed. Anne Laurence, W.R. Owens, and Stuart Sim (1990).

Samuel Lee (1625?–1691)

A student and fellow at Oxford, Lee did not conform to the Church of England, and so for part of his early life lived on his own estate, which provided him the leisure to study the latest scientific methods of Bacon, Boyle, and van Helmont. He obtained a license in 1666 to observe natural rarities in America and the Caribbean. Upon his return he went to London, where he became active in John Owen's congregation and published devotional and anti-Catholic works, and then in 1672 became a pastor of a Presbyterian congregation. He later served as associate pastor with Theophilus Gale in an Independent congregation in London. Then, Lee's life intersected with Mather's. Afraid of impending revolutions, Lee sailed for New England with his wife and daughters in 1686. He was received in Boston with accolades, preached on numerous occasions, and became pastor of a congregational church in Bristol, Rhode Island. Even more, Lee's daughter Lydia became Mather's third wife. In 1691, with the peaceful change in monarchs complete and the Protestant interest restored, Lee returned to England, but his ship was taken by French privateers and he died in captivity.[28]

References to works by Lee in this section of the "Biblia" appear in two places. For the first, Mather in his numerous entries on the building of the Temple paraphrases from and condenses Lee's *Orbis Miraculum, or, The Temple of Solomon*, a product of his early years at Oxford, a minute description of the Jewish temple, the nature of the priesthood, worship, and ceremonies, with a typological eye to Christian foreshadowings. Most significantly and broadly, however, is Mather's use of Lee in the lengthy entry on 2 Kings 17:41, considering the Jewish diaspora and their eventual return to Palestine. For this, Mather consulted the copy of *Israel Redux* (1677) in his library, two dissertations in one published by Lee, the first by Giles Fletcher, English ambassador to Russia, who argued that the Tartars near the Caspian Sea were descendants of the Ten Tribes. Lee's contribution brought forward scriptural evidence of the Jews' "future conversion, and establishment in their own land." However, the entry reflected Mather's early thought on the topic; he later renounced a literal conversion of the Jews in his *Triparadisus*, completed shortly before his death.[29]

William Whiston (1667–1752)

Among the youngest of the writers upon whom Mather chiefly relied, Whiston (who was Mather's junior by four years) was a renowned English theologian and natural philosopher. After serving as a fellow at Cambridge and a priest in the Church of England, Whiston secured, through his friend Isaac Newton's offices, a professorship in mathematics at Cambridge. Much like

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28 *ODNB*; Silverman, *Life and Times* (279–306).

29 *See* below, p. 51.

Newton, he divided his interests between astronomy, physics, and prophecy. Then in 1710 he embraced anti-trinitarianism, for which he was deprived of his position. Through the remainder of this life he came to espouse more and more heterodox positions, such as Unitarianism and the non-eternity of hell, and to investigate in great breadth the nature of prophecy and eschatology, even predicting the return of the Jews to Palestine by the 1760s. All told, he had more than 120 publications. Mather was corresponding with Whiston in 1711, but quickly soured on the Arianism of Whiston's subsequent publications.[30]

Whiston plays a role in several of Mather's illustrations on the Historical Books. Why, as 1 Kings 12:33 relates, did Jeroboam change the date of the feast of tabernacles? For his answer, Mather turned to Whiston's *A short View of the Chronology of the Old Testament* (1702). To help achieve an accurate calculation of the number of Israelites during David's reign, as mentioned in 1 Chron. 21:5, Mather opened Whiston's Newtonian *New Theory of the Earth* (1696). But the most sustained use of Whiston comes in the illustration on 1 Chron. 1:1, on "apparent *Inconsistencies*, in the Historical Books of the Old Testament written after the Captivity, with several Things in the Books written before." Here, Mather utilized *An Essay towards restoring the true Text of the Old Testament* (1722), part of Whiston's efforts to achieve more exact interpretations of the sacred texts.

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30 Mather, *Diary* 2:106. For a general study, *see* James E. Force, *William Whiston, Honest Newtonian* (1985).

Section 2

Prominent Themes in the "Biblia" on Joshua-Chronicles

Mather addresses a cornucopia of issues and questions in the course of his entries here. Rather than attempt to describe them all, the following overview treats salient subjects that emerge either because Mather dealt with them in a number of places, or in lengthy entries, or, in some cases, both. This sampler is meant to provide the reader a basis from which to explore these and other topics, large and small, in Mather's expansive thoughts on the Historical Books.

Idolatry in the Historical Books

If there is a theme that is central in Mather's exploration of Joshua through Chronicles, not only by virtue of the number of times he returns to it, but by its relevance to scholarly, polemical, and apologetic concerns, it is idols and idolatry. Certainly, the frequency with which false gods, idolatrous worship, and related occult and magical practices appear in the Historical Books made the topic virtually unavoidable. Perhaps the single most prominent lesson to be derived from the historical accounts could be said to be the respective fates of those who follow Yahweh or other gods. Even so, Mather delved into this topic with marked frequency and depth. In this regard, he was riding the wave of seventeenth-century scholarship. Frank Manuel, for example, has noted the

> vast literature, primarily English and Dutch, on the idolatrous practices mentioned in the Bible. With the aid of rabbinic sources a valiant effort was made to identify, describe, and catalogue the abominable rituals which were merely mentioned in the Hebrew text. The same passion for collecting which lay behind the gathering of botanical specimens and culminated in Linnaeus possessed the scholars who grouped the rituals and "superstitious" practices of universal paganism.[31]

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31 Manuel, *Eighteenth Confronts the Gods* 8. Some of the figures Manuel refers to include John Selden (*De Diis Syris Syntagmata* [London, 1617]); John Spencer (*De Legibus Hebraeorum Ritualibus* [Cambridge, 1685]), Gerhard Vossius (*De theologia gentili, et physiologia Christiana* [Amsterdam, 1641]); Pierre Jurieu (*Critical History of the Doctrines and Worships (both good and evil) of the church from Adam to Our Saviour Jesus Christ* [London, 1705]); Hermann Witsius (*Ægyptiaca et Dekaphylon,* [Amsterdam, 1683]); and Pierre-Daniel Huet (*Demonstratio evan-*

If this plays into the popular image of Mather as consumed with dark forces, it also locates him squarely within the early Enlightenment as well as Pietistic efforts to identify practical meanings for Christians individually and collectively.

Even a quick reading of the books of Joshua through Chronicles reveals the ease with which the Hebrews and Israelites could dilute or abandon the worship of the true God, often adopting the deities and practices of surrounding peoples. (Parenthetically, more recent scholarship has posited that many of the deities and magical practices utilized by the Hebrews and Israelites were actually cultural continuities from Egypt and elsewhere, or the religion of the "strangers" who accompanied the Hebrews out of Egypt, which were challenged and eventually overcome by the Yahwehists.[32] In other words, the Historical Books, as so many other histories, were written by the "winners.")[33] Mather discusses the origin and nature of false gods, the worship of them, their priests, and related topics, as part of the cyclical, inverse relationships between the rise, decline, and re-establishment of the worship of the one true God and the many false gods. He writes no less than fifty entries that deal with the topic either in whole or in part. Distinct idols considered by Mather included Ashtaroth, Baal, Baal-berith, Chemosh, Dagon, Beelzebub, and Nisroch; related entries treat images set up by Jeroboam, Omri, the Assyrians, Maacha, and Manasseh. In addition, Mather repeatedly notes the propensity of the ancient Hebrews in general to idolatry.

The Historical Books are full of the lesson that false religion, in whatever form, will be punished. The Canaanites were doomed to destruction by Joshua and the Hebrews because they went "a whoring after idols" (Josh. 1:18). Mather objected that Jael was described unjustly by some commentators as "no better than a trapanning sort of an Hussy," because her dispatching of the slumbering Sisera by driving a spike through his head was "a Peece of Justice on him, as an horrible Idolater" (Judg. 4:19). And the Philistines were cursed of Jehovah for their continued worship of other gods, despite the many correctives they had received at the hands of the Hebrews and Israelites (1 Sam. 6:5).

However, so long as Israel worshipped Jehovah according to the law and covenant, and maintained Jerusalem as the high place, they prospered. The reign of David, and most of the reign of Solomon, were prime examples of this lesson. David did not allow any "strangers," that is, heathens, to reside in the land, and his closely heeding the divine commands (in comparison to Saul) was

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gelica ad serenissimum delphinum [Paris, 1679]). All of these writers were significant to Mather's endeavor; quotes and excerpts from their works stud the "Biblia."

32 *See*, for example, Elizabeth LaRocca-Pitts, *"Of Wood and Stone": The Significance of Israelite cultic Items in the Bible and its early Interpreters*, Harvard Semitic Monographs, no. 61, ed. Peter Machinist (2001).

33 *See*, for example, Jan Assmann, *Moses the Egyptian: The Memory of Egypt in Western Monotheism* (1997).

one reason he was favored of Jehovah (2 Chron. 2:17). Solomon after him married Pharaoh's daughter, but she was, Mather deduced, a proselyte to the true religion – and as such a type of the gentile church – and so never was a "snare" to him to take up false worship (2 Chron. 1:1). It was only later, with his huge assortment of wives and concubines, that he became careless. Certain later kings, such as Asa, Hezekiah, and Josiah of Judah, were righteous and therefore blessed. Hezekiah's son Manasseh, for Mather, provided the most explicit example of the effect of reformation from this evil. As a young prince he was easily drawn into idol worship by the "great men" who did not sympathize with the reforms of his father. Eventually he became a most wicked king, was taken captive to Babylon, repented, and then allowed to return to Jerusalem, where "he abolished the Idolatrous Profanations, both of the Temple, & throughout the Land, which he had formerly established, & Restored all things according to the Reformation of his Father *Hezekiah*; and all *Judah* with him conformed unto the True Worship of GOD all the rest of his Days." To clinch his argument, Mather pointed out that Manasseh "continued in Prosperity after this, to the End of his Reign; which extended unto full Fifty-five Years," the longest reign of any king in Israel (entry on 2 Chron. 33:1).

After Solomon, the stories of Israel and Judah were ones of increasing darkness and degradation, penetrated only here and there by some light. When the leaders and people fell into following false gods and superstitious practices, they, like their neighbors, became the objects of divine wrath. Judges 18:30 relates that Jonathan, the grandson of Moses, first set up public idolatry in the tribe of Dan; for that reason, Mather notes, that tribe was "not named, in the Revelation, among the *Sealed of the Lord*." The nation divided into the ten tribes of Israel and the two of Judah because of false worship established by Jeroboam – at least according to Mather (the real reason, Jewish and Christian biblical scholars tell us, seems to have had something to do with oppressive taxation and forced labor requirements).[34] According to 1 Kings 16:19, Zimri ruled only seven days, in punishment for continuing in Jeroboam's idolatry. Omri, as Mather describes in his entry on 1 Kings 16:25, did "worse than all that were before him": "He Introduced the Idolatries, which his Son *Ahab* afterwards established. Or, He compelled the People to worship the *Calves*, & by severe Lawes restrained them from going up to *Jerusalem,*" the place where Israelites had hitherto been required to go. Ahab, one of the most wicked of the kings, scoffed at the prophet Elijah for not being punished for his idolatry, whereupon, for failing to keep his mouth shut, Elijah pronounced the judgment: no rain for three and a half years. Finally, on the plague visited on Jehoram (2 Chron. 21:14), who multiplied high

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34 *I Kings: A New English Translation*, ed. Rosenberg (1980), 135–36; P. Kyle McCarter, Jr., "1 Kings," in *Harper's Bible Commentary* (1988), 310, 315.

places and caused Judah to commit ritual fornication, Mather, relying on German Protestant divine Victorinus Strigelius (1527–69), writes,

> There was no Calamity to be thought of, which did not befal this Wicked Prince. His Kingdome was destroy'd by the fiercest Nations; His Treasures ransacked; His Wives carried into Captivity; His Children butchered; And he Himself labouring under a sore Disease for Two Years together; Finally, Dying without the Honour of a Royal Sepulture. All these Calamities were threatned, in the Writing sent him in the Name of *Elijah*.
>
> The *People* suffer in this *Great Plague*, because their Base Fear made them comply with him in his Idolatry. He was also punished in the Loss of them.

Ultimately, idolatry, superstition, magical arts, human additions to and corruptions of ordained worship, and the failings attending them – unbelief and disregard for God's law and for the temple at Jerusalem – caused the downfall of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah, and resulted in their Babylonian Captivity.

"Remembrances in Pagan Antiquitie"

Following the lead of a troop of seventeenth-century scholars such as Simon Patrick and John Selden – among the most cited authors in this run of entries – Mather collects a number of instances in which biblical figures and events are to be found in "Pagan Antiquitie," that is, in myths and histories of the Greeks, Romans, and other cultures.[35] Mather was not alone in asserting that all such "gentile" or heathen accounts were only derived from, and corrupt variants of, the Hebrew account, which, for him, was "the antientist history." These parallels were the result of dilutions and corruptions of the original revelation of true religion given to Adam at the beginning of time, a concept known as the *prisca theologia*. Theophilus Gale, exemplifying this approach in his massive *Court of the Gentiles* (1672), confirmed that "the greatest part of *Human Literature* owes its original to the *sacred Scriptures*, and *Jewish Church*."[36]

Alongside increasing interest in etymology and narrative details in the original Hebrew, scholars such as Frank Manuel, Peter Gay, Jan Assmann, and others have noted the interest in paganism – classicism, Egyptology, and "world religions," ancient and contemporary – that arose in the seventeenth and blossomed in the eighteenth century. And they have linked the trend in pagan studies to the rise of Romanticism in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth

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35 Patrick, *Commentary upon the Historical Books of the Old Testament*, 2 vols. (3rd corr. ed., 1727); Selden, *De Diis Syris Syntagmata*. Mather's entries on idols and idolatries relied much more on Selden than Patrick. Others in this group used by Mather include Samuel Bochart, *Hierozoicon* (London, 1663) and *Geographia Sacra* (Caen, 1646); Athanasius Kircher, *Oedipus Aegyptiacus* (1652–54); and Vossius, *De Theologia Gentili* (1641).

36 Gale, *Court of the Gentiles* (1:8).

century, making Mather's contribution to later notions of the "noble savage" and primitive versus modern minds possible topics of contemplation. Also, the early Enlightenment saw the development of social sciences, such as anthropology, as scholarly disciplines. Mather drew on these pursuits for the "Biblia," grouping together false religion, idol and image use and worship, and pagan and occult practices.[37] He leavened his own exploration of these phenomena with the work of orthodox apologists such as the Cambridge Platonists, who battled materialist thought by latching onto accounts of occult activity as proof of the existence of the supernatural world.[38] Too, Eric Midelfort, in his work on witchcraft and the occult in early modern Germany specifically, and in Europe generally, has pointed out that seventeenth-century writers commonly joined sorcery, witchcraft, and idolatry in all its forms as chief among the challenges to true religion.[39]

One of the challenges offered to the authority of the Bible by emerging text-critical, anthropological, and even archaeological approaches was the store of competing historical narratives written by gentile authors. Were the accounts of Homer or Herodotus, for example, to be accorded similar authority, or perhaps even more authority, than Scripture? For Mather and other euhemerists, the solution was to turn the question on its head: historians and poets from other cultures merely copied and adapted the Jewish originals. Along with the historical parts of the Pentateuch, especially Genesis and Exodus, Mather in his view of the books from Joshua to Esther agreed with the renowned English commentator Matthew Henry, who wrote of the Hebrews' history that it is "*far more Ancient than was ever pretended to come from any other Hand*."[40] So Mather, in his entry on 1 Samuel 6:18, dubbed the Old Testament the "ancientest history," which, he and his contemporaries agreed, was the basis for all other histories and myths of the period. Mather therefore frames similarities between Scripture accounts and those given in mythology and gentile history as "remembrances in Pagan antiquitie."

Certain figures in Jewish history are given different identities, and certain events, as Mather put it, are "*metamorphosed*." In fact, the very first entry on the book of Joshua asks of the titular author if there is no "Remembrance of him in *Pagan* Antiquity?" Yes, Mather replies. In Greek mythology, he becomes both Apollo and Hercules. Further, the account in Josh. 10 of God raining down stones from heaven to defeat the Canaanites was retold and "mingled" with Grecian "Follies and Fables," so that Hercules became "the Manager of

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37 Manuel, *The Eighteenth Century Confronts the Gods*; Peter Gay, *The Enlightenment, An Interpretation* (1966); and *see* the bibliography in Francois Laplanche, "Tendances actuelles de la recherche: présentation générale des XVIe-XVIIe siècle" (11–35). On the *prisca theologia*, see below, p. 47, n. 76.

38 John Redwood, *Reason, Ridicule, and Religion* (1976), 151–53.

39 Midelfort, "Social History and Biblical Exegesis" (12–13).

40 Henry, *Commentary on the Whole Bible*, "The Preface," p. [3].

the Battel," which supposedly took place in a part of France near Marseille, to judge by the prodigious heap of stones there. The story of Joshua's kindness to the Gibeonites was carried by Cadmus, a Gibeonite himself, to Greece when he emigrated there, possibly in the company of other Hebrews. Mather, here as elsewhere, employs contemporary accounts, etymology, geography, and parallel Scripture texts to back up his arguments.

Details about Samson's life and exploits, Mather argues, also are found in classical mythology. For example, Nesus, king of the Magarenses, who was a contemporary of Samson, "had an excellent Head of *Hair*" that he was never to cut if he wanted to be prosperous. But he was betrayed by his daughter, who shaved his head while he was asleep, and handed him to his enemies. For Mather, this was an obvious re-telling of the story of Samson and Delilah. So Samson's feast-time riddles to the befuddled Philistines (Judg. 14:25) found their imitation in the Gryphus among the Greeks and in the customs of the Roman Saturnalia. Also, Samson, indignant that the Philistines were able to obtain the answer to his riddle, collected and tied together pairs of foxes, lighting their tails afire, and setting them loose in the Philistines' fields. This incident, so it was claimed, became the inspiration for Ovid's Carseolean fox.

Mather also dwells on several events in Elijah's life for their "pagan" parallels. When in 1 Kings 18:27 the prophet mocks the priests of Baal for the impotency of their god, he taunts them that Baal may be doing one of four things: talking, pursuing, traveling, or sleeping. These four things are also assigned to Saturn, "the *God* of Time." And Elijah's famous competition with the priests of Baal ends by their being consumed by fire from heaven at the command of Elijah, an event commemorated in "*Pagan History*" by Herodotus.

Finally, Mather seeks to show how the story of the overthrow of Sennacherib (2 Chron. 32:21) is "disguised among the Pagans." Mather devotes two entries to how the bowstrings of the Assyrian army were eaten in the night before the battle by mice. The first, again mentioning Herodotus, turns the mice into rats. In the second, certain features of the story, such as the name of the Ethiopian king, the number of men killed, and Sennacharib's successor are found, though altered, in Josephus, Strabo, and Ptolomy.[41]

Modern Idolatry and the Threat to True Religion

The latest forms of idolatry, as Mather enumerated them in other writings, were threefold: Catholic brands of idolatry as portrayed by Protestants, the false

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41 *See* also entries on Josh. 10:11 (on the sun standing still) and 11:22 (on Joshua's victories); on Judg 6:25 (on Gideon); on 1 Sam. 11:7 (on Saul hewing a yoke of oxen); 2 Sam. 11:14 (Uriah carrying letter to Joab); 2 Sam. 11:14 (Uriah carrying letter to Joab); and 1 Kings 2:37 (impotency of Shimei).

worship of reason amongst free-thinkers, and idolatry of the heart as practiced by Protestants themselves. Mather does not address all of these categories equally in his commentary on the Historical Books, but they do provide a helpful framework for understanding how he may have wished his commentary to be applied.

The first, Catholic idolatry, can most readily be found in these "Biblia" entries. Anti-Catholic bias was still going strong within the English and Dutch reforming communities two centuries after the Reformation.[42] Protestants castigated Catholics for excising the first and second commandments from the Decalogue, for idolatrous worship of the Pope, the saints, images, and the eucharistic host – all, as Mather put it, with his love of word-play, "a Mass of *Idolatry*." In the "Biblia" entry on Judg. 6:25, he identified Baal-Berith and Baal-Meon as places where Baal was worshipped, and put them on a par with sites dedicated to "The Lady of *Loretto*, and, The Lady of *Walsingham*, among the popish Idolaters, of the *Latter Dayes*." Considering Samson's betrayal by Delilah as a type in Judg. 13, Mather pointedly declared that the "*Harlot*-Church of *Rome*, ha's betray'd our Lord Jesus Christ." And in the entry on 1 Kings 12:28, relating to Jeroboam's images of the two calves, Mather noted that false gods were given feminine genders, which led him to "Quære, How far this leads us to think on the Worship of a *Mary*, which the *Jeroboam* of *Rome* has introduced."

This form of spirituality, which Mather considered to be idolatry based on delusion and false teaching, was part of the Antichrist's efforts to corrupt true religion. This polemic had a millennial dimension to it, touching the cosmic struggle between the forces of true and false Christianity, in works such as William Perkins' *Warning against the Idolatrie of the last Times* (1601). Mather himself was a prime practitioner. The threat of a Romish captivity of the "true" church was still very real for contemporaries of Mather, who, we must remember, composed the great part of the "Biblia" during the War of the Grand Alliance and the War of the Spanish Succession, which pitted England against its Catholic rivals France and Spain. For his part, Mather called "*Rome*" the "*Idolatrous Babylon*" of the Apocalypse. In the *Magnalia* (bk. VII, pp. 9–11) he devoted three pages to the story of "one in *some* Authority" in early Massachusetts who defiantly cut the cross of St. George out of the ensign because it was a "Popish *Idol,"* an incident Nathaniel Hawthorne would later make into a short story.[43]

Other seventeenth-century English authors, such as Henry Ainsworth (1571–1622) and Henry Hammond (1605–60), addressed the need to eschew forms of idolatry and superstition as a means of further church reform in the time of Civil War and the Interregnum. Catholicism was described as containing countless continuities and accommodations of pagan traditions, a syncretism

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42 For the Reformation background, *see* Phyllis Mack Crew, *Calvinist Preaching and Iconoclasm in the Netherlands, 1544–1569* (1978); Carlos Eire, *War Against the Idols* (1986); and Lee Palmer Wandel, *Voracious Idols and Violent Hands* (1995).

43 Nathaniel Hawthorne, "Endicott and the Red Cross" (77–83).

that had to be eliminated, the accretions of centuries peeled back, to reveal the primitive purity of Christianity. One of the more colorful attempts in this vein was Ezekias Woodward's Interregnum diatribe against Christmas observance, a pamphlet that makes anyone trying to revise Puritan stereotypes in the popular imagination nearly abandon hope.[44] Beginning in the very title, Woodward portrayed the holiday as "*the superstitious mans idol day, The multitudes idle day, Whereon, because they cannot do nothing: they do worse then nothing*." The Restoration period saw similar warnings and critiques from Edward Stillingfleet, Daniel Whitby, Charles Blount, and a long line of polemicists. Still others during this period, such as Mather's grandfather Richard and, later, his uncle Samuel in Dublin, turned the charge of "idolatry and superstition" against the Church of England's ceremonies and forms of worship.[45]

Yet another manifestation of this modern form of idolatry was the deification of reason. Reason, Mather allowed, was a noble and admirable faculty, but must not be exalted too high. In his sermon, *A Man of Reason* (1718), Mather cautions, "Vain Man, Do not imagine, That thy *Light within*, or the *Light* of *Reason*, is a *Sufficient Guide* without the *Scripture* … To make a *Christ*, and a *God* of that *Light*, it is a dangerous *Idolatry.*"[46] This was the sin of those who set reason above revelation, "When Men will Receive nothing that is *Reveal'd* from GOD, Except they can fathom it by *Reason*; When Men must Comprehend the *Mysteries* of *Revealed Religion*, or else they will *Reject the Counsel of GOD*. Such *Free-Thinkers*, are one Tribe of *Idolaters*. The Men that Write, *Christianity not Misterious*, have set up an *Idol*, that proves a *Stumbling-block of Iniquity* unto them." Mather's allusion to John Toland's *Christianity Not Mysterious* (1696), and to those who thought like him, clearly indicated that he placed them among modern idolaters.[47]

Beyond these polemics, Mather identified a practical, experiential application against a more subtle, nefarious brand of idolatry plaguing even the

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44 Woodward, *Christ-mas Day, the old Heathens feasting Day, in honour to Saturn their Idol-god. The Papists massing Day. The prophane Mans ranting Day. The superstitious Mans idol Day. The multitudes idle Day. Whereon, because They cannot do Nothing: They do worse then Nothing. Satans, that Adversaries working-day. The true Christian mans fasting-day. Taking to heart, the heathenish Customes, Popish Superstitions, ranting Fashions, fearful Provocations, horrible Abhominations committed against the Lord, and His Christ, on that Day, and Days following* (1656).

45 William Perkins, *A Warning against the Idolatrie of the last times* (1601); Henry Ainsworth, *An Arrow against Idolatrie* (1640); Henry Hammond, *Of Idolatry* (1646); Edward Stillingfleet, *A Discourse concerning the Idolatry practised in the Church of Rome* (1671); Daniel Whitby, *The Absurdity and Idolatry of Host-worship* (1679); Charles Blount, *Great is Diana of the Ephesians, or, The Original of Idolatry* (1680); Richard Mather, in *Magnalia,* bk. IV, 147–48; Samuel Mather, *A Testimony from the Scripture against Idolatry & Superstition* (1670).

46 Mather, *A Man of Reason* (1718), 16.

47 Mather, *Icono-clastes* (1717), 2, 3, 5, 10, 12, 14, 15, 18. On the controversy over Toland's book for his appropriation of Locke's epistemology, *see* John W. Yolten, *John Locke and the Way of Ideas* (1956), 188–26.

most "refined" churches, that is, the Protestant dissenting churches. Certainly radical groups, such as the Baptists and Quakers, were tarred by the orthodox with this form of idolatry – idolatry of water-baptism, or idolatry of the inner light.[48] But it also applied to more orthodox believers. In the entry on Josh. 1:1, for example, Mather draws a parallel between the Hebrews' descent into false worship in the wilderness and the interior life of his readers. "The Carriage of Israel in the Wilderness," he observes, "is a Glass, wherein we may see the Corruption of our own Hearts."

An incident from Mather's life serves as an illustration of this modern form of idolatry. In March 1716, a Boston artisan was hired by individuals at Cape Francois to carve a statue – in wood, presumably – of St. Michael. "Whether it be only an ornamental Business, or an Idol to be worshipped by the bruitish Papists," Mather wrote in his Diary, "I know not."[49] For their part, Bostonians assumed it was the latter. Mather himself had taken it upon himself to speak "a transient and pleasant Word" to the artisan's wife, who had "improved that Word, in their own Favour, and made a formal, a lying, Story out of it," so that Mather's name was being dragged through the mud (but what else was new?), "as if I had encouraged the making and sending of an Idol, for the Papists at Cape *Francois*, to make an Object of their Adoration."

The result, the following year, was the sermon *Icono-clastes* (1717), where Mather began, "The *Glorious Gospel of the Blessed GOD*, has rescued us from the *Grosser* sort of *Idolatry.* But then, there is a *Finer* sort of more *Spiritual Idolatry*, which we are all still in danger of: And the *Finer* it is, the Greater is our *Danger* of it." This "*Spiritual*," or "*Heart-Idolatry*," came from setting self above God. One component was "*Will-Worship*," in which "*Inventions* of Men" were brought into the "*parts* and *means* of *Worship.*" These human additions become idols in their own right. The solution was to heed the Scripture-warrant and to "Keep to the *Primitive Worship*." Inherent in these warnings was the danger that truly Reformed churches could acquire Catholic-like layers of superstition and human fancy.[50] But Mather's Diary makes it clear that in this sermon he moved beyond anti-Catholic animosity and into a pietistic mode. "Under these Dispositions," he wrote, "the best Thing I could think of, was to publish a little Treatise on *Idolatry*, that may serve all the Interests of practical Piety."[51]

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48 Joseph Fuce, *The Fall of a great visible Idol* (1659); Joshua Miller, *Antichrist in Man the Quaker's Idol* (1655).

49 Mather, *Diary* 2:441, 445.

50 On "spiritual idolatry," *see*, for example, Henry More, *An Appendix to the late Antidote against Idolatry* (1673), pp. 53–58.

51 Mather, *Diary* 2:446.

False Worship and the Demonic

An aspect of false worship to which Mather devoted much room in the "Biblia" was its perversion, its unnaturalness. He explicitly connects idolatry with child sacrifice, prostitution, orgies, bestiality, incest, and other unclean and licentious behavior. Practitioners of idolatry are brutes, beasts, slaves to their lusts. In the entry on Judg. 6:25, Mather continues his discussion of Baal-peor, "a Monster … An Idol, that *shewed all* that *Adam* covered with Fig-leaves. The Ancients, as *Jerom*, and *Isidore*, make him to be the same, with the Beastly *Priapus*";[52] and, Mather adds, some commentators think that the worship of this particular manifestation of Baal included eating the "sacrifices of the dead," or *inferiae*, offering sacrifices to "gastly ghosts." So, too, the groves of idols mentioned in the Scriptures were haunted by the "manes," or spirits, of heroes. Judges 11:24 mentions Chemosh, "The Abomination of Moab," which was "held in *Coparceny* [equal sharing of an inheritance], as here we see betwixt the *Moabites* and the *Ammonites*. Thus as *Moab* and *Ammon*, once parted the Incestuous Extraction, from the same Grandfather, so now they mett again at the Idolatrous Adoration of the same God." The name *Chemosh* denoted "unnatural Cruelty, like that of *Saturn* in devouring his Children." So when David conquered the Ammonites, he ordered that they be burnt in lime-kilns, "the very Place where the Idolaters had sacrificed their Children unto *Moloch*" (entry on 2 Sam. 12:30).

There was a gendered dimension at work here for Mather that bears exploring: the Israelites' associations with foreign women, either through marriage or illicit relations, were a major factor in their various falls into heathenism. In the entry on Judg. 18:7, Mather contends that idolatry was introduced among the Hebrews by an Ephraimite woman. Also, the people were further drawn into worship of Baal-peor through intimacies with Midianite women. Jerome, Selden, and the seventeenth-century French Protestant theologian Pierre Jurieu helped Mather to characterize Chemosh, as mentioned in 1 Kings 11:33, as "That filthy *Idol*, whereto *Fornication* was the *consecration*." Mather laments, "That *Solomon* should erect an Altar unto this Idol, on the Mount of *Olives*! *Horrendum*!" However, the Israelites were tame in comparison to how women were employed in the religious rituals of other cultures. Mather, in his comments on 2 Kings 17, devoted five entries in a row to the Assyrian deities. At the temple of "the Babylonian *Mylitta*, or *Venus Urania* … the young Women satt there apart in several *Tents*, where any Stranger, that had paid his Devotions to Madam *Mylitta*, pulling what String he pleased, was accommodated with a Wench at the End of it, ready to be prostituted unto his Libidinous Inclinations. All

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52 Priapus was the Greek god of fertility who was often portrayed as an ugly little man with an enormous phallus.

Women, it seemeth, once in their Life, exposed themselves unto Conversation with a Stranger, though some waited a pretty while, before they had the Luck of it. Both *Herodotus* and *Strabo*, gives the more ample Story of this Diabolical Business."

The very images of these infernal powers themselves denoted uncleanness, filth, and degradation. The Philistines' gift of images of "emrods" and mice in 1 Sam. 6, to which Mather devotes four entries, was to divert the plagues with which Jehovah afflicted them, when mice ate up their corn, and emrods, or emerods – hemorrhoids, tumors, or boils – afflicted their "bottom parts" (and I leave it to the reader's imagination what these images may have looked like). These objects were properly talismans, and Mather attributes real, though infernal, power to such images, as well as to human agents such as conjurors, wizards, and astrologers, whether biblical or post-biblical. In this entry, for instance, he includes a story from Gregory of Tours who told of a bridge in Paris beneath which images of serpents and dormice had been found; when the images were removed, the area was infested with those very vermin. Getting back to unclean deities, Mather portrays Dagon as "part *Humane*, part *Marine*," that is, half woman, half fish. Assyrian gods included Ashima, a goat; and Nibchaz, a dog or an ass. And then there was Beelzebub, Lord of the Flies. Mather gave several substantial entries to the consideration of this rather disgusting Philistine deity. The name itself, Mather claimed, was actually a satirical Hebraic variation, referring to the flies that swarmed around Beelzebub's temple attracted by the meat sacrifices, in comparison to the temple of Jehovah, which reportedly never had any flies or insects despite the veritable rivers of blood that flowed from sacrificed animals.

These false gods, for Mather, were not cultural constructions or expressions of collective experience; they were nothing less than Satan and his servant demons. If Mather was like Pierre Bayle (1647–1706) in condemning paganism, he was more like the Swiss theologian and biblical scholar Jean LeClerc (1657–1736), perhaps, and indeed the early Church Fathers, in attributing demonic origins to virtually all aspects of non-Christian religions.[53] Satan, Mather maintains in the "Biblia," sought to mimic worship of the true God as a way of aggrandizing himself and of luring believers to him. So, for example, the name Baal-berith, or "Lord of the Covenant," was "fetched" from the God of Israel, just as Adonis came from Adonai, and "Federator" was one of the titles of Jupiter. In the entry on 1 Sam. 6:5, Mather declares that the Philistine astrologers saw that Moses had been directed to make the brazen serpent in the wilderness to relieve the Hebrews from "fiery Serpents"; and because, Mather added, using

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53 For Bayle's comments on paganism, *see* the many references in *An historical and critical Dictionary,* English transl., 4 vols. (1710). On Bayle generally, *see* Manuel, *Eighteenth Century Confronts the Gods* (35). On LeClerc and Mather, *see* Smolinski, "Authority and Interpretation" (186–91).

Luther's phrase, "the Divel will bee Gods *Ape*, that became the Original, as I suppose, of all the *Telesmatical* Practices, afterwards used in the World." Because Mather was convinced that superstitious and occult practices – even seemingly innocent ones such as hanging up a horseshoe or a glass globe to ward off evil spirits – had demonic origins, he, like his father before him, was of the group that W. R. Ward characterizes as "trying to get the magic out of Christianity."[54]

The example of Saul's descent into madness and witchcraft is for Mather a morality tale. For Saul's sins, the Lord allowed him to be troubled by an evil spirit, throwing him into "many Frantick and Furious Disorders" (entry on 1 Sam. 16:14). He later consulted the sorceress of Endor, who conjured what appeared to be the ghost of Samuel (entries on 1 Sam. 28:14 and 25). Mather reviews the long debate among commentators about whether the apparition was Samuel's spirit or not. For his part, Mather asserts, agreeing with his father, that "the Souls of Holy Men departed, are not under the Power of *Divels*; much Less, of *Magicians*." His conclusion: "*we are to look upon this famous Relation of the Witch of Endor, as an undeniable Proof of Witches transacting with evil Spirits*" (entry on 1 Sam. 28:14). Such practices are the stuff of false worship; Saul's fate was deserved.[55]

All of the portrayals of worship of the false gods, and the rites accompanying them, including child sacrifice, prostitution, and lewd activity, paralleled pictures of devil worship and satanic rituals as popularly imagined at the time. So for example, Ashtaroth, as Mather writes in his entry on Judg. 2:13, drawing again largely on Selden, was also known as Minerva, Juno, Venus, and especially Astarte. This deity was represented as both male and female, and, Mather adds, "being in reality a *Devil*, 'tis no wonder the Scriptures observe not a difference of sexes for it." Baal-peor, of Judg. 6:25, was a demon as well. And in one of his entries on Beelzebub (2 Kings 1:2), Mather joins a number of these themes, relating that the power of this "Prince of Darkness" was imported from Scandinavia, where conjurors used "*Magical Darts*," or "Gans," to revenge themselves on their enemies. These gans were a sort of demon-fly, like those supposedly employed by Native American shamans:

> Tis a little *Divel*, of which the *Finlanders* that excel most in this Art, keep great Numbers in a *Leathern Bag*, and they dispatch daily some of them abroad; and if

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54 Ward, *Early Evangelicalism: A Global Intellectual History, 1670–1789* (2006), 19. Mather's simultaneous acknowledgement and distrust of magical and talismanic powers, along with other mystical pursuits, complicates Ward's identification of the main characteristics of Pietism as anti-confessionalism, mysticism, apocalypticism, theosophy, and cabbalism. *See* also Richard Lovelace, *The American Pietism of Cotton Mather* (1976).

55 For opposing views on whether Mather changed his views on issues involving the invisible world, including familiar spirits, witches, and demonic activity, *see* Michael P. Winship, *Seers of God* (1996), 129–132, 33; and Paul Wise, "Cotton Mather and the Invisible World" (227–57, esp. 234–38).

> they destroy no Men, they Rove about, until they meet with something, that they find capable of inflicting Destruction upon.
>
> It is well known, That in my own Countrey of *New England*, the *Indian Powawes* will form a Peece of Leather, like an Arrowes Head, and then to Tye an Hair to it; & over these to employ certain Magical Ceremonies; whereupon a *Dæmon* presently snatches them away, & conveyes them into the Bodies of Persons to be Afflicted. And as the *Laplanders* do send their *Gans* or *Flies* to destroy People, so a *Dæmon* will pretend unto our *Powawes*, to bring a Portion of the Spirit of a Person closely Imprisoned in a *Flye*; and as they deal with the *Flye*, so it fares with the *Body* of the Person they Design to Afflict.

Though it is difficult to ascertain, Mather was apparently describing Native American "medicine bundles," which actually were collections of objects carried in a pouch that served as mnemonic devices for preserving tribal and personal memories.[56] For Mather, however, these were less innocent: "Consider, my Reader," he concluded, "whether these Northern {*Gans*}, flew as far as {*Judæa*}." He could have added, "as far as New England."

Biblical Characters as Types

As counterpoints to the examples provided by idolaters and followers of the demonic, Mather presents a panoply of holy figures as typological beacons, pointing the way forward in sacred history to believers of all times and places. Typology, the discipline of reading New Testament truths, particularly about Christ, in Old Testament figures and events, was, as the entries below amply attest, a favorite exercise for Mather. With its rich assortment of historical characters, the books of Joshua through Chronicles provided a wide range of choices for opening prefigurations or adumbrations of things relating to the Messiah and his kingdom.[57] For some of these entries, Mather relies in part on the work of his uncle Samuel Mather (1626–71), *Figures or Types of the Old Testament* (Dublin, 1683); for others, he is drawing partly on a long tradition of typology but also on his own fertile imagination. Indeed, the entries that treat types, taken as a whole, are among those with the least references to other writers. In addition, it is when Mather is considering the typological or spiritual valences of figures and events that he tends to adopt his most pastoral, pietistic, or "evangelical" tone.

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56 On medicine bundles, *see* Arrell Morgan Gibson, *The American Indian: Prehistory to the Present* (1980).

57 The literature on early American typology is vast; for several key studies, *see* Ursula Brumm, *American Thought and Religious Typology* (1970); Sacvan Bercovitch, *Typology and Early American Literature* (1972); Bercovitch, *Puritan Origins of the American Self* (1975); and Mason I. Lowance, Jr., *The Language of Canaan* (1980).

In the course of these entries, Mather presents at least a dozen characters for their typological significance. His first occasion, however, deals not with an individual but with "The Condition of *Israel*, Marching thro' the Wilderness, passing thro' *Jordan*, & entring into *Canaan*," in the entry on Josh. 1:1b. Mather sees "*Evangelical Mysteries* in each of these Dispensations." The difficulties the people of Israel faced going through the desert typify the "many Troubles, Difficulties, Temptations in the Way to Heaven." The death of so many in the wilderness "exhibits" the perishing of many "under but Præparative & Initial Works of God upon them." Joshua's leading the people through the wilderness, passing through the Jordan River to the Promised Land, represents Christ's leading believers to their "Eternal Rest." "The Thing here adumbrated unto us, is obvious," Mather concludes. "*Canaan* a Type of Heaven; and *Joshua*, of our *Jesus*."

If Joshua appears only at the tail end of this entry as a type, the entry on Josh. 24:33, on the death of Joshua, provides Mather with an opportunity for an extended consideration of how he was a type of Christ. Before he begins, Mather cannot resist tucking in a few points about Aaron, but then proceeds by noting that "Joshua" in the New Testament is rendered "Jesus," meaning "Savior," a propitious parallel. Joshua was a leader, a forerunner, a captain, a destroyer, a miracle worker, a merciful judge – all attributes of Christ in his life on earth, his spiritual leadership, his defeat of his enemies, and his eternal mercy.

Other judges of Israel render typological truths for Mather. Gideon (Judg. 8:28) appears as a type of Christ. Angels appeared to both him and to Christ to strengthen them in their battles, Gideon with earthly foes, Christ with supernatural ones. Gideon threw down idols; so Christ by his death "gave a dismal Blow to the *Altars* of *Idol-Worship*; the *Oracles* then, many of them *Ceased*." Conquest over Midian was attained by Gideon, wielding a "*Loaf* of *Bread*," which typifies the loaf of bread in the Lord's Supper that, paradoxically, becomes a spiritual sword. Gideon and "his little Army" used trumpets, torches, and earthen pitchers to confound the enemy, which Mather compares to the Word of the Lord, which is like the sound of trumpets, and works like flaming light, but is conveyed by "earthen pitchers" of clay, that is, ministers. The men of Succoth and Penuel who refused to aid Gideon's army were "scourged" to death with briars and thorns, which symbolizes how Christ will at the day of judgment scourge ungodly men with "*Fires* and *Hells*."

Mather considers Jephthah at length elsewhere because of the patriarch's vow to sacrifice his daughter, but in the entry on Judges 11:1 Jephthah, curiously, provides types of Christ. Both were rejected by men, both punish those who abuse them. And even the controversial vow and act that Jephthah performed, in which he "presented a Daughter consecrated unto the Lord," has a parallel in Christ presenting his daughter, the church, to God as "a *chast Virgin*; tho' not used as *Jephtah*s Daughter was."

Samson, Mather affirms in his entry on Judges 13:1, is an "Illustrious *Type*" of Christ. Both were born in a time when Israel "did evil in the sight of the Lord" and was dominated by their enemies, the Philistines in Samson's time, the Romans in Jesus'. Their births both had aspects of the miraculous about them, Samson's mother being barren, Jesus' a virgin, and both mothers-to-be visited by an angel. "What *Sampson* was in Point of *Cæremony*," Mather continues, "that *Jesus* was in Point of *Sanctitie*; A *Nazarite of the Lord*," because both were devoted to the Lord and had extraordinary gifts from an early age. Samson's choice of a Philistine wife can be likened to Christ's taking gentiles into his church. Samson spoke in riddles; Jesus in parables. Samson and Jesus were both betrayed. And Mather identifies no less than eight "analogies" between the deaths of Samson and Christ.

Ruth is the only female in these books for whom Mather has a typological gloss. He cites Prosper of Aquitaine, who called Ruth "a Type of the *Gentile*-Church." A Moabitess, she "applied" to the "Church of Israel," which took her in. Extending her significance to New Testament times, Mather sees in the apostles a "*Second Edition*" of the church of Israel that received the "Church of the *Gentiles*," latter-day Ruths.

Mather dispenses just as quickly with Samuel. Like Samson, his mother was barren. But Samuel was also a priest and prophet, a "Figure of our Lord, who is all *That*, & more than all *That*, unto the Church of God." Though favored by and faithful to both God and men, both Samuel and Jesus were cast off by their people.

David has traditionally provided the most fuel to exegetes as a type of Christ, and Mather's treatment is no exception. As David was anointed three times, so Christ has a threefold office: prophet, priest, and king. The name of David is used interchangeably with the Messiah in Scripture on numerous occasions. Most significantly, "The Story of *David* is more fully and largely described, than any other Persons, in all the *Old Testament*. And the Story of *Jesus*, is that whereof the *New Testament* chiefly consisteth" (entry on 1 Sam. 16:23). David was beloved of God, was a shepherd over against Christ the "Great Shepard" of souls, and slew a giant – just as Christ will defeat the Devil. But if David was a type by virtue of his righteousness, he was also a type in his "Miscarriages," which Mather explores in the entry on 2 Sam. 11:17, in which David's sin stands for nothing less than the fall of "that *Reason*, which God has placed in Mankind, for our Government."

Samson as well as David both slew lions, but Mather, following an ancient precedent going back to Jerome, singles out Benajah, in 2 Sam. 23:20, for the honor of being a type of Christ in killing a lion in the midst of a pit. In his action, Benajah, whose name means "son of God," prefigured Christ descending into hell and defeating the Devil.

In his entry on 2 Kings 2:25, Mather considers the prophets Elijah and Elisha together. Elijah not only resembled John the Baptist in living in the wilderness and wearing primitive attire, he also typified John the Baptist, and Elisha, Christ. Elijah commissioned Elisha, just as Christ commissioned his disciples. And Elijah's miracles "were gloriously *Repeted*, yea, and *Exceeded*, in the Miracles of the Lord Jesus Christ," twelve of each being recorded in Scripture.

Mather saves the longest typological reflection for his last subject in this section, Solomon, in his entry on 2 Chron. 1:1. Solomon was a son of David, a "preacher in Jerusalem," a peacemaker, and wise; Jesus was all those things, but "infinitely exceeded" him. Solomon married a gentile, even as Christ takes gentiles into his church, his mystical bride. Mather ends by giving several ways in which the throne of Solomon "admirably represents" the throne of Christ.

Mather considered such connections so many "keys" to understanding the multivalent meanings of the sacred texts. For example, in considering predictions of the Messiah where the word "horn" is used in the Psalms, he wrote, "Behold, what a Key I have given you, not only for some of the *Psalms*, but also for many Passages of the Divine Oracles" (entry on 1 Chron. 25:5). The many typological resonances he detects in historical figures, too, were so many ways of unlocking the mysteries of the Bible.

* * * * *

Thus far, we have dealt with a few of the themes that Mather treats and the methods he employs in a fairly consistent manner throughout his entries on Joshua through Chronicles. The concluding part of this section looks at the topics he pursues in single, lengthy entries or in consecutive strings of entries.

Courses of the Sun

Joshua 10 tells of Joshua's victory over the five kings of the Amorites. In order to further punish the enemy, Joshua asks God to lengthen the day by stopping the sun and moon in their courses. God grants his request, insuring the Amorites's near annihilation. This unusual intervention of God in the workings of the solar system, claimed by many to be a miracle, had long been debated. For his part, as Reiner Smolinski aptly describes it, Mather was in a "philosophical torment" as he strained to reconcile the Bible and science in a time when the rending of the two was beginning to manifest itself.[58]

The scriptural account of this incident related first to the larger issue of the heliocentric view of the solar system. Copernicus's theory had long been accepted among the learned and was part of college curriculae in the late

58 *BA* 1:108–11; Smolinski, "Way to Heaven" (324–27).

seventeenth century, but it was still controversial to many, both learned and lay. Samuel Sewall recorded in his Diary for Dec. 23, 1714, that Mather in his sermon for that day "spake of the Sun being in the centre of our System. I think it inconvenient to assert such Problems."[59] Sewall's hesitation shows the persistence of a Ptolemaic (or even a biblical) conception of the heavens.

The account also raised questions about the nature of biblical interpretation. Were the words of Scripture to be taken literally, or could they be reconciled to the theories of Copernicus, Galileo, and Newton? For those espousing a literalist hermeneutic, allowing that God might speak metaphorically or accommodate himself to the understanding of the vulgar in one instance implied that all of Scripture could be read in the same way. As historian Jonathan Israel points out, the debate raged in these very terms in the Netherlands, among other places, during the latter half of the seventeenth century, rending the orthodox community.[60]

Thirdly, questions of scriptural verity brought in their wake criticisms of accounts of miracles, which were viewed as irrational: against the nature and ways of a reasonable God, a violation of the natural order. Mather found himself in the position of wanting to defend and uphold tradition while presenting himself as an advocate of the newest learning. Smolinski dubs this Mather's "ambidextrous approach, one that looks forward and backward but one that can never again admit of pure miracles without substantial qualification."[61]

These arguments, therefore, made themselves felt, and keenly so, even at the peripheries of the British colonial world, and perhaps nowhere so keenly as in the mind of Cotton Mather. He wrote no less than eight entries on Joshua 10:12–14, presenting different sides of the miraculous suspension without coming down firmly in favor of a specific one, except of course to assert that the historical narratives are based in fact and that they convey divine truths. Certainly Mather had no truck with Hugo Grotius' offering that this was no miracle but rather "a poetic turn of phrase" for the longest day of summer. Indeed, Mather cites English divine Stephen Nye (1648–1719), who too points out that Joshua, when he commanded the sun and moon to stand still, was reciting the words of a poem by Jasher (which Mather describes in his entry on v. 13).

But Mather responds, with Ezechiel Spanheim (1629–1710), "That what the Poets only fancied might be, was really done in the Day of *Joshua*." He defends the verity of the Scripture account with science and philology. In the entry on v. 12, he refers to the "Received Opinion, that the *Sun* is the Center of the *System*, and that the *Earth* moves about the *Sun.*" So why in the text should the sun be bidden to halt rather than the earth? Mather allows that the language

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59 Sewall, *Diary* 2:779; *see* Mather, *Pascentius* (1714).
60 Jonathan Israel, *Radical Enlightenment* (26–27).
61 Smolinski, "Way to Heaven" (324).

of the Bible reflects the time in which it was written. If it had not been, but had been written to include all modern scientific knowledge, the peoples of former times would have not been able to comprehend it at all. Paraphrasing Robert Jenkin (1656–1727), an English divine and Cambridge professor of divinity, Mather writes,

> The Scriptures were not written with a Design to teach us Natural Philosophy, but to shew us the way how to Live and Dy well. They might therefore use popular Forms of Speech, neither affirming nor denying the philosophical Truth of them; only intending them in that Meaning, which was the sole Design in using of them. To have rectified the Vulgar Conceptions of Men, concerning all the *Phænomena*, which upon Occasion are mentioned in the Scriptures, would have required a large System of Philosophy, & have rendred the Scriptures a Book unfit for Common Capacities. And the New Theory of Nature, would have seemed as incredible to most Men, as Miracles themselves.[62]

Even more, Mather argues that the wording of the text implies the motion of the earth. First, the word for "sun" is metaphorical. And Joshua commanded not just the sun but the moon to stand still, which would not happen if the earth did not stop as well. Like other theologians of his time (and ours), in which knowledge of the natural order and of original languages were rendering biblical exegesis more and more complex, and threatening to sever the Word from reality, Mather was facing the challenge by taking into account the very latest historical, linguistic, and scientific findings, with the assurance that they could be used to support divine revelation.

Another sun-related incident, as told in 2 Kings 20 (and Is. 38:4–9), occurred during the reign of King Hezekiah, who, the scripture tells us, was "sick unto death," apparently with boils. The prophet Isaiah comes to him and tells him to set his affairs in order, for he is going to die. But Hezekiah prays to God to extend his life, and God agrees to grant him another fifteen years. Hezekiah recovers and asks what sign God will give to confirm his promise. God, through Isaiah, gives him a choice: the sun can go forward or backward ten degrees, as measured by the dial of Ahaz, that is, a sundial procured by a previous king. Hezekiah ponders this and decides that "It is a light thing for the shadow to go down ten degrees" (2 Kings 20:10), so he chooses ten degrees backward. Isaiah cries to God, and the dial goes back; in Ptolemaic terms, the sun retrogrades, in Copernican terms, the earth stops or reverses turning on its axis.

Mather explores this event, in which the luminary itself provides a fitting parallel to the turning back of time on Hezekiah's life, in six entries. He links the standing still of the sun and moon in Joshua's time with its retrogression in Hezekiah's in his last entry on Josh. 10:13, where he indulges in a bit of numerology. The earlier incident in the valley of Ajalon took place, by the reckoning of

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62 Robert Jenkin, *The reasonableness and certainty of the Christian Religion* (1708), 2:211.

Mather's contemporaries, in the 2,555th year of the world, which is 365 times a factor of seven, or "*Seven Weeks of Years* from the Creation." At Hezekiah's time, the sun was 3,295 years old, or nine times 365: "So that, when the Sun had entred Ten Years, of the Tenth Period of 365, this Accident fell out, of its 10 Degrees, Retrogradation." Such chronological synchronicities, for Mather, pointed to the spiritual lessons God wished to teach about the providential guidance of history.

The second entry on 2 Kings 20:9 asks, "Had the Pagans any Traditions and Remembrances, of the *Sun*s going back *Ten Degrees*, in the Dayes of *Hezekiah*?" Mather cites Dionysius and Maximus the Scholiast's account that the Persians had a rite in the worship of Mithras that commemorated "the Treble Mithras." Nonetheless, Mather insists, this instance in 2 Kings 20 is one of the earliest recorded mentions of a sundial, dating from the 8th c. BCE, though, he allows, other civilizations are known to have had sundials around this time.

In the third entry on v. 9, Mather enlists Jacque Basnage (1653–1723), a French Protestant pastor and historian, to provide more detailed information on the dial. The ancient Greeks and Romans used the shadows cast by their own bodies to measure time. "But," Mather avers, giving right of place to the Jews and their sacred writings as cultural originators wherever possible, "whatever were the Antiquity of *Hours* and of *Dials* among the *Greeks*, the *Jewes* enjoy'd that Advantage long before."

King Ahaz had first brought a sundial into Judea, which he had set up in the court of the Temple. It divided the day into twelve "hours." Mather's second gloss on v. 11 describes the objection by Rabbi Elias Chomer, to the effect that it was semicircular, "in whose Hollow, there was a *Globe*, whereupon the Shadow of that *Semicircle* falling answered unto Knotches, Cutts or Holes made in the *Semicircle*, to the Number of *Twenty Eight*." Mather speculates that the lines on the surface were not necessarily equidistant, to allow for longer and shorter hours in summer and winter. The distance between each degree line, therefore, represented less than an hour, so that the shadow "might go *Ten Degrees* backward, without prolonging the *Day* above an Hour or Two, at the farthest."[63] In his third and last entry on v. 11, Mather addresses the "Space of Time" represented by the ten degrees, referring to the theory of English orientalist John Gregory (1607–46) that the degrees were equatorial, so that "the Retrocession of the *Shadow*, was much more visible, than that of the *Sun*," amounting to about two thirds of an hour.

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63 Cf. Matthew Henry, *Exposition of the historical Books* (on 2 Kings 20:10): "The Degrees are suppos'd to be half hours," so the proposal was that "the Sun would go back to it place at seven in the morning."

Natural History

Complementing his interest in "Pagan Antiquitie," Mather in the "Biblia" displays an interest in the flora and fauna of the ancient Near East and of other regions, as well as human cultures and, as we have seen in his treatment of idols and idolatry, sometimes in a comparative sense. The discipline of anthropology was only just developing during Mather's lifetime, pioneered by such figures as Montaigne, Hobbes, Descartes, Locke, Leibniz, and Vico, engendered by colonial encounters of Europeans with new peoples and environments.[64] While what Mather was doing in some entries in the "Biblia" was still called "natural history," the types of information he was gathering partook of or anticipated to some extent a cultural anthropological approach.

In his entry on Judges 3:23, Mather comments, with a touch of bemusement, on the proliferation and specialization of scholarly work dealing with aspects of Hebrew culture and customs. "Learned Men," he writes, "have with no small Ostentation of their Learning, treated on very *Minute* Subjects, which yett they have thought had this to recommend them, That they were *Ancient* Ones. One has with much Erudition written on the *Shoes* of the Ancients; Another on the *Shoe*-buckles. One, on the Rings of the Ancients; Another on their Ear-rings. Yea, several particular Habits have had Books employ'd upon them; and their *Gloves* particularly."[65] He then gives some details about locks and keys, dismissing claims that the Greeks first invented them and asserting, true to his claim that the Bible is the "ancientist" history, that they originated among the Hebrews.

Mather also dwells on Hebrew clothing, both sacred and secular. Gideon's "ephod," or "vest," is the subject of the entry on Judges 8:24, while Samuel's ephod and his "little Coat" are differentiated in the entries on 1 Sam. 2:18 and 19. The entry on 2 Kings 2:25 treats Elijah's "melota," his mantle, or hood, made of sheepskin, worn by "*Primitive Mortifiers* in *Egypt*," which later evolved into "the *Hoods* worn by Graduates, in the Schools." In a further entry on 1 Sam. 2:19, Mather gives an extended consideration of the "*Habits*" worn by the Hebrews, looking in turn at hats, shirts, coats, cloaks, buskins or leg coverings, sandals and shoes among men, and multicolored "vestments" and "Trinketts" among women. However, to describe these female ornaments, Mather concedes, "would be as difficult, as to explain the Garments used in *England* Five Hundred

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64 On the development of anthropology, *see*, for instance, Talal Asad, ed., *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter* (1973); and Peter Pels and Oscar Salemink, eds., *Colonial Subjects: Essays on the Practical History of Anthropology* (2000).

65 These include, on clothing, *Id est Vestitus Sacerdotum Hebraeorum* (1680) by Johannes Braunius (1628–1708), Dutch pastor and professor at Groningen; and on shoes, *Calceis Hebraeorum* (1682) by Anthony Bynaeus (1654–98), Dutch Reformed biblical scholar.

Years ago; such as, *Steblots, Palt-cocks, Haketers, Tabards, Court-Pies, Chevesailes,* and *Gipsers*."

The four-page entry on Ruth 4:17 that explores "The Business of the Marriage between *Boaz* and *Ruth*" is a study in culture as well as law. At issue was perpetuating the name of a man who died childless, in which case the man's younger brother was obliged to marry his widow. The first male child born would then be considered the deceased man's offspring. Otherwise, according to Levitical law, it was strictly forbidden for a man to marry his brother's wife, because it was considered incestuous. In the case of Boaz's wedding to Ruth, the estate of Elimilek, the father of Ruth's deceased husband, had passed to his widow Naomi, who in turn passed it to her daughter-in-law Ruth. Ruth "challenged" Boaz as her husband-to-be, and he accepted, though only after giving a nearer kinsman first refusal. Other cultures also observed similar customs, but the "*Leviratic* Matrimony" ceased among the Israelites at the division of the two kingdoms. This practice had to do not only with perpetuating a name but also an inheritance, especially in the case of primogeniture and the passing of estates to male heirs and within families, a matter of as much concern in seventeenth-century England as in ancient Israel.[66]

"That Noble and Vexed Quaestion": Jephthah's Vow

Judges 11 tells the troubling story of Jephthah, one of the judges of Israel. Born out of wedlock, Jephthah is "thrust out" of his father Gilead's house when the father marries and his wife bears him legitimate children. But when the Ammonites invade, the elders of Gilead beg Jephthah to come back and help them in the struggle, agreeing to make him their "head and captain." Jephthah first engages in negotiation with the king of the Ammonites, who explains that they are seeking to take back the land that Joshua had taken from them. In response, Jephthah sends a long message stating that the Ammonites had instigated the conflict in the time of Joshua, that the Lord had given Israel the victory, and that Ammon should accept it. Not surprisingly, the Ammonite king is not persuaded, and Jephthah goes out to meet the invaders.

At this point, in order to guarantee success, Jephthah makes, as the King James Version describes it, "a rash vow." He promises to God that, if he is victorious, upon his return he will give up as a burnt offering the first thing that comes forth from his house to greet him. The Israelites do indeed win the battle, but Jephthah is horrified when he sees that he is met by his daughter, his only child.

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66 On heredity and descent, *see* John Selden, *De Successionibus ad Leges Ebraeorum* (1638); John Spencer, *De legibus Hebraeorum*; and Matthew Hale, *De Successionibus apud Anglos, or, A treatise of hereditary Descents shewing the Rise, Progress and successive Alterations thereof: and also the Laws of Descent as they are now in Use* (1699).

The distraught father rents his clothes and tells his daughter what he promised to God; she accepts her fate, asking only for a reprieve of two months so that she may mourn with her friends. Her time of wandering and "bewailing her virginity" over, her father, the scripture starkly concludes, "did with her according to his vow which he had vowed."

Human sacrifice was clearly a disturbing practice to explain away, whether for Jewish or Christian commentators. Mather has three entries on the incident. The first, on Judges 11:38, takes up a recurrent theme in the "Biblia," namely, parallels in "Pagan Antiquitie" to biblical figures and events. Mather's interests are not in the areas of comparative literature or anthropology for their own sakes; rather, he is intent on showing how classical mythology is derived from, or imitates, the biblical narrative. For his part, Mather likens Jephthah to Agamemnon, and Jephthah's daughter to Iphigenia, as they appear in the work of Greek poets such as Euripides and Aeschylus. The story of Jephthah's sacrifice, Mather asserts along with contemporaries, was spread by Phoenicians emigrating to Greece and taken up by their historians. Thus human sacrifice, at the instigation of the Devil, could become "Commendable and Fashionable," in a mistaken and corrupted imitation of Jephthah's example. Mather does not comment here on the incident's moral dimensions, contenting himself with asserting, "which way soever you take it; still the sacred Story, was the *Original*."

A second, brief entry discusses the annual remembrance of Jephthah's daughter. Judges 11:39–40 states, "and she knew no man. And it was a custom in Israel, that the daughters of Israel went yearly to lament the daughter of Jephthah the Gileadite four days in a year." Picking up on the emphasis on her virginity, Mather offers through the words of Dutch orientalist Ludovicus de Dieu (1590–1642) an alternative scenario: she was not slain, but "devoted unto *perpetual Virginity*." Her heroism in accepting her fate, which secured God's blessing on the nation, made her a source not of lamentation but of annual praise. Having presented this possibility, Mather nonetheless concludes the entry by having his reader consider how "Notions and Practices" in earlier periods of human history were very different from the present, citing the example of Saul, who was ready to sacrifice his own son.

In a third and final entry on Jephthah's vow, on Judges 11:40, Mather returns to "That Noble and Vexed Quæstion." Here, he makes extensive use of John Owen's *Diatriba de Justitia Divina* (1653), in which Owen spends an entire chapter on "the horrid Practice, which many of the Nations took up, to seek the Appeasing of the *Divine Justice*, with *Humane Sacrifices.*" Condensing Owen's materials, Mather engages in a grisly review of human sacrifice in ancient Greek and Roman as well as recent German, Norman, Danish and other cultures, in which captives were (and are) often burned alive.

Mather, with the help of Owen, having shown the frequency with which human sacrifice was practiced, provides "Three celebrated *Anthropothysies* in the

sacred Oracles." The near sacrifice of Isaac by Abraham was probably, Mather conjectures, the occasion that gave gentiles the impetus to imitate the practice. The example of Jephthah, "now before us," illustrates two sorts of "devoted things." First were those things that were not allowed to be sacrificed, and so had to be redeemed by a price set by the priests. Then there were the *Cherem*, things set apart from common use for sacrifice and for which no redemption could be set. It was this second sort of devotion to which Jephthah unthinkingly committed his daughter. Under this stricture, as stated in Lev. 27:29, Mather must allow as "Incontestable" that even a "Rational Creature" could be made a *Cherem*. Jephthah, therefore, had no choice but to follow the law of God and give her up. Mather seeks to soften the cruelty of the act by suggesting that while Jephthah's daughter was surely slain, her body was not cut up and burned on the altar.

Mather brings another author, French Protestant theologian Ludovicus Capellus (1585–1658), into the conversation about Jephthah's vow to refute the notion that the judge's daughter was sentenced to perpetual virginity; such a fate, while severe, would not have elicited such an "Extremity of Sorrow and Horrour as was discovered on this Occasion." Rather, she was indeed made a *Cherem*, not to be redeemed. How could such a law have been introduced in Israel? God had instituted the concept to deal with divorces, not because He approved of divorce, but because He knew the human heart. For Mather, this teaches the terrible responsibility parents have towards children and masters for their servants. By the same token, children and servants are taught not to provoke their elders. Thus the fate of Jephthah and his daughter is a lesson for the Christian family, the "little commonwealth." But typology is also at work here. The sacrifice of an innocent cannot but bring to the mind of Christian believers the sacrifice of Christ, who was "made a Curse," a *Cherem*, for sinners. "*Jephtah* after some sort bought a Deliverance for his People," Mather concludes, "and the lovely Creature that became the *Sacrifice* for it, Entertains with Joy, with a Joyful Triumph, the Honour of purchasing this Deliverance, tho' it were by being made a *Sacrifice*."

The last instance in the Old Testament of human sacrifice is the case of "the Distressed King of *Moab*, sacrificing either his own Son, or the {son of the} King of *Edonis*, on the Wall of his Besieged City." Mather ends the entry on Judges 11 with a reference to his illustration on 2 Kings 3:27, which relates this incident. Mather writes two entries on the episode, the first rather brief, the second nearly as lengthy as the third on Jephthah's vow. For the first, Mather draws on early sixteenth-century German Lutheran commentator Sebastian Münster, who argues that the king of Moab did not sacrifice his own son but rather the son of the king of Edom, who was besieging the city. Either the king of Moab had his enemy's son in captivity for some time – which prompted Edom to war – or Moab made a "Salley" in order to capture the king, catching the son instead.

The "Biblia" was a work in progress, which means that entries can reflect Mather's evolving thought. This entry is a case in point, for after a passage of some time, he returned to it and at the end wrote, *Non placet*, "It pleases not." He decided to frame a fuller consideration of "*Humane Victims* offered in the former Ages." To do so, he enlisted the aid of Church of England rector John Smith's *Christian Religion's Appeal* (1675), alluding to the fact that it was the "eldest son" that was sacrificed – for Mather, a clear reference to Christ. Heathen prophecies and teachings echoed the doctrine that a Savior would come, give up his "Supercælestial Place" and become "*miserable*, & *contemptible."* But the origin of this teaching, as found in Hebrew prophecy (most notably Gen. 3:15, the *Protoevangelium)*, was perverted by other cultures. Consequently, "This Doctrine the World wrote in the *Blood* of their *Sacrifices*," bestial as well as human. This custom of sacrifice, Mather concludes,

> was a Corruption of the *Primitive Tradition*. *Bestial Sacrifices* were first *Instituted*, but found *Inavaileable*. God had given a Promise, That the *Seed of the Woman* should come, to be *Sacrificed*. The World corrupted this *Tradition*; but confessed, that *Humane Blood* was more effectual than *Bestial*, to atone the Justice of Heaven.

The Temple

The Age of Exploration of the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries provided much fresh information to the world of scriptural commentary. Publication of travel accounts, along with improvements in cartographic science and map-printing, enabled more exact depictions and reconstructions of the Holy Land, of Jerusalem, and of important sites such as Solomon's Temple, which is described at great length in the books of Kings and Chronicles. Maps of the Holy Land appeared beginning in the late fifteenth century in sources such as the *Nuremberg Chronicle* (1493), followed by the work of Christian van Adrichem (1533–85), Juan Bautista Villalpando (1552–1608), and Thomas Fuller (1608–61). Recreations in graphic form of Solomon's Temple and details relating to it appeared in a variety of venues, such as the illustrated Bibles of Benedictus Arias Montanus and the King James Version of 1660.[67]

Mather employs his interest in travel literature, geography, and maps to good advantage in these entries. He cites not only the twelfth-century Jewish traveler Benjamin of Tudela's *Itineraries* but also accounts by seventeenth-century contemporaries such as Pietro della Vallé (1586–1652), Jean de Thévenot (1633–67), Jean Chardin (1643–1713), and Cornelis de Bruyn (1652–1727).[68]

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67 Montanus, *Sacra Templi Exemplum*, in *Biblia Sacra, Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, & Latine* (1572). For an illustration of the Temple from this work, *see* p. 417.

68 Christian Van Adrichem, *Jerusalem et Suburbia Eius, Sicut Tempore Christi Floruit*, in *Jerusalem … Et Suburbanorum … Brevis Descriptio* (1584); Juan Bautista Villalpando, *Vera*

Mather uses these descriptions to understand details of ancient life, and to pinpoint the locations of habitations and topographical features mentioned in Scripture. In a string of entries on 1 Kings 9 (vv. 18, 26, and 28), he describes the location and features of Solomon's city of Tadmor or Palmyra, as well as of Ezion-geber and Ophir. The entry on 1 Sam. 1:19 situates the town of Ramah, or Arimathea as it is called in the New Testament. And in his entry on Josh. 13:15, at which point in the biblical narrative the Hebrews are entering the "Promised Land," Mather gives a "Chorægraphy" of Canaan. After filling nearly a folio leaf with tightly written lines, Mather confesses that, rather than giving "a more particular Landscape of that famous Countrey, I found my *Shortest* and *Surest* way, was to sett before you a MAP of it," and so tips in a copy of Nicolas Visscher the Elder's *Terra Sancta,* "MAP of the Holy Land," the first of about half a dozen instances in the entire "Biblia" in which Mather employs a visual aid.[69]

Mather's purpose in these strategies was not merely to display impressive amounts of arcane knowledge, but to show the accuracy of biblical accounts, shore up the foundations of the Christian faith, and aid the piety of the reader. He quotes Jerome approvingly: *Sanctam Scripturam lucidius intuebitur, qui Judæam Oculis contemplatus sit* ("The holy Scriptures will look so much brighter to those whose eyes have beheld Judea"). Of course, very few if any of his readers would have actually seen Judea in person, but, through the "Biblia," Mather wanted to give his readers the next best thing, and thereby settle questions they may have had and affirm them in their faith.

The same motives, fueled by an insatiable curiosity about and love for the minutiae of the Bible, compel Mather's explorations of the building and business of the Temple. It had been the heart's desire of King David to build a temple to the Lord in Jerusalem but, because he had shed blood, he was forbidden by God, and the task, the privilege, was to belong to his son Solomon, the most magnificent of Israel's monarchs. So David laid up a huge sum to finance the structure. In Mather's comments on 1 Chron. 22:14 and 29:2, he enumerates David's contribution in gold, silver, and other treasure to building the temple. Entries on 1 Kings 10 tally the prodigious riches of Solomon, whose empire was large and whose commercial network even larger, such that "revenues" from tributary kingdoms such as Ophir and Tarshish (discussed in the entry on 2 Chron. 22:37) contributed great annual sums to Solomon's treasury. In his calculations, Mather even converts ancient monetary values into pounds sterling, so that his readers can fully appreciate the great wealth represented.

Hierosolymae Veteris Imago a Ioanne Baptista Villalpando, in *Explanationes in Ezechielis et Apparatus Urbis ac Templi Hierosolymitani* (1604); and Thomas Fuller, *Pisgah-Sight of Palestine* (1650). *See* also Barbara Krieger, "Seventeenth-Century English Travelers to Palestine" (43–58).

69 Nicolas Visscher the Elder, *Terra Sancta Sive Promissionis, olim Palestina* (1659). For a reproduction of Visscher's map, see below, p. 124.

With these sorts of resources, the Temple was correspondingly grand. Thus, the series of illustrations on 1 Kings 5–8 deal almost exclusively with aspects of the temple, its construction, the architecture, the furniture and decorations. The people who served there are also objects of Mather's attention; the entry on 1 Kings 8:66 is a three-page discursus on "the Order and Method of the *Ordinary Service* performed every day in the *Temple*," showing the different duties of the priests, the prayers and the sacrifices they made.

Without question, though, the most ambitious article on the Temple is that on 1 Kings 6:38. Where the majority of the entries on the Temple consist of quite technical explications of specific features, here, in six folio pages containing over six thousand words, Mather provides no less than seventy "*Evangelical Illustrations*" suggested by the Temple. This is, as Mather mentions towards the end, a "Digest" of John Bunyan's *Solomon's Temple Spiritualiz'd* (1688). Devotional manuals that "spiritualized" temporal affairs, even seemingly mundane ones, were popular in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Mather was a practitioner himself, in works such as *Agricola*, but the most famous writer in this vein was probably English Presbyterian clergyman John Flavel (1627–91), who "spiritualized" both navigation and husbandry in separate tracts.[70] Mather's extended treatment of typological, christocentric, and pietistic resonances in the "Circumstances" of the Temple is an index of his own devotional proclivities as well as an important indicator of the spiritual meanings to which he believed all of the many aspects of the Temple tended.

Seers, Prophets, Discerners

The last extended entry in Mather's comments on this cluster of books, canonically speaking, deals with the subjects of revelation and divination, or the nature of prophecy. At least three different varieties of prophets are named in 1 Chron. 29:29: *Roeh*, the Seer; *Nabi*, the Prophet; and *Choseh*, the Discerner. Mather turned to the first volume of Herman Witsius' *Miscellaneorum Sacrorum* (1692) in composing an essay of nearly nine thousand words in nine manuscript pages that delineated the marks of a prophet and the nature of divine communication with human subjects.

Prophecy, involving revelations or intimations from divine sources, was a form of devotion that ran in the Mather family. The very name of prophet, Mather wrote, connoted a person who converses with God, as a friend or fellow, mostly through the medium of prayer. His father Increase had prophesied publicly, and had foreseen several events, such as the coming of King Philip's War,

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70 Mather, *Agricola* (1727); John Flavel, *Navigation Spiritualized* (1677) and *Husbandry Spiritualized* (1669).

a smallpox epidemic, and the fire that would destroy his house and church.[71] Cotton himself actively sought communication with the divine, indirectly through answered prayer, or more dramatically, through angelic visitation.[72] The prophetic tradition and the reality of divine revelations, therefore, were not topics of mere scholarly interest to Mather, but of vital and intimate personal experience.

Dutch theologian Johannes Cocceius (1603–69) defined the Seer as one "who had the *Voice* of God speaking His Mind unto him with something of a Vision accompanying it"; the Prophet as "one who publickly declared the Mind of God unto others"; and the Discerner as "one who had any Revelations of the Divine Will, whether in the Way of Ordinary Contemplation, or Extraordinary Inspiration." Mather is not so much intent on distinguishing these three types; rather, he embarks on a consideration of prophecy in general that brings together all of these characteristics.

Conversation with God consists not only in prayer but in music, the recitation and singing of sacred songs.[73] David's Psalms were a part of this tradition, and in gentile cultures, oracles were sung or chanted. The hymn tradition, too, grew out of the prophetic. Elsewhere, in several entries on the Song of Hannah in 1 Samuel 2, Mather provides what he calls "a Key" to Hannah's words as a prophecy of the Christ, in fact the first mention of the Messiah in Scripture, and bears comparison with Mary's Magnificat (Luke 1:46–55). The other vehicle was the spoken word. Prophets were to "*Speak* the Things of God unto others, and Carry the Divine Messages."

What truly sets apart the prophet from others is his or her special knowledge. The prophet is "*One endued with a Knowledge of Secret Things, to which Knowledge no mortal could arrive, without a Special Revelation from the Spirit of God*." This knowledge is derived in different ways. Sometimes, revelation is immediate, other times mediate.

Immediate revelation can come, first of all, via a voice from heaven, the *bath-kol*, which Mather mentions in the entry on 1 Sam. 12:5, regarding the response to Samuel. Other times, prophetic knowledge is communicated by "ecstacy," or when the mind is seized or obsessed by the Spirit, resulting in a disruption of the usual relation of soul and body – an "out of body experience," in modern parlance. Mather cites the example of Paul, who in an ecstasy heard words, paradoxically yet distinguishingly, "not lawful for a man to utter" – reducing him to a prophet who could not prophesy, but must keep the awful knowledge to himself. (After his first angelic visitation and pronouncement,

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71 Silverman, *Life and Times*, 19–20, 61–62; Michael G. Hall, *The Last American Puritan: The Life of Increase Mather, 1639–1723* (1988).

72 On angelic visitation, *see* Silverman, *Life and Times*, 127–30.

73 *See* David P. McKay, "Cotton Mather's Unpublished Singing Sermon" (410–22); Christopher N. Phillips, "Cotton Mather Brings Isaac Watts's Hymns to America" (203–21).

Mather, writing of the incident and again emulating Paul, records the incident in Latin to prevent misuse of it by the uninstructed.)[74] Another immediate means of revelation is dreams, which can occur in natural sleep or in sleep induced by God.

Revelation also can come mediately, through other beings or through processes. Angels, God's messengers, are in Scripture an important source of divine messages. Angels, as portrayed in the Bible and in Puritan culture, were powerful, terrifying beings; they wielded flaming swords and sharp sickles. When they did not bring death and destruction, they bore disturbing messages. After an encounter with an angel, so the Bible relates, Jacob was left crippled, and Zacharias, the father of John the Baptist, was struck dumb. So one only sought an encounter with such a being with the greatest fear. As Mather writes on Judges 6:2, "It was the Opinion of Good Men in those Dayes, That if they saw apparently an Inhabitant of the Other World, he came to call them away from this." This is why, in carrying out their missions, angels often had to begin their embassy to an individual with the words, "Fear not." Human learning could likewise convey divine knowledge. In particular, "*Schools of the Prophets*" were nurseries for study, "speculation," searching into mysteries, sacred singing, and practicing charity. Mather seems not to have noticed how much he made these "Colledges" sound like monasteries!

By whatever mean or combination of means prophets were "prepared," once a divine message or mission came, their wills were not entirely their own. The urgency of the message impelled prophets, but their tongues would not be released until God was ready. Then, God would "open" the messenger's mouth by an "afflatus." Prophets did not utter their own minds, their own prejudices, but nothing less than the mind and will of God. Yet, the Holy Spirit had respect to the particular qualities and faculties of the prophets, which is why the writings of the prophets betray different styles.

In addition to spoken and written words, prophets used signs to convey the divine will. Isaiah, for example, was commanded by God to walk about naked. Although the term "naked" up through early modern times usually implied wearing only underclothes, this was scandalous enough. Whatever Isaiah's state of undress may have been, his doing this for three years was to betoken the coming captivity for the Egyptians and Ethiopians. Hosea's taking a harlot for his wife was to symbolize Israel's whoredom with false gods; as Mather translates Witsius, "it was all over a PARABLE." So, too, Ezekiel lying on his left side for more than a year was an "Emblem of the greater Troubles to come upon the People."

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74 Mather, *Diary* (1:86–87), dated 1684–85, though the date was actually September or October 1693; *see* David Levin, "When Did Cotton Mather See the Angel?" (271–75), and Kenneth Silverman, "Note on the Date of Cotton Mather's Visitation by an Angel" (82–86).

After an aside on the writings of the prophets, including a sharp riposte for those who would doubt that Moses wrote all but only a few short passages of the Pentateuch, Mather asks, How did prophets satisfy themselves that their revelations were from God? In other words, what convinced them that what they were "hearing" was not an invention of their imaginations or, worse yet, a satanic delusion? Mather gives his own conjecture that the prophet of Bethel, described in 1 Kings 13, was imposed upon by a demon disguised as an angel of light. Doubtless, Mather allows, it is hard for those who were not gifted to describe, but the prophets must have had certain intuitive evidences, a light "Irradiating" their minds. Related to this, how did prophets convince their hearers that they were sent by God? There were certain visible traits that distinguished them: their "usage," boldness, and daring; their holy, often ascetic, living; and the performance of miracles.

Mather's concerns become more understandable when viewed against the debates of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries over biblical certainty. Critics such as Thomas Hobbes, Baruch Spinoza and Jean LeClerc contended that reputed divine messages were unreliable, subjective, and untrustworthy, deeply threatening divines and believers, including Mather, to whom revelation, and not reason, was the highest form of knowledge. In this light, Mather's extensive and detailed discussion of prophesying amounts to an impassioned defense of the reality of divine communication and inspiration.[75]

Mather next extracts a "Catalogue of Prophets, with Remarks upon them," contenting himself here with Old Testament figures and reserving his comments on New Testament prophets for other places. Adam, the "Hebrew Masters" tell us, was originally possessed of "Heavenly Wisdome," and when, upon the Fall, he attempted to bring the book in which it was contained out of Eden, it was "Snatch'd from him." Only when he repented was this knowledge restored to him, knowledge that he passed to his posterity as part of the *prisca theologia*.[76] Other signal prophets include Enoch, who supposedly was the first to write with a pen and left a book of prophetic utterances behind. The most admirable prophet of the Old Testament, of course, was Moses, whose very death shadowed forth the new law in Christ. So, too, the Seventy Elders, who "saw the God of Israel"; and Agur, Leithiel, Uchal, mentioned in the book of Proverbs; and Isaiah's recorders, Uriah and Zechariah.

Mather ends with two codas, one on prophetesses, the other on the end of the spirit of prophecy. Earlier in the entry, Mather had raised the topic of women prophesying in church, noting Paul's contradictory statements on the issue. Witsius allows that women could prophesy by joining in the singing of

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75 On biblical skepticism, see *BA* 1:123–27.

76 On the *prisca theologia*, *see* Manuel, *Eighteenth Century Confronts the Gods*; Gerald R. McDermott, *Jonathan Edwards Confronts the Gods* (2000); and Harry Clark Maddux, "Euhemerism and Ancient Theology in Cotton Mather's 'Biblia Americana'" (337–59).

psalms during public worship; Mather makes no comment on this resolution, so we can only assume that he approved. As examples of prophetesses, Mather names only three: Miriam, the sister of Aaron; Deborah the judge; and Anna, a widow who lived in or near the temple.

Cessationism is the doctrine that the spirit of prophecy and other spiritual gifts ended with the closing of the canon of Scripture, which Mather condones. "But the Church of God," he writes, "now being furnished with so compleat a *Rule* of *Beleef* and *Practice*, as the Holy Scriptures, we must not wonder if those *Gifts* are not now granted, as they were in the former Ages." Although Mather warns we must not "betray too much Credulity" in believing some of the accounts of inspiration given by the early fathers, he does locate, with Witsius, the continuation of these gifts in the early Christian church, but only into the third or maybe fourth century CE.[77]

The Dispersion and Return of the Ten Tribes

The story of the Jews' return from the Babylonian Captivity is told in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah. But the remnant that returned was of the people of Judah; the descendants of the Ten Tribes of Israel remained scattered. Where they ended up was a question that Jewish and Christian commentators alike pondered. Some, such as English divines John Dury (1596–1680) and Thomas Thorowgood (c. 1600–69) and Jewish rabbi and scholar Manasseh ben Israel (1604–57), believed that descendants of the Ten Tribes fanned out across Tartar and Asia and eventually made their way to the New World, and that the natives encountered by Europeans in their exploration and colonization were actually Hebrew – a proposition that scholars down to American religious figures including Ezra Stiles (1727–95) and Jonathan Edwards Jr. (1745–1802) attempted to prove by showing similarities in native languages and customs to those of the ancient Hebrews.[78]

While Mather dismissed "The Lost Tribes" theory as "foolish," he, like many seventeenth- and eighteenth-century scholars, did demonstrate an acute curiosity in the fate of the Ten Tribes. New sources in geography, cultural studies, and even human population studies fueled these inquiries and the hope for more accurate results.[79] What was at stake here, at least in part, was the coming

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77 *See* Mather's discussion of the continuation of spiritual gifts in Appendix I to Revelation, "*Vates*, the Spirit of Prophecy."

78 Kristina Bross, *Dry Bones and Indian Sermons* (2004), 16, 29; Edmund S. Morgan, *The Gentle Puritan* (1962), 127; Jonathan Edwards Jr., *Observations on the Language of the Muhhekaneew Indians* (1788).

79 On Mather's rejection of the Lost Tribes Theory, *see* Smolinski, "Editor's Introduction," in *The Threefold Paradise* (23–29); and Jan Stievermann, "The Genealogy of Races and the Problem of Slavery in Cotton Mather's 'Biblia Americana'" (537–46). For a discussion of Mather's

of the millennium, since New Testament prophecy indicated that the Jews would return to their homeland before the return of the Messiah.

Mather's acquaintance with this vein of scholarship is on display in two lengthy entries, one on 1 Kings 12:33, the other on 2 Kings 17:41. 1 Kings 12 relates the history of the rebellion of Jeroboam against King Rehoboam, resulting in the splintering of the kingdom into ten tribes following Jeroboam, who became king of Israel, or the northern kingdom, and two, including Judah, remaining loyal to Rehoboam. In showing the "History" of the Ten Tribes after their "Revolt" from God, Mather draws extensively on Herman Witsius' *Aegyptiaca et Dekaphylon* (1683), in the end constructing an entry of ten manuscript pages containing over eight thousand words. Jeroboam's sins were that he did not commit his cause – which Witsius and Mather with him seem to allow was just – to God, but rather, in order not to appear subservient to Rehoboam, constructed alternative, unauthorized sites for the worship of Jehovah, instituted new worship practices – such as ordaining priests no longer strictly from among the Levites – and commissioned the fashioning of a graven image, namely, two calves.

Jeroboam's successors, and the people in general, Mather curtly states, "prospered accordingly." The succeeding kings of Israel had short reigns and met with violent deaths, and no less than 500,000 of the people were slaughtered. The Levites and many pious Jews from within the Ten Tribes defected to Judah, and the king of Judah took many cities from the new kingdom. Armies from other countries regularly overran the land, beginning with the Assyrians under Pul (who, Mather notes, was the king of Nineveh to whom Jonah preached), followed by the forces of Tiglath Pileser and Shalmaneser. It became tributary to other nations, caught in alliances and power struggles, and increasingly subject to the whims of other kings, until it was extinguished in the early seventh century BCE. "So the Kingdome," Mather wrote, "which had felt *Nineteen* Kings, and seen 235 Years, & Seven Months, & Seven Dayes came to an End." The kingdom of Judah lasted only a little longer, ending in the late sixth century BCE.

Where did they go when they were taken into captivity? Prophets said "beyond Damascus," "beyond Babylon," but what did that mean? First, not all of them were taken away from Palestine; some "mixed themselves in Marriages with the *Barbarians* that came to settle there," the offspring of whom became known as Samaritans. They followed the law of Moses, in fact quite diligently, but diverged from tradition in establishing their own place of worship. Later, the Samaritans were shunned by those Jews who did return. "An Israelite of pure Blood," Mather observes, "abhorred nothing so much as a *Samaritan*."

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use of geography and cultural studies, *see* below, pp. 23, 38; and on population growth, entry on 1 Chron. 21:5, p. 692.

The Assyrian king transplanted the conquered population in order to "tame" them. Thus the captives, according to Scripture, "were placed in *Halah*, and in *Habor*, by the River of *Gozan*, and in the Cities of the *Medes*" (v. 6). Hala, Mather asserts from Ptolomy, is in northern Assyria, and Habor lies between Media and Assyria. Gozan is towards the Caspian Sea, between two tributaries of the Cyrus River. In the ensuing decades and even centuries, some captives intermixed with indigenous and other peoples, but some remained faithful to "their ancient Religion"; just a few of the difficulties that the faithful endured are described in the book of Esther, in which Haman seeks the lives of practicing Jews because they would not obey the law nor practice the religion of King Ashasuerus. An unfortunate result of the captivity was that many forgot their ancestry – they "utterly Lost their *Genealogies*," Mather writes, "in the Ruines of the Temple" – and even their memory of which tribe they belonged to. Gentiles came to call them "Jews," which denoted both an ethnicity and a religion.

In the concluding section of this entry, Mather takes up Witsius's hope "that there will a Time come, when *All Israel* shall by Vertue of the *Covenant* which the Lord made with their Ancestors, come to the Faith of the *Messiah*; and be at the same Time restored unto the Enjoyment of their own Land, where the Church of *Israel* shall worship the Lord according to His Word, being delivered from the Tyranny of their Enemies." The promises and prophecies, which Mather accumulates here, say as much, though Jewish commentators and believers would of course dispute certain aspects of these looked-for fulfillments that Christian commentators and believers espouse.

Before we explore this entry further, we must pause to note, as with Mather's change of mind on 2 Kings 3:27 describing the King of Moab's sacrifice of his son (above, p. 561), that the "Biblia" as its author left it contains at least some interpretations that he abandoned. The entries on 1 Kings 12:33 and 2 Kings 17:41 are important examples, since they illustrate the early Mather's ecumenically minded millennialism.

If some prophecies were fulfilled in the mere survival of Jews in Palestine, that survival was sometimes very tenuous indeed, as during the times of the Maccabees, and did not partake of the glory that other prophecies foresaw. But Mather looks to the time when "*All Israel*, Shall return from their Dispersion, to the Knowledge and Service of God, in their own Land."[80] Giving a synopsis of his eschatology, he sees Israelites returning from the regions of the Middle East, northern Africa, and Europe during the days of the Messiah. Once re-established in their homeland, the Jews are to be in a kind of probationary period, not yet resuming their faith in God nor being under their own command. This cleansing period, Mather asserts, reflecting old Christian prejudices

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80 For an example of Increase Mather's views on the topic, which were formative for the young Cotton, *see The Mystery of Israel's Salvation* (1669).

against Jews, is to be in punishment for rejecting the Messiah. Even more, the Jews will be converted, and "*Jerusalem* is to be Rebuilt by *Christian Israelites*." In the end, however, Mather quotes Calvin to the effect that the unfolding of these events of the last days are wrapped in mystery.

Mather makes a more detailed study of exactly where the Ten Tribes were carried into captivity in his entry on 2 Kings 17. This chapter relates the causes and the result of the rending of the kingdom in two, this time centering on the role that Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, played. The people of Israel turned from God's commandments and the covenant, building "images" and "groves" and worshipping idols, thereby incurring God's judgment, which came in the form of the king of Assyria and his army. Shalmaneser invaded Samaria because he suspected Hoshea, king of Israel, of conspiracy with the Egyptian Pharaoh. As punishment, 1 Kings 13:6 states, he "carried Israel away into Assyria, and placed them in Halah and in Habor by the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes."

For this entry, Mather turns to a work of his father-in-law, Samuel Lee, *Israel Redux, or, The Restauration of Israel* (1677). Lee locates Halah between the rivers Tigris and Lycus (or Zab) in present-day Iraq. Habor, Mather explains out of Lee, is a mountain, a city, and a river. The Chebor or Chebar River (now Khabur) is a tributary to the Euphrates in Syria, and is the location of Ezekiel's visions "among the exiles." And Gozan, a little more elusive, seems to be a location in present-day east-central Azerbaijan, near the city of Shamakhi, just west of the Caspian Sea.

So, then, where are the descendants of the Ten Tribes at this day? At first, as previously mentioned, they were settled in the area to the west of the Caspian Sea, present-day Armenia. They were still in captivity there at the time when the book of Chronicles was written, or at least the additions to it. Josephus, the Jewish historian who lived in the first century CE, also described the Ten Tribes as still being in that area. In their days, Origen, Jerome, and other writers confirmed the continuing exile. In the twelfth century, the English Benedictine Matthew Paris expressed the "Current Opinion" that the Tartars of Samarcand, on the east side of the Caspian Sea, and the Cumans in the Caucasus, were descendants of Israel.

The final question, then, is whether the Ten Tribes are ever to return to their ancestral home. Here, Mather and Lee were, at the time anyway, to be of the same mind about the re-establishment of Israel and its place in millennial history. According to scripture prophecy, the return would not occur until after the coming of the Messiah. At some unspecified point the Jews, or at least the elect remnant among them, will be converted to the Messiah and his law. The return is to coincide with the destruction of Gog and Magog, as foretold by Ezekiel, and once there they will rule over their ancient enemies and oppressors. Gog and Magog were generally identified, Mather tells us, to be the Turks, who,

under the Ottomans, at that time ruled over the land of Judah and environs. The new Israelitish nation is to possess a greater area than they did during the time of Solomon, so much so that kings will come to Jerusalem to pay homage, as the Queen of Sheba did.

In the penultimate paragraph of the entry, Mather states, "The Promises about the Restoration of *Israel*, tis most Evident, they cannot be interpreted of a Spiritual *Israel* among the Nations." This statement provides a good point at which to anticipate his later view. For his answer to the question, Who were "Israelites," clearly shifted. In his *Triparadisus*, written in 1726 or 1727, he renounced a literalist view of the national conversion and restoration of the Jews in favor of a preterist allegorical one, which indeed entailed a "spiritual" conversion of a "true" Israel not necessarily composed solely of Jews.[81] Just as Mather's view of the "true" church expanded late in his life to include Protestant Christians who could unite around common "maxims" of piety, so his view of the "true" Israel, and the role they would play in the coming millennium, expanded as well.

Conclusion

The entries on Joshua through Chronicles in the "Biblia" reveal Mather as a sacred historian, martialing an array of approaches and disciplines to illuminate and defend the Scripture accounts. Certain themes he revisits throughout such as idols and idolatry, parallels between the Hebrew Bible and the history and mythology of "pagan" cultures, and typological significations of events and characters. Other topics warranted sustained attention in a long entry or a series of entries such as the sun standing still, Jephthah's vow, Solomon's Temple, the nature of prophecy, and the dispersion of the Israelites in captivity.

Mather's rendition and interpretation of the history of the Hebrews and Israelites highlights their status as God's covenant people, and all that that status entails in terms of blessings and curses, perseverance and declensions. Mather's application of that convoluted national history is illustrative of how he approached his perceived contemporary audience of New England and beyond around the turn of the eighteenth century. The privileging of ancient Israel as the people of God, for Mather, echoed down to what he recognized as the true

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81 On Mather's change of mind on Jewish conversion, and his adoption of an allegorist approach, see *The Threefold Paradise of Cotton Mather*, ed. Reiner Smolinski (1995), "Editor's Introduction" (21–37) and Mather's section on "Whether a National Conversion is still to be looked for" (295–318). David Komline traces the reason for Mather's change of mind to the Arian controversy of the 1710s and his growing alienation from William Whiston; *see* his "The Controversy of the Present Time: Arianism, William Whiston, and the Development of Cotton Mather's Late Eschatology" (439–59).

Christian church of his own day, which by the end of his life went beyond New England's Puritan churches. Israel's story contained countless "Prælibations and Exhibitions" of what was to come. The same warnings held, the same blessings were promised to the latter-day people of God as to his ancient chosen people.

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Section 3

Note on the Text and Editorial Principles

Cotton Mather's "Biblia Americana," an enormous holograph manuscript in six folio volumes, is owned by the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston. The manuscript's provenance is somewhat obscured by the fact that Mather did not leave behind an inventory of his library at his death on Feb. 13, 1728/29. Neither did his heirs establish an inventory, perhaps to protect this valuable family heirloom from falling into the hands of Mather's creditors. The Suffolk Probate Record contains no itemization of Mather's library. The best available evidence of how the "Biblia" came into the possession of the MHS is given in Julius H. Tuttle's "The Libraries of the Mathers" (1910). From Tuttle's article we learn that Cotton Mather's son, the Rev. Dr. Samuel Mather (1706–85), inherited the largest part of his father's library, even though Cotton's nephew, the Rev. Mather Byles (1706–88), pastor of the Hollis Street Church, may also have received a share of his uncle's library as indeed he did from his grandfather Increase Mather in 1723, who "bequeathed one-quarter of his library" to the promising young Byles. The inventory of the Byles estate (Aug. 2, 1790), though itemizing many personal possessions, does not list the titles of the nearly 2,800 volumes in the Byles library, which his daughters Louisa and Catherine inherited at their father's death in 1788 (Tuttle 297). It is doubtful whether the "Biblia" was part of the Byles Collection, which was apparently sold and dispersed in November 1790.

Cotton's son and principal heir was the most likely recipient of the Mather papers, including the "Biblia Americana" manuscript, which would have been more useful to Samuel, heir to his father's pulpit in Boston's North Church, than to anyone else in the family. Besides, Samuel advertised the "Bibla," which he hoped to publish through subscription (*The Life* 183–86), a fact which suggests that the bulky manuscript probably remained in his possession until his death in 1785. Although Samuel's inventory does not identify the "Biblia" manuscript by title, his will stipulated that his "Library should abide where it is now" until one of his descendents would become a minister of the gospel and then "have my Library given to him with all the Manuscripts and Appurtenances belonging to it" (Tuttle 299–300). Meanwhile, Samuel's daughters Elizabeth and Hannah were to be the custodians of the library and "receive the profits" in case the

library were sold. After Elizabeth's death (1788), Samuel Mather's daughter, Hannah Mather Crocker (1752–1829), an accomplished authoress in her own right, sold a large portion of the Mather library to the Worcester printer and antiquarian Isaiah Thomas, but the "Biblia" was not part of this sale. According to Julius Tuttle, Hannah Mather Crocker donated part of her father's and grandfather's libraries to the newly founded Massachusetts Historical Society, for which unspecified gift, the members of the MHS voted to give their thanks to Mrs. Crocker in 1794 and likewise for another gift in 1798 (Tuttle 300, 301). Whether or not the "Biblia" was part of Crocker's donation at that stage is hard to determine, because no itemized record of her bequest is extant.

According to Peter Drummey, Stephen T. Riley Librarian and guardian of manuscripts at the MHS, the records of the Society do not contain any information about the date when the set was acquired or about the identity of the donor. However, some physical evidence on the cardboard binder of the holograph manuscript may establish the approximate date of acquisition. Two small labels or bookplates on the inside of the grayish-brownish cardboard cover provide useful information. One of the bookplates, a rectangular label affixed to the inside cardboard cover of the "Biblia" (vol. 1) bears the following ornate imprint:

Given to the
Massachusetts
Historical Society
By

before Oct. 1809

The label bears the imprint D. KUSSETT in the lower right-hand frame of the bookplate and may refer to an as yet unidentified designer or printer of the label. The date – here given in cursive – is a handwritten notation written in pencil, most likely that of a former MHS librarian. The space for the donor's name is left blank. The vague reference "before Oct. 1809" may well indicate that neither the record of the transaction nor the donor's name was available when the bookplate was affixed. At that time, the MHS was located on Franklin Place, Boston, as a second sticker with an extract of the laws, regulating the library's lending practices, indicates. However, a watermark on two loose leaves, which originally served as a cover page and attached the cardboard covers of volume 1 to the spine of the bound manuscript, may yield an important clue about the approximate year when the manuscript was given to the Society and was rebound. The watermark on the loose leaves measuring 310 mm by 194 mm resembles the coat of arms of the state of Massachusetts. On the double-framed shield, a Native American holds a bow and arrow in his right and left hands (respectively) and faces the beholder. A small five-pointed star is visible near the right-hand side of his head. Outside the shield, above the head of the Indian, a human arm swings a scimitar. A capital M is visible below the shield's pointy

bottom. The loose leaf, originally attached to the inside of the back cover of the same volume, bears the following countersign

C BURBANK
1804

This countersign measures 115 mm by 34 mm. The watermark and countersign are identical with the ones reproduced in Thomas L. Gravell's *A Catalogue of American Watermarks 1690–1835* (48, items 122 and 123).[1] According to Gravel, the watermarks are those of Caleb Burbank, son of Abijah Burbank who had established a paper mill at Sutton, MA, Worcester County, in 1775. Caleb and his brother Elijah operated the Sutton mill of their father until 1836 (Gravell 165, item 30) and supplied Isaiah Thomas and many other New England printers with paper of high quality. The 1804 date on Caleb Burbank's watermark and the handwritten date "before Oct. 1809" on the bookplate are important in several respects. While these dates do not identify the precise year in which the MHS acquired the "Biblia," they limit the span of time during which the transaction probably occurred. It is likely that the newly established Society had the volumes bound sometime after the bequest was received. Furthermore, the dates (1804 and 1809) help us specify the approximate period when the fascicles of the six folio volumes were stitched together with coarse twine and bound up with a grey cardboard cover and back, each measuring 310 mm by 195 mm. The paper from the mill of C Burbank also covers the spine of the six bound volumes and is glued to the covers, front and back, to stabilize the manuscript. On the spine of each of the six volumes appears the following handwritten inscription in printed letters:

> MATHER's / Illustrations / of the / SCRIPTURES / M. S. / GENESIS – LEVIT. / I / ; / NUMBERS – ESTHER / II / ; / JOB – CANTICLES / III / ; / ISAIAH – MALACHI / IV / ; / MATTHEW – MARK / V / ; / ROMANS – REVELATION / VI /

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1 Thomas L. Gravell and George Miller, *A Catalogue of American Watermarks, 1690–1835* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1979). In addition to this volume by Gravell and Miller, a second volume by the same authors was also consulted, *A Catalogue of Foreign Watermarks Found on Paper used in America, 1700–1835* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1983). Furthermore, William Algernon Churchill, *Watermarks in Paper in Holland, England, and France, etc. in the XVII and XVII centuries and their interconnection* (Amsterdam: M. Hertzberger, 1935; Rpt. Nieuwkoop: B.De Graff, 1990); C. M. Briquet, *Le Filigranes Dictionnaire Historique Des Marques Du Papier Des Leur Apparition vers 1282 Jus qu'en 1600.* 4 vols. Deuxième Edition (Rpt. New York: Hacker Art Books, 1966); and Edward Heawood, *Watermarks, mainly of the 17th and 18th centuries* (Hilversum: Paper Publications Society, 1981) provided useful insight into the variety of watermarks employed during Mather's lifetime. Of the five, the works by Gravell and Miller, and by Churchill were the most helpful in identifying and dating the paper Mather used for his commentary. Unfortunately, the wide variety of watermarks and countersigns used by North American and European paper mills – although they allow us to trace at least some of the paper manufacturers who exported their products to New England – tremendously burdens this identification process. Only a fraction of the sheets of paper Mather used can be clearly linked to identifiable paper mills.

Except for the volume-specific identification, the handwritten inscription on the spine is the same for all of the six volumes. The ornate title on the spine, "Mather's Illustrations of the Scriptures," does not appear to have been Cotton Mather's choice, because he always referred to his commentary as "Biblia Americana." The handwritten title which appears on the spine of the holograph manuscript evidently originated in Samuel Mather's biography *The Life of the Very Reverend and Learned Cotton Mather* (1729), in which Samuel refers to his father's commentary as "his *Illustrations of the sacred Scripture*" (73). This descriptive title may well have informed the penman's choice.

Each of the six bound volumes rests in a strong folderlike cardboard box of a greenish, clothbound vinyllike exterior, which completely enfolds each of the six manuscript gatherings. In turn, each boxed volume is protected by a handsome slipcase, made from the same sturdy cardboard (measuring 315 mm by 200 by 65 mm), and covered by the same clothbound vinyllike material. A leather-bound spine, grayish-brownish in color, gives the set a smart, booklike appearance, which is accentuated with the following inscription embossed in gilded letters:

COTTON MATHER
BIBLIA
AMERICANA
I

Each slipcase box carries the same inscription on the spine, except for the roman numerals I – VI, which identify the respective volumes.

Watermarks and Countersigns: Paper Use in the "Biblia" on Joshua-Chronicles

The entries presented in this volume are found in the second of the six bound manuscript volumes of the "Biblia Americana" at the Massachusetts Historical Society. Volume II contains entries on Numbers through Esther; there are 452 leaves in the entire tome. Entries on Joshua begin on leaf 118, and entries on 2 Chronicles end on leaf 411. Nearly all sheets are single rather than infolded. Occasionally, a sheet is wider or longer than the volume's dimensions, and where this occurred Mather or a later owner folded over the edges several centimeters, resulting in some damage. Sheets that once were attached to others (with sealing wax) but now are loose, are, in this catalogue, counted as separate leaves.

The watermark references listed in the Table, following the system established by Reiner Smolinski in volumes 1–2 of the published versions of the "Biblia Americana," are given in alphabetical order. Countermarks (mostly consisting

of initials) are given in italics. For comparative purposes, readers should consult the corresponding tables and descriptions in previous and subsequent volumes.[2]

Table of Paper Sizes & Watermarks

[118]	[119]	[120r–122v]	[123]	[124]	[125]
H 302 W 190 G 18, 20 WM: – CM: –	H 302 W 180 G 12, 15 WM: – CM: –	H 200 W 150 G 10, – 79, 16 10, 7 WM: – CM: –	H 302 W 185 G 10, 7 WM: – CM: –	H 195 W 145 G 8, 10 WM: – CM: –	H 215 W 152 G 16, 11 WM: – CM: *PS*
[126]	[127]	[128]	[129]	[130]	[131]
H 302 W 190 G 14, 18 WM: – CM: –	H 190 W 155 G 8, 77 WM: – CM: –	H 313 W 185 G 17, 5 WM: – CM: *HGY*	H 302 W 190 G 97, 8 WM: – CM: –	H 192 W 150 G –, 8 WM: – CM: –	H 302 W 215 G 14, 11 WM: – CM: –
[132]	[133]	[134r–135v]	[136]	[137r–138v]	[139]
H 302 W 510 G –, – WM: – CM: –	H 190 W 145 G 9, – WM: – CM: –	H 302 W 195 G 95, 11 13, 16 WM: – CM: –	H 190 W 150 G 11, 70 WM: – CM: –	H 302 W 190 G 19, 17 25, – WM: (QB) CM: –	H 198 W 155 G 8, 11 WM: – CM: –
[140]	[141r–142v]	[143]	[144]	[145]	[146]
H 193 W 150 G 11, 12 WM: – CM: –	H 190 W 150 G 73, 74 72, – WM: – CM: –	H 302 W 195 G 11, 10 WM: – CM: *GIW*	H 195 W 155 G 15, 17 WM: – CM: –	H 315 W 190 G 15, 80 WM: – CM: *GIW*	H 292 W 170 G 19, – WM: (A) CM: –
[147r–149v]	[150]	[151]	[152r–153v]	[154]	[155]
H 305 W 190 G 19, 5 23, 14 16, 7 WM: (QB) CM: –	H 150 W 93 G 18, 18 WM: – CM: ?	H 195 W 150 G 8, 3 WM: – CM: –	H 305 W 190 G 5, 17 11, 5 WM: – CM: –	H 188 W 150 G 73, – WM: – CM: –	H 305 W 195 G 16, 87 WM: – CM: –

2 *BA* 1:196–202; and *BA* 2.

[156]	[157]	[158]	[159r–160v]	[161]	[162r–163v]
H 295 W 183 G 12, 10 WM: (QH) CM: –	H 315 W 195 G 10, 8 WM: – CM: –	H 305 W 195 G 18, 13 WM: (QH) CM: –	H 305 W 190 G 12, 88 8, 16 WM: – CM: –	H 302 W 190 G 12, 91 WM: (L) CM: –	H 305 W 195 G 13, 14 18, 14 WM: – CM: –
[164]	[165]	[166]	[167]	[168]	[169]
H 310 W 210 G 14, 18 WM: – CM: –	H 302 W 195 G 18, 10 WM: – CM: –	H 310 W 210 G 15, 15 WM: – CM: –	H 305 W 195 G 17, 14 WM: – CM: –	H 305 W 200 G 13, 18 WM: – CM: –	H 305 W 195 G 21, 8 WM: – CM: –
[170]	[171]	[172]	[173]	[174]	[175]
H 188 W 150 G 68, 19 WM: (A) CM: –	H 305 W 200 G 10, 11 WM: (A) CM: –	H 215 W 157 G 12, 15 WM: – CM: –	H 190 W 153 G 78, – WM: – CM: –	H 305 W 190 G 16, 90 WM: – CM: –	H 190 W 153 G 19, 73 WM: (A) CM: –
[176r–177v]	[178]	[179]	[180]	[181]	[182]
H 315 W 195 G 11, 7 9, 5 WM: – CM: –	H 305 W 190 G 21, 10 WM: (QB) CM: –	H 198 W 155 G 11, 10 WM: – CM: –	H 305 W 195 G 18, 7 WM: – CM: –	H 210 W 145 G 16, 18 WM: – CM: –	H 155 W 95 G 14, – WM: – CM: –
[183]	[184]	[185]	[186]	[187]	[188]
H 200 W 150 G 8, 9 WM: – CM: –	H 310 W 195 G 9, 12 WM: – CM: –	H 190 W 145 G 17, 3 WM: – CM: –	H 305 W 195 G 18, 19 WM: – CM: –	H 310 W 195 G 28, – WM: – CM: *GIW*	H 305 W 195 G 23, 5 WM: – CM: –
[189]	[190]	[191]	[192]	[193]	[194]
H 218 W 155 G 13, 72 WM: – CM: –	H 205 W 150 G 12, 10 WM: – CM: –	H 305 W 190 G 16, – WM: – CM: –	H 305 W 185 G 22, 92 WM: – CM: –	H 305 W 195 G 17, – WM: – CM: –	H 310 W 195 G 8, 6 WM: – CM: –
[195]	[196]	[197]	[198]	[199]	[200]
H 190 W 145 G 10, 11 WM: (ADP) CM: –	H 155 W 100 G 18, 20 WM: (A) CM: –	H 288 W 173 G 14, 12 WM: – CM: –	H 310 W 195 G 9, 5 WM: (QC) CM: –	H 190 W 110 G 12, 7 WM: – CM: –	H 195 W 150 G 10, – WM: – CM: –

[201]	[202]	[203]	[204]	[205]	[206]
H 305	H 305	H 305	H 190	H 190	H 195
W 190	W 195	W 188	W 78	W 155	W 155
G 95, 90	G 14, 9	G 13, 10	G 4, –	G 15, 11	G 75, 10
WM: –	WM: (LX)	WM: –	WM: –	WM: –	WM: –
CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –

[207]	[208]	[209]	[210]	[211]	[212]
H 305	H 310	H 305	H 210	H 315	H 185
W 195	W 190	W 190	W 155	W 195	W 145
G 96, 19	G 16, 10	G 9, –	G 9, 7	G 14, 7	G 18, 6
WM: (QB)	WM: –	WM: –	WM: ?	WM: –	WM: –
CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –

[213]	[214]	[215]	[216]	[217]	[218]
H 305	H 290	H 130	H 193	H 195	H 305
W 190	W 180	W 180	W 150	W 155	W 195
G 13, 11	G 13, 14	G 20, –	G 75, 10	G –, 8	G 10, 5
WM: –	WM: (A)	WM: –	WM: (A)	WM: (LX)	WM: (QC)
CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –

[219]	[220r–221v]	[222]	[223]	[224]	[225]
H 178	H 305	H 190	H 305	H 305	H 305
W 78	W 195	W 155	W 190	W 195	W 190
G 3, 7	G 95, 88	G 20, 75	G 93, 16	G 8, 8	G 90, 5
WM: –	10, 5	WM: –	WM: –	WM: (QB)	WM: –
CM: –	WM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –
	CM: –				

[226]	[227]	[228r–229v]	[230]	[231]	[232]
H 190	H 190	H 305	H 155	H 300	H 125
W 150	W 155	W 195	W 98	W 180	W 190
G 12, 8	G 14, 75	G 15, 13	G 12, 14	G 12, 14	G 92, –
WM: (A)	WM: –	10, 15	WM: –	WM: –	WM: –
CM: –	CM: –	WM: (QB)	CM: –	CM: *HD*	CM: –
		CM: –			

[233]	[234]	[235]	[236]	[237]	[238]
H 192	H 305	H 190	H 310	H 190	H 195
W 155	W 195	W 153	W 195	W 155	W 155
G 79, 9	G 97, 9	G 7, –	G 23, 8	G –, 7	G 8, 10
WM: –	WM: (LX)	WM: (A)	WM: (DC)	WM: (A)	WM: (A)
CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –

[239]	[240]	[241]	[242]	[243]	[244]
H 195	H 300	H 305	H 305	H 190	H 305
W 155	W 185	W 195	W 195	W 145	W 190
G –, 74	G 15, 10	G 11, 16	G 22, 15	G 9, 6	G 10, 6
WM: (A)	WM: –	WM: –	WM: (IX)	WM: –	WM: (Q)
CM: –	CM: –	CM: *ED*	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –

[245]	[246]	[247]	[248]	[249]	[250]
H 155 W 95 G 23, 10 WM: – CM: –	H 187 W 153 G 14, 15 WM: – CM: –	H 305 W 195 G 14, 11 WM: – CM: –	H 298 W 195 G 20, 17 WM: – CM: –	H 305 W 195 G 98, 24 WM: – CM: –	H 188 W 155 G 19, 4 WM: (QH) CM: –
[251]	[252]	[253]	[254]	[255]	[256]
H 155 W 100 G 20, – WM: – CM: –	H 220 W 155 G 12, 10 WM: (IW) CM: –	H 305 W 195 G 14, 6 WM: (LX) CM: –	H 155 W 105 G 13, 13 WM: – CM: –	H 210 W 150 G 6, 4 WM: – CM: –	H 215 W 150 G 4, 3 WM: – CM: –
[257r–259v]	[260]	[261]	[262r–264v]	[265]	[266r–267v]
H 305 W 195 G 5, 2 5, 2 6, 11 WM: – CM: –	H 210 W 155 G 10, 13 WM: – CM: –	H 305 W 190 G 5, 3 WM: – CM: –	H 285 W 180 G 13, 15 13, 8 17, 82 WM: (A) CM: –	H 300 W 185 G 5, 80 WM: (Q) CM: –	H 305 W 188 G 9, 5 9, 3 WM: – CM: –
[268]	[269]	[270]	[271]	[272]	[273]
H 187 W 150 G 13, 16 WM: – CM: –	H 305 W 190 G 18, 9 WM: – CM: –	H 140 W 100 G 15, – WM: – CM: –	H 300 W 180 G 85, 3 WM: – CM: *HD*	H 305 W 190 G 6, 4 WM: (I) CM: –	H 200 W 155 G 20, 5 WM: – CM: –
[274r–279v]	[280]	[281]	[282]	[283]	[284]
H 305 W 185 G 6, 9 5, 4 5, 3 6, 3 5, 4 6, 3 WM: (A) CM: –	H 305 W 190 G 10, 2 WM: (A) CM: –	H 220 W 150 G 3, 3 WM: – CM: –	H 205 W 150 G 16, 13 WM: – CM: –	H 210 W 190 G 9, 5 WM: – CM: –	H 217 W 150 G 3, 12 WM: (IP) CM: –
[285]	[286]	[287]	[288]	[289]	[290]
H 210 W 165 G 3, – WM: – CM: –	H 310 W 185 G 5, 2 WM: (A) CM: –	H 302 W 185 G 5, 3 WM: (A) CM: –	H 310 W 190 G 3, 3 WM: – CM: –	H 305 W 190 G 6, 3 WM: – CM: –	H 185 W 145 G 3, 5 WM: – CM: –

[291]	[292]	[293]	[294]	[295]	[296]
H 155 W 97 G 8, – WM: – CM: –	H 305 W 190 G 3, 85 WM: – CM: –	H 305 W 185 G 18, 18 WM: – CM: –	H 303 W 195 G 4, 5 WM: – CM: *M*	H 303 W 185 G 15, 3 WM: – CM: –	H 155 W 100 G 10, 4 WM: – CM: –
[297]	[298]	[299]	[300]	[301r–302v]	[303]
H 305 W 195 G 5, 0 WM: – CM: –	H 150 W 95 G 4, 6 WM: ? CM: –	H 190 W 145 G 7, 0 WM: – CM: –	H 215 W 155 G 4, 5 WM: – CM: –	H 305 W 190 G 6, 3 7, 85 WM: (A) CM: *H*	H 198 W 150 G 2, 12 WM: – CM: –
[304]	[305]	[306r–307v]	[308]	[309r–313v]	[314]
H 305 W 190 G 13, 19 WM: – CM: –	H 308 W 195 G 11, 10 WM: – CM: *GIW*	H 210 W 155 G 5, – 8, 4 WM: (IP) CM: –	H 215 W 155 G 5, 5 WM: (IW) CM: –	H 210 W 155 G 9, 6 11, 65 4, 70 5, 5 15, 70 WM: (DC) CM: –	H 308 W 190 G 12, 4 WM: – CM: –
[315]	[316]	[317]	[318]	[319]	[320]
H 220 W 155 G 9, 10 WM: (DC) CM: –	H 305 W 180 G 11, 3 WM: – CM: –	H 303 W 190 G 7, 88 WM: – CM: *H*	H 308 W 195 G 10, 5 WM: (A) CM: –	H 308 W 190 G 11, 5 WM: – CM: –	H 308 W 195 G 11, 90 WM: – CM: –
[321]	[322]	[323]	[324]	[325]	[326]
H 155 W 65 G 2, 2 WM: – CM: –	H 300 W 185 G 9, 10 WM: (QY) CM: –	H 160 W 110 G 10, – WM: – CM: –	H 210 W 155 G 5, 5 WM: (DC) CM: –	H 185 W 150 G 10, 5 WM: (Q) CM: –	H 210 W 155 G 9, 4 WM: (IX) CM: –
[327]	[328]	[329]	[330]	[331]	[332]
H 190 W 150 G 10, 8 WM: – CM: –	H 220 W 170 G 10, 11 WM: – CM: –	H 205 W 165 G 10, 70 WM: – CM: –	H 210 W 150 G 69, 3 WM: (IX) CM: –	H 305 W 195 G 17, 8 WM: – CM: –	H 155 W 97 G 8, – WM: – CM: –

[333]	[334]	[335r–336v]	[337]	[338]	[339]
H 190 W 150 G 5, 5 WM: – CM: –	H 300 W 195 G 86, 13 WM: (QY) CM: –	H 308 W 190 G 8, 4 9, 86 WM: – CM: *C*	H 200 W 143 G 5, – WM: – CM: –	H 295 W 185 G 12, 12 WM: – CM: *HD*	H 308 W 190 G 90, 15 WM: (LH) CM: –
[340]	[341r–342v]	[343r–344v]	[345r–346v]	[347]	[348r–349v]
H 185 W 88 G 5, 6 WM: – CM: –	H 215 W 170 G 7, 4 WM: – CM: –	H 195 W 150 G 5, 8 5, 68 WM: (LA) CM: –	H 190 W 150 G 6, – 5, 5 WM: (A) CM: –	H 305 W 190 G 13, 17 WM: (QC) CM: –	H 190 W 150 G 4, – 70, 5 WM: (A) CM: –
[350]	[351r–352v]	[353]	[354]	[355]	[356]
H 310 W 190 G 14, 3 WM: (LX) CM: –	H 220 W 165 G 6, – 7, – WM: – CM: –	H 218 W 165 G 5, 5 WM: – CM: –	H 192 W 150 G 5, 5 WM: – CM: –	H 192 W 155 G 6, – WM: (A) CM: –	H 155 W 150 G 5, – WM: – CM: –
[357]	[358]	[359r–361v]	[362]	[363]	[364]
H 195 W 155 G 5, – WM: – CM: –	H 308 W 195 G 15, 8 WM: – CM: –	H 210 W 160 G 7, 72 4, 5 5, – WM: (RA) CM: –	H 195 W 155 G 12, 10 WM: – CM: –	H 205 W 155 G 8, 7 WM: (RA) CM: –	H 308 W 195 G 7, 6 WM: – CM: –
[365]	[366r–367v]	[368r–371v]	[372r–373v]	[374]	[375]
H 210 W 155 G 8, 12 WM: – CM: –	H 210 W 160 G 10, 5 5, 3 WM: – CM: –	H 310 W 190 G 11, 5 12, 6 9, 5 10, 5 WM: – CM: –	H 308 W 190 G 11, 3 9, – WM: (A) CM: –	H 305 W 185 G 10, 5 WM: – CM: *GG*	H 305 W 195 G 13, 5 WM: (QC) CM: –
[376]	[377]	[378r–379v]	[380]	[381]	[382]
H 195 W 155 G 8, 71 WM: (LA) CM: –	H 305 W 195 G 17, – WM: – CM: –	H 190 W 155 G 14, 12 8, – WM: *A* CM: –	H 195 W 155 G 10, – WM: *A* CM: –	H 185 W 155 G 15, 5 WM: *A* CM: –	H 305 W 190 G 15, 5 WM: – CM: *GG*

[383]	[384]	[385]	[386]	[387]	[388]
H 195 W 155 G 75, 69 WM: *A* CM: –	H 190 W 155 G 6, – WM: – CM: –	H 207 W 155 G 9, 12 WM: – CM: *XO*	H 190 W 155 G 8, 5 WM: – CM: –	H 185 W 145 G 8, 11 WM: – CM: –	H 300 W 180 G 10, 3 WM: – CM: *HD*
[389r–390v]	[391]	[392]	[393r–394v]	[395]	[396]
H 190 W 150 G 5, 60 7, 8 WM: (A) CM: –	H 190 W 305 G 13, 79 WM: (A) CM: –	H 285 W 178 G 15, 11 WM: – CM: –	H 305 W 195 G 5, 15 14, – WM: – CM: –	H 305 W 185 G 15, 12 WM: (QC) CM: –	H 195 W 150 G 72, 70 WM: (A) CM: –
[397]	[398]	[399]	[400]	[401]	[402r–403v]
H 308 W 190 G 90, 7 WM: – CM: –	H 190 W 150 G 5, 5 WM: (A) CM: –	H 305 W 190 G 18, 11 WM: (QB) CM: –	H 275 W 165 G 15, 10 WM: – CM: –	H 185 W 155 G 7, 5 WM: (A) CM: –	H 195 W 150 G 7, 5 70, 6 WM: – CM: –
[404]	[405]	[406]	[407]	[408]	[409]
H 185 W 150 G 11, 10 WM: – CM: –	H 210 W 155 G 11, 3 WM: – CM: –	H 205 W 150 G 11, 3 WM: – CM: –	H 287 W 183 G 15, – WM: (A) CM: –	H 195 W 150 G 8, 7 WM: – CM: –	H 305 W 195 G 15, 15 WM: – CM: –
[410]	[411]				
H 285 W 185 G 17, 92 WM: – CM: *IV*	H 305 W 195 G 15, 14 WM: – CM: *M*				

(A) **London Coat-of-Arms**

(A) LL. 146, 263, 275, 277, 279, 345–346, 348, 355, 373: London Arms, made by Dutch manufacturer Pieter van der Ley, c. 1707, for the English market (Churchill 243 [CCXIV]; cf. BA 1:200; or Heawood 455).

(ADP) L. 196: DP-London Arms, Philadelphia, 1716 (Gravell & Miller 190).

(AL) L. 212: English, 1694 (Heawood 451), with three lions in a shield topped by crown.

(AS) L. 170, 175, 215, 217: London, 1711; portion of shield, no dagger (similar to Heawood 463).

(D) **Cross and Lions**

(DC) LL. 237, 311, 312, 315, 324: date and place unknown. This device features three stacked globes with, from bottom to top, "4," "CC," and a cross, surmounted by crown and flanked by an animal (probably a lion) on either side of the top circle.

(L) **Horn**
(L) L. 161: possibly Paris, after 1696 (similar to Heawood 2698).
(LA) LL. 343–344: partial horn in shield surmounted by flower-on stem, with "A" beneath.
(LH) L. 339: c. 1690s–c. 1704; a horn in scalloped shield topped by a flower-on-stem, with "HG" underneath (similar to devices in Heawood, plate 342).
(LX) LL. 203, 235, 254, 350: c. 1680–1690 (similar to figures in Heawood, 342).

(I) **Globes**
(IP) LL. 285, 307: two stacked globes with "P" and "2."
(IW) LL. 253, 308: two stacked globes with "WAD" and "P."
(IX) LL. 243, 326, 330: three stacked globes, with no letters, numbers, or figures in circles.

(Q) **Lilies**
(QB) LL. 138, 147, 392, 400: c. 1703; bulbous fleur-de-lis in scalloped shield, with detached crown (similar to Heawood 1651).
(QC) LL. 199, 396: c. 1688–92 (similar to Heawood 1674, though band around middle of fleur-de-lis is not divided into three parts with parallel lines, and there is a slight difference in the design of the frill on the crown).
(QD) LL. 219, 347, 375: fleur de lis in scalloped shield with boot beneath.
(QH) LL. 156, 251: The Hague, 1688 (Heawood 1672).
(QX) L. 171: unknown; fleur de lis in scalloped circular shield.
(QY) LL. 266, 322: small device of fleur de lis in plain shield with crown.

(R) **Arms of Amsterdam**
(RA) LL. 359–360, 363: 1705: top and bottom of watermark similar to Churchill 36 (XXIV).

Unidentified
(U) L. 211: top half of what may be a horn or fleur-de-lis set in shield with straight sides, with curved, inward-facing flourishes on either side of the top flanking a three-petaled flower-on-stem.

Countersigns
(GIW) LL. 143, 145: GIW: probably English, before 1691 (Heawood 451A).
(IV) L. 411.
(M) LL. 295, 412.
(XO) L. 385: cross in a circle.

Editorial Principles

This edition follows G. Thomas Tanselle's recommendations in *Textual Criticism and Scholarly Editing* (Charlottesville and London: UP of Virginia, for the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 1990). Subsequent editorial guidelines are informed by Tanselle's perceptive criticism and have been

rigorously enforced in the transcription and vetting processes.[3] The typescript for Joshua to Chronicles has been collated five times: three times by collating the typescript and the microfilm copyflow, and twice by on-site collations of typescript and holograph manuscript at the MHS.

The following guidelines, developed by Reiner Smolinski and based on Tanselle's recommendations,[4] are adapted to suit the specific qualities of the "Biblia Americana" holograph manuscript and of Cotton Mather's handwriting:

1. To facilitate a permanent pagination for the entire holograph manuscript, this edition introduces in brackets a continuous foliation for each leaf and interpolated cutout (no matter its size); the recto and verso of each are indicated by r or v appended to the page number. However, in those cases where Mather interpolates several layers of inserts within inserts, these layers are marked as [▽Insert from Ar] and [▽Insert from Bv]. Furthermore, the triangular shapes ▽ △ given in the margin of the edition respectively mark the beginning and end of a longer textual interpolation. Bracketed page numbers in the edition always signal the beginning of a new MS page.

2. Mather's marginal and interlinear interpolations have been inserted in the typescript in the location specified by Mather, which he designates with single, double, or triple carets (^^), with pound signs (##) or other distinguishing marks (aa, oo, **, etc.). However, to establish a clean text unencumbered with literally thousands of editorial symbols, cancellations, and intrusions, this edition gives the corrections in the text as Mather intended them for the press – without recording his symbols, false starts, or his corrected misspellings in a separate appendix. A footnote will draw attention to all ambiguous cases; the projected online edition will juxtapose transcription and holograph manuscript pages in parallel columns.

3. Since Mather incorporated new material or excised superseded entries over a period of more than three decades, he frequently ran out of space and was forced to add new chapter-and-verse annotations at the end of the chapter or interpolate separate quarto, octavo, or duodecimo leaves and paste them in the gutter of a MS page with sealing wax. For these reasons, a number of verse annotations are out of sequence. For instance, a commentary on verse 17 may thus be followed by one on verses 4, 13, or 8, which he added during a later revision process. It seems obvious that Mather did not intend to present his annotations in this disordered fashion. If he had succeeded in interesting a London publisher in his huge folio commentary, Mather most likely would have engaged a copyist to establish a clean, orderly copy text for the typesetter. To avoid confusion, this edition presents Mather's verse annotations in the appropriate sequential order.

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3 Professors Tanselle (Columbia) and Lisa Gordis (Barnard) provided trenchant reviews of these guidelines.

4 See *BA* 1:191–94, 203–10.

4. Mather cancels punctuation marks, letters, words, sentences, paragraphs, and entire pages for a number of reasons: to search for a more precise word during his rapid composing or copying process; to replace one quotation with another; to excise names, titles, places, dates, and figures about whose accuracy he is in doubt, or whose anonymity he decides to preserve, or whose hermeneutic relevance is superseded by new material; to correct spelling and capitalization; to cancel false starts; to revise punctuation and upper- and lowercasing of letters or words as necessitated by interpolations or cancellations; to emphasize or de-emphasize specific words; and to restore matter obliterated or otherwise obscured by ink spots, smudges, or unevenness of paper quality. All told, Mather's cancellations, emendations, and interlineal interpolations are so numerous that recording them in a genetic text would seriously impede readability and comprehension of Mather's argument. These and other reasons indicate that little is to be gained by chronicling these emendations in a separate appendix. Such an appendix would unnecessarily bloat the size (and expense) of each volume. However, if Mather cancels existing matter because his hermeneutic or theological position changed, cancellations are commented on in discussion footnotes and recorded cancelled matter in Appendix A. For all other cancellations not reproduced in footnotes, readers should consult Mather's holograph MS at the Massachusetts Historical Society, turn to the readily available microfilm copies of the Mather Family Papers, or postpone their quest until the searchable online edition becomes available.

Generally, Mather cancels matter by drawing a thick wavy line through the passage or corrects his spelling or syntax by writing over (i.e., in the same place as) existing words. Deciphering and reconstructing these excisions or corrections proved fairly easy. But when he wants to be sure that a passage cannot be deciphered, he obliterates it by repeatedly drawing a wavy line through the excision, by erasing or even smudging it.

This edition use the following symbols wherever words have been permanently lost through defacement, illegibility, or mutilation:

[*], [**] to indicate the loss of, one or more words by Mather's defacement.
[* *illeg.*], [** *illeg.*] to indicate the loss of one or more words through illegibility of Mather's paleography.
[* *torn*], [** *torn*] to indicate the loss of one or more words by mutilation.

If a lost or missing word can be inferred with reasonable certainty, the inferred reconstruction is rendered in braces { }. If subject to conjecture, however, the reconstruction is followed by a question mark and rendered in braces { ?}.

5. Mather's use of abbreviations and contractions provides no hardship for scholars of the period. Even general readers unfamiliar with the conventions of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries should experience few problems in that respect. But since Mather intended "Biblia Americana" for the

press, this edition silently expands all those contractions and abbreviations that an early eighteenth-century typesetter would generally have spelled out. The principles used are those of Thomas Parkhurst, printer and publisher of Cotton Mather's 1702 London edition of *Magnalia Christi Americana*, available in a facsimile imprint by Arno Press (1972) as well as through Chadwyck Healey's Eighteenth-Century Collection Online (ECCO):

y^{t}	= that	y^{e}	= the	y^{m}	= them
y^{r}	= their	o^{r}	= our	wth	= with
w^{ch}	= which	wherewth	= wherewith	aforesd.	= aforesaid

However, all of Mather's abbreviations that coincide with modern conventions such as *Cap^{t}* (Captain), *M^{r}* (Master/Mister), *M* (French: Monsieur), *D^{r}* (Doctor), *comencing, &* (ampersand), *&c.* (etc.), and *tho'* (though), have been rendered *Capt.*, *Mr.*, *M.*, *Dr.*, *commencing*, or retained as *&*, *&c.* or *tho'* as evidenced in Parkhurst's 1702 London imprint.

6. While Mather generally distinguishes between the minuscules *i* and *j* in his quotations from Latin sources (Latin not discriminating between *i* and *j*, *I* and *J*, and *u* and *v*), he did not do so for the majuscules *I* and *J*, which Mather renders *J* with very few exceptions. Since no misreading is really possible here, this edition retains Mather's archaic conventions wherever applicable. His long-tailed minuscule *ſ*, commonly rendered as a lowercase *s*, is somewhat more problematic, for Mather uses both *ſ* and *s* interchangeably. Thus both *ſhould* and *should* or *poſſession* and *possession* can be found; in these cases, modern conventions are silently adopted and the long-tailed *ſ* is uniformly rendered as lowercase *s* throughout the text.

7. Following homiletic tradition for oral delivery, Mather underscores an unusual number of words and phrases with single or double underlining to emphasize key terms and concepts, and to signal Latin quotations. Again, this edition follows the conventions of Mather's eighteenth-century publisher (still applicable today) and rendered a passage underscored by a single line in *italics* and that by a double line in Small Capitals.

8. Even though Mather's spelling is remarkably consistent and, by the standard of his peers, remarkably modern, occasional inconsistencies do occur when he copies from his primary sources. If his particular spelling does not give rise to any confusion, this edition retains his variant. For instance, he renders *foretell* as either *foretel* or *fortell*, and consistently spells *carcass* as *carcase*, or *thoroughly* as *throughly*. Since no misunderstanding seems possible, Mather's exact spelling is retained throughout. If, on the other hand, Mather adopts a variant spelling of the names of such authors as *Camden, Peutinger*, *White*, or *Clarke* by rendering them *Cambden, Pentinger*, *Wite*, or *Clark*, wrongful identification is possible. In such cases, the variant spelling in the text is corrected and the correction noted in a footnote. Such obvious slips as *y^{e} the heavens*, often the result

of Mather's inaccurate copying from another source, of inaccurate cancellations of earlier passages, or of interlineations of words and phrases, have been silently emended. His characteristic (though inconsistent) mixes of numerals such as *ii* for *11*, *i2* for *12*, or *3i* for *31*, have been silently modernized. However, in following Parkhurst's eighteenth-century conventions, Mather's use of such ligatures as æ and Æ and for œ and Œ are retained: hence, "æqual" and "Ægypt," and "Phœnicians" and "Œconomy." These conventions generally reflect Mather's Latin sources.

9. Capitalization in "Biblia Americana" is rather problematic throughout. Anybody who has ever seen a sample of Mather's handwriting will be aware of the difficulty. His indiscriminate and indeterminate use of upper and lower cases of the letters *c*, *e*, *g*, *l*, *m*, *o*, *p*, *s*, *u*, *v*, *w*, *x*, *y*, and *z* is confusing to modern expectations, especially when the first letter of a name or the initial letter of a word following a period appears to be lowercased. Generally, a seemingly lowercased word at the beginning of a sentence is not problematic. But since there is no evidence to suggest that Mather intentionally uses minuscules after sentence-terminal marks, the initial letter of a word at the beginning of a new sentence, as well as of a proper name, is silently capitalized.

A final capitalization usage deserves brief attention. Mather commonly capitalizes word-initial letters of nouns or a sequence of nouns, of adjectives modifying nouns, of a sequence of predicate adjectives, or even of sequential adverbs and verbs to emphasize particular concepts or themes, or to signal to the orator a change of intonation to effect a different meaning. Hence we find "their Thoughts and their Pens," "Beloved City and Celestial Abode," "Considerable Alterations and Divine Offerings," "more Copiously and more Accurately." Such conventions are typical of the contemporary homiletic tradition for oral delivery, and Mather's practice requires no elucidating. It is more problematic, however, when his capitalization lacks any apparent rationale. His use of upper and lower cases in such passages as "G**o**D the Father, The **s**on, and The Holy **g**host" seemingly follows no recognizable logic – unless we remember Mather's interchangeable use of such upper and lowercase letters as o, s, g. Since problems of this nature are a distinctive feature of Mather's hand, this edition regularizes his practice throughout: Thus, "GOD the Father, The Son, and The Holy Ghost." However, when Mather's intention cannot be inferred from the context or prior evidence, nouns and gerunds are silently capitalized if they begin with the letters *c*, *e*, *g*, *l*, *m*, *o*, *p*, *s*, *u*, *v*, *w*, *x*, *y*, or *z*. Imposing consistency in these instances solves the problem of making literally thousands of individual and subjective judgments. Along the same lines, adjectival clusters preceding nouns and sequential adverbial modifiers have been silently rendered in upper or lower cases when the first letter of an adjective or adverb cluster in the sequence clearly indicate Mather's intention. Hence such phrases as "the **I**llustrious and **p**ious Master **c**artwright" or "he **B**arely touched yet **s**acrilegiously

despoiled" are rendered "the Illustrious and Pious Master Cartwright" and "he Barely touched yet Sacrilegiously despoiled." Unfortunately, this system is not completely foolproof; in some cases arbitrary decisions were necessary when no precedent patterns were available. At any rate, the editor takes pains to rule out any unintentional shift in meaning.

10. Punctuation marks in "Biblia Americana" are a frequent source of problems. Mather's innumerable excisions and interpolations necessitated frequent re-punctuation. Unfortunately, he does not always excise the existing punctuation mark when he inserts a new one. As a result, two different marks often exist side by side. But deciphering Mather's final choice proves relatively easy when the holograph manuscript at the MHS is consulted. The use of different types of ink (generally indistinguishable on the microfilm copy) clearly signals Mather's intention.

This edition retains Mather's final choices in virtually all cases just as they occur in "Biblia." Only when his punctuation mark renders the meaning of his sentences ambiguous does the editor intrude into the text. Such intrusions, however rare, are indicated by brackets [ ] or identified in a footnote.

11. To allow for later additions, Mather leaves many blank spaces and blank pages in the holograph manuscript. Frequently, an entire MS page consists of only two or three brief paragraphs of commentary on different biblical verses, with blank spaces of varying lengths between them. In such cases, the blank spaces between such paragraphs have been regularized by uniformly introducing two blank lines between them.

Most of the time, Mather signals the beginning of new paragraphs with indentations of irregular lengths. Here standard indentation is utilized for each new paragraph unless Mather's pattern suggests otherwise. Any extra spaces between words or sentences, possibly serving Mather as reminders for later insertions, have been silently omitted. When Mather skips one or more lines between paragraphs to signal a new subdivision or to break up long passages into visually recognizable units, this edition regularizes his practice by dropping two lines. Similarly, when he uses one or more slashes / / to indicate that a passage is to be centered or to be blocked, his intent is carried out but silently omitted his slash or slashes. However, Mather uniformly sets off his Hebrew citations with slashes at the beginning and end, and his practice is retained: thus, "The Terms, /***/ and /***/ are synonymous.

12. Mather frequently uses dashes – of varying lengths. Such a dash often signifies the end of a quotation, an omission of words (especially in conflated quotations), or some other unspecified alteration to a quotation. However, dashes occur not only within quotations but also at the ends of lines, here generally indicating pauses. Mather's practice is followed in the text of the present edition but their length is uniformly standardized.

13. Single, and infrequently double, quotation marks serve Mather to highlight lengthy citations from his contemporaries' sources. These markers appear at the opening (but not at the closing) of each citation and in front of each word (along the left-hand margin) beginning a new line. Little seems to be gained, however, by retaining this archaic practice: (1) Mather's line breaks (except for those in his poetry) are different from the line breaks in the present edition. (2) If these lines were run to the same measure as the surrounding copy, Mather's quotation marks would appear midline. (3) And to move the quotation marks back to the left-hand margin would be to impose an archaic convention on this modern setting. For these reasons, modern conventions have been adopted here, and double quotation marks are placed only at the opening and closing of Mather's citations.

14. Mather's hyphenations of compound names, verbs, nouns, adjectives, and adverbs are preserved as they appear in the manuscript. Distinguishing compound hyphenation from end-of-the-line divisions proved easy enough, since the context clearly signals his intention. In those cases where an end-of-the-line division mark coincides with the hyphen of a hyphenated compound word, the editor has tried to rule out any misinterpretation. No separate record of Mather's divisions of hyphenated compounds is therefore necessary, except in those cases when Mather's hyphenated words coincide with the end-of-the-line word division in the printed text. These rare instances are explained in a footnote.

15. Mather's Latin, Greek, and Hebrew citations are a constant source of problems because he virtually always quotes them at second, even third and fourth, hand depending on which authors and sources he is epitomizing. Modern readers must not forget that Mather and his contemporaries by and large did not have the benefit our modern classical editions, whose philological reliability, textual accuracy, and variant orthography are a result of the philological research begun during the Renaissance and achieving prominence in Mather's own time. In virtually all cases Mather reliably copies his sources and their classical citations. In cases where Mather makes mistakes, the error generally occurs in Mather's source as well. Whenever such a problem occurs, the issue is commented on in a footnote and the error corrected in the text.

His transcription of the Greek diacritical marks, however, seems sloppy at first glance. Mather frequently adds accent marks in his Latin citations even though they do not appear in his source. Significantly, in nearly every instance, he omits the accent or aspiration marks from his Greek and Hebrew citations – even if they are supplied in his source texts. In his *Manuductio ad Ministerium* (1726), Mather addressed the issue of Greek accent marks and his rationale for omitting them. Advising his candidates for the ministry, he argued,

> I can't encourage you, to throw away much Time, upon an Accurate Skill in the *Greek* Accents: But rather wholly to drop them, when your Quill comes to convey any *Greek* into your Pages. For, as the Writing of *Greek* otherwise than in *Capitals*,

> was introduced in later Ages by the Monks of *Egypt*, who borrowed the smaller Letters now used from the *Coptic*; So, One shall hardly find any *Accents* on the *Greek*, in any Manuscripts written above Eight Ages ago: Nor was the Invention of the *Accents*, with which our *Greek* is now encumbred, of any other than a *Musical* Intention. And, *Vossius*, with *Henninius* after him, are not the only Gentlemen, who have declared earnestly against pronouncing the *Greek* according to the *Accents*: I pray, how would a Verse of *Homer* sound, if it were so pronounced? (*Manuductio* 29–30.)

A similar intent seems to govern Mather's numerous, though brief, Hebrew citations, whether derived from secondary sources or from the Masoretic texts themselves. Some scholars faulted him for his imperfect knowledge of Hebrew (see L. H. Feldman 125, 152n15; and S. Goldman, *God's Sacred Tongue* 31–51). However cogent this critique may be, Mather sided in his 1681 Harvard M. A. thesis with Johann Buxtorf the Younger, who in 1648 attacked Louis Cappellus' *Arcanum punctationis revelatum* (1624) for rejecting the belief that the Hebrew vowel points were coterminous with the origin of the Hebrew language. Mather's academic endeavor was perhaps more indicative of his faith and wishful thinking than the state-of-the art knowledge of the Tiberian Masoretes (sixth c. CE), whose contribution to the Hebrew texts was not fully understood until Louis Cappellus published his refutation. In "Biblia Americana," Mather admits his error and, perhaps for this reason, elects to omit the Hebrew cantillation marks in virtually all instances.

Similar problems occur in Mather's copying of Greek phrases and sentence, which (as usual) are at second, third, even fourth, hand. What complicates matters is that Mather and his peers frequently employ shorthand abbreviations such as O for "os," the terminal "ς" (in opening or medial positions) for "στ," or ∂ς for "tai," ∂ for θ, or J for θ. In all cases I have elected to expand his abbreviations silently and follow modern conventions. However, I retain all accent marks in his Greek and Hebrew citations if they are supplied in the holograph manuscript.

Annotations

Cotton Mather's commentary "Biblia Americana" (in itself one gigantic sequence of annotations on biblical archaisms, doctrinal concepts, philological peculiarities, and scientific innovations) requires a running commentary on issues important to Mather and his Reformed peers. Among his target audience are theologians, preachers, informed laypersons, and fellow virtuosi, whose demand for answers to the burning scientific and philosophical questions of the age were frequently ignored by such conservative commentators as Henry Ainsworth, Matthew Henry, Matthew Poole, and Simon Patrick.

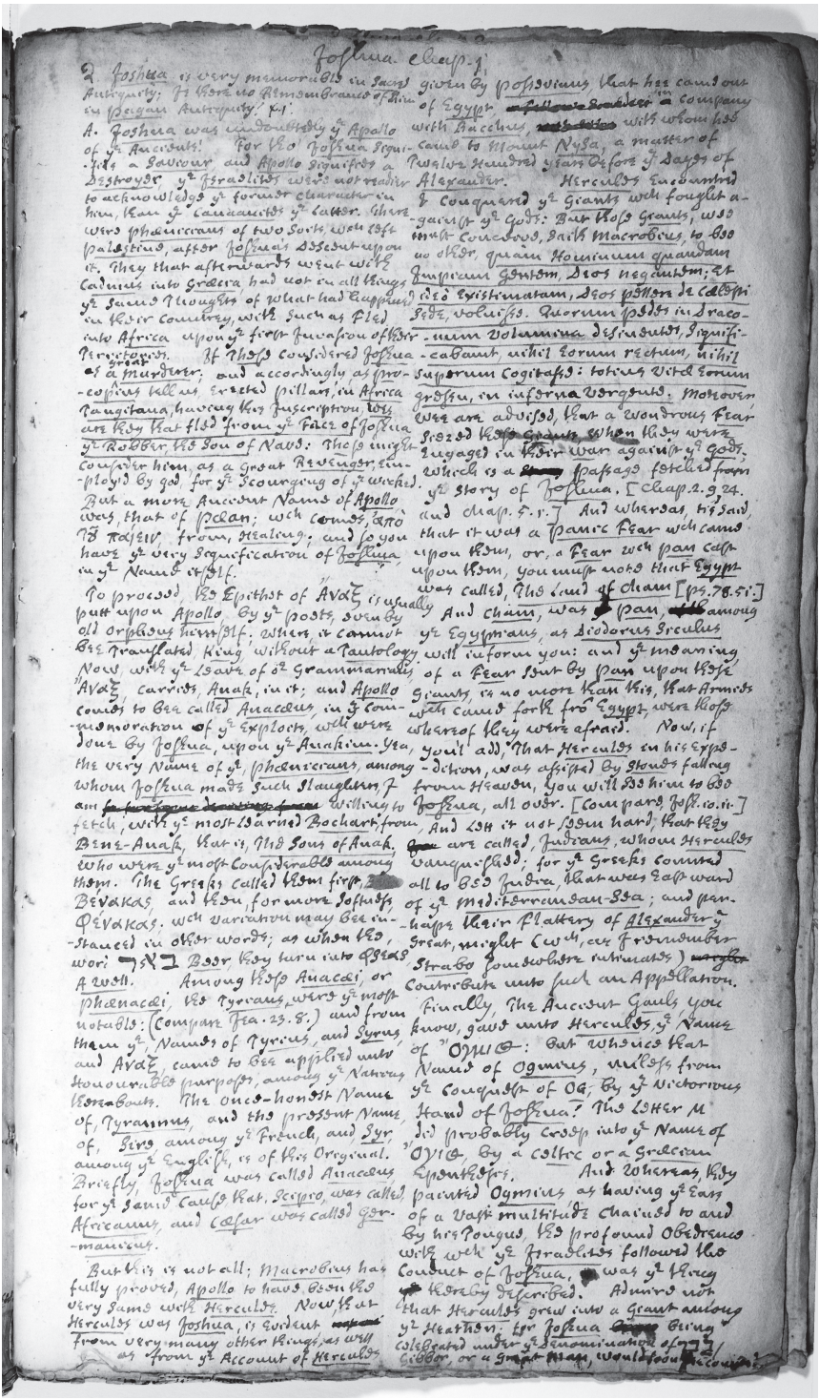
Modern readers unfamiliar with the philosophical debates of the period, with the radical changes in biblical hermeneutics of the seventeenth and eight-

eenth centuries, and with the tools of seventeenth-century exegesis (tools that Mather took for granted), might easily require three different sets of annotations to meet their own needs. To satisfy these demands would surely require volumes of running commentary. Careful examination of Mather's approach to and use of his sources has led to specific parameters for guiding readers:

(1) A working knowledge of the bible, its major figures, and main historical events is taken for granted. Any number of modern biblical dictionaries and encyclopedias will quickly yield answers not provided here.
(2) Annotations are to clarify Mather's own exegetical positions in the context of his own time period, not to pass judgment on, or to provide a partisan defense of his denominational or ideological concerns.
(3) Mather's sources are identified by author, place of publication, and first edition if known.
(4) Biographical information of Mather's authors is kept to a minimum and provided only when crucial to the immediate context.
(5) Biblical allusions and citation references not provided in Mather's text are supplied in footnotes and recorded in the Index of Biblical Passages.
(6) Standard reference tools such as the *Patrologiae Latinae* (PL), *Graecae* (PG), and *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (www.tlg.uci.edu), or such indispensable online resources as www.perseus.tufts.edu/Texts/latin_TOC.html and "thelatinlibrary.com" are used throughout to identify the sources for Mather's citations. Furthermore, the standard editions of classical Greek and Roman literature, available in multiple modern reprints (Teubner, Loeb, Oxford), are used to identify book, chapter, section, or paragraph numbers – unless otherwise noted.
(7) Translations of Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French, or German citations are furnished only if Mather does not do so himself or if his translations are seriously flawed.

Part 2

The Text



Recto page [118r] of the holograph manuscript, volume II (MHS)

Q. *Joshua* is very memorable in *Sacred* Antiquity; Is there no Remembrance of him in *Pagan* Antiquity? v. 1.

A. *Joshua* was undoubtedly the *Apollo* of the Ancients! For tho' *Joshua* signifies a *Saviour*, and *Apollo* signifies a *Destroyer*, the *Israelites* were not readier to acknowledge the former Character in him, than the *Canaanites* the latter. There were *Phœnicians* of two Sorts, which left *Palæstine*, after *Joshua*s Descent upon it. They that afterwards went with *Cadmus* into *Græcia*, had not in all things the same Thoughts of what had happened in their Countrey, with such as Fled into *Africa* upon the first Invasion of their Territories. If *These* considered *Joshua* as a great *Murderer*; and accordingly, as *Procopius* tells us,[1] erected Pillars, in *Africa Tangitana*, having this Inscription, *Wee are they that fled from the Face of* Joshua *the Robber, the Son of* Nave: These might consider him, as a great *Revenger*, employ'd by God, for the Scourging of the wicked. But a more Ancient Name of *Apollo* was, that of *Pæan*; which comes, ἀπὸ τοῦ μαίειν, from, *Healing*; and so you have the very Signification of *Joshua*, in the Name itself.

To proceed, the Epithet of Ἄναξ is usually putt upon *Apollo*, by the Poets, even by old *Orpheus* himself;[2] where it cannot bee Translated, *King*, without a Tautology. Now with the Leave of our Grammarians, Ἄναξ, carries, *Anak*, in it; and *Apollo* comes to bee called *Anacœus*, in the Commemoration of the Exploits, which were done by *Joshua*, upon the *Anakim*. Yea, the very Name of the, *Phœnicians*, among whom *Joshua* made such Slaughters, I am willing to fetch, with the most learned *Bochart*,[3] from *Bene-Anak*, that is, *The Sons of Anak*; who were the most considerable among them. The Greeks called them first, Βένακας, and then, for more Softness, φένακας. Which Variation may bee instanced in other Words; as when the, word באר *Beer*, they turn into φρεαρ, *A Well*. Among these *Anacæi*, or *Phœnacæi*, the *Tyrians*, were the most notable: (Compare Isa. 23.8.) and from them the, Names of *Tyrius*, and *Syrus*, and Ανaξ, came to bee applied unto Honourable Purposes, among the Nations thereabouts. The once-honest Name of *Tyrannus*, and the present Name, of, *Sire*, among the French, and, *Syr*,

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1 Procopius of Caesarea, 6th-century CE Palestinian historian, *De Bellis* (4.10.22.5): "They [the Gergesites and Jebusites] also built a fortress in Numidia, where now is the city called Tigisis. In that place are two columns made of white stone near by the great spring, having Phoenician letters cut in them which say in the Phoenician tongue: 'We are they who fled from before the face of Joshua, the robber, the son of Nun'" (*Works*, transl. H. B. Dewing [1916], 2:289).

2 Orpheus is the attributed author of a group of hymns written between the 3rd century BCE and the 2nd century CE. The reference is to *Hymni* 34, "To Latona" (l.8): "In Delos he, which mountains high adorn."

3 Samuel Bochart, 17th-century French protestant biblical scholar, *Geographia Sacra* (1674), pars posterior, lib. I, cap. I, pp. 362–64.

among the English, is of this Original. Briefly, *Joshua* was called *Anacæus*, for the same Cause, that, *Scipio*, was called, *Africanus*, and *Cæsar* was called *Germanicus*.

But this is not all; *Macrobius* has fully proved, *Apollo* to have been the very same with *Hercules*.[4] Now, that *Hercules* was *Joshua*, is evident, from very many other things, as well as from the Account of *Hercules* given by *Possevimus*, that hee came out of *Egypt,* in Company with *Bacchus*, with whom hee came to Mount *Nysa*; a Matter of Twelve Hundred Years before the Dayes of *Alexander*. *Hercules* Encountred & conquered the *Giants* which fought against the Gods: But those *Giants*, wee must conceive, saith *Macrobius*, to bee no other *quàm Hominum quandam Impiam Gentem, Deos negantem; et ideò existimatam, Deos pellere de Cælesti sede, voluisse. Quorum pedes in Draconum Volumina desinentes, significabant nihil eorum rectum, nihil superum cogitasse: totius Vitæ eorum gressu, in inferna Vergente.*[5] Moreover, Wee are advised, that a wondrous *Fear* siezed these *Giants*, when they were engaged in their *War* against the *Gods*; which is a Passage fetched from the Story of *Joshua*. [Chap. 2.9, 24. and Chap. 5.1.] And whereas, tis said, that it was a *Panic Fear* which came upon them, or, a *Fear* which *Pan* cast upon them, you must note that *Egypt* was called, *The Land of Cham* [Ps. 78.51.] And *Cham*, was *Pan*, among the *Egyptians*, as *Diodorus Siculus* will inform you:[6] and the Meaning, of a *Fear* sent by *Pan* upon these *Giants*, is no more than this, that Armies which came forth from *Egypt*, were those whereof they were afraid. Now, if you'l add, That *Hercules* in his Expedition, was assisted by *Stones* falling from Heaven, you will see him to bee *Joshua*, all over. [Compare Josh. 10.11.]

And lett it not seem hard, that they are called, *Indians*, whom *Hercules* vanquished; for the Greeks counted all to be *India*, that was Eastward of the *Mediterranean-Sea*; and perhaps their Flattery of *Alexander* the Great, might (which, as I remember, *Strabo* somewhere intimates)[7] contribute unto such an Appellation.

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4 Macrobius Ambrosius Theodosius, 5th-century CE Roman philosopher, *Saturnalia* (1.20.6).

5 For Macrobius on giants, *see Saturnalia* (1.20.8–9). Mather's text has a number of discrepancies from the original Latin, which reads: *quàm Hominum quandam Inpiam Gentem, Deos neqantem; Et ideò Aestimatam, Deos pellere de Cælesti sede, voluisse. Horum pedes in Draconum Volumina desinebant, Significat nihil eos rectum, nihil superum Cogitasse: totius Vitæ Eorum gressu, in inferna Mergente*. "[No other than] some impious nation of men who denied the gods and were therefore thought to have aimed at driving the gods from their seat in heaven. The giants' feet ended in serpents' coils, which symbolizes that their thoughts were not upright and godlike, that at every step and stage of their lives they were sinking into the world below."

6 Diodorus Siculus, 1st-century BCE Greek historian, *Bibliotecha Historica* (1.18.2.5–7): "He [Osiris] also took Pan along on his campaign, who is held in special honour by the Egyptians; for the inhabitants of the land have not only set up statues of him at every temple but have also named a city after him in the Thebaid, called by the natives Chemmo, which when translated means City of Pan."

7 Strabo, 1st-century BCE Greek geographer, *Geographica* (11.5.5, 18.9). Mather's assertion about the Greek labeling of India comes from a misreading of the text. Strabo claims that, in

Finally, The Ancient *Gauls*, you know, gave unto *Hercules*, the Name of Ὄγμιος: but whence that Name of *Ogmius*, unless from the Conquest of *OG*; by the victorious Hand of *Joshua*? The Letter μ did probably creep into the Name of Ὄγιος, by a *Celtic* or a *Græcian* Epenthesis. And whereas, they painted *Ogmius*, as having the Ears of a Vast Multitude chained to and by his Tongue, the profound Obedience with which the *Israelites* followed the Conduct of *Joshua*, was the thing thereby described. Admire not, that *Hercules* grew into a *Giant* among the Heathen; for *Joshua* being celebrated under the Denomination of /גבר/ *Gibbor*, or a Great Man, would soon bee counted so.

| I know not whether you will account my Essay to find *Apollo* in our *Joshua* [118v]
sufficient, except I show you also some Agreement of their *Parentage*. Well then; The Greeks called the Supreme God of Heaven, by the Name Νοῦν: and when they understood, that this *Joshua* was the Son of *Nun*, (which, agreeably to other Instances, in Greek, were Νοῦς) they presently predicated him for the Son of *Jupiter*. But whereas of *Joshua*s Mother wee read nothing at all; the Greeks made the Mother of *Apollo* to bee Λητώ, i.e. *Latona*; which according to *Plato*, is Ληθὼ, *â Latendo et Inscitrâ*.[8]

[See *Dickinsons, Delphi Phœnicissantes*.][9]

Accept these Illustrations of *Scripture-Story*: hee that shall furnish mee with better, himself

– Erit mihi magnus Apollo.[10]

2286.

Q. The Condition of *Israel*, Marching thro' the Wilderness, passing thro' *Jordan*, & entring into *Canaan*, was there nothing Typical in it? v. 1.

A. There were *Evangelical Mysteries* in each of these Dispensations.

We see *Israel* marching thro' the Deserts of *Arabia*, with their God in the Head of them. Thus, wee meet with many Troubles, Difficulties, Temptations in the Way to Heaven. What is this *World*, but an howling Wilderness, full of *Lions* and *Serpents*? [Act. 14.22.] Moreover, The Carriage of *Israel*, in the

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order to flatter Alexander, the Indian mountains became known as the "Caucasus" (in Greek, "the end of the earth"). Mather, or his source, seems to have confused the issue. *See* W. W. Tarn, *Alexander the Great* (2:58).

8 Plato, *Cratylus* (406a–b). Socrates actually claims that λνθω comes from λειοσ. Mather makes the connection to λανθανω ("I am unseen"). *Latona* is Leto's Latin name; the phrase *a latendo et inscruta* has nothing to do with Plato and merely means "by lying hidden and unseen." The final word of the quote should read *inscrutâ.*

9 Edmund Dickinson (1624–1707), English physician and alchemist, *Delphi Phoenicizantes* (1655), cap. III, "Josua et Apollo idem," pp. 21–35.

10 "For me, he will be a greater Apollo." The line is from 1st-century BCE Roman poet Virgil's Third *Eclogue* (3.104–05): *Dic quibus in terries et eris mihi magnus Apollo / tris pateat cali spatium non amplius ulnas;* "Tell me in what lands the space of the sky opens not more than three ells, and you will be a great Apollo to me."

Wilderness, is a Glass, wherein wee may see the Corruption of our own Hearts. [1. Cor. 10.5–10.]

And the perishing of so many in the *Wilderness*, exhibits to us, the perishing of many Souls, under but Præparative & Initial Works of God upon them. [Heb. 4.1, 2.]

Again, We See *Israel*, passing thro' *Jordan*, under *Joshua*s Conduct, the Priests bearing the *Ark*, & going on before them, and standing in the Midst thereof, till all the People were gone over. This Intimated something of the same, with their Passage thro' the *Red-Sea*: but with some differing Circumstances. It Repræsented the Lord Jesus Christ, going before His People, & bearing their Sorrowes, that would have sunk them, & wafting them thro' all their Sorrowes, even Death itself, unto their Eternal Rest. *Israel*'s Passage was at *Bethabara*, or, *The House of Passage*; the very Place where our Lord was Baptised, when Hee entred upon His Ministry. And their Passage was, on the *Tenth Day of the First Month, encamping then at Gilgal, where they kept the Passeover*; so, it seems, on the same *Tenth Day of the First Month*, that our Lord Rode into *Jerusalem*; where Hee not only kept the *Passeover*, but also presented Himself the True *Paschal Lamb*, to bee slain for us, & encountring the Swellings of *Jordan*, the whole Confluence of the Wrath of God, and the Sins & Sorrowes of the Elect, Hee hath opened a Passage for them into Everlasting Blessedness.

Finally; wee see *Israel* entring into *Canaan*, under the Leading of *Joshua*. The Thing here adumbrated unto us, is obvious. *Canaan* a Type of Heaven; and *Joshua*, of our *Jesus*.

~~4003~~.

Q. We read, *Joshua sent two Men, to spy Secretly*. How, *Secretly*? v. 1.
A. To carry on the Exploration without any *Noise* of the Matter.

Some read the Text here; *Pro Fabro*. And thus they give the Sense of it; *Intrate terram sub Specie Fabrorum, gestantes in manibus Instrumenta Fabrilia*.[11]

But then, the Jewes who follow the Chaldee Paraphrast, thus expound the, *Secretly*; That *Joshua* sent the *Spies* without the Knowledge of the *Israelites*; Lest their Hearts might fall into the same Distempers, that they did in the time of *Moses*, near forty Years ago.

~~4050~~{?}.

Q. We generally Accuse *Rahab* of a *Lye*, in the Account she gives of the Spies; & we make Harangues, upon the high Approbation & Commendation given of her *Faith*, notwithstanding this *Lye*. v. 4.
A. Yes; And in several Instances, we often too hastily condemn the *Generation of the Righteous*.

*Rahab*s Words were, *There came Men unto me, but I wist not whence they were: And it came to pass about the Time of shutting the Gate, when it was dark, the Men went out, whither the Men went I wote not*. Her House was an *Inn*. What she saies, tis probable, was very True of some *Other Men*, whom the *Inn* had newly entertained. There was a *Truth* in her Words, tho' not the *Truth*, expected by them, and the *Truth* she was under no Obligation to tell them.

{16..}

Q. How came *Rahab*, to hide the Spies, *On the Roof of the House*; whenas, tis intimated elsewhere, that this was the most *Public* & *Open* Place, that could bee? [See 2. Sam. 16.22. and Math. 10.27.] v. 6.
A. The green Stalks of the Flax lying here, to Dry, would sufficiently cover the *Spies*. But, the Cunning of the Woman lay in this thing, that shee would carry them to a public, an open, a frequented Place, where none would imagine that shee would or Could *Hide*, those that were now searched for.

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11 "Go into the land under the guise of workmen, carrying a workman's tools in [your] hands."

~~4214~~{?}.

Q. Was *Rahab* indeed of that Infamous Character, *An Harlot*; or only, *An Hostess*?

A. *Thomas de Vio*, is in doubt, whether the Word should be rendred, *Meretrix*, or, *Caupona*. He saies, *Hebraica Dictio anceps est, et Argumenta utrinque sunt.*[12] *Schindler* also hæsitates, because the *Spies* would scarce have chosen so unsafe an House as that of an *Harlot*, therein to shelter themselves.[13] And *Lyra*, and *Pagnin*, and *Arias*, and *Titelman*,[14] fall in to Support the poor Woman's Reputation, as well as they can. But after all, The Hebrew Word /זונה/ must and will signify, a downright *Harlot*. [See Gen. 38.19.] And there are two Inspired Writers of the New Testament; *Paul*, [Heb. 11.31.] and *James*, [chap. 2.25.] who, rendring it, by, πορνη, have left the Matter unquæstionable. *Fornication* was reckoned so small a Fault, among the Ancients, that we cannot wonder, if the *Women* who kept public Houses of Entertainment, exposed their *Bodies* for Gain, as well as the *Meat* and *Drink*, with which they Entertained their Customers. *Dietericus* ha's learnedly prosecuted this Matter, in his, *Antiquitates Biblicæ*.[15] I will conclude with the Lines of *Georgius Fabritius' Chemnicensis*.

Sola Rahab, *quamvis infami obnoxia culpæ,*
Dum timet, et populi pars cupit esse Dei:
Hospita Sanctorum, Moresque exosa priores,
Eripit è media seque suosque nece.[16]

[119v] |

Q. What sort of a *Line of Scarlett threed*, was that, agreed between *Rahab*, & the Spies? v. 18.

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12 "The Hebraic term is ambiguous and there are arguments for either interpretation." Tommaso de Vio Cajetan (Gaetanus), an Italian cardinal and commentator on Aquinas of the late 15th and early 16th centuries whose collected works, *Opera Omnia*, were published in Leiden in five volumes in 1639.

13 Valentin Schindler, 16th-century Lutheran Hebraist and professor at Wittenberg, *Lexicon Pentaglotton* (1635), col. 120.

14 Nicholas de Lyra, late 13th/early 14th-century French Franciscan, member of the faculty of the Sorbonne, and reputed convert from Judaism, *Postilla Super Totam Bibliam* (1488), vol. 1, on Josh. 2:1; Sanctes Pagninus (1470–1541), Italian philologist and biblical scholar, author of *Veteris et Novi Testamenti nova Translatio* (1527); Arias Montanus, 16th-century Spanish Hebraist and chief translator of *Biblia Sacra Hebraice Chaldaice, Graece et Latine* (1572); Franciscus Tittelmans, an early 16th-century Flemish Capuchin who wrote biblical commentaries on Job, Psalms, Canticles, and Ecclesiastes, but whose commentary on Joshua, if he wrote one, has not been located.

15 Johann Conrad Dieterich (1575–1639), German Lutheran scholar and superintendent of Ulm, *Antiquitates Biblicae* (1671).

16 "Yet only Rahab is afraid, although she is subject to a notorious crime, / And she desires to be part of the people of God: / A hostess for the saints and hateful toward old customs, / She rescued herself and her people from the midst of death." Georgius Fabricius of Chemnitz, 16th-century German protestant poet, *Poematum Sacrorum Libri XV* (1560), "Triumphi heroici" (II, p. 492).

A. It is called a *Cord*; and no doubt consisted of so many Threeds twisted together, as made it a *Line* strong enough to hold the Weight of a Mans Body.

There are those, who doubt whether the Hebrew Word, *Scheni*, signify any thing of the Colour at all; but only a *Twined*, or *Twisted* Cord; *Funiculum Conduplicatum*; from *Schanah*, To *Double*. See *Gataker*, in his *Miscellanies*. C. XL.

It was, as Dr. *Patrick* observes, The *Cord*, by which they were lett down out the Window. And it was now, to remain there, as a Token to be seen by the *Israelites*, for the House to be præserved.

Procopius Gazæus compares this *Cord*, with the *Blood*, which *Moses* ordered to be struck on the Side Posts of the Doors, as a Token for the Præservation of the House. [Exod. 12.7, 13.]

The *Cord* was immediately bound unto the Window, not only that the *Spies* might know where to look for it; but that *Rahab* also might have alwayes before her Eyes, the comfortable Pledge of her Safety.

They that were *with her in the House,* were to be safe. An Emblem, as Dr. *Patrick* observes, of our Salvation, by continuing in the Church, with Faith and Holiness. Her *House* was a fitt Figure of the Church; especially of the Gentiles; who like her, had gone a whoring after Idols, but were converted unto the Living God.[17]

~~4782.~~

Q. *If thou utter this our Business*? v. 20.
A. If we See others hang out *Scarlett Cords*.

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17 Simon Patrick (1626–1707), English biblical commentator and bishop of Chichester and Ely, *A Commentary upon the Books of Joshua, Judges and Ruth* (1702), entries on Josh. 2:18–20, pp. 18–20, citing Thomas Gataker (1574–1654), Church of England clergymen and member of the Westminster Assembly, *Adversaria Miscellanea* (1659), ch. XL, pp. 395–409; and Procopius Gazaeus, late 5th/early 6th century CE biblical commentator, *Commentarii in Octateuchum* (1555), pp. 486–87.

Q. The River *Jordan*? v. 1.

A. Take the Account, that the famous Jewish Historian, *Josephus*, gives of it. "The Head of this River, has been thought to be *Panion*. But in truth, it passes hither Underground; and the Source of it is *Phiala*, an hundred & twenty furlongs from *Cæserea* (viz. *Philippi*,) a little on the Right Hand, & not much out of the Way to *Trachonis*. It is called, *Phiala* (that is, *the Vial*,) from the round Figure of it, and its Water stands alwayes at a Stay, the Bason being Brim full, without either shrinking or overflowing. The first Discovery of this Secret, was from *Philip*, the *Tetrach* of *Trachonis*, by casting Straws into *Phiala*, that came out again at *Panion*; which till that time was taken for the Head of *Jordan*. The River thus as to its Appearance, taking its Original from the Cave of *Panion*, afterwards crosses the Bogs and Fens of the Lake *Semechonitis*; And after a Course of an hundred and twenty Furlongs further, passes under the City *Julias* (or *Bethsaida*) & so over the Lake of *Gennesareth*; and then running a long Way through a Wilderness or Desert, it empties itself at last, into the Lake *Alsphaltites*, or the Dead Sea." [Wars of Jews, Book. III. c. 18.] From this Account it appears, that the Vulgar Opinion of this Rivers arising from Two Fountains, One named *Jor*, t'other *Dan*, is but ill grounded (as Mr. *Wells* notes)[18] if not wholly Fictitious.

Q. When the *Ark* was to enter *Jordan*, there is Order given for the *Priests* to bear it. Why, the *Priests*? v. 3.

A. Saies *Kimchi*; "The *Levites*, that is, the Children of *Kohath*, had hitherto carried the Ark. But now, the *Priests* are appointed unto that Office, for the greater Sanctification, or Honour of it; and because of the Miracle, which was to be wrought before it."

The Rabbins note, The *Priests* thus carried the *Ark*, Three times. Now; And when it compassed *Jericho*. And, in the Flight of *David*. 2. Sam. 15.29. *Kimchi* adds a Fourth; when it was brought into *Solomon*s Temple.[19]

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18 Edward Wells (1667–1727), Church of England clergyman and scholar, *The Historical Geography of the Old Testament* (1712), 1:35–36, citing Josephus Flavius, 1st-century CE Roman-Jewish historian (hereafter Josephus), *De Bello Judaico* (3.18).

19 Patrick (*A Commentary* 23), citing David Kimhi (1160–1235), French rabbi and biblical commentator, also known by the acronym "Radak." Mather's main rabbinical source for Joshua is Kimhi, *Prophetas Priores [Nebiim rishonim]* ʿāmar Dawid ben Jôsef ben Qimhî has-sĕfardî (1485) (hereafter cited as *Former prophets*); however, it seems that Mather only cited this source indirectly via Patrick, Münster and others. For Kimhi's comment on Josh. 3:3 (which Mather translates), *see* Sebastian Münster (1488–1552), German cartographer and Hebrew scholar, *Hebraica Biblia* (1534), p. 204.

Q. *Joshua* said unto the People, *Sanctify yourselves*. How? v. 5.
A. You are answered, in Exod. XIX.10, 11. and, Num. XI.18.

But as Dr. *Patrick* notes, Besides the legal Purifications, one cannot but think, that he intended, they should dispose their Minds, by Holy Meditations and Supplications, to receive the Benefits of God, & be more Sensible of them, when they were bestowed.[20]

| [blank] [120v]

20 Patrick, *A Commentary* (25).

[121r] Joshua. Chap. 5.[21]

Q. Why did the Children of *Israel* omitt *Circumcision*, in the *Wilderness*? v. 6.
A. The Reasons commonly given, are so well-known, I need not Repeat them.

Fortunatus Schaccus thinks, the true Reason was, because they did not look upon the Præcept of *Circumcision*, as obliging them, till they came to Settle in the Land of *Canaan*. In the *Covenant* which *Moses* made with them at Mount *Sinai*, there is nothing said about *Circumcision*; unto which they were bound by the *Covenant* made with *Abraham*, (as our Saviour observes; Joh. VII.25.) and that runs thus; *I will give unto thee, & unto thy Seed after thee, the Land wherein thou art a Stranger: Thou shalt keep my Covenant therefore; – Every Man-child shall be circumcised*.

It may be added; That several great Men, such as *Theodoret* and *Jerom* among the Ancients, think, that *Circumcision* being a note of Distinction between the *Israelites* and other People, there was no need of it in the Wilderness, when (as *Cedrenus* speaks) they were, παντος αλλογενους κεχωρισμενοι. *Separated from all Strangers*, by the *Wilderness* itself.

Others think, The Mixed Multitude of *Egyptians*, who were now joined with the *Israelites*, might be the Cause of this Omission. They were not willing to disoblige the *Egyptians*, by too much distinguishing themselves from them.
[121v] And yett they could not presently Incorporate the | *Egyptians* by circumcising of them. They now all received Circumcision, at the Entrance into *Canaan*; for they would not be upbraided as a People of a Different Original.

Dr. *Patrick* on this Occasion mentions an Observation of Dr. *Alix*. The Omission of *Circumcision* in the Desert, made the Proselytes who came out of *Egypt*, æqual with the *Israelites*, while they staid there; & it show'd, that there was no absolute Necessity of this Rite, and that it could not be of eternal Obligation.[22]

Q. How far *Gilgal* from *Jericho*? v. 10.

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21 There are no entries on Josh. 4.

22 Patrick, *A Commentary* (48–49, on v. 7), citing Fortunatus Scacchus (1573–1640), Italian antiquarian and professor at Verona, Rome and Padua, *Sacrorum Elaeochrismaton Myrothecia tria* (1710), lib. II, cap. LIV, col. 576; Theodoret, 5th-century CE theologian and bishop of Cyrrhus, Syria, *Quaestiones in Octateuchum*, "Quaestiones in Iosuam," IV (see also *The Questions on the Octateuch* 2:175); Jerome (c. 347–420 CE), Roman Christian theologian and historian, *Divina Bibliotheca 09. Liber Josue Ben Nun* (cols. 516–17); Georgius Cedrenus, 11th-century CE Greek historian, *Compendium historiarum* (vol. 1, p. 142, line 1); and Pierre Allix, *Reflexions upon the Books of the Holy Scriptures* (1688), cap. XV, pp. 212–18.

A. *Josephus* tell us, That *Jericho* was Sixty Furlongs distant from *Jordan*; and that the Camp of *Gilgal* was Fifty Furlongs from that River. Hence *Gilgal* was Ten Furlongs, to the East of *Jericho*.

But it is observed by some learned Men, That Five of the Furlongs used by *Josephus*, do make up an *Italian* Mile. And so, the Distance between *Gilgal* and *Jericho*, will be just Two Miles.

This exactly agrees with what *Jerom* saies, when he tells us; That the Place was shewn in his Days, as Two Miles Distance from *Jericho*; and was had in very great Veneration, by the Inhabitants of that Countrey.[23]

Q. On the *Angel* appearing as an *Armed Man*? v. 13.

A. Some have made a Remark, That the Glorious God *adapts* the Appearance of His Messengers, to the Occasion.

Here, is the Appearance of a Drawn Sword, in the Hand of a Man of War. – Thus, our Saviour appears in the Garden to *Mary*, as a Gardener. He appears to the Travelling Disciples, as a Traveller. Piety may form fine Meditations upon it.

23 Wells, *Historical Geography* (2:193), citing Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* (5.1.4).

Q. A Remark upon the City of *Jericho*? v. 1.

A. Take one from *Eusebius*. The City built by *Hiel* the *Bethelite*, & mentioned in the Gospel, & honoured with the Presence of our Saviour, was destroy'd for the Treachery of its Inhabitants, during the Siege of *Jerusalem* by the *Romans*. And the City standing in his Days, was a Third City; built after the Siege of *Jerusalem*; and it seems, not in the very Place, where the Two former were built. For he tells us, That the Ruins of both the former were still to be seen.

It is in the Scripture sometimes called, *The City of Palm-trees*; from the plenty, or beauty of these Trees in the Territory of the City.[24]

Q. What were the *Trumpetts*, that were blown, in the Compassing of *Jericho*? v. 4.

A. The Phrase in the Hebrew is, *Trumpetts of Jobel*. That is to say; such *Trumpetts*, as they did use to blow withal in the Year of *Jubilee*.

Dr. *Patrick* observes, That *Rams-horns*, not being hollow, *Trumpetts* could not be made of them.[25]

[122v] |

Q. On what Day of the Week, fell out the *Seventh Day*, whereon was the Fall of *Jericho*? v. 15.

A. The Jewish Writers tell us, T'was the *Sabbath*.

Take the Words of *Kimchi*. *The Ark of the Lord compassed the City, the First Time, on the First Day of the Week. So our Doctors of pious Memory have delivered, That the Seventh Day, whereon the City was taken, was the Sabbath; tho' they kill'd and burnt upon that Day. For, He that commanded the Sabbath to be observed, commanded it now to be profaned, for the Destruction of Jericho; as He commanded Burnt-Offerings to be sacrificed on this Day*.[26]

4784.

Q. *The Wall fell down flatt*. How much of it? v. 20.

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24 Wells, *Historical Geography* (2:194), citing Eusebius (c. 263–339 CE), Christian historian and bishop of Caesarea, *Onamasticon*, § Iota, Numbers and Deuteronomy, "Iericho."

25 Patrick, *A Commentary* (57).

26 Patrick, *A Commentary upon the books of Joshua, Judges and Ruth* (62), citing David Kimhi, *Former prophets*, in loc.

A. Not all of it, as *Munster* observes.[27] For that Part where[28] the House of *Rahab* stood, was yett standing. But that Part of it that was actually invested by the Army of *Israel*.

Or rather, as Dr. *Patrick* notes, The whole Wall sunk into the Earth; only *Rahab*s house was left standing; which made the thing more Remarkable.[29]

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Q. The *Wall of Jericho* falling Flatt, on the *Shout* of the People: Which way was the Fall accomplished? v. 20.

A. I am far from Imagining, with the Author of the *Mathesis Mosaica*,[30] That the *Shout* of the People, did Naturally & Mechanically contribute unto that great Effect. No, It was a Work of *God*, & of His *Angels*, miraculously accomplished.

And yett I cannot but bestow some Attention, on the Opinion of the Jewes, That the *Fall* of the *Wall* now before us, was accomplished by an *Earth-quake*; like what happened, unto the Cities, that are sunk into the Lake, which wee now call, *The Dead Sea*.

Yea, *Jonathan* the *Chaldee* reads it, *Et cecidit murus civitatis, absorptusque est infrà se, ne ingressuris ullum esset impedimentum*.[31]

I will give you the Sense of Antiquity upon it.

The Ancient Author of the Book *De Mirabilibus S. Scripturæ*, ha's these Words; *Hoc Terræ motibus esse factum frequenter Scriptura denunciat*.[32] The *Scripture*, he saies, frequently ascribes things of this Nature, to *Earthquakes*. Thus, he adds, in One famous *Earthquake*, an Hundred Cities of *Libya* perished, and in that *Earthquake* which fell out at the Death of our Saviour, Eleven Cities of *Thracia* were overwhelmed. Yett, saies he, *Hæc dicentes non casu accidisse murorum Hiericho Ruinam, ostendimus*. He ascribes it unto an *Angelical* Ministration.

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27 Münster, *Hebraica Biblia* (1534), on Josh. 6:20, p. 206.

28 MS: "were."

29 Patrick on Josh. 6:5 (*A Commentary* 59).

30 Samuel Reyher (1635–1714), German mathematician and astronomer, *Mathesis Mosaica* (1679), pp. 588–89.

31 "The wall of the city fell and was devoured beneath itself, so that there would be no other obstacle to entering." For Jonathan the Chaldee (Jonathan B. Uzziel), *see* Brian Walton (1600–61), Church of England priest and biblical scholar, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (1660–61), 2:18. Mather originally wrote the remainder of the entry as a separate entry (*see* App. A).

32 "Scripture frequently declares that this was created by movements of the earth." Augustinus Hibernicus, the "Irish Augustine," who in the 7th century CE wrote *De Mirabilibus Sacrae Scripturæ*, seeking to explain biblical miracles within the laws of nature. The text, edited by the Benedictines of St-Maur, was published in vol. 3 of the works of Augustine of Hippo in the Maurists' edition. *See* Damian Bracken, "Rationalism" (no. 1, p. 1, n. 2).

Hoc sicut et cætera ministrari Angelico opere designavimus, Dei Jussu effectum fuisse, non dubitamus.[33]

Q. The Curse on the Rebuilder of *Jericho*? v. 20.
A. Be sure, it was not on them who should Inhabit it. For afterwards we find *Sons of the Prophets* there.[34]

But why should it not be confined unto the Rebuilder of the *Walls*? *Maimonides* notes, *This Anathema was pronounced, that the Miracle might be kept in perpetual Memory. For whosoever saw the Walls sunk into the Earth, would clearly discern, that it was not the Form of a building destroyed by Man, but miraculously thrown down by God*.[35]

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33 "Saying these things, we have shown that the ruin of Jericho did not fall by the destruction of the walls … Just as we have shown how this matter and others were administered by angelic work, we do not doubt that this was done at the command of God."
34 2 Kings 2:5.
35 Patrick (*A Commentary* 69), citing Maimonides (Moses ben-Maimon), 12th-century Spanish Jewish philosopher and Torah scholar, *More Nevochim* (pars III, cap. L).

Q. What might {be} the Original of that Action, wherein *Joshua*, and the Elders of *Israel*, *putt Dust upon their Heads*? v. 6.
A. That Action seems to bee, in Commemoration of, and Conformity to, the *Sentence* which God pass'd upon Man, upon his *First Rebellion*: Gen. 3.19. *Dust thou art, & unto Dust thou shalt Return*. Herein, the Humble pass'd, as it were, a Sentence of *Death* upon themselves; and Remembred therewithal, that *First Rebellion*, which was the Fountain of all the Sins, That have since filled the World.

| [123v]

~~1371~~{?}.

Q. Why was *Joshua*, so earnest with *Achan*, to *Confess*? v. 19.
A. Hee gives a good Reason; *Give Glory to the Lord God*. But there might bee a Twofold Reason subordinate hereunto, which might urge for this *Confession*.

First, *Joshua*, had seen how fickle, & froward, & absurd, the People had been, in the Dayes of his Predecessor *Moses*, on the Occasion of Justice executed; and therefore hee was desirous, to have all Proceedings on this Occasion made very clear to all the World.

Secondly; *Joshua* was willing to know whether *Achan* in his Crime had any Accessaries & Confœderates: For if these had not been discovered, hee fear'd, the Wrath of Heaven might yett pursue the Congregation.

1803.

Q. Might there not bee a further Design of *Joshua*, in this Matter? {v. 19.}
A. Yes. *Achan*s Ingenuous Confession, would bring a marvellous Credit and Honour, to the Use of a *Lott*, upon the Divine Direction for it. The Day was now at hand, wherein the Use of a *Lott*, was to determine the Great Affayrs of the Nation, in the *Divisions* of their *Possessions*. Now, to præpare them, with a due Submission of Spirit, that no *Divisions* of their *Affections*, might arise on that Occasion, *Joshua* could not but see, how advantageous, it would bee, for the Reverence of a *Lott*, thus remarkably to bee produced in them.

[▽Insert from 124r]| [▽124r]

3156.

Q. Some Illustrations upon the *Babylonish Garment*, may entertain us, with less Damage or Danger, than the Charms of that Garment once did the miserable *Achan*. Excuse me, if I say, I *Covet* them? v. 21.

A. About this *Mantle of Shinar*, there are many Conjectures among the Learned.[36]

The *worst* of them all, is what I shall *first* mention; of R. *Solomon*; who saies, That it was the Mantle of the King of *Babylon*, which was kept in a Palace that he had at *Jericho*, as it was then the Manner (if you will beleeve him,) for every Prince of any other Countrey, to have his Palace in the Land of Israel. [Which he concludes from Jer. 3.19.] All that this Rabbi ha's worth minding, is, That the *Shinar-Garment* was made, *Ex Melata*, or, of *Soft Wool*. /מילת/ *Melath*, is properly, not as *Munster* and *Buxtorf*, and some other learned Men, would have it, deduced from the Greek μελωτὴ, a *Lambskin*, but it is, as *Bochart* thinks, the very Name of *Miletus*, a City of *Ionia*, which was to a Proverb, famous for its *Wool*. – *Milesia magno vellera mutentur Tyrios incocta rubores*; quoth *Virgil*.[37] It is not worth our while, to quote other Authorities about this; only I will observe, That what we read, Lam. 2.20. *Children of a Span long*, should rather be read, *Children in their Swadling Cloathes*: which is by the Arabic expounded, *Children Swadled in the Milesian Wool*.

The Tractate *Sanhedrin*, in the *Talmuds*, makes the *Shinar-Garment*, for to be, *Saraballum Aluminatum*.[38] Now, tho' *Sarabellum* do properly signify, *Femoralia*, yet it also signifies, *A Cloak*; or as *Elias* in his *Thisbi* will tell you, /מנטיל/ *A Mantel*. Its being *Aluminated*, signifies its being washed in a sort of *Alum-Water*; which, as Rabbi *Hananeel* intimates, and as *Pliny* more fully, *inficiendis claro colore lanis candidum liquidumque utilissimum est*.[39] *Serapion* mentions *Alum,* as one of the Commodities of *Babylon*. But what if this Garment, should be one made of the *Alumen plumosum*? or, the *Lapis Amiantus*, whereof *Isidore* saies, Tis *Scissi Alumini Similis*;[40] and as *Dioscorides* tells us,[41] as flexible as a Leather-thong, so that they weave Garments of it, which being thrown into the *Fire*, are not consumed, but only purified & brightened? *Strabo*, and *Plutarch*, and others of old, and of later times *Podocattarus* and *Ludovicus Vives*,[42] do celebrate

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36 This entry is taken from Bochart, *Geographia Sacra* (pars prior, lib. I, cap. VI, pp. 28–34), who draws his conclusion from the Talmudic tractate Pesachim (109a); *see* also Patrick (*A Commentary* 82).

37 Bochart, *Geographia Sacra* (pars prior, lib. I, cap. VI, p. 30), quotes Virgil, *Georgics* (3.306–07): "The fleeces of Miletus, steeped in Tyrian purple, are bartered for a high price."

38 *The Talmud of Babylonia, … Tractate Sanhedrin, Chapters 4–8*, transl. Jacob Neusner (cap. VI, p. 78).

39 "Is employed for dying wools of bright colors." Bochart, *Geographia Sacra* (pars prior, lib. I, cap. VI, p. 31), cites Pedanius Dioscorides, 1st-century CE Greek physician and naturalist, *De Materia Medica* (5.115.1); Pliny, 1st-century CE Roman naturalist and military figure, *Naturalis Historia* (35.52.183).

40 Bochart, *Geographia Sacra* (pars prior, lib. I, cap. VI, p. 31), cites Isidore of Seville (c. 560–636 CE), Spanish scholar and archbishop, *Origines* (16.4): "It is similar to cut alum."

41 Bochart, *Geographia Sacra* (pars prior, lib. I, cap. VI, p. 31), cites Dioscorides Pedanius, *De Materia Medica* (5.115.1).

42 Strabo, *Geographica* (9.1.16). Plutarch (c. 46–120 CE), Greek historian and philosopher, *Sertorius* (17.3), though Mather's citation is uncertain; Bochart, *Geographia Sacra* (pars prior,

this kind of Cloath; and probably tis the Same with the *Asbestinum* which *Pliny* tells us,[43] was in Price æqual to *Pearle*. *Bochart* starts this, and then deserts it.

The *best* shall come *Last*; and that is, that of Rabbi *Chanina*, with whom the *Shinar Garment* is, /פרפרא בבלאה/ *Purpura Babylonica*; A Rich Sort of *Purple*, brought, as was usual, from *Apologus* the Port of *Babylon* or of *Susiana*, about the Mouth of *Euphrates*, near the countrey of *Pasinum*, down to the *Arabian* Coast. *Jerom* therefore calls it, *A Scarlet-Cloak*. And here being in this affayr of *Jericho* and *Achan*, an Illustrious Type of *Rome* and *Anti-Christ*, intended by the Holy Ghost Himself, (which I desire you to prosecute in your deepest | Meditations,) Methinks, their Eminencies the *Cardinals*, may have something here to think upon. But if, with *Bochart*, you suspect the *Babylonish Purple* to be a later Invention, and that the Ancient *Babylonians* had no *Purple*, but what they fetch'd from *Tyrus* or from *Hermione*, as tis hinted by *Plutarch*, in his Life of *Alexander*;[44] you must be content with him, to take up with the Greek Version, which here calls it, στολὴν ποικίλην, *A Garment wrought with diverse Colours and Figures*.[45] *Pliny* tells us, *Colores diversos picturæ intexere Babylon maxime celebravit, Et Nomen imposuit*.[46] So saies *Tertullian*, *Aqe nunc, si ab initio rerum – Babylonis intexerent*.[47] And *Martial*, [124v]

Non ego prætulerim Babylonica picta superbe,
Texta Semiramiâ quæ varrantur acu.[48]

Elsewhere he tells of the, *Babylonis Acus*.

Lucretius also tells of the

Babylonica magnifico splendore.[49]

The *Carpets* of the Ancients were mightily sett off, with this *Babylonian Work*. *Ælian* speaks of them; and so does *Plautus*, of the *Babylonica peristromata*.

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lib. I, cap. I, p. 2), cites Juan Luis Vives' commentary on Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* (1522), lib. 21, cap. 6; Vives himself cites Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* (19).

43 Bochart, *Geographia Sacra* (pars prior, lib. I, cap. VI, p. 32), cites Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* (19.4.20).

44 Plutarch, *Alexander* (36.2.2).

45 Brian Walton, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (2:24): ψολὴν ποικίλην.

46 Bochart, *Geographia Sacra* (pars prior, lib. I, cap. VI, p. 33), cites Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* (1.42; i.e., 8.74.196). "Babylon was very famous for making embroidery in different colours, and hence stuffs of this kind have obtained the name of Babylonian."

47 Bochart, *Geographia Sacra* (pars prior, lib. I, cap. VI, p. 33), cites Tertullian (c. 160–c. 225 CE), African Christian apologist and theologian, *De Habitu Muliebri*, cap. 1, the title of the first book of *De Cultu Feminarum* (1.1.3). "If from the beginning of things … the Babylonians wove garments."

48 "I would not prefer to it the embroidered stuffs of proud Babylon, decorated with the needle of Semiramis." Bochart, *Geographia Sacra* (pars prior, lib. I, cap. VI, p. 33), citing Martial, 1st-century Spanish Roman satirical poet, *Epigrammata* (8.20; i.e., 8.28.17–18).

49 Bochart, *Geographia Sacra* (pars prior, lib. I, cap. VI, p. 33), cites Lucretius, 1st-century BCE Roman poet and philosopher, *De rerum natura* (4.1029). The full clause is *cum Babylonica magnifico splendore*, "When [children] drench Babylonian [garments] of magnificent splendor." *Magnifico splendore* is an ablative of quality.

Pliny tells us of *Tricliniaria Babylonica*, that *Nero* had, the Price whereof was no less than a *Million* Peeces of Gold; or four hundred *Sesterces*.[50]

Garments of the *Babylonian* Texture and Picture, were much affected by Ladies of Quality; as the Treatise *Pesachim* (expounding of Deut. 16.14.) tells us in the *Talmuds*.[51] *Cato* having one of these *Garments*, falling to him by Inheritance, *Plutarch* saies, He sold it; He was too Modest & Frugal to wear it. The *Babylonica Purpura*, was indeed *Purple* wrought with curious *Images*; of which the Poet,

– Nec purpura Regem
picta Juvat.[52]

And yett more particularly,

Fert picturatas auri sub tegmine vestes.[53]

Quære. How far the *Images* retained in some Churches of the Reformation, may answer to the *Babylonish Garment of Achan*?

[△] [△Insert ends]

4786.

Q. Why was *Achan*, both *Ston'd* and *Burn'd*? v. 24.
A. The Hebrewes tell us; Because he was guilty of *Two Crimes*, both *Sabbath-breaking* and *Sacriledge*. The punishment for *Sabbath-breaking*, was that of *Stoning*; The punishment for *Sacriledge*, was that of *Burning*.[54]

Q. The Intention of that word; *The Lord shall Trouble thee this Day*? v. 25.
A. The Jewish Doctors, fancy, there is a peculiar emphasis in this Word; *This Day.* As if he had said; *In this Day thou shalt be troubled, but thou shalt not be troubled in the World to Come*. He had given Glory to God, by *Confession*, and so had all his Punishment in *this World*.

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50 Claudius Aelianus (c. 175–c. 235 CE), Roman rhetorican and historian, *De Natura Animalium* (possibly 5.14); Titus Maccius Plautus (c. 254–184 BCE), Roman playwright, *Stichus* (act II, scene 2, line 54); Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* (8.74.196).

51 Treatise *Pesachim*, cap. X: "The thing men like best is, of course, wine; but what is most pleasing to women? R. Joseph taught: 'In Babylonia multicolored dresses and in Judaea pressed linen garments.'"

52 Bochart, *Geographia Sacra* (pars prior, lib. I, cap. I, p. 4), citing Virgil, *Aeneid* (l.7; i.e., 7.251–252). The text reads: "*nec purpura regem / picta movet* [not Mather's *Iuvat*] *nec sceptra movent Priameia*. "Brocaded purple and Priam's scepter do not move the king …"

53 Bochart, *Geographia Sacra* (pars prior, lib. I, cap. VI, p. 34), citing Virgil, *Aeneid* (3.484). Virgil's Latin has *vestis*, not *vestes*. "[Andromache], bringing robes adorned with threads of gold."

54 Patrick, *A Commentary* (85), referring to Guilielmus Henricus Vorstius, trans., רבי אליעזר פרקי *Capitula R. Elieser* (1644).

It is plain, *Joshua* alludes to his Name. The Word, *Achan*, signifies, To *Trouble*, or, *Disturb*.[55]

Q. The *Israelite*s executing *Achan*, destroyed the *Sons* and the *Daughters* of *Achan* too. What special Instruction may there be in this Exemple? v. 25.
A. God, in this Exemple of His Vengeance, answers a Plea, that most Men make for *Covetousness*, (which was the Sin of Achan;) That what they do, they do for the Good of their *Posterity*. It is their Concern to provide well for their *Posterity*, that makes men so *Covetous*, and Rapacious. *Behold*, the *Posterity* of *Achan*, ruined by his *Coveting* more than belong'd unto him.[56]

The Jews, in *Pirke Elieser*, say, The *Children* of *Achan* were punished, because they were privy to their Fathers Crime, & conceled it.

But there are those who think, *Achan* alone to be stoned, and his *Children* only brought forth to be Spectators of it.

And when tis said in the Conclusion of the next Verse; *They stoned* [*Them*] *with Stones*; it may refer to his *Oxen* & *Asses* and *Sheep*, which were stoned with him.[57]

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55 Patrick, *A Commentary* (85), from Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (1606), citing The Jerusalem Talmud, Treatise Sanhedrin, cap. VI (II.XIV.A); *The Talmud of Babylonia, … XIIIB: Tractate Sanhedrin, Chapters 4–8* (80).

56 The remainder of the entry is in a different ink from the foregoing.

57 The last three paragraphs are taken from Patrick, *A Commentary* (84), citing Vorstius, *פרקי רבי אליעזר Capitula R. Elieser* (cap. XXXVIII, pp. 99–100).

Q. Why does the Lord order, *All the People of War*, to *go up to Ai*; since the People themselves had thought, it seems, two or three thousand were enough? v. 1.

A. God would have them *All* to share in the Spoil of *Ai*; That they who had obey'd Him, in abstaining from laying their Hands on any thing in *Jericho*, might be now Rewarded for it, by the Prey of this wealthy City. This is Dr. *Patrick*s Observation.[58]

[125v] |

Q. The *Altar* built by *Joshua*? v. 30.

A. Dr. *Lightfoot* observes,[59] This *Altar* is built by *Joshua*, in the very Place, where an *Altar* was built by *Abraham*, when he first of all took Possession of the Land by Faith.

Q. Methinks, we find Mount *Gerizzim*, and Mount *Ebal*, on the wrong Side of *Jordan* here? v. 30.

A. The Hebrewes are sensible of it; and therefore they tell us, That their Fathers erected a Couple of Artificial Mounts, and called one *Gerizzim*, another *Ebal*; and that the *Priests* did from thence pronounce the *Blessings* and the *Curses*, as the Law directed them.

It may be, this will Reconcile the Difficulty of managing that Exercise, which ha's been by some objected, from the Distance of the Two Mountains.

Q. What was it, that *Joshua* wrote on the Altar in Mount *Ebal*? v. 32.

A. We read, *A Copy of the Law of Moses*. Perhaps, the *Ten Commandments*, or, The *Blessings* and *Curses*. But *Fortunatus Scacchus* conjectures, (and our Dr. *Patrick* takes it for a probable Conjecture,) that he wrote only the *Words of the Covenant*, by which the Children of *Israel* acknowledged, they held the Land of *Canaan*, of God, their Great Lord, on Condition they observed His Lawes, to which they and their Posterity were obliged. And this he principally grounds on those Words; Deut. XXVII.3. *Thou shalt write upon them all the Words of this Law*. Where the Word, [*This*] he thinks does refer to the Thing there spoken of;

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58 A direct quote from Patrick (*A Commentary* 87); Mather adds only the word "wealthy."

59 John Lightfoot, 17th-century Church of England scholar and vice-chancellor of the University of Cambridge, discusses this text, though without explicit reference to Abraham, in *The Harmony, Chronicle and Order of the Old Testament* (1647), p. 82.

Their going over *Jordan* to possess the Land, which God gave them, on Condition they observed His Statutes.[60]

60 Patrick, *A Commentary* (99–100), citing Fortunatus Scacchus, *Sacrorum Elæochrismaton Myrothecia* (1625), lib. II, cap. LVII, pp. 5 ff.

Q. What was the Condition of the *Gibeonites*, when they made their Applications to *Joshua*? v. 3.

A. They being *Hivites*, had at first Rejected the Offers of Peace, that *Joshua* had sent them, as the rest of their Nation had done. But hearing, that *Joshua* had taken *Jericho* and *Ai*, and destroy'd all their Inhabitants, they repented of that Resolution, & studied how to obtain a Peace with the *Israelites*; now it was too late for them to surrender unto *Joshua*, on such Terms as had been offered. Thus Dr. *Patrick*.[61]

Q. *Joshua* saies unto the *Gibeonites*, *Peradventure yee dwell among us, and how shall we make a Covenant with you*? On the Occasion of this Passage, we may do well to Illustrate the Terms on which the *Israelites* were to treat the *Canaanites*, & the other Nations? v. 7.

A. This Matter ha's been commonly misunderstood. Understand then; That,

First; The *Israelites* were to *Offer Peace* unto all *Forreigners* and *Canaanites*. [Deut. 20.10.] And this is clear from Josh. 11.19.

Secondly; They were to make a *Covenant* with none of the *Seven Nations*. [Deut. 7.2. Exod. 23.32. & 34.14.] And this is intimated in the Text now before us.

Well, but what was the Difference between *Making of Peace*, and *Making of a Covenant*. It was twofold.

First, The *Making of Peace*, was a naked Promise, mutually made, for the laying aside of all Hostility, on both Sides, whereby Life on both Sides might be secured. But the *Making of a Covenant*, was to confirm this Promise, with solemn Ceremonies, like those, Jer. 34.18.

Secondly. *Peace* was not Concluded by the *Israelites*, but upon these Terms, that the People now received into *Peace*, became *Tributary* to them. [Deut. 20.11.] But a *Covenant* putt the Confæderates, on *Equal Terms*, without any Condition of Tribute or Service. Hence we read of no Condition, in the Covenant with the *Gibeonites*.

Behold, the Scriptures Reconciled, wherein God saith, *Offer Peace to all*, and yett, *Make a Covenant with none*. And now, we see the Fraud of the *Gibeonites* aggravated: They did not simply seek *Peace*, but a *Covenant*. We find, lastly, a Solution to the Objection made, about *unadvised Oathes*, being *obliging*, tho' found *unlawful*. They plead, The Covenant with the *Gibeonites*. But mind the Proceedings of *Joshua*, and you'l see, *unadvised Oathes*, bind no further, than

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61 Patrick, *A Commentary* (103).

they agree with the Word of God. The *Word of God*, required the Lives of the *Gibeonites* to be preserved, because they accepted *Peace*. But the *Word of God* required, the *Canaanites* to be *Tributary*, notwithstanding their Acceptance of *Peace*. Here the *Covenant* with the *Gibeonites* was of no force; *Joshua* made them *Hewers of Wood,* & Drawers of Water. He exacted from them, a Tribute of the Body, tho' not of the *Purse*. This is a *Tribute* in the Language of the Scripture. The *Task Masters* are called, Exod. 1.2. The *Tribute-Masters*.

66~~1~~{?}.

Q. Wee find the *Gibeonites* escaping of Destruction by the Hands of *Joshua*; What Remarks, what Effects, on it, can you find, in pagan Antiquity? v. 7.

A. There was a famous Person, in Times, by Chronological Computation, as ancient as the Dayes of *Joshua*, known by the Name of *Cadmus*, who carried not only *People* but *Letters*, from *Phœnicia*, into *Bœotia*. The Græcian Fable of a *Serpent*, in the Story of this *Cadmus*, was only derived from the Name of an *Hivite*, which, by his Nation belonged unto him; for חוּיא an *Hivite*, signifies a *Serpent* in the Language of *Syria*. Briefly, Hee was a *Gibeonite*; who having been well-treated by *Joshua*, and by *Joshua*, not only continued in the Comforts of Life, but also Instructed, and Employed, in the Service of the true God, retained ever after most honourable Sentiments of that great Commander. This *Cadmus* going into *Greece*, filled that Countrey with the Fame of *Joshua*s Exploits, and with such Notions and Customes, as his Conversation with the *Israelites* had imbued him with: and the *Israelites* themselves afterwards trading into those Regions, under the Title of *Phœnicians*, added unto the Traditions which those Regions had of these Matters. Yea, there is Cause to think, that a Colony of even the *Hebrewes* themselves, did swarm forth, into *Peloponnesus*; where, wee are sure, there were *Lacedæmonians*, who affirmed themselves to bee of an *Hebrew Original*, and called *Abraham* their *Father*. [See 1. Mac. 12.21.] At Least, it is possible, that some *Hebrewes* might accompany *Cadmus*, in his Peregrination; for *Strabo* sais,[62] hee had *Arabians* in his Company; and the *Lacedæmonij*, were but *Lecadmonjj*, or, *Cadmonij*, in a true Etymology. Don't wonder, that *Hebrewes* putt themselves under the Conduct of *Hivites*. One Text of the Bible [that in Judg. 3.6.] will take away that Wonder: And it is likely, that the cruel Oppressions of *Cushan-rishathaim*,[63] were the Occasions why *New Seats*, were sought by *Cadmus*, with his Associates. *Cadmus*, then, was their *Captain*; for indeed, that is the very Signification of his Name, from קדם, *Præcessit, Auteivit*.[64] And hee was a Person, very fitt for a *Captain* in such an Undertaking, as having been

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62 Strabo, *Geographica* (10.1.8.9).

63 A king of Aram Naharaim, or northwest Mesopotamia, who conquered and held Israel for eight years.

64 "Before, Previous."

educated, in *Hebron*, or *Debir*, the Universities of *Palæstine*; so sais, a Greek Poet, of him; Hee was

Θρεφθεὶς ἐν λογίοισι παλαιστίνης περάτεωι:
Educatus eruditis in Palæstinæ Finibus.[65]

Yea, old *Palæstine* itself was called *Kedem*, or, *Antiquity*; (the very Name of *Cadmus*, who came from thence:) because the Old Patriarchs had lived there.
[126v] Consult *Jerom*s Discourses | *De Locis Hebraicis*.[66] Thus *Hebron* was called, *Kirjath Arba*, or, *The City of Four*; because the *Four* Patriarchs, *Adam*, *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, had lived here, according to the Conjecture of some; [who yett may do well to Consider, how far their Conjecture will agree with Josh. 14.15. & 15.13.] However, tis almost undoubted that *Noah* resided here; for which Cause, the Land hereabouts was called, Ὠγύγη, and *Ogyges* you know, was *Noah* himself.[67] But whither am I gone, from the Subject whereupon wee began? The Subject has carried mee, as far as *Cadmus* did his *Phœnicians*.

Q. What particular Strokes of Ingenuity, in the Speech of the *Gibeonite* Envoyes? v. 10.
A. If you mind it: They say not a Word, of the drying up of *Jordan*, and of the taking of *Jericho* and *Ai*. They would have it supposed, that the Tidings of those Wonders, could not have reached unto a Countrey so far off, as they pretended theirs to be.

The[68] learned *James Alting* handles the Case of the *Gibeonites*.[69]

He observes, That there were Seven Nations, which were not of the Number, whereto GOD had commanded Peace to be offered. [Deut. 20.10, 15.] The *Gibeonites* being of that Number, saw themselves obliged unto the Methods of Guile, that they might be received by the *Israelites* among their Allies. This having been sworn, it might not be brok'n; because it was not the *Israelites* who offered the Peace, but the *Gibeonites* who demanded it. Here was a Point, on which God had pronounced nothing. *Submission* was a Mark of a Saving *Faith*, as in the Case of *Rahab*.

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65 "Educated within the learned boundaries of Palestine." Christian Wormius, 17th-century Danish theologian and bishop of Zealand, *De Corruptis Antiquitatum Hebraeorum* (1693–94), lib. I, p. 41, which cites Dickinson, *Delphi Phoenicizantes*.

66 Mather refers to *De Situ et Nominibus Locorum Hebraeorum*, Jerome's Latin translation of Eusebius' *Onomasticon*.

67 *See* also *BA* 1:683.

68 Mather leaves three lines blank before resuming; the rest of the entry is in a different ink from the foregoing.

69 Possibly Jacob Alting, 17th-century Dutch linguist and theologian, professor at the University of Groningen, the second volume of whose four-volume *Opera Omnia Theologica* (1685–87) contains *Commentarii theorico-practici in Loca quaedam selecta Veteris Testamenti.*

However, the *Gibeonites* having obtained this Alliance by Deceit, & remaining in the Midst of *Palæstine*; for fear they should corrupt the People, or grow corrupt themselves, they must abjure *Idolatry*, and an Employment that should keep them near the *Priests*, was assign'd unto them.

It is thought by many of the Jews, That no *Terms of Peace* were to be offered unto the *Seven Nations*; their Crimes having been such in their *Abominable Idolatries*, that GOD thought them unfit any longer to live upon the Earth. But *Maimonides* is of the contrary Opinion, and asserts it unlawful to make war upon any one whatsoever, before they offered them *Terms of Peace*;[70] and that such of the *Seven Nations* as renounced *Idolatry*, were to be received into Friendship. And whereas it may be objected, what Occasion then for the Craft of the *Gibeonites*? His Answer is, That *Joshua* had sent a Summons to them, with *Offers of Peace*, which they had rejected; But repenting of their Folly, when Repentance was no longer to be admitted, they must contrive this cunning Way, to be received into Favour. The most Ancient Writers of the Jews, maintain that *Joshua* first sent Messages unto the *Seven Nations* before he invaded them; offering to them either *Peace*, or *Flight*; but then Declaring *War*, no Mercy was to be shown after *That*. They who did, upon Submission, become the *Proselytes of the Gate*, had Mercy shown them. The Remains of these People, often mentioned in the Scripture, would lead one to these Apprehensions.

Q. The *Gibeonites* were to be *Hewers of Wood*, and *Drawers of Water*, for *all the Congregation*. How, for *all the Congregation*? v. 21.
A. Not for every private Person. But for the Benefit of the whole Congregation of *Israel*. *All the Congregation* was bound to find *Wood* & *Water*, for the Service of God, at the Tabernacle. This Burden was now resolved to be laid on the *Gibeonites*; and thereby the Children of *Israel* were eased of it. This did not make them Absolute *Slaves*, but only a Sacred Kind of *Servants*, as *Josephus* calls them, employ'd about the House of God; which was in itself indeed an Honourable Character & Employment. And yett they were kept under some Degree of the *Curse*, which had long lain on the People of *Canaan*, being, as *Grotius* expresses their Condition, *Addicti personali cuidem servituti*;[71] whereas, had they submitted seasonably, they had only paid a Tribute.

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70 Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah, Hilkhot Melakhim* (cap. VI, Halacha 1): "War, neither a *milchemet hareshut* or a *milchemet mitzvah*, should not be waged against anyone until they are offered the opportunity of peace, as Deut. 20:10 states, 'When you approach a city to wage war against it, you should propose a peaceful settlement.'"
71 "Those dedicated to the self-same personal servitude."

We afterwards find, They served God faithfully. It is probable, they were the *Nethinim*; and we find some of them returning from *Babylon*, to rebuild the Temple.[72] Neh. VII.46, 73.

By[73] the way, a Passage in the Sixth *Iliad* of *Homer*,[74] will tell us, That the *Drawing of Water*, was an Office for the meanest Slaves in the World.

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72 Patrick, *A Commentary* (113–14, on v. 23), citing Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* (5.16); and Hugo Grotius, *De Jure Belli ac Pacis* (1625), lib. II, cap. XIII, sec. IV, p. 297.

73 The rest of entry is in a different ink from the foregoing.

74 Homer, *Iliad* (6.454–57). Hector, speaking to his wife about the inevitable destruction of Troy, declares: "But it is not the pain to come of the Trojans that troubles me … as troubles me the thought of you, when some bronze-armoured Achaian leads you off, taking away your day of liberty, in tears; and in Argos you must work at the loom of another, and carry water from the spring of Messeis or Hyperia, all unwilling, but strong will be the necessity put upon you."

Joshua. Chap. 10.

[▽Insert from 128r] [▽128r]

Q. The Lord's *Casting down Great Stones from Heaven*, on the *Canaanites*; is there any Commemoration of it in *Pagan* Antiquity? v. 11.

A. The Gentiles had heard of this wonderful Matter, & mingled their Follies and Fables with it. They make *Hercules* the Manager of the Battel. And being at a Loss about the Place of it, they have assigned the Place, where they find a great heap of Stones, hardly possible to have been brought together by Humane Industry. Tis in *Gallia Narbonensis*, that Part of *France*, which lies between the *Rhosne* and *Marseilles*. You may read their Story in *Pomponius Mela*. *Inter eam* [Massiliam,] *et Rhodanum Maritima Avaticorum stagno assidet. Fossa Mariana, Partem ejus Amnis navigabili alveo effundit. Alioqui littus ignobile est; lapideum, ut vocant, in quo Herculem contrà Albionem et Bergiona, Neptuni liberos, dimicantum, cum Tela defecissent, ab invocato Jove adjutum imbre lapidum ferunt. Credas pluisse; adeò multi passim, et latè jacent.*[75]

[△Insert ends] [△]

| [127r]

Q. We[76] may carry this Matter, a little further? v. 12.

A. I will here enter a Thought of one Mr. *Robert Jenkins*. The Scriptures were not written with a Design to teach us Natural Philosophy, but to shew us the way how to Live and Dy well. They might therefore use popular Forms of Speech, neither affirming nor denying the philosophical Truth of them; only intending them in that Meaning, which was the sole Design in using of them. To have rectified the Vulgar Conceptions of Men, concerning all the *Phænomena*, which upon Occasion are mentioned in the Scriptures, would have required a large System of Philosophy, & have rendred the Scriptures a Book unfit for Common Capacities. And the New Theory of Nature, would have seemed as

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75 "Between [Massilia] and the *Maritima Avaticorum* [Rhone] sits a marsh, and the Marian Canal empties part of its river into the sea by means of a navigable channel. In general the shore, *Litus Lapideum* [rocky beach; the *Crau*], as they call it, is undistinguished. Here, they report, while Hercules was fighting Alebion and Dercynos, the sons of Neptune, and when his arrows had run out, he was helped by a rain of rocks at the hands of Jupiter, whom he had invoked. You would believe that it had rained rocks – so numerously and so widely do they lie scattered all over!" Pomponius Mela, 1st-century CE Roman geographer, *De Situ Orbis Libri tres* (1711), p. 38. Patrick, *A commentary* (121), cites Gerardus Vossius (1577–1649), Dutch classical scholar and theologian, *De theologia Gentili* (1642), lib. I, cap. XXVI, pp. 185–95; and Pierre-Daniel Huet (1630–1721), French Catholic scholar and bishop of Soissons, *Alnetanae Quaestiones de Concordia Rationis et Fidei* (1690), lib. II, cap. XII, § XII, pp. 196–204.

76 Mather wrote this entry all the way across page and then continued in col. 2, probably because he added it later than the following entry.

incredible to most Men, as Miracles themselves. How Incredible does the Rest of the *Sun*, with the Motion of the *Earth*, seem to all Men but Philosophers? *They* are now generally agreed in it; and yett, the *Rising*, and the *Setting* of the Sun, are Expressions now as much in Use with them who hold the Motion of the *Earth*, as with others. I know nothing in the Scriptures (saies our *Jenkins*,) which is not consistent with the present Notions of philosophy.

Even that Place of Scripture which is most objected on this Occasion, is so express'd, as that no Advantage can be taken against it. *Sun, Stand thou Still upon Gibeon*. We read it in the Margin;[77] *Be thou Silent*, q.d. Be Still; Don't interrupt our Victories; Take not Part with the Enemy, by withdrawing thy Light, & favouring his Escape. It followes, *The Sun was Silent, and the Moon*
[127v] *Staid*. The Word applied unto the *Moon* | signifies properly, To *Stand Still*; but the Word used concerning the *Sun*, is Metaphorical; as if it had been purposely so ordered, because the *Moon* moves, but the *Sun* only seems to do so. This is further confirmed, by the following Citation from the Book of *Jasher*; where the same Word is used of the *Sun*, which was before used of the *Moon*. The Book of *Jasher*, is cited in his own Words. But *Joshua* sett down the words of the Holy Spirit; & so express'd the thing that it cannot from hence be inferr'd, That the *Sun* must be suppos'd to move, but rather the Contrary.[78]

~~1289~~{?}.

Q. But what will you say to that Passage of *Grotius*? *Maimonides, et Hebræi, quos citat Masius, nullum hîc Miraculum agnoscentes, sed phrasim poeticam, quasi Sol Expectasset, donec occisio Hostium perfecta foret: Cum potius* Israelitæ *non destiterint insistere Hostibus, quamdiu aut* Sol, *aut* Luna *Lumen præbebant, sicut sæpe in Historiis insequendi Finem Nox adfert. Scriptor ad Hebræos, Fidei præmia Ingentia referens* Cap. XI. *dejectæ* Hierichuntis *meminit; mutati* Cœlestis Cursûs, *quod multò majus fuerat non meminit. Et jam sequetur,* Deum voci Hominis, se accomôdasse, *non quidem* Solem *sistendo, sed pugnando id est pugnantibus vires et invictum contra labores Animum subministrando et inimittendo prætereà lapides pro Grandiume. Hæc ità non Improbabiliter dici possunt: Quanquam Impossibile Deo non est, Solis cursum morari, aut etiam post Solis occasum speciem ejus in Nube Suprà Horizontem extanti per Repercussum ostendere*.[79] v. 12.

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77 I.e., the margin of the King James Version.

78 Robert Jenkin (1656–1727), Church of England clergyman and master of St. John's College, Cambridge, *The Reasonableness and Certainty of the Christian Religion* (1708), 2:211–13.

79 "Maimonides and the Hebrews, whom Masius cites, remark that this is not a miracle, but a poetic turn of phrase, almost as though the sun waited up until the time when the massacre of the enemy was accomplished. Rather, when the Israelites did not relent from pursuing their enemies, so long as either the sun or the moon provided light, thus (often following the stories) night brought an end [to the battle]. The writer to the Hebrews recalls (in ch. 11) them carrying away great booty from the fallen Jericho by faith. But the course of the changing sky, which is more important to many, he does not mention. Thus it will follow that God allowed the voice

A. I will say, That the Passage is very *Singular*, I doubt, I may say *Scandalous*: and for *mee*, it shall go untranslated. The Admirers of that Incomparable *Hugo Grotius*,[80] must yett excuse mee, if in such Passages as This, (as well as in his abominable not *Annotations*, will I say, but rather *Defædations*, on the *Canticles*!) I cannot easily perswade myself to bee an *Hugonot*, of their Fraternity. And yett I find one Mr. *Nye*, in, *A Discourse Concerning Revealed Religion*,[81] thus expressing himself: "The Criticks and Rabbins, take notice, that is it not said by the *Historian*, that *Joshua* commanded the *Sun* and *Moon* to *Stand Still*; but hee recites the Words of a certain Book (supposed to bee a *Poem*) written by one *Jasher*; in which the *Poet*, because of the Great and Long Slaughter that *Joshua* made of the *Amorites*, introduces *Joshua*, as requiring the *Sun* & *Moon* to *Stand Still*, while hee destroy'd the Enemies of the Lord: which indeed was an Elegant Fiction, & very proper in a *Poem*, that was written on such an Occasion; but should not bee strained further than it will naturally bear; that is, not bee understood as a real matter of Fact."

I[82] will rather observe, That *Callimachus* represents the *Sun* stopping his Chariot, that he might behold a *Chorus* of Nymphs.[83] *Ezekiel Spanhemius* notes upon it, That what the Poets only fancied might be, was really done in the Day of *Joshua*. And he wishes, that *Grotius* had not followed some of the *Jews*, who make this to be only a poetical Phrase, for a Long Summer's Day. The Prophet *Habakkuk* represents it otherwise; and so do many of the *Talmudic* Doctors. *Huetius* in his *Alnætanæ Quæstiones*, offers enough to shame those who disbeleeve this History. He brings many Instances of the Heathen imagining their Gods able to do such things. Particularly, he forgetts not the Ancient Tradition of the *Egyptians*, mentioned by *Herodotus* in his *Euterpe*,[84] concerning the Stupendous Alteration of the Course of the *Sun*.

Dr. *Jackson* has noted, That the Heathen have delivered the Tradition of this Matter down to Posterity; who, as Men are wont to do, endeavoured to

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of a man indeed not to make the sun stand still, but to fight (that is, to furnish an unconquered soul against the hardships for those fighting men) and moreover to throw stones instead of a hailstorm. Thus, these things can be said unobjectionably, even though it is not impossible for God to delay the course of the sun or even to show forth the sight of the sun after its setting by means of a reflection in a cloud appearing above the horizon." Hugo Grotius, *Annotata ad Vetus Testamentum* (1644), vol. I, on Josh. 10:13.

80 On Mather's emendation of this sentence, *see* App. A.

81 Stephen Nye (1648–1719), Church of England clergyman and controversialist, *A Discourse concerning Natural and Revealed Religion* (1696), pp. 202–03. The remainder of the entry, possibly a later addition, is written all the way across the page.

82 The remainder of the entry, a continuation of the later addition (*see* preceding note), is written upside down at the bottom of 128v, col. 2.

83 Callimachus (c. 310–240 BCE), Cyrenian poet and bibliographer, *Hymn to Artemis* (170–182).

84 I.e., the second book of the *Histories* of the 5th-century BCE historian Herodotus (esp. 2.24–27).

assign some Cause for it. The Poets ascribe it unto the unnatural Murder committed by *Atreus*.[85]

Our Dr. *Owen* mentioning the Attempt of the Jews to prevent *Joshua*s doing a greater Miracle than any of *Moses*, adds well, Tis a gross Prevarication of some Christians to give Countenance unto so putrid a Fiction.[86]

1652.

Q. In what Circumstances was the *Moon*, when the *Standing Still* of it was ordered? v. 12.
A. *Ajalon*, being scarce a German Mile[87] Westward, off *Gibeon*, the *Moon*, as tis probable, was then in the Wane; and thus the Two Luminaries, the *Moon*, as well as the *Sun*, standing still together, the Astronomical Account, was nothing at all thereby disturbed.

2471.

Q. But you know, That it is now the Received Opinion, that the *Sun* is the Center of the *System*, and that the *Earth* moves about the *Sun*; and therefore, why should the *Sun* be bidden to *Stand Still*? It seems a Command fitter to be directed unto the *Earth*, than unto the *Sun*? v. 12.
A. *Loquendum cum Vulgo*.[88] Wee consider, That the Motion of the *Earth*, may be argued, even from this very Speech of *Joshua*. For *Joshua* had no Occasion for any Service from the *Moon*; Why did he command the *Moon* to *Stand still*, as well as the *Sun*? Why, A Stop given to the *Diurnal Motion* of the *Earth,*

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85 In Greek mythology, Atreus and his twin brother Thyestes were exiled by their father, King Hippodomia of Mycenae, for murdering their half-brother Chrysippus in their desire for the throne of Olympia. The previous two paragraphs are taken from Patrick, *A Commentary* (123–24), citing Ezechiel Spanheim (1629–1710), *In Callimachi Hymnos Observationes* (1697), pp. 246–53; Pierre-Daniel Huet, *Alnetanae Quaestiones* (lib. II, cap. XII, § XXVII, p. 229); Herodotus, *Euterpe* (142); and Thomas Jackson (1579–1640), English theologian and resident of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, *The eternall Truth of Scriptures* (1613), lib. I, cap. XV (i.e., pars I, lib. II, cap. IX, ¶ 1, pp. 77–78).

86 John Owen, 17th-century English noncomformist theologian, *Pneumatologia*, cap. I: "It is a vanity of the greatest magnitude in some of the Jews, as Maimonides ('*More Nebuchim*,' page 2, cap. xxxv.,), Levi B. Gerson on the place, and others, who deny any fixation of the sun and moon, and judge that it is only the speed of Joshua in subduing his enemies before the close of that day which is intended. This they contend for, lest Joshua should be thought to have wrought a greater miracle than Moses! But as the prophet Habakkuk is express to the contrary, chap. iii. 11, and their own Sirachides, cap. xlv., xlvi., so it is no small prevarication in some Christians to give countenance unto such a putrid fiction" (143). Levi ben Gerson (1288–1344), known as Ralbag, was a French exegete and polymath.

87 A German geographic mile (*geographische Meile*) is defined as 1/15 equatorial degrees, equal to 7420.5 meters.

88 "Let it be spoken with the rabble," a phrase with a sense similar to "We must speak along with common opinion," sometimes followed by *sentiendum cum sapientibus*, "but we must think along with wise men."

unavoidably produces the *Phænomena*, of the *Moon Standing still*, as well as the *Sun*. And besides all this; Lett the *Cartesian* Cavils be heard: According to them, The *Earths Motion* depends on the Motion of the *Sun* about its own *Axis*, which Course it finishes in *Twenty Six* Dayes. Now there was Occasion to bid the *Sun stand Still*, on this account, in order to the Stopping of the Motion of the *Earth*. [△Insert ends] [△]

[127r continued] [127r]

Q. What may be *The Book of Jasher*, quoted on this Occasion? {v. 13.}

A. It seems to have been a Record of the wonderful Things done by, or for the Religious Hero's. There are probable Arguments, that is was written in *Verse*; to fix these things in the Memory of the People. It is mentioned no where else, but in 2. Sam. I.18. And there tis mentioned, on account of a *Song* made on the Death of *Saul* and *Jonathan* by King *David*; who caused it to be recorded in this Book. It was written by several Hands in several Ages, & is now lost.[89]

[▽Insert from 128r] [▽128r]

{....}

Q. What say the Jewes, about the *Standing Still of the Sun*, at the Word of *Joshua*? v. 13.

A. They say, That the Fight wherein *Joshua* was now engaged, happened on *Friday*; and that the Day was prolonged, That the *Sabbath* might not be violated, nor the *Slaughter* interrupted.

And by the *Book of Jasher*, or, of the, *Rectus Homo*, they understand the Law of *Moses*, wherein the Lord promised unto His People, *to Do Wonders* for them.

{....}

Q. The *Standing Still* of the *Sun*, in *Joshua*s Time; has Pagan Antiquitie, any Tradition about it? v. 13.

A. Yes. From hence arose the poetical Fiction of the Nights being Doubled or Trebled, by *Jupiter*, for the Sake of *Alcmæna*. When the Pagans gott a Story by the End, they miserably *metamorphosed* it; and therefore you may bear with their lewd Additions unto This.[90]

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89 Patrick, *A Commentary* (124–25).

90 In Greek mythology, Alcmene was the mother of Heracles. Zeus and Alcmene's husband Amphitryon both lay with her the same night, causing her to conceive twins. The Roman comic playwright Plautus explained the timing problem in his *Amphitryon* by having Zeus lengthen the night after he slept with Alcmene.

{....}

Q. What might bee the *Year of the World*, when the *Sun Stood Still*? And, What might there bee Remarkable in its being *that Year*? {v. 13.}

A. A learned Man,[91] thinks hee can Demonstrate, that this Remarkable *Phænomenon* of the Sun, fell out in the Year 2555. Now Just *Seven Weeks of Years* from the Creation were then expiring. In 2555 there are just 7 Times 365. Behold, how marvellously the whole World is taught a *Sabbath*, by the *Rest* of
[128v] this mighty | Luminary, in such an *Article* of Time! Tho' an Opportunitie for *Joshua* to destroy the *Canaanites* were one Design of this Miracle, it hinders not that there may be collateral Designs also. Thus, besides the Doctrine of the *Sabbath* so countenanced, the *Israelites* entring of *Canaan*, where the Nations worshipped the *Sun* and the *Moon*, & the Army of Heaven, t'was convenient for that Idolatry to bee Refuted with such an Ocular Demonstration, as the Stopping of the *Sun* & *Moon*, at the Voice of a *Man*.

But, to Return unto the *Harmony of Time*. Wee have such another *Harmony*, in the Reign of *Hezekiah*; when the *Sun went back Ten Degrees*.

The *Sun* was now, they reckon 3295 Years old. Now 3285 Years, are 9 Times 365. So that, when the Sun had entred Ten Years, of the Tenth Period of 365, this Accident fell out, of its 10 Degrees, Retrogradation. Add, That it was about this Time, that the *Ten Tribes* of *Israel* were carried into Captivitie.

[△] [△Insert ends]

[127v] [Continued from 127v]

Q. What and where was the Countrey of *Goshen*? v. 41.

A. There was a *City* in the Tribe of *Judah*, of this Name; which lay in the Mountains, as *Hebron* did, in the Southern Part of the Countrey. Josh. XV.51. From that *City*, the Region thereabouts was called, The *Countrey* of *Goshen*. It had excellent Pasture Ground in it, and was well watered; like the Countrey in *Egypt*, of the same Name. *Conradus Pellicanus* conjectures, it was thence called, *Goshen*; because the Hebrew Word, *Geshen*[92] signifies *Plentiful Showrers*, which make the Earth fruitful.[93]

[End of 127v]

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91 Possibly John Lightfoot, *A Chronicle of the Times* (1647), in which he estimates the siege of Jericho to have taken place in 2554 BCE, during the first year of Joshua's leadership (p. 82), and the events related in Josh. 9–14, including the sun's standing still, to have taken place in years 2–7 of Joshua's leadership (p. 83).

92 גֹּשֶׁן

93 Patrick, *A Commentary* (136–37), citing Conradus Pellicanus (1478–1556), German protestant theologian and professor of Hebrew and Greek at Zurich, *Commentaria Bibliorum et illa Brevia quidem ac Catholica* (1532–39), vol. II, on Josh. 10:41: *Gosen … quae apta sit pascuis et acquis irriguam*.

Q. Why is *Caleb* called, The *Kenezite*? v. 6.[94]
A. Tis not easy to resolve, Nor is it certain, whither *Caleb*, or *Jephunneh*, be called The *Kenezite*. *Patrick* thinks, tis not improbable, that *Kenaz* was the Father of *Jephunneh*; from whence both he & his Son were called, *Kenezites*. It was a Name somewhat common in the Family. See Josh. XV.17. and Judg. I.13.[95]

Q. What was the Reason that the *Israelites*, when they took the *Horses* of their Enemies, only *Houghed* them, (or Hamstring'd them,) and did not rather utterly kill them? v. 9.
A. Hear the famous Jew *Kimchi*'s Opinion concerning it.

First, For the rendring of the *Horses* useless, by a Subnervation, – *Ideò noluit Deus Benedictus, ut Equos et Currus Israelitæ deprædarentur, nè et ipsi, iis freti, in Animo suo reputarent se per Equos Bella confecisse.*

But then, for cutting the *Hamstrings* and not the *Throats* of the *Horses*; – *Non Jussit Equos interfici, quià illorum usus non est per se vetitus. – Equos, qui nonnisi in Bellum inserviebant, ideò subnervari fussit, ne iis capis confiderent; verùm destrui noluit, quià non licet vivum Animal destruere, nisi cum necesse est, aut usus illius vetitus*.[96]

Schickard[97] observes, out of the Jewish Authors, That they were wont thus to enervate all the *Horses*, they found in the Kings Stables after his Death; that they might not be of Use to the Successor.

I will add, That sometimes in the Heat of Battel, to *Hamstring* the Horses of the Enemy, has been one of the Actions, thought most practicable & effectual. Thus I read, in our Civil Wars, I find, a Colonel seeing the Enemies Horse closed, & come to | dint of Sword, cry'd out, *Fling down your Guns, & cutt their* [129v] *Horses Hamstring with your Swords*; which they did.

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94 *See* also notes on Josh. 14:6 and 14, below. Mather deleted this entire entry (*see* App. A).
95 Patrick, *A Commentary* (193), on Josh. 15:17.
96 "Therefore, Blessed God did not want the Israelites to plunder the horses and chariots, lest they, depending on those beasts, should consider in their hearts that they had executed the wars for the sake of horses." … "He did not order the horses killed because the use of them was not forbidden in and of itself. He ordered that the horses, which were only serviceable in war, to be hamstrung, lest they have trust in geldings [*capis* = "capons" or "castrated roosters"; Kimhi's sense is unclear]. Even so, he did not want the horses to be destroyed, because one is not allowed to destroy a living animal, other than when it is necessary or the use of it forbidden." Kimhi, *Former Prophets*, in loc. *See* also Patrick (*A Commentary* 144).
97 The remainder of the entry is in a different ink from the foregoing. Wilhelm Schickard (or Schickhard), early 16th-century German mathematician, inventor, and Hebraist who published, among other works, *Mishpat ha-melek, Jus regium Hebraeorum* (1625).

Q. What may be meant by, *The Mountain of Israel*? v. 16.
A. The Hebrewes understand it, of the *Mountain*, where *Jacob* once had his Habitation.

Many think, it might be *Bethel*; where *Jacob*s Name was changed into *Israel*.[98]

Q. Beholding the Conquest of *Canaan* finished, make mee some Remarks upon a few Notables that occurr in that Conquest? v. 23.
A. Tis *Notable*, that Four *Miracles*, in the four greater Parts of the Universe, did in this Order attend & promote the Israelitish Victories.

One, in the *Water*, when *Jordan* was divided, at the Approach of the *Ark*.
One, in the *Earth*, when the Walls of *Jericho,* fell at the Sound of *Trumpetts*.
One, in the *Air*, when prodigious Hailstones, discomfited the *Canaanites*.
And a Fourth, in the *Heavens*, when the *Sun* & the *Moon* Stood Still.

Thus the Power of the God of *Israel*, over the whole Universe, was displayed gloriously.

Again; Tis *Notable* that the Towns of *Canaan*, fell into the *Israelitish* Hands, by four several Methods of gaining them.

The first Method was, By the *Immediate* & *Miraculous* Operation of God; which is preferrible to all other Wayes.

The Second Method was, By *Strategem*.
The Third, by *Rendition*; And the
Last, by *Force*, & *Storm*.

On this Occasion, there is another *Notable* Thing, that might bee mentioned.

When *Israel* passed out of *Egypt*, there was a miraculous *Division of the Waters* for them.

Again, when *Israel* entred into *Canaan*, there was also a miraculous *Division of the Waters* for them.

Once more, when *Israel* Returned from their *Babylonian* Captivity, there was likewise a *Division*, or at least, a *Diversion* of the Waters for it. This last, was effected, not by Miracle, but by the Hand of *Cyrus*, who altered the Course of the Great River *Euphrates*, for, the Taking of *Babylon*. [See Jer. 50.38.] This was a thing, whereby the Passage of the Jewes, was rendred more easy to them.

Q. *The Land Rested from War*. The Victories of *Joshua*, were succeeded with a *Sabbath*. What Footsteps of this Matter find you, in Pagan Antiquity? v. 23.

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98 This paragraph, in a different ink from the foregoing, is taken from Patrick, *A Commentary* (148).

A. The *Greeks* tell us, That *Apollo* instituted the *Pythian Feast*, just Seven Dayes after his Conquest of *Pytho*; in which Festival, at first, only *Pæans* were sung in honour of that great Conquerour, but afterwards People grew more Pompous and costly in them.[99] It is very probable that *Joshua*, took still the *next Sabbath* after all his Victories to give public and solemn Thanks unto God, for those Victories; and *Joshua*, being the true *Apollo*, the Notice which the *Phœnicians* took of this thing, was the Original of their Tradition about the *Pythian* Festivitie. It is true, that Festivitie was, for the Sake of several Conveniencies, transferred afterwards, into every *Seventh Year*: and this, tis likely, not without some Respect unto that very Passage, in the Text now before us. For, according to *Scaliger*,[100] the Year wherein *Joshua*, came to *Shiloh*, the Place of *Oracles*, after the Conquest of *Canaan*, was the *Sabbatical Year* among the *Israelites*. Yea, hear what *Eutychius*, the Patriarch of *Alexandria* sais in his Annals; *Occupatus fuit* Joshua *Sex Annis in Regibus & Gentibus Debellandis donec Regiones cepisset*;[101] It was in the *Seventh Year*, that *Joshua* proceeded unto the business of the κληρουχία. Behold, the *Rest of the Land from War*! It fell out on such a *Sabbath*.

But[102] lett mee on this Occasion insert a further Observation. The *Israelites* in *Six Year*s Time gained the Possession of *Canaan*; which they held just 840, or 12 times 70 Years; as many Times 70, as there were Tribes of the Nation. Then after an Interruption, of a 12{th} Part of their Time, they return, and have another Day in the Land of *Canaan*: But when that final War came, namely *Adrian*s War, which finally dispossessed them of that Land, & of all Hopes to Return into it, that War, by the Report of the Jewes themselves lasted just *Six Year*s time also. They were as long *Driving* out of their Land, as they were *getting* into it.

| [blank] [130r]

99 Allusions to this story are numerous. For a list of the most important, *see* Joseph Eddy Fontenrose, *Python* (pp. 15–16, n. 6).

100 Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540–1609), French grammarian and historian who, most famously in *De Emendatione Temporum* (1583), revised ideas of ancient chronologies to include not just Roman and Greek history but of other cultures, including that of the Jews.

101 Eutychius, 6th-century patriarch of Constantinople, *Nazm al-Jauhar*. "Joshua was engaged in making war with kings and nations for six years up until he captured the countries."

102 In the space between this and the foregoing appears a poem in another hand (*see* App. B). The rest of the entry is in a different ink from the foregoing.

Q. Who were the *Nations* of *Gilgal*? v. 23.
A. To the South of *Gilgal* there lay the *Salt-Sea*. But to the North of *Gilgal*, toward and as far as the Sea of *Cinnereth*, or *Galilee*, is a large Tract, wherein there appears not, seated any one of the Cities, the Kings whereof were here slain by the *Israelites*. The Inhabitants of this Tract, may be the *Nations* of *Gilgal*.

Some look on *Goim*, as the proper Name of One City, to the Northward of *Gilgal*.

Q. *Thirty & One Kings*, in so small a Countrey? v. 24.
A. These Kings, were only *Petty Princes*, or Lords of *Cities*. In my Countrey of *New England*, we call them, *Sachims*. The *Cities*, as Dr. *Patrick* notes, might have a few Villages depending on them, the Inhabitants of which, were their Tenants. The King of *Bethel* and *Ai* joined together, had but Twelve Thousand Subjects. [Josh. VIII.25.] Kingdomes, like other things, were small in their Beginnings. *Cæsar* in his Fifth Book of his Commentaries, mentions Four Kings, in the County of *Kent* alone. How many then were there in all *Britain*? It appears by *Tacitus*, that the *Silutes* and the *Brigantes* had their own Kings also. *Cæsar* informs us, That in *France*, there were as many Kings as Provinces; and so it was in *Spain*, as *Livy* will inform you. And *Vopiscus*, in the Life of the Emperour *Probus*, relates, That when he was in *Germany*, *Reguli novem ex diversis Gentibus* – Nine petty Kings came from diverse Nations, & threw themselves at his Feet. In his Letter to the Senate, he calls them, *Novem Reges*.[103]

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103 "New kings." Patrick, *A Commentary* (160–61), citing Julius Caesar, *Commentaries* (5), and *Bellum Gallicum* (1); Tacitus, *Agricola*; Livy, 1st-century BCE Roman historian, *Ab Urbe Condita*, inferred, possibly, from the events of the *Hannibalic War* (bks. 21 ff.); and Flavius Vopiscus, possibly in *Vitae Caesarum quarum Scriptores* (1546).

Joshua. Chap. 13.

[▽Insert from 133r] [▽133r]

Q. *Misrepath-maim*, what? v. 6.

A. Some render it, *Hot Waters*, or, *Baths*. For *Sharaph* signifies, *To burn*, and, *Majim*, is, *waters*. Others think, They were *Lime-kilns*. Dr. *Patrick* thinks it most likely, they were, *Salt-Pitts*.[104]

Q. The Lord saies, of the *Sidonians*, *I will drive them out before the Children of Israel*? v. 6.

A. That is, If they persisted constant in His Worship and Service.

But they did not so. And therefore; we never do read, That the *Sidonians* were conquered by the *Israelites*, only became Tributaries, in the Dayes of *David* and *Solomon*.[105]

[△Insert ends] [△]

| [blank] [133v]

Q. We are now at a convenient Place, to enter the *Holy Land*, and give a *Chorægraphy* of a Countrey now so far conquered, as to become the Land of *Israel*? v. 15.

A. An *Army* of *Writers*, almost enough to have conquered no little part of the Countrey, if they should use their *Swords*, as well as they do their *Pens*, appears for our Service on this Occasion.[106]

Chytræus truly observes, That the Nine Chapters of *Joshua* now before us, are not *Otiosa et inutilis congeries*; or a meer useless Heap of Names.[107]

We applaud *Homer*, for first of all relating the *Places* from whence his *Hero*'s and their Squadrons came, before he recites their *Actions*. The *Places* which the glorious God made the Seat of those wonderful Actions, which have their Memory preserved in our Sacred Bible, are well worthy to be described. The Industry of *Jerom*, to visit very many of those *Places*, that his Eye might see what his Ear had heard, was laudable, and ha's been since follow'd by very many Travellers, the Effects of whose Industrious Journeyes we now enjoy, and have the Countrey with little Expence, & less Danger, as it were brought home unto us. And indeed, *Jerom* is in the right on't; *Sanctam Scripturam lucidius intuebitur,*

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104 Patrick, *A Commentary* (165).

105 Patrick, *A Commentary* (165).

106 *See* App. A for Mather's deletion.

107 David Chytraeus (Kochhafe), 16th-century German Lutheran theologian and historian and author of *In Historiam Iosuae, Iudicum, Ruth, in Prophetas aliquot Minores* (1599).

qui Judæam oculis contemplatus Sit.[108] For which Cause, the Advice of *Matthias Flacius*, is not to be despised; That you would have the *Map of the Holy Land* lying before you, as a Commentary on the Scripture.[109] And there is a truth in what a learned Commentator upon *Joshua* tells you; *Nulla toto orbe terrarum celebratior et perlustratione dignior Regio est, quam* Palæstina. *Nobilissimam hanc Regionem, quæ Vetus Ecclesiæ patria est, et varie in ea distantes Tribus, urbes, flumina, maria, montes, mente intueri et peragrare, et res in singulis locis gestas considerare, et locorum situs et intervalla metiri ac distinguere, non solum pars est aliqua conditioris et dulcissimæ Doctrinæ Geographicæ, verùm etiam Singulari cum voluptate et fructu conjunctum est, etiam sedem nam patriam numquam egressus sis*.[110]

The Countrey assigned by the Lord, unto His *Israel*, was a little Spott of Ground, surrounded with the mighty Kingdomes of *Syria*, *Babylon*, *Persia*, and *Egypt*. Behold, the Design, the Wisdome of the Divine Oeconomy in this Matter! The *Kingdome of God* among this His Chosen People, was hereby offered unto the Nations, which præferr'd a miserable Empire of their own, and Satan's. And the People of God, had the greater Opportunity to exercise their Faith, in making their Obedience to the Lawes of His Kingdome, their main Defense, which it alwayes was against the Invasions of the powerful Nations in their Neighbourhood.

It was called, *The Land of Canaan*, because the Sons of *Canaan*, who was the Offspring of *Cham*, divided it among them. *Adrichomius* observes,[111] That for a long while, One special Part of the Land, was distinguished by that Name which was afterwards applied unto all; as the Name of *Holland* is to all the Seven Provinces.

Within the Cantons afterwards possessed by the Tribes of *Judah*, *Dan*, and *Simeon*, lay the Land of the *Philistines*. But anon, all the Countrey came to be called *Palæstine*.[112]

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108 "The holy Scriptures will look so much brighter to those whose eyes have beheld Judea." Jerome, *Praefatio in Libro Paralipomenon de Graeco emendato* (2010).

109 Matthias Flacius Illyricus, 16th-century Croatian Lutheran, author of *Clavis Scripturae Sacrae seu de Sermone Sacrarum Literarum* (1567), and the chief composer of *The Madgeburg Centuries.*

110 "No region in the entire world is more famous or more worthy of being seen other than Palestine. You will be intent in your mind on traversing in various ways her distant tribes, cities, rivers, oceans, and mountains. And you'll be intent on looking upon these things in each area and on measuring out and dividing the places and interspaces of these areas. Not only is it part of any most savory and sweet geographical teaching, but it is also truly connected to a singular joy and pleasure, even if you never make it to the fatherly seat." The "Learned Commentator on *Joshua*" is not further identified.

111 Christian Kruik van Adrichem, a 16th-century Dutch Catholic priest and writer, *Theatrum Terrae Sanctae et Biblicarum Historiarum* (1590), Praefatio, p. [i].

112 Mather leaves four lines blank before continuing.

The *Israelites* driving out the first Inhabitants, a great many of them fled into *Africa*. *Eusebius* calls the African *Tripoli* particularly, *The Place of the Flight of the Canaanites*.[113] The Offspring of the *Anakims* were some of those, who fled into *Africa*; and there they built *Carthage*. *Heurnius*, and *Stuckius* advise us,[114] that *Carthage* is *Cadreanech*, that is to say, *The Seat of the Anakims*. No less than Two Thousand Years after the Time of the Action, here were two Pillars yet standing, on which there was written in the Phœnician Language, that Passage; *We are they that fled from the face of Joshua the Robber, the Son of Nun*. *Procopius* actually saw it;[115] and a thousand Writers have mentioned it.

They call'd themselves *Canaanites*, but the rest of Mankind call'd them *Phœnicians*. According to *Aristotle*,[116] the *Græcians* were they, who first putt that Name upon them; as carrying *Bloodshed* and *Murder* in the Signification of it; and so the Scholiast on *Aristophanes* intimates.[117] By this it seems, they were *pyratically* disposed; much given to Trading, but often playing the *Pyrate*, as well as the *Merchant*. It is very certain, The Name that grew | in Fashion for a [131v] *Merchant*, was that of, *A Canaanite*; because the *Canaanites* (whom the LXX at Num. XIII.29. call *Phœnicians*) were, a very Trading Sort of People.

The *Holy Land* was indeed, but a *Small Spott* of Ground. We may all join with *Jerom*, in wondring at the *Smallness* of it.[118]

There was indeed the *Larger Canaan*; whose Bounds were those; Deut. XI.24. *Every Place whereon the Soles of your feet shall tread, shall be yours. From the Wilderness of Lebanon, from the River, the River Euphrates, even unto the uttermost Sea, shall your Coast be*. All this Land in the full Extent of it, was never possessed by the *Israelites*. But they have had it in some degree;[119] partly, by their conquering Incursions; [see 1. Chron. V.9, 22.] Partly, by their admitting Feodaries; [see, 2. King. IV.24, & 2 Chron. IX.26.] *David* and *Solomon*, were a Sort of Emperours to their *Larger Canaan*. And then, there was the Lesser Canaan; the Bounds whereof were those; Gen. 10.19. *The Border of the Canaanites was from Zidon, as thou comest to Gerar unto Azzah, and as thou goest unto Sodom & Gomorrah, & Admah, & Zebojim, even unto Lasha*. This contained those Na-

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113 An uncertain reference; there is only one mention of Tripoli in Eusebius, and no mention of the Canaanites correlates to Tripoli.

114 Probably Otto Heurnius (van Heurne), an early 17th-century Dutch physician who was also the keeper of a museum at the University of Leiden aimed at reconstructing the lives of the Israelites in Egypt; and Johannes Wilhelmus Stuckius, 16th-century Swiss Reformed theologian and author of *Antiquitatum Convivialium Libri III* (1582).

115 Procopius of Caeserea, *De Bellis* (4.10.22.5); for the same quote, *see* above, n. 1.

116 Extensive searches show no such assertion appearing in Aristotle's corpus; in the *Mirabilium Auscultationes* (843b), Aristotle claims that the name "Phoenician" comes from the word for "palm tree."

117 Possibly *Scholium in Aves* (272.3).

118 Jerome, possibly Epistle 46.

119 For Mather's emendation, *see* App. A.

tions, which were designed for utter Destruction: {Th}e[120] *Seven*, {to} which may there not be some Allusion, in the *Seven Heads* of the Beast in the *Revelation*? And in this *Lesser Canaan* the *Israelites* were not first to make Offers of Peace, as they were to the Cities of the Other. The Length of it, from the Wilderness of the *South*, to Mount *Lebanon* in the North, was Sixteen hundred Furlongs, [Compare, Rev. XIV.20.] which, allowing Ten Furlongs to the Mile, according to the Eastern Account, amounts to one hundred and Sixty Miles. The Breadth of it, from *Jordan* on the East, to the *Mediterranean Sea* on the West, was generally Fifty Miles; to which, if you add the Kingdomes of *Sihon*, and *Og*, on the other Side of *Jordan*, it will make up the Breadth, to Eighty Miles. But it was a Land so *flowing with Milk and Honey*, & of such admirable Plenty, that we are sure; it at once afforded Food unto Thirteen hundred thousand Men, besides Women, & Children, and Impotent Persons, and all the *Levites*, & the Tribe of *Benjamin*. It was a vile Misrepræsentation of *Strabo*,[121] who speaking of *Moses* winning this Land from the First Inhabitants, saies, *He Easily obtained it*, ουκ επιφθονον ον το χωριον, *being a Land of which none would be Ambitious, & for which none would studiously engage themselves to fight; for it was a stony Countrey*. The Romans knew better, who (as *Fuller* Speaks)[122] paid an *Ounce of Blood*, for every *Inch of Ground*, that they might make themselves Masters of *Jerusalem*. The *Mountains* in the Land, were such as made but the more of *Room*; and the same *Geographer*, speaking of *Trachonitis*, the most craggy Ground in *Judeæ*, owns, there were ορη γεωλοφα και καλλικαρια, *Grassy and Fair fruitful Hills*.[123] The *Deserts*, were but Wooddy and Fruitful Retirements; & most of them did not exceed the greater Parks in *England*. Indeed Modern Travellers bring us, but a disadvantageous *Report* of the Land.

But this is no other than a marvellous Fulfilment of the Word, *A Fruitful Land he makes barren, for the Wickedness of them who dwell therein*. And yett *Brocard* and *Sandys* and others,[124] do mention some Spotts of Ground still remaining, that are transcendently Fruitful; which transmitt unto Posterity, the more universal Fruitfulness of the Land, before the Lord came and *Smote it with a Curse*.[125]

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120 MS damage to the left margin affects the remainder of this sentence, which was written in the margin as an insertion.

121 Strabo, *Geographica* (16.2.36.4–5), cited in Thomas Fuller, 17th-century Church of England cleric and historian, *A Pisgah-Sight of Palestine* (1650), bk. 1, ch. 6, p. 13.

122 Fuller, *A Pisgah-Sight* (bk. 1, ch. 6, p. 13).

123 Cf. γεωλοφία, *geolophia*, "a hill of earth" (LS). Fuller, *A Pisgah-Sight* (bk. 1, ch. 6, p. 15); Strabo, *Geographica* (16.2.16.8).

124 Burchardus de Monte Sion, a 13th-century Dominican priest who traveled extensively through the Holy Land and the Middle East, *Descriptio Locorum Terrae Sanctae exactißima* (1475), in *De Dimensione Terrae Et Geometricae Numerandis Locorum particularium Intervallis …* (1554); George Sandys (1577–1644), English traveler, colonist and poet, *A Relation of a Iourney begun An: Dom: 1610* (1615).

125 Mather left the equivalent of about four lines blank before continuing.

But as I was proceeding to give you a more particular Landscape of that famous Countrey, I found my *Shortest* and *Surest* way, was to sett before you a Map of it. Here you may see, *how the Land Lies*. And this *Map*, such as it is, will give you a better Commentary on the Geographical Chapters in the Book of *Joshua*, than any Words of mine could amount unto.

| [132r]

"A MAP of the Holy Land." From Nicolas Visscher the Elder's *Terra Sancta Sive Promissionis, olim Palestina* (1659).

Q. Why is *Caleb* called, The *Kenezite*? v. 6.[126]
A. 'Tis not easy to Resolve. Nor is it certain, whether *Caleb* or *Jephunneh* be called, The *Kenezite*. *Patrick* thinks, tis not improbable, that *Kenez* was the Father of *Jephunneh*; from whence, both he, & his Son, were called, *Kenezites*. It was a Name somewhat common in the Family. See Josh. XV.17. & Judg. I.13.[127]

{....}

Q. Why does *Caleb* use that Expression; *I brought him Word again, as it was in my Heart*? v. 7.
A. *Kimchi* thinks, the Expression is to intimate, That while *Caleb* was on the Journey homewards, with the rest of the *Spies*, he durst not speak any other, than what he saw them Resolved upon speaking. But when he was Returned unto the Camp, and was out of Danger of being murdered by his Companions, he then freely declared, what he had hitherto kept *in his Heart. Liberè prædicabat veritatem, ut erat in corde suo*.[128]

It seems also as if *Caleb* alluded unto his own Name in this Expression; /כלב/ *Secundum Cor*.[129]

| [134v]

Q. Why is *Caleb*, an Israelite, called *Caleb, the Kenizite*? v. 14.[130]
A. *Caleb* was undoubtedly of the Tribe of *Judah*; but *Kenaz* was the Name of the Father of the Family.

So, *Urijah* the *Hittite*, might bee a Proselyte *Hittite*, but more probably, an Israelite, whose Father's Name was *Heth*.

So *Ornan* the *Jebusite*, was of the Tribe of Judah, or Benjamin, who lived promiscuously, with the *Jebusites* in the City of *Jebus*, or Jerusalem.

So *Hushai* the *Archite* who Out-Achitophel'd *Achitophel* in his Policy was probably an Ephraimite, of the Borders of *Archi*; 'tis unlikely that David would have chosen a Stranger to have been his Cabinet-Counsellour.

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126 *See* also notes on Josh. 11:6 (above, p. 115) and 14:14, two entries below.
127 Patrick, *A Commentary* (179).
128 Kimhi, *Former Prophets*, in loc., as quoted in Münster, *Hebraica Biblia*, (1:215) and Pearson, *Critic Sacri* (col. 1793). "Freely he was declaring the truth in order that it might be in his heart."
129 Mather's etymological reading of Caleb, "dog," as *secundum cor*, i.e., "according to the heart."
130 *See* also notes on Josh. 11:6 and 14:6.

So *Simon* the *Cananite*, our Lord's Disciple, was most certainly a Jew. Otherwise our Lord would not have entertained him in so near a Relation; but born at *Cana* in Galilee.

Tis needful to give this Caution, That so *Demetrius*, who was *well-Reported of all Men*, suffer not for *Demetrius*, the *Silversmith of Diana*.

Q. What Remarkable is there to be observed, upon the *Towns* enumerated in the *Land* now divided among the *Israelites*? v. 1.

A. There were in all Three hundred and twenty and four Towns, as they are by some counted, wherein the *Israelites* inhabited; but neither *Bethlehem* in *Judah*, nor *Nazareth* in *Zebulon* are named; tho' both of them were of special Use, for the Revealing of the Birth of the *Messias*.

The Reason ha's been by some thus assigned; God would not at the first in plain Terms, mention the Names of these Towns, to the End, we might the more carefully examine their Circumstances, when they come to be Named with Honour in a Story of things done there, the Knowledge whereof doth so much concern our Salvation.

Indeed, the perverse *Jewes*, to cross the Certainty of our Lords being the *Messiah*, say, There was no such Town as *Nazareth*. But by the singular Providence of God, it is ordered, that herein the *Heathen* bear Witness against the *Jewes*: for it is mention'd in *Pliny*,[131] and in other Heathen Writers.

~~3316~~{?}.

Q. Why might one of the *Israelitish* Places, have the Name of *Maaleh-Acrabbim* given unto it? v. 3.

A. Tis in English, *The Crawling up of Serpents*. Probably, t'was thus called, because many *Serpents* came up, to that forlorn Place, from the adjoining Wilderness; near which the *Israelites* were plagued with *Fiery Serpents*.

Q. On *Jerusalem*? v. 8.

A. It is very certain, That *Jerusalem*, was called, *Jebus*. As it præserves the Name of *Salem* in the latter Part of it, so it præserves the Name of *Jebus* in the former; and for the Sake of a Better Sound, *Jebussalem* is called, *Jerusalem*.

In the Hebrew, tis usually written, *Jerusalaim*, as if it were a *Dual*. Some assign this Cause for it; The City consisted of Two Parts; one of which was the Old City, that was in the time of the *Jebusites*: The other was the Addition made by *David* and *Solomon*; and for its Largeness might be called, The *New Jerusalem*.

There might likewise be considered an Evangelical *Mystery* in this *Duality*.

In the Writings of the New Testament, it is usually called, *Hierysolemn*. The latter Part of this Name was given to a City in *Pisidia*, or *Lycia*. Yea, in *Lycia*, or more particularly in *Pisidia*, there was not only a City called *Solyma*, but the *Pisidians* in general were called, *Solymi*!

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131 Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* (5.19.81).

The Greeks turned *Jeru*, into a Word of their own Language like it; *Jero*: which is to say, *Sacred*. And it might be *Salem*, which they turned into *Solyma*. Perhaps in the Name, *Hierosolyma*, or, The *Sacred Solyma*, they designed, not a Singular, but a Dual, in Allusion to the Hebrew *Jerusalaim*.

{....}

Q. Can any significant Article of History, bee gathered from the Names of *Kirjath-Sepher*, and *Kirjath-Sanna*, among the Cities of *Israel*? v. 15, 49.

A. *Debir*, is thus called; and it is concluded that here was an *University*; for *Kirjath-Sepher* signifies, *Urbs Librorum*, and *Kirjath-Sanna* signifies *Urbs Literarum*. It is thought, that the *Anacæans*, or *Phœnicians* had the Ingenuous Arts flourishing among them. Yea, *Aristotle* (*In Magico*:) reckons up one *Og* among the famous Philosophers;[132] and *Otho Heurnius* beleeves this Og, to have been the ancient King of *Bashan*.[133]

The[134] Chaldee Paraphrase calls it, *Kirjath-arche*, that is, *Urbs Archivorum*; the Ancient Records of these Nations, might be kept there.[135]

Debir[136] is derived from a Root which signifies, *To Speak*, and so it may import, a *School of Eloquence*, or indeed of *Literature* in general. The same Word used as an Appellative, signifies the *Inmost* and *most Secret* Part of a Temple; where the *Oracles* were *Spoken*, or Delivered; and into which none might enter but the *Priests*. In this Acceptation the Word is very applicable to Places where *Archives* are laid up; which use to be *Secret* Places, and such as only peculiar Persons have Admittance to.

Kirjath-Sanna, the Third Name of the City, may denote, either, *The City of the Bush*; It lying among Bushes or Thickets, and so the more Secret and Retir'd; or else, *The City of Ingenuity*, or, *Politeness*, whereby the Faculties of Mens Minds are *Sharpened*: [*Sannah*, the Root, signifies, *To Sharpen*;] and so Still it may import a Place of Literature.

[135v] |

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132 Aristotle wrote no known treatise on magic. Mather might be referring to Frag. 35, preserved by 3rd-century CE biographer Diogenes Laertius, *Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers* (1.1), where Laertius cites Aristotle's mention of an eastern philosopher named Ochus (Ocus); alternatively, he could be referring to a medieval Pseudo-Aristotle text.

133 Otto van Heurne (1577–1652), professor of medicine at the University of Leiden, *Babylonica, Indica, Aegyptia Philosophiae Primordia* (1619).

134 The initial part of the entry is written in a light brown ink, and the following paragraph is written in a black ink.

135 Mather is here referring to the Aramaic Targum on Judg. 1:11. He thus believes the Hebrew to mean "town of archives" or, as he writes, *Urbs Archivorum*, "city of archives." The above-mentioned Hebrew and Latin appellations mean "city of books" and "city of letters" respectively.

136 The remainder of the entry is written in a darker brown ink than the foregoing.

Q. How is it Said, *All the Cities were Twenty Nine*; whereas if the foregoing Places be told, there will be found, *Thirty Eight* of them? v. 32.
A. The *Jews* generally take the Meaning to be, that only *Twenty Nine* belonged unto the Tribe of *Judah*; the rest being afterwards given to the Tribe of *Simeon*; as we find in the XIX{th} Chapter of this Book. These *Nine*, with the *Twenty Nine*, make just *Thirty Eight*.

Q. *Maon*, and *Carmel*? v. 55.
A. They seem near together. 1 Sam. XV.2.

There was another *Maon*, in the Deserts of *Jeshimon*. [1. Sam. XXIII.24:][137] And another among the *Moabites*, called, *Beth-Maon*. The People of which, called *Maonites*, and as some think, *Mehunims*, [Judg. X.12. 2 Chron. XXVI.7.] were very powerful, and sometimes oppressed the *Israelites*.

There was likewise another *Carmel*. For this is not the Place, where *Elijah* offered Sacrifices. [1. King. XVIII.] Tis here that Saul made himself *A Place*, when he returned from the Conquest of the *Amalekites*, [1. Sam. XV.12.] that is, encamped, as some will have it, & divided the Spoil, or built a Triumphant Arch, as *Jerom* interprets it.[138] Here *Nabal* kept so many Sheep: And *Bochart* conjectures,[139] This is the Place meant by the Prophets, when they speak of, *The Pastures of Carmel*. Jer. L.19. Amos. I.2. Mic. VII.14.

Q. The *City of Salt*? v. 62.
A. Some take this to be *Zoar*. Thus called, Because it stood near the *Salt Sea*; or, because *Lot*s Wife was hereabouts turned into a *Pillar of Salt*.

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137 MS: "1. Sam. XXIII.1."
138 Mather refers to Jerome's translation of 1 Sam. 15:12 in the Vulgate (*fornicem triumphalem*); *see* Walton, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (2:244).
139 Samuel Bochart, *Hierozoicon* (1675), pars prior, lib. II, cap. LI, col. 628.

Q. *The Lot of the Children of Joseph*; what Remarkable in it? v. 1.
A. It is the Lot of *Ephraim*, & that Half Tribe of *Manasseh*, which was not yett provided for. Dr. *Patrick* notes;[140] One cannot but observe the Providence of God, in bringing up their Lot next unto *Judah*'s. For, as he had the Prærogative of being made the Chief of all *Jacob*s Children, so *Joseph* had the Priviledge of the *First-born* transferred unto his Family; so he comes to be considered before the rest of the Tribes.

Q. From *Bethel to Luz*? v. 2.
A. *Bethel* (so called, because of *Jacob*s Vision there) was nigh to the City *Luz*; but it was distinct from the City; it was in the Neighbouring Fields, where *Jacob* lodged. Tho' being so near, tis likely afterwards they became One City. [Josh. XVIII.13. and Judg. I.23.]

Of Such Coalitions of Two cities into one, there are numberless Exemples, – as *Huetius* will tell you.[141]

Dr. *Patrick* thinks, *Du Pin* does well thus to translate this Verse: *From Bethel-Luz the Border passeth along to Archiataroth*.[142]

[136v] |

Q. *They drave not out the Canaanites which dwelt in Gezer*? v. 10.
A. *Grotius*'s Conjecture is, That the Inhabitants of *Gezer* submitted, & accepted the Terms of Peace, that *Joshua* was bound to offer them. As he thinks, the *Gergasites* also did; who remained even in our Saviours time. They delivered up themselves at the First Summons. And he imagines, this is the Reason, that they are omitted in the Enumeration of the Enemies. Chap. IX.1 and XX.17.[143]

This City, and the People of it, were destroyed in *Solomon*s Time, by *Pharaoh* King of *Egypt*; He made a Present of it unto *Solomon*s Wife; who then Rebuilt it. 1. King. IX.6, 17.

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140 Patrick, *A Commentary* (202).
141 Pierre-Daniel Huet (1630–1721), French Catholic churchman and scholar, *Demonstratio Evangelica ad Serenissimum Delphinum* (1679; 6th ed., 1722), 191.
142 Patrick, *A commentary* (203), citing Louis Ellies Du Pin (1657–1719), French church historian, possibly his *Dissertations Historiques, Chronologiques, Geographiques et Critiques sur la Bible* (1711).
143 Grotius, *De Jure Belli ac Pacis* (13.2).

Q. *There was also a Lot for the Tribe of Menasseh; For he was the First-born of Joseph*. Where lies the Argument? v. 1.
A. Dr. *Patrick* saies,[144] He cannot well make Sense of it; and therefore, he thinks, the Particle should not be Translated, [*For*] but [*Though*.] Then the Meaning is plain enough; That the Lott of *Menasseh* came up after that of *Ephraim*, & not before it, *Though* he was the First-born of *Joseph*. It seems to be mentioned, as an Accomplishment of *Jacob*s præferring *Ephraim*. [Gen. XLVIII.20.]

Q. A Remark on *Joshua*s Answer to the Children of *Joseph*? v. 15.
A. Tho' *Joshua* were their Flesh and Bone, yett he would not Humour them. He returns their Argument upon them; since they were a *Great People*, then lett them do as he directed them.

Q. The Valley of *Jezreel*? v. 16.
A. It has its Name from a considerable City, standing in it; where some of the Kings of *Israel* afterwards had a Royal Palace. It appertain'd unto the Half-Tribe of *Menasseh* on the West of *Jordan*.

Eusebius and *Jerom* tell us, It was a very considerable Town in their Time; scituated between *Scythopolis*, or *Beth-shan*, and the City by them called, *Legeon*, in a great Plain.[145]

The Name of *Jezreel,* was moulded into *Esdraela*, by the Greeks; and this was the Name of the Town in the Days of *Eusebius*.

The adjoining Plain is called, *The Plain of Esdraelon*. Mr. *Maundril* informs us, That it is of a vast Extent, and very Fertile; but uncultivated; only serving the *Arabs* for Pasturage.[146]

This Plain, may be, *The Valley of Jezreel*; *Plain* and *Valley* being terms promiscuously used in the Scripture.

Except it should mean some lesser Valley near *Jezreel*; which may ly between Mount *Hermon*, and Mount *Gilboa*.

| [137v]

Q. What Sort of Things, were, *The Chariots of Iron*, among the ancient *Canaanites*? v. 16.

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144 Patrick, *A Commentary* (208).
145 Eusebius, *Onamasticon* (Iota, entry "Iezrael").
146 Henry Maundrell, 17th-century Church of England clergyman, *Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem* (1703), 56.

A. Wee must not imagine that the *Chariots* were all made of Massy *Iron*; they would then have needed Horses of *Steel*, to have drawn them. No, They were Chariots Plated & Armed with *Iron Hooks*; mischievous Instruments of Execution; especially in the Pursuit of a Broken Army. Even, our Ancient *Britons*, had Chariots, very much Resembling those of these *Canaanites*. But in the ancient Stories of the Eastern Countreyes, wee commonly find, Ἅρματα δρεπανηφόρα καὶ ζιφηφόρα.[147]

By[148] the Ancients they were called, *Currus Falcati*. Being driven swiftly thro' a Body of Men, they made great Slaughter; mowing them down, Like Grass or Corn. *Xenophon* gives a Description of them, in his *Cyropædia*, Lib. VI. And *Quintus Curtius*; Lib. IV. c. 9. *Vegetius* also, *De Re Militari*: L. III. c. 24.[149] *Bonfrerius* has heaped up abundance on the Subject; and so has *Dietericus*, in his, *Antiquitates Biblicæ*.[150]

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147 "Sickle- and sword-bearing chariots," a phrase that Mather may have from Hesychius or the Suda.

148 The ink changes from a brown to black.

149 Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* (8.8.24.2); Quintus Curtius, 1st-century CE Roman historian, *Historiae Alexandri Magni* (4.9.6); Vegetius, c. 4th-century CE Roman historian, *De Re Militari* (3.24).

150 Jacques Bonfrère (1573–1642), Flemish Jesuit and biblical scholar, *Iosue, Iudices, et Ruth Commentario illustrati* (1631), on Josh. 17:16 (139–40); Johann Conrad Dieterich, *Antiquitates Biblicæ Veteris Testamenti* (1671), 329–33.

Q. Wee find the *Tabernacle* now at *Shiloh*; pray, where was the Residence of the *Tabernacle*, after the Settlement of *Israel*, in the Land of *Canaan*? v. 1.
A. The Account, which the *Jewes* give of it, is, That the *Tabernacle* was first, Fourteen Years at *Gilgal*; then Three Hundred & Sixty Nine years at *Shiloh*; so Thirteen Years at *Nob*; afterwards, Fifty Years at *Gibeon*; lastly, T'was carried into the *Temple*, and there honestly & handsomely laid by, in private Corners, not without the *Omen* of a like Funeral to betide the whole Cæremonial Worship, that was Instituted with it. Such *Christians* as have supposed a Station for the *Tabernacle*, with the *Ark*, at *Gibea*, have been deceived by the *Vulgar* Version of 2 Sam. 6.3. Where a *Proper* Name, has by a Mistake been understood for an *Appellative*.[151]

Q. The Lott of the Tribe of *Benjamin*; what Remarkable in it? v. 11.
A. It is observable, That in the Blessing of *Moses*, *Benjamin* is placed between *Judah* and *Joseph*; which Prophecy of *Moses*, was now in this *Lott*, exactly fulfilled. [See Deut. XXXIII.12.]

Q. Did the Border of *Benjamin* reach to the Mediterranean Sea, Westward? v. 14.
A. The Word, which we translate *Sea*,[152] is to be taken Figuratively, for the *West*, on which Side the *Great Sea* lay. It is rendred, *West*, in the Twelfth Verse; and so it should be in the Fourteenth. – *Compassed the Corner of the West*, – that is, the West-border did there make a *Corner*.
| [blank] [138v]

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151 Mather correctly notes that the Vulgate mistranslates אשר עהבגב in 2 Sam. 6:3. The Hebrew reads literally, "which was on the hill," but the last word, an "*Appellative*," has been mistakenly understood as a proper noun and thus merely transliterated as "Gabaa." Hence the Vulgate's *qui erat in Gabaa*, i.e., "which was in Gabaa," has been misunderstood to refer to a particular city.
152 Because the Mediterranean Sea lies to the west of Israel, the Hebrew word for sea, ים, came to have a directional connotation as well. Thus, it can also mean, as Mather notes, west.

Q. *The Strong City Tyre*? v. 29.
A. We often read of *Sidon*, in the Books of *Moses*. Yea, the Blessing of *Jacob* ha's it.[153] But we read not of *Tyre* (except here) till the Dayes of *David*. *Bochart* observes,[154] That *Homer*, who speaks often of *Sidon*, and the *Sidonians*, never names *Tyre*. Probably some other Place, (as Dr. *Patrick* thinks)[155] may be meant, by *Tzor*, which signifies, *A Strong Place*. Perhaps there were several Cities called by this Name of *Tzor*, or *Tyre*; besides that famous one, which appears in future Times; There was particularly, *Palætyrus*, which is as much as to say, *Old Tyre*. *Vitringa* conjectures,[156] That into those two Places, into *Sidon* and *Tzor*, many People of *Canaan* fled for Security, when *Joshua* invaded them. *Tzor* signifies, not only a *Rock*, but also any Fortified Place. Possibly, the Latin *Turris*, and the English *Towre*, may be derived from thence. When *Strabo* speakes of *Tyre* joined with *Sidon*,[157] as ancient Cities, and uncertain which was the *Metropolis* of the *Phœnicians,* he speaks of the New *Tyre*.

Q. A Remark on the Sixth Lott? v. 32.
A. Here the Younger Son of *Bilhah*, the Handmaid of *Rachel*, is preferred before the Elder, who was *Dan*; as also *Zebulun* was before *Issachar*. Such was the Method of Divine Providence, in that Nation, as Dr. *Patrick* observes,[158] to show them, that they ought not to value themselves too highly, as they were prone to do, upon their external Priviledges.

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Q. In describing the Limits of *Naphthali*, wee find *Jordan* twice mentioned, in such Terms as these. *The Outgoings of the Border were at Jordan*; And, the *Going out* from the South-border, *was to Jordan, in Judah, toward the Sun-rising*. What ha's the Land of *Naphthali*, to do with *Jordan* in *Judah*? This hath not a little vexed Interpreters? v. 33, 34.

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153 E.g., Gen. 10:15, 19; Jacob's blessing of Sidon is in Gen. 49:13.
154 Bochart, *Geographia Sacra* (pars posterior, lib. I, cap. XXXIII, p. 642).
155 Patrick, *A Commentary* (241).
156 Patrick, *A Commentary* (241), citing Dutch protestant theologian and Hebraist Campegius Vitringa (1659–1722), whose *Geographia Sacra*, at the end of the 1723 ed. of *Observationum Sacrarum* (lib. VI, cap. IX, "De Terra Canaan," pp. 90–99), discusses Tyre and Sidon.
157 Patrick, *A Commentary* (242), citing Strabo, *Geographica* (16.2.15.3).
158 Patrick, *A Commentary* (243).

A. *Judah*, that is, *Judæa*, is here opposed unto *Galilee*. *Judah* is not here spoken of, as opposed unto the other Tribes. Before ever the Name of *Samaria* was risen, the Name of *Galilee* was very well known: [Josh. 20.7.] and so was the Name of *Judæa*. And at that Time, one might not improperly divide the whole Land within *Jordan*, into *Galilee*, and *Judæa*. The Words alledged therefore come to this Sense; The North-bounds of *Naphthali* went out Eastwardly to *Jordan* in *Galilee*; in like Manner the *South-bounds* went out Eastwardly to *Jordan*, now running into *Judæa*, that is, the Countrey without *Galilee*, which as yett was not called *Samaria*, but rather *Judæa*.

Or,[159] Take Dr. *Patrick*s Interpretation. The Tribe of *Naphthali* had Communication with that of *Judah*, by the River *Jordan*. The River afforded them Convenience of carrying Merchandises to *Judah*, or bringing them from thence. And some think, the Prophesie of *Moses* was thus fulfilled: Deut. XXXIII.23. *Possess thou the West & the South*. It need not signify, That they had any Land in the *South*; but that they traffick'd with it, by the Means of *Jordan*.[160]

Some[161] chuse to say, *Judah* here, is not the Name of the Tribe; but of a particular Place, called, *Judah upon Jordan*, because it lay upon *Jordan* in the Tribe of *Naphthali*.

Q. *Japho*? v. 46.
A. The Place that was afterwards called, *Joppa*; The principal Part of all *Judæa*; mention'd by *Mela*, and *Strabo*, and *Pliny*.[162] So it continues to this Day, & retains the Name of *Japha*; which in Hebrew signifies, *Fair*, or, *Beautiful*.

Q. How did the Coast of the *Children of Dan go out too little for them*? v. 47.
A. The Words, [*Too little*,] are not in the Hebrew. The Words run, *The Coast of the Children of Dan went out from them*. That is, They were dispossessed of Part of it, by their powerful Neighbours, the *Amorites*; who forced them into the Mountains, and would not lett them dwell in the Valley. This putt them upon such Straits, as constrained them, to enlarge their Border some other Way. This is no strange Phrase. In the Year of *Jubilee*, Lands were said, To *Go out*, when they returned unto the First Owners, from the Present Possessors [Lev. 25.28.]

Q. *Leshem*? v. 47.
A. Called *Laish*, in the Book of *Judges*.[163] In aftertimes, when it fell into the Hands of the *Romans*, it was called, *Paneas*; and made the Metropolis of *Ituræa*,

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159 The ink changes here from brown to black.
160 Patrick, *A Commentary upon the books of Joshua, Judges and Ruth* (243–44).
161 This paragraph is written later in a darker brown ink than the foregoing.
162 Pomponius Mela, 1st-century CE Roman geographer, *De Situ Orbis* (1.64); Strabo, *Geographica* (16.2.28.1); and Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* (5.14.69).
163 Judges 18.

and *Trachonitis*. From *Philip* also, Son of *Herod* the Great, who much enlarged it, it was called, *Cæsarea Philippi*, in honour of *Tiberius Cæsar*.

Q. A Remark on the Lot of the *Priests*? v. 4.
A. Tis Remarkable. As Dr. Patrick observes; It was by a Special Providence, that the Share which fell to the *Priests*, was in those Tribes that were nearest unto the City; which God intended should be the Fixed Place of His Worship and Service in future Times; that the *Priests* might be ready, without much Trouble, to give their Attendence there.[164]

But[165] lett us have a Remark, yett more curious and surprising?

In the Lott which determined the Thirteen *Sacerdotal Cities* thus long before, there was an astonishing Provision made, That upon the Revolt of the Ten Tribes from the House of *David*, & so from the Temple at Jerusalem, these Cities were all found scituated in those Parts, which remained Faithful to the House of *David*. Had they been scituated in the Tribes that Revolted, the Kings of *Israel* would certainly have been very Troublesome unto them in their Execution of their Office at the Temple, and strange & strong Temptations would have arisen. The Priests must either have quitted their Cities or their Services.

Twelve of the *Sacerdotal Cities* fell within the Tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin*. The other [which was *Ain*, Josh. XXI.16. or, *Ashan*, 1. Chron. VI.59.][166] was indeed in the Tribe of *Simeon*. But this continued loyal to *David*; being probably so scituated on the Edge of the Tribe of *Judah*, that the *Simeonites* durst not give Disturbance unto it. Yea, the City *Ashan*, is, 1. Chron. VI.57–60. reckoned as a City of *Judah*; and no mention is there made of any *Sacerdotal City* lying in the Tribe of *Simeon* at all.

| [140v]

Q. A Remark on the Numbers of the Cities assigned unto the *Levites*? v. 41.
A. They were *Forty and Eight Cities*!

God had ordered by *Moses*; Num. XXXV.7. *The Cities yee shall give to the Levites, shall be fourty & eight Cities*.

A Demonstration (as Dr. *Patrick* observes,) That *Moses* was divinely inspired, to make such an Appointment: before they knew, whether without straitning the other Tribes, they could afford so many Cities to the *Levites*. The Spies could have no Opportunity to take the Dimensions of the Countrey.[167]

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164 Patrick, *A Commentary* (256–57).
165 Mather originally had the remainder of the entry set up as a separate entry (*see* App. A).
166 In the MS, Mather mistakenly cites v. 20.
167 Patrick, *A Commentary* (264).

Q. The Expression, (in the Hebrew thus) *The God of Gods, the* LORD, *the God of Gods, the* LORD? v. 22.

A. Here are Three Names of GOD, *El*, and, *Elohim*, and *Jehovah*; signifying, That they owned *no other God, but Him whom their Fathers worshipped*, by what Name soever He were called.

Some of the Ancient *Jews*, thought a great Mystery contained in these Words. The *Midrasch Tillim* on the *Fiftieth Psalm*, discourses thus. "What did they see, that they mention these Words twice, *El Elohim Jehovah, El Elohim* [141v] *Jehovah*? They said, | *God, God, Jehovah*, the first Time, because by These the *World* was created; And they said, *God, God, Jehovah*, the second time; because by these the *Law* was given."[168]

He plainly insinuates a Plurality of Persons; When he saies, [*Behen*] *By* THESE.

No Wonder then, sais Dr. *Patrick*, that Christians have been of the same Opinion, and thought these Three Names denoted, the *Father*, & the *Son*, and the *Holy Spirit*; As the Author of the old *Nitzacon* (Three hundred Years before that of R. *Lipman*s) acknowledges: unto which, he gives no Answer but this, That these Three belong to *One God*; which we also Acknowledge.[169]

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168 Patrick, *A Commentary* (277), citing *Midrasch Tillim* on Ps. 50 (468), as quoted in Raimundus Martinus, 13th-century Spanish Dominican theologian and orientalist, *Pugio Fidei* (1651), pt. III, distinctiones I, cap. IV, sec. XI, p. 396. The following paragraph is also from the same page in Patrick.

169 Patrick, *A Commentary* (278), apparently citing Johann Michael Dilherr, *Setîrâ ʾal ledāt Yĕšû we-ʾal še-baʾû kolēm le-gêhînnôm hoc est Numerus IIX Spectans cap. 2 Genes. vs. 17 Arcani Libri Nitzachon* (1643) (59), the later version being Frederik van Weile, יפה ירחה *Theatrum Lucidum, exhibens verum Messiam … J. Christum ejusque honorem defendens, contra accusationes Judæorum … speciatim R. Libman Nitzachon* (1671).

Q. What may be the intent of that Passage; *Nor cause to swear by them*? v. 7.
A. Make not a *Gentile* swear by the Name of *His God*. *Selden* observes, out of *Maimonides*,[170] That this was utterly unlawful. For this was to suppose, That they had knowledge of Mens Thoughts, and had Power to punish those that *Forsware* themselves.

The Forbidding of this, was also, to secure them, from entring into *Leagues* and *Covenants*, with the *Gentiles*, which they would not look upon as Binding without an Oath.

| [blank] [142v]

170 From Patrick (*A Commentary* 285), Mather cites John Selden (1584–1654), English jurist and legal scholar, *De Jure Naturali et Gentium* (1640), lib. II, cap. XII, p. 270, who refers to Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah, Hilkhot Avodah Zarah*, cap. V, Halacha X.

Q. *Joshua*'s Gathering all the Tribes of *Israel*? v. 1.[171]
A. It is likely, that *Joshua* lived longer than he expected, when he made his foregoing Speech unto the People; and therefore he called them together once again, to give them good Advice before he died.

Or, perhaps, t'was his Custome often to do so; but only these two Speeches are kept upon Record.

Q. How can it be said, That *Balak* the King of *Moab*, warred against *Israel*? v. 9.
A. He did not actually draw out his Forces & fall upon them; However, he prepared them, with an Intention to drive them from his Coasts; if *Balaam* could by his Curses have disabled them.

David Camus therefore here makes this pertinent Note: *The Design is reputed the Work itself*.[172]

Q. *I sent the Hornet before you*? v. 12.
A. It had been promised; Exod. 23.27, 28. and, Deut. 7.20. *Joshua* now remembers, how True God had been to His Word. Perhaps *Hornets* might so infest the *Canaanites*, as to make many of them leave the Countrey. But *Kimchi* saies, They flew in the Eyes of the *Canaanites*, and made them so Blind, that they could not see to fight.[173]

Q. That Passage wherein the Glorious JEHOVAH is called, *The Holy God*? v. 19.
A. It is a most Illustrious Assertion of a *Trinity* of Persons in the Glorious Godhead. For the *Adjective* here, as well as the *Substantive* is in the *Plural* Number. In the Original it runs, *He himself is the Holy Gods*.[174] The Same Epithet, that is used by *Joshua* is used in *Daniel*; Ch. VIII.24.[175] The People of God are called *The People of the Holy Ones*.

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171 MS: "11."
172 Patrick, *A Commentary* (294), citing David Camius.
173 Patrick, *A Commentary* (296), citing Kimhi, *Former Prophets*, in loc. Mather cites Patrick's translation.
174 In v. 19, Joshua claims, כי אלהים קדשים הוה, "for he is a holy God." In Hebrew, the noun used for God is almost always in the plural, אלהים, instead of אל. This can create ambiguity at times. Thus, since the adjective is plural (as one would expect since it is modifying a plural noun), Mather reads the texts: "for he is holy gods." The unwarranted reading allows him to find a reference to the trinity here.
175 MS: "14."

Q. The mention of, *A great Stone, sett up under an Oak*, may invite one to consider the *Oak*, a Tree so often mentioned in the Scripture? v. 26.

A. Sir *Thomas Brown* thinks it a little Doubtfull, whether the Common English *Oak*, may be the *Oak* mentioned so often in the Scripture; for ours is an *Oak* which delighteth not in hott Regions. That Industrious Botanist, *Bellonius*, who took such particular Notice of the Plants of *Syria* and *Judæa*, observed not the Vulgar *Oak* in those Parts. But he found the *Ilex*, or Ever-green *Oak* in many Places: as also that kind of *Oak*, which is properly named *Esculus*; and he mentions it in Places about *Jerusalem*, and in his Journey from thence to *Damascus*; where he found, *Montes Ilice et Esculo Virentes*:[176] which he saies, are alwayes green.

When it is said of *Absalom*, That his *Mule, went under the thick Boughs of a great Oak, & his Head caught hold of the Oak, & he was taken up between the Heaven & the Earth*; [2. Sam. 18.9, 14.] that *Oak* might be some Ilex or rather *Esculus*. That is a Thick and Bushy Kind; *In Orbem Comosa*, as *Dale-champius* expresseth it. *Ramis in orbem dispositis comans*, as *Renealmus* describes it.[177]

When We read of *Hezekiah*; [2. King. 18.4.] *He broke down the Images & cutt down the Groves*; they might much consist of *Oaks*, which were sacred unto pagan Deities, and particularly this kind of *Oaks*; according to that in *Virgil*;

– *Nemorumque Jovi quæ maxima frondet Esculus*. –[178]

In *Judæa*, where no *Hogs* were eaten by the Jewes, & few *Hogs* kept by others, tis not unlikely, that they most cherished the *Esculus*, which might yeeld Food for Men. For the *Acorns* thereof are the sweetest of any *Oak*, and they taste like *Chesnutts*; and so producing an edulious or esculent Fruit, it is properly named, *Esculus*.[179]

| [144r][180]

Q. How does it come to be said, That the *Oak,* [or, Oakenholt] of *Shechem*, was *in* [so the Hebrew says,][181] or, *By* the *Sanctuary of the Lord*? Whereas, we know, the *Tabernacle*, and the *Ark of the Testimony*, were at *Shiloh*, [sett up there by *Joshua* himself,] and they remained there, until the *Time of the Captivity*

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176 "Montains verdant with holmoak and winter oak."

177 Jacques Dalechamp, 16th-century French naturalist, *Historia generalis Planatarura* (1587), and Paul de Reneaulme (1560–1624), French physician and botanist, *Specimen Historiae Plantarum* (1611). The Latin translates: "Leafy with well-ordered branches in a ring."

178 "The winter oak, greatest of the woodlands, which puts forth leaves for Jove." *Georgics* (2.15–16).

179 Sir Thomas Browne (1605–82), English polymath and eccentric, "Observations upon several Plants mention'd in Scripture," in *Certain Miscellany Tracts* (1684; rep. in *Works* [1686]), 19, citing Dalechamp, *Historia generalis Planatarura* (1587); and Petrus Bellonius (Pierre Belon), 16th-century French naturalist, author of *Les Observations de Plusieurs singularitez et Choses memorables trouvées en Grèce, Asie, Judée, Egypte, Arabie et autres Pays étrangèrs* (1553).

180 This leaf is attached to the edge of the previous leaf with sealing wax.

181 בְּמִקְדַּשׁ

of the Land; which without Quæstion was not until after *Joshua* was Dead & Buried, and is usually understood of the Time, when the *Ark* was taken captive by the *Philistines*. Yea, we have not only a *Sanctuary* at *Sichem* here; but in the Beginning of the Chapter, the Elders of the Tribes, on the Summons of *Joshua*, here *present themselves before the Lord*: v. 26.

A. Our learned *Mede* has handled this Matter Curiously and Judiciously.

According to him, here was a *Proseucha*, or a Praying-place, which the *Israelites*, (at least, those of *Ephraim*, in whose Lott it was) after the Subduing of the Countrey, had erected, at that very Place, at *Sichem*, where God first appeared unto *Abraham*, and where he built his first Altar, after he was come into the Land of *Canaan*; and where God said unto him, *Unto thy Offspring will I give this Land*.[182]

A *Proseucha*, was a Plott of Ground encompassed with a Wall, or some like Mound, and open above. A *Synagogue* was *Ædificium Tectum*, and within the Cities; But a *Proseucha* was without.

Epiphanius, a Gentleman born & bred a Jew, & in *Palestine*, in his Tract against the *Massalian* Hereticks,[183] tells us, "That the *Jews* of old (as also the *Samaritans*) had certain Places without the City, for Prayer, which they called, *Proseucha*'s; As it appears out of, *The Acts of the Apostles*. [Ch. XVI.13.]" He goes on. "There is also at *Sichem*, which is now called, *Neapolis*, above a Mile without the City, a *Proseucha*, or, Place of Prayer, like a Theatre, which was built in the open Air, and without a Roof, by the *Samaritans*, who affected to imitate the *Jews* in all things."

In being open atop, they were like the Courts of the Temple, whither the People came to pray: So that they were, as it were, a Kind of Disjointed and Remoter Courts unto the Temple, whither they turned themselves when they prayed in them.

It is not improbable, that their Usage of *Proseucha*'s may be as ancient as
[144v] the Days of *Joshua*; For tho' the *Israelites* | were to have but one *Altar,* or Place of *Sacrifice*, yett they had other Places for the Devotions of Natural Worship. At that one Place, the *Israelites*, & of those only the Males, appeared only Thrice in a Year. But they might have other Places of *Prayer*, nearer to their Dwellings; to which they might repair on the weekly Sabbaths.

Be sure, The *Sanctuary* at *Sichem* could not be the *Tabernacle*. And yett, it must be some Stable & Fixed Place; because the Scituation of the *Oak* is designed by it. Yea, it must be still there, after the Writing of this History: which must be after the Death of *Joshua*. Wherefore, to say, the *Ark* was brought thither on this Occasion, will not serve the Turn.

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182 Gen. 12:7.

183 Epiphanius, 4th-century CE bishop of Salamis, *Adversus Haereses* (§ VII), "Against Massalians."

The Circumstance of *Trees* growing in it, further Enlightens & Determines the Matter; The characteristical Note of a *Proseucha*. *Philo Judæus* relating the barbarous Outrages of the *Gentiles,* against the *Jews* at *Alexandria*, says, *of some of the* Proseucha's, *they cutt down the Trees, others they demolished to the very foundations*. Mark, They *Dis-tree'd* the *Proseucha's*! In *Juvenal*, there are several Hints to this Purpose; especially, where the *Sacerdos Arboris*, is mention'd by him: And where, the Grove of the *Fons Capenus*, is lett out unto the Beggarly *Jews*, for a *Proseucha*.

There is little Doubt, that the *Jews* had *Proseucha*'s in many other Places, as well as in *Sichem*: As namely, At *Mispeh*, and at *Bethel*, and at *Gilgal*; where we find Assemblies of the People; and Apparitions from Heaven to them in the Two last mentioned. We find, an *House of God*, at *Mispah*, where the People Prayed and Fasted. [Judg. XX.25, 26.] Indeed, the *Ark* was upon that Extraordinary Occasion brought thither. But the *Tabernacle* being still at *Shiloh*, this *House of God* could be none of it. Nay, perhaps we may hence learn, That when the *Ark* was to be removed upon such an extraordinary Occasion, they did usually bring it unto such Places as these, which were, as Holy Courts, ready prepared for it; and then it might be lawful, which it would not else, to sacrifice in them.

These *Proseucha*'s may be the *Conventicula Dei*, [Psal. LXXIV.7.] which were *burnt* by the *Chaldeans*, when they invaded the Land.[184]

| [143v]

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Q. What is there, that appears notable in the Age of *Joshua*? v. 29.

A. The Lives of the unbeleeving *Israelites*, that perished in the Wilderness, were Terminated by the Age of *Seventy Years*; as *Moses* bewayls it in the Ninetieth Psalm; or, if any of them survived that Age, yett they did but after a Dying Manner languish away the Rest of their Time. Now, these miserable Men, by their Unbeleef lost *Forty Years*, during which Space they were kept out of *Canaan*, & kept in a *Desart*. *Joshua*, was a singular Instance, Not Involved in the Guilt of their *Unbeleef*: & behold, the Lord bestowes just *Forty Years* more upon him, than the Term which hee allowed unto the rest of his Generation. *Forty Years*, added unto *Seventy*, make an *Hundred* & *Ten*, which was the Age of *Joshua*.

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184 Joseph Mede, Discourse XVIII on Josh. 24:26, in *The Works of the Pious and profoundly Learned Joseph Mede* (1672), 66–69, citing Epiphanius, *Adversus Haereses* (§ VII), "Against Massalians"; Philo Judaeus, 1st-century CE Hellenistic Jewish philosopher, *Delegatione ad Caium* (132.5–7); and Juvenal, late 1st/early 2nd century CE Roman poet, *Satyr* (6.541–545), though the *fons capenus* and Juvenal's anti-Semitic remarks about its state occur in 3.10–20. A *sacerdos arboris* is a "priest or priestess of the grove," and the *fons capenus* is the "Capenian Fountain." According to tradition, this is where Numa was told the proper ways of worship by the Roman goddess Aegeria.

It is also Remarkable, That when the *Murmurers* in the Wilderness, Received their Sentence of *Death*, *Joshua* was just *fifty five* Years old. But as a Reward unto him, who *murmured* not, the Lord lett him live just *fifty five* Years more, (38, and 17) which brought him unto an hundred & Ten.

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Q. What Jewish Curiosity have you, about, *The Hill Gaash*, on the North Side whereof *Joshua* was buried? v. 30.
A. *Har Gaash*, /הר געש/ the Name used here, is used by *Benjamin* in his *Itinerary*, for *Monpeslier*;[185] for /געש/ notes a *Trembling*, like that of the *Heart*, in a Palpitation, for which the Greek Term is παλλω. Now the *Jewes* have a Tradition, that at the Burial of *Joshua*, the Hill whereon he was Buried, shook with an *Earthquake*, as an Intimation of the Divine Displeasure against the People, for not Laying to Heart the Death of that good and great Man, as they should have done; and that for this Cause, t'was called, *The Hill of Trembling*.

Q. We read not of any *Dayes of Mourning* for *Joshua*, as for *Moses*, and *Aaron*? v. 30.
A. *Jerom*,[186] and others of the Fathers, think there was a Mystery in it; That under the Law, while the Kingdome of Heaven was not yett opened, they had reason to mourn & weep for the Death of their Friends; But under the Gospel, wherein is Reveled by the Lord Jesus, of whom *Joshua* was a Figure, the wondrous Love of God to Men, there is no reason for lamentation, but rather of Rejoicing.

Q. What Remarkable is Reported concerning the Hill of *Phinehas*, where *Eleazar* was Buried? v. 33.
A. The Jewes tell us, That there was a *Colledge* upon that *Hill*, and that *Phinehas* himself was the *Rector* of that *Colledge*.

Among the People of God, even when Immediate and Extraordinary *Inspirations* were more granted, than in our Dayes, yett *Schools of the Prophets*, were in Request; and the great *Samuel* himself, was Præsident of a *Colledge*.

Thus, when wee read in 1. Sam. 10.5. about, *The Hill of God, where was a Station of the Philistines*, the Jewes inform us, there was a *Colledge* of Young Prophets upon that Hill; which the Barbarous *Philistines* themselves, did not Care to demolish, because of the *Divine Studies*, which were followed in that

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185 *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela* (1907), 2. Benjamin of Tudela was a 12th-century Spanish Jewish traveler; it is uncertain whether Mather had access to an edition of this work or if he had this reference secondhand through another source.
186 Jerome, possibly *Epistles* (108.702.13).

Academy. Yea, a learned *Rabbi* assures us,[187] That in the Dayes of the Prophet *Isaiah*, there were no less than Four-hundred & Fourscore *Schools* at *Jerusalem* itself; and the *Talmud* acquaints us, That both the *Tutors* and the *Scholars* of those learned Societies, were free from civil *Tasks* and *Rates*, and all other public Burdens.

Q. But how comes *Phinehas*, to have an *Hill* in Mount *Ephraim*? v. 33.
A. It might be given to *Eleazar*, that he might be near to the Tabernacle, which was at *Shiloh*; and near to *Joshua*, on all Occasions to advise him, & consult the Oracle for him.

It may be objected, No Priest was to have any Portion, in the Division of the Land. It is therefore, the received Opinion among the Jews, that either *Eleazar* or *Phinehas* had this Inheritance in the Right of his Wife. *Selden* in his Book, *De Successionibus*, has another Exemple of this *Marital Succession*; the Husband succeeding his Wife in her Estate after her Death: in 1. Chron. II.21. Where the XXIII Cities that *Jair* possessed, *Kimchi* saies he had by his Wife.[188]

| [145r]

Q. Wee have seen the Death of *Joshua*. I think, *Moses* was the last of the *Types* you gave mee.[189] Will you now look back on the Life of *Joshua*, and show mee wherein *Hee* was a Type of our Lord Jesus Christ? v. 33.
A. I will. Only, tis Pitty to leave *Aaron* unmentioned, as wee go along: that Renowned *Priest* of the Lord, seems also to have been a *Type* of the Lord.

Aaron was the Mouth of *Moses* unto the People; and *Jesus* was the Mouth of *God* unto the World; the *Mouth* said I? Yea, the *Word* of God.

Aaron Dy'd on the *Top* of Mount *Hor*: and *Jesus* Dy'd on the Top of Mount *Golgotha*; they both expired on a *Mount*.

In a Word; All that *Aaron* did as a *Priest*, Wee shall find fulfilled in the *Priestly Office* of our Lord.

But now for *Joshua*; who in the New Testament, is pronounced, Jesus; by which means the superstitious Bowers at the Name of Jesus, do sometimes ridiculously expose themselves: As hee had the *Name*, so hee was a Notable *Type* of our Lord.

Joshua, is as much as to say, *A Saviour*. Such an one is our Lord Jesus Christ. [See Math. 1.25.] Not, *Abaddon*, or *Apollyon*. Did I say, *A Saviour*? Nay,

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187 This claim is attributed to R. Pinchas by R. Hoshaiah in y. Meg. 3:1, 73d par. y. Ket. 13:1, 35 c; that is, in the Jerusalem Talmud, Megilah 3.
188 Patrick, *A Commentary* (308–09), citing John Selden, *De Successionibus ad Leges Ebraeorum in bona Defunctorum* (1636), cap. XVIII, p. 58; and David Kimhi's commentary on Num. 32:41. Selden cites *Mishna Baba Bathra,* cap. VIII (*Seder Neziḳin 2, Baba bathra* [1978]), and other rabbinic sources.
189 Actually, Mather did not provide an earlier entry on Moses as a type.

Tully tells us,[190] that the Name, Σωτηρ, which wee render, *A Saviour*, no other Language can afford a Word, Significant, and Expressive enough, to translate it into. *A Saviour*! Hee is indeed *Salvation* itself. [Gen. 49.18. with Luc. 2.30.]

Joshua conducted *Israel* unto a Place of *Rest* from the Travels and Evils of a Wilderness. Thus the Souls of Beleevers, are brought into a Blessed *Rest* by the Lord Jesus Christ. [Math. 11.28.]

Joshua, did himself go before *Israel*, into the *promised Land*; hee first sett his Foot there, as their Leader, and then followed all the Armies of the Lord. Thus the Lord Jesus Christ, once in the Bible ha's that Name [Heb. 6.20.] *Our Forerunner*. Hee is gone into the Holy Land as our *Fore-runner*, to Challenge that Happy Soyl for us, forever.

When *Joshua* had brought *Israel* into *Canaan*, then ceased, the *Manna* which had fed them, the *Pillar* which had led them. Thus, the Appointments of God which our Souls now live upon will *cease*, when the Lord Jesus Christ ha's brought us to the Glory designed for us. [1. Cor. 11.26.]

Joshua utterly demolished the Walls of *Jericho*, the first *City*, that stood out against the People of God. It was a Typical City; the Antitype of it is *Rome*. As *Joshua* did *Seven Dayes* together encompass *Jericho*, blowing with *Cornets*, and on the *Seventh day*, hee did it *Seven Times*, upon which, it fell to the Ground. Even so, tis admirable to consider! The Lord Jesus Christ, caused *Seven Trumpets*, in so many Periods, or Judgments, to Blow, for the Destruction of the Roman, pagan, papal Empire; and *Seven Vials* are at last added thereunto, for the Devastation of it. That City shall shortly Fall. Tis therefore, a dangerous thing to uphold, or præserve any Part of the *Romish Jericho*; tis all Devoted.[191] What a Curse came upon *Hiel*? [1. King. 16.34.] That Wicked Man in Contempt of *Joshua*'s Curse, would rebuild that execrable City; but it cost him the Death of all his Children, & the Desolation of his Family. The Deadly Curse of *Jesus*, is that whereof the Rebuilders of the *Romish Jericho*, in any Nations, where it has been Demolished, will bee sensible.

When *Joshua* began to take the Charge of *Israel*, the River of *Jordan*, was Divided, by a Miracle before him. [Josh. 3.15.] Well, when *Jesus* was beginning to appear on the Stage of Action, hee came to *Jordan* too; only now, not the *River*, but the *Heaven* was divided before Him there, by a greater Miracle. [Math. 3.16.] Moreover, as *Joshua*, walked once on *Dry Land*, in the River, so *Jesus* walked at another time on a *River*, as on *Dry Land*.

When *Joshua* was pursuing the Powers of *Canaan*, hee did a very strange thing; hee call'd out, *Sun, Stand Still*! and wee read in Josh. 10.13. *The Sun Stood*

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190 Marcus Tullius Cicero, 1st-century BCE Roman orator and statesman, *In Verrem* (2.2.154).

191 I.e., devoted, or destined for, destruction. Mather is here making the seven days of Jericho typical of the seven "trumpets," or stages of divine history, as described in Revelation and expected in Protestant eschatology.

still, there was no Day like That; a Day six & thirty Hours long. Thus, when *Jesus* was encountring the Powers of *Darkness*, there fell out that thing, [Luc. 23.45.] *The Sun was Darkned*: The *Sun* itself yielded a Testimony of Respect unto our Lord. It was no Natural *Eclipse*; but probably some *Comet*, or *Vapor* sent out from the *Sun* itself, such a Matter as makes the *Spots* in the *Sun* ever{y} now & then, might bee the Cause of it. However, one of the famous Gentiles, at that Hour, made that Reflection, *Either the God of Nature is Dying, or Nature itself is perishing*.[192]

The Captains of *Joshua*, did putt their *Feet* on the Necks of the Five Kings that opposed him. The Ancients make it an Emblem of the Victory, which the Christian ha's over his *Five Senses*, the *Lusts* of which, *War against the Soul*. Indeed, none of the *Canaanites* were able to stand before the Arms of *Joshua*. Thus, our Lord Jesus Christ, is indeed an Almighty Conqueror; yea, Hee makes us to bee, *Conquerors, and more Conquerors*. [Rom. 8.37.]

Finally, what Clemency did *Joshua* show, to those that submitted unto him! Why, All that submitt unto the Lord Jesus Christ, shall find Mercy with Him. Even *Rahab*, the *Harlot*; – Lett 'em only show the *Scarlet Threed*, of their Faith in His Blood.[193]

| [145v]

Q. I have Seen that Remark made; we read that the *Israelites* mourned Thirty Days for *Aaron* and *Moses*; But in aftertimes, for *Joshua*, and for *Eleazar*, there is no mention that they shed a Tear? v. 33.

A. *Magalainus* gives this Reason for it;[194] Because they were grown more strong, and confirm'd in the Faith of the *Resurrection*, than they were in former Times. An *Excessive Grief* upon the Death of the Godly, carries with it a Suspicion of a *Defective Faith*.

| [146v]

Q. Some Remarks upon the *Sepulchres* of the Ancients? v. 33.

A. An Ingenious & Inquisitive Traveller, whose Name is Mr. *John MacGregory*, ha's been at the Pains of Writing the Effects of his Travels, & has particularly cultivated that Subject, *The Sepulchres of the Ancients*.

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192 Perhaps Mather is referring to the centurion who, present at the crucifixion, said, "Truly this man was the Son of God" (Mark 15:39). The gentile is presumably famous because he is recorded in Scripture.

193 *See* Samuel Mather (1626–71), minister of a Protestant church in Dublin, Ireland, *The Figures or Types of the Old Testament* (1705), 58, 92–95, 100–103, for some parallel points in this entry, though it seems that Mather was not drawing directly on this work.

194 Not further identified; possibly Franciscus Magalanus, a 16th-century Jesuit missionary.

He finds, There were Two Sorts of Ancient *Sepulchres*, or Grotts for the Dead. The *Single*, that were done for One Person; And the *Double*, that were done for a Family of Persons.

He saies, The First and most Ancient Sepulchres known in the World, are some of those, which are to be seen near *Damascus* in *Syria*; in the Mountains of *Hermon* and *Libanus*, and not far from *Jerusalem* in *Palæstine*, in the Valleys of *Rephaim* and *Hebron*.

They are *Grotts*; whereof some were Single, some Double, cutt out of Rocks; in Mountains or in Valleys. The *Smaller Grotts* have the Dimensions of Nine Foot Long, Six Foot Broad, and Six Foot High. By a Foot here understand the Ancient *Chaldean, Egyptian, Hebrew* Foot, which was æqual to a Roman or English Foot, and Two Inches. Their Doors or Entries are cutt out the same Way, & on the same Level to them; of Four Foot & an half Long, Three Foot Broad, and Three Foot High; The Dimensions of the Entries being just the Half of those of the Sepulchres. The *Greater Grotts* have Ante-Chambers to the Sepulchres, in the Double ones; These, with their Doors, are likewise cutt out the same Way, and upon the same, or a different Level, as the Ground would allow. Their Dimensions are uncertain: being sometimes Square, sometimes Oblong, & sometimes Round, sometimes More & sometimes Less.

Within the *Sepulchres*, on the Right as one enters, there's constantly a Levee, or Bank, like a Table, or Seat; occupying the whole Length of the Sepulchre, that is, Nine Foot; and the Half of the Breadth; that is, Three: and being a Foot and an half High; Not Artificial, of Stone-Work, but Natural, being so much of Rock uncutt out; Designed as a Couch or Bed, for the Dead Body to be laid on. And as this is alwayes on the Right, as one Enters, occupying the one Half of the Breadth of the Sepulchre, so the Entry or Door itself is constantly on the Left of it, taking up the other Half.

There is likewise, a Levee, or Bank, of the same Kind, in the Ante-Chambers of the Double Sepulchres, that ranges or continues around them on all Sides; as tis commonly in the Great Grotts, for the Living: But its Dimensions are likewise uncertain; being sometimes less, & sometimes more, in Proportion to those {of} the Ante-Chamber. And as this ranges around on all Sides of these Ante-Chambers, so their Entry is commonly in the Middle of the Outerside, towards the Field; of Dimensions likewise uncertain, in Proportion to those of the Ante-Chamber; wheras on the Inner Sides, towards the Mountain or Hill, the Valley or Plain, are the Doors of the Sepulchres running off from thence.

All these *Grotts*, whether Single, or Double, whether Sepulchres, Ante-Chambers, or Entries, are cutt out of the Rock, by the Stroke of a Chizzel or some other Iron-Instrument, upon the same or a different, Level, with one another, or with the Field; so as alwayes to have the Floor plain, their Sides perpendicular, and their Roof arched; The Arching being practis'd or contriv'd in the uppermost Third Part of the Heighth: The Whole very roughly & unevenly

done; and not accompanied with Monuments over them. (These being a later Invention.) Except the *Doors* of the Sepulchres, which are somewhat smoother & more even than the Rest, and not Arch'd above, but Square every Way; so as to be capable of having been shutt up with Stones, of Dimensions æqual to Theirs: some of which Stones are still to be seen hard by: But the Entries to the Ante-Chambers are so very Rough and therewithal so Irregular, both in Dimension & in Disposition, that they seem never to have been shutt up at all.

These are probably the oldest Sepulchres in the World; and Mr. *MacGregory* thinks it possible for some of them to have been Antidiluvian ones.[195]

| [blank] [146v]

195 John MacGregory, late 17th/early 18th century professor of geography and history at the University of Edinburgh, *An Account of the Sepulchers of the Antients* (1712), 4–7.

Q. *Judah shall go up*.] The Occasion of that Phrase? v. 2.
A. It calls to Remembrance, the Prophecy of *Jacob*, concerning *Judah*; Gen. XLIX.8. *My Son, Thou art Gone Up*.[1]

Q. What meant *Adonibezek*, by that abominable Sport, of having *Seventy Kings*, with their *Thumbs* & their *Toes* cutt off, gathering *Meat* under his *Table*? v. 7.
A. You must know that these *Kings* were but *Reguli*, or Governors, of so many petty Cities; for, as *Justin* tells us, *Auto* Ninum, *quisque Rex Terminis Civitatis suæ contentus erat*.[2] And you must know, that hee had not so many of these *Kings* at once, in so Infamous a Slavery; but in the whole Course of his Life successively, *some* after *others*. Now, his Design in this Cruelty, was both to make a *Sport* of them; & perhaps also to unfit them for *Warring*, or *Fighting* any more. Hence, your slothful, sordid, useless People, are by the *Italians*, (& the *French*) called, *Poltroni*, that is, *Pollice trunci*.[3] The[4] Loss of their *Thumbs* incommoded them for handling of Arms, & the Loss of their *Toes* hindred them from Running Swiftly, which was a noble Quality in a Warrior.

Q. We now read about the Taking of Places from the *Canaanites*, which we thought had been taken before, by the Sword of *Joshua*? v. 8.
A. The Land was not presently Divided. Some of the Dissipated Nations, returned in this Time, to the Places from which they had been outed; And others afterwards.

It is probable, *Jerusalem* was taken by *Joshua*, when he took the King of it. But the Old Inhabitants returned. And the Tribe of *Judah* afterwards dispossessed the *Jebusites*; But they kept the Stronghold of *Zion*, till the Dayes of *David*.

Thus *Hebron*, thus *Debir*, were again siezed by the expelled Inhabitants. The *Israelites* again Recovered them, after the Death of *Joshua*.[5]

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1 Patrick, *A Commentary* (314).
2 Marcus Julianus Justinus, 5th-century CE Roman historian, possibly *Historiarum Philippicarum Epitomen* (1.1): *Fines imperii tueri magis quam proferre mos erat; intra suam cuique patriam regna finiebantur*, though Mather's quote translates, "Each king, being an excessive builder, was kept in check by the boundaries of his own city."
3 Literally, "with the knob of a trunk"; Mather probably meant *pollice trunco*, "with a thumb having been cut off."
4 Here the ink changes from brown to black. For content parallel, see Patrick (*A Commentary* 317).
5 Patrick (*A Commentary* 318–19) on Judg. 1:11.

~~772.~~

Q. How Was *Othniel*, related unto *Caleb*? Was it, as wee read, *Othniel, the Son of Kenaz, Calebs younger Brother*? v. 13.
A. *Othniel* was *Caleb*s Uncle, but younger than hee; and the Text before us, is to bee thus understood, *Othniel, the Son of Kenaz, a Kinsman of Caleb, younger than hee*. For *Othniel*, and *Jephunneh* the Father of *Caleb*, were | Brethren; both, [147v]
Sons of *Kenaz*; [Num. 32.12. and 1. Chron. 4.13, 14.] *Othniel* then married his Nephews Daughter, or his great Niece; and hath an Inheritance of Land with her, tho' shee had Three Brethren.

~~9742~~**{?}.**

Q. We read, *Judah* took *Gaza*, and *Ashkelon*, and *Ekron*. Yett we afterwards find the *Philistines* in these very Places *Lording* of it? v. 18.
A. *Munster* gives a Sad Account of it; The *Philistines* afterwards Retook them. *Facilè hic adverti potest, Philistæos urbes illas, iterum occupasse, demerentibus id Judæorum peccatis*.[6]

Q. A Remark on that Passage: *They could not drive out the Inhabitants of the Valley*? v. 19.
A. Dr. *Patrick* observes; Here the Fountain of all the ensuing Evils, that befel the *Israelites*, begins to be opened. Either thro' *Covetousness*, or *Slothfulness*, or *Unbeleef*, or more *Lenity* than was required, they did not attempt those People, which were stronger than ordinary; or being unfaithful to God, they failed in their Attempt; or having some Success, only brought them under Tribute. It is most likely, they were so affrighted with the *Iron Chariots* used in the *Plain* Countrey, that they were utterly Disheartened. They did not Remember, what God had promised; & how undauntedly *Joshua* sett upon those who came thus dreadfully appointed.[7] Thus, This proved the Source of Numberless Apostasies, & Calamities.

~~879~~**{?}.**

Q. *The Jebusites dwell with the Children of Benjamin in Jerusalem, unto this day*. Unto what Day? v. 21.
A. The Hebrewes tell us, it refers to the Time of *Samuel*, whom they suppose to be the Writer of the Book of *Judges*.[8]

Q. *Luz*, the *Name to this Day*? v. 26.

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6 Münster, *Hebraica Biblia*, in loc. (226). "This is easily perceived, that it once again filled those Philistine cities with the deserved sins of the Judeans."
7 Patrick, *A Commentary* (322–23).
8 Patrick (*A Commentary* 323).

A. Yes; And long after. It seems to be the City mentioned by *Josephus*, in *Arabia* (not far from *Judæa*) which he calls, Λουσσα.[9] And *Bochart* observes, It had its Name originally, from a Plenty of *Almonds* growing there; from whence also, *Lusitania*.[10]

Q. *Neither did Asher drive out the Inhabitants of Accho*? v. 31.
A. A City near the *Mediterranean* Sea; called by *Strabo*, and others, *Ace*; and afterwards, *Ptolemais*. As *Eusebius* tell{s} us, who observes that the *Asherites* drove not out the Αλλοφυλους[11] from thence. The same is observed by *Procopius*.[12]

Q. What is there in general observable concerning the *Judges*?
A. You may note, That the Tribe of *Joseph* hath more *Judges*, than *Judah*, or any other Tribe. We shall see thro' the Scriptures, That Children have many times great Prærogatives, in regard of something in the Stories of their Parents. *Joseph*s Mother was first contracted unto *Jacob*, tho' *Judah*s Mother first bare Children unto him. The outward Blessings of *Joseph*s House, did at first overmatch those of *Judah*s. However, *Othniel* the first Judge, was of the Tribe of *Judah*; to intimate that the Great Saviour, who was the Antitype of all, should come of this Tribe.

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9 Following Patrick (*A Commentary* 325), who in turn draws from Bochart, *Geographia sacra* (pars prior, lib. IV, cap. XXXVII, p. 350), Mather cites a version of Josephus, 1st-century CE writer on Jewish history, *Antiquitates Judaicae* (14.2; variants: Αλουσα, Λούσα); the LXX has Λούζα and Vulgate, *Luza*. לוּז, *looz*, "Luz" (KJV), an early name for Bethel and also "almond tree" (BDB).

10 Patrick (*A Commentary* 325), citing Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* (14.2); and Bochart, *Geographia Sacra* (pars posterior, lib. I, cap. XXXV, p. 697).

11 That is, "the other tribes."

12 Patrick (*A Commentary* 326–27), citing Strabo, *Geographica* (16.2.25), Eusebius, *Onomasticon* (30.11), and Procopius Gazaeus, *Commentarii in Octateuchum* (497).

Q. Who was that *Angel of the Lord*, that came to Reprove the General Assembly of *Israel*, convened at *Shiloh*? v. 1.

A. It seems to bee the Lord Messiah, the *Angel of the Covenant*, here assuming of an Humane Shape: Even the same Angel that appeared unto *Joshua* at *Gilgal*; Josh. 5.14. for which very Cause, tis here said, that hee *Came up from Gilgal*. I know very well, that this *Angel* is taken to bee *Phinehas*, among the Jewish Writers; who distinguish between the *Superior Angels*, & the *Inferior Angels*; which Latter they say, the *Prophets* are; So *Jonathan* will have this *Angel* here, to bee *Propheta in Legatione â Domino*.[13] But let it bee considered, how *Autocratorically* this *Angel* here, ascribes to himself, those Things which might not bee claimed by any *Created Angel*; much less, by any *Man*, made *Lower than the Angels*.[14]

Q. What may be the Original, and the Intention of that Expression; *They shall be as Thorns in your Sides*? v. 3. Compare, Num. 33.55.

A. There were a Sort of *Scourges* used on Malefactors, which had *Thorns* in the Ends of them, whereby the Flesh of the Scourged was torn most miserably. These were they which in the Speech of *Rehoboam* are called, *Scorpions*.

Here is an Allusion to them; and it is q. d. They shall be *Scourges* to you. This is *Weems*'s notion.[15]

Q. What might be the Occasion, that the *Israelites* did so soon *Forsake their God*? v. 9, 10, 11.

A. Dr. *Patrick* notes, Tis not easy to give an Account, what moved them to forsake their God, after such wonderful Things, as He had done for them, and their most Solemn Engagements unto Him. It is not unlikely, That One Reason was, the *Unusual Rites* præscribed in His Divine Service, much different from all other Nations; and several *Laws*, that made them unlike all the rest of the World, who hated them on this account. This they could not bear; They must be conformable to other People; that they might gain their Friendship. We are told, They look'd on the *Great Things of the Law*, [Hos. VIII.12.] as *a Strange Thing*.[16]

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13 Targum Jonathan in Walton, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (2:94): "A prophet in the embassy from the Lord."

14 Patrick, *A Commentary* (330–32), which lacks the reference to Jonathan.

15 John Weemes (c. 1579–1636), Scottish Presbyterian clergyman and Hebrew scholar, *The Christian Synagogue* (1623), bk. I, ch. 6, § 8 ("Of their Whipping"), p. 183.

16 Patrick (*A Commentary* 37–38), on v. 12.

~~1805.~~

Q. Why was the place of *Joshua*'s Grave, called by the Name of *Timnath-heres*? v. 9.

A. *Timnath-heres*, is as much as to say, *The Image of the Sun*. And such an *Image*, they affirm, was engraved on the Grave of *Joshua*, in Remembrance of the *Sun Standing still* once, upon his Invocation.

[148v] |

~~3356~~{?}.

Q. *Ashtaroth*, what Sort of an Idol? v. 13.

A. It was eminently, *The Goddess of the Sidonians.* [1. King. 11.5.] The Name is written, both *Ashtoreth*, and *Ashtaroth*; but by the LXX Ασταρτη· It properly signifies, *A Flock*. [Tis also the Name of a Town, Deut. 1.4.] *Lucian*, in his Talk, about *The Syrian Goddess*, ha's this Fancy, Ἀστάρτην δεγω δοκέω σεληνάιαν ἔμμεναι: *I think*, saies he, *Astarte to be the same with the Moon*. But then *Tully*, in his Book, *De Naturâ Deorum*, will have *Astarte* to be the same with *Venus*; and saies the same that we have in the Bible, She was *Tyro concepta.* The *Phœnicians*, as *Philo*, and *Herodian*, tell us, took both for One, or One for both. She was therewithal called, *The Queen of Heaven*; or, *Juno Olympia*.[17] *Selden* observes, That *Minerva*, and *Juno*, and *Venus*, and the *Moon*, are Names confounded so one with another, that when applied unto the *Asiatic* Deities, *Qui Minervam Belisamam, Junonem Belisamam, Venerem, aut Lunam dixerit, idem semper ipsum dixerit*.[18] This Lady *Astarte* was also called, *Urania*; which being derived from /אור/ *Light*, was as much as to say, *Juno Lucina*; the same, that is in *Horace* called, *Siderum Regina*.[19] Wonder not, that *Ashtaroth* is mentioned in the Scriptures, as if it were of the *Masculine Gender*. *Venus* was amongst the ancient Pagans (as *Macrobius* tells us,)[20] of the *Masculine Gender* as well as the *Fœminine*; they Sometimes allow'd a *Beard*, and a *Sword* unto their *Venus*. But it is enough to answer, That being in reality a *Divel*, tis no Wonder that the Sacred Scriptures observe not a Difference of *Sexes* for it.

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17 This entry is drawn from John Selden's chapter on Astarte/Ashtaroth, in *De Diis Syris* (1617), Syn. II, cap. II, pp. 141–71; on p. 155, he cites Lucian of Samosata, 2nd-century CE Syrian satirist, *De Syria dea* (4.2–4); Cicero, *De Naturâ Deorum* (3.59); Philo, *De Legatione ad Caium* (283.3); and Herodian, perhaps Aelius Herodianus, 2nd-century CE Greco-Roman grammarian, *De prosodia catholica* (*see* Lentz, *Grammatici Graeci* [1867], vol. 3.1, p. 257, line 28, and p. 345, line 1).

18 "Whoever will have said that Minerva is Belial, Juno is Belial, Venus, or the Moon, will always have said the very same thing." Selden, *De Diis Syris* (Syn. II, cap. II, p. 246).

19 "Queen of the stars." Selden, *De Diis Syris* (Syn. II, cap. II, pp. 159–60), citing Horace, 1st-century BCE Roman poet, *Carmen Saeculare* (l.35).

20 Selden, *De Diis Syris* (Syn. II, cap. II, pp. 149–50), citing Macrobius, *Saturnalia* (3.1.8), where he refers to a poet, Calvus Aterianus, who describes Venus with *deum* rather than *deam*; the mention of a "bearded" Venus also occurs here, but Macrobius seems to criticize it.

Her Name Signifies, *A Flock*, or *Flocks*, because, as *Kimchi*, with his Jewes, informs us, worshipped in the form of a *Sheep*.[21] It may be, she was reckoned the Protector and Præserver of the *Flocks* in those Eastern Countreyes; as in the Western, – *Pan Curat Oves, oviumque magistros*.[22] The *Philistines* had her, as well as the *Sidonians*. [1. Sam. 31.10.] Her Image, as it seems, (which is noted by *Selden*, from *Philo Byblius*,)[23] was the Statue of a Woman, having on her own Head, the Head of a *Bull*, where the Horns erected resembled the Crescent *Moon*, and his curled Hair (falling down on her Forhead) betokened the fiery Beams thereof. Finally, to recite one of our *Fuller*s Witticisms; "This Goddess was very tender of herself, and careful not to catch Cold; for besides the *Grove* over her *Image*, she had also *Curtains* over her *Grove*, [2. Kin. 23.7.] which the Women weaved for that Purpose, till *Josiah* took order to destroy them."[24]

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21 Selden, *De Diis Syris* (Syn. II, cap. II, p. 143), citing Kimhi, *Former prophets*, in loc. (quoted in Münster, *Hebraica Biblia* 217).

22 "Pan tends sheep and the masters of sheep." Virgil, *Eclogues* (2.33).

23 Selden, *De Diis Syris* (Syn. II, cap. II, pp. 154–55), citing Philo Byblius, late 1st/early 2nd-century CE historian and lexicographer, Fragment (2.210–225), describing the traditional way of depicting Isis.

24 Fuller, *A Pisgah-sight* (130).

Q. How is it said, *They worshipped Baalim, and the Groves*? v. 7.
A. *Groves* here are by some taken literally; for the *Trees* themselves, which composed the Shady Places, that were anciently consecrated unto *Heroes*; being sometimes the Places of their *Sepulchres*, & supposed to be haunted by their *Manes*. *Baalim* were the same with *Heroes*; and *Trees* were accounted Sacred Things, by the ancient Heathen, who consecrated them unto Deities, & trimmed them up with Ribbons, & adorned them with Lights, and made Vowes to them, & hung the Spoils of their Enemies upon them. Travellers did use to Stop at them, as att the Habitation of a God. But Mr. *Selden* thinks, that by *Groves* are to be understood, the *Images* of the *Gods* in the *Groves*.[25] There are Scriptures, in which they must signify so. He probably conjectures, There were several Goddesses under the Name of *Ashtaroth*, worshipped in them.

There is a Text, in which you find, the Prophets of *Baal*, and the prophets of the *Groves*, distinguished. [See 1. King. 18.19.][26]

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Q. What Remarkable is there to bee noted of *Othniel*, the Judge of Israel? v. 9.
A. To the Great Honour of the Tribe of *Judah*, the first Judge of *Israel*, after *Joshua*, was of this Tribe. This was *Othniel*. So was fulfilled the Prophecy, in Gen. 49.8. *Judah, Thou art hee, whom thy Brethren shall praise; thy Hand shall bee in the Neck of thine Enemies; thy Fathers Children shall bow down before thee*.

~~756~~{?}.

Q. Tis said, *The Land had Rest Forty Years; and Othniel the Son of Kenaz died*. After what Manner does your Chronology sett the *Clock* of *Time*, in reckoning the Oppressions & the Deliverances of *Israel*, related in the Book of *Judges*? v. 11.
A. Dr. *Lightfoot* will tell you, That the Years of the *Oppressors*, are to bee included in the Years of the *Deliverers*, and they must not bee reckoned apart by themselves. Thus the Eight Years of the Peoples Misery under *Cushan* must go into *Othniel*s Forty. And so the Eighteen of *Eglon* must go into *Ehud*s Eighty. Indeed *Paul* so reckons the Years of the Judges, that hee seems to count the oppressing Years distinct from them; when hee speaks of *Judges for the Space of four hundred & fifty Years until Samuel*: [Act. 13.20.] but, as Dr. *Lightfoot* notes,
[149v] hee utters it with an ὡς, *After a Manner*; or, in some kind of | Reckoning; but

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25 Selden, *De Diis Syris* (Syn. II, cap. II, pp. 143–44); for another entry on "groves," see that on 2 Kings 17:10 (below, p. 601).
26 Patrick, *A Commentary* (346).

not in exact Propriety. Again, whereas tis said, *The Land had Rest forty Years in the Times of Othniel*, and afterwards, *Eighty Years in the Times of Ehud*; it is not so to bee understood, as if there were *forty*, or *Eighty* Years Peace in the Land, uninterrupted: for in *Othniel*s Time, *Israel* was bussling with the *Canaanites*, [chap. 1.] and among themselves [chap. 20.] and in *Ehud*s Time, they were disquieted by *Moab*: [chap. 3.14.] It is therefore to bee thus understood, That upon the Delivery by *Othniel*, the Land had Rest, until Forty Years were up from the Death of *Joshua*; and upon the Delivery by *Ehud*, the Land had Rest until Eighty Years were up, from the Death of *Othniel*. And so the rest.[27]

The like Phrase you have, in Num. 14.33, 34. – *Wander in the Wilderness Forty Years*. Not full Forty Years, from the Time that these Words were spoken, but so as to make up full Forty Years, from the Time of their Coming out of *Egypt*.

Q. Wee find *Eglon* the King of *Moab*, was become the King of *Israel*; Hee had his very Palace in the *City of Palm-trees*, or, *Jericho*. How happens it, that the Curse of *Joshua* fell not upon those Rebuilders of *Jericho*? v. 13.
A. The Curse of *Joshua* had Reference, as Dr. *Lightfoot* thinks, to none but *Rahab*s kindred; forbidding *Them* only to Rebuild it, & Recruit it, for a *Canaanitish* Town again. Accordingly, *Hiel*, who afterwards went about that Work, was of *Rehab*s Offspring; who living in *Bethel*, and seeing that *Canaanitish* Manners, Idolatries & Impieties, came on apace, was emboldened thence to take in hand, the design of making *Jericho*, a *Canaanitish* City.[28]

Q. Why did *Ehud* send away his Companions? v. 18.
A. It was his Generosity. *Munster* mentions the Reason of it, *Ut Si infælicibus avibus, negotium adoriretur solus periculo obnoxius esset*.[29]

Q. What might be the *Quarries by Gilgal*? v. 19.
A. The LXX and the *Vulgar*, take it for, *Graven Images*. And so the Word commonly signifies. When *Ehud* beheld these, his Spirit was mightily stirred within him; (as *Conr. Pelican* explains the Passage;) and he proceded no further in his Return Home; but went back, with a Resolution to Revenge this Affront unto God, as well as the Oppression of His People. Probably the *Moabites* might chuse to sett up their *Graven Images*, in this Place, which had been famous for the Presence of God, for a long time in it.[30]

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27 Lightfoot, *The Harmony, Chronicle and Order of the Old Testament* (95).
28 Lightfoot, *The Harmony, Chronicle and Order of the Old Testament* (96).
29 Münster, *Hebraica Biblia*, in loc. (228). "When difficulty will rise up among infelicitous birds, one alone may be exposed to danger."
30 Patrick (*A Commentary* 352), citing Conradus Pellicanus, *Commentaria Bibliorum* (2:32).

[▽150r–v] [▽Insert from 150r–v]

Q. On the *Locking of the Door*? v. 23.

A. Learned Men have with no small Ostentation of their Learning, treated on very *Minute* Subjects, which yett they have thought had this to recommend them, That they were *Ancient* Ones. One has with much Erudition written on the *Shoes* of the Ancients; Another on the *Shoe-buckles*. One, on the *Rings* of the Ancients; Another on their *Ear-rings*. Yea, several particular *Habits* have had Books employ'd upon them; and their *Gloves* particularly.[31]

Among the rest, the *Keys* of Antiquity have been considered. And a Gentleman whose Name is *Molin*, has at *Upsal* published an, *Exercitatio Academica de Clavibus*.

After just Reflections on the Corruption in the Heart of Man, which has made the Use of *Keys* to be necessary, he censures the Mistake of *Pliny* and of *Polydore Virgil*, who make one *Theodore* of *Samos* the first Inventor of them. He confutes it, not only from the mention that *Homer* makes of them in the *Trojan*
[150v] War, but from *Eglon*s parlour here under *Lock and Key* before us; yea, and | from what is insinuated in the *Nineteenth* Chapter of *Genesis*.[32]

Our Author, among other curiosities, discourses with much Erudition on the *Key* that went under the Denomination of Βαλάναγρὰ and which managed a *Lock*, that had Bolts belonging to it, that the *Hand* might be thrust in upon, tho' the *Key* were necessary to the moving of them. Tis not easy to form the Idæa, of it; But from this, hee would explain the *Lock and Key* before us; and a Passage in the V{th} Chapter of the *Canticle*.[33]

Nor is it easy to form the *Idæa*, of that in *Homer*, from whence *Calixtus* would maintain, that our Saviour did not employ a Couple of *Metaphors*, when He said unto *Peter*, *I give thee the Keys*, and, *what thou bindest*. –[34]

[△] [△Insert ends]

Q. Remarks upon *Seirath*? v. 26.

For the LXX (*idola)* and Vulgate (*sculptilibus*) versions, *see* Walton, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (2:100).

31 *See*, for example, Johannes Braunius (1628–1708), Dutch pastor and professor at Groningen, *Id est Vestitus sacerdotum Hebraeorum* (1680)*,* on clothing; and Anthony Bynaeus (1654–98), Dutch Reformed biblical scholar, *De Calceis Hebraeorum* (1682)*,* on shoes.

32 Theodore of Samos was a 6th-century BCE Greek inventor and architect. *See* Gen. 19:6, 10, which states that Lot "shut to the door" (KJV).

33 Laurentius Molin (d. 1723), Swedish theologian, *Exercitatio Academica de Clavibus* (1684), on Cant. 5.

34 Matt. 16:19. Molin, *Exercitatio Academica de Clavibus*, citing Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* (7.56.198); Polydore Vergil (c. 1470–1555), Italian-born historian of Tudor England, *On Discovery* (3.14.1); Homer, in whose writings are many mentions of "keys" (κλεις), but the passage to which Mather refers is uncertain; and Calixtus, 3rd-century CE Catholic pope (*see* Tertullian, *De Pudicitia* 21).

A. It is probably thought, the Places denoted by *Josephus*,[35] when he tells us; The Posterity of *Seth*, knowing by *Adam*s Prædictions, that the World should perish first by *Water*, and then by *Fire*; and, being desirous that After-ages might know the Discoveries they had made in Astronomy, they engraved them upon Two Columns, or Pillars; The one of Stone, to resist the Water, the other of Brick, to resist the Fire; and they placed these Two Columns in *Syrias*, that is, the *Seirath* here mentioned.

It appears from the Sacred History, that here were to be seen, some Ingravings. For the Word we render, *Quarries*, may be rendred, *Engravings*.[36] The LXX has it, *Graven Images*. But these Columns were not elder than the Deluge. They were doubtless the Work of the ancient *Canaanites*; herein imitating the *Egyptians*.

Q. The Renowned *Shamgar*, who *slew of the Philistines, Six hundred men, with an ox-goad*; Are there any Footsteps of him in Pagan Antiquity? v. 31.

A. In *Homer*, (namely, in *Iliad*. ζ.)[37] we find One *Lycurgus*, with the same Weapon Encountring and Conquering the Forces of *Bacchus*. They were

– ὑπ̀ ανδροφονοιο Λυκουργου
Θεινομεναι βουπληγι.

i. e. *Ab Homine Lycurgo Boum stimulo percussæ*.[38] And therefore *Nonnus* ha's it up, (in *Dionys*: Lib. 20.)[39]

Lycurgus threatens *Bacchus*,
Υμεας, ισα Βοεσσιν, εμω Βοπληγι δαμασσω,
Vos, Boum instar, Simili Stimulo damnabo.

The Fight is described there to be

– εγγυθι Καρμηλοιο, *propè Carmelum*,

a well-known Mountain in *Judæa*. Upon the whole, *Bochart* makes this Remark, *Fortassè Lycurgus idem Est Cum nostro Samgare*.[40]

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35 Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* (1.68–71).

36 The Hebrew word to which Mather here refers [הפסילים] comes from the word [פסיל] "divine image." It probably refers to a carved image, which sense has influenced the interpretation of the geographical place mentioned.

37 Homer, *Iliad* (6.134–35).

38 Mather almost consistently leaves out Greek and Hebrew diacritical marks. The Greek passage in a modern edition reads, ὑπ̀ ἀνδροφόνοιο Λυκούργου (Homer, *Iliad* 6.134): "[All] who have been struck with an oxgoad by man-killing Lycurgus."

39 Nonnus, late 4th/early 5th-century CE Greek epic poet, *Dionysiaca* (20.315).

40 The Greek original with diacritics reads, Ὑμέας, ἶσα Βόεσσιν, ἐμῷ Βοπλῆγι δαμάσσω (Nonnus, *Dionysiaca* 20.315): "I will slay you with my oxgoad like an oxen." The Latin translates the Greek literally. For the following phrase, which reads with Greek diacritics ἐγγύθι Καρμήλοιο, means "near Carmel" (Nonnus, *Dionysiaca* 20.298). The phrase from Bochart, *Hierozoicon* (pars prior, lib. II, cap. XXIX, p. 386), translates: "Perhaps this Lycurgus is the same as our Samgar." The reference is apparently to Jer. 39:3. Mather drew a small heart in the right margin at this point, the meaning of which is uncertain.

To[41] Illustrate this Passage a little further, I'l transcribe a Passage, in *Maundrils* Journey from *Aleppo* to *Jerusalem*. Speaking of Observables on the Road, he saies, "T'was observable, that in *Ploughing*, they used *Goads of an extraordinary Size*. Upon measuring several, I found them *Eight Foot Long*, and at the upper End, *Six Inches* in circumference. They were armed att the lesser End, with a sharp Prickle[42] for Driving the *Oxen*, and at the other End with a small *Spade*, or Paddle of *Iron*, Strong and Massy, for Cleansing the *Plough* from the *Clay*, that encumbers it in working. May we not from hence conjecture, that it was with such a *Goad* as one of these, that *Shamgar* made that prodigious Slaughter, which is related of him? [Judg. 3.31.] I am confident, that whosoever shall see one of these Instruments, would Judge it to be a weapon, not less fitt, perhaps fitter than a *Sword* for such an Execution."[43]

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41 The remainder of the entry, apparently a later addition, is written perpendicularly in the first column of this leaf and cued to the preceding entry.

42 *See* Eccles. 28:36.

43 Maundrell, *Journey from Aleppo* to *Jerusalem* (109).

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Q. We read, [Josh. 11.10.] *Joshua took Hazor, and Smote the King thereof with the Sword, & he burnt Hazor with Fire*. And yett, here we find, *Jabin the King of Canaan, that Reigned in Hazor*, horribly oppressing *Israel*, for Twenty Years together? v. 1.

A. What we render, *Harosheth of the Gentiles*, is by *Munster* translated, *The Woods of the Gentiles*. And then *Munster* offers this as a Solution of the Matter; After the Destruction made by *Joshua*, *Manserunt Reliquiæ aliquæ, quæ fugientes in Nemora Gentium, successu temporis Vires*[44] *susceperunt, et alium instituerunt Regem, qui erat de semine Jabin, et affligere cœpit Filios Israel*.[45]

It is thought, that between the Days of *Joshua*, and of *Deborah*, the *Canaanites* re-established their ancient Kingdome here, & rebuilt *Hazor*, & sett up one of the old Royal Line for their King, who according to the common usage, kept the Name of his Predecessors.

Q. Why is *Deborah*, the Prophetess, called, *A Wife of Lapidoth*? v. 4.

A. Tis by some rendred, *Fœmina Lampadum*;[46] and it is judg'd, that her Employment was, to make *Wicks* for the *Lamps* of the *Sanctuary*. How agreeably are the *Illuminations* of the Holy Spirit, granted unto a Person of such an Employment? Some do further think, That while shee prophesied, her *Face* was *Illuminated*, like that of *Moses*: [Exod. 34.30.] and therefore shee is here called, *A Woman of Splendours*. Her, *Judging of Israel*, implies, her giving Answers to the Cases of the Publick, from Inspiration, and her giving Directions to them in their Difficulties.

Her Name in Hebrew signifies, *A Bee*. A Name given in other Nations to Illustrious Women. The Nymph, said to be the Nurse of *Jove*, is called, *Melissa*. The Wife of *Periander*, King of *Corinth*, had the same Name.[47]

Q. It is a Passage in the Rebuke upon *Barak*; *The Lord Shall Sell Sisera into the Hands of a Woman*? v. 9.

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44 Münster, *Hebraica Biblia*, in loc. (229), reads: *vis uires*.

45 Münster, *Hebraica Biblia*, in loc. (229). "Some ancient relics remained which the men fleeing within the woods of the gentiles, in the success of the moment, raised, and established another king who was from the seed of Jabin. He began to afflict the sons of Israel."

46 "A woman of torches." The Latin word referred to here is *lampas* or *lampadis*; Mather seems to have elided the two.

47 This paragraph taken from Patrick, *A Commentary* (364).

A. It is a Part of the Glory of a Conquerour, to take the General of the Enemies Army, or to kill him with his own hand. This was to be denied unto *Barak*, as a small Punishment of his Backwardness, to do what he was bidden. As he would not go without a *Woman*, so a *Woman* should take away the Honour from him.[48]

[151v] |

Q. How did the *Lord discomfit Sisera, and all his host*? v. 15.

A. Probably, the Lord struck a Terror into them, (as the Word imports)[49] by Thunder and Lightning. See 1. Sam. VII.10. & Josh. X.10.

Or, He made a terrible Sound of Horses and Chariots, rattling in their Ears, by the Ministry of His *Angels* in the Clouds. See 2. King. VII.6.

This seems to be acknowledged by *Deborah*, in the Twentieth Verse of her Song.[50]

Q. Why is it, that *Sisera alights out of his Chariot*, that he may make his Flight? v. 15.

A. In *Homers* fifth *Iliad*, we have such a Passage; *Idæus fled, left the rich Chariot*. It was not because he could run faster on foot, but that he could sooner escape, by mixing with the Croud of Common Souldiers. The Annotator makes this to Illustrate the Flight of *Sisera*.[51]

Q. A Remark upon *Jael*s Bottel of *Milk*? v. 19.

A. She brought him the best Liquor she had; & of the best sort; for the *Cream* was not yett taken off. [Ch. 5.25.] She might intend by this Draught also, to throw him into the Sounder Sleep; for *Milk*, when largely drunk, will Cause Drowsiness.

However, we know, *Milk* was anciently accounted, the most agreeable Nourishment. *Hippocrates* calls it, αδελφον και συγγενες,[52] to Humane Bodies. The most *Warlike Nations* lived upon it more than any other Food, as *Hermannus Conringius* has at large demonstrated.[53]

Q. Was *Jael*s Action about *Sisera*, capable of any Vindication? {v. 21.}

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48 Patrick, *A Commentary* (368).

49 The verb used in the Hebrew text is הומ, a common word meaning merely "to confuse." Mather, however, believes this confusion is connected with Barak, whose name in Hebrew, ברק, means "lightning" or, at times, "thunder and lightning."

50 Patrick, *A Commentary* (371).

51 Patrick, *A Commentary* (371), citing Homer, *Iliad* (5.20).

52 "A brother and a kinsman."

53 Patrick, *A Commentary* (373), citing Hippocrates, early 5th/late 4th-century BCE Greek physician and medical writer; and Hermannus Conringius, *De Habitus Corporum Germanicorum Antiqui ac nov Causis* (1666).

A. Some have thought *Jael*, no better than a trapanning sort of an Hussy. But she was highly to be Applauded for her Action. What she did, was most prudently done, to save her own Life. She might well expect that *Sisera*, now being pursued, had she refused him, or been shye of entertaining him, he, either from his present fury, or to prevent her Telling of Tales, would have killed her upon the Spott. But then, had she not gone thro' with her Exploit, *Barak* and his Men, who were also coming in the Heat of their Pursuit, would have done as much, for her affording a Refuge, unto him, who was the Head and Soul, of all their Enemies. And what she did, was due to *Sisera*, a Peece of Justice on him, as an horrible Idolater, Oppressor, & Murderer; not now submitting, but upon his Flight, with a Resolution to continue, what he was.

Q. On *Jael*, her striking thro' the Head of *Sisera*? v. 21.
A. It leads One to think on the *Head of the Serpent broken* in the *Protoevangelium*;[54] And the Hand, which the *Woman*, (or the Church) ha's in it.

54 Gen. 3:15.

Q. *Deborah*, a *Mother in Israel*? v. 7.
A. A Judge. Men that governed, were called, *Fathers of their Countrey*. It was proper for her, being a Woman, to call herself, *A Mother in Israel*. Among whom she did such great Things, and governed with so much Prudence, that it made her famous in other Countreys. Very learned Men think, That the Story of the *Sphinx* among the *Greeks*, was made out of the History of *Deborah*; she being a Judge among the *Bœotians*, as *Deborah* was in *Israel*. *Bochart* and *Witsius*, will enlarge upon this Matter.[55]

Q. *Deborah* saies, *Was here a Shield or Spear seen among Forty Thousand in Israel*? To what may shee refer? v. 8.
A. Have Recourse to the Twentieth, & the Twenty-first Chapters in the Book of *Judges*, & you'l find *Forty Thousand of Israel*, perishing before the Wicked *Benjamites*, as if there had not been either *Shield* or *Spear* among them. Dr. *Lightfoot* thinks, *Deborah* refers to that horrible Story; for there are a thousand Evidences that the Matter there told fell out before her Time, even just after the Dayes of *Joshua*.

Phinehas was then alive.

The *Wickedness of Gibea*, is reckoned as the first Villany of *Israel*. [Hos. 10.9.]

Manaheh Dan, is mentioned in the Story of *Sampson*, [Judg. 15.25.] Tho' it were so Named, from the March of the *Danites*. [Judg. 18.12.]

Probably *Ehud*, was one of the lefthanded *Benjamites*, who escaped at the Rock *Rimmon*. [Judg. 20. & 25.]

Eleven Hundred Peeces of Silver were given by every *Philistæan* Prince for the Ruine of *Sampson*; [Judg. 16.5.] And from the mention of this Disaster, the Holy Spirit proceeds to mention most properly the *Eleven Hundred Peeces* of Silver, that were given by *Micah*s Mother, to Ruine Religion, in *Sampson*s Tribe.[56]

Q. Having mentioned what was done by the Governours of *Israel*, she adds, *Bless yee the Lord*? v. 9.
A. Tis Like a Prophetess! When she commends Deserving men; she carries up their Thoughts to God, who gave them that Courage & Success. *Abarbanel* thinks, That by *Chokke Israel* (which *Kimchi* interprets, *The great Men of Israel*;)

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55 Patrick, *A Commentary* (373), cites Bochart, *Geographia Sacra* (pars posterior, lib. I, cap. XLII, pp. 734–58); and Hermann Witsius (1636–1708), Dutch protestant pastor and professor of divinity, *Miscellanea Sacra*, vol. I, lib. I, cap. XXIII (§ XVII, pp. 353–54).
56 Lightfoot, *The Harmony, Chronicle and Order of the Old Testament* (92–94).

are meant, The Scribes, who were to Register all notable Passages; particularly the Causes & Events of Wars. She exhorts them, to ascribe all to the Divine Favour.[57]

Q. How may that be understood; *He made him that remaineth, have Dominion over the Nobles among the People*? v. 13.
A. When *Barak* triumphed, (and pursuing his Victory as far as *Harosheth*, brought with him Several Persons of the best Quality, Captives out of that Countrey,) that small *Remnant* of *Israel*, (as the best of the *Jews*, interpret, *Him that remaineth*,)[58] who were not utterly dispirited by the Oppression of *Jabin*, triumphed together with him, over the Nobles of *Canaan*.[59]

~~115~~{?}.

Q. What may be the Import of that Passage: *Out of Ephraim, was there a Root of them against Amalek; After thee, Benjamin, among thy People*? v. 14.
A. Part of it is an *History*. *Joshua* was from the Tribe of *Ephraim*. And he was the First that fought against *Amalek*. Part of it is a *Prophecy*. *Saul* was from the Tribe of *Benjamin*. And he made another Expedition against *Amalek*.

Dr.[60] *Patrick* finds no Sense of the Words so plain as this; The *Amalekites* coming to assist *Sisera*, as they had done the *Moabites*, a small Part of the *Ephraimites*, called here, *A Root*, opposed their Passage, & hindred them from joining their Forces with the *Canaanites*. *Peter Martyr*, by a *Root*, understands, A *Captain*. [see Isa. XI.10.] But Dr. *Alix* {admonishes}, whether *Amalek* here, may not mean, A Mountain in the Tribe of *Ephraim*. [see Judg. 12.15.] Then it will run very easily; *out of Ephraim was their Beginning, about Amalek*.[61] That is, The *Ephraimites* who came to assist *Barak*, began to list their Men about that Place.

~~41~~{?}.

Q. What were the *Divisions of Reuben*? v. 15, 16.
A. *Jordan* divides *Reuben* from Ephraim & *Benjamin*; and this is the Meaning of *Deborah*s Complaint. The Tribe of *Reuben*, separated by *Jordan*, from the

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57 Patrick, *A Commentary* (380–81), citing Yitshak Abravanel (1437–1508), Spanish-born Jewish commentator, *Commentary on the former Prophets* (1686), in loc.; and Kimhi, *Former Prophets,* in loc. (*see Judges: A New English Translation*, transl. A. J. Rosenberg and A. Yoseif [1979] 38).
58 The issue of contention is the correct understanding of the Hebrew word [שריד] which can have the singular meaning, "the one who remained, an escapee," or the collective meaning, "remnant." Mather opts for the former interpretation.
59 Patrick, *A Commentary* (383).
60 The remainder of the entry is written in a different ink than the former part.
61 Patrick *A Commentary* (383–84), citing Peter Martyr Vermigli, *In Librum Judicum* (1581), p. 72; and 17th-century French Protestant divine Pierre Allix.

Western Continent of *Canaan*, could not come seasonably, to the Succouring of *Balak*, & the Subduing of *Sisera*.

Q. How did *Asher abide in his Breaches*? v. 17.
A. The LXX read it, *His Creeks*; or Small Havens, where Vessels lay to go out to Sea.

But some take it to signify, That they were busy, in repairing the *Breaches* made in their walled Towns, by Length of Time, or other Wayes.[62]

Q. How is it to be understood; *They took no Gain of Money*? v. 19.
A. They were of such Bravery, that they fought not for *Money*, but *Glory*. So *Rasi* and *Ralbag*. The *Vulgar* takes it otherwise; They gott nothing but Dry Blowes; no Prey nor Spoil, as they expected. *Kimchi* yet otherwise: They so thirsted after *Blood*, they would spare no Mans Life, tho' he offered great Summs of *Money* for it.[63]

[▽152v] [▽Insert from 152v]
Q. Illustrate a little more particularly, *The Fighting of the Stars in their Courses*, against *Sisera*? v. 20.
A. Tho' I beleeve the *Sun* and *Moon* to bee the only *Stars*, that have any Influence upon our Weather; yett their Influence must also bee acknowledged very sensible & wonderful. Thus much being first allowed, why may not the *Fighting from Heaven*, the *Fighting of the Stars in their Courses*, bee explained, from *Josephus*, L. 5. c. 6. who thus relates it?[64]

"When *Israel* was to engage against the *Canaanites*, there arose a great Storm of *Hail*, which the Wind drove violently in the faces of the *Canaanites*, and did so benumb their Hands with Cold, that carried the Targets, Darts, & Slings, that they could not use them, and did so batter their Eyes, that it took away their Sight, that they could not look up: But it came on the Backs of the *Israelites*, which encouraged them to fall upon them, so that they made an utter Slaughter of them."

Others[65] think, the Meaning to be, That all was done by the Ministry of *Angels*. [*They fought from Heaven*,] By Thunder and Lightning and Hailstones. P. *Martyr* conjectures, A stormy *Wind* raised a mighty *Dust*, which blinded them.

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62 Patrick, *A Commentary* (386–87).
63 Patrick, *A Commentary* (388), citing Rashi, or Jarchi, i.e., Shlomo Yitzchak (1040–1105), considered the greatest Jewish medieval commentator, *Commentarius Hebraicus in Libros Josuae, Judicum, Ruth, Samuelis etc.* (1714), in loc.; Ralbag (Levi ben Gershom [1288–1344]), *Commentarius in Prophetas priores* (1494), in loc.; the Vulgate Bible; and David Kimhi, *Former Prophets*, in loc. *See Judges: A New English Translation: Translation of Text, Rashi and Commentary* (1979), p. 43.
64 Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* (5.205–207).
65 Starting here, ink shifts from light brown to black.

Livy saies, it so fell out unto the *Romans*, in the great Battel at *Cannæ*.[66] The *Angels* are called, *Stars*. [Job. 37.7.] They came from Heaven on this Occasion; & in such Rank and Order, as is observed in the *Heavenly Host*.

Dr. *Patrick* adds; That this Fight, lasting until Night, it might be said, That the *Stars fought* against *Sisera*; because they shone brightly, to give Light unto the *Israelites*, in pursuing their Victory.[67]

Mr.[68] Moyle embraces this Interpretation; The *Israelites*, by the Favour of a bright Starry Night, made a total Destruction of their Enemies.[69]

But there is an Ingenious & Anonymous Writer, who thinks the Part of the *Priests* in this Action to be here celebrated.[70] The other Tribes are, each of them, considered, as far as they appeared on this Occasion. The Tribe of *Levi* also came in, & brought the *Ark*, into the Expedition. These were the *Stars Fighting in their Courses*. Tis poetically & significantly done to call them so. Our Saviour ha's allowed & repeted the Term in the New Testament.
[△Insert ends] [△]

Q. Why is *Kishon* called, *The Ancient River*? v. 21.[71]
A. Are not all Rivers of the same Antiquity? No. Besides Original & Primitive Waters, there are some of a Second Edition, caused by Earthquakes, as well as other Accidents. But while wee thus discourse, *Tremelius* takes away the very Subject of the Quæstion; tis rendred by him, *Torrens Occursuum*, the River of Meetings.[72] Not that many Tributary Rivulets mett therein, but because the Army of *Israel* against *Sisera* there appeared in their general *Randezvouz*.

This *Kishon*, was it seems, not only a Spectator, but an Actor, in the Battel. The routed *Canaanites* essaying towards this River, the Stream doubtless made more profound & rapid by the Influences of the *Sun* & *Moon*, (the Stars in their Courses) causing large Rains, then swept 'em away. *Kishon* was the Sorder,[73] which took away the fragments Left by the glutted Swords of the *Israelites*.

[152v continued] [152v]
Q. How were *the Horses Hoofs broken, by the Means of their Prancings*? v. 22.

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66 Vermigli, *In Librum Judicum* (73); and Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* (lib. XXII), as cited in Patrick, *A Commentary* (388).
67 Patrick, *A Commentary* (389).
68 Remainder of entry written in later brown ink.
69 Walter Moyle, "Letters Concerning the Thundering Legion," in *The works* (1726), 2:285.
70 The "Ingenious & Anonymous Writer" is not further identified.
71 Following the scriptural citation, Mather in a different ink wrote and then deleted: "(65)."
72 Immanuel Tremellius, *Testamenti Veteris Biblia sacra,* 5 vols. (1575–79, 1580), 1:38.
73 A play on words: "sord" is archaic for "sword," and "sorde" is a flight of ducks.

A. They Rode full Gallup, in their Flight. The Jews interpret the Word, *Prancings*,[74] of the swiftest Course. The Word is doubled, only for the superlative Degree. Their *Hoofs* were broken, by the Violence of their Flight, & Stroke, in stony Places. Thus they became useless; even the *Mighty Ones*, that is, the best & strongest of the *Horses*, *Bochart* observes, The Word *Abbarim*, signifies *Strong Horses*, as well as *Bulls*.[75]

Q. *The Help of the Lord against the Mighty*; whom? v. 23.
A. A Power of Translations, render it, *Among the Mighty*; or *with* them. Even the *Mighty Angels*.

Thus the *Targum*, and LXX, and *Jerom*. The *Dutch*, High & Low; The *French*; and *Vatablus, Tremelius, Castalio, Pagnin, Munster*, & our *Tyndale*, and *Coverdale*.[76] *Meroz* is no where mention'd in the Scripture.

It was probably not far from the Mountain *Tabor* or the River *Kishon*, where the Battle was fought with *Sisera*; so that the Inhabitants could alledge no tolerable Pretence, for their not assisting their Brethren.

Q. *Butter in a Lordly Dish*.] Lett us taste of it? v. 25.
A. By *Butter* is meant, *Milk* from which the *Cream* (of which *Butter* is made,) was not separated.

The Word, *Sephel*,[77] which we render *Dish*, is no where else to be found, but in Judg. VI.38. where we translate it, *A Bowl*. *Bochart* rightly concludes, It signifies a *Large* & *Wide* Vessel. This explains the Word, *Lordly*, or, *Princely*. It signifies not, that She had any *Gold* or *Silver* Vessel in her Tent; but she brought him the *Milk*, in the best Vessel she had, and a very capacious one. P. *Martyr* observes, out of *Cicero* against M. *Antony*, that great Men drank out of such.[78]

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74 The Hebrew word for galloping, or "prancing" as Mather has it, is דהרה. It is repeated twice in the song, a common feature of Hebrew poetry; and Mather takes this as evidence of the severity of the ride.

75 Bochart, *Hierozoicon* (pars prior, lib. II, cap. VI, cols. 96–97), as cited in Patrick, *A Commentary* (390).

76 For the *Targum*, LXX, and Jerome, *see* Walton, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (2:104). Dutch versions of the Bible include Jacob van Liesveldt's translation (Antwerp, 1526), and the *Statenvertaling*, or state-sponsored translation, of 1637; early French printed translations include that of Jacques Lefèvre (Antwerp, 1530) and Pierre Olivétan (Antwerp, 1535). For remarks by Franciscus Vatablus, Sebastian Castalio, and Sebastian Münster, *see* Pearson, *Critici sacri* (cols. 2014–2018); Immanuel Tremellius, *Testamenti Veteris Biblia sacra;* Sanctes Pagninus, *Veteris et Novi Testamenti nova translatio*; William Tyndale (et al.), *The Byble: which is all the holy Scripture* (Antwerp, 1537); and Miles Coverdale, *Biblia the Byble* (1535), in loc., who actually translates the last phrase, "to helpe the Lorde to the giauntes."

77 The Hebrew term is סַפַּל, which means bowl. Mather rightly notes that these two instances are the word's only occurrences in the Bible.

78 Patrick (*A Commentary* 392), citing Bochart, *Hierozoicon* (pars prior, lib. II, cap. XLIX, cols. 544–51); and Peter Martyr Vermigli (1499–1562), Italian theologian and professor

Q. The Execution of *Sisera*? v. 26.
A. Don't read, *She Smote off his Head*. We can't learn she did so. She only *Smote through* it.

And then, the Reduplication of the Words, intimates; That at the First Stroke, he started & lifted up his Body; but being very much stunn'd, he soon lay down again.[79]

Q. To *Sisera*, why appropriated, A *Prey of diverse Colours*? v. 30.
A. Such Garments were the richest Part of the Spoil; being highly esteemed by all People; as *Pliny* observes, L. 8. c. 48. where he mentions great Variety of them, both in his own, & in ancient times. He takes notice, that Homer mentions, *Pictas Vestes*, as he calls them; that shone with Trees and Flowers, in beautiful Colours; which the *Phrygians* afterwards wrought with Needles. And *Attalus* invented, the interweaving of *Gold* in them. For *Diverse-Coloured* Garments, *Babylon* was above all Places famous; from whence they had the Name of *Babylonian Garments*. *Achan* will tell you,[80] That these were in Esteem a great while ago. Every one was not permitted to wear them. They were allowed only to the greater Sort of Persons, as P. *Martyr* observes out of the *Roman Lawes*. This may be the Reason, that they are here appropriated unto *Sisera*.[81]

Q. Upon the Whole? v. 31.
A. We will Conclude as *Conradus Pellicanus* does. "Lett some *Homer* or *Virgil* go now & compare his Poetry, if he be able, with the Song of this Woman!"[82] | [153r]

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at Strasbourg and Oxford, *In Librum Judicum* (73–74), out of Cicero, *Philippics* (possibly 2.23.63).

79 Patrick, *A Commentary* (393).

80 Josh. 7.

81 Patrick, *A Commentary* (395–96), citing Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* (8.48); and Vermigli, *In Librum Judicum* (74–75).

82 Patrick, *A Commentary* (397), citing Pellican, *Commentaria Bibliorum* (2:36).

Judges. Chap. 6.

Q. How come the *Midianites* to be considerable; having been destroy'd by the *Israelites*, as they pass'd thro' the Wilderness? v. 1.
A. Some of them saved themselves by Flight into other Countreyes, and after the *Israelites* were settled in *Canaan*, returned again. In near two Hundred Years, it may well be thought, they had pretty well repeopled their own Countrey; especially by the Help of other People, who came, tis like, and planted with them.[83]

Q. How comes *Gideon* to be so terrified, at the Apparition of an *Angel*? v. 22.
A. It was the Opinion of Good Men in those Dayes, That if they saw apparently an Inhabitant of the Other World, he came to call them away from this. This appears more fully in the Story of *Manoah*.[84]

This Opinion was very Ancient [see Gen. XXXII.30.] Perhaps they were confirmed in it, by the Words of God unto *Moses*; Exod. XXXIII.20. *There shall no Man see me, & live*.[85]

~~4891~~{?}.

Q. *Gideon* is bidden to take *his Fathers Bullock, even the Second Bullock, of Seven Years old*, – and *offer a Sacrifice unto the Lord*: What might be the singular Character of that *Bullock*? v. 25.
A. The Hebrewes have diverse Conjectures about it. But *Munster* tells us, They all agree, that it was a *Bullock*, which had been Sett apart, and kept, and Stall'd, and Fatted, *Seven Years*, to be a Sacrifice unto *Baal* at the Last.[86]

It was calved, as *Arias Montanus* observes, when their Oppression under the *Israelites* began; and it was now ordered to be sacrificed, in token that it should end with the Death of this *Bullock*.[87]

The *Bullock* is thought by the Rabbins, and others, to be called, *The Second*, from the Stall in which it stood, & was fed; which was *the Second* in order of Place. And being as many Years old, as was their Subjection to *Midian*, the Destroying of this Bullock very agreeably præfigured the breaking off the *Midianitish* Yoke from the Neck of *Israel*, by *Gideon*, whose Name Signifies, Breaker or Destroyer.

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83 Patrick, *A Commentary* (398).
84 Judges 13.
85 Patrick, *A Commentary* (408).
86 Münster, *Hebraica Biblia*, in loc. (232).
87 This paragraph is from Patrick (*A Commentary* 410), citing Arias Montanus, *De Varia Republica* (209–10).

| [153v]

~~4394{?}~~.

Q. *Baal*, what sort of an *Idol* was he? v. 25.

A. The same that was *Bel* among the *Chaldæans*, was *Baal* among the *Phœnicians*; and both comes from the Hebrew /בעל/ which signifies, *A Lord*.

Now, we may say, *There were Baals many*! But yett there seems to have been a cheef *Baal*. Why not the same with *Moloch*? since we sometimes in Antiquity, find both the Names Incorporated into one.

We find *Baal* served, with [1. King. 19.18.] *Bowing of the Knee*. And we find his Priests, [1. King. 18.28.] *Cutting themselves with Knives and Lancets, till the Blood gushed out upon them*. We find several Periods of *Baalism*, in both *Israel* and *Judah*, until at last, there was an Accomplishment of that Prophecy, [Hos. 2.17.] *I will take away the Names of Baalim out of her Mouth*.

The *Babylonish*, and *Apocryphal Bel*, spent it seems, twelve Measures of Fine Flowre, Forty Sheep, and Six great Potts of Wine, every Day. The Romance may seem framed with some Analogy to Canonical Truth; for we read, Jer. 51.44. *I will punish Bel in Babylon, and I will bring forth out of his Mouth, that which he hath swallowed up*.

We read more particularly, concerning a *Baal-Berith*, and a *Baal-Meon*, which are only *Baal* distinguished by the several Places wherein he was worshipped; as, The Lady of *Loretto*, and, The Lady of *Walsingham*, among the popish Idolaters, of the *Latter Dayes*. *Baal-Berith* was perhaps worshipped in *Berithus*, a City in *Phœnicia*; (tho' he had a Temple also in or near *Shechem*, Jud. 9.4.). And *Baal-Meon* had his Worship in the Tribe of *Reuben*.

But then, there was a Monster called, *Baal-Peor*. (from /פער/ *To lay open*,) *Deus Apertionis*;[88] An Idol, that *shewed all* that *Adam* covered with Fig-leaves. The Ancients, as *Jerom*, and *Isidore*, make him to be the same, with the Beastly *Priapus*.[89] *Maimonides*, in his *More Nevochim*, ha's this Passage about him; *Tu verò Scis, quòd servitium Idoli quod vocatur Pahor, in Temporibus illis erat, ut discooperiret se homo versus eum. Et idcircò præceptum est sacerdotibus, ut facerent Braccas, quibus cooperirent operienda in horâ sacrificii*.[90] *Origen* calls this, *The Idol of Turpitude*.[91] But *Selden* thinks, that there was Either a *Prince* Call'd *Peor*, advanced into the Number of the Gods; or else an Hill in which the Rites of

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88 "The god of the opening."

89 Jerome, in *Divina Bibliotheca 07. Liber Sophtim Qui Dicitur Judicum* (col. 561); and Isidore, *Origines* (8.11.24). Priapus was the Greek and Roman god of pastures and fertility, commonly portrayed with an enormous phallus.

90 "But surely you know that the act of subjection of the idol that is called Peor was, in those times, in order that a man would uncover himself before it [i.e. the god]. And on that account it was commanded by the priests that they might make breeches with which they might cover the things needing to be covered in the hour of the sacrifice." Maimonides, *More Nevochim* (3.c.46).

91 The phrase "idol of turpitude" occurs in Origen only at *Fragmenta in Psalmos* (72.27.8).

this Divel were performed. [see Num. 23.28.] And he thinks, That the *Filthy Actions* of the *Moabites* in the Worship of *Baal-Peor*, did not so much belong to the Worship, of the Idol, as to the Manners of People. According to him, t'was the Love of the *Midianitish* Women, which drew the *Israelites* to worship the Idol of the *Midianites*, and not the Worship of the Idol, that ensnared them in Whoredomes with the Women.[92]

I will only add an Observation of our *Fuller*s.

"One thing (*saies he*) I much admire at in the Worship of *Baal-Peor*; That such as adored him, did (as the Psalmist observes, Psal. 106.28.) *Eat the Sacrifices of the Dead*. Methinks, each Morsel they putt into their Mouths, should mar their Mirth, & the very mention of *the Dead* make them *all amort*. Their warm and wanton Embraces of living Bodies, ill agreed with their Offerings *Diis manibus*, to *Gashly Ghosts*.[93] This inclines me to that Learned Mans [*Vossius*'s] opinion, That by *Sacrifices to the Dead*, are intended no *Inferiæ*, or Obsequies to the Departed; but only meer Offerings to the *Idol*, a lifeless, dull, dead, and inanimate thing; in Opposition whereto, God so often is in Scripture styled, *The Living Lord*."[94]

Q. Are there any Remembrances of *Gideon*, in *Pagan* Antiquitie?
A. *Porphyrius* tells us, that *Sanchoniathon* had his Histories and Mysteries, from One *Jerombaal*, a Priest of the God Ιαω. Now this Ιαω, was *Jehovah*, the true God, whom the *Israelites* worshipped; and *Bochart* ha's proved,[95] that *Jerombaal* was *Gideon*; whose Name was *Jerub-baal*, and whose Fame had reached unto the Neighbour-Nations. Hee might pass with them, for a *Priest*, as well as a *Warriour*; inasmuch as hee *built an Altar unto God*, & *offered a Burnt Sacrifice* upon it; and at the same Time, *threw down the Altar of Baal, & cutt down his Groves*; which, as *Mr. Edwards* notes,[96] you may bee sure, made a great Noise among the Heathen.

Q. *The Spirit of the Lord came upon Gideon*. What Emphasis in the Expression? v. 34.

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92 Selden, *De Diis Syris* (Syn. I, cap. V, pp. 70–71).
93 "Gashly" is archaic for "ghastly, horrible, deadly." Here, Mather follows Fuller (see next note).
94 Fuller, *Pisgah-sight of Palestine* (bk. 4, ch. 7, p. 131), though Mather provides the reference to Vossius (Gerhard Vos), most likely *De Theologia Gentili et Physiologia Christiana: sive de origine ac progressu Idololatriæ* (vol. 1, lib. II, cap. VII, p. 337).
95 Bochart, *Geographia Sacra* (pars posterior, lib. II, cap. XVII, pp. 856–59), citing Porphyrius, *Contra Christianos* (4.5).
96 John Edwards (1637–1716), High Calvinist Church of England clergyman and controversialist, author of *Discourse Concerning the Authority, Stile, and Perfection of the Books of the Old and New Testament*, 2 vols. (1693, 1696) though Judges 6 is not listed in the table of contents of either of these volumes.

A. The Hebrew Phrase,[97] (and so the LXX translate it), is, *Cloathed Gideon*. It is a Phrase our Apostle *Paul* uses,[98] to signify, that a Man is *Replenished*, with that wherewith he is said to be *Clothed*; or, that he is fully possessed of it.[99]

| [154r]

Q. Why does *Gideon* desire that Second *Miracle*, that the *Fleece* might be dry, and there might be *Dew* upon all the Ground? v. 39.

A. Take *Ralbag*'s observation. "The former Miracle was not sufficient for his Conviction, because it is in the very Nature of *Wool*, to draw moisture unto it; and therefore he desires this Second Miracle, which is contrary to the First."[100]

Q. Why a Fleece of *Wool* chosen? v. 40.

A. There are those who think, it was not only because a *Fleece of Wool* was ready at hand; but also it serv'd the better to express how the Land had been *Shorn* by the *Midianites*, as the *Sheep* had been by *Gideon*.[101]

| [blank] [154v]

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97 וְרוּחַ יְהוָה לָבְשָׁה אֶת־ גִּדְעוֹן, literally, "And the spirit of the Lord clothed Gideon." The Hebrew verb לבשׁ ("to clothe") is frequently translated, "came upon."

98 2 Cor. 5:2–4.

99 Patrick, *A Commentary* (415–16).

100 Patrick, *A Commentary* (418), citing Ralbag (Levi ben Gerson or Gersonides), *Commentarius in Prophetas priores*, in loc.

101 Patrick, *A Commentary* (419).

Q. What was, *The Hill of Moreh*? v. 1.

A. Probably a *School* was here. Eminent Persons translate it, *Collis Doctoris*.[102]

Burman conjectures, That this *Hill of Moreh*, was the same with *Mount Hermon*, from the Side whereof *Gilboah* lifted up its Head; and between them lay the *Valley of Jezreel*. Compare, Judg. 6.33.

Reizius mentioning this Opinion of *Burman*, saies, *Hanc sententiam ambabus ulnis teneo*.[103] Especially, since {/} מורה / *Moreh*, Signifies, *The Rain* also. Compare, Psal. 84.7. It may be rendred, *The Hill of Rain*: which admirably agrees to *Hermon*, an Hill alwayes flowing with the *Dew* of Heaven.[104]

Q. How comes Mount *Gilead*, found on the West of *Jordan*? For *Gideon* was now encamped there? v. 3.

A. This Difficulty has much perplexed the Commentators.

Why may not *Gilead* be taken for the Tribe of *Menasseh* in general; and so applicable to both *Half-Tribes*, that on the *West* as well as that on the *East*, of *Jordan*? By *Mount Gilead*, why may not be meant only, *The Mount lying in Menasseh*; and so Mount *Gilboa* be intended?

Shall we say, some early Transcriber, by Mistake, for, /גלבע/ wrote /גלעד/?

Q. Why must *Gideon* Reserve to the Service of the Battel, those Three Hundred that *Lapped with their Hands to their Mouths, when they drank*; dismissing those that *bowed down upon their Knees to do it*? v. 5.

A. I neither think, That the *Geniculators* were the most Thirsty, & so the most Slothful of the Army, or, That *Gideon* from a Readiness to Geniculation, secretly now discovered such as had Idolatrously bowed their *Knees* to Idols; any more than I think, that the Number *Three-hundred*, was to point at the Letter T in the Greek Alphabet, which there stands for *Three hundred,* & resembles also the *Cross* of our Blessed Lord; as the Ancients do some of them sport with this business. But I concur with the Decision of the learned *Pfeiffer,*

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102 "Hill of the teacher."

103 "I hold this opinion in both arms."

104 Possibly Pieter Berman, *Antiquitatum Romanarum brevis Descriptio passim emendavit ac supplevit et notulas subjecit*, the publication history of which is uncertain; it was brought out in a new edition by Fridericus Volgangus Reizius, apparently the son or descendant of German Reformed theologian Johannes Henricus Reizius (1655–1720), in Lipsiae, 1792. Reizius's reference to Berman does not appear in his edition of Thomas Goodwin's *Moses & Aaron: seu civiles et ecclesiastici Ritus antiquorum Hebraeorum* (1690).

Retinuit Gideon *minus fortes, et aptos ad prælium, quo Victoria in Solidum Deo, non parvæ manui isti adscriberetur*.[105]

A *Dog* is a Fearful Creature, and in Drinking hee is particularly Fearful. Such as durst not with any Security for fear of the Enemy compose themselves to drink; that fearful Handful of Men, must bee employ'd against the Enemy; that so God might have all the Glory of the Victory.

~~1158~~{?}.

Q. But how do some others carry the Matter? {v. 5.}

A. *Munster* saies,[106] The Lord would have none but Godly Men in His Army; such as had not been used unto *bowing their Knees unto Baal*. It seems, there were but *Three Hundred* such to be found! But *Ben Gerson* saies,[107] The Action of *Bowing down on the Knees to Drink*, was an Indication, and a Discovery of *Slothfulness*. First, the *Cowards* were all discarded; and now the *Sluggards*.

After all, I concur with Dr. *Patrick* who after *Procopius Gazæus* and others, looks on the Action of them who *Lapped with their Hands to their Mouthes*, as a Token of that Temperance, and the Nobleness of their Spirit, which made them so desirous to engage the Enemy, that they would not stay to Drink. But tho' they were Thirsty, they contented themselves to moisten their Mouth with a little Water, whereas the rest, so far indulged themselves, as to drink their Belly-full. It is the Opinion of *Ralbag* among the *Jews*; That their *Lapping*, so *Standing*, was a Sign of their Alacrity and their Fortitude.[108]

I have somewhere seen this further Thought upon it. We have here described unto us, the Disposition of those whom God will employ in delivering the People from the Oppressions & Corruptions of Antichrist; They must not only be *brought down to the Banks of the River*, & be *Baptized* into the Death of our Saviour; & be tried with many Occasions of Stumbling. But also, they must fall humble & prostrate before their Glorious Lord, & be willing to be reckoned as the *Vilest Beasts*, & be trampled on by Men, & be treated in the most opprobrious Manner. These are they that shall be continued in the Camp of the Lord, & be the Instruments whom He will employ in the greatest Services.

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105 August Pfeiffer (1640–98), German Lutheran theologian and orientalist, *Dubia vexata Scripturae sacrae: sive Loca difficiliora Vet. Test.* (1713), p. 344. "Gideon kept fewer brave men equipped for battle, by which the victory might be ascribed to God entirely, not to that small force."

106 Münster, *Hebraica Biblia*, in loc. (233).

107 Levi ben Gerson (Ralbag), *Commentarius in Prophetas priores*, in loc.

108 Patrick, *A Commentary* (423), citing Procopius Gazaeus, *Commentarii in Octateuchum*, in loc.; and Ralbag, *Commentarius in Prophetas priores*, in loc.

~~895~~{?}.

Q. Will you please to adjust for mee, the Proportion, between the Army of *Gideon*, & the Army of *Midian*? v. 6.

A. The Army of *Gideon*, was 300.

The Army of *Midian*, was 135000.

Here was One *Israelite* against four-hundred & fifty *Midianites*.

There were slain 120000 *Midianites*; Which was four hundred *Midianites* for One *Israelite*: A marvellous Inæquality!

Finally, Fifteen Thousand *Midianites* were yett surviving, which was fifty *Midianites* for One *Israelite*; and yett these also were Defeated!

Q. Where were *Gideons* Three Hundred Men furnished with *Trumpetts*? v. 8.

A. If we supposed every Thousand Men, to have *Ten Trumpetts* belonging to them, it was easy to furnish *Three Hundred* Men, with every one a Trumpet. So when they sounded, they were thought a greater Number, than really they were.[109]

[155v] |

~~6321~~{?}.

Q. The Defeat of the *Midianites*, by *Broken Pitchers*; what mystery might therein be pointed at? v. 16.

A. Hear good old *Prosper* glossing upon it; *Forticam Corpora Martyrum in terra illisa, velut hydriæ, dum concrepant, eorum scilicet qui pro veritate certant usque ad mortem; suo grandi Spiritu omnes fugavêre inimicos*.[110]

The *Bodies* of the Martyrs are indeed *Earthen Pitchers*; and by the Breaking of them, the *Midianites* of Hell, are notably confounded.

Q. What were the *Lamps* used on this Occasion? v. 16.

A. Rather say, *Torches*. For, as Dr. *Patrick* notes, no doubt, they were made of *Pitch*, or *Wax* and *Rosin*, and such things as would burn long, and not be blown out by the Wind; as *Lamps* made only of *Oyl*, are apt to be.[111]

They first broke their *Pitchers*, with an horrid Noise; and then litt their *Torches*; the Glare whereof amazed the *Midianites*.

Q. A further Stroke of mystical Glossing on the *Earthen Pitchers* of *Gideon*? v. 16.

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109 Patrick, *A Commentary* (424).

110 Prosper of Aquitaine, early 5th-century BCE Christian apologist; "Bodies of martyrs are beaten on earth, just like urns when they crash, and they undoubtedly struggle on behalf of their truth up until death. They put all imitators to flight with your great Spirit."

111 Patrick, *A Commentary* (429).

A. Tis a Passage of *Ambrose*, [*De Spir. Sanct.* L. 1. c. 26.] *Ità nostri acceptum ab Apostolis servare majores, quòd Hydriæ sint Corpora nostra figurata de Limo, quæ timere non norunt si fervore Spiritualis Gratiæ ignescunt*.[112] It seems, it was kept as a Tradition received from the Apostles, That the *Earthen Pitchers* are our Bodies, which will be afraid of no Encounters, when they have the Grace of God flaming in them.

112 Ambrose, 4th-century CE bishop of Milan, *De Spiritu Sancto* (1.14.147). "Our predecessors have preserved the explanation and received from the Apostles, that the pitchers are our bodies, fashioned of clay, which know not fear if they burn with the fervour of the grace of the Spirit."

Q. How did *Gideon* propose to *tear the Flesh* of the Princes of *Succoth*, with the *Thorns of the Wilderness*? v. 7.

A. The City was near a *Wilderness* full of them.

The Hebrew Word signifies, To *Thresh*, their *Flesh*.[113] Some think, that laying *Briars* and *Thorns* on their Naked Bodies, he intended to bring the *Cart-Wheel* over them, (as the manner was in *Threshing* out their *Corn*,) to fasten them deep into their *Flesh*, & then crush them to *Death*. [See 2. Sam. XII.ult.]

He bestow'd, be sure, a *Good Threshing* on them. He *taught the Men of Succoth* better Manners, by the Discipline he used on this Occasion. Dr. *Patrick* thinks, He did not kill them with the Torments he inflicted on them: for we don't find that expressed of the Men of the *Succoth*, as anon we do, of the Men of *Peniel*.[114]

Q. How came the Men of *Peniel*, to answer *Gideon* so roughly? v. 8.

A. It is very likely, they were *Idolaters*; and therefore hated *Gideon*, who began to Reform Religion. Trusting to the Strength of their Tower, they despised the small Forces he had with him.[115]

Q. Which way did the young Man *Describe* unto *Gideon*, the Elders of *Succoth*? v. 16.

A. He wrote down, (so the Hebrew Word signifies,)[116] the *Names*, and perhaps the *Dwellings* of the great Men of the City; whom alone *Gideon* intended to punish, as being the only Persons who derided him.[117]

~~824~~{?}.

Q. The ancient Form of an *Oath*, which in our Translation still runs, *As the Lord Liveth*, how does it Agree with you? v. 19.

A. I do not Agree, to the Putting of that Superfluous Word, *As*, into it, as wee do all the Bible over. The Original only is, *The Lord Lives*; and the Sense of it is, *The Lord, who Lives, is Witness to the Truth of what I say; There is a Living Lord, who knowes it to bee True*. But it is a dangerous Excess, to say of any thing, *Tis As True, As that the Lord Lives*; for bee the Thing never so *True*, it can't bee so *True* as *That*. Every other *Truth* is but a Shadow of *This*. Our little, *As*, here, is at

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113 וְדַשְׁתִּי

114 Patrick, *A Commentary* (437, 441) on v. 16.

115 Patrick, *A Commentary* (438).

116 וַיִּקַּח

117 Patrick, *A Commentary* (440) on v. 14.

best, but a Disputable Addition to the Text; what would it Hurt us, to translate Word for word?

| [156v]

Q. What were, *The Ornaments that were about the Camels Necks*? v. 21.

A. The LXX translate it, Μηνισκους, *Little Moons*.[118] We render it, Isa. III.18. *Round Tires like the Moon*.

Very ancient was the Custome of wearing *Ornaments* of this Figure; which was afterward spred over many Nations. *Huetius* thinks, it came originally from the *Phœnicians*, who were the Worshippers of *Astarte*; that is, the *Moon*; and went from them to the *Arabians*; who were very anciently devoted unto the *Moon*, and propagated their Devotion to the *Turks*.

The *Brachmans* are wont also to adorn their Heads with the same Figure.[119]

[▽Insert from 157r] [▽157r]

4682.

Q. What shall we think, about the affayr of *Gideons Ephod*? v. 24.

A. Monsieur *Jurieu* ha's lately published, an, *Histoire Critique, des Dogmes et des Cultes, Bons et Mauvais, qui ont ete dans L'Eglise*.

In it, he ha's a Treatise about *Gideons Ephod*. He thinks, It was a great Vest, which *Gideon* called, *Ephod*; because it was made and wove, somewhat like the *Ephod* of the *High-Priest*, and had the Shape of those long Garments which were called, An *Ephod*. *Gideon* took a Part of the Spoils of the *Midianites*, and made of them this *Ephod*, that he might preserve the Memory of his Victory; and he reserved the rest for the Use of his Family, which was very Rich, from this time until it ended in *Abimelek*. But, why should he chuse a sort of a *Garment* for a Monument, rather than something of a longer Duration? It was because this *Ephod*, or Robe of *Gideon*, was the *Ensign* of his Armies, the Military *Sign*, or *Standard* about which his Armies assembled. *Jurieu* thinks, It was like the *Labarum* of the *Romans*. This was Two Sticks, putt thro' one another in Form of a Cross; That which cross'd the other, was erect; and a Veil of *Gold* or *Purple*, made like a *Generals Robe*, was hung upon the Stick that went through it; which made, as it were, Two Shoulders, that held up this Robe, which was called, *Paludamentum*. Well; But how came the *Jewes* to adore this Monument? *Gideon* consecrated it unto God, and putt it into a *Tabernacle*, according to the Custome of those times, which is not yett quite abolished. As it was one of the most Remarkable Things consecrated unto the Deity, the People had a great Veneration for it, *Gideon* himself esteeming it as a considerable Monument of

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118 LXX, as rendered in Walton, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (2:124).

119 Patrick (*A Commentary* 443), citing Pierre-Daniel Huet, *Demonstratio Evangelica* (1722), prop. IV, p. 197.

his Victory, did probably celebrate some solemn *Feast*, in the Place where he had putt this *Ephod*. Probably, he sett up a particular *Tabernacle* for it; He Raised an *Altar* there; He offered *Sacrifies* there; Nay, tis possible he look'd on it, as a Symbol of the *Presence* of God. The Devotions might be performed unto the True God; but there was no Institution for them; The Law directed another Place for them; The *Israelites went a whoring*, in these Devotions, because they were a strange Worship, or not appointed by God.[120]

[△] [△Insert ends]

Q. What were the *Collars*, in the Contribution of the *Israelites*? v. 26.

A. The Hebrew word, *Hanetiphoth*,[121] is thought, to signify little Potts of precious Ointment. *Neteph* signifies, a *Drop*, or a *Tear*; the most precious of which is *Balsam*. Among the Spoils of *Darius*, as *Arias Montanus* observes, Historians mention, Boxes of Ointments, which were sett with precious Stones, & curiously and elegantly Engraved.[122]

[157r] |

~~**5520{?}.**~~

Q. Concluding the Story of *Gideon*, lett mee hear, wherein *Hee* was a *Type* of our Lord Jesus Christ? v. 28.

A. Attend then.

When *Gideon* was to engage in the Battels of the Lord, it is reported [Judg. 6.12.] *The Angel of the Lord appeared unto him, & said unto him, The Lord is with thee, thou mighty Man of Valour*. Thus, when our Lord was entring His Combates with Earth & Hell, [Luc. 22.43.] *There Appeared an Angel unto Him from Heaven, & Strengthened Him*.

It was the Charge given to *Gideon,* [Judg. 6.25, 26.] *Throw down the Altar of Baal, & build an Altar unto the Lord thy God*; which hee did accordingly, tho' hee exposed himself to no little Hazard by doing of it. Well, The World was filled with *Altars* to *Baal*; but our Lord has Demolished them; instructing Men how to *worship Him in Spirit & in Truth*. The *Death* of our Lord gave a dismal Blow to the *Altars* of *Idol-Worship*; the *Oracles* then, many of them *Ceased*. But the *Mouth* of our Lord ha's given them a further Blow. When the Gospel had been preaching about Three Hundred Years, what a Rout were all the *Heathen Idols* at last putt unto! [Tis described, in Rev. 6.15.]

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120 Pierre Jurieu (1637–1713), French-born protestant theologian and pastor of the Walloon Church in Rotterdam, *Histoire Critique, des Dogmes Et des Cultes, Bons et Mauvais, qui ont ete dan L'Eglise* (1704); transl., *A Critical History of the Doctrines and Worships (Both Good and Evil) of the Church from Adam to our Saviour Jesus Chris*t (1705), vol. 2, pt. VIII, ch. 1, pp. 210–17.

121 וְהַנְּפֹוֹת

122 Patrick, *A Commentary* (445), citing Montanus, *In varia republica* (520–21).

It is a Remarkable Passage [Judg. 7.13, 14.] That by a *Loaf* of *Bread*, the Conquest of *Gideon* over *Midian*, was repræsented. Even so, There is a *Loaf* of *Bread*, in and with which, our Lord conquers all the Enemies of our Souls. In the *Supper* of the Lord, there is a *Loaf* of *Bread*, whereof I may say, *This is nothing else, save the Sword of Jesus; for into His Hand, ha's God delivered all the Enemies of our Souls*. Lett Christians repair to this Ordinance, for a Victory over their *Temptations* and *Corruptions*. Wee read of *David*, when the High-Priest gave him the *Holy Bread*, hee also gave him the *Sword* wherewith *Goliah* had been slain. Wee may have a *Sword* with, yea, in, the *Holy Bread*, of this Institution.

Gideon and his little Army [Judg. 7.19, 20.] each one took *Trumpets* and *Torches*; which Latter being lighted, they carried empty Pitchers over them, that no Light might bee seen, until they had Occasion to discover it. Then Dividing into Three Companies, in the Dead of the Night, they came upon the Enemy; only breaking of their *Empty Pitchers*, & showing of their *Torches*, and Blowing of their *Trumpets*, and shouting, *The Sword of the Lord & of Gideon*! At this, the Enemy became so terrifyed, that they Ran and Fled, and before Morning they *Lost the Day*. The Word of our Lord, is like the Sound of *Trumpets*, [Psal. 89.15.] The Word of our Lord, is like the Shine of *Torches*. [Psal. 119.105.] Hereby, all that opposes the Interest of our Lord, comes to bee confounded forever. There are vast Armies of Superstitions and of Profanities, & of People that mentain them, all confounded by the *Shine* and *Sound* of the Gospel. But | What Sort [157v] of Instruments are used for the Conveyance of it? Even, poor *Earthen Pitchers*. [For so wee are told, in 2. Cor. 4.7.] Ministers made of the same *Clay*, with other Men. The *Witnesses* of our Lord are they that confound the *Enemies* of our Lord: and this with [Rev. 11.5.] *Fire proceeding out of their Mouth*.

When *Midian* came to Ruine before *Gideon*, how was it? Wee are told [Judg. 7.22.] *The Lord sett every Mans Sword against his Fellow, even throughout all the Host*. A *Wonderful* but an *Usual*, Providence, destroying the Adversaries of our Lord; They fall upon one another; [tis foretold, in Isa. 9.4.] *As in the Day of Midian*. (Consider 1. Sam. 14.20, and 2. Chron. 20.23.) Even, They that brought *Abimelek* to his Throne, shall fall out with him!

The Men of *Succoth* and *Penuel*, barbarously refusing to afford some Refreshment, unto the weary Souldiers of *Gideon*, what was the Event of that Inhumanitie? Wee find [Judg. 8.14, 16.] Hee made one give him in Writing, a Catalogue of the Magistrates of the Cities, & coming upon them, hee scourged them to Death, with the *Briars* and *Thorns*, that grew in the adjacent Wilderness. Even so, If Men carry it unkindly, unto the Lord Jesus Christ, and will not own His *Truths* & *Wayes* & *Cause*, and Releeve His *Followers*; Hee ha's *Briars* and *Thorns*, to chastise One Day, those ungodly Men; *Briars* and *Thorns*, did I say? yea, Hee ha's *Fires* and *Hells*, to punish them withal. [Math. 25.41, 42 –.]

Finally, T'was the Speech of *Gideon*, to them, that were under his Command, [Judg. 7.17.] *Look on mee, & do likewise*. Thus, The same, is the Speech of

our Lord Jesus Christ, unto every one of us. [Joh. 13.15.] Tho' wee cannot *Walk* with our Lord, *on the Sea*, or, work Miracles as Hee did: Tho' wee cannnot *Walk* with our Lord in the *Midst of the Golden Candlesticks*, or, Govern the Church, as Hee does: Tho' wee cannot *Walk* with our Lord unto the *Cross*, or make *Atonement* for Sins, like Him: Yett [1. Joh. 2.6.] *Wee ought so to Walk even as Hee Walked*. It is particularly enjoined, for *Meekness,* [Math. 11.29.] for *Humility*, [Phil. 2.5.] for *Patience,* [Heb. 12.1, 2.] for *Self-denial.* [2. Cor. 8.9.] Yea, all the Duties of the *First* Table, [1. Pet. 1.15.] and of the *Second*. [Eph. 5.2.]

Q. Wee find, *Baal-berith*, or, *The Lord of the Covenant*, an Idol of the *Phœnicians*. Whence had that Idol, this Name? v. 33.

A. It is a very Defensible Assertion, That the Pagans fetch'd the *Names* of their Gods from the Names of the *True God* of *Israel*. Thus, from the Name of *Adonai*, arose the Name of that poetical Deitie, *Adonis*; For *Hesychius* tells us,[123] that *Adonis*, is as much as, *Lord*, among the *Phœnicians*; where hee takes the *Hebrewes* for *Phœnicians*.

And *Baal-berith*, seems to bee an Imitation of the Title belonging to the true God; who, as soon as the Deluge was past, *made a Covenant* with Mankind; and afterwards wee find him *Covenanting* with *Abraham*, & with the whole People of *Israel*, and with many of His Faithful Servants among them. Hence also, Ορκιος, or, *Fœderator*, was the Title of *Jupiter*.

123 Hesychius Alexandrinus, c. 5th-century CE Greek writer, *Lexicon* (alpha entry 1229); for parallels, *see* also Jurieu, *A critical History* (vol. 2, pt. IV, ch. 1, pp. 80–86).

Q. What might be the *Seventy Peeces of Silver* given to *Abimilek*? v. 4.
A. The *Vulgar* translates it, so many *Pound* Weight. (So many *Shekels*, would have been too insignificant a Present.) Learned Men approve of the *Pound* Weight. Particularly, *Stanislaus Grepsius*, in his Book, *De Siclo et Talento*. (So many *Talents* would have been too much for them to give.) Thus *Josephus* interprets, Gen. XXXVII.28. the *Twenty Peeces of Silver*, for which they sold *Joseph*.[124]

Q. Why does *Abimilek* slay his Brethren, on a *Stone*? v. 5.
A. Some understand it, that he intended them a *Sacrifice* to *Baal*. For, a *Stone* sometimes was used as an *Altar*. [1. Sam. VI.14, 15.] And so, they take this, to have been done, in Revenge of the Sacrifice of the Bullock præpared for *Baal*, upon the *Rock*. [Judg. VI.25, 26.] These Idolaters would thus expiate the Crime of *Gideon*, by a Sacrifice of his Sons. It is plain, the Men of *Shechem* joined in the Slaughter. [See Verse. 18, & 24.][125]

Q. Who are meant, by, *All the Men of Shechem, and all the House of Millo*? v. 6.
A. *Cornel. Bertram*, in his Book, *De Rep. Jud.* C. IX. giveth the best Interpretation. By *Col Baale Shechem*,[126] we are to understand, All the *Principal Men*, or, the Lords of the City; the Rulers of it. By, *Col beth Millo*,[127] we are to understand, all the Citizens, who in *Full Assembly*, (for, *Millo* signifies, *Fulness*;) agreed upon what followes. Compared, Judg. 10.18.[128]

Q. *They said unto the Olive-tree, Reign thou over us.*] What may be more particularly intended? v. 8.
A. They might easily apprehend, that *Jotham* intended, his Father *Gideon*, to whom all the *Israelites* had offered the Kingdome; when he was in a most flourishing State, and had newly triumphed over their Enemies.[129]

Q. How does *Wine cheer God & Man*? v. 13.

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124 Patrick, *A Commentary* (452), citing Stanislaus Gresepius (Stanislaw Grzebski), 16th-century Polish mathematician, philologist, and numismatician, *De multiplici siclo et talento Hebraico* (1568); and Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* (2.32).
125 Patrick, *A Commentary* (453).
126 כָּל - בַּעֲלֵי שְׁכֶם
127 וְכָל - בֵּית מִלּוֹא
128 Patrick, *A Commentary* (454), citing Cornelius Bertram, late 16th-century Swiss-born French protestant theologian, *De Republica Hebraeorum* (1641), cap. IX.
129 Patrick, *A Commentary* (456).

A. It is a Form of Speech imitated by the Heathen: particularly by *Virgil*, L. 2. *Georg*. v. 101: where speaking of noble *Vines* and *Wines*, he saies, they were – *Mensis et Diis accepta Secundis*.[130] *Wine*, as the Hebrew Doctors note, was not only used in their *Sacrifices*, as it was also among the Heathen; but *Jarchi* saies, Till the *Drink-Offering* was poured out, they did not begin the *Hymn*, that was then sung to God. See Num. XV.5.[131]

[158v] |

~~182{?}~~.

Q. What was the Intention of that Speech used by the Blades, in their Defiance of *Abimelek*; *Serve the Men of Hamor, the Father of Shechem*? v. 28.

A. These Blades, now showing their Defiance of *Abimelek*, the Governour of *Shechem*, had, as the præceding Verse tells us, their *Songs* in that Action: it now being the Time of their *Vintage*. The *Romans* had the like, in their Festival, which is, by *Festus* called,[132] *Meditrinalia*, kept in Honour of *Meditrina*, the Goddess of *Must*.[133] Now, among their Songs, they call to Mind, that their *Fathers*, with a very Few Hands, made nothing of conquering *Shechem*, and of destroying all the Men of the City, whereof *Hamor* was Governour. Say they, Are wee so Degenerate, that wee would have served *Hamor*, if hee were now living, or, the Men of *Hamor*, whom our *Fathers*, made nothing to encounter? If not, lett us Try our Skill, upon one more unworthy than any of them, to bee served: Namely, *Abimelek*.

Or, as *Munster* carries it; *Si vultis servire, servite potius Viris qui descenderunt ab Hamor, patre Sichem. Quis est enim Abimelek iste, et quis Zebul iste, quem constituit præfectum super civitatem, vestram*?[134]

Thus Dr. *Patrick* takes it. "If we must be Servants, lett us Restore the Dominion of the old Lords of the City, & subject ourselves to those that are descended from the ancient Stock of *Hamor*; who was the Father, as it were, of the *Shechemites*."

It showes pretty plainly, that R. *Solomon*s opinion is true, That *Gael* was a Gentile, who would have been glad to see the Authority of the *Canaanites* restored.[135]

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130 The actual quote is *diis et mensis accepta Secundis*: "… for the gods and for second courses …"

131 Patrick, *A Commentary* (458), citing Virgil, *Georgics* (2.101); and Solomon Jarchi, or Rashi. See *Judges: A New English Translation* (79), citing Rashi from Ber. 35a.

132 Sextus Pompeius Festus, a late 2nd-century CE Roman grammarian who lived in Gaul.

133 I.e., new wine.

134 Munster, *Hebraica Biblia*, in loc. (236). "If you want to serve, rather serve truly those who truly descend from Hamor, the father of Shechem. Who is this Abimelech, even? And who is this Zebul, whom he has set up as prefect over the city?"

135 Patrick, *A Commentary* (464), citing R. Shlomo ben Yitzchak (Jarchi, or Rashi), *Commentarius Hebraicus in libros Josuae, Judicum, Ruth, Samuelis etc.*, in loc.

Q. Whence came that Formality, of, *Sowing a City with Salt* in Token of Execration? v. 45.

A. Truly, tis not easy to tell, Whence? I dare not positively say, T'was in Imitation of the Great God Himself, who when Hee Destroy'd the Wicked Cities of *Sodom* & *Gomorrah*, turn'd the fruitful Vales, wherein they stood, into the *Salt-Sea*. The Custom ha's been follow'd in the *Western* as well as in the *Eastern* Parts of the World. *Frederic Barbarossa* sow'd *Millain* with Salt, for Some Affront offered unto his Empress.[136]

It[137] is true, *Salt* makes Land barren; *Ralbag* accordingly refers this, to the Ground in and about the City, which was wont to be employ'd, for sowing any Sort of Grain, or planting Vineyards.[138] *Pliny* observes, *Omnis locus in quo reperitur Sal, sterilis est, et nihil gignit*.[139]

Patrick thinks, all that *Abimelek* intended, was, to show his Hatred of them; wishing their City might lie waste, & be a perpetual Desolation.[140]

Q. *Abimelek* setts the Hold on *Fire*? v. 49.

A. Here the Prædiction, or Imprecation, of *Jotham*, in the Twentieth Verse, is literally accomplished![141]

1058.

Q. *Abimelek*'s being slain by a *Peece of a Mil-Stone cast upon his Head*, what was there in it Remarkable? v. 53.

A. *Abimelek* had caused his Brethren to bee murdered *upon a Stone*: And this Peece of a *Mil-Stone* falls upon his Head now, to putt him in Mind of that Iniquity.

So, *Sisera* made *Chariots of Iron*, to destroy *Israel*, and hee was himself destroy'd with a *Nail of Iron*. So, *Jezebel* caused the Blood of *Naboth* to bee shed, by a *Letter* to *Jezreel*; and by a *Letter* from *Jezreel* was the Blood of her Children shed.

Plutarch[142] relates, that *Pyrrhus*, at the Siege of *Thebes*, was kill'd by a Woman, who threw a *Tile* upon his Head.[143]

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136 Frederic Barbarossa, the Holy Roman Emperor and King of Germany (1152–1190), violently put down repeated revolts by the city of Milan starting in 1158.

137 At this point the ink changes from brown to black.

138 Ralbag (Levi ben Gerson), *Commentarius in Prophetas priores*, in loc.

139 Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* (31.39.80). "Every place in which salt has been found is barren, and nothing grows there."

140 Patrick, *A Commentary* (471).

141 Patrick, *A Commentary* (472).

142 The rest of the entry is written in a different ink from the former.

143 Patrick (*A Commentary* 473), citing Plutarch, *Pyrrhus* (34.2).

Q. What was the Original of the Name, *Thola*? v. 1.
A. The Name originally signifies, *A Worm*. And this is a Name of Contempt. Compare, Job. 25.6.

Homer speaking about the Death of *Harpalion*, a very Diminutive Person, saies,[144]

ως τε σκωληζ επι γαιη
κειτο ταθεις.

He lay extended as a Worm upon the Earth. *Eustathius* makes this Remark upon it; ορα το ταπεινον της παραβολης,[145] *Behold, the Meanness, the Lowness of the Comparison, intimating that there was nothing generous in the Subject*!

Bochart therefore thinks, That when a Child was called by its *Israelitish* Parents, *Thola*, it was a Child whereof the Parents had very little Expectation; *Fortasse quià nascentes à parentibus spreti sunt, neque ullam de se spem excitârunt*. Thus our *Thola* here; and so the Son of *Issachar*, Gen. 46.13. But *Bochart* adds, *Uterque tamen, Deo favente, evasit in magnum Virum*.[146] From one of them issued, the *Tholaites*. Num. 26.23. 1. Chron. 7.2.

Q. What must wee understand about the Sons & the Cities of *Jair*? v. 4.
A. Judge *Jair*, was doubtless a Man of great Quality, before hee came to bee a *Judge*.[147] Hee had *Thirty Sons*; you may suppose, by *Several Wives*. These *Thirty Sons*, all Rode on *Ass-Colts*, which was then a Token of some Excellence, Dignity, & Authority. This Honourable Person, was, it seems, descended from that *Jair*, who having taken the Cities of *Argob* [Num. 33.41. Deut. 3.14] called them, *Havoth Jair*; that is, The Villages of *Jair*. Those Villages, at first were no more than Twenty Three: [1. Chron. 2.22.] but this our *Jair* coming to Inherit those Towns, which had been by his Ancestor taken from the Amorites, hee divided them among his *Thirty Sons*; thus, they were increased either by themselves, or their Father, or their Grandfather, to *Thirty*, & the *Old Name* continued on them.

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144 Homer, *Iliad* (13.654).
145 Eustathius of Thessalonica, 12th-century Greek bishop and scholar, *Commentarii ad Homeri Illiadem* (3.531.9).
146 Bochart, *Hierozoicon* (pars posterior, lib. IV, cap. XXVIII, col. 630). "Perhaps because those being born are rejected by their parents." … "Both of them are, however, with God's help, become great men."
147 Patrick, *A Commentary* (477), citing Bochart, *Hierozoicon* (pars prior, lib. II, cap. XIII, cols. 183–191).

The[148] younger *Jair*, to distinguish him from the elder, seems called, *Bedan*. 1. Sam. 12.11. 1 Chron. 7.17.

Q. How come the People so easily, to *forsake the Lord*? v. 6.
A. It seems they were now come, wholly to Forgett Him; *they served not Him*; whereas, in former Idolatries, they worshipped other Gods together with Him.

Dr. *Patrick* thinks, one Reason of such a strange Apostasy might be, That the solemn Reading of the Law to all the People once in Seven Years, was neglected. We don't read, that it was publickly done, from the Time of *Joshua*, to the Reign of *Jehoshaphat*; which was above Five Hundred Years.[149] | [159v]

Q. In what Sense is it said, *His Soul was grieved for Israel*? v. 16.
A. In the Original tis, *It was shortned*. That is, according to *Maimonides*, the Lords Mind was *shortned* from afflicting them; or He had *no longer* a Mind to punish them.[150]

148 Ink changes from brown to black.
149 Patrick, *A Commentary* (479).
150 Patrick (*A Commentary* 485), citing Maimonides, *More Nevochim* (pars I, cap. XLI).

894.

Q. Why would the Lord choose *Jephtah*, a *Base-born* Person, to bee the Deliverer of His People? Whereas, by the Law, a *Bastard* was excluded from all public Office? v. 1.

A. The soveraign Wisdome of Heaven, used a wonderful Variety, in Inspiring and Employing of *Judges* for the People of *Israel*.

Unto a valiant *Ehud* & *Shamgar*, there succeeded a Woman *Deborah*.

Unto a very old *Eli*, there Succeeded a young *Samuel*.

Sampson had a very strange Succession in himself, of a prodigious Weakness of Mind, unto such a Strength of Body.

And unto the Noble *Jair*, there succeeded the Base-born *Jephtah*.

The *Israelites* were now abandoned unto *Idolatry*, which is a spiritual *Fornication*. To Reproche them for this *Idolatry*, when the Compassion of God sent them a *Deliverer*, a Son born of corporal *Fornication* must bee the Man. There was an Infamy cast on them, in the Quality of their Governour.

Q. But can't we a little rub out the Blott in the *Scutcheon* of *Jephtah*? v. 1.

A. Several Hebrew Doctors, think, That the word, which we translate, *Harlott*,[151] may signifie, A *Stranger*; one of another Nation, or so *Josephus* himself understands it; ζηνος[152] περιτην μητερα. *A Stranger by his Mothers Side*. And *Saidas Batricides* tells us, His Mother was an *Ishmaelite*. *Grotius* observes That such were called, Νοθαι, by the *Greeks*, who were born of a Wife, that was not a Citizen. But among the *Jews*, if such Persons embraced the Law, their Children were not stained; but capable to inherit among the rest of their Brethren. Therefore *Jephtah* complains of his Expulsion; looking on himself as unjustly dealt withal; which could not have been said, had he been a *Bastard*.[153]

[▽161r] [▽Insert from 161r]

Q. Do you see Nothing in *Jephtah* Typical of our Lord Jesus Christ? v. 1.

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151 זוֹנָה, "harlot." Cf. זָנָה

152 I.e., ζένος,"foreigner."

153 Patrick (*A Commentary* 487), citing Selden, *De Successionibus* (cap. III, pp. 30–34), who in turn cites Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* (5.259.2); Saidus Batricides, 10th-century CE patriarch of Alexandria, author of *Collection of Annals*, in Arabic; and Hugo Grotius, *Annotationes ad Vetus Testamentum*, in *Opera Omnia Theologica* (1732), 1:113. Following this entry, Mather writes instructions to insert the next two entries (*see* App. B).

A. Yes. *Jephtah*, was *Rejected* by Man, but *Appointed* by God, for the Deliverer of his Countrey. Thus *Jesus*; as to *Man*, Hee was the *Stone whom the Builders Refused*; but as to *God*, *There is no other Name given, whereby wee may bee saved*.

Again, *Jephtah* severely punished those that Abused him. And so will *Jesus* too. When the *Ephraimites* abused *Gideon*, hee gave them Good Words; but when those *Ephraimites* afterwards abused *Jephtah*, hee gave them Hard Blowes for it. The first Time wee offend the Lord Jesus Christ, wee may obtain His *Pittie*, and His *Pardon*; but if wee continue obstinate in our Offences, Hee *will appear in flaming Fire to take Vengeance on us*.

Finally, *Jephtah* after his Atchievements, presented a Daughter consecrated unto the Lord. Our Lord *Jesus* ha's a *Daughter* too; wee may say of His Church, *tis unto Him as a Daughter*. Now this Church is *consecrated* unto God, as a *chast Virgin*; tho' not used as *Jephtah*s Daughter was. This may rather bee apply'd unto the *Sacrifice* offered by our Lord. *Jephtah*s Daughter was a Part of himself; yett hee *sacrificed* her. So has our Lord sacrified His own *Flesh*, and made His own *Soul*, an *Offering for Sin*.

4798.

Q. How far do the Jewes conceive *Jephtah* to be a Bastard? v. 2.

A. *Munster* will tell you; The Opinion of some of them is, *Quod hic Permeretricem intelligatur Mulier alterius Tribus*. *Gilead* married a Woman of another *Tribe* than his own, for which Cause her Son, could not Inherit in the *Tribe* with the rest of his Fathers Children. *Cum Lex hoc nomine vetet Connubia diversarum tribuum ne fiat Permixtio prædiourum*.[154]

And whereas it is said, *He went & dwelt in the Land of Tob*; they take *Tob* to be the Owner of the Land, where *Jephtah* now resided.

[△Insert ends] [△]

Q. Where was the *Land of Tob*? v. 3.

A. We read no where else of this Countrey. Tis likely, it was not far from *Gilead*, on the Borders of the *Ammonites*, in the Entrance of *Arabia Deserta*. Or perhaps, it is the same with the Countrey call'd *Ish-tob* [2. Sam. VIII.6, 8.] which was in *Syria*; & so near the *Ammonites*, that they hired Forces from thence.

We read of Τουβιηνοι Ιουδαιοι, [2. Macc. XII. 17.] *Jews* who dwelt in the *Land of Tob*.[155]

Q. What were the *vain Men* gathered unto *Jephtah*? v. 3.

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154 Münster, *Hebraica Biblia*, in loc. (238). "Because 'woman of another tribe' is understood to mean 'prostitute' … since the law forbids this by name, lest a mixture of estates should not make a split tribe by means of marriage." The end of the second quote in Münster reads, *tribuum, ne permixtio fiat prædiourum*.

155 Patrick, *A Commentary* (488).

A. Or, *empty* Men. The Word, *Rekim*, Signifies, Poor and Needy Persons; Men of no Estates. Like those who resorted unto *David*. [1. Sam. XXII.2.] *Grotius* wrongs *Jephtah*, when he saies, He was one of those, who, *ex prædonum Ducibus justi Duces facti sunt*.[156]

95.

Q. How will you adjust the Claim of Lands, made in the Demand of the *Ammonites*, & in the Answer of *Jephta* to their Demands? v. 13.–26.

A. The Demand of the *Ammonites* was, *Israel took away my Land, when they came out of Egypt, now Restore it peaceably*. In this Demand, there is *Truth* blended with *Falsehood*. It is True that the Land was once Theirs; and so tis plainly called in Josh. 13.25. But it is False that *Israel* ever took an Inch of Land from them, except mediately, as they took it from *Sihon*, who took it from the *Ammonites*. The Answer of *Jephtah* at last ends in a Title by *Præscription*. Sais hee, *Israel* has had this Land for these *Three-hundred Years. Why did yee not Recover it within that Time*? Now, if upon a strict Account, some Years fall short of that Summ, the Matter is not much; for Souldiers love to fill their Mouths with a Good Round Number; *Two hundred & fifty & odd*, with a Good Strong Sword,
[160v] may well bee counted *Three-Hundred years* current, tho' not complete. |

{~~3358~~?}.

Q. What sort of an Idol was *Chemosh*? v. 24.

A. *Chemosh* is famously known to have been, *The Abomination of Moab*. [1. Kin. 11.33. and 2. King. 23.13. and Jer. 48.13.] Yett this Idol was held in *Coparceny*, as here we see betwixt the *Moabites* and the *Ammonites*. Thus as *Moab* and *Ammon*, once parted the Incestuous Extraction, from the same Grandfather,[157] so now they mett again at the Idolatrous Adoration of the same God. *Fuller* takes notice of this; and further Notes, That we find nothing in the Scripture about the Fashion, or Worship of *Chemosh*, yett we read in the Itinerary of *Benjamin*, an ancient & learned Jew, That at *Gebal*, in a *Temple* was found the Idol of the Children of *Ammon*, (certainly either *Chemosh*, or *Moloch*,) which was, *An Image of Stone guilded over, sitting on a Throne, betwixt two Female Images also sitting, having an Altar before him, whereon Incense was offered.*[158]

Philo Judæus tells us, The Name *Chemosh*, Χαμως, may signify ψηλαφημα, a *Feeling* and *Groping*, like that of the *Blind*; as much as to say, *A Blind God*. Others deduce the Name, from /כמש/ *Abscondidit*; as much as to say, *A Saturn*,

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156 "Were made leaders of justice from leaders of plunders." Patrick, *A Commentary* (488–89), citing Grotius, *De Jure Belli ac Pacis* (in 1625 ed., lib. III, cap. III, § 3 pp. 607–08).
157 I.e. Lot (Gen. 19:37).
158 Fuller, *A Pisgah-Sight of Palestine* (132), citing Benjamin of Tudela, *Itineraries* (17).

an *Hidden* one; or from /כמש/ *Tetricus fuit*; noting unnatural Cruelty, like that of *Saturn* in devouring his Children. Or, from the *Arabic* /כמש/ *properavit*, because of the Dispatch he used in his affairs & favours. *Jerom* takes *Chemosh* to be the same with *Baal-Peor*; *Kircher*, to be the same with *Bacchus*; others to be the same with *Pluto*; But *Saturn* stands the fairest.[159]

Pocock thus describes his Worship out of certain M.SS. of *Maimonides*; *Cultus ejus peragebatur nudatione Capitis et ut quis Vestes subtiles non induat, quæ omnia apud illos manifesta sunt*. The *Arabians* it seems worshipped this *Idol*, and gave this Reason for their appearing so Naked before him; *ut nos Coram Deo submittamus, et cogitemus quomodo surrecturus sit homo è Sepulchro*.[160] He had a Temple at *Mecca*.

Q. Remarks upon *Minnith*, and the *Plain of the Vineyards*? v. 33.
A. We are not sure, That this *Minnith* is the same with *Ezekiels*; [Ch. XXVII.17.] or with the *Minnith* mentioned by *Eusebius*, to ly four Miles from *Esbus*, or *Heshbon*, towards *Philadelphia*.[161]

Most probably, it lay in the Countrey of *Ammon*: As, *Abel-ampelonon* is asserted to do, by *Eusebius* and *Jerom*, who tell us There was in their days a Town called *Abel*, six or seven Miles from *Philadelphia*, the chief City of the *Ammonites*; and that the Countrey round this *Abel* was full of Vineyards.[162] This is what we render here, *The Plain of the Vineyards*.

| [161r]

Q. The Sacrifice of *Jephtahs Daughter*, does Pagan Antiquitie Remember it, or Imitate it? v. 38.
A. Twas doubtless from hence, that the Greek Poets made the Story of *Iphigenia*'s being sacrificed by her Father *Agamemnon*.[163]

The Chronology of *Jephtah* and *Agamemnon* is the same. For tho' wee dare not say with *Chrysostom*, that there was no *Trojan War* at all, but that the whole Tale, was a fiction, derived from the History of *Jephtah*s warring with the *Ammo-*

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159 Philo Judæus, *Legum Allegoriarum* (3.231.4); Jerome, *Commentariorum In Isaiam* 15; Athanasius Kircher, 17th-century German Jesuit scholar, *Oedipus Aegyptiacus* (1652), Syn. IV, cap. XXI, p. 381.
160 Edward Pococke, 17th-century English orientalist and biblical scholar, *Porta Mosis sive* (1655). "His worship was carried out with a naked head, with the result that nobody would don fine clothes, all among them would be revealed to him" … "That we may submit to the sight of God, and let us reflect, how a man arises from the grave."
161 Eusebius, *Onomasticon* (132.2).
162 Here Mather cites Eusebius, *Onomasticon* (32.15); and Jerome, possibly his translation of the *Onomasticon*.
163 *See* Euripides, *Iphigenia at Aulis* and *Iphenigia in Tauris*. A narrative of the sacrifice is also found in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*, but Iphigenia's transformation to a hind is unique to Euripides.

nites, and *Ephraimites*;[164] yett this wee say, The *Trojan War* was contemporaneous with the Government of *Jephtah*.

Moreover, *Jephtah* and *Agamemnon*, agree in the same Character, of *great Captains*. And their Daughters, were both of them, *only Daughters*: and both *Virgins*: and both, Devoted by their Fathers, when Warring against their Enemies: and both had a Reprieve after their Destination to Sacrifice; the one *wandred up & down the Mountains* with her *Companions*, the other, turned into an Hinde by *Diana*, to range in the *Woods & Mountains*.

Lastly, what is the very Name of *Iphigenia*, but *Iphthigenia*, or, *Iephthigenia*; that is, the Daughter of *Jephtha*?

Upon the whole, either the Daughter of *Agamemnon*, was no other than the Daughter of *Jephtah*; whereof the *Phænicians* coming to, & planting in, *Greece*, made famous Reports; which Posteritie thus Disguised in their Histories: or else, which might happen in other Cases, the Divel might among the *Gentiles* choose to Ape still, those Methods, and those Actions, which the good Spirit of God had produced among the Jewes: And hence, by the way, *Humane Sacrifices* might grow so Commendable and Fashionable, as they did, among the Heathen, by the Instigation of Satan, in Imitation of such great Exemples as that of *Jephtah*.

But which way soever you take it; still the sacred Story, was the *Original*.

Q. Their yearly *Lamenting* the Daughter of *Jephtah*? v. 40.

A. *Lud. de Dieu*, renders it, *To praise her*. He thus explains the whole Matter. "She was not slain; but as appears sufficiently from the foregoing Words, was devoted unto *perpetual Virginity*. Herein she deserved greater Commendation, than her Father. For he, as soon as he saw her come to meet him, Repented of the *Vow* he had rashly made, and tore his Clothes, lamenting the miserable Condition into which he had brought himself and her. But she, most courageously comforted her Father, and congratulating his Victory, desired him not to be troubled about her; for she was ready to submitt unto what he had vowed. Upon the account of which *Heroic Vertue*, whereby she obliged the whole Countrey;
[161v] they could do no less than celebrate her Praise every Year."[165] |

As to the Point of *Jephtah's* making a Real & Bloody *Sacrifice* of his Daughter, our shocking Surprize at it, may be much abated by our considering the Notions and Practices, that were prevailing in those earlier Ages of the World.

Saul was very near doing as much unto his own *Son*, as *Jephtah* did unto his *Daughter*; and had actually done it, if the People had not hindred him.
[162r][166] |

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164 Dio Chrysostom, late 1st/early 2nd-century Greek orator and historian of the Roman Empire, *Eleventh Discourse.*

165 Patrick (*A Commentary* 509), citing Ludovicus de Dieu, early 17th-century Dutch protestant clergyman and orientalist, *Animadversiones in Veteris Testamentum* (127–28).

166 A folded leaf tipped-in with sealing wax.

4848.

Q. That Noble and Vexed Quæstion, *concerning Jephtah's Vow*, deserves a further Consideration, than it has yett had in our Illustrations? v. 40.

A. The first Author, that I shall employ to serve us on this Occasion, shall be Dr. *John Owen*.

This learned Person, in his, *Diatriba de Justitiâ Divinâ*, ha's a Discourse concerning the horrid Practice, which many of the Nations took up, to seek the Appeasing of the *Divine Justice*, with *Humane Sacrifices*.[167]

This Ανθρωποθυσια,[168] was (as he observes) forbidden unto the *Israelites* as an *Abomination*, in the Prohibition of their *Sacrifices* unto *Moloch*; (the *Saturn* of the *Tyrians*, namely, *Baal*, or, the *Sun*:) which were not a meer *Febination*, but (as tis evident from several Scriptures,) an *Immolation* also.

One may see, what an horror of the *Divine Justice*, the Guilt of *Sin* produced, in the *Natural Conscience* of Men; when *Satan* took Advantage from the ancient and famous Tradition, of the *Messiah*s Coming to be made a *Sacrifice*, to Impose upon the *Times of Ignorance*.

Tacitus tells us, of the *Germans*; That on certain Dayes they worshipped *Mercury*, *cui certis diebus Humanis quoque Hostijs Litare fas habent*.[169]

Jornandes tells us, of the *Goths*; That they worshipped and atoned *Mars*, *Asperrimâ Culturâ*:[170] For, *Victimæ ejus Mortes fuere Captivorum*.[171]

Thus *Lucan*, speaking about the Siege of *Marsiliæ*, saies:

– hic, barbara ritu
Sacra Deûm, structæ Sacris feralibus Aræ
omnis et humanis Lustrata cruoribus Arbos.[172]

The same *Lucan* speaks of an Humane Infant that was

– Calidis ponendus in Aris.[173]

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167 John Owen, *Diatriba de Justitia Divina* (1653), ch. IV.

168 "Human sacrifice."

169 Tacitus, 1st-century Roman politician and historian, *Germania* (9.1). "They regard it as a religious duty to offer him, on fixed days, human as well as other sacrificial victims."

170 "[With] the harshest worship." Jornandes (Jordanes), 6th-century CE Roman bureaucrat and historian, *De Geticae Gentis Origine ac Rebus Gestis,* in *Diversam Gentium Historiae Antiquae Scriptores Tres* (1611), p. 86.

171 "His victims were the deaths of the captives."

172 "But ceremonies of the gods, barbarous in ritual, / altars furnished with hideous offerings, / and every tree is sanctified with human blood." Owen, *Diatriba* (526), citing Lucan, *De Bello Civile* (3.403–05).

173 "Served up on the hot altars." Owen, *Diatriba* (526), citing Lucan, 1st-century CE Roman poet, *Precepts of Magic* (bk. VI).

Virgil also speaks of such an Offering to *Phæbus*.[174] And, *Acosta* tells us, That the like, is in *Peru* very usual.[175]

[Compare, 2. King. 17.31.]

Ditmarus tells us, That annually in the Month of *January*, the *Normans* and the *Danes*, offered *Ninety Nine Men*, and so many *Horses*, and *Dogs*, and *Cocks*, in *Sacrifice*.[176]

What *Procopius* tells us, is all over astonishing; That the *Franks*, altho' they had embraced the Worship of Christ, *Humanis tamen ad suum avum Hostijs usos*.[177]

Every Body knowes, what was done this Way, among the *Tyrians*, the *Carthaginians*, and the *Egyptians*, in the former Ages. *Curtius* and *Diodorus* have sufficiently informed us.[178] And *Porphyrie* tells us, the Custome of the *Phænicians*; That when great Calamities were upon them, they sacrificed unto *Saturn*, των φιλτατων τινα επιψηφιζοητες. *One of their most Beloved people, chosen by Lott for that Purpose*.[179] The *Phænicians* (if we may rely upon old *Eustathius*'s Etymologies) have their Name from a Word that signifies, *Red*, and, *Blood*.[180] Some learned Men think them the Posterity of *Edom*; whose Name, ha's a Signification of the like Importance in it; *Edom*, and, ερυθραιος, and φοινιζ,[181] are of the same Signification. Why may not the *Phænicians*, (if they were *Idumæans*) from a Corruption of the Tradition, of the Sacrifice which their Illustrious Ancestor made of his *Beloved Isaac*, be led into the Custome, which *Porphyrie* thus reports concerning them?

Of the Ancient *Gauls*, we are informed by *Cicero*; *si quandò aliquo Metu adducti, Deos placandos esse arbitrantur, Humanis Hostijs eorum Aras ac Templa*

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174 Owen, *Diatriba* (526), quoting Virgil, *Æneid* (10.315–16): "Aeneas next kills Lichas, who had been / cut out of his dead mother's womb and then made sacred, Phoebus, unto you."

175 José de Acosta, 16th-century Spanish Jesuit missionary, *Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias* (1590), lib. V, cap. XIX (see *Natural and Moral History of the Indies*, ed. Mangan, transl. Lopez-Morillas [2002] 191–92).

176 Owen, *Diatriba* (526), citing Ditmarus, late 10th/early 11th-century bishop of Merseburg, "in his first book," probably of his *Chronici*, a multi-volume series published in Frankfurt-on-Moën beginning in 1580.

177 "Humans were used as victims even since his ancestors' time." Owen, *Diatriba* (526), citing Procopius, *On the Gothic War.*

178 On the Tyrians, *see* Owen, *Diatriba de Justitia Divina* (526), who cites Quintus Curtius, *Historiarum Alexandri Magni* (4.3.15); and on the Carthaginians, Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca Historica* (20.14).

179 Owen, *Diatriba* (527), citing Porphyry, 3rd-century CE Tyrian neoplatonic philosopher, *De abstinentia* (2.56.3).

180 Owen, *Diatriba* (527), citing Eustathius, *Commentarium in Dionysii periegetae orbis descriptionem* (905.11).

181 Φοινιζ is the Greek term for a Phoenician; it signifies the color crimson and a date-bearing palm tree.

Funestant.[182] And we are informed by *Cæsar*: *pro Victimis Homines immolant: quòd pro Vitâ Hominis, nisi Vita Hominis tradatur, non posse Deorum Immortalium Numen placari arbitrantur*.[183]

The Discipline of the *Druids* flourishing in *Britain*, there can be no Room to Doubt, whether *Humane Sacrifices* (whereof the *Druids* were the great Instruments and Instigators) were not usual there. *Tacitus* tell us, How they made *Sacrifices* of their *Prisoners*; *Nam cruore Captivo adolere Aras, et Hominum Fibris consulere Deos, fas habebant*.[184] Whence that Expression of *Horace*:

Britannos Hospitibus feros.[185]

The old Commentator saies upon it: *Britanni Hospites mactabant pro Hostiâ*.[186] Nay, in *Rome* itself, (as *Plutarch* tells us, in the Life of *Marcellus*,) they Buried Men Alive, in a way of *Sacrifice*, *Ad averruncandum Malum*.[187]

The Action of the *Decij*, devoting themselves as a *Sacrifice* for the Safety of the City, seems to have had the same Original.

And whence was it, that the *Gentiles* had a strange Suspicion of the *Jewes*, (whereof we read in *Josephus* against *Apion*,)[188] that their *secret Mysteries*, were not managed without *Humane Sacrifices*? and that they nourished *Græcian Captives* in their *Temple*, for that Purpose? *Diodorus* relates the like of the *Druides*, and *Theodoret* of the *Rhodians*.[189] And thus we find in *Herodotus*, a *Persian* sacrificed among the *Thracians*.[190] *Peter Martyr* also testifies, That *Spaniards* | were used [162v] in a like Manner, by the *Mexicans*.[191] *Clemens* of *Alexandria* tells us, of Three hundred Men sacrificed at once, by *Aristomenes Messenius*, to *Jupiter*, when a fierce Plague required more cruel Sacrifices; Among which was *Theopompus*, the King of the *Lacedæmonians*; ιερειον ευγενες! *Præclara Victima*![192] He adds, That

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182 Cicero, *Pro Fonteio* (31). "If at any time, induced by fear, they think it necessary that the gods should be appeased, they defile their altars and temples with human victims."

183 Julius Caesar, *De Bello Gallico* (6.16.2). "[For this reason those who are afflicted by a serious illness and those who are involved in battles] either offer human sacrifice, or vow that they will do so, … for they believe that unless one human life is offered for another, the power and presence of the immortal gods cannot be propitiated."

184 Tacitus, *Annales* (14.30). "It was an article of their religion to sacrifice their captives on the altars, and to consult their gods by human entrails."

185 Horace, *Odes* (3.4.33). "The Britons, who are hostile to foreigners."

186 "The Britons used to sacrifice their guests in place of victims." Owen, *Diatriba* (527), citing Helenius Acron, a 2nd-century commentator on Horace.

187 "To avert some calamity." Owen, *Diatriba* (527), citing Plutarch, *Life of Marcellus.* Plutarch may be referring to the Roman practice of burying alive Vestal Virgins who were convicted of breaking their vow.

188 Josephus, *Contra Apionem* (2.8).

189 Owen, *Diatriba* (529), citing Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca Historica* (5.31.3), and Theodoret, "first book of the *Greek Affections"* (*Graecarum Affectionem Curatio* 7.41.6).

190 Owen, *Diatriba* (529), citing Herodotus, *The Thracians of Apsinthium* (*Historiae* 9.119).

191 Owen, *Diatriba* (529), citing Italian humanist Peter Martyr d'Anghiera (1457–1526), *History of the West Indies* in *Decas* (*Decades*), first published in Seville, 1511.

192 Clemens Alexandrinus, late 1st/early 2nd-century CE Christian theologian, *Protrepticus* (3.42.2.4). "An illustrious victim!"

the People of Mount *Taurus*, did sacrifice to *Diana Taurica*, the Strangers that were cast among them: which might well produce for that Coast, the Complaint of *Inhospitalia Litora*.[193] He quotes *Euripides*, on this Occasion; who tells of an *Iphigenia*. And he gives an Account of the like bloody Practices in many other Nations, mentioning at last, that of *Agamemnon*; whereof we read in Virgil;

Sanguine placastis Ventos et Virgine Cæsâ.[194]

Tertullian also tells, of Children sacrificed unto *Saturn* in *Africa*; and unto *Jupiter*, *quem Ludis suis humano proluunt Sanguine*.[195] So does *Minutius*, in his *Octavius*. Yea, *Eusebius Pamphilus*, demonstrates out of *Porphyrie*, and *Philo*, and *Clemens*, and *Dionysius Halicarnassus* and *Diodorus Siculus*, That this Rite was practised all the World over.[196] *Horace* derides the Madness of it; saies he, *Rectum animi Servas*?[197] and he brings in the *Sacrificer* excusing himself as well as he can.

And *Philo* tells us, of a *Saturn*, (a Name common, as *Hercules* also was to many famous old *Hero*'s,) who Sacrificed his *Daughter*, called *Leijde*, which signified, *An only one*; when the Enemies of the *Tyrians* were pressing too hard upon him.[198]

And, my Doctor inclines to take that *Saturn*, for *Jephtah*. Upon which Occasion, he proceeds to consider, the Three celebrated *Anthropothysies* in the sacred Oracles.

The first Exemple, is that Illustrious One, in the History of *Abraham*. No Age can parallel it; it exceeds, *Quicquid Græcia mendax audet in Historiâ*.[199] The Fame of it reached unto all the Nations of the *Orient*. They that were Ignorant of the Divine *Friendship* for *Abraham*, & of the Divine *Command* to *Abraham*, yett considering, that there needed a more noble Sacrifice than that of *Cattel*, to vindicate and satisfy the Justice of Heaven: they were, by *Satan* imposing on them, & triumphing over their Guilt, easily driven to an Imitation. Or, if they knew, that the great GOD putt *Abraham* upon such a *Sacrifice*, they might from thence be drawn the more to imagine that the Imitation of it would be acceptable to Him.

The Gentiles might have some Eye to this Action, in their Fable of the Sacrifice of *Iphigenia*, attempted by her Father *Agamemnon*, and diverted by an *Hind* substituted in her Stead. The Words of the Virgin in *Euripedes*, very agreeable unto *Isaac*, yeelding Obedience unto his God, and his Father.

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193 "Inhospitable shores."

194 Virgil, *Aeneid* (2.116). "By blood and by the slaying of a virgin, / [Graecians], you stilled the winds."

195 Tertullian, *Apologeticus* (9.5). "Whom at his games they drench with human blood."

196 Owen, *Diatriba* (530), citing Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica* (4.16).

197 "Were you sound of brain?" Owen, *Diatriba* (531), citing Horace, *Sermones* (lib. II, sat. II, v. 199; modern enumeration, 2.3.201).

198 Owen, *Diatriba* (531), citing Philo, "lib. I." The Philo reference is allusive; searches in the various Philos have not revealed the source of this reference.

199 Juvenal, *Satires* (10.174–75). "Whatever mendacious Greece dares in history."

ω πατερ, παρειμι σοι
– O Pater, Adsum apud te,
Meum verò Corpus pro meâ Patriâ.
Et pro totâ Græciâ,
Trado volens, ut mactetur ad aram Deæ, ijs
Qui me ducunt, siquidem hoc postulat Oraculum.[200]

The second Exemple (whereto that of *Iphigenia* may also refer,) is that in the History of *Jephtah* now before us. All the World knowes, That Interpreters are mightily divided about the Action of *Jephtah*; whether he really sacrificed his Daughter, or, whether he only consecrated her unto perpetual Virginity.

We may take it for granted, That tho' *Jephtah* were a Souldier, yett a *gross Ignorance* of the *Law*, relating either to his *Making* or his *Keeping* of his *Vow*, is not to be supposed in a Person of his Piety; and one so well acquainted with the *Law*, as he appears to have been, in his Contestations with the *Ammonites*. He could not be ignorant of that *Law*, which concerned the *Redemption* of a *Vow*, upon the sacerdotal Estimation; or, if he were, yett there were *Priests* Enough in the Land of *Israel*, to have informed Him, & brought him out of the Anguish which was upon him, when he saw how his *Vow* involved him.

We need not conceive indeed, that *Jephtah* performed all the Rites of a *Burnt-Offering* in Sacrificing of his Daughter with his own Hands.

But yett it is unlikely, That *Jephtah* did no more than Devote his Daughter unto *perpetual Virginity*. For the Lord never had Required any such Way of rendring Homage unto Him; nor could such a Matter pass for any tolerable Substitute of a *Sacrifice*.

There were Two Sorts of *Devoted Things*. There were some, which not being allow'd to be offered in *Sacrifice*, were to be *Redeemed* at the *Price*, that should by the Priests be sett upon them. There were others, which were a /חרם/ *Cherem*; and no *Redemption* was directed for them. The Law was, Lev. 27.29. *None Devoted, which shall be Devoted of Men, shall be Redeemed, but shall surely be Putt to Death*.

Jephtahs Vow, did not bring his Daughter, under the First Sort | of *Devoted* [163r]
Things. If it had, the Price of *Redemption* demanded by the *Priests*, would have brought his Family out of all the Trouble now upon it.

But might a *Rational Creature* be made a *Cherem*? Yes. That Passage in the Law, *what shall be Devoted of Men, shall surely be Putt to Death*, intends not *Man*, as the *Maker*, but *Man*, as the *Matter* of the *Vow*. To compare the Context, will render this Incontestable. The Hebrew /מן־האדם/ can be rendred no otherwise

200 "O, father, I am here present; and I cheerfully deliver up my body for my country and for all Greece, to be sacrificed at the altar of the goddess, by those who now conduct me thither, if the oracle so require." Owen, *Diatriba* (532–33), quoting Euripides, *Iphigenia in Aulis* (v. 1552), translating the original Greek to Latin.

than, *De Homine*, or, *Ex Homine*, or, *Hominum Censis*.[201] And therefore, many Interpreters, both *Jewish* and *Christian*, understand the Place, concerning *Enemies* to the People of God, which may be *Devoted* unto Destruction.

It seems therefore, upon the whole, That *Jephtah*, finding his *Daughter* by his *Vow*, made such a *Cherem*, that the *Law* of Him who is the supreme Lord of Life and of Death allow'd no *Redemption* for her, he did, in the Fear of God, and of His *Law*, surrender her for a *Sacrifice*. *Peter Martyr* tells us, That almost all the *Rabbins* are of this Opinion; and so is *Josephus*, tho' he blames *Jephtah* for his Action.[202] Of the Fathers, we have concurring to this Opinion *Jerom*, and *Ambrose*, and *Austin*.[203] And of the Moderns more than there need be mentioned. Nor is it without Countenance, in what *Epiphanius* relates, concerning the Town of *Sebaste*, (which was of old called, *Samaria*) That the People there did annually keep a *Feast*, in Memory of *Jephtah*'s Daughter; and paid no less than *Divine Honour* unto her, as unto a Person whose, αποθεωσις[204] had been so memorable. The Story of *Agamemnon* was doubtless borrowed principally from this of *Jephtah*; by the Poets, *Homer*, and *Euripedes*, and the rest; Their *Iphigenia*, was no other than *Jephthegenia*; their *Iphianassa* was but *Iphthianassa*.

The Third Exemple, is that of the Distressed King of *Moab*, sacrificing either his own Son, or the {son of the} King of *Edonis*, on the Wall of his Besieged City.[205] But since he was a Pagan, and a Worshipper of *Saturn* after the *Phœnician* Manner, there appears not so much of Difficulty in the Affayr. He saw himself and the City, in Extremity of Danger; he thought he would offer a sufficient Sacrifice unto the Gods of his Countrey, to obtain a Deliverance. My Author thinks, it was his own Son, which he sacrificed.[206] The *Impression* which this made upon the *Israelites*, as well as the *Edomites*, may easily be conceived; For the *Israelites* also were *Idolaters*.

And so much for the scriptural Exemples;

Albertus Crantsius, tells a most horrid Story. The Island of *Rugers* was converted unto Christianity. But in time, they so Degenerated, as to worship for their God, St. *Vitus*; a Martyr to whom a Church had once been Dedicated among them. And such their Antipathy to Christianity, that they annually singled out by Lott some *Christian*, whom they sacrificed unto their God afore-

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201 "On, out of, or of the ranks of men."

202 Owen, *Diatriba* (536), citing Peter Martyr Vermigli, *In Librum Judicum*, in loc.; and Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* (5.263).

203 Owen, *Diatriba* (536), citing Jerome, *Epistle to Julian* (Ep. 118.5); Ambrose, *De officiis ministrorum* (1.50.264); and Augustine, *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum* (7.49).

204 "Apotheosis." Epiphanius, *Adversus Haereses* (2.325.18).

205 2 Kings 3:26–27.

206 Owen, *Diatriba* (536–37).

said, who is called, *Zuante Vith*,[207] among them. But it is time to grow weary of relating these Inhumanities.

The Prophecies concerning the *Sacrifice* of the *Messiah*, not being well understood, the Divel took Occasion to instigate Mankind unto fearful Imitations of it. Perhaps he did propose, to raise a Prejudice against that great *Sacrifice* of *Christianity*, in the Minds of many, who could not but be prejudiced at these Inhumane Abominations. He insinuated at Length such Thoughts as those that we find in *Cato*.

Cum sis ipse nocens moritur cur Victima
pro Te!
Stultitia est Morte alterius sperare Salutem.[208]

The *old Serpent*, however, could not extinguish all Sense of the *Divine Justice*, & of its dreadful Demands, in the Souls of Men; and therefore, he studied exquisite Wayes, to improve that Sense, as an Engine still to carry on his Triumphs over a miserable World.

I will on this Occasion consult with another Author; and he shall be, *Ludovicus Capellus*, who ha's written a Judicious Essay on this obscure Subject; *Votum Jephtæ, quale fuerit*.[209]

He can by no Means, allow such Cause for an Extremity of Sorrow and Horrour as was discovered on this Occasion, in *Jephtah*'s only Setting apart his Daughter for an honourable *Virginity* all her Dayes; for, a perpetual *Virginity* was that which some Thousands of young Women in *Israel*, suffered as well as this Lady, if we may call it a *Suffering*. The *Two Months* allow'd her, to have the young Gentlewomen *Bewayl* with her the Fate come upon her, she should rather have taken to *Rejoice* with them; inasmuch as there would afterwards have been Time sufficient for Lamentations.

He concludes, that *Jephtahs Vow* was that which made his Daughter a *Cherem*, an *Anathema*, which might not be Redeemed; and that the *Law* did Suppose Men might bring their *Children*, and their *Servants*, & whatever was at their dispose, under such a *Cherem*. What we render, *Of Man*, is to be rendred, *Ex Hominibus*, or, *De Hominibus*; And hence the LXX reads it, not υπ' ανθρυπων | [163v]
but, απ' ανθρωπων.[210]

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207 I.e., St. Vitus. Albertus Crantzius (1448–1517), German historian and author of *Ecclesiastica Historia* (1548).

208 "Since you are guilty, why does a victim die in your place? It is folly to hope for salvation by means of another's death." Owen, *Diatriba* (538), citing Dionysius Cato, anonymous 3rd or 4th-century CE Latin author, *Distichs* (4.14).

209 "What type of vow was Jephthah's." Ludovicus Capellus (Louis Cappel) (1585–1658), French Huguenot scholar and professor at the Université Saumur, *Commentarii et Notae Criticae in Vetus Testamentum* (1689), pp. 422–27.

210 ὑπ' ἀνρθώπων translates roughly to "under human beings" or "by human beings"; Ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπων is "from human beings." The ambiguity exists because the Latin *de* and Greek ηυπο "translate" the same way ("below, under, down from"), but do not match each other when

The chief Matter of Admiration, is, How Such a *Law* comes to be found, among the Statutes of *Israel*.

Capellus answers,[211] The Lord approved not of *Divorces*; but if the People were of such *Hard Hearts*, that their *Wives* could not mollify them to live with them, the Lord ordered, that the *Divorces* should be made with such & such easy Circumstances. Thus, the Lord did not Approve of it, that Men should make a *Cherem* of any *Humane Person*; But if any were so Rash as to do so, the Lord ordered, that the *Cherem* should not be *Redeemed*, but be *Sacrificed*; and this for such Reasons, as He ha's not been pleased to Express; we can but Conjecture at them.

One of those Reasons may be, powerfully to Teach the *Power of Life and Death*, which *Parents* were to have over their Children, and *Masters* over their *Servants*. Indeed this was not to be exercised, as it was among the *Græcians* and *Romans*, without the Intervention of the *Magistrates*; but in a Way of *Devoting* them, with a *Vow*, on which the *High-Priest* was to pass a Judgment. [See Num. 18.14.] The *High-Priest* was to allow, or to reject the *Vow*, as the *chief Magistrate*; and so the *Abuse* was under some Restraint; and yett the awe of the *Power* of the *Parents* and *Masters* was præserved, when they that were under their Power saw, *ut, si libuisset, ab uno oris ipsorum Verbulo Vita et Mors sua penderet*.[212] This had a mighty Tendency, to keep *Children* and *Servants* in their Obedience. The Law of the *Prodigal Son*, was made; because it would have such a Tendency.

Another of the Reasons might be, To Terrify violent *Parents*, and *Masters*, from *Devoting to Destruction* with direful Imprecations those that have provoked them; as passionate People are too ready to do, as well as to deter *Children* and *Servants*, from giving any Provocation. We daily see dreadful Effects of such *Imprecations*, yea, tho' sometimes they are unrighteous ones: And this *Law* carried in it, a solemn Admonition against them; God admonished *Parents* and *Masters*, that what *Evil* they should wish against such as were under their Command, should be terribly accomplished. Thus the Law, about not hurting a *Dam* in her *Nest* was to instruct us to be compassionate.

But after all; There might be a *Typical Reason* of the Matter. God would lead His People on, to Consider a great Mystery of the Gospel. God has *Devoted* His Own *Son*, our Glorious CHRIST, for to be a *Sacrifice*. He was made a *Curse* for us. And as the *Cherem* was called, *sanctissimum Domine*,[213] tis the very Name, that is, [Dan. 9.24. and Luk. 1.34.] putt upon our Saviour.

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it comes to cases. When ηυπο is used with the genitive, it conveys agency in a passive voice sentence. *De* never serves this purpose and always takes the ablative case. The proper equivalent of *de* + abl or *ex* + abl in Greek would be *apo* + gen, which Mather has given here.

211 Cappel, *Commentarii et Notae Criticae in Vetus Testamentum* (423–25).

212 "That, if it would have been allowed, life and death would hang upon their lips."

213 "Most sacred to God."

And the Lord might particularly leave *Jephtah* unto the Action of bringing his Daughter to be a *Sacrifice*, that so an Illustrious Type, of our Glorious Christ, becoming a *Sacrifice* for us, might be produced among the People of God. *Jephtah* after some sort bought a Deliverance for his People; and the lovely Creature that became the *Sacrifice* for it, entertains with Joy, with a Joyful Triumph, the Honour of purchasing this Deliverance, tho' it were by being made a *Sacrifice*. Behold, an admirable Picture, of our Lord obtaining a Victory over the Enemies of His People!

Capellus thinks, That from this *Israelitish* Law of the *Cherem*, the Pagans (*Inter quos Diabolus Dei Simiam egit*)[214] took up the Usage of *Devoting* themselves for the Safety of their Countrey, whereof there are several Exemples in History;[215] And the Notion, that in greater Cases, the Vengeance of Heaven would not be appeased without *Humane* Sacrifices; and the Practice of making it lawful for any one to kill those that were become καθαρματα, and *Sacra Devotaque Capita*,[216] it being supposed, that they who saw themselves reduced into this Condition, would escape and wander about in desolate Places, if they could.

When *Jephtah* made his Vow, his Mind was in a wonderfull Agony; his Heart was wonderfully sett upon a Victory over the Enemy; he declared his heart so sett upon it, that he was willing the Lord should take away from him the dearest thing in the World, if but this one thing might be granted him. We read of *Æmylian*, that on the *Fifth* Day before his *Triumph*, he lost one of his *Children*; on the Third Day after his *Triumph*, he lost another; upon which he rejoiced, *That the Gods had moved upon his own Family, the Displeasure which they had against his Countrey*.[217]

When *Jephtah* saw that his Daughter, for whom he had a peculiar Tenderness; must be the *Sacrifice*, it is not to be wondred at, if his Natural Affections wrought on this Occasion. But such was his Fear of God, and of His Judgments, that he durst not go back. However we may conceive his Daughter only *slain*, and not exposed unto all the Cutting and Burning of a *Sacrifice* on the *Altar*. When Creatures not fitt for the *Altar* became a *Cherem*, they only had their *Lives* taken from them; a Consumption on the *Altar* was not appointed for them.

See[218] further in Illustrations, on 2. King. 3.27.

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214 "The Devil brought an ape [that is, an imitation] of God among them."
215 Capellus, *Commentarii et Notae Criticae in Vetus Testamentum* (424).
216 κάθαρματα, "outcasts"; *Sacra Devotaque Capita*: "wicked and cursed leaders."
217 Marcus Aemilius Aemilianus, 3rd-century CE Roman emperor.
218 This reference appears to be a later insert; see below, p. 560.

Q. *I putt my Life in my Hand*.] v. 3.
A. Dr. *Patrick* notes, That the Phrase is peculiar to the *Hebrews*, and the eastern Writers. Among all the *Græcian* and *Roman* Writers, *Isaac Casaubon* sais, he never mett with it, but once; and that was in *Xenarchus*, whom *Athenæus* alledges as producing in one of his Plays, a Man fearful and trembling and, Εν τη χειρι την ψυχην εχοντα.[219]

Q. The Provocation between the *Men of Gilead*, and *Ephraim*? v. 4.
A. *Because they said, Yee Gileadites are Fugitives of Ephraim*.] They reproached the Men of *Gilead*, who were cheef Managers of the late War; as if they were but the Scum and the Dregs of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, or of those descended from *Joseph*, among whom they were the principal. They look'd on the *Gileadites*, and the rest of the *Manassites*, on the other Side *Jordan*, and in the most Northernly Part of it, as the Refuse of their Nation.

But as Dr. *Patrick* notes, The Words in the Hebrew, are capable of another Sense, and may be thus translated. *Therefore they said, Fugitives of Ephraim are yee*.[220] That is, Having smote them, the *Gileadites* gave the *Ephraimites*, the Title of *Runawayes*. And indeed; thus they, not the *Gileadites*, are called in the Next Verse. Then the following Words may be thus translated; *Gilead gott between the Ephraimites and the Manassites*.[221] It is probable, the *Manassites* in *Canaan*, joined with the *Ephraimites*, in this, presumpteous Attempt upon the *Gileadites*; who being well acquainted with their own Countrey, gott between them & the River *Jordan*, to intercept their Passage over it.[222]

Q. When *Jephtah* stop't & slew the *Ephraimites*, at the Passages of *Jordan*, the word *Shiboleth*, was that, by the Pronunciation whereof, hee discovered them. Hee might have offered many other Words that had a /ש/ in them; yea, that should have had a double *Sh*, in them; e.g. *Shemesh*, the Sun, *Shelosha*, Three, *Shalsheleh*, a Chain. Why then did hee fix upon the Word, *Shiboleth*? v. 6.

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219 "Holding his soul [i.e., life, breath of life] in his hands." Athenaeus, late 2nd/early 3rd-century CE Greek rhetorician and grammarian, *Deipnosophistae* (13.24.50); this line has since been deleted by modern editors. Patrick (*A Commentary* 511), citing Isaac Casaubon, the prolific 16th-century English classicist and philologist.
220 וַיֹּכוּ אֶפְרַיִם פְּלִיטֵי
221 מְנַשֶּׁה בְּתוֹךְ אֶפְרַיִם בְּתוֹךְ גִּלְעָד
222 Patrick, *A Commentary* (512).

A. It was the Word, that most suited the present Occasion: It signifies, a *Stream*; & the *Ephraimites*, now attempting to pass over the *Stream*, are fitly therefore putt upon uttering the Name of it. [See Psal. LXIX.2.] The Test they putt 'em to, was to bid 'em say, *Lett us pass over the Water*.[223] | [164v]

{~~2209?~~}.

Q. It may not be amiss among your Illustrations, to give us now and then, a Stroke of *Morality*. For tho' perhaps, it won't contribute much to Illustrate the Meaning of the Divine Oracles, yett it may furnish those who discourse on the Divine Oracles, with some agreeable Meditations. And now particularly, if you please, upon *Shiboleth*? {v. 6.}

A. I find in the *Recantation-Sermon*, preached by the Ingenious T. *Gage*, after he had been Thirty eight Years a Papist, a Passage of this importance.

Shibboleth, according to the true Translation, signifies, *An Ear of Corn*; and *Sibboleth*, signifies the *Chaff* or *Straw*, that remaineth when the *Corn* is separated from it. The *Sword* killed all such as could not say, *Shibboleth*, or *Eare of Corn*, but instead of it, pronounced *Sibboleth*, *Straw* or *Chaff* separated from the *Corn*.

"O Christian Soul, take out of this, a Lesson of *Morality*. Judge thyself a Rebellious *Ephraimite*, alwayes warring, (when thou sinnest) against thy God & Maker, who at last will bee too hard for thee. But when? When He shall meet thee at the Passage over *Jordan*; that is, when as Water thou shalt slide away. *Omnes morimur et quasi aqua dilabimur*.[224] O what a Day will that be, when thy Soul is to pass away from thy Body? When thy Soul is to pass over from this World, unto the other yett never seen! Then shall meet thee, the true *Gileadite* against whom thou hast rebelliously fought, with the Sword of Justice in His Hand: Then shall begin thy Trial for the Life or the Death of thy Soul: Then shalt thou be commanded to say, *Shibboleth*, to say, if truly thou be an *Ear* full of weighty & fruitful Grane of Fruitful Faith. But if thou canst not say, but *Sibboleth*, that thou art fruitless, that thou art a light Straw, a little *Chaffe* separated from the true Grane Christ Jesus; Then expect the Wrath of God, expect the Blood of His Sword of Justice."[225]

4799.

Q. What Fancy have the Jewes, upon that Passage of Jephtah's being *buried in the Cities*[226] *of Gilead*? v. 7.

A. Some of them say, That the God of Heaven, to punish him for his Keeping of his rash *Vow* about his Daughter, smote him with horrid *Ulcers*, which caused

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223 Patrick, *A Commentary* (513).

224 "We all die, and like water slide and fall away."

225 Thomas Gage (c. 1603–56), Dominican missionary turned Church of England clergyman, *The Tyranny of Satan, discovered by the Teares of a converted Sinner* (1642), pp. 4–5.

226 KJV: "in one of the cities."

one Member to fall off after another, in the several Places, to which he changed his Residence; that in several Cities, he left a Member of his Body behind him.

Others of them do sett off the Story more kindly than so; and say, That in Remembrance of the wonderful Deliverance wrought by his Means, his Dead Body was *Divided* & Buried with Honour, by the several Cityes of *Gilead*. Behold an Ancient Instance of Honour, for the *Reliques* of the Dead!

P. *Martyr* ha's interposed his Conjecture, That the Word, *Iram*, which we translate, *Cities*, may be the proper Name of a City, in *Gilead*, where *Jephtah* was buried.[227]

4800.

Q. What Remark do the Jewes make upon Judge *Ibzan*, and his *Thirty Sons* & his *Thirty Daughters*? v. 9.

A. They think, that the Sacred Scripture here intends an Admonition unto Men, that they should not value themselves, upon any worldly Greatness. For this our *Ibzan* did not leave one of all his Children, to be a Judge of *Israel* after him. There is a Tradition, that they all died, while he was yett alive. And of the Successor *Abdon*, they make the like Observation. But anon *Sampson* comes, one born of steril Parents. And he must be the *Judge* of *Israel*.

227 Patrick (*A Commentary* 514–15), citing Peter Martyr Vermigli, *In Librum Judicum* (125).

Q. Don't you reckon *Sampson*, an Illustrious *Type* of our Lord Jesus Christ? v. 1.

A. Yes. And I'l give you some Illustration of it.

When was it, that *Sampson* drew his First Breath? It was when, according to that in Judg. 13.1. *The Children of Israel did Evil in the Sight of the Lord, and the Lord delivered them into the hands of the Philistines forty Years*. And when was our Lord Born? It was *when the Children* of Adam *had done Evil, in the Sight of the Lord, and the Lord had delivered them into the Hand of the Divels four thousand Years*. Yea, It was, *when the Children of Israel had done Evil in the Sight of the Lord, & the Lord had delivered them into the Hand of the Romans, many Years*. A Dark Time it was.

The Name of *Sampson* signifies, a *little Sun*. Which expresses the Vertue & the Glory of our Lord Jesus Christ. [Consider, Mal. 4.2. and 2. Sam. 23.3, 4.] The History of the Creation, ha's a Type of the *Church* contained in it. The *Sun* was made, on the *Fourth Day*; and in the *Fourth* principal Period of the world, our Lord arose unto the world. The Two Benefits of the *Sun*, *Light* and *Warmth* or Life, are by the Souls of Men, transcendently derived from the Lord Jesus Christ. *Sol est Anima Mundi, et Christus est Sol Animæ*.[228]

The Birth of *Sampson*, and the Birth of *Jesus*, had a miraculous Resemblance to each other. The Mother of *Sampson* was Barren, & unlikely to bear. The Mother of *Jesus* was a Virgin; & on that Score unlikely. An *Angel* came to the Mother of *Sampson*, and an *Angel* came to the Mother of *Jesus*; and both, to tell them that they should have *Sons* to deliver *Israel*. The Angel gave to the Mother of *Sampson*, an extraordinary *Sign*, to confirm what hee did Foretel. The Angel gave a *Sign* for that End, unto the Mother of *Jesus* too. The Mother of *Sampson* was first Afflicted, & then Comforted, about what was to befal her; the Mother of *Jesus*, had Experience of the like Exercise, and the like Releef.

What *Sampson* was in Point of *Cæremony*, that *Jesus* was in Point of *Sanctitie*; A *Nazarite of the Lord*. It is now noted of *Sampson*, [Judg. 13.24, 25.] *The Child grew, and the Lord Blessed him; & the Spirit of the Lord began to move him at times*. Even so, Tis noted of *Jesus* too: [Luc. 2.40.] *The Child grew, & waxed strong in Spirit, filled with Wisdome, & the Grace of God was with Him*. *Sampson*, in his Youth, began to show extraordinary *Gifts*, and to do extraordinary *Works*; and so did our Lord Jesus Christ.

The Intended Vocation of the *Gentiles*, was many Wayes intimated unto the *Jewes* of old; especially the Marriages of their Ancient *Hero's*, were shrowd

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228 "The sun is the soul of the world, and Christ is the sun of the soul."

Prælibations of it. Wee read of *Sampson*; Among the Daughters of the *Philistines*, hee saw one, of whom hee said unto his Parents, *Gett her for mee, for shee pleaseth mee well*. Indeed, it would have been an *unlawful Marriage*; only tis said, *It was of the Lord*; it was by the Direction and Inspiration of God. Thus, our Lord Jesus Christ, among the *Philistines*, among the most abject Gentiles, Hee saw Matter for a Church; and Hee said unto His Father, *Gett it for mee; for it pleaseth mee well*.

The first Exploit of *Sampson* Recorded, was this; *A Lion Roared against him, and the Spirit of the Lord came mightily upon him, and he rent him as hee would have rent a Kid*.[229] Agreeably to this: The Name of the *Divel* is, *A Roaring Lion*. When our Lord was *Beginning* His Ministry, this *Roaring Lion*, came to Tear Him, in Pieces; to Rend His *Humanitie* from His *Divinitie*. But the *Spirit of the Lord was mightily upon Him*, and Hee was wonderfully victorious over the *Roaring Lion*.

Sampson, according to the Custome of the Time and Place, offered a *Riddle* at his *Wedding*. On the *Fourth* of the Seven Feasting-Dayes, hee gave his *Bridemen*, that Riddle to unfold, [Judg. 14.14.] *out of the Eater came forth Meat, and out of the Strong came forth Sweetness*: That is, (For *wee* may now explain it) A *strong eater*, namely, the *Lion*, afforded a *sweet Meat*, even *Honey*, which a Swarm of *Bees* had newly made in the *Sceleton* of the Creature. Our Lord Jesus, ha's given us many *Riddles* too. In His *Preaching*, our Lord had His *Riddles*; tis said, *without a Parable, Spake Hee not*. And our Lord hath His *Riddles* in His *Providence*; but of all *Riddles*, none more frequently observable than this, *Eaters yield Meat*. Our *Corruptions*, They make us Humble and Watchful. Our *Afflictions*, They Devour our Possessions, but wee find *Good* in them. Our *Enemies*, they go to *bite* us, by their Malice, but they only make us mend our Hearts and Lives. The *Philistines* must bee made *Meat*, unto the oppressed *Israelites*.

What befel *Sampson*s Wife was very Remarkable! Shee Abused him, upon that Motive, – *entice him*, *lest wee Burn Thee, & Thy Fathers House with Fire*.[230] Shee did it; and yett after this, upon another Provocation, tis said, *They Came up, and Burnt her, & her Father with Fire*. This is the Astonishing Vengeance of Heaven, upon them that go to wrong the Lord Jesus Christ: They shall be *Frustrated* & *Punished* in *That* very thing, for the Sake of which, they do it. When the Lord Jesus Christ, is Dishonoured or Disobey'd, thro' the Dread of any *Suffering*, tis a thousand to one, but that very *Suffering*, will overtake us. The Jewes would *murder* our Lord: lest, said they, *the Romans destroy us*. Why the *Romans* did afterwards *Destroy* them, *Altho'* they did, yea, *Because* they did it. And so
[165v] tis, with such as *Deny* the Lord. [Math. 16.25.] Tis often seen in Persecutions. |

229 Judges 14:5–6.
230 Judges 14:15.

Sampson could have burned the *Corn* of his Enemies, otherwise; but hee chose to do it *contemptibly*, that is, by *Foxes*, tied in Couples, with *Torches* at their *Tails*. Hee could have ended the *Lives* of his Enemies otherwise: but hee chose to do it *contemptibly*; that is, with a *Jaw-bone of an Ass*. The *Philistines* doubtless hereupon, became the *Laughter*, and the *By-word*, of the World. Thus, the Enemies of our Lord Jesus Christ; hee makes them not only *miserable*, but *contemptible* too. [See Psal. 2.4. and Isa. 37.22.]

Sampson was more than once Betray'd; once for *Fear*; once for *Gain*. *Sampson* was by *Judah* delivered up to them that sought His Blood; and by a *Judas*, our Lord was treated so. *Sampson* was to bee exposed one time, for *eleven hundred pieces of Silver*, and our Lord was also sold for a little Money, but a smaller Sum. *Sampson* was Betray'd by an *Harlot*; and that *Harlot*-Church of *Rome*, ha's betray'd our Lord Jesus Christ.

Sampson, in a great Fight, at last cry'd out, *I Dy for Thirst*! [Judg. 15.18.] Thus, our Lord, in His Great Fight, had this, for the *Fifth* of the *Six Words*, which Hee uttered on the Cross: [Joh. 19.28.] *I Thirst*! Wee say, *Death is Dry*: and our Lord found it so, when Hee came to Dy.

When *Sampson* was Asleep, at *Gaza*, wee find, [Judg. 16.2, 3.] *They laid wait for him, all Night*; and at *Midnight* hee Rose; but finding *the Gate, Lock'd, Barr'd, & Bolted*, hee E'en pluckt up the *Two Posts* on which it hung, & carried all away to the Top of an Hill, fron whence *Hebron* might bee seen. Thus, the Souldiers once had our Lord Jesus Christ, in His Grave; *There*, thought they, *wee have Him fast enough*! But before Morning, Hee Rose, & Went away, & Triumphed gloriously.

Finally, There was a most amazing Analogy, between the *Death* of *Sampson*, & the *Death* of our Lord.

Sampson was Led away *Bound*, by his Murderers. And so was our Lord.

Sampson was *Blinded* by his Persecutors. And our Lord was *Blindfolded*.

Sampson was *Jeered* and *Scorned*, by wicked Men. And our Lord also was Derided.

Sampson was Exposed at a *Feast*. And it was at a *Feast*, that our Lord was also brought forth.

Sampson Dy'd at a *Pillar*. And our Lord was fastened unto a *Post*, when Hee Dy'd.

Sampson Dy'd among wicked Men. And our Lord was Crucified among *Thieves*.

Sampson was very *Voluntary* in his Death. And our Lord *Laid down His Life of Himself*.

Sampson was very *Victorious* in his Death. And our Lord, *by Death overcame him that had the Power of Death*.

4801.

Q. Any Remembrance of *Sampson*, in pagan Antiquitie?
A. From *Sampson*s Action about his *Foxes*, there seems to have been fetched the Fable, of the *Carseolean Fox*, of which *Ovid* speaks, in the fourth Book of his *Fasti*.[231]

But there is another Story which the Gentiles had among them, about *Nesus*, the King of the *Megarenses*. I'l only tell the Story; and you Shall tell, where, you think, they had it.

Nisus, who, by the Consent of all, Reigned about the same time, that *Sampson* was the Judge of *Israel*, had an excellent Head of *Hair*;

– Cui splendidus Ostro
Crinis inhærebat magni fiducia Regis.[232]

It was told him, that as long as hee kept and wore *that* Intire, hee should bee prosperous and victorious, & none should bee able to expel him out of his Kingdome. Nevertheless, his unhappy Daughter *Scylla* fell in Love with *Minos*, who was then his Actual Enemy, & warr'd against him; and shee, to procure the Love of *Minos*, takes the Course mentioned by the Poet,

– Fatali Nata Parentem,
Crine suum spoliat; –[233]

shee cutts off her Fathers Hair, when hee was Asleep, and gave it unto *Minos*, who then overcame her Father, and Spoiled him of his Kingdome.

Q. The Mother of *Sampson* must Abstain *from every unclean thing*, while with Child of him. *Sampson* himself afterwards, did not Abstain from *unclean Wives* themselves, even from strange Women. Why does the Scripture bestow no more of Rebuke upon him? v. 14.
A. The *Hebrewes* answer, *Quòd Uxores illas alienigenas, primum imbuit in lege, et ritum docuerit Israelitarum*.[234]

Nevertheless, before he died, he lost his *Eyes*, as *Munster* observes, *Quòd à Concupiscentiâ Oculorum sibi non temperasset*.[235]

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231 Ovid, 1st-century BCE Roman poet, *Fasti* (lib. IV, XIII, Kal. 19th, ¶ [679]).
232 Ovid, *Metamorphosis* (8.8.10). "A braid, shining with purple, hung [from his head], as a guarantee of great rule."
233 Ovid, *Metamorphosis* (8.85–86). "The child robbed her own father of his fated lock."
234 "Because he first instructed those foreign women in the Law and then taught them the customs of Israeli women."
235 Münster, *Hebraica Biblia*, in loc. (240). "Wherefore he did not rule himself by the concupiscence of his eyes."

2928.

Q. Wee read of *Sampson, He went down unto Timnath*; where was this *Timnath*? I ask this Quæstion, because, we read of *Judah*, Gen. 38.12. *Hee went up to Timnath*. And Interpreters have been at Pains to accommodate the Expressions used thereabout? v. 5.

A. Yes; I know, that Interpreters are puzzled, how there should be *going down*, and *going up*, to the same Place. *Drusius* ha's this Gloss; *Ne mireris, nam pro ratione Loci, in quo sumus, vel ascendimus, vel descendimus. Fortè Locus erat infrà* Tsorah *ubi* Samson *habitabat; nisi verius, ut dicamus eum fuisse tunc in Castris Danitarum*.[236] And the *Midras* in *Kimchi*, runs thus: *Judas qui in eo Oppido exaltatus fuit, eò ascendisse scribitur. Samson autem, qui ibidem ignominiosè est habitus, scribitur eò descendisse*.[237]

But after all, the truth of the Matter is, (and some of the *Hebrewes* report as much,) That there were two Towns called by the Name of *Timnath*; one in the Tribe of *Judah*; another in the Tribe of *Dan*. That in *Judah*, stood on an *Hill*; That in *Dan*, stood in a *Vale*.

Q. *Sampson*s Riddle? v. 12.

A. It showes, how ancient this Custom was, (which we find afterwards among the Greeks) of proposing *Quæstions* to be Resolved at the Entertainments of the Table; that they might not pass the Time in meer dull Eating & Drinking, but that there might be something to Exercise the Witts of the Company. They called such Riddles as these, which were contrived to puzzle Mens Thoughts, by the Name of γριφος,[238] which the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes* defines to be παροινιον ζητημα. A *Quæstion putt among their Cups*. *Athenæus* discourses largely of such Problems, in his *Deipnosophists*.[239]

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236 Joannes Drusius (Jan van den Driesche), late 16th-century Flemish Protestant clergyman, quoted in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (2:2101). "Be not amazed, for there are a number of places in which we are, to which we go up, or from which we go down. […] Perhaps there was a place within Tsorah were Samson lived. Unless it is more true that we might say that he was at that time in the camps of Danita."

237 Drawing upon Bochart, *Hierozoicon* (pars prior, lib. III, cap. IV, p. 753), Mather cites Kimhi, *Former prophets,* in loc. "Judas had been raised in that town, it is written that he ascended from there. Samson, however, was disgracefully held in the same place, and it is written that from that place he descended."

238 "Gryphae." See entry on v. 15, below.

239 Patrick (*A Commentary* 533–34), citing Bochart, *Hierozoicon* (pars posterior, lib. IV, cap. XII, cols. 517–533), which includes citations to the "Scholiast upon Aristophanes," or ancient commentary on the comedic playwright, including the most ancient, known as "Old Scholia,"

3079.

Q. Of *Bees* it is affirmed by the Writers of Natural History, That *Flesh*, & much more, *Stench*, is disagreeable to them. *Aristotle* writes, προς σαρκα ουδενος καθιζει. *They do not care to lodge near the Flesh of any Animal*.[240] *Varro* writes, *Nulla harum assidet Loco inquinato, aut eo qui malè oleat*.[241] *Pliny* writes, *Apes nullum Corpus attingunt*.[242] *Philo* sings of the *Bee*, Αγεΰ{στ}ος ουσα νεκρικων σπαραγματων, *Nec discerptas Cadaverum Carnes degustat*.[243] Many other Authorities t'were easy to quote for this Purpose. Now, how does this agree with the Story of the *Bees* found in the *Carcase* of the *Lion*?

A. The *Carcase* was become a perfect *Sceleton*; and so Dried away, that nothing but the *Bones* remained of it. This is *Bochart*s Account,[244] who certainly is a better Expositor of the Scripture, than our *common Painters*. The *Syriac* accordingly renders it, *Cadaver Osseum*.[245] And that which countenances this Account is, That the *Carcase* had lain a whole *Year*, before *Sampson* found the *Bees* randevouzed there. What we render, *After a Time*, is in the Original, *After Dayes*.[246] But this is a frequent Hebrew Phrase for, *A Year*. Thus, Gen. 4.3. *In Process of Time*, should be read, *At the End of a Year*. Thus, Gen. 24.55. It should be read, *Lett the Damsel remain with us, a Year, or at least Ten Months*. Thus, Jud. 11.4. – Thus, 1. Sam. 1.20. Read it, *In the Return of the Year*.

Q. *Out of the Eater came forth Meat, & out of the Strong came forth Sweetness*? The Opposition is not so manifest, in the second Clause? v. 14.

A. *Bochart* observes, That in the *Arabic* the Word, *Mirra*,[247] which signifies, *Strength*, comes from, *Marra*, which signifies, To be *Bitter*. Thus among the *Latines*, where *Acer*, a *sharp* Man, is as much as to say, a *valiant* Man; one who *eagerly* engaged his Enemies. This very Word, is use{d} of *Lions*. *Ovid* mentions,

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as well as the comments of Tzetzes, Thomas Magister, and Demetrius Triclinius; Patrick also cites Athenæus, *Deipnosophistae* (e.g., 8.9, 10.73, 86).

240 Aristotle, *Historia Animalium* (625b.21).

241 Varro, 1st-century BCE Roman historian, *De Re Rustica*. "None of them sit upon a defiled place, or on one that smells evilly."

242 Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* (11.24.72). "Bees don't come near a body."

243 Possibly *De Specialibus Legibus* (1.291). The Greek seems to be a direct translation of the Latin: "It does not taste the ripped-up flesh of dead bodies."

244 Bochart, *Hierozoicon* (pars posterior, lib. IV, cap. IX, cols. 504–05); Mather derives the references for his question and answer in this entry from cols. 502–06, *De Apidus à Samsone in Leonis cadavere repertius*.

245 "A dead body of bone."

246 יָמִים שְׁלֹשֶׁת

247 MS: "in the."

– *Genus acre Leonum*.[248]
Read then the Riddle thus; – *out of the Eager came forth Sweetness*.[249]

Q. Of *Sampsons* Riddle, tis noted, *In Three Dayes, they could not expound it; And on the Seventh Day, they said unto Sampsons Wife, entice thy Husband*. What was that *Seventh Day*? v. 15.
A. Dr. *Lightfoot* saies, T'was the *Sabbath-Day*. The Irreligious *Philistines* did not keep the Day; & so they had a fitt Opportunitie now to discourse with *Sampson*s Wife, while *Sampson* himself was employ'd in the Duties of the *Sabbath*.[250]

| [166v]
{....}

Q. The *Riddle* propounded by *Sampson*, at his *Feast*, find we in Antiquity any Imitation of it? v. 15.
A. Yes; Tis what was called a *Gryphus*, among the Ancients. In *Athenæus*, tis described, *Problema ludicrum, quo Jubetur, ut Vestigatione Mentis quod propositum est inveniatur, Præmii aut mulctæ Gratià in Medium Prolatum*.[251] *Julius Pollux* mentions this Custom, with this Distinction; That the *Ænigmata* were alwayes *Jocose*, the *Gryphi* sometimes were *serious*.[252] He who solved the *Riddle*, had a Present of the *chief Dainties* at the Table made unto him. And what Penalties were imposed on those who could not solve it, you may read in *Athenæus*.

A Custome of this Importance at the *Saturnalia* among the *Romans* is related by *A. Gellius*. – *Qui Cænulam Ordine suo curabat, Præmium Solvendæ Quæstionis ponebat, Librum veteris Scriptoris, vel* Græcum, *vel* Latinum, *et Coronam è Lauro plexam; totidemque res quærebat, quot Homines isthic eramus. Cumque eas omnes exposuerat, rem locumque dicendi Sors dabat. Quæstione igitur solutâ, Corona et Præmio donabatur; non solutâ autem transmittebatur ad eum, qui fortitò successerat. Idque in Orbem vice pari servabatur. Si nemo dissolvebat*

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248 Ovid, *Fasti* (4.215), though Ovid borrowed the phrase from Lucretius, *De rerum natura* (5.862). "The violent race of lions."
249 Patrick, *A commentary* (534–35), citing Bochart, *Hierozoicon* (pars posterior, lib. IV, cap. XII, col. 523); and Ovid, *Fasti* (4).
250 Lightfoot, *The Harmony, Chronicle and Order of the Old Testament* (107).
251 Athenaeus wrote in Greek; the passage in question is a Latin translation of *Deipnosophistae* (10.69.13 ff.). The Latin translation seems to have come from Isaac Casaubon's commentary on Athenaeus (*Athenaei Deipnosophistarum* [1657]): "[It is] a playful problem, to which one is ordered, so that he, with a mental search, might discover what has been put forth, and be carried by grace to the middle of profit or many things." Casaubon has *honoris* in place of *praemii*.
252 Julius Pollax, 2nd-century CE Alexandrian grammarian and rhetorician, *Onomasticon* (6.107.10).

ejus Quæstionis Nodum, Præmium ipsum, et Corona, Deo, cujus id festum erat, dicabatur.[253]

Q. Upon *Sampsons* finding his Riddle Interpreted? v. 18.
A. *Ambrose* thinks, That *Sampson* immediately interposed; *what is more perfidious than a Woman*? This he had out of *Josephus*; who saies the same. Something like it followes in the next Words.[254]

Q. Who might be the *Friend* of *Sampson*, to whom his Wife was given? v. 20.
A. Probably, it was his principal *Brideman*; who was called by the Name of, *The Friend of the Bridegroom*. [See Joh. III.29.] This Usage, incensed *Sampson* the more.[255]

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253 Aulus Gellius, 2nd-century CE Latin author and grammarian, *Noctes Atticae,* (18.2.3–5). "Then the one who was giving the entertainment in his turn, offered as a prize for solving a problem the work of some old Greek or Roman writer and a crown woven from laurel, and put to us as many questions as there were guests present. But when he had put them all, the question which each was to discuss and the order of speaking were determined by lot. Then, when a question was correctly answered, the reward was a crown and a prize; if it was not correctly answered, it was passed on to the next in the allotment, and this process was repeated throughout the circle. If no one could answer a particular question, the crown was dedicated to the god in whose honor the festival was held." As Mather has it, the last sentence would read: "… if no one could undo the riddle of his question …"
254 Patrick, *A Commentary* (537), citing Ambrose, *Epistula* (19.17); and Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* (5.294.1).
255 Patrick, *A Commentary* (538).

Q. What meant *Sampson*, by that Business of the Foxes? v. 4.
A. T'was to make the Enemies not only *miserable*, but *contemptible* also. Hee could have destroy'd their Corn otherwise; but hee chose to do it so, as to make the *Philistines* Ridiculous, the By-Word, and the Laughter of the World. As if hee said, *A Fox is fitter to deal with those Rascals than a Man*. Hee procured Three Hundred *Foxes*, or, *Jackals*; where could hee gett so many? Why, the Countrey swarmed with them; and, I suppose, all his own Tribe at least, assisted in the Catching of 'em. These hee Ty'd, by *Couples* together; What for? That they might continue the longer in the Fields. They were not *Firebrands*, that hee now fastned unto their Tails; but they were *Torches*; which would burn a great While. These Creatures being thus lett loose in all Parts upon the Corn of the *Philistines*, must needs make a notable Devastation of it. Now to illustrate this History, you'l find, That the Ancient Romans, had every *April* a Solemnity, or a Recreation rather, of this very Kind. They took *Foxes*, & having Ty'd their Tails by Two's together, with Flaming Torches at them, they turn'd them loose, to make Sport abroad in the World. Probably, they took up this Custome from the *Phœnicians* who came to settle in *Italy*: and now, whether the *Phœnicians* this Way kept up a Remembrance of *Sampson*s Action; or, whether *Sampson* would thus plague the *Phœnicians*, by acting over one of their own Anniversary Frolicks upon themselves; I cannot say, till I have thought more about it.

However, lett us hear a *German* Poet, singing upon it; & this not without something of Illustration.

Haud impunè quidem sivit Manoeius Heros,
Namque Plagis saltus cinxit, Vulpesque sub imis
Rimatus latebris deprendit, et igne Micantes
Adstrinxit Tædas Caudis per mutua nexis.
Ecce autem Vulpes, Flammæ metus ipsi nitentis
Concitat in Rabiem, sævit magis Ignibus ipsis
Accensus furor; et nunc huc, nunc impulit illuc,
Omnia quo Circum discursu visa repentè
Fervere Culta Soli, et passim Considere in ignes.[256]

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256 Johann Major Joachim, 16th-century German poet, *De Cruce et Sacrificio Filii Dei Iesu Christi*.

Indeed, the Hero son of Manoah, did not allow this without punishment;
for he surrounded the quarters of the pasture,
found the foxes in their deep, dark
recesses and snatched them up. Then he bound together with their knotted tails
pine-torches glimmering with flame. But behold the foxes thrash in frenzy, fearful
of their own shining flame, burning madness raging with their own great fire;

{....}

Q. Where was it that *Sampson* catch'd his *Foxes*? {v. 4.}
A. We read, Judg. 1.35. *The Canaanite would dwell in the Mountain*; That is to say, In the Mountain of the *Amorites*, near the Tribe of *Dan*; of which Tribe was our *Sampson*. [Judg. 13.2.] And the Reading of the LXX here, gives us an Answer to the Enquiry, where *Sampson* had his *Foxes*: even from this *Mountain*, Εν ω αλωπεκες, *In which were Foxes*.[257]

Diverse[258] Places in this Tribe, had their Names from *Foxes*. [See Jud. I.35. and Josh. XIX.42.] And under this Name, is comprehended, a Creature very like a *Fox*, called, *Thoes*; which go together in Herds. Good Authors tell us, Two Hundred have been seen in a Company together.

It is not said, That *Sampson* caught them at one Time, or in one Day. It might cost him a Weeks or a Months time. And he had Servants or Neighbours, to assist him in it.

One Reason of his chusing this Creature was, That he might also answer that other End, of delivering the Countrey from such noxious Animals.

Tho' he fastned the Animals, to each other, by a Cord, yett, it was not close, but at a Distance; that they might run the better.

The *Foxes* being affrighted by the *Fire*, endeavoured the more to run from it. This added unto the Desolation. It was in the Midst of *Wheat-harvest*; when some Corn was cutt, & some standing; but all consumed.[259]

{....}

Q. What is the Meaning of that Phrase, *Hee smote them Hip and Thigh*? v. 8.
A. *Hee smote them Horse and Foot*.

I think, wee may trust the *Chaldee Paraphrast*, for the Meaning of this Phrase, before any other Interpreter. And in the *Chaldee Paraphrast*, tis This: *Equites Peditesque contrucidavit*.[260] The *Foot-Men* rest on their *Legs*; (which the Hebrew word, *Schok*,[261] signifies,) and the *Horsemen*, on their *Thighs*, as they sitt close to their Horses.[262]

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it drives them to and fro. Suddenly, it seems as though the vestment of the sun rages all around and sets the entire area on fire.

257 Mather makes reference to a unique variant in the LXX at Judg. 1:35, which is not carried in the BHS, Latin or English translations: ἐν ᾧ αἱ ἀλώπεκες [en hoi hai alopekes] "in which [were] foxes."

258 The remainder of entry is written in an ink different from the foregoing.

259 Patrick, *A Commentary* (541).

260 "He cut the cavalry and the infantry to pieces." Cf. Chaldee Paraphrast, in Walton, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (2:150), where the passage is rendered: *percussit eos equites super pedites percussione magnâ,* "infantry and calvary, he defeated them with great strokes."

261 שׁוֹק

262 Patrick, *A Commentary* (543).

But then, it is not amiss to know, that the Ancient Version was, – *ità ut stupentes Suram femori imponerent*. So astonishing the Stroke, that Men *laid their Legs on their Things*, with astonishment at the Mention of it. It is a proverbial Speech, for an Expression of Astonishment, in a Meditation upon some very evil Occurrence. Thus, *Austin* | in his *Quæstions* on the Book of *Judges*, describes [167v] it, and expounds it; *Ita dictum est, ac si diceretur, percussisse eos valde mirabiliter; id est, ut admirando stupentes, Tibiam super Femur imponerent; Tibiam scilicet unius Pedis super Femur alterius, sicut solent sedere, qui mirando stupent. Tanquam si diceretur, percussit eos Manum ad Maxillam, id est, tanta Cœde ut Manum ad Maxillam tristi Admiratione ponerent*.[263]

I perceive, *De La Cerda* commends this Interpretation. Yea; *Delrio* pretends to confute all besides it.[264]

Q. *Sampson* slaying a Thousand Men, with the Jaw-bone of an *Ass*? v. 15.
A. Herein was fulfilled the Promise of *Moses*. [Lev. XXVI.8.] Repeted by *Joshua*, [Josh. XXIII.10.] where he saies, *one Man of you shall chase a Thousand*.

Here was a marvellous Power of God, infusing Strength into a Man. God also might enfeeble the *Philistines* with a Fear, that the Men of *Judah* might on this Occasion join with *Sampson*.

There have been Instances of Men, who by Natural Courage, (assisted no doubt, from the Invisible World,) have made great Havock among their Enemies.

Fl. Vopiscus, reports, that *Aurelian*, in the *Sarmatick* War, slew *Forty eight* Men, with his own Hands, in one Day; and in diverse Dayes *Nine hundred & fifty*. Upon which the Boyes made a Song, and shouted in their Dances, after a military Manner, *Mille, mille, mille, mille, mille, mille decollavimus, unus homo, mille, mille, &c mille, mille vivat, qui mille, mille occidit*.[265] On another Occasion, this little Song was made of him, which *Salmasius* found thus disposed in ancient M.SS.

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263 Augustine, *Quæstiones in Heptateuchum* (7.55). "Thus as is even said, as if to say, that, he struck them more wondrously than powerfully. That is, struck senseless by wonderment, they placed their shins above their thighs. Those who were astounded by a marvel were no doubt accustomed to sit with the shin on top of the thigh of the other foot. Just, as it could be said, as if a hand were to strike them in the jaw; that is to say, with as much pain, as a hand striking the jaw. The woeful sat thus in admiration."

264 Joannes Ludovicus de la Cerda (1558–1643), Spanish Jesuit and author of *Adversaria sacra* (1626); and Martin Antonio Delrio, late 16th-century Spanish Jesuit theologian and author of *Disquisitionum Magicarum Libri Sex* (1599–1600, rep. 1657).

265 "Thousands and thousands and thousands and thousands and thousands and thousands, one man beheaded them! Thousands and thousands and thousands and thousands, he survived, and thousands (etc.) he killed."

Mille Sarmatas, mille Francos,
Semel et semel occidimus,
Mille Persas quærimus.[266]

Q. Tis said, *God clave an hollow Place that was in the Jaw, & here came Water thereout*. I pray, How could a *Spring* flow from the Real & Proper *Jawbone* of an *Ass*? v. 19.

A. Lett Poets feign & brag of an *Hippocrene*, a fountain from an *Horses Hoof*; wee have now a Truer History of a Fountain from an *Asses Jaw*; and a greater Miracle too. Albeit some take not *Lehi*, the Hebrew Word here,[267] for the material *Jaw-bone*, but for the *Countrey* thereabout, so newly Named by *Sampson*. Or, for a Rock, which (as *Munster* saies,) *Formam habuit Dentis Molaris*;[268] & so was called, *Lehi*.[269]

But why may not *Lehi*, be taken for the material *Jaw-bone*?

Nay, It may. The *Hollow Place* in the *Asses Jaw*, was the Socket wherein stood one of the *Animals Teeth*. The most learned Hebrewes, do take *Mactes* to be, *Fossa, in quâ Dens situs est, facta ad instar Mortaris*.[270] Upon the Opening thereof, instead of *Blood*, there flowed *Water* enough to quench the Champions Thirst. This *Water* was produced by the same Vertue that produced the *Water*, which flowed from the *Rock* in the Wilderness; and the *Meal* in the *Barrel*, and the *Oyl* in the *Vessel*, of the Widow saved once by that famous Miracle. This is the great *Bochart*s Judgment; on which we may as much rely as upon any Mans.

And whereas we read, *He called the Name thereof, En Hakkore, which is in Lehi, unto this day*: *Bochart* carries it thus, *Its Name is called* [*The Well of him that cried, which was in the Jaw-bone*,] *unto this Day*. That is to say, *To this day*, they that speak of this *Miracle*, do speak of it in *these* Terms: Not that the Thing itself continued until *Then*.[271]

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266 "We once killed a thousand Sarmatians and once a thousand Francs, and now seek a thousand Persians." Patrick, *A Commentary* (547–48), citing Flavius Vopiscus, 4th-century CE co-author of *Historia Augusta* (see *The Life of Aurelian,* Roman Emperor in the late 3rd century CE), pt. I, sec. VI; and Claudius Salmasius (1588–1653), French classical scholar, who published *Historiae Augustae Scriptores VI* (1620), containing Isaac Casaubon's notes along with his own additions.

267 לְחִי [lechi], "jawbone."

268 Münster, *Hebraica Biblia*, in loc. (242). "It has the form of the grinding tooth [the molar]."

269 The remainder of the entry was originally a separate entry, with Mather's entry number in right margin: "2894."

270 "Bones, in which the tooth sits, made in the image of a mortar."

271 Bochart, *Hierozoicon* (pars prior, lib. II, cap. XVI, cols. 204–05).

Q. What was the Original of the Report among the Pagans mentioned by *Apion*, *Tacitus*, and *Plutarch*, that *the Jewes worshipped an Asses Head*?[272] v. 19.
A. Some think, That it was a Mistake of an *Ass* for a *Calf*, one sorry Creature for another. Particularly, the Words of Tacitus, *Effigiem Animalis, quo Monstrante Errorem sitimque depulerant, Penetrali sacraverunt*,[273] seem accommodated hereunto; for it was when the *Israelites* were *Wanderers* and *Thirsty* in the Wilderness, that the *Calf* was designed by them, for the Conduct of the Journey.

Some think, that there being in *Palæstine* a great Number of *Asses*, & those of great Account, for the Princes Rode on them, the Nations that hated this People, feigned that they worshipped *Asses*. But this Conjecture seems too far fetch'd.

One Author is of Opinion, That a Jewish Temple, being built in *Egypt*, as *Josephus* relates, by a Priest called, *Onias*, and the Name *Onias* being akin to Ονος, which signifies an *Ass*, the *Alexandrians*, who hated the Jewes, thought it a Piece of Wit for them to affirm, that an *Ass* was worshipped in this *Temple*.[274] But this is a Strain, and it confounds a *Man*, with an *Ass*, without the other Circumstances of the Story.

It ha's been the Opinion of some others, That the Jewes were accused of worshipping an *Ass*, because of the Law, which exempted an *Ass* from *Sacrifice*. [Exod. 34.20.] But according to this way of Inferring, they might as well have affirmed, That the Jewes worship'd a *Dog*.

After all, Mr. *Edwards* most ingeniously & judiciously, thinks, That this Calumny of the Heathen, arose from the History of *Sampson*, wherein wee find strange Things done by the *Jaw-bone of an Ass*.[275] That Action, and Exploit, of the *Jaw-bone*, & the Miracle, of the *Water*, superadded unto it, was much talk'd of, among the *Phænicians*, & by their Means, among others of the *Gentiles*.

Accordingly, the Reprocheful Fable, about the Jewes, was of their Worshipping only that particular Part, The *Head* of the *Ass*.

Thus *Minutius Fælix* takes notice of this Reproche uttered against the *Christians*, which to the Heathens, were the same with *Jewes*, because the first *Christians* were *Jewes*; That they adored, *Turpissimæ pecudis Caput*.[276] And they are the Words of *Petronius Arbiter, Judæus, licet et Porcinum Numen adoret, et*

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272 Apion as cited by Josephus, *Contra Apionem* (2.7.80); Tacitus, *Historiae* (5.4); and Plutarch, *Quaestiones Convivales* (669e).

273 Tacitus, *Historiae* (5.4). "They dedicated, in a shrine, a statue of that creature whose guidance enabled them to put an end to their wandering and thirst, sacrificing a ram."

274 Josephus, *Contra Apionem* (2.7.80).

275 John Edwards (1637–1716), Church of England clergyman and Calvinist apologist, *Discourse concerning the Authority, Stile, and Perfection of the Books of the Old and New-Testament* (1693), pp. 149–54.

276 "The head of that most vile beast." Edwards, *Discourse concerning the Authority, Stile* (150), citing Minucius Felix, 2nd or 3rd-century CE Christian apologist, *Octavius* (9).

Cœli summas advocet Auriculas.[277] In the first Verse, they thought, the Jewes worshipped *Swine*; because perhaps of their Abstaining from *Swines Flesh*. In the next Verse, there is a Mistake of *Cœli*, for *Cilli*, that is, *Asini*; for, κιλλος, is the Doric Word for an *Ass*; and so the Jewes are here accused for Worshipping the most prominent & conspicuous Parts of that Creatures Head.

Briefly the Jewes would in their Discourses much magnify that marvellous Weapon wherewith *Sampson* did such prodigious Execution; which when the Neighbouring Gentiles heard, they passed a scurrilous Reflection upon the Jewes, as if they *worshipped an Asses Head*.

Plutarch saies, They did so, because they were thereby directed unto a *Spring of Water*; which excellently agrees with the Inspired History.[278]

Wee will not imagine with *Bochart*, That *Apion* raised this Fable (tho' by the Way, *Josephus* is mistaken, when hee makes *Apion*, the first Author of the Lye) from a Mistake of the Words /פי יהוה/ *Pi Jao*, or, *The Word of the Lord*, for *Pieo*, which in the Egyptian Tongue, signifies, *An Ass*.[279]

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Q. On the great Strength of *Sampson*? v. 20.

A. See the Collection of Instances, wherein an uncommon *Strength* ha's been Remarkable; – in The Christian Philosopher.[280]

"Some Consideration is due to the *Strength* with which the *Bones* of Men have been sometimes endued. The *Strength* for which a *Sampson* has been so famous, was indeed owing to a Possession & Assistence of a *Spirit* entring into him from Above. But the *ordinary Strength* of our *Nerves*, exerted in *moving* and *lifting* is truly Admirable; The Force of the *Nervous Fluid*! And the Ability of the *little Fibres*, to sustain what it putts them on! And there are now & then, since the Days of *Milo* the *Ox-Carrier*, Exemples of *Strength*, which will yett more *strongly* call for our growing Admiration. It would swell my Essay so big if on this & other Occasions, I should insert all that occurs unto our Purpose, in *Valerius*

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277 "The Jewish Divine Presence esteems and loves swine, with the result that it might call heaven's highest ears." Edwards, *Discourse concerning the Authority, Stile* (150), citing Petronius Arbiter, 1st-century CE Roman courtier and satirist, *In Catalectis.*

278 Edwards, *Discourse concerning the Authority, Stile* (152), citing Plutarch, *Quaestiones Convivales* (669e).

279 Literally, "mouth of the Lord," or figuratively, "commandment" or "word." Edwards, *Discourse concerning the Authority, Stile* (153), citing Bochart, *Hierozoicon* (pars prior, lib. II, cap. XVIII, col. 226); and Josephus, *Contra Apionem* (2.7.80).

280 Cotton Mather, *Christian Philosopher*, ed. Winton Solberg (1994), pp. 293–95. For Mather's emendation, *see* App. A.

Maximus, in *Cœlius Rhodiginus*, in *Zuinger*, in *Camerarius*, in *Hakewel*, in *Wanly*, and in other Collectors.[281] However, a Touch or two may not be unacceptable.

{"}The Tyrant *Maximus*, could with his Hands draw loaden *Carts* and *Wains*; break the Bones of *Horses*, and cleave *Trees* asunder. *Marius*, who of a *Cutler* became an *Emperour*, could with his Fourth Finger stop a Cart that was drawn with Horses, and force it backwards; And a *Fillip* of his Finger, (which they also report of *Tiberius*,)[282] would knock a Man down, like a Blow of an *Hammer*. One *Salvius*, mentioned by *Pliny*, having an *Hundred Pounds* Weight at his *Feet*, and as many in his *Hands*, with twice as much on his *Shoulders*, could go up a Pair of Stairs.[283] *George Castriot* with his massy *Scimeter* did amazing Executions; He cutt the *Turks* to Peeces, *Barletius* affirms, three thousand of them, with his own Hands, and scorned ever to throw away more than *one Blow* upon an Object; He could cleave *Helmet* and *Harness*, as if they were but Straw before him.[284] *Cardan* saw one Dancing, with Two in his Arms, Two on his Shoulders, & One hanging about his Neck.[285] A Baron of *Mindelheim*[286] would with his middle Finger, do things that surpass Imagination: He would shove a *Canon* where he pleased; He would break *Horse-shoes* with his Hands like Pot-Sherds: [Which is a Circumstance they also relate of *Pocova*, a *Polish* Gentleman.][287] Little *Venetianello*,[288] would {with his} Hands wreath great Pins of Iron as if they were softened by the Fire: and carry on his Shoulder an erect Beam of Twenty Foot Long & a Foot thick, and shift it without the Use of Hands from one Shoulder to another. A Provost at *Misna* would make nothing with his bare Hands to fetch a Pipe of Wine out of a Cellar, & lay it on a Cart.[289] *Mayobus* affirms, he saw a Man, who took a pillar of Marble Three foot long,

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281 Valerius Maximus, 1st-century CE Roman historian and author of *Factum et Dictorum Memorabilium*; Coelius Rhodiginus (1469–1525), Venetian professor of Greek and Latin at Rovigo, author of *Antiquarium Lectionum* (1516); Theodore Zuinger (1533–88), Swiss humanist and professor of medicine at Basel, author of an encyclopedia entitled *Theatrum Vitae Humanae*; Joachim Camerarius (1500–74), native of Bavaria, teacher of Greek at Nuremberg, and translator of numerous works by Greek writers; George Hakewill (1578–1649), Church of England clergyman and author of, among many works, *An Apologie … of the Power and Providence of God* (1627); and Nathaniel Wanley (1633–80), Church of England clergyman and poet, whose best-known work was *The Wonders of the Little World, or, A General History of Man* (1678).

282 I.e., Tiberius Julius Augustus Caesar.

283 Fufius Salvius, described in Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* (7.20.83).

284 George Kastrioti Skanderberg, 15th-century Albanian aristocrat and military leader; Marinus Barletius, late 15th/early 16th-century Albanian historian and Catholic priest, *De Vita Moribus Ac Rebus Praecipue Adversus Turcas* (1537).

285 Gerolamo Cardano, 16th-century Italian physician and mathematician.

286 George of Froansberg, baron of Mindelheim (1473–1527).

287 Beheaded at Warsaw by the Polish king at the urging of the Turkish ambassador.

288 The "Little Venetian," short of stature but of enormous strength and a famous tightrope-walker.

289 Nicholas Klunder (fl. c. 1529), provost of the church at Misnia, Thuringia.

and One foot in Diameter; which he cast up very high into the Air, & received it again in his Arms, & play'd with it as a little Ball: And another, who would break a *Cable* as big as a Mans Arm, as easily as if it were a Thread of *Twine*.[290] *Froisard*, a faithful Historian, tells of a Man, who would make nothing to carry a great *Ass* with all his Load upon his Back. The Stories we have of the mighty Burdens carried by some of our *Cornish* Men, related by Mr. *Carew* and others, are truly wonderful.[291]

{"}Can we now do any other, than fall down before the Glorious GOD, who has given such *Strength* to the Children of Men, as if their *Strength* were *the Strength of Stones*, or their *Flesh were Brass*: [and yett, when GOD pleases, *crush'd before the Moth*!] with the ancient Adoration, *O Lord God, who is a strong God, like to Thee*!"[292]

290 Simone Maiolo (1520–97), bishop of Volturara, Italy, author of *Dies Caniculares* (1597).
291 Jean Froissart, 14th-century French historian and author of *Chroniques de France, d'Engleterre et des Païs Voisins*; and Richard Carew, *The Survey of Cornwall* (1602), pp. 62–63. One story Carew relates: "For strength, one *Iohn Bray* (well knowne to me as my tenant) carried upon his backe, at one time, by the space welneere of a Butte length, sixe bushels of wheaten meale, reckoning fifteen gallons to the bushel, and the Miller, a lubber of foure and twenty yeres age, upon the whole."
292 *See* Job 6:12, 4:19, and Ps. 89:8.

Q. How far do you suppose that *Sampson* carried the Gates of *Gaza* & Posts, with Bar, and all? v. 3.

A. The Text sais, *Hee carried them up to the Top of an Hill, that is before Hebron*.

If hee went now from *Gaza* to *Hebron*, t'was a Journey of Twenty Miles. But wee'l rather suppose, that hee carried them up to the Top of an Hill near *Gaza*, from whence there was a fair Prospect of *Hebron*.[293]

Q. The *Weaving* of *Sampsons* Locks with a *Web*, how was it managed? v. 13.

A. The *Nazarites* did not lett their Hair hang loose, but curled it up in *Locks*, or plaited it, and braided it, after the Manner of a Chain. *Sampsons Hair*, as Dr. *Spencer* thinks, was distributed into seven of those *Locks*.

He directs *Delilah*, to wrap these seven Locks, about a Weavers Beam; (as the *Chaldee* understands it.)

Or, to weave them one with another, so that they should be but *one Lock*. Having done so, she fastned it with a *Pin*, that they might keep tight, and not be loosed.[294] | [169v]

Q. *Sampson* must be a *Nazarite*, and by Consequence must never drink any *Wine*, or *strong Drink*. A Charge also laid on his Mother, while she was with Child of him. What Reason for it? v. 17.

A. I will mention a Reason given by one of the Fathers; I can say, I look on it, as a *Flourish*, rather than a *Reason*. But because tis *Procopius*'s, I will take notice of it.

Saies he; *Twas because the Holy Ghost knew the natural Temper of* Sampson*, to be so violent, that if he should at any time inflame it with Wine, it might do much Mischief to his own people, & friends, as well as to his Adversaries*.[295]

Thus the Fathers do flourish, on some other Occasions. I will mention a Thought of theirs, on another Peece of Intemperance.

One of them observes;[296] *Abraham* lived 175 years. *Jacob* lived but 147 Years. *Isaac* lived longer than either of the other; he lived 180 years. Why, *Isaac*

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293 Patrick, *A Commentary* (552–53).

294 Patrick, *A Commentary* (557), citing John Spencer (1630–93), English college head and Hebraist, *De Legibus Hebraeorum Ritualibus et earum Rationibus Libri Tres* (1685), lib. III, cap. VI, dissert. I, p. 585.

295 Procopius Gazaeus, *Commentarii in Octateuchum* (506–07).

296 For example, Augustine, *Civitas Dei* (cap. XIV), mentions the ages of these patriarchs; however, it is not one of the Church Fathers but Matthew Henry (1662–1714), English clergyman and biblical exegete, in his *Commentary on the Whole Bible* (1:209), on Gen. 35:21–27, who describes Isaac as a "mild, quiet man," who was "not disposed to marry again."

was but the Husband of one Wife. The other two, had several Wives apeece. *Isaac* was more abstemious in the use of Women, than the rest.

{....}

Q. The *Blinding* & the *Grinding* of *Sampson*; What Remark have you upon it? v. 21.

A. I am scandalized at the Jewish Rabbins who take the *Grinding* of *Sampson* to bee, *Ac si cum Uxoribus Philistæorum Robustissimis coire coactus esset; quo si Sensu Verbum* מחן *veniat in Job. 31.10.* and I leave one of their own [R. *Kimchi*.][297] to Answer them, *Hæc Explicatio est longius petita. Et cui Bono prostituissent illum, cujus Robur sublatum esset*.[298]

The *Grinding* of *Sampson* synecdochically expresses all that Servitude which hee underwent in his Confinement. But then, for the *Blinding* of him! You must know, That it was the Work of *Captives* as of *Horses*, to Turn the *Mill*. And that they might not become so *vertiginous,* as to bee hindred in their Work, it was the Custome, to *cover* their *Eyes*. Now *Sampson*, being sett about this Work, they took such a Way to *cover* his *Eyes* as they thought was best for their other malicious Purposes; that is, they *putt them out*.

Q. *Sampson made them Sport*? v. 25.

A. Perhaps they made him Dance in his Chains, or plaid with him at some such Sport, as we call *Blindmans-buff*. But, as Dr. *Patrick* saies, Tis hard to beleeve, that such a generous Spirit as his, would submitt to do any thing that should make them Laugh. Therefore they made themselves all the *Sport* they could, by their Abuses of him.[299]

It is, by the Way, observed by Monsr. *Jurieu*, That the Temple of *Dagon* here, is the first pagan *Temple* that we read of. And he suspects, that the Original of *Temples* might be in this Age. *Groves* were the more Ancient Things.[300]

Q. A Return of *Strength* being miraculously granted unto Repenting *Sampson*, why was hee not Blessed with a Return of *Sight* also? v. 26.

A. Turn to the *First Verse* of the Chapter, before us, and you'l *see* that the *Eyes* of this *Hero*, had been the Cause of his Fall. Hee would, it may bee, have *sin'd* again, if hee had *seen* again. It was fitt that what had been so *Abused*, should not bee *Restored*.

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297 מָחַן [tachan], "grind, crush." Mather wrote this bracketed reference in the margin.

298 Kimhi, *Former Prophets*, in loc. "And if should have been coerced to copulate with the most lusty wives of the Philistines, if that is the meaning of the word in Job 31:10. […] This explanation has long since been refuted."

299 Patrick, *A Commentary* (564).

300 Jurieu, *A Critical History* (1:289).

And now, hear *Johannes Major Joachimicus*, poetically representing the Matter.

Sed Coma Nasiri jam trunca Cacumine nudo
Vertice protulerat, jam Vis habet alta regressum;
Cum Socio impubi Manoeius imperat Heros
Ad Loca deducat, iunctis per mutua Palmis
Quà Domus incumbit geminis innixa Columnis.
Paret, et ad Statuas puer Orbum Lumine sistit;
Nam solus Lateri hærebat Gressumque regebat.
Nec Mora, trans Statuas protendit utrosque Lacertos.
Obnixes tollitque Loco, quassatque trementes
Sustollensque Oculos Cælo, sic Voce precatur
Supremum hunc Deus alme, mihi Concede Laborem,
Nunc moriamur, ait, sed non moriamur inulti.
Ipse ego Convellam quassati culmina Tecti
His me, quandò aliud melius nihil ipse reliqui,
Aggrediar telis, vel in ipsâ Morte tueri
Morte meâ vincam, quos vincere nescio Marte.[301]

Q. What sort of Building might be the *Temple* of *Dagon*? v. 27.

A. Some think, it might be a *Theatre* like those in after-times built by the *Romans*; whereof some were of a prodigious Bigness. *Pliny*, [L. XXXV. c. 15.] mentions two *Theatres* built by *Curio*, who was killed in the Civil Wars, on *Cæsar*s Side. They were made of Wood, so ample, as to contain (so he saies) *All the Roman People*; & contrived with such Art, that each of them depended on one Hinge. This moved *Pliny*, to admire at the Madness of all the Roman People, that they would for their Pleasure, venture into a Place, where they satt,

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301 Johann Major Joachim, *Simson*, lib. I:
But the Nazarite's hair, after the ends have been cut, had grown from the exposed crown
And, having returned, held great power.
When the Heroic son of Manoah orders his young companion
to lead him with joined hands
to the place where the house leans, supported by two columns,
The boy complies and places the man who'd lost so much in the light
beside the pillars, for he alone had compassion for Samson.
He guided the man's step. Without delay, [Samson] placed both his arms across the pillars.
Struggling and raising himself to that place, shivering and shaking,
he lifted his eyes to heaven and thus prayed with his voice:
"Oh God, yield up a great work to my kind self.
Let me die now," he said, "but let me die not unavenged.
I myself … the height of the shaking roof …
since I have left behind nothing better,
let me assail myself with these weapons, or in death itself be defended.
Let me conquer with my death
those whom I knew not how to conquer with war."

tam infida instabilique Sede.[302] For if that Hinge had slipt, there had been more slain than at the Battel of *Cannæ*.

This may Silence the Cavils of those, who fancy no such capacious buildings could be made, as relied only on *Two Pillars*. Tis not so strange as this admirable Fabric of *Curio*.[303]

302 "In such treacherous, rickety seats."

303 Patrick, *A Commentary* (565), citing Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* (35.14; modern citation, 36.24.118).

Q. How and why is it said of the *Levite: He was of the Family of Judah*? v. 7.
A. By his Mothers Side, he was of the Tribe of *Judah*.

It is noted, for to show, how he came to live at *Bethlehem*, which was no *Levitical* City.[305]

Q. What was the *Suit of Apparrel* promised unto the *Levite*? v. 10.
A. The LXX, and the *Vulgar*, make it, ζευγος ιματιων. *A Couple of Garments*.[306] It is to be understood, a *Summer-Suit*, and a *Winter-Suit*. It is found by *De Dieu*, that in the *Ethiopic* Language, the word Signifies, *A Companion*. *Hottinger* agrees to it; and observes, that all in a manner, are of opinion, that more Suits of Apparel than one, are Signified by this word.[307]

But[308] lett us repeat the whole Story of the Matter, as *Lewis* has it in his, *Origines Hæbrææ*.

It is commonly said by the Jews, That *Idolatry* was introduced into | *Israel* [170v] by a Woman. A Rich Widow, the Mother of one *Micah*, an *Ephraimite*, had consecrated unto an holy Use, a Sum of Money amounting to *Eleven hundred Shekels* of Silver. But before it was applied unto the Purpose that she designed, she was robbed of it, by her own Son, who after some time ingenuously confessed the Robbery, and Restored the Money. She forgave him, and Returned the Money to him; who by her Direction, & for the Convenience of himself & his family, contrived a Place for Divine Worship at his own Home, in imitation of the House of GOD at Shiloh; and provided Furniture that he thought proper for the Uses of Devotion. Two Hundred Shekels he applied for the Making of a graven Image, and a molten Image; that he might make some Resemblance of GOD, whereby to worship Him, at his own House, without the Trouble, upon all Occasions, of going up to the Tabernacle: for it was not his Intention utterly to forsake the GOD of Israel, but only in this Way, & in this Place, to pay Adoration unto Him. It is not certain, whether the Silver were melted by the Founder, & shaped into Images; or whether they were Images of Brass bought for this Money, and silvered over. The latter seems most probable. With the rest

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304 A quarto-sized leaf.
305 Patrick, *A Commentary* (575).
306 Mather cites a variation in the LXX: ζεῦγος ἱματίων [zeugos himation], "pair of garments." The dominate reading is not ζεῦγος, but στολή [stole], "equipment, armament, raiment, apparel."
307 Patrick (*A Commentary* 576), citing Ludovicus de Dieu, *Animadversiones in Veteris Testamentum* (130); and Johann Heinrich Hottinger, *Smegma Orientale* (cap. V, p. 88).
308 The remainder of the entry may be a later addition, written smaller with the lines closer together.

of the Money, he made an *Ephod*, a sacerdotal Garment, for his Priest, imitating the Holy Offices of the Tabernacle, to wear in his Officiating. And he sett up an Oracle, or *Teraphim*, a Sort of Images, whereby the eastern People received Answers from their Deities, that his Priest in his *Ephod* might thereat Enquire of GOD. His eldest Son he ordained for his Priest; and meeting with a young *Levite* that was a begging about the Countrey, he took him into his House; promising him a Quarterly Salary of Ten Shekels, and a Winter & Summer Suit of Cloathes; and presumptuously consecrated him.

This Chappel was robbed by a Parcel of *Danites*; who sett up all these Idolatrous Implements, in that City of *Dan*, where *Jeroboam* afterwards fixed one of his Calves: And there they continued, until the *Ark* of GOD was taken by the *Philistines*.[309]

We shall anon see, what became of them.[310]

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309 Thomas Lewis, *Origines Hebræ: The Antiquities of the Hebrew Republick*, 2 vols. (1724), 1:45–46.

310 See below, p. 227.

Q. *The Tribe of the Danites*.] What, the whole Tribe? v. 1.
A. It should rather be rendred, *A Tribe of the Danites*. The Word, *Schebet*,[311] sometimes is used for, a *Family*. [See Judg. XX.12.]

De Dieu observes, that when the whole Tribe is spoken of, it is not said, *Schebet hadani*, as it is here; but *Schebet Dan*.[312]

Arias Montanus conjectures, That there were Five Families of the *Danites*, out of each of which, there was one Man chosen, to make the following Discovery.[313] | [171v]

Q. Wee read of one Jonathan and his Sons that were *Priests unto the Tribe of Dan, until the Day of the Captivity of the Land*. What *Captivity*? v. 30.
A. Till the *Ark* was Carried into *Captivity* by the *Philistines*, and Restored from that *Captivity*: when there followed, a general Reformation in the Dayes of Samuel.

As *Munster* saies, *Non est verisimile, ut hoc Sculptile duraverit usque ad Tempora David et Solomonis, qui citrà omnem Controversiam illud in Regno suo non tolerassent*.[314]

It[315] seems, none of the *Judges*, had Power enough, to Reform the *Idolatry* in this Place. But God used the *Philistines* to putt an End unto it. Dr. *Patrick* thinks, That when the *Philistines* destroyed *Shiloh*, where the true *House of God* was, they destroy'd this *House of Gods*, [as they esteemed it; Judg. 17.5.] being a Resemblance of it. And perhaps, as they brought the *Ark* into the Field, against the *Philistines*, so the *Danites* brought their *Images*, & the Priest; who was kill'd with *Hophni* and *Phinehas*; or, as *Huetius* thinks, carried Captive into the Land of the *Philistines*. The Resort of the People hither to worship, was probably some Occasion for *Jeroboam* afterwards to fix one of his Calves at *Dan*.[316]

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311 שֵׁבֶט
312 Patrick (*A Commentary* 578), citing Ludivocus de Dieu, *Animadversiones in Veteris Testamenti* (130–33).
313 Montanus, *De Varia Republica* (591–93).
314 Münster, *Hebraica Biblia,* in loc. (245). "It is not reasonable, that this sculpture endured all the way to the times of David and Solomon, neither who tolerated any debate in their kingdom."
315 Ink changes from brown to black.
316 Patrick, *A Commentary* (591–92), citing Pierre-Daniel Huet, *Demonstratio Evangelica ad Serenissimum Delphinum* (284).

770.

Q. Who was that Idolatrous Priest, whom wee find called, *Jonathan, the Son of Gershom, the Son of Menasseh*? v. 30.

A. Public Idolatry is here first sett up in the Tribe of *Dan*; a Tribe therefore not named, in the Revelation, among the *Sealed of the Lord*. The first Idolatrous Priest here is the Grandson of *Moses*; but the Name of *Moses* here is written /מנשה/ *Menasseh*, with the Letter /נ/ above the Word; partly, for the Honour of *Moses* now gone to Heaven; partly because the Actions of this young Man were too like unto those of *Menasseh*, afterwards King of *Judah*.

These Jewish Curiosities, about Names, are not altogether Impertinent. Wherefore, I will also from them observe to you, That in this very Story, *Micah* is in the Original, first called *Micajahu*, with a Part of the Name *Jehovah* affixed unto his Name; whereas after hee had sett up his Image, hee is called only *Micah*.

Q. Where did the *Chief of the Tribes of Israel* hold their Assembly? v. 2.
A. The Word, *Chief*, is in the Hebrew, *Corners*.[318] They were the Heads of the Tribes, Rulers of Thousands, and Hundreds, and Fifties; who kept the People in some Kind of Order, (now they wanted a supreme Governour, & the Courts of Justice were unsettled,) and it is likely brought them along with them to this general Assembly.

Dr. *Patrick* supposes them to meet in the open Air, as anciently they did, among the *Romans*, *Athenians*, and other People; which many learned Men have observed. *Lycurgus*, as *Plutarch* tells us, gave this Reason for it; Noble Rooms, adorned with Pictures and Statues, & such Ornaments, did not contribute Εις ευβουλιαν, to *Right Counsils*, but rather did hurt by distracting their Minds, and turning them from their business. But the true Reason was, because vast Multitudes mett together, which no House would contain; and therefore they assembled in the Field. So *Livy* tells us; when the Cause of *Appius Claudius* was heard, the People were cited to come into the *Campus Martius*.[319]

Q. The *Benjaminites*, excellent *Marks-men*? v. 16.
A. As Dr. *Patrick* observes, There have been such in other Countreyes; particularly in the Islands called, *Baleares*; where they were bred from Children, to hitt a Mark with a Stone slung out of a Sling, or else to lose their Breakfast, as tis related by *Strabo*. See *Bochart* in his *Hiero{zo}icon*. P.1. L.III. C.X.

This extraordinary Skill in their Arms; (for tis likely, they handled other Weapons with the like Dexterity,) emboldened them, to undertake such an *unequal War* as was now before them.[320] | [172v]

Q. Why did our Holy Lord permitt the *Benjaminites*, to prevail so strangely as they did, once and again, against the *Israelites*? v. 25.
A. There may many Reasons be assigned; And, if we could give *no Reasons* at all for these *unsearchable Judgments of God*, yett it is infinitely *Reasonable* that we should be satisfied in them.

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317 Leaves 172 and 173 are quarto-sized, originally fastened together and tipped-in with sealing wax, but now loose. Mather made no entries on Judges 19.
318 בְּנֵי
319 Patrick, *A Commentary* (605), citing Plutarch, *Lycurgus* (6.3.4; most modern editions have πρός ευβουλίαν); and Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* (6.20).
320 Patrick, *A Commentary* (611), citing Strabo, *Geographica* (possibly 9.5, which mentions "a throng of Dolopians, bold in the use of the sling"); and Bochart, *Hierozoicon* (pars prior, lib. III, cap. X, col. 828).

Instead of other Conjectures, which you commonly have in the Sermons of Divines upon the Matter, I will only offer you what the *Hebrew Writers* have conjectured.

They say, That it was the Displeasure of God, for the *Idol* of *Micah*. The *Israelites* tolerated that *Idol*, and perhaps there were many in their Armies, that had gone a whoring after it. In[321] *Pirke Elieser* they say, "God was angry with the *Israelites*, for their neglect of Him, in suffering *spiritual Adultery* among them, while they were very earnest to punish *carnal*."[322] They make the Answer of the Lord to have been; *yee are zealous against the Adultery of the Tribe of Benjamin, but not against the Idolatry of Micah*.

Indeed they fell early into *Idolatry*; with which, tho' the *Benjaminites* were defiled, as well as others, yett he used them for Scourges to punish the rest; intending in due time, to take a Vengeance on them, for *That*, & for all their other Sins.

Q. At last they come to *offer Burnt-Offerings*? v. 26.
A. This had not been done before. They had not made such solemn Supplications to God, as now they did by these *Offerings*. *Burnt-Offerings* were offered, as Prayers for *Forgiveness of Sins*, that so the Blessings of God might be obtained. See Job. I.5.[323]

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321 At this point, the ink changes from brown to black.
322 From Patrick, *A Commentary* (613), Mather paraphrases *Pirke De-Rabbi Eliezer* (*Chapters of Rabbi Eliezer*) (1514], cap. XXXVIII.
323 Patrick, *A Commentary* (615).

Q. That Projection, *catch yee every Man his Wife, of the Daughters of Shiloh*? v. 21.

A. Dr. *Patrick* notes, This they might the more easily do, because Men & Women, did not in those Dayes *Dance together*; but Women by themselves.

Grotius endeavours to acquitt the *Israelites*, from violating their Oath in this business; He saies, *Aliud enim est dare, aluid amissum non repetere*.[324]

But this will hardly extricate them; For they did *command* the *Israelites*, to take and carry away the Virgins. What *Josephus* writes of the Matter is not true, That it was done, ουτε προτρεπομενων ουτε κωλυοντων, the *Israelites*, neither *Exhorting* to it, nor *Forbidding* of it.[325]

[blank] [173v]

324 "It is for some to give and for others not to recoup the loss."

325 Patrick, *A Commentary* (630), citing Grotius, *De Jure Belli ac Pacis* (lib. II, cap. XIII, § V); and Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* (5.2.12).

[174r] Ruth. Chap. 1.[1]

Q. In the Story of *Ruth*, what is there that may appear Typical and Mysterious v. 1.

A. Good old *Prosper*, elegantly makes *Ruth*, a Type of the *Gentile*-Church; for she was, you know, a *Gentile*.[2] She applied herself unto the Church of *Israel*, for to be received into the nearest Conjunction with it. The Church of *Israel*, did not the Duty that was owing to her, and became, *The House of him that hath his Shooe loosed*. But then, the Apostles, and their Adhærents, which were a *Second Edition*, as one may call it, of the Church of *Israel*, These having their *Feet shod with the Præparation of the Gospel of Peace*, received the Church of the *Gentiles*, & great Mercies ensued.

I think, I have pursued it far enough.

[174v] |

Q. T'was said of *Orpah, Shee is gone back unto her Gods:* Who was *Orpah*'s God? v. 15.

A. *Orphah*'s God, was probably *Chemosh*, the famous *Deaster* of the *Moabites*. And when that *Naomi* perswaded the Return of *Ruth*, it was in hopes that her Conversation would Recover her Sister out of her Idolatry. This charitable Opinion of *Naomi* is more probable than that of the Jewes, That *Orpah* was the Mother of *Goliah*.

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1 The first leaf is a folio sheet, with the bottom three-quarters of the right column neatly torn out.

2 Prosper of Aquitaine, *De Promissionie et Praedictionie Dei* (pt. II, cap. XXII), in *Divi Prosperi Aquitanici Episcopi Rhegiensis, Opera* (1577), p. 37.

Q. A Note upon that Salutation: *The Lord be with you*! v. 4.
A. It is a good one, that is mentioned by Mr. *Polhil*.[3]

The Blessings that Providence dispenses, and doles out unto Sinners, are all founded on CHRIST. It is observable, in the Old Testament, that they used this Order in praying for Blessings: *The Lord be with you*. Thus *Boaz* to the Reapers. Or, which is all one, *The Lord be with us*. [See, 1. King VIII.57.] The Force of Words, falls in with the precious Name of our Saviour, *Immanuel*; or, *God with us*. Were it not for CHRIST, the true *Immanuel*, God would not be with us at all, to bestow any Blessings upon us. But because He is *with us* in the Incarnate Word, therefore He is With us, to Bless us.

It may also be noted, That the Mercies & Deliverances which the People of God received under the Old Testament, either had a Type of the Great Salvation graven upon them, or else had a Promise of the Messiah interwoven with them.

Q. Upon that Passage, *Boaz said, At Meal-time Come thou hither, & Eat of the Bread, & dip thy Morsel in the Vinegar*? v. 14.
A. One cannot easily devise (as Dr. *Patrick* saies,)[4] how the ancient Jews came to apply these Words unto the Kingdome of the Messiah; and the Sufferings to be undergone by Him, in this World. But so it is, that the *Midrasch* makes, *Come thou hither*, to signify as much as, *Come to thy Kingdome*;[5] and the *Morsel dipt in Vinegar*, to signify the *Reproaches and Torments of the Messiah*. This is a Proof, that they expected a King that should be exposed unto such Sufferings as were endured by our Blessed Saviour; who saith, Psal. LXIX.21. *They gave me Vinegar to drink*. This perhaps was the Original of the Application of *Boaz* his Words to the *Messiah*. | [175v]

Q. What the *Bread*, and Why the *Vinegar*? v. 14.
A. By the *Bread*, the Hebrews understand, *A Roasted Ear of Corn*.
Aben Ezra saies, The *Vinegar* was used, *propter calorem*.[6]
The *Chaldee* Paraphrast, takes *Vinegar* to mean, *Cibos Aceto perfusos*.[7]

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3 Edward Polhill (1622–1694?), Church of England theologian and controversialist, *Speculum theologiae in Christo* (1678), p. 173.
4 Patrick, *A commentary* (649).
5 Patrick (*A Commentary* 649), citing the Midrash.
6 "On account of the heat." Aben Ezra is Abraham Ibn Ezra (1089–1164), Spanish-born Jewish philosopher, scientist, and exegete, in *Mikraot Gedeloth*, on Ruth 3:14.
7 "Foods drenched with vinegar." Chaldee Paraphrast in Walton, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (2:188).

Q. The Business of the Marriage between *Boaz* and *Ruth*, Well Illustrated, would at the same Time Illustrate, very many other passages of Sacred Scripture. One Mr. *Turner*, hath published a whole Book relating to that Business, which hee entitles, *Boaz* and *Ruth*.[8] Tis possible, you may not in all things concurr with him, yett wee may thankfully accept some things, that hee may offer, to explain the Oracles of God? v. 17.

A. I have Read the Book: and it hath somewhat helped mee, to Discourse on the Matter proposed.

There was a Custome in *Israel*, [Deut. 25.5.] That if an *Elder Brother died childless*, the *Younger Brother* was to marry his Widow; and the reason assigned was, That the *Name* of the Brother might not perish; for which Cause, the first Child born in this Wedlock, was not accounted the Offspring of the *Natural Parent*, but of the Deceased Kinsman, whose *Person* was by that Parent sustained.

That this Custome was much elder than the Delivery of the Law by *Moses*, is, evident from the Story of *Er*, and *Onan*, the Sons of *Judah*, successively married unto *Thamar*, and *Shelah* expected by her, of *Right*, for which Cause *Judah* said, When hee had permitted *Shelah*, to marry unto another, and hereupon *Thamar* odly arrested himself, Shee *hath been more Righteous than I*.

For a Man, to marry his Brothers Wife, in any other Case, was a thing severely Forbidden in the Law of Leviticus: [Chap. 18.16.] as a thing that had brought the Wrath of God upon other Nations, before the giving of the Law. The Man and Wife, being *One Flesh*, in the very First Institution of *Marriage*, the Degrees of *Affinity*, in point of *Marriage*, become as near as those of *Consanguinity*.

Now, after the first Matches, of *Adam*s Immediate Children, the Intermarriages of *Brothers* and *Sisters*, was alwayes Look'd upon, as unlawful.

Possibly, the antediluvian Crime thus described, [Gen. 6.2.] *The Sons of God, saw the Daughters of Men, that they were fair, and they took them Wives of all that they chose*; may refer to Incestuous Mixtures, especially of *Brothers* and *Sisters*, then Committed. The unnatural Crime of the *Sodomites*, in another Instance, just before the *Vengeance of Eternal Fire* came upon them, is mentioned. The Instance of the *Antediluvians*, is only this, *They married Wives, & were given in Marriage, till the Flood came*. It seems to intimate, *unlawful marriages*. And it is notably Confirmed from that Expression, [Num. 36.6.] *Lett them marry, to whom they think best*: The Meaning of which was, Lett them marry into their

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8 John Turner (b. c. 1650), *Boaz and Ruth a Disquisition upon Deut. 25, 5, concerning the Brothers propagating the Name and Memory of his elder Brother deceased* (1685).

own Family, unto their next Kinsmen, without regard unto the Restrictions of the Law. This exactly answers, to that, of, *Taking Wives of all that they Chose*. A Sin, which the Speech of *Abraham*, to *Abimelek*, afterwards, took for granted, as highly criminal.

Nevertheless, in this particular Case, of the *Elder-Brother*s dying *Childless*, it was not only, *Indulged*, but also *Challenged*, that the next akin, should marry his Widow. If the next akin Refused, it, hee must give a Tolerable Reason for the Refusal, and so the Demand was made still of the Next.

For indeed, The *Younger Brother*, was considered in the Nature of a *Servant* unto the elder. And the Præservation of the Inheritance, in the Line of the *First-born*, was reckoned a Matter of great Consequence & Equity, in Humane Society. The Son of the *Real Father*, was now to Inherit the Estate of the *Deceas'd*: It was not in the Power of his *Real Father* to alienate it from him, or divide it among the Children of another *Venter.*

Briefly, The *Patres-familiarum*, of old, had a Despotical and Arbitrary Power, over their Children and Servants; every Family was a little *Monarchy*, by itself, in which there lay no appeal from the Master of the House; his Will was the Measure by which all things were to bee Administred. This is Evident from the Case of *Judah*, condemning *Thamar*; & still more evident, from the Encounter of *Abraham*, having Three hundred and Eighteen Servants, in his House, with the other little kings; wherein *Abraham* seems as Absolute a King, as the best of them. Of this Power in *Parents* over their Children, there are notable Footsteps in the Roman Story. Hee of the *Horatij*, who kill'd his own Sister, for bewayling the Death of her Lover, an Enemy of *Rome*, when the *Duumviri* were going to condemn him, his old Father, now in danger of Losing all his Children, pleaded, *Se Filiam Jure Cæsam judicare, ni ità esset, patrio Jure in Filium animadversurum fuisse*. [Liv. L. 1.][9] *Sp. Cassius*, aspiring to bee King, was by his own Father condemned to Dy, & accordingly executed: *Livie*s Words are; *Sunt qui patrem auctorem ejus supplicij ferant, eum cognitâ domi Causâ verberâsse ac necâsse; peculiumque Filij ceriri consecravisse*.[10] And there is a Story of *L. Virginius*, not unlike to this, in the Third Book of that Roman Historian.[11]

Of the *Antiquity* of this power, wee have an Instance, in *Laban*s giving *Zilpah*, and *Bilhah*, two Bond-maids, with his Two Daughters, to *Jacob*. *Josephus*, for the Credit of the Tribes, descended from them, will not allow them to bee

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9 "He judged his daughter slain rightly; if it were not thus, he would have been about to punish his son by paternal right." Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* (1.26).

10 Spurius Cassius Viscellinus, or Vecellinus (d. 458 BCE). "There are those who report that the father was the author of his punishment, when the trial was decided at home, he scourged and killed [his son]; and consecrated the personal property of his son to Ceres." Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* (2.41), as cited in Turner, *Boaz and Ruth* (33).

11 Turner, *Boaz and Ruth* (33–34), citing Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* (lib. III; i.e., lib. II), who relates that Virginius, by prerogative of "paternal power, slew his own daughter, to free her from the lust of *Appius* the *Decemvir*."

[176v] *Bondmaids*. But this is not the only Mistake that *Josephus* has committed. | They were *Bondmaids*, and part of the Dowry given with their *Mistresses*, and the Tribes descended from them, were not in the Esteem of the Law, the Children of the *Bondmaids*, but of the *Mistresses*. *Hagar* was no other, in *Abraham*s Family. Yea, the *Husband*, was an absolute *Lord* over his Wife; *Sarah* so styled her Husband, even when shee thought no body heard her. Much more, was the *Father* so much, over his Children; and wee have some Remainders of it, in the Law about the *Rebellious Son*. [Deut. 21.18–{21}] Hence, t'was yett much more in the Power of the *Father*, to Disinherit his Children, and give the Birthright, from the Eldest unto another, as they pleased. Thus *Jacob* disinherited *Reuben*, for his Incest, and *Simeon* and *Levi*, for their barbarous Dealing with the *Shechemites*. Yea, *Judah* also underwent something of the *Disinherison*,[12] thro' some Displeasure conceived by *Jacob* against him: tis possible, because hee was the adviser of selling his Brother into *Egypt*. Indeed, the *Soveraignty*, yett remained unto *Judah*; but the Double Portion of the *Inheritance*, his Father took from him, and gave it unto *Joseph*. But if no Violence were done, to the Natural Succession, the *Elder Brother* did in right of Primogeniture Succeed, & was in his Fathers Life-time look'd upon as Heir Apparent unto his Fathers Authority, and in his Fathers Absence, his *Brethren* were Servants unto him, as much as hee was unto his Father. *Jacob*s Carriage to *Esau*, intimates it. See Gen. 49.3. and, Deut. 21.15, 16, 17. This Dominion of the *Elder* over the *Younger*, was as old, as the Fourth of *Genesis*.

Now, one great Instance, of the Subjection, Duty, and Homage, which the Younger paid unto the Elder in those Times, was This; That in Case the latter died without Issue, his *Widow* might Challenge the former, as her own, and late Husbands, *Servant*, to perform the part of an *Husband* in his Room. How this was nothing but an Acknowledgment of Subjection and Servitude, will bee Illustrated, from the Stories of *Sarah*, *Leah*, and *Rachel*, who finding themselves Barren, substituted their Handmaids, *Hagar*, *Zilpah*, and *Bilhah*, to conceive by their Husbands in their Stead; and the Children were accounted *Legitimate*, not inheriting in the right of the *Handmaids*, who were the Real and Proper, but of the *Mistresses*, who were the *Adoptive*, Mothers. Thus Ruth 4.11. Only *those two, Rachel, & Leah, did build the House of Israel.* Thus, Gen. 16.2. *Go in to my Maid, that I may obtain Children by her*; and Gen. 30.3. *Behold my Maid, go in unto her, and shee shall bear upon my knees, that I may have Children by her*. That Expression, *Shee shall bear upon my knees*, is allusive to the *Stools* of *Parturition*: [mentioned, Exod. 1.16.] The Knees of their *Mistresses*, were unto them, instead of those *Maieutical*[13] *Stools*; and by that Rite, of the True Mother Sitting on the Lap of the *Adoptive*, they became like *Two* Persons United into *One*, and

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12 The act of disinheriting.

13 Pertaining to midwivery; *see* Turner, *Boaz and Ruth* (78).

whatsoever befel the one at this Time, was hereby ascribed unto the other. Now, all this Custome, was founded in the entire Subjection of the Handmaid unto the *Mistress*; and what was done upon it, a little explains the Subjection of the *younger* Brother to the *Elder*, in the point now before us.

Wee may now come at the Case of *Boaz* and *Ruth*. *Elimelek* dies, and at his Death hee divides his Estate into Three parts. One part hee gives to *Naomi*, either until the Year of *Jubilee*, or perhaps as a *Jointure* during her Life. The rest, hee divided between his Two Sons *Mahlon*, and *Chilion*, whereof wee cannot say which was the Eldest, because they are mutually Named *First*. These, it may bee to acquire more, both of them, did marry to *Moabitish* Women; but in a little while, these also died. Hence the whole Estate, which seems to have been consigned unto *Naomi*, in Case the Two Brothers died without Issue, was now actually in her Possession; which is the Meaning of that Appeal made by *Boaz, Yee are Witnesses, that I have bought all that was Elimelechs, of the Hand of Naomi*. The next of kin, to whom the Inheritance, after the Jubilee, would of itself devolve, might Redeem it, at his pleasure, to Reunite it, unto the Inheritance of his Family, by allowing a valuable Consideration, for the Term which the present Possessor had in it: If hee would not Redeem it, then the next of Kin might do the same; yett so, as hee was only to enjoy it, until the said year of *Jubilee*, and then it must of course fall unto the First Refuser, as being the nearest of kin, according to the Mosaic Platform of Successions. It being but Reasonable, that the Widow, should bee alwayes considered from the Estate of the Deceased, it seems probable, *Naomi*'s Title here, determined not with the Year of *Jubilee*, but with her Life. Nor is it Improbable, That *Naomi* might bee an *Heiress*, like the Daughters of *Zelophehad*, [Num. 27. and 36.] and of *Sheshan*, [1. Chron. 2.34.] of *Eleazar*, [1. Chron. 23.22.] and *Acsah*, the Daughter of *Caleb*: In which Case, it would have been further hard, if shee, who brought an Accession of Riches, to the family, whereinto shee was matched, should have been herself left destitute.

It is likely, That *Boaz* was not Uncle, but Cousin-German to *Ruth*: for the Marriage of the *Uncle* to the *Niece*, is forbidden, [Lev. 18.14.] neither is there any one Instance to bee found, after the Delivery of the Law, wherein it was dispensed with. The *Uncle* to his *Niece*, is *Parentis loco*, which Bar to Matrimony ha's alwayes been so sacred, not only in the *Mosaic*, but also in the *Roman* Law, that it ha's never been broken down, without the Infamy of those, that gave the first Exemple of so fowl a Crime.

Furthermore; The Reason of Dispensations, in Marriages of this Nature, being founded in that Servitude and Subjection, which the Younger owes to the Elder, the Son of a younger Brother, might very properly marry the Relict, of him, who was the Son of the Elder; hee does in this, perform a Service to his Uncle, the Father of the Deceased, who was, by Interpretation of Law, a kind of a Father to him. | In short, *Naomi* passed over her Title, to the Inheritance of [177r]
Elimelech, unto her Daughter-in-Law, upon Condition, that hee of the Kindred,

who would accept of her Daughter for his Wife, should have the Inheritance together with her. Hereupon *Ruth* challenges *Boaz* for her Husband, and hee did not Refuse the Challenge; only t'was necessary that his elder brother should have the First Refusal. It is therefore agreed, That in the Presence of the Elders and the People, shee shall make her Application to him; which was done accordingly.

Writers have, with too much Nicety gone to distinguish between the *Jibboum*, and the *Geulah*; the, *Performing of the Husband's Part*, and the, *Redemption of the Inheritance*; where there was no *Inheritance*, there was no *Jibboum*, and where there was an *Inheritance*, there must bee a *Geulah*. Moreover,

In the *Leviratic Matrimony*, the Matter was not confined unto the next Brother of the Deceased Husband; Upon his Declining, or Deceasing, application was made unto the Next, and so on; and the LXX, tells us, t'was enough if hee were, ἐγγίζων, *Nigh of kin*, which a *Cousin-German* is.[14] All these, are in the Hebrew Idiom frequently called, *Achim*, i.e. ἀδέλφοι, or, *Brethren*.

It is upon the whole, unquæstionable, That the Marriage of *Boaz* and *Ruth*, was in pursuance of the Law, in Deut. 25.5. *The First-born that shee beareth, shall Succeed in the Name of his Brother, which is Dead, that his Name bee not putt out of Israel*. And perhaps, the First-born of *Ruth* was called, *Obed*, that is, A *Servant*, for to denote, his being a *Servant* unto the Deceased *Mahlon*, to continue his Name upon his Inheritance. Nor was it objected, by *Boaz*'s elder Brother, against the Marriage with *Ruth*, That shee was a *Moabitish* Woman, and it was the Law, Deut. 7.3. *Neither shalt thou make Marriages with them*; for shee was now Proselyted and Naturalized, & become as one of the Jewes themselves.

These Things will bee yett further Illustrated, by the Law concerning *Chance-medley*, or, *unwilling Slaughter*, in the Thirty fifth Chapter of *Numbers*. The *Revenger of Blood* might avenge the Death of the Deceased party on him that slew him. Now, who was the *Revenger of Blood*? *Josephus* tells us,[15] T'was *any of the Kindred, & none else*. Hee seems to take this, from the Seventy Interpreters; with whom, the Hebrew, *Goel Hadam*, was, ἀγχιστεύοντος τὸ αἷμα, and out of them, the Vulgar Latin renders it, *propinquus, cognatus, proximus occisi*.[16] Breefly, The *Marriage of the Widow*, belonged unto the same, that the *Revenging of the Blood* of the *Brother* did belong unto. Wee must not suppose, That the Man, who accidentally kill'd another, lay open to the Fury of every Man, who had the opportunity to *Revenge* it: And as there was no reason, why the *Heart* of Every man should bee *Hott* (as the Law Expresses it, Deut. 19.5. 6.) on this occasion; so neither did the Law countenance these *Revenges*, but only pardon

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14 LXX on Ruth 3:12, in Walton, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (2:188): *propinquum*.

15 Turner, *Boaz and Ruth* (109–110), citing Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* (4.8).

16 "Redeemer of blood." The Vulgate here reads *cognatus occisi*, which is literally "the relative of the slain one." Mather lists a string of Latin synonyms, however (perhaps representing different manuscript readings): "the one near of kin, the relative, the nearest of the slain one."

the Infirmity of a man, whose *Heart* would bee *Hott*, with *Wrath* or *Grief*, on such an occasion, if hee were *next akin* to the Party slain.

In fine; The Reason of this *vicarious Wedlock*, was for the Redemption of the Inheritance, or to hinder it, from going into another Tribe, and, (as much as may bee) into another House; and hence, whoever might Redeem the Inheritance, might also lawfully marry the Wife of the Deceased. Indeed, in the Law of *Deuteronomy*, only the *Brother* is mentioned: But that is, because it firstly & cheefly belonged unto the *Brother*; and, as, *Denominatio sumitur à parte potiori*,[17] it most usually so came to pass, that it was a *Brother*, which did accept the Challenge of the Widow. And probably, hee had thereby this Advantage, that during his own Life, hee had the Management, and the Disposal of this Estate, for the benefit of all his Family; tho' at his Death hee must leave it as hee found it, & nott cutt off the *Entail* from the *Eldest Son* of the *Adoptive Bed*.

The Imperial Lawes did severely Forbid the Marriage of a *Brothers Wife*, which was used among the Heathen, on a Pretence mentioned, in the Imperial Rescript of *Zeno*; *Quidam Egyptiorum idcircò mortuorum Fratrum sibi conjuges copulaverint, quòd post illorum mortem mansisse Virgines dicebantur,– (quòd certis legum conditoribus Placuit)*.[18] Some think, *Moses* to have been one of these *Legum Conditores*; and no meaner a Man than R. *Shammai* among the Jewes, and all of the *Samaritans*, understood the *Mosaic* Law, to extend no further, than the Case of such a *Virgin-Widow*.[19]

This was doubtless a Mistake; And so is that of some learned Men, That *all the Children* Begotten by the near kinsman, on the Brothers Widow, were look'd upon, as the Children of the Party Deceased; and that they had all of them, a Share in the *Inheritance*. This Belong'd only unto the *First-born*; only if the *First-born* Died, then the Next Brother succeeded, as an *Adoptive Son*; and so the Third, on the Death of the Second.

But Lett it bee Remembred, That in this Matter, none but a *Male*, could bee reckoned the *First-born*; as indeed none but *such*, fell under the Stroke of the *Destroying Angel* in *Egypt*. For, that General Phrase, of *Opening the Womb*, used for the *First-born* of *Israel*, which were on that Occasion sanctified, is to bee Restrained unto *Sons*, which are just before mentioned: as is evident, from the *Levites*, which were singled out from the rest of the Tribes, and sett apart instead of the *First-born* of *Israel*: [Num. 3.12, 13.] now the *Levites* being *sett apart*, signified, their *ministring to the Sanctuary*, & their doing the *Service of*

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17 "The name is selected from the greater father."

18 I.e., the Emperor Zeno (474–91 CE). The Latin comes from *Codicis Iustiniani*, the Code of Justinian. Mather seems to be quoting from memory since the words are not exact, but his Latin translates: "Certain Egyptians have, therefore, joined to themselves in marriage wives of deceased brothers, because after their death they were said to have remained virgins, which was acceptable to certain founders of the laws."

19 Turner, *Boaz and Ruth* (118–19), citing R. Shammai, 1st-century BCE Jewish scholar.

the Tabernacle: whereto no *Women* were ever Admitted: And *Women* of the Tribe of *Levi*, might marry to Husbands of any other Tribe; which united them so strongly to that other Tribe, that if *They* had been *sett apart* for the *Levitic* Service, they had herein been criminally alienated from it. The Daughters of *Zelophehad*, were hindred from marrying into another Tribe, not because it was unlawful or unusual, but only for the Præservation of the Inheritance.[20] The Blessed Virgin, of the Tribe of Levi, was married unto one of the Tribe of *Judah*; but it is a Mistake of *Epiphanius* hereupon, that no Tribes might Inter-marry, [177v] but those of *Levi* and *Judah*; for *Philo* himself confesses, That any but | the *High-Priest* might marry any of the Jewish Nation, whom they pleased.[21]

Moreover, The *Passeover*, which was a Sacrifice in the room of the *First-born*, might be none but a *Male*. And none but a *Male*, among the Children of *Aaron*, might eat of the Remainder of the *Meat-offering*. [Lev. 6.18.] Yea, Tis evident, from the whole Course of the Scripture, That if a *Female* were *Born First*, yett not shee, but the *First-Male* after her, was the *First-born* in the account of the Family: And hence a *Female*, if there were any *Male* surviving, at the Death of the Parent, was so far from a *Double Portion*, which belonged unto the *First-born*, that shee might not Inherit at all. [Num. 27.8.]

But Suppose, a Man had but one Child, & that a *Daughter*, was not this to bee taken into the List of the *First-born*? I answer, *No*: *Women* have their Names of *Nashim*, from *Oblivion*; but *Men*, were *Zecarim*, from *Remembrance*: Only *Men* carried on the memory of their Fathers, in their Inheritance. The Inheritance fell not unto a *Daughter*, but unto the next akin: The Daughters of *Zelophehad*, are the first Instance of Womens Inheriting in the Sacred Story; and it appears then to have been a New Thing, as never heard of before. Tis true; After the Law given on that Occasion, a Daughter was made capable of Inheriting in some such Case as this; either, If the Wife Deceased before her Husband, who left only Female Issue behind him: or, If at her Husbands Decease, shee were past the Years of Child-bearing: or, Thirdly, If marrying again, in Pursuance of the *Leviratical Sanction*, shee had no Issue, or none but Female, or if upon the Refusal of the Kindred, shee married into another House. Whereas, if shee refused to marry into her own Family, shee was to leave the Inheritance behind her, & lett it go to the next akin, to whom upon her Death without Issue, it would have descended: shee was as *Josephus* expresses it, Τοὐ κλήρον ἐν τῇ πατρῶα φυλῇ καταλιπεῖν.[22]

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20 Num. 36:6–7.

21 Turner, *Boaz and Ruth* (129), citing Epiphanius, *Adversus Haereses* (78); and Philo, *The Special Laws* (I, §§ XIX–XX).

22 "The inheritance remains in the paternal tribe." Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaica* (4:175).

Lett it bee Remembred, That Mr. *Seldens* observation, out of *Maimonides* is True,[23] That the Law of the *Leviratus* was to bee understood only of the *Brothers Germans*, or, of the Kindred of the *Fathers Side*; the *Maternal Consanguinity* was not at all Concerned in it. None but the *paternal Consanguinity* could have a Title to the same Inheritance; & the Intention of this Marriage, being, *To Raise up the Name of the Dead upon his Inheritance*, it must accordingly bee thus understood.

Against this being the Case of *Boaz* and *Ruth*, tis objected, That in *Deuteronomy*, the Ceremony of *pulling off the Shooe*, signified as much as the Womans Renouncing and Disclaiming her pretensions to the Brother of her Deceased Husband; but here in *Ruth*, tis nothing else, but a Solemn Rite of taking Possession, or Dominion. To this, it may bee answered, That these are two Imperfect Relations of the whole Formality. From that in *Deuteronomy*, wee Learn what the Woman was to do, in Case the Man refused to accept her Challenge; *Shee was to pull off his shooe*, and *spitt in his Face*;[24] On the other Side, From this in *Ruth*, wee learn, what the Man was to do, in Case hee did accept the Challenge of the Woman: hee was to pull off his own Shooe, & so Redeem the Inheritance, by taking the Wife, of his deceased Kinsman, before them all.

Now, this *pulling off the Shooe*, in the Eastern Countreyes, & Early Ages of the World, was an External Expression of Divine worship & Honour. [See Exod. 3.5. and Josh. 5.15. Hence, the *Turks* at this day, go barefoot, into their *Moschs*; and *Juvenal* saies, t'was the Custome of all the Jewes at their Feasts:

Observant ubi Festa mero pede Sabbata
Reges.][25]

The Reason, why the woman *pull'd off the Shooe*, of the Refuser to continue the Name of his Brother, was, that shee did by that Symbol appeal to God, & call Him to Witness that shee had done, what shee was, as the Servant of her late Husband, obliged to do: and by *Spitting in his Face*, at the same Time, shee Imprecated upon the Refuser, the Curses, which were the Reward of Disobedience to the Law of God. On the other Side, when the Man here *pull'd off his own Shooe*, & gave it unto *Ruth*, it was a public owning in the Presence of God, and the World, that hee did accept the Challenge of the Woman, & would Redeem the Inheritance.

Nor yett are wee to confine the *pulling off the Shooe* wholly to this one Signification; for *Shooes* never being used among them, except when they walked abroad, the giving the *Shooe* to another, was a Symbolical Representation, of the Passing of the Inheritance of Land, from one unto another. Hence in the Sales of

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23 Turner, *Boaz and Ruth* (152), citing Maimonides, *Jabom Vechalitza* (cap. I), out of John Selden, *De Successionibus ad Leges Ebraeorum* (1638), p. 100.

24 Deut. 25:9.

25 "Where kings keep festal Sabbaths with bare feet." Juvenal, *Satires* (6.158).

Land, from One to another, the Inheritance is aid to *Rise* from one to another. See Gen. 23.17, 18.

But it is here Said, *This was the Practice in Former Time*: An Intimation, that it was now Disused: Tho' this Book was doubtless written before the *Babylonian* Captivity. And it is Certain, the Jewes do not now use that ancient Practice; nay, they expressly forbid it, under Pain of Excommunication, as both *Fagius* and *Selden* do assure us.[26] The particular Time, when this Practice expired, Seems to have been at the Division of *Israel* and *Judah*, into Two Kingdomes, by the Sedition of *Jeroboam*. Hee then Expelled the *Levites* out of his Dominions; and they being driven out of the other Ten Tribes, twas Impossible the Levitical Cities of[27] the rest should hold them all; Hence they shifted for themselves upon their Industry among other Jewes, & enjoy'd Land of Inheritance, if by Industry they Could obtain it. This brought an Alteration upon the Distribution of Lands, in the whole Territory of *Judah*; and hereupon ceased the Usage of the *Leviratic* Matrimony.

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26 Turner, *Boaz and Ruth* (183), citing Paul Fagius on Deut. 25:9 (*see* Pearson, *Critici Sacri*, col. 1314); and *Selden*, *De Successionibus* (cap. XIV, pp. 93–105).

27 MS: "on."

Q. The Name of *Ramathaim-Zophim*? v. 1.
A. *Ramathaim* is in the Dual Number, probably because built upon Two Hills; & so it appeared like a Double City. The Title of *Zophim* seems added; because, being an High Place, there was a *Watch-Tower* in it; where, upon Occasion, Men were sett to observe, who approached from all Parts round about. Thus Dr. *Patrick*.[1] Or, as *Jerom*, & others think, Here was a *School of the Prophets*, who were wont to seat themselves in such Places, as were far from Company, & fitt for Contemplation.[2] Thus, the Chaldee Paraphrase translates these Words, *There was a Man of Ramathaim, a Disciple of the Prophets*; who in the Book of *Ezekiel* are called *Watchmen*.[3] Some think, That from hence came the Greek word Σοφος;[4] which was at the First, a Title of Astronomers, who from High Places took their Observation of the Stars.[5]

Q. Wee find *Eli* to bee the *High-Priest*; How came the High-Priesthood thus translated from the Posterity of *Eleazar* to *Eli*, who was of the House of *Ithamar*? {v. 3, 9.}
A. That *Eli* was descended from *Ithamar* the second Son of *Aaron*, appears from hence: *Abiathar*, who was Deposed from the High-Priesthood, by *Solomon*, was of the Posterity of *Eli*: [1. King. 2.27.] And of *Ahimelech,* in the House of that *Abiathar*, tis expressly said, Hee *was of the Sons of Ithamar*. [1. Chron. 24.3.] Now, How the High-priesthood came to bee transferred from the Posterity of *Eleazar*, to *Eli*, who was of the House of *Ithamar*, cannot bee cleared by any Place of Scripture that I have yett considered. But wee may Conjecture that it so fell out, because the *High-Priests* of *Eleazar*s Family had some Way or other, highly offended the God of Heaven, in the Dayes of the former Judges.

The *Series* of the *High Priests* was this. [1. Chron. 6. 4.] *Aaron, Eleazar, Phinehas, Abishua, Bukki, Uzzi*, *Zerajah*, *Meraioth,* all descendents from *Eleazar*; in whose Family the *High-Priesthood* continued seven Generations: From thence the High-Priesthood went unto Eli; to *Eli* succeeded to him *Phineas*, to him *Achitub*, to him *Ahimelech*, to him *Ahiah*, to him *Abiathar*, who was Deposed

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1 Simon Patrick, *A Commentary upon the two books of Samuel* (1703), p. 2.
2 Patrick, *A Commentary* (2–3), citing Jerome, probably the Carolingian Pseudo-Jerome's *Quaestiones in Samuelis,* in loc.
3 Ezek. 3:17, 33:7.
4 "Wise," "clever," or "skilled."
5 Patrick, *A Commentary* (3), citing the Chaldee Paraphrast; *see* Walton, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (2:192): *Et fuit vir unus de Ramatha ex discipulis prophetaru*.

by *Solomon*, [1. King. 2.27.] that hee might fulfil the Prophecy concerning the House of *Eli*, that it should bee so. [1. Sam. 2.31, 35.]

But in this Succession, there are some Difficulties that want a little further Clearing.

If you will turn to our Illustrations on Mark. 2.26. you will there see the Catalogue of the *High-Priests*, in the House of *Eli*, adjusted; and the Notable Performance of the Divine Threatnings against the House of *Eli*, declared and explaned.[6]

Q. *Hannah*s Vow begins with, *O Lord of Hosts*? v. 11.

A. And is not this the First Time, that this glorious Term occurs in the Sacred Oracles? It is in *Beracoth* recited as a Remark of R. *Eleazar*. *A Die quo Dius S. B. mundum suum creavit, nemo fuit qui Deum S. B. appelavit*, Dominum Exercituum, *donec Hannah venit, et dum ità appellavit*.[7]

See our Illustration, on, 1. Sam. 2.10.[8]

762.

Q. What was *Hannah*s Vow about her Son *Samuel*, *I will give him to the Lord, all the Dayes of my Life, & there shall no Rasour come upon his Head*. And how was it fulfilled? v. 11.

A. The Meaning of that *Vow* was, That the Child should not stay till the usual Years of other *Levites*, namely Twenty five or Thirty Years of Age; but that hee should bee brought unto the *Tabernacle*, & there Trained up, even from his Childhood. All which while also, hee should continue under the strict Vow of a *Nazarite*, which the *Levites* were not ordinarily bound unto. As to the Power of her *Vow*, wee must understand, that shee only vowed the doing of *what in her lay*, that it might bee *thus*, if the Child were by no *Defect* made Incapable, and were willing when hee came unto Years of Discretion himself, to take the *Vow* upon himself; and provided likewise, that her Husband consented hereunto, without which her *Vow* was of no Force at all. Indeed it is evident, in the Sequel of the Story, That *Samuel* did not alwayes continue at the Tabernacle, but went from Year to Year in Circuit, Judging of *Israel*. Whence, tis probable, That after hee became a *Judge*, a special Dispensation from God freed him from the *Vow* of his Mother. The *Urim*, that settled the Place of a *Judge* upon him, tis likely, did also direct him what Liberties to use in that Place.

[178v] | It is remarkable, that tho' *Korah* had murmured at the *Priesthood* & *Magistracy* being where it was, & was destroy'd for so murmuring, yett one of

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6 See *BA* entry on Mark 2:26.

7 Mather cites Rabbi Eleazar from the *Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Berakoth* (31b). "On the day which the Divine One created his world, there was no one who called him God, Lord of the multitude, until Hannah came forth, and then called him thusly."

8 See below, p. 248.

his Line, is now raised up, in *Samuel*, wonderfully to Repair both, when they were decay'd.

~~763.~~

Q. The Rash Censure of *Eli* upon *Hannah*, as if shee had been *Drunk*; what Remark shall one make upon it? v. 13.
A. I have somewhere mett with this Remark; That old *Eli*, who was so mild about the horrible Sacriledges & Adulteries of his own Sons, whereof all *Israel* rang, did most uncharitably misconstrue poor *Hannah*'s Devotion, and upon a very feeble Ground hee built the heavy Charge of Drunkenness against her. Thus, they who are most *Indulgent* unto their own, are most sharply *Censorious* of others. As the *Hedghog*, soft and smooth within, ha's Prickles that sharply pierce into all without.

~~764.~~

Q. Remarks on *Ramah*? v. 19.
A. It was called also *Ramathaim-Zophim*, It being scituated in a Place called, *Zuph*, or, *Zophim*, in Mount *Ephraim*, and so distinguished from other Places, called also *Ramah*.

According to *Eusebius* and *Jerom*, it was near *Diospolis*, or *Lydda*; And the same that is called *Arimathæa* in the Gospel.[9]

It is Now an open Town, under the Government of the Bashaw of *Gaza*. It ha's in it about Three Thousand Souls, as *Le Bruyn* guesses, as well Christians as Turks.[10] *Thevenot* sais Their Doors are not three feet high; that the *Arabs* may not ride into their Houses.[11]

Q. In the ancient Oracles, wee find ever now and then, a famous and worthy Son, born of a *Barren Mother*; such were *Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, Sampson*, & *Samuel*; what should bee the Intention of this Matter? v. 19.
A. Might it not bee to facilitate the Beleef of the *Incarnation* of the Son of God? The *Messiah* was to come; At His Coming, Hee must bee Born of a *Virgin*; His Birth must bee, of the most *Unlikely Mother* in the world. Now to Introduce this, many an *Hero* in *Israel*, must bee brought forth, by a very *Unlikely Mother*.

Q. The Etymology of *Samuel*? v. 20.
A. *Saul-meel*,[12] signifies, *Asked of God*. This is contracted into *Samuel*.

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9 Eusebius, *Onomasticon* (32.22); and Jerome, in his translation of the *Onomasticon,* in loc.
10 Cornelis de Bruyn (1652–1727), Dutch artist and traveler, *A Voyage to the Levant* (1702), p. 179.
11 Jean de Thévenot, 17th-century French naturalist and traveler, *The Travels of Monsieur de Thevenot into the Levant* (1687), p. 181.
12 שְׁאֻלְתִּיו מֵיְהוָה

4803.

Q. *Samuel*s Mother will have him, to *appear before the Lord, and Abide there Forever*? How long might be this, *Forever*? v. 22.
A. The Jewes expound it of the *Ævum Levitarum*. Till he should be Fifty Years old.

Q. *She gave the Child Suck, until she weaned him*.] How long first? v. 23.
A. Several Years. *Lyra* will have it, no less than *six* or *seven*.[13]

Q. How is it said, *As long as he liveth, he shall be lent unto the Lord*? v. 28.
A. The Words may be translated,[14] *All the Dayes that he shall be desired for the Lord*. That is, As long as God shall think fitt to employ him in His House. Which was, till He made him a Judge. [1. Sam. 7.15.]

Q. Will you not reckon *Samuel*, among the *Types* of our Lord Jesus Christ? v. 28.
A. Yes, why not? *Samuel*, that was Born of a *Barren*, was a Figure of our Lord, who was Born of a *Virgin*, Mother.

Samuel, that was a *Priest*, & a *Prophet*, & a *Ruler*, was a Figure of our Lord, who is all *That*, & more than all *That*, unto the Church of God.

Samuel that was *Favour'd* by, and *Faithful* to, both God and Man, was a Figure of our Lord, who was *more* eminently *so*.

But as Men oftentimes Fret at, and cast off, the Government of our Lord; the Jewes of old were not for a *Jesus*, but for a *Cæsar*: so did they deal by *Samuel* of old; and tho' when they had become, as afterwards they did, they lost the *Urim* of the Lord, yett most passionately they *Asked a King*: and *Kings* they had, for about Four Hundred years.[15]

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13 Patrick (*A Commentary* 13), citing Nicolas de Lyra, *Postilla Super Totam Bibliam* (vol. 1), in loc.
14 לַיהוָה שְׁאוּל הוּא הָיָה אֲשֶׁר כָּלֹהַיְמִים
15 For Mather's deletion, *see* App. A.

Q. Lett us have a Key to the Song of this *gracious Woman*? v. 1.
A. Tho' the Song was occasion'd by the Birth of a Son from a steril Mother, yett the *Prophetic Spirit*, which possessed the gracious Woman on this Occasion, had in View the Birth of another. And if you compare the Song of *Hannah* with the Song of *Mary*, you may easily conclude, who that other was. There is a *King* celebrated in the Song; whereas there was no such thing as a *King*, in the Time of *Hannah*; Tis MESSIAH the *King* that is here expected. We have here the Joy of the Christian Church, on the Birth of the promised Redeemer. We have the Glories of the Divine Perfections, which were discovered in Him, and just Rebukes on the Blasphemies of His Enemies. We have the Rejection of the *Jews*, that followed; and the Vocation of the *Gentiles*: Among whom the *Fruitful Church* is very Remarkably distinguished with Repetitions of *seven Periods*: we have the Redemption to be wrought for & brought to the Church, at the Time of the End; when there shall come on a Resurrection of the Dead, with marvellous GOD, and His Government among the Nations.

Q. *Lett not Arrogance come out of your Mouth*.] v. 3.
A. The *Targum* interprets it, *Forbear Reproaches*. The Hebrew Word,[17] signifies, *Hard Words*.

Q. *They that were Hungry, ceased*.] What? v. 5.
A. To complain.

| [179v]
~~1516~~{?}.

Q. Unto what may refer that Passage, in the Song of *Hannah*, *The Lord killeth & maketh alive; Hee bringeth down to the Grave, & bringeth up*? v. 6.
A. This whole Song, is a most Illustrious Prophecy of our *Messiah*. And the Song is indeed, the first Paragraph of the Bible, wherein Hee is called, *The Messiah*. Here tis, that this glorious Name of, Christ, first occurs unto us.

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16 A quarto-sized leaf.
17 עָתַק From Patrick, *A Commentary* (17), Mather makes mention of the *Targum of Samuel*. *See* Walton, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (2:196); the *Biblia Rabbinica*: Yaakov ben Hayyim, *Mikraot Gedolot* (1524), vol. 2, at 1 Sam. 2:3; *Samuel: A New English Translation*, 2 vols., ed. A.J. Rosenberg. *See* also Drusius's explanation of the Targum here, with a different reading (Pearson, *Critici Sacra* 2:2206).

Now, the Clauses here before us, are evidently, a Prophecy concerning the *Death*, and the *Resurrection*, of our Lord Jesus Christ. One saies well, *Hæc ad Christi Descensum ac Resurrectionem accommodantur*.[18]

And why not, of our own *Resurrection* also?

Q. The MESSIAH being mention'd first in the Song of *Hannah*, is it not an Intimation, that he may be intended in the *Song*? v. 10.

A. *Austin* in his Book, *De Civitate Dei* [L. 17. c. 4.] saies, "Who doth not see, that the Spirit of this Woman, (whose Name was *Anna*, which signifies *Grace*) prophesied of the Christian Religion; the *City of God*, whose King & Founder is CHRIST; and of the *Grace* of God, from which the *Proud* are estranged, that they may fall; but the *Humble* are filled with it, that they may *Rise*."[19]

Dr. *Patrick* saies, This Prophetess being the first that mentions the MESSIAH in this Song; with which the Song of the Blessed Virgin hath a Perfect Resemblance, one cannot but think, that *Hannah* had a Respect unto something Higher than the Quarrel between her & *Peninnah*, or the Son which God had now given her, or the great Acts of *David*. The Words are too magnificent, & significant for so low a Sense. And therefore *Kimchi* upon these Words, ingenuously acknowledges, *The King here mentioned is the MESSIAH of whom* Hannah *spake, either by Prophecy, or by Tradition*.[20]

[180r] |

Q. Where did the *Priests Servant* use to come, with his *three-tined Flesh-hook*? v. 13.

A. The Person who brought the *Peace-Offering*, having the largest Share in the *Sacrifices*, there were certain Rooms, when the *Temple* was built, both in the Court of the Women, & of the Men, wherein they had Liberty to *Boil the Flesh*, in order to Feasting with God, at His own House. This was afterwards imitated by the Christians, in their *Feasts of Charity*. The like Rooms there were at the *Tabernacle*, in the *outer Court* of it. *L'Empereur*, in his Annotations on *Codex Middoth*, will carry you into them.[21]

Q. What was the *Linen Ephod* worn by *Samuel*, while he was yett a *Child*? v. 18.

A. We don't read of any peculiar Garments appointed for the *Levites* in their Ministration, but only for the *Priests*. And this was none of them. The *Ephod*

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18 Not further identified. "These things are applied to the descent and resurrection of Christ."

19 Patrick, *A Commentary* (21), citing Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* (17.4).

20 Patrick, *A Commentary* (21), citing Kimhi, quoted in Münster, *Hebraica Biblia* (252).

21 Patrick, *A Commentary* (24), citing Constantijn L'Empereur, early 17th-century Dutch Hebraist and theologian, *Hoc est Talmudis Babylonici Codex Middoth* (1630), cap. 2, § 6, pp. 80–81.

also worn by the *Priests*, was very different from that which was ordered for the *High-Priest*, alone. That *Ephod* which was worn by the ordinary Priests, or any other Persons, is, for Distinction-sake, alwayes called, *Ephod Bad*, An *Ephod made of fine Linen*.[22] It was rather an *Honorary*, than a *sacred* Vestment. It was a short Garment, hanging on the Shoulders, down to the Middle of the Back; but without any Girdle, or curious Work belonging to it. Having some Likeness, to that of the High-Priests, it was used by Inferiour Priests, that they might be Respected the more, as the Ministers of God. Other great Persons also used it, on some solemn Occasions, as *David* did.[23] *Eli* ordered it for *Samuel*, because he saw a great Appearance of God in him.

See *Braunius de Vest. Sacerd.* L. 2. C. 6.[24]

It seems no improbable Conjecture (as Dr. *Patrick* adds) of *Fortunatus Scacchus*, that from hence was derived, the *Latus Clavus* among the *Romans*, which was a Vestment proper to their *Senators* and *Præsidents*.[25] It was first brought from the *Hetruscans*, by *Tullius Hostilius*, when he conquered them, whose Language agrees much with the Hebrew.

Q. But *Samuels little Coat*, made by his Mother? v. 19.

A. The *Ephod* probably was provided at the public Charge. *Hannah* was at the Charge for her Sons ordinary wearing; probably, the *little Coat*, was woven with her own Hands, as the Tradition is, that, the Seamless Coat of our Saviour, was by the Hands of the Blessed Virgin.[26]

In *Joma*, the Doctors say, A Priest might use a Garment in his Ministry, which was made by his *Mother*.[27]

[▽Insert from 181r] [▽181r]

Q. May not here be a proper Opportunity, to give some general Account of the *Habits* used among the *Hebrews*? v. 19.

A. The ancient *Hebrews* usually went bare-headed; except when they were in *Mourning*, or in the *Temple*, or in the *Synagogue*. To *pray covered*, they thought shewed more of Respect unto the Majesty of GOD, as testifying, that they thought themselves unworthy to look up in His presence.

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22 Ex. 28:6, 8, 15; 39:2, 5, 8.

23 1 Chron. 15:27.

24 Patrick, *A Commentary* (26), citing Braunius, *Id est Vestitus sacerdotum Hebraeorum* (lib. II, cap. VI).

25 Patrick, *A Commentary* (26), citing Fortunatus Scacchus, *Sacrorum Elaeochrismaton Myrothecium* (lib. III, cap. XLIII).

26 Patrick, *A Commentary* (27), referring to John 19:23.

27 Patrick, *A Commentary* (27), citing *Massecheth Ioma* (1580), cap. III; and referencing Braunius, *Id est Vestitus sacerdotum Hebraeorum* (lib. I, cap. XVII). On Mather's addition to the MS at this point, *see* App. B.

To guard themselves from Wind and Weather, they wrapped their Heads in their upper Garments.

Quære, About the *Melota*, in the History of *Elijah*.[28]

We find the Three Hebrew Young Men cast into the *Fiery Furnace* with their *Hatts* on.[29] But it may be supposed, that they wore those in Compliance with the Custom of the *Babylonians*. For some Ages afterwards, we find *Antiochus Epiphanes* introducing the Habits and Fashions of the *Græcians* among the *Jews*; and as the *Maccabæan* History relates, he brought the Chief Young Men to his Humour, and made *them Wear an Hatt*.

In both of the Talmuds, there are enumerated *eighteen* several *Garments*, with which the *Jew* is clothed from Head to Foot; But those which were more properly called *Garments*, and were putt upon the *Body*, were these.

A *woollen Shirt* was worn first, next the Skin. Tho' some had *Shirts* of *Linen*, in which they lay; as being most clean and wholesome.

Next unto this was their *Coat* or *Talith*; which reached unto their Feet; and was counted Modest & Honourable among them. And this made the Indignity the greater, that was offered by the King of *Ammon* to *David*s Embassadours: Their Garments were so cutt off, as to render their Nakedness visible; for they wore no Breeches. To prevent the dangling down & the dagling[30] of Garments that were so long, when they took a *Journey*, or when they did any *Office* in the House, or when they eat the *Passover*, their Manner was to *gird up* their Clothes about them. Hence, a *Girdle* is used in the Scripture, to signify *Strength*, and *Readiness* for *Action*: And in it, they carried their *Money*. These Coats were Collared at the Neck, and Fringed at the Bottom.

Over this they had a *Cloak*, or *Mantle* cast over them, when they went abroad. And the poorer Sort used this for a Blanket or Coverlid, when they lay down to Sleep. God therefore by a special Command provided, That tho' Men might pawn their *upper Clothes*, yett at Night such a *Pledge* was no longer to be detained, because it was, [Exod. 22.26, 27.] *The Raiment for their Skin, wherein they slept*.

Their *Legs* were generally Bare; Tho' they say, some of them wore a Sort of
[181v] | *Buskins*, that were laced about the small, & reached up to the Calf of the Leg.

Upon their *Feet* they wore *Sandals*; which had *Soles*, but no upper Leathers, except the Strings by which they were fastened over the Instep. And from hence came the frequent Washings and Anointings of their Feet, in the *eastern* Parts; to cool them, & sweeten them, & cleanse them from the Gravel which the Openings of the *Sandals* had lett in. When they took off the *Sandals*, the Straps were untied; which was the proper Business of their Servants. They were made

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28 I.e., Elijah's mantle; see below, p. 556.

29 Dan. 3.

30 I.e. soiling or wetting a garment by dragging it though mud or wet grass.

at first out of *Raw Hides*; but afterwards of *Dressed Leather*. *Byanæus*, who ha's written, *De Calceis Hebræorum*, says, They obliged the *Tanners*, to live without the Walls of the City; because handling Parts of Dead Cattle, they were Subject unto many Pollutions.[31] If the Word be translated right, in *Ezekiel*s time, the *Skins* of *Badgers*, were esteemed the *finest Leather*.[32]

Not only *Sandals*, but *Shoes*, were in Use among the Jews; tho' tis not easy to prove, that they were hollow & covered all the Foot. The *Talmuds* have so stated the Difference.[33] The *Shoes* were of more delicate use: The *Sandals* were more ordinary, & fitter for Service. The *Shoe* was of *Softer* Leather; the *Sandal*, of *Harder*. There were *Sandals* that had *woodden* Soles, & the upper Part *Leather*, fastened unto it by Nails. There were *Sandals* made of *Rushes*, or the Bark of Palm-trees; and so open both Ways, that one might putt in his Foot, either before or behind. Those of a violet or purple Colour, were the most valued, and worn by the young Ladies & People of Distinction.

Tho' the *Shape* is uncertain, yett the *Use* of *Shoes* is very ancient. We find it in the Days of *Abraham* [Gen. XIV.23.] And in early times, the Places that were made Holy by the Divine Presence, might not be entred with *Shoes*; because they might be defiled, by the Dirt that stuck unto them. In the *Temple* many ages afterwards, the Priests officiated *Bare-foot*. The *eastern People* all came so into their *Holy Places*. *Justin Martyr* thinks, they learnt it of *Moses* at the Burning Bush.[34] But our *Mede* more Justly thinks, *Moses* did not give the Beginning to this Rite, but the Patriarchs had it before him.[35] We find no Command in the Law of *Moses*, for the Priests to perform the Service of the Tabernacle without *Shoes*; but they did it from Immemorial Custome. And so do the *Mahometans*, and other Nations at this day.

It is *Bochart*s Opinion, that the *Israelites* used no *Shoes* in *Egypt*; but being to take a long Journey thro' a rough way in the Wilderness, God commanded them to eat the *Passover* with *Shoes* on their feet; and these very *Shoes* decay'd not in all their Travels for the Forty Years ensuing.[36] There is no need for our falling with *Grotius* into the Conceit of the Jewish Writers, That their *Shoes* (and also

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31 Antonius Bynæus (1654–98), Dutch Reformed scholar and teacher, *De Calceis Hebraeorum* (1682).

32 Ezek. 16:10.

33 From John Lightfoot, *In Evangelium Matthaei* (1658), cap. 10, p. 152, Mather cites the *Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Yebamoth* 102a. Patrick (*A Commentary* 27) also refers to the Talmud, but here to Yoma.

34 Justin Martyr, 2nd-century CE Palestinian Christian theologian, *First Apology* (cap. LXII).

35 Joseph Mede (1586–1639), English biblical scholar and naturalist and fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, *The Reverence of Gods House* (1638), § III, pp. 35–36; rep. *Works* (1648), pp. 102–03.

36 Bochart, possibly *Hierozoicon* (pars prior, lib. III, cap. XXX, cols. 98–89).

Clothes) grew with their Bodies;[37] For the *Shoes* of them who died might serve their Children, when they were become fitt for them.

This was the *general Habit* of the Jews: yett, no doubt *several Vocations* were distinguished with some Difference of Apparel; Impossible now to be described.

[182r] | The[38] Habit of *Women* was likewise adapted unto their Quality. But the same Fashion of *Apparel* seems to belong unto *Maids*, and *Wives*, and *Widows*. Only a *Wife* wore a *Veil* upon her Head, in token of *Subjection*. And a *Widow* [2. Sam. XIII.18.] had a Garment that was a Token of her Widowhood.

Persons of Distinction, that were Virgins, had a particular Vestment of *many Colours*; which, tis thought, reached unto the Ancles, with long Sleeves, down to the Wrists, and had a Border at the Bottom, and a Facing at the hands, of a Colour different from the Garment: It was likewise embroidered with Flowers; a Thing which was of old counted Noble as well as Beautiful.

Before the *Babylonish* Captivity, the Jewish Women arrived at the utmost Excess & Extravagancy in Apparel. The Prophet *Isaiah* gives a long List of their Trinketts;[39] which particularly to describe, would be as difficult, as to explain the Garments used in *England* Five Hundred Years ago; such as, *Steblots, Palt-Cocks, Haketers, Tabards, Court-Pies, Chevesailes,* and *Gipsers*.

Common *Prostitutes* were known among the *Jews* by their Habits; particularly, They wore nothing on their Heads, and painted their Eye-brows with *Stibium*; which dilated the Hair, and made the Eyes look black & beautiful. [Prov. II.10. 2. King. XIX.30.][40]

[△] [△Insert ends]

416.

Q. How do you take those Words of *Eli*, *If one Man Sin against another, the Judge shall Judge him*? v. 25.

A. Tis amiss to translate the Word /אלהים/ here as if it signified, an Humane *Judge*.[41] The Name comes from the old Word אלה, to *Worship*, to *Adore*; tis the proper Name of our glorious God; & Hee wore it before there was yett any other

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37 Hugo Grotius (1583–1645), Dutch Arminian-Remonstrant jurist and theologian, *Annotata ad Vetus Testamentum* (vol. I), on Ex. 16:35.

38 The remainder of the entry is written on a small sheet glued to L. 181.

39 Is. 3:16–24.

40 The Prov. 2 reference does not fit the subject matter, and the 2 Kings text is probably supposed to be 9:30; perhaps Mather also had in mind a verse such as Ezek. 23:40. The text resumes on 180r.

41 In Puritan fashion, Mather challenges the KJV's politically tilted translation, "the Judge shall judge him" (1611), by calling attention to the Hebrew: אֱלֹהִים [elohim] "gods, God." "God" is also carried in the LXX (κύριος), VUL (*Deus*) and LUT (*Gott*). While the BDB (at זלה) draws attention to the idea of "reverence" or "fear and object of fear" in the etymological explanation of אֱלֹהַּ [eloah] "God" (Aram. is אֱלָהּ [elah] "god, God"), the semantic field of the inward and emotional "adore" (not used in the KJV) is not reached in אלה and the Hebrew word which is usually translated as "worship" is שָׁחָה [shachah], "bow down."

Judge among Men to repræsent Him. The Expressions of *Eli* then are q.d! "If a Man Sin, against his Neighbour, and wrong a Poor, sinful silly, mortal Man like himself, GOD, will, without Repentance, animadvert upon him for it, GOD will Interpose. How much more will the Inevitable and Intolerable Vengeance of GOD, fall upon the Man, that shall committ Crimes full of more Immediate Injury unto His own eternal Glory?"[42]

Q. On what account is it said, *The Child grew on, & was in favour, both with the Lord, & with Men*? v. 26.
A. Dr. *Patrick*s Gloss is, He made a great Progress in Wisdome and Goodness, as well as in Stature; so that God was well pleased with him, and he was well esteemed by the People.[43] We read the same concerning our Saviour: [Luk. II.52.] where *Theophylact* thus glosses: τουτεστι, και τω θεω ευαρεστα επραττε, και τοις ανθρωποις επαινετα. *He did those things, that were well-pleasing to God, & more praised by Men*.[44]

| [180v]

Q. Upon the Lords Revocation of His Promise; *I said, That thy House, and the House of thy Father, should walk before me forever*! v. 30.
A. *Procopius Gazæus* ha's a notable Observation, That this Verse, *latenter totius Judaici Sacerdotij finem innuit*; secretly intimates the Abolition of the whole Jewish Priesthood. For, saies he, This Promise, was not made unto *Ithamar*, but unto *Aaron*. It showes, what should befall the whole Tribe.[45]

Q. Upon that, *Him that honoureth me, I will honour; and he that despiseth me, shall be lightly esteemed*?] v. 30.
A. Dr. *Patrick* mentions a Remarkable Instance of this in the Records of the Christian Church. For *Eusebius* tells us, in the time of that Persecution, which he mentions in the *eighth* Book of his *Ecclesiastical History*, some of the Pastors of the Church, who had not governed the Flock of Christ, as they ought to have done, were condemned to be Keepers of *Camels*, & of the Emperours *Horses* (a Punishment among the *Romans* in those Dayes, as *Valesius* observes) η θεια κατακρινασα δικη κλ, *The Divine Justice Judging them worthy of no better Employment*. [Cap. XII. de Martyribus Palestinæ.][46]

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42 In the blank space appears an entry in another hand, which is deleted (*see* App. B).
43 Patrick, *A Commentary* (30).
44 Patrick, *A Commentary* (30), citing Theophylactus, 11th-century archbishop of Ohria, Bulgaria, *In quatuor Euangelia Enarrationes denuo recognitæ* (1525), on Luke 2:52.
45 Patrick, *A Commentary* (32), citing Procopius Gazaeus, *In Libros Regum, et Paralipomenon Scholia* (1620), pp. 8, 11.
46 Patrick, *A Commentary* (32–33), citing Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica* (lib. VIII); and Henricus Valesius, 17th-century French philologist and classicist and author of *Historia ecclesiastica Eusebii Pamphili* (1659) on Eusebius, *De Martyribus Palestinæ* (12.1.6).

Q. How was the Threatning intended & fulfilled unto *Eli*, *Thou shalt see an Enemy in my Habitation*. v. 32.

A. *Thou*, that is, *In thy Posterity*. Tis usual in the Scripture to speak that of the *Father*, which is accomplished, long after in the *Children*. [Compare Gen. 27.29.] By the *Enemy in Gods Habitation*, is meant, *Zadok* executing the Office of the *High-Priest* in the Temple, whom the Posterity of *Eli,* would malign & envy, because placed in the *High-Priesthood*, & this in *all the Wealth which God shall give Israel*; that is, in those Dayes, when Israel should florish in glorious *Wealth*, and so when the *High-Priesthood* should bee singularly desireable; namely, in the Dayes of *Solomon*.

It is added, *There shall not bee an old Man in thy House forever*; that is, *There shall* not bee a Man of Dignity in thy Family. Senem *hic accipiunt de* Dignitate sacerdotali *quô in perpetuum abdicata est familia* Eli: *ut in eâ familiâ* Senes erate*, semper defecisse, non est credibile*; sais *Mendoza*.[47]

It goes on, *The Man of thine, whom I shall not cutt off from mine Altar, shall bee to consume thine Eyes, & grieve thy Heart*.

It is q.d. The Men of thy Posterity whom I don't quite cutt off, from the Service of my *Altar*, shall live So miserably, pining with Grief to see the Adversary Family, enjoy their Honour, that if thou shouldest live to see this Misery of thy Posterity, it would not only afflict thy *Heart*, but also make thee almost weep thy very *Eyes* out.

It proceeds, *I will raise mee up a faithful Priest, that shall do according to that which is in my Heart*. By this is meant *Zadok*, who did *faithfully* cleave unto *Solomon*, whom the Lord had appointed for the Succession to *David*: when *Abiathar* who was of *Eli's* Posterity conspired with *Adonijah* against him. Accordingly wee find, that the *High-Priesthood* was continued in the Line of *Zadok*, unto the Time of the *Babylonian* Captivity. [Compare Ezek. 44.15.] And so, *Zadok* being descended from *Phineas*, the Son of *Eleazar*, there was a Fulfilment *now* made of the Prophecy *once* made unto that excellent Man; Num. 25.13. *Hee shall have it, & his Seed after him, even the Covenant of an everlasting Priesthood*.

[See Mr. *Cradocks* History of the O.T.][48]

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47 Francisco de Mendoza, 16th-century Spanish Roman Catholic bishop and author of *Commentarii in quatuor Libros Regum* (1622). "They accept the old man here on account of his priestly dignity, which was disavowed by the family of Eli in perpetuity, so that the old men in the family, it was always incredible that they depart."

48 Samuel Cradock (c. 1612–1706), English nonconformist minister, *The History of the Old Testament methodiz'd* (1683), cap. IV, § 154, pp. 343–44.

Q. *Eli's Eyes began to wax dim, that they could not see*: Have the Jewes any special Remark upon this? v. 2.
A. *Hebræi tradunt, eos tantum Cæcos memorari, quibus aut Liberi fuerint, aut Discipuli maligni: Exempla sunt, Isaac, Jacob, Eli, Abijah*.[50]

Q. *E're the Lamp of God went out in the Temple of the Lord*?] v. 3.
A. The Lamp in the great Shaft of the *golden Candlestick*, which bent towards the *most Holy Place*, called, *The Western Lamp*, never went out. But some other of them did go out, when it was Morning.

The Meaning is, Before it was Day.

A Jewish Rabbi ha's a mystical Gloss upon it; *ere God makes the Lamp of one Prophet go out, He kindles another*.[51]

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49 A quarto-sized leaf.
50 "The Hebrews hand down that such blind men are remembered, who had either wicked children or wicked students. Isaac, Jacob, Eli, and Abijah are examples."
51 From Matthew Henry, *A Sermon on the Death of Mr. Stretton* (see *Miscellaneous Works* [1833], 2:1086), Mather cites the *Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Kiddushin* 72b.

Q. What more special Considerations, might move the *Israelites*, to bring the *Ark* into the *Field*? v. 3.
A. The Experience which they formerly had, of a strange Efficacy attending the Presence of the *Ark*.

Especially, when the Walls of *Jericho* fell before it.[52]

But as Mr. *Dubourdieu* in a Sermon on Eli *trembling for the Ark*, observes: "How vain is ill-grounded Confidence! They soon find, by sad Experience, that the *Ark* of the *Covenant*, was no Defence for them who broke the *Covenant*: And that the *Ark* wherein lay the Two Tables of the *Law*, could not save those, who had broke the Two Tables of the *Law*. They found, that their *Sins* could endanger the *Ark*, but not the *Ark* protect their *Sins*: and that it was to no Purpose to court the *Emblem*, when they had affronted the *Original*."[53]

Q. What unhappy Character was there in the Death of *Eli*? v. 18.
A. It was the Death of an unredeemed *Ass*. [Exod. 13.13.]

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52 Mather left a blank line before resuming, indicating that the remainder of the entry may be a later addition.

53 Jean-Armand Dubourdieu (1642?–1720), French protestant minister and pastor of the Savoy congregation, London, *Ely trembling for the Ark of God* (1714), pp. 2–3.

Q. Why did God suffer the *Ark* of His Presence, to fall into the hands of the pagan *Philistines*? v. 1.

A. *Abarbanel* gives four or five Reasons.[54]

The *Israelites* were such great Sinners, that they were unworthy of the Divine Presence among them.

The Idolatry of *Micah* remained unto this Day in the Land: therefore was that threatning fulfilled; Lev. XXVI.19, 31. *I will break the Pride of your Power; I will bring your Sanctuaries unto Desolation*.

The Sins also of the *Priests* highly provoked Him, to deliver up the *Ark*, which was in their Hands, when they were killed.

The *Israelites* greatly offended, in carrying the Ark into the Battle, without the Counsel of God asked for it.

And God was resolved to demonstrate His Power, among the Enemies of *Israel*.

Q. Why did they bring the *Ark*, into the House of *Dagon*? v. 2.

A. *Dagon* seems now to Triumph over the God of *Israel*!

Thus we read in After-ages; how Conquerors triumphed, not only over the People whom they vanquished, but over their *Gods* also, [see Isa. XLVI.1, 2. and Jer. XLVIII.7. and, XLIV.3. and Dan. XI.8.] *Bochart*, in his *Hierozoicon* P. I. L. 2. c. 34. showes, That the *Romans* did it frequently.[55]

Q. The *Fall* of *Dagon* before the *Ark*? v. 3.

A. A Prostration before the God of *Israel*. Some of the Jews think, here was, *A Miracle in a Miracle*. For, the *Ark* being sett *by Dagon* (that is, on one Side of him,) when *Dagon* fell, he was first of all turned about, with his Face toward the *Ark*.

See *Buxtorf*'s Essay, *De Arcâ fœderis*.[56]

Q. The *Head*, & the *Hands* of *Dagon* cutt off? v. 4.

A. It is likely, *Dagon* stood on high, upon a *Pedestal*, or *Altar*; from whence he was not only thrown down, but his *Head* and his *Hands* were thrown out of the Door, with the greatest Contempt; having been cutt off upon the *Threshold* of

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54 Mather cites Yitshak Abravanel (1437–1508), *Commentary on the former Prophets*, in loc.

55 Patrick, *A Commentary* (54), citing Bochart, *Hierozoicon* (pars prior, lib. II, cap. XXXIV, cols. 329–360).

56 Patrick, *A Commentary* (55), citing Johann Buxtorf the Younger (1599–1664), German Protestant Hebraist, *Exercitationes ad historiam, I. Arcae foederis* (1659), esp. pp. 170–73.

the Temple. Interpreters think, This was intended as a Token, that this Idol was void, both of *Wisdome*, & of *Power*.

The *Stump of Dagon* which was left, is by *Kimchi* thus glossed; *Nothing but the Form of a Fish remained*.[57]

A[58] worthy Man, applying this to Restored Superstitions, observed, That on the second Fall of *Dagon*, he had neither *Will* nor *Power* to help himself.

Q. No more *treading on the Threshold of Dagon*? v. 5.

A. *Abarbanel* glosses it, That they look'd on the *Threshold*, as made Holy by the Touch of *Dagons Head* and *Hands*.[59] Dr. *Patrick* makes a just Remark, on the Foolishness of these People, to pervert the Meaning of God; that instead of thinking *Dagon* to be no God, they honoured the very Threshold of his Temple, as if it had some Divinity in it.[60]

The Superstition continued for some Ages, as *Bochartus* gathers from Zeph. I.9. *They leap on the Threshold*.[61]

[184v] | [blank]

[185r] |

Q. *Dagon*, what Sort of an *Idol* was it? v. 7, 8.[62]

A. Some derive the Name *Dagon*, from /דגן/ *Corn*. Thus *Philo Byblius*, δαγὼν, ὅς ἐστι σιτων, *Dagon est Frumentarius*.[63] As if *Dagon* had been the first Inventor, of our *Grain*, or at least of the *Plough*; and were a *Jupiter aratrius*; or, if you will rather say so, the *Saturn* of *Ashdod*; for to *Saturn* used to be ascribed the Invention of *Agriculture*.

But by others, the Name is more truly derived, from /דג/ or /דגה/ *A Fish*. *Selden* tells us, That the Figure of *Dagon* was mixed, part *Humane*, part *Marine*; The *Face*, the *Hands*, and the *Feet*, were *Humane*, the *Body* was *Marine*. But the Rabbins tell us, That above the *Navel*, this Idol was a *Man*, below the *Navel*, a *Fish*.

When we read, *only the Stump of Dagon was left unto him*; *Kimchi* takes it so, *Tantummodo forma Piscis relicta est in eo*.[64]

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57 Kimhi, in Münster, *Hebraica Biblia* (255, n. a).

58 This paragraph is a later addition in black ink.

59 From Patrick, *A Commentary* (56), Mather cites Abravanel, *Commentary on the former Prophets.*

60 Patrick, *A Commentary* (56).

61 דָּגָן [dagan], "corn, grain." Patrick, *A Commentary* (56), citing Bochart, *Hierozoicon* (pars prior, lib. II, cap. XXXVI, cols. 364–371).

62 Mather added "v. 7, 8." later in black ink.

63 Philo Byblius, *Fragmenta* (3c.790.F.2). "Dagon, who is a corn-seller."

64 "Indeed, only the form of a fish was left on him." Kimhi, in Münster, *Hebraica Biblia* (255, n. a).

And *Junius* reads, *Tantum quod referebat Piscem remanserat in eo*.[65] It seems, *The Stump* was, *The Fishy Part*, of *Dagon*.

The Sacred Scriptures make this *Idol*, of *the Masculine Gender*; but the profane Writers make it of the *Fæminine*, calling it, *Atergatis*.

That Name, and *Adergatis*, and *Atargata*, and, *Adargidis*, and *Atargaris*, are Corruptions of /אדיר דג/ *The magnificent Fish*.[66]

| Other Nations worshipped this Idol, under the Name of ὠάηνης, as you find it in *Berosus* and *Apollodorus*.[67] It was a Two-Headed Animal, from whose Tail there grew Humane Feet. It's Voice was Humane, (as the Tradition goes;) and Rising out of the Red-Sea, it would come unto *Babylon*, but at Sun-sett continually return to the Sea again; but from its Instructions, it seems, Men learnt Letters and Arts and Lawes, and all that belongs to good living in the World. No doubt, (and *Scaliger* is of that Opinion) this ὠάννης, is the same with the Ὣην, mentioned by *Helladius*; (in *Photius*;)[68] A *Man* who had the Head, and Hands and Feet, of a *Man*, but was in other Points a *Fish*, who ascending out of the Red Sea, taught Men Letters, and Astrology. *Helladius* adds, *Doubtless, t'was a real Man, but esteemed a FISH*, διόσι περ ἠμφίεστοι κητώδη δοραν, *quòd Cetaceo pelle indueretur*.[69] [185v]

We find at *Ashdod*, a *Temple* for this Monster. And we find a *Feast* kept for his Honour. [Jud. 16.23.]

History also tells us, That the *Egyptians*, and *Syrians*, out of Reverence to *Dagon*, abstained from *Fish*; at least from some Sort of *Fish*: lest the Goddess (forsooth) in Revenge upon them for their audacity and veracity, should smite them with Tumors and Ulcers, and, I know not what Consumptions. *Plutarch* and *Ovid* have a touch upon this old Superstition.[70] *Menander* (urged by *Porphyrius* περι ἀποχῆς ἐμψύχων) speaks of the horrid *Swellings* of the Feet & the Bowels, Inflicted on those, who præsumed to eat *Fish*; and *Martial* doubtless means the same when he mentions, the *Syriac Tumores*. There is a reference hereto likewise in *Artemidorus*. But, when the *Idolaters* found themselves thus punished, as they thought, for this Offence, their way was to make Expiation,

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65 "He bore only the fish that remained on him." Franciscus Junius (1545–1602), French Huguenot theologian, *Biblia Sacra* (1633), on I Sam. 5:4, p. 193.

66 Cf. Patrick, *A Commentary* (54).

67 ὠάννης [oannes], according to Berossus, a half-fish, half-man creature (cf. Paulys 17.2.1677 f.). Berossus, 3rd-century BCE Babylonian priest and astronomer, *Fragmenta* (1a); Apollodorus, 2nd-century BCE Greek scholar and grammarian, *Fragmenta* (67b, 67e).

68 Photius, *Bibliotecha* (279.535a35); Joseph Juste Scaliger (1540–1609), French classicist, *M[arcus] Manili Astronomicon* (1600), pp. 343–44.

69 Greek: "wherefore in fact he put on the fishy skin"; Latin: "Because he put on a fishy pelt." Alexander Helladius (1686–?), Greek scholar and humanist, author of *Status Praesens Ecclesiae Graecae* (1714).

70 Plutarch, *Quaestiones Convivales* (730.D.6); Ovid, *Metamorphoses* (5.331); Porphyry, *De Abstinentia* (4.15).

by putting on Sackcloth & sitting on a Dunghil, with agreeable Mortifications; as *Menander* ha's described it unto us.[71]

I shutt up all, with a Passage of *Tully*, [in his *De Nat. Deor.* II.] *Piscem Syri venerantur*.

But certainly t'was much left off, before the Thirteenth Chapter of *Nehemiah*.[72]

And I add only a Stroke of our *Fuller*; "This *Fish* had *Feet* under the *Tail* thereof; which *Feet* of a *Fish*, may seem not to stand with any Proportion. But what shall we say? The Uglier his Shape, the Handsomer for an *Idol*; and to keep a *Decorum*, it was fitt, he should be as misshapen in his Form, as monstrous in his Worship."[73]

[▽184r] [▽Insert from 184r]

Q. Their carrying the *Ark* unto *Gath*? v. 8.

A. They seem to be possessed with a superstitious Conceit, that there might be something in the *Place*, offensive to the God of *Israel*; and that He might be better pleased with another. Just as *Æneas* and his People, indited their *Beds* and their *Houses*, of the Disasters that befel them; And *Cadmus* forsook his own City,

– *Tanquam fortuna Locorum,*
Non sua se premeret.[74] –

[△] [△Insert ends]

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71 Menander, 4th-century BCE Greek comedic playwright; Martial, *Epigrammata* (4.43); Artemidorus, possibly Artemidorus Daldianus, 2nd-century CE diviner and author of *Oneirocritica.*

72 Marcus Tully Cicero, *De Natura Deorum* (II). The entry up to this point is taken from Selden's entry on Dagon in *De Diis Syris* (Syn. II, pp. 172–81).

73 Fuller, *A Pisgah-Sight of Palestine* (220).

74 A reference to Virgil in Ovid, *Metamorphoses* (4.565–566). "As if the city's fortune, not his own, were crushing him."

Q. The *Ark of the Lord in the Countrey of the Philistines, seven Months*? v. 1.
A. The Hebrew Word, *Sadeh*,[75] which we translate, *Countrey*, signifies, A *Field*. The LXX renders it, εν αγρω. *Theodoret* and *Procopius Gazæus*, think, that the *Philistines* were so plagued by the *Ark* in their Cities, as to send it into the *open Fields*. But they were disappointed of their Hopes, to be more Free from the Judgments of God there, than in their Cities. For the *Mice* here, as it were, sprung up out of the Ground, and wasted their *Corn* and their *Fruits*. The LXX therefore add here, Και Εζεζεσιν η γη αυτων μυας, *And their Land bubbled up Mice*.[76]

Q. The Five *golden Emrods* & the *Five golden Mice*, which the Five Lords of the *Philistines* were at the Charge of Offering? v. 4.
A. It was a Custome of the Ancient Heathen, to consecrate unto their Gods Monuments of their Deliverances, representing the Evils from which they were delivered. They dedicated unto *Isis* and *Neptune*, a Table, which contained the express Image of the Shipwreck, which they had escaped. And *Captives*, when they had regained their Liberty, offered their Chains. *Bochart* observes out of *Theodoret*, that the Christians in the Fifth Century, began to Imitate these Customes.[77]

Tavernier tells us, that it is to this Day a Practice among the *Indians*, when any Pilgrim gets to a *Pagod* for the Cure of any Disease, he brings the Figure of the Member affected; made of *Gold*, or *Silver*, or *Coper*, according to his Quality; which he offers to his God, and then falls a Singing, as all others do after they have offered.[78]

Mr. *Selden* ha's also observed, That *Mice* were used among the Ancient Heathen, for Lustration & Cleansing.[79]

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75 בְּשָׂדֶה

76 This entry taken from Patrick, *A Commentary* (61), citing LXX (*see* Walton, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* 2:210); Theodoret, *Questiones in Reges et Paralipomena*, in loc.; and Procopius Gazaeus, *In Libros Regum, et Paralipomenon scholia* (16).

77 Patrick, *A Commentary* (63), citing Bochart who quotes Theodoret, "in octavo *Therapeuticum*" (*Graecarum Affectionum Curatio*; probably the Heidelberg, 1592, edition), in *Hierozoicon* (pars prior, lib. II, cap. XXXVI, col. 368).

78 Patrick, *A Commentary* (63), citing Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, 17th-century French traveler and trader, *The six Voyages of John Baptista Tavernier, a noble Man of France now living, through Turky into Persia and the East-Indies* (1678), p. 92.

79 Patrick, *A Commentary* (64), citing Selden, *De Diis Syris* (Syn. I, cap. VI, pp. 88–89).

Q. What Remarkable was there, in the *Philistæan* Plagues, whereto their Presents of *golden Emrods*, & *golden Mice* referred? v. 4.
A. *Dagon* was unto the *Philistines*, the *God of Corn*; but the Lord now destroy'd the Harvest of their *Corn*, as it grew on the Ground, with an Army of *Mice*. And when hee smote the People in *their Hinder Parts* [Ps. 78.66.] with *Emrods*, Hee brought a shameful Soreness on them, in a contrary Part, & a contrary Sort unto the Honourable Soreness of *Circumcision*, for which doubtless these Pagans had often derided the People of God.

Q. What was the Meaning of *the Images* which the *Philistines* made of *Emrods* and *Mice*, to procure the Deliverance of their Land, from both of those Plagues? v. 5.
A. The Counsil for these *Images*, was from the Astrologers of *Palæstine*; and the Meaning of them, is indeed *Stoichiotical*; wee must fetch it from *Telesmatical* Traditions.[80]

The *Astrologers* perceived, that God had long since directed *Moses,* [whom therefore they called, *Moses, the Talisman,*] to make a *Brasen Serpent*, for the Releef of the People against *Fiery Serpents* in the Wilderness; & because the Divel will bee Gods *Ape*, that became the Original, as I suppose, of all the *Telesmatical* Practices, afterwards used in the World.

This was the ancient Rite of *Averruncation*, That in Case a City or a Countrey should bee Infested with any Plague, the *Talismans* were consulted; and they were desired that they would erect an Image of the Plague, under a certain Influence of Cælestial Configuration.

The foundation of this Rite, was laid in an Opinion, That the *Forms* of things here below are *Answered* with the like Figurations above, and that the cælestial *Forms* have a *Ruling Influence* upon the Sublunary.

These Conceits, the Greeks Termed στοιχειωσεις; otherwise, τελεσματὰ which originally comes from the Word here, *Tsalmanija*, or, Images.

Haly, who gives the account of this Matter, tells of a Saracen Servant cured of a Bite from a *Scorpion* by a Stone, engraved with the figure of a *Scorpion*, Cutt while the Moon was in the Sign of *Scorpio*.[81]

All the World ha's rung with the Noise of the wondrous Things performed, by that Divel of a Man, *Apollonius Tyanæus*, whom the Pagans putt into the Scale over against our Blessed Lord Jesus Christ Himself. *Justin Martyr*, in his *Resp: ad Orthod. Quæst*. propounds, *How comes it to pass, that* Apollonius *his* Talisms *have so much overruled the Course of things? For wee see that they also have stilled the Waves of the Sea, & the raging of the Winds, and prevailed against the*

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80 *Stoichiotical* is that pertaining to magic; *telesm* is the art of using magical charms or amulets.

81 Possibly Haly Abbas ('Ali ibn al-'Abbas al-Majusi), 10th-century CE Persian physician, author of *Liber Totius Medicine Necessaria Co[n]tinens* (1523).

Noisome Flies & Incursions of Wild beasts;[82] & the rest. Tho' *Philostratus* in the Life of that Wizard, ha's no mention of these Diabolical Wonders,[83] yett they are constantly thus ascribed, by *Cedrenus, Hesychius, Olympiodorus*, & a whole Army of other Authors.[84] And *Scaliger* will from the Third *Chiliad* of *Tzetzes*, convince you, That, *Apollonius, Sculpturâ Culicum et Ciconiarum, Culices* Antiochiam *et Ciconias* Byzantium, *ingredi prohibuit*.[85] Moreover, *Domninus*, quoted by *Joannes Antiochenus Melala*, affirms, That *Apollonius*, in the Reign of *Domitian*, gott himself a great Name every where in his Travels, by making *Telesmes* for all Cities & Countreyes where hee came; and the Instances of the Successes attending those *Telesmes*, are indeed prodigious, too prodigious to bee | now [186v] at large Repeated.[86] It is also well known, How a leaden *Crocodile* Inscribed by the *Talismans* with an *Egyptian* Charm, & Buried in the Foundation of a Temple, delivered the grand *Cairo* from the annoyance of *Crocodiles*, till upon the finding & melting of that Image, those Creatures returned unto their old Mischievousness. You have the Story in *Bodin*, in *Cardan*, & in *Scaliger*.[87] It is well known, How the Statue, called, *The Fortune of the City*, in *Byzantium*, stood with one Foot in a Ship of *Brass*, erected against the Dangers of the stormy Sea thereabouts; and as long as the Image of that Ship stood entire, the Sea was very calm & safe, but grew terrible unruly, when certain Parts of it were broken off; which being restored, a *New Peace* again returned unto the Waves. You have the Story in *Zonaras* his Annals.[88]

These *Consecrations* (as they were called) were practised in the *West*, as well as in the *East*. *Gregory* of *Tours* tells you the Story, that at the repairing of

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82 Justin Martyr, *Quaestiones et Responsiones ad Orthodoxos* [PG 6.1249–1400].

83 Flavius Philostratus (c. 170–247 CE), Greek sophist and biographer, *Vita Apollonius Tyanaeus*. Apollonius (ca. 40–120 CE) was, according to Philostratus, a magician and Pythagorean philosopher who is said to have travelled to Mesopotamia and India.

84 Georgius Cedrenus, 11th-century Byzantine historian, *Annales, sive Historiae ab exordio Mundi ad Isacium Comnenum* (1566), p. 162; Hesychius of Miletus, 6th-century CE Greek chronicler and biographer, *Opuscula partim hactenus non edita* (1613), p. 60; Olympiodorus, possibly of Alexandria, a 6th-century CE philosopher and astrologer.

85 "Apollonius prohibited sculptures of gnats and storks from entering, storks from entering Antioch, gnats from entering Byzantium."

86 Domninus, 5th-century CE Jewish Syrian philosopher and mathematician, quoted by Joannes Antiochenus Malalas (c. 591–c. 578 CE), in *Chronographia* (lib. X). *See* the references in this paragraph as gathered in George Mackenzie, fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, Edinburgh, *The lives and characters of the most eminent writers of the Scots Nation*, 2 vols. (1711), "Life of John Lesly, Bishop of Ross" (2:604–05).

87 Jean Bodin, 16th-century French jurist, *La Demonomanie des Sorciers* (1598), cap. V, p. 381; Girolamo Cardano, 16th-century Italian mathematician and gambler, probably *De astrorum Iudiciis* (1568). The reference to Scaliger is uncertain; perhaps Joseph Juste Scaliger, *Exotericarum exercitationum Liber quintus decimus de Subtilitate, ad Hieronymum Cardanum* (1582), p. 637, which has a section on "magia adversus crocodiles," but does not quote from John Tzetzes, *Historiarum variarum Chiliades*, Chiliad III. Both Tzetze and Scaliger produced (respectively, Basileae, 1546, and Lugduni Batavorum, 1597) editions of *Lycophronis Chalcidensis Alexandra*.

88 Joannes Zonaras, 12th-century Byzantine historian, *Chroniques, ou Annales* (1560).

a Bridge in *Paris*, there were found the Images of a *Serpent* and *Dormouse* in Brass; which being taken away, *Serpents* and *Dormice* molested the Place most miserably.[89] Consult *Mizaldus*, and *Gaffarel*, and you'l see whole Centuries of these *unheard of Curiosities*.[90]

By this time, you'l comprehend the Design of the *Philistæan* Lords, in framing their Images, imprinted with the Characters, as the *Keri*[91] of the Text sais, of their *Fundaments*, and with the Characters of the *Mice*, which it seems then also were pestiferous unto the Land.

The particular Process of such a *Telesm*, you have in *Paracelsus*; which I will not Recite, lest there should bee given to any one that may happen to Read these Lines, a Temptation in the Recital.[92]

{..98}

Q. Say more particularly? {v. 5.}
A. The *Philistines*, when they sent *golden Mice,* and *Emrods*, with the Ark, beleeved the *God of Israel,* to bee a cælestial Power, who would fill these *Images* with such a Vertue, as would quickly remove the Griefs, they were afflicted withal.

Q. Why did they putt their Offerings in a *Coffer*, by the *Side* of the *Ark*? v. 8.
A. They had heard, or, perhaps their present Sufferings made them to fear, that it was dangerous to look into the *Ark*. The Word, *Argaz,*[93] (which is no where else mett withal,) probably in the Language of the *Philistines* may signify, either a *Coffer*, or a *Wallet*, as *Josephus* translates it.[94] *Bochart* thinks it likely, that these golden Jewels, were putt into little Bags, which hung on either Side of the *Ark*.[95]

Q. When did the *Cart* stop? v. 14.
A. Tis Remarkable. It stopt when it came into the Territory of a City of the *Priests*, who were to take Care of the *Ark*. See Josh. XXI.16.

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89 Gregory of Tours, 6th-century CE historian and bishop, *Histoire des Franks* (8.33).
90 Antonius Mizaldus, 16th-century Parisian physician, possibly *Monsluciani Planetologia, Rebus Astronomicis, Medicis, et Philosophicis Erudite Referta* (1551); Jacque Gafferel, 17th-century French scholar and astrologer, *Unheard of Curiosities: Concerning the Talismanical Sculpture of the Persians; the Horoscopes of the Patriarkes; and the Reading of the Stars* (1650).
91 Conjectural reading; Mather may have omitted part of the word.
92 Paracelsus (Theophrastus Bombastus von Hohenheim), the early 16th-century Swiss physician and alchemist, whose *Astronomia Magna* (1537) most famously conveyed knowledge of magical practices within a Renaissance approach to philosophy of science.
93 אַרְגַז
94 Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* (6.1.2), as cited in Patrick, *A Commentary* (66).
95 Patrick, *A Commentary* (66), citing Bochart, *Hierozoicon* (pars prior, lib. II, cap. XXXVI, col. 368).

368.

Q. What Remark upon the *Great* Stone of *Abel*? What was that *Stone*? v. 18.
A. I'l recite you, a little *Curiositie*, which I find somewhere mentioned. It is enquired *of what Antiquity bee Epitaphs and Elegies*: And it is Answered, *The Ancientest Præsident* of *Epitaphs* must bee that recorded in the *Ancientest History*; namely the *Old Testament*; where [1. Sam. 6.18.] it is recorded, that the *Great Stone* Erected, as a Memorial unto *Abel* by his Father *Adam*, remained in being unto that Day. The Name was, *The Stone of Abel*, and its Elegy was, *Here was shed the Blood of Righteous Abel*; as it is also called [Math. 23.35.] four thousand Years afterwards. *This* is the Original of monumental Memorials and Elegies.

Q. Can you imagine, That there were *fifty thousand & threescore & ten* Men slain at *Bethshemesh,* for Looking into the *Ark*? v. 19.
A. No, Truly. But I read the Text so, *Hee smote of the People which were fifty thousand*, [I say, Hee smote] *threescore & ten Men*. So there were but seventy Men kill'd in all.

There is no need of correcting the Text, with such a Version as the Syriac, or Arabic, that read *Five Thousand*. The Text in the Original runs thus, *Percussit de Populo 70 Viros, 50 millia Viroram*. i.e. *Percussit* de *Populo*, in quo erant *Viri 50 mille, Viros 70*.[96] So small a Town as *Bethshemesh* could never loose Fifty thousand Men, and have any Survivers to bewayl the Lost. If any will further suppose, that the *Seventy* Men, who were slain, were for their Dignity & Quality æqual to *Fifty Thousand* of the plebeian People; I shan't oppose; it may bee so.

Thus *Bochart* carries it. *He smote Threescore & Ten Men; Fifty out of a Thousand Men*; that is, a Twentieth Part of the Offenders. *Josephus* thus understood the Words; God smote *Seventy of these of the Village of Bethshemesh*. *Wagenseil* applauds this Reading of *Bochart*, and saies for it, *Ipsa Veritas militat*.[97]

Out of this History, *Bochart* conjectures, the *Greeks* forged the Fable of *Bacchus*; who was very angry with the *Athenians*, because they did not receive his Mysteries with Pomp, when they were brought out of *Bœotia* into *Attica*, and smote them with a sore Disease in their secret Parts.[98]

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96 "He slew 70 men from the people, 50 thousand. That is, he slew 70 men from a people in which there were 50 thousand men."
97 "Truth herself is a soldier." Patrick, *A Commentary* (71–72), citing Bochart, *Hierozoicon* (pars prior, lib. II, cap. XXXVI, col. 370); Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* (6.2); Johann Christoph Wagenseil, 17th-century German Christian Hebraist and professor at the University of Altdorf, possibly *Christophori Wagenseilii Sota: hoc est: Liber mischnicus de uxore adulterii suspecta: una cum libri En Jacob excerptis Gemarae* (1674), cap. VII, § XV, ¶ 6, p. 746.
98 Bochart, *Hierozoicon* (pars prior, lib. II, cap. XXXVI, col. 370).

1. Samuel. Chap. 7.

[▽188r–189v] [▽Insert from 188r–189v][99]

Q. Why did they not carry the Ark to *Shiloh*? v. 1, 2.

A. The *Philistines* destroy'd that Place. And the *Tabernacle*, on the Death of *Eli*, was removed unto *Nob*; where it remained unto the Death of *Samuel*. Then it was carried unto *Gibeon*, where, *Seder Olam* saies, it remained Fifty Year.[100] All this time, the *Ark* was in *Kirjath-Jearim*; till *David* brought it, first unto the House of *Obed-Edom*, and then to his own City. After this, the *Tabernacle* still remained at *Gibeon*, till the Building of *Solomon*s Temple.

It was an horrible thing, that after such Rebukes of God upon the *Israelites* by the *Philistines*, there should pass *Twenty Years*, before they minded the *Ark*, or were awakened unto any Sense of their Duty. Such deep Root had *Idolatry* taken in them!

Abarbanel thinks, one Reason why they did not regard the *Ark*, was, because it was now seated in the Borders of the Countrey of the *Philistines*, of whom they were afraid.[101]

Q. *It came to pass, while the Ark abode in Kirjathjearim, that the Time was long, for it was Twenty Years; and all the House of Israel, lamented after the Lord*. Unto what refers that *long Time, of Twenty years*? v. 2.

A. It cannot bee meant of the whole Time, that the *Ark* remained at *Kirjath Jearim*; for between the Death of *Eli*, shortly after which, the *Ark* was brought unto this Place, & the beginning of *David*s Reign, when it was Removed thence, there must needs bee *Forty Years* allow'd for the Government of *Samuel* and *Saul*. [Act. 13.21.] All which time the Ark was in *Kirjath-jearim*; except when it was for a while carried forth into the Camp, in the War against the *Philistines*. It may seem strange indeed, that the Ark, Returned from the *Philistines*, was not carried back to the *Tabernacle* in *Shiloh*; but it seems that God would show His Indignation against the former Wickedness of that Place by not suffering the *Ark* to bee carried thither again: so hee *Forsook the Tabernacle of Shiloh*! [Psal. 78.60.] And the *Ark* being so separated from the *Tabernacle*, continued ever after divided from it: For tis said, *David præpared a New Tent for it*, [1. Chron. 15.1.] tho' the public Worship of God, was yet at *Shiloh*. But whereas tis here said, *It Continued at Kirjath-jearim Twenty Years*, the Meaning is, Twenty Years, before

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99 On dislocation in MS, *see* App. B; 187v is blank.

100 From Patrick (*A Commentary* 74), Mather cites the *Seder Olam Rabba* (1514); see *Seder Olam: The rabbinic View of biblical Chronology,* transl. and ed. Guggenheimer (2005).

101 Patrick, *A Commentary* (75), citing Abravanel, *Commentary on the first Prophets*.

the People could bee wun, to that solemn *Repentance* and *Conversation*; which is here described by their, *Lamenting after the Lord*.

| [188v]

{....}

Q. What was the Meaning of that Action, done by the general Assembly of *Israel*; They *drew Water & poured it out before the Lord, and they Fasted on that Day*? v. 6.

A. This Passage, putts *Interpreters*, as the Dead Body of *Asahel* did the Travellers & Spectators, unto a Stand: They almost content themselves with saying, *Mirabilis hic Locus ac Difficiliso*; Tis too Hard for us, to *Interpret* it. There is a *Figurative Sense* of this Passage, which ha's no less Authority, than that of the Chaldee Paraphrase, to support it, *Hauserunt Aquas è Puteo Cordis sui, et abundé lacrymati sunt Coram Domino*.[102] And indeed, Expositors do mostly go this Way; expounding it of the plentiful *Tears*, which they shed in such Abundance as, to use the Words of the *weeping* Prophet, *Their Heads had been Water, & their Eyes a Fountain of Tears*. But if wee keep to a *literal Sense* of the Passage, it would even tire you, to Read the Variety of Glosses, that have been made upon it. You know where to meet with them;[103] and therefore I will supersede the Mention of them all, with a Conjecture of my own; which, because I have no Commentary in my Library to countenance it, I must propound with all the Modesty imaginable. I say then,

Jewish and Ancient Records have told us, That at the *Feast of Tabernacles*, they did every Day fetch a silver Flagon of *Water*, and *pour it out* at the *Altar*, with the *Wine* for the *Drink-Offering*, to signify the *pouring out* of the *Holy Spirit,* after the Coming of the *Messiah*; For this Custome wee find no *Institution*; but the Countenance which our Lord Jesus Christ gave unto it, when Hee then formed a Reflection upon the *Living Waters* of the *Holy Spirit*, which Hee hath to give, would make one Think, whether it were not first Instituted by the Inspired *Samuel*, in that History, which is now before us. But wee have a further Assurance, That *Five Dayes* before the *Feast of Tabernacles*, namely, on the *Tenth* Day of the *Seventh* Month, a *Fast* was kept for a Day of *Expiation*. Quære? whether the Prophet *Samuel* might not a little divert some Actions of that great Solemnity, unto the Designs of *Repentance*, which the extraordinary Calamities of his People did now require.[104] I since find,

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102 "They drew water from the well of your heart, and wept abundantly in the presence of the Lord."

103 See, for example, Poole, *Synopsis Criticorum* on 1 Sam. 7:6 (1:82); Henry, *Exposition of the historical Books of the Old Testament*, in loc.

104 The remainder of the entry is a later, though not much later, addition, since the ink and hand are very similar to the preceding.

Fortunatus Scacchus conjectures, That an Altar being to be erected to offer Sacrifice, they *poured out Water*, to cleanse the Ground, that it might not be sett up in an Impure Place.

Dr. *Patrick* most inclines to the Conjecture of *L'Empereur*, That they *poured out Water* in token of Joy after they had Fasted & Confessed their Sins, as they were wont to do on the *Feast of Tabernacles*.[105]

Q. We read, *The Hand of the Lord was* (from henceforward) *against the Philistines,* all the *Dayes of Samuel*. And yett we find, the *Israelites* were sorely oppressed by the *Philistines,* in the Reign of *Saul*, while *Samuel* was yett living? v. 13.

A. That infamous Atheist *Spinosa*, will have this to be a Contradiction. But there is no Reason to call it so.[106] For, whereas tis said, *All the Dayes of Samuel*, it must not be understood, of his *Life*, but of his *Rule*. It means, under the Government of *Samuel*, or until *Saul* took the Kingdome. We have the like Phrase of *Sampson*, Judg. 15.20. *He judged Israel in the Dayes of the Philistines*.

The same wicked and scoffing *Jew* brings diverse other Passages of the Scripture, as contradictory one unto another; whereas his Objections are but his own *Profane Blunders*, and as *Heedless* as *Profane*.

I'l Instance in one of them, & thereby, you'l see a Reason, why I take Notice of no more. *Spinosa* quotes *Josephus*, to tell us, That the Prophet *Ezekiel* had foretold, That *Zedekiah* should not see *Babylon*; which, saith *Spinosa*, we find not in the Book of *Ezekiel*s Prophecy: but the Contrary, that he was carried captive thither.[107] Would any Man think now, that this fine Caviller at the *Bible*, had *Read* the Bible? If he had, he might, without going to *Josephus*, have known, That tho' *Zedekiah* was carried unto *Babylon*, as *Ezekiel* had foretold, [Ch. 17.16.] yett he *saw* it not, because his Eyes were putt out before he came thither, [Jer. 9.7.][108] according to the wonderful Prædiction of the same *Ezekiel*. [Ch. 12.13.]

Spinosa had as little need, for to have opposed the Doctrines of the Prophets unto one another; because *Jeremiah* tells us, [Ch. 32.18.] *That God visits the Iniquity of the Fathers upon the Children*. But *Ezekiel*, [Ch. 18.20.] *That the Son shall not bear the Iniquity of the Father, but the Soul that sinneth, shall Die*. The Man considered not, That *Jeremiah* speaks of what God Himself sometimes doth in His Providence; whereas *Ezekiel* speaketh, of what God had commanded the Jewes to do in the Course of Justice. [Deut. 24.16.]

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105 Patrick, *A Commentary* (69), citing Scacchus, *Sacrorum Elaeochrismaton Myrothecium* (II, cap. XXXI); Constantijn L'Empereur, *Hoc est Talmudis Babylonici Codex Middoth* (cap. II, § V, pp. 68–70).

106 Benedictus de Spinoza (1632–77), Dutch Jewish philosopher, *A Treatise partly Theological, and partly Political* (1689), cap. IX, p. 225.

107 Spinoza, *A Treatise, partly Theological, and partly Political* (cap. X, pp. 245–46), quoting Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* (10.9). On Zedekiah, see Jer. 52:11.

108 This reference is apparently incorrect; see 2 Kings 25:7 or Jer. 52:11.

After all, tho' we have no Occasion for that Wretches Testimony, yett it may not be amiss to quote the Conclusion, whereto *Spinosa* finds himself at last compell'd; namely, *Totam Legem Divinam, quam Scriptura docet, incorruptam ad nostras Manus pervenisse*: Adding, *præter hæc, alia sunt, de quibus non possumus dubitare, quin bona Fide, nobis sint tradita; nempe, Summa Historia Scripturæ; quià notissima omnibus fuerent*.[109]
[△Insert ends] [△]

109 Spinoza, *A Treatise, partly Theological, and partly Political* (288): "That we have received the Divine Law in this respect uncorrupted, no body can question … There are other things also, which have been faithfully deliver'd to us, namely, the general Collection of Scripture Histories, because they are universally known."

4804.

Q. May there be any special Intention in that Passage, about the Sons of *Samuel*; *They were Judges in Beersheba*? v. 2.

A. *Munster* ha's this Gloss upon it; That they did not, like their Father *Samuel*, travel from one Place to another, and go the *Circuit* for the Dispensing of Judgment.[110] But they counselled the People of *Israel*, unto the Expence and Fatigue, of Repairing to their Dwelling-Place at *Beersheba*, which was a Town in the very Extremity of the Land of *Israel*.

Q. *Procopius Gazæus* enquires, why God did not punish *Samuel* as He did *Eli*, for the Wickedness of his Children? v. 3.

A. He answers, Their *private Bribery*, was not so great a Sin, as the *open Profanation* of the Tabernacle, & rendring the Worship of God contemptible. Besides, tis possible *Samuel* might be ignorant of their Corruption; they did not live near him at *Ramah*, but at *Beersheba*.[111]

[△] [△Insert ends]

699.

Q. How did the People of *Israel*, *Reject God, in Asking a King*? v. 7.

A. You know, That the Nation of *Israel*, obliged unto God, in their Deliverance from *Egypt*, were under a most peculiar and visible Government of God; which glorious *Theocracy*, Dispensing their *Lawes*, Ordering their *Wars*, Electing and Inspiring their chief *Officers*, was managed by Methods very singular and sensible.

Happy the People that was in such a Case! But a Dimunition of this *Theocracy* did gradually befall the Nation, until at last they utterly lost all the *Glory* of it.

The Foundation of this Loss, was Laid in their Addresses to *Samuel*, for an Alteration of their Government.

Afterwards, when *Saul*, and when *David*, came *Arbitrarily* to do those things, which were formerly done by the Direction of God immediately, the Loss was growing yett more Irretrieveable.

At Length, when the Kingdome did from the Dayes of *Solomon*, become Hæreditary, the Loss was confirmed, so that there were very little Footsteps of the old *Theocracy* any more.

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110 Münster, *Hebraica Biblia*, in loc. (256).

111 Patrick, *A Commentary* (83), citing Procopius Gazaeus, *In Libros Regum, et Paralipomenon Scholia* (24).

You'l never find the *Urim* consulted after this Time; and the *Ark* now carried into the *Temple*, was never more carried abroad with the *Hosts of Israel*, as a Symbol of their being accompanied by the *Lord of Hosts*.

Notable was the Speech of *Gideon*, when they said unto him, *Thou and thy SON & thy SONS SON Rule over us*, in Jud. 8.23. No, *The Lord shall Rule over you*.

What was a *Prophesy* of *Moses*, that the Nation would one Day thus *Ask for a King*, [Deut. 17.14, 15.] they took as a *Permission*, if not a *Commandment*, for their doing so.

The Bottom of their Action, was a secret and wicked Inclination, to bee Abandoned unto the *Manners* of the *Heathens* in the Neighbourhood; which also is here intimated in our Context.

Indeed, their Petition to bee sett at *Liberty*, which was more truly to bee plung'd in *Slavery,* from their primitive *Theocracy*, was an Impiety full of horrid Aggravations: especially, Ingratitude, Rebellion and Unbeleef. *Unbeleef*, I particularly mention; because you find, their Demand of a *King*, to bee upon the Occasion, of the Expedition contriving by *Nahash* against them. [1. Sam. 12.12.] They Rely'd more upon *Humane* Help, than upon *Divine*.

The Consequence was, All the *Servitude* foretold by *Samuel*, with a fearful Degeneration into all the Pagan Idolatries, whereinto almost every one of their *Kings* misled them: which indeed utterly Broke, and Spoil'd, the Kingdome, & betray'd it unto Desolations, which are to continue until the Second Coming of Him, that is to bee, *The King of Israel*.

| [blank] [187v]

| [189r]

Q. The *Theocracy* of the *Israelites*? v. 7.

A. *Hermannus Conringius* observes, That the *Dæmons* who were worshipped as Gods, by the Gentiles, attempted the Imitation of this by Setting up such a Government among them.[112]

Consult the memorable History of the Original of the Commonwealth of the *Cyrenians* in *Egypt*, mention'd by *Diodorus Siculus*, and *Strabo*, and *Pausanias*, and *Justin*, and others.[113] And the History of the Beginning of *Heraclea* in *Pontus*, related by *Justin* [Lib. XVI. Cap. 3.][114] This Republick being raised

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112 Patrick, *A Commentary* (86), citing Hermannus Conringius, 17th-century German natural philosopher and physician, *Nicolai Machiavelli Princeps: Cum Animadversionibus politicis Hermanii Conringii* (1686), cap. VI.

113 Patrick, *A Commentary* (86–87), citing Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca Historica* (10.15; *see Library of History*, vol. 4 [bks. 9–12, 40], transl. Oldfather [1946; Loeb 375]); Strabo, *Geographia* (17.3.20; transl. H. L. Jones [1932; Loeb 267]); Pausanias, 2nd-century CE Greek traveler and geographer, *Graeciae Descriptio* (1.7.1.12; *see* Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, vol. 1 [bks. 1–2; Attica and Corinth], transl. Jones [1918; Loeb 93]).

114 Patrick, *A Commentary* (87), citing Justin, *Historiarum Philippicarum* (lib. XVI, cap. III).

by the express Command of *Dæmons*, was upon that account, they say, one that flourished exceedingly.

Memorable is the Republick of the *Mexicans* in *America*; of which we have [189v] elsewhere given an Account, in our Illustrations.[115] |

Q. The *Manner of the King* here laid before the *Israelites*: mayn't it be a Prophetical Description of King *Saul*? v. 11.
A. That's as likely, as that it should stamp a *Jus Divinum*, on Arbitrary Government.

Q. The Kings *Horsemen*?] v. 11.
A. It means, to look after his *Horses*. Both *De Dieu*, and *Bochart*, show, that it should be rendred, *For his Chariots, and his Horses*.[116]

Q. His *Officers*? v. 15.
A. You may call them, with Dr. *Patrick*; His *Bed-Chamber Men*. The Hebrew Word signifies, *Eunuchs*; and the LXX translate it so.[117]

It was the more grievous, to have such Men maintained out of this Revenue, because they were *Strangers*. It was not lawful for the *Jews*, to make any of their Nation, *Eunuchs*.[118]

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115 The location of this entry in the *BA* is not specified. Patrick, *A Commentary* (87).
116 Ludovicus (or Lodewijk) de Dieu, possibly a reference to his *Animadversiones in Veteris Testamenti*, on Num. 7:3, p. 95; Samuel Bochart, *Opera omnia*, 2 vols. (1712), vol. 1, Annexa XXX, in "De Jure Regum," on I Sam. 8:9 ff., cols. 1006–07.
117 הֲטֹבִיו; for the LXX, *see* Walton, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (2:218).
118 Patrick, *A Commentary* (90–91). Mather challenges the KJV translation of סָרִים [saris], "eunuch," with "officer(s)"; LXX: εὐνοῦχος [eunouchos], "eunuch."

Q. *Kish* is called, *The Son of Abiel*. But we read in the *Chronicles*, [1. Chron. VIII.37.[119] and, IX.39.] That *Ner begat Kish*? v. 1.
A. *Begetting* must mean, giving him his *Breeding* and *Education*. For *Ner* was *Kish*'s Brother. [1. Sam. XIV.51.] But *Kimchi* will have, *Abiel* and *Ner*, to be Two Names of one Man.[120]

Q. That Passage, *There is not a Present to bring to the Man of God*: what might it intend? The Price of Divination? v. 7.
A. Mr. *Maundril*, in his Journey from *Aleppo* to *Jerusalem*, coming to *Tripoli*, ha's this Passage.

"It is counted uncivil to visit in this Countrey, without an Offering in hand. All great Men expect it, as a Kind of Tribute, due to their Character & Authority, & look upon themselves as affronted, & indeed Defrauded, when this Complement is omitted. Even in Familiar Visits, among inferior People, you shall seldome have them come, without bringing Flower{s} or an Orange, or some other such Token of their Respect to the Person visited. The Turks in this point keeping up the ancient Oriental Custome hinted; 1. Sam. 9.7. *If we go, what shall we bring the Man of God, there is not a Present*. – Which Words are quæstionless to be understood conforming to this eastern Custome, as relating to a Token of Respect, & not a Price of Divination."[121] | [191v]

[▽Insert from 190v] [▽190v]
Q. Remarks upon the Stature and Aspect of *Saul*? v. 17.
A. The Nations look'd on Persons of an Heroic Stature and Aspect, as marked out for Empire. Hence the saying of *Euripides*, Ειδος αζιον τυραννιδος.[122] And that of *Curtius*, *Hominibus Barbaris in Corporum Majestate Veneratio est*.[123] But

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119 I.e., 8:33. The original error is in Patrick, *A Commentary* (95), from which Mather copies.
120 Patrick, *A Commentary* (95), citing Kimhi. As possible source, *see* Kimhi, *Former prophets.* As Patrick's possible Latin source, *see* Christian Schotanus (1603–1671), *Bibliotheca Historiae Sacrae* (1664), p. 561; see also *Biblia Rabbinica*, in which Kimhi's commentary was reproduced. Yaakov ben Hayyim, *Mikraot Gedolot* (1524), vol. 2, at 1 Sam. 9:1; *Samuel: A New English Translation*, in loc.
121 Henry Maundrell (1665–1701), Church of England clergyman and traveller, *A journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem at Easter A. D. 1697* (26).
122 Euripides, 5th-century BCE Athenian tragedian, *Fragmenta* (Nauck 15.2; Euripides' modern editor Nauck believes this fragment comes from the *Aeolus*). "A form [i.e., the physical form of one's body] worthy of sovereignty."
123 Quintus Curtius Rufus, 1st-century CE Roman historian, *Historiarum Alexandri Magni Macedonis* (6.5.29). "All barbarians have respect for physical presence."

no Words (as Dr. *Patrick* notes) are more memorable to this Purpose, than those of *Pliny*, in his Panegyric to *Trajan*; where he saies, [Cap. IV.] The Strength, the Talness of his Body, the Nobleness of his Aspect, the Dignity of his Mouth, the Gracefulness of his Speech, *Nonne longè lateque Principem ostentant*?[124] This was a thing so carefully provided for, in ancient times, That *Plutarch* tells us, the *Lacedemonians* fined their King *Archidamus*, for marrying a Wife of low Stature, who was likely to bring them, not *Kings*, but *Kinglings*, to reign over them.[125]

Q. *Where the Seers House*? v. 18.
A. An Argument that *Saul* had led a very private Life; since he had never seen *Samuel*, who went about into so many Places, to Judge the People. –
[△] [△Insert ends]

{....}

Q. *Samuel* said unto the *Cook, Bring the Portion which I gave thee, – And the Cook took up the Shoulder*. What is there observable in the Scriptures, concerning the *Portions* at the Table? v. 23.
A. Every one at the Table had his Portion apart. *Homer* makes all his *Hero*'s to eat after this fashion; and *Ajax* particularly, who probably was as good at *Eating*, as at *Fighting*, had a *Chine of Beef*, as his Allotment.[126]

Thus *Joseph* Entertained his Brethren; and thus *Elkanah* gives his *Hannah*, [1. Sam. 1.5.] *a Distribution of Faces*; even such a liberal Share of the Meat, as did show a very favourable Countenance.

The *Portion*, by *Samuel* here Sett apart for *Saul*, was the *Shoulder*; and it appears, from its being the *Priest*s particular *Portion,* [in Lev. 7.32.] that it was accounted the *choicest Part*.

A certain *Measure* of Meat, was appointed still at a Feast, by the *Master* of it. This *Appointed Portion*, is that which wee render, [Job. 23.12.] *Necessary Food*. And this, *Food of Allowance*, is that which wee render [Prov. 30.8.] *Food Convenient*.

The sett *Portions* of Meat, were called, by the Greeks, μοιραὶ, μερίδες, νομαὶ.[127] And the Name of the *Servants*, or Waiters, who distributed them unto

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124 "Do these things not extend rule lengthily and widely?"
125 Patrick, *A Commentary*, on I Sam. 9:2 (96), citing Pliny, *Panegyric to Trajan* (cap. IV); and Plutarch, *Agesilaus* (2.3).
126 Homer, *Iliad* (7.313–321): "When these had come to the shelters of the son of Atreus, Agamemnon the lord of men dedicated an ox among them, a five-year-old male, to Zeus, all-powerful son of Kronos. They skinned the victim and put it on order, and butchered the carcass, and cut up the meat expertly into small pieces, and spitted them, and roasted all carefully, and took off the pieces … Atreus' son, the hero wide-ruling Agamemnon, gave to Ajax in honor the long cuts of the chine's portion."
127 "Parts, portions, and divisions."

the Guests, according to the Order of the Master of the Feast, was Διάκονοι,[128] as *Lucian* and others, will satisfy us. [Thus διακονεῖν is taken, in Math. 20.28. Mark. 10.45. Luk. 12.37.] Wee read also of the *Ruler of the Houshold*, whose | [191v] Office was, to give them their *Portions of Meat*, [Luk. 12.12.] that is to say, the *Divuensum*,[129] or *Dividend*, allotted unto every one, at Meals. It is thought by some, That our Saviours Words, concerning *Mary*, [Luk. 10.42.] *Shee hath chosen*, τὴν ἀγαθὴν μιρίδα, *the good Part*, refer to this Distribution of the *Food*; and particularly *Martha*'s being *cumbred about much Serving*, περὶ πολλὴν διακονίαν. to the Way of providing for the Guests, by allotting to every one, his Distinct Part. And perhaps, the *Rightly Dividing the Word of Truth* [2. Tim. 2.15.] may have a special Allusion to this Custome.

Q. A Remark on this, That the Prophets had sometimes Matters of small Importance reveled unto them; As, when *Samuel* acquainted *Saul*, that the *Asses* were found? v. 23.[130]

A. It is *Origen*s Observation, That the Servants of God hereby kept the People from going unto *False Prophets*, to be satisfied in such things.[131] By this means also they gained Authority, to be relied upon when they had affairs of the greatest Consequence to foretel. And there was Reason, that they should in every Case, make all necessary Allowances for the Infirmities of the People, with whom they had to do; & use all proper Compliances with them, the more to prevail with them for their Good.

Q. A Remark on this, That *Saul* should be sent out to seek *Asses*, & missing them, should have *Israel* given into his hands in their stead? v. 23.

A. One saies upon it; "Providence meant sarcastically thus to represent *Israel*, as *Asses*, for being so fond of an Arbitrary Government."[132]

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128 "Servants."

129 Alternate reading: "Divinsum."

130 MS: "23."

131 Origen, early 3rd-century CE Alexandrian Christian theologian, *Adversus Celsum* (lib. I, cap. XXXVI): "There is therefore no absurdity in their prophets having uttered predictions even about events of no importance, to soothe those who desire such things, as when Samuel prophesies regarding three she-asses which were lost."

132 Source not further identified.

2756.

Q. Upon *Sauls* being anointed with a *Vial of Oyl*. What Remarks? v. 1.
A. It is Remarked, That *All Kings* were not *Anointed*; but only those, in whom *Succession* was Broken or Begun; *and* there, the First of the Family was *Anointed*. Only in Case of Dissension, there was required a Renewed Unction, for the Confirmation of his Authority.

It is also Remarked, That *Saul* and *Jehu,* were Anointed [*Bepac*][133] With a *Cruse* of *Oyl*; to shew, the short Continuance of their Kingdomes. *David* and *Solomon* were Anointed [*Bekeren*][134] with an *Horn* of *Oyl*; (a more, plentiful Measure,) to shew the long Continuance of their Kingdomes.

Q. The *Hill of God*? v. 5.
A. Here they sacrificed. Or, Here was a School of the Prophets, who were called, *Men of God*.

The *Garrison of the Philistines* here, intimates, that it was *Geba*, or *Gibeah*. For they had a *Garrison* there. [1. Sam. XIII.3.] Tho' the *Philistines* were subdued, and made no Invasions on the *Israelites*, during the Life of *Samuel*; yett they might retain some Strong-holds, out of which there was no driving of them.

{....}

Q. In what Sense are those Words to bee taken, *But who is their Father*? v. 12.
A. When some were wondring, that the Gift of *Prophecy* was fallen upon *Saul*, inasmuch as hee was but the *Son of Kish*, a plain, rude, Countrey *Farmer*; his Attendents go to take off the Wonder, saying, "Our *Prophecy* depends not on our *Parentage*! I pray, *who* was the Father of all the other *Prophets* here? Their *Father* was no *Prophet*; and the same Spirit that gives Wisdome to the rest of you may give the like Wisdome to the poorly descended *Saul*." I was inclinable to this Interpretation of these Words; till upon second Thoughts, I know not whether, *Saul* himself may not bee admited here, as the *Father* of all the Prophets. While the Rest were admiring That *Saul* was now among the *Divines*, one steps in to

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133 בפך

134 גקרן. On the anointing of David and Solomon with a horn (קֶרֶן) of oil, see 1 Sam. 16:13 and 1 Kings 1:39. Mather is quoting from Thomas Goodwin, *Moses and Aaron* (1678), ch. IV, "of their Kings," while Goodwin in turn seems to be drawing on rabbinic commentary. Saul's anointing is a *pouring* of oil, cf. 1 Sam. 10:1: יָצַק [yatsaq] "pour, pour out." Reference is made to the anointing (מָשַׁח [mashach] "anoint, spread a liquid") of Jehu at 1 Kings 19:16 and 2 Kings 9:1 f. Paul Peterson kindly provided this reference.

increase the Admiration, by adding, *et quis est Magister istorum nisi ipse* Saul![135] This was indeed, the most admirable of all the rest, That *Saul* should in his prophesying Faculties now, like a Sort of a *Master* to them, excell all the rest! So *Jerom* ha's it, *Quomodò subitò factus Propheta? imò Pater et Magister Cæterorum*?[136] | [blank] [191v]

135 "And who is master of Saul, but he himself!"

136 Jerome, *Divina Bibliotheca 09. Libri Duo Samuelis vel Liber 1 Malachiam* [PL 28.578–80]. "In what way was he suddenly made a prophet? Yea, he is the father and master of the rest [of the prophets]."

Q. Is there any Mystery, which the History of *Nahash* may lead us to? v. 1.
A. Upon the Apostles breaking off his Discourse on the *Allegories* in the Law, with such a Word as that; *of which things I cannot now speak particularly*; some have taken a Liberty to infer, That others might go on to *Allegorize* yett more *particularly*.

The *Allegorizing Stroke* must be kept under the Restraints of Wisdome. And there must be nothing done in it unto the Præjudice of the *History*. *Then*, we may sometimes in that Way, no doubt, be led with much Elegancy to find out many things which the Spirit of God would have us to take notice of.

I am content, That the Name of *Nahash* here, which signifies, *A Serpent*, may quicken your Thoughts of the *Old Serpent*. Consider this Prince as a Type of *him*. You will be sensible of some Curiosities in running the Parallel.

Q. Whence came such Expressions of Love, to pass, as there did between *Saul* & the Inhabitants of *Jabesh-Gilead*? v. 5.
A. Very painful & shameful were the Conditions which the *Ammonites* laid upon the *Gileadites*. To *thrust out all their Right Eyes*, was in Effect to render them stark blind. For the Jewes wore in their Wars, Broad *Shields* on their *Left Arm*; which as they sheltered their Body, so it hindered their Sight on that Side: the *Right Ey* being putt out by the Sword of the Ammonites & the *Left* blinded by their own *Shield*, how could they bee defended? *Saul* interposed. And the *Gileadites* being *Benjaminites,* by the Mothers Side [Judg. 21.12.] it was not only Protection to his *Subjects*, but Affection to his *Kindred* which caused him to succour them. For this Cause it was, that these *Gileadites* afterwards undertook that Hazardous but Honourable Enterprise, [1. Sam. 31.11.] of Rescuing the Bodies of *Saul* & his Family from the Insolencies of the *Philistines*; it was out of Gratitude for the Deliverance whereto *Saul* had formerly helped them. Having thus Recovered those Dead Bodies, it is said, *They buried the Bones under a Tree*. The Jewes generally interred their Dead, under some *Oak*; pleased perhaps, with the *Parallel*, that as those Plants that seem *Dead* in the Winter have every Spring an Annual *Resurrection*, so Mens *Dry Bones*, will have as it were a *New Sap,* given 'em at the *Day of Judgment*.

~~**2901**~~**{?}.**

Q. *Saul*s taking a *Yoke* of *Oxen, & hewing them in Peeces*, and *sending them throughout all the Coasts of Israel*; can you illustrate it with any action in Antiquity? v. 7.

A. *Lucian* in his *Toxaris*, mentions it as a Custome among the *Scythians*; That if a Man had received an injury, from one that was too strong for him, he slew an *Ox*, and sitting upon the Hide of the *Ox*, he offered Rosted Stakes of the Flesh, unto them that passed by. Whoever eat of the *Beef-Stakes* thus offered unto him, and stamp'd with his Right Foot upon the *Hide*, was understood thereby to promise the Injured Person, all the Assistance that he could afford him. *Itaque* (saies he,) *in Tergore Bovis nonnunquam ingens cogitur Multitudo. Qui exercitus, et certissimâ fide coheret, et hostibus est inexpugnabilis, tanquam jurejurando devinctus, Nam Tergus Carcasse est Jurâsse*.[137]

| [192v]

Q. Why is the Tribe of *Judah*, numbred by itself? v. 8.

A. *Bertram*, and *Alting*, and others, take it as an Honour done to this Tribe, which had the Preheminence, that they were numbred by themselves.

But Sir *John Marsham* looks upon it, as the Beginning of a *Schism*.[138]

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137 Lucian, *Toxaris* (48.15–19), in vol. III, *A Dialogue of Friendship*, quoted in Bochart, *Hierozoicon* (pars prior, lib. II, cap. XXXIII, col. 326). "The number of persons assembled on the hide is sometimes very considerable; nor could any troops be more reliable or more invincible than those which are collected in this manner, being as they are under a vow; for the act of stepping on to the hide constitutes an oath." This is a Latin translation of the Greek.

138 Patrick, *A Commentary* (126), citing Cornelius Bertram, late 16th-century Swiss-born French protestant and Hebraist, *De republica Hebraeorum* (1641); Jacob Alting, 17th-century Dutch philologist and theologian, *Schilo, seu de Vaticinio patriarchae Jacobi* (1659), lib. III, cap. XI; John Marsham, *Chronicus canon Aegyptiacus, Ebraicus, Graecus, & Disquisitiones* (1672), secul. IX.

[193r] 1. Samuel. Chap. 12.

4085.

Q. *Samuel* asserting his Integrity, saies, *The Lord is Witness*. It followes, *And they Answered, He is Witness*. In the Original,[139] it runs, *And he answered, A Witness*? v. 5.

A. The Jewes refer this Answer, to *God* Himself; to a *Bath Kol* from Heaven; to a *Voice* from Heaven, consenting to the Protestation of *Samuel*.

685{?}.

Q. In the Speech of *Samuel* enumerating some Judges of *Israel*, between *Jerubbaal* and *Jephtah*, there is one *Bedan* mentioned. I pray, who was that *Bedan*? v. 11.

A. It was none in the Earth, but *Sampson*; who is called, *Bedan*, because hee was of the Tribe of *Dan*; tis possible his own Tribe, industriously gott that Name fixed upon him, for their own Reputation. Or[140] *Bedan* might be the Contraction of *Ben-Dan*; as we have *Saul-meel* contracted into *Samuel*. The Chaldee Paraphrase reads, *He sent Gideon & Simson*.[141]

[193v] | [blank]

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139 וַיֹּאמֶר צַד [wayyomer ed] "and [the people] said, a witness." KJV and other translations supply: "And they answered, He is witness." LUT: "Sie sprachen: Ja, Zeuge sollen sie sein"; VUL: et dixerunt testis; LXX: καὶ εἶπαν μάρτυς.

140 The remainder of the entry is a later addition.

141 Patrick, *A Commentary* (132), citing the Chaldee Paraphrase: *Et misit Dus Gidghon, & Simson* (Walton, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* 2:230).

4577.

Q. Upon that Passage of *Sauls* Reigning *Two Years*; have you never seen a Devout Remark? v. 1.

A. Yes. One of Mr. *Strong*, to this Purpose.

Saul Reigned Twenty Years; but after he was Rejected of God, no more is counted of him. Nor will it be unto all those that spend their time unprofitably; that are but as empty Trees, that serve only to cumber the Ground.[142] *Vita Fabula est, in quâ non refert quam diù, sed quam benè*.[143]

That passage, *Saul Reigned one Year*, is in the Original,[144] *He was a Son of one Year in his Reigning*. I don't in the least Object against the common Sense of the Passage. Yett it may be worth mentioning, That the *Jewish* Interpreters refer it unto the *Innocency*, wherewith *Saul* managed the Government. *Regnavit ut Puer, unius Anni*.[145] The Hebrewes frequently leave out the Note of Similitude.

Q. It is a little surprizing, to find the *Philistines* come into the Field, with no less than *Thirty Thousand Chariots*. The great *Solomon* himself in all his *Glory*, had but a *Thousand & four hundred Chariots*. 1. King. 10.26. *Pharaoh* had but Six hundred. Exod. 14.7. See 2. Chron. 14.9. and 2. Sam. 10.18. and Jud. 4.3, 13. and 1. Chron. 18.4. And *Shishak* himself, whom some take to be *Sesostrys*, the greatest King, that ever *Egypt* had, had only a Thousand & Two Hundred. 2. Chron. 12.3.

It is much, the *Philistines* exceed them all? v. 5.

A. And what saies my Incomparable *Bochart* hereupon?

His omnibus Curruum Numerus minor fuit, quam Solomoni et sicubi major fuit, audeo dicere, Loca esse de mendo suspecta; quod in Numeris passim accidere nemo negaverit, qui non sit idem harum Literarum planè rudis atque imperitus.[146]

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142 Possibly William Strong (d. 1654), English Independent minister, his sermon entitled "God with Us, whilst We are with Him," in *XXXI select Sermons* (1656), p. 241, though he does not use the "Empty Trees" analogy, nor include the Latin phrase that concludes the paragraph.

143 "It is a life in which it is does not matter how long, but how good."

144 בֶּן־ שָׁנָה שָׁאוּל בְּמָלְכוֹ [ben-shanah sha'ul bemalkho] "A son of a year is Saul in his reigning." The KJV has: "Saul reigned one year."

145 "He ruled like a one-year-old boy."

146 "There were a lesser number of chariots in these than those of Solomon. And, if anywhere there was a greater number, I dare say, that place was taken up on false pretenses. For nobody has refused to cut through numbers throughout history, who was not certainly uninformed and inexperienced in these works." Patrick, *A Commentary* (139), citing Bochart, *Hierozoicon* (pars prior, lib. II, cap. IX, col. 156).

Accordingly, he showes, from the *Syriac*, that in the Text now before us, the Old Hebrew Bibles, read no more than *Three Thousand*. Of which also he thinks, many might be but *Waggons*. And for *Chariots,* in 1. Chron. 19.7. he brings the *Syriac*, as more probably Reading, *Horsemen*.

And the 7000, in 1. Chron. 19.18. he proves from 2. Sam. 10.18. that it should be but 700.

Judge as you please.

Dr. *Patrick* would avoid charging any Mistake in the Copy. He would have the Number stand; but he would have them be no more than *Carriages*; which were necessary for the Baggage of such a vast Multitude of People.

In the vast Army of *Mithridates*, there were but an *hundred* Chariots; and in *Darius*'s no more than *Two Hundred*; and in *Antiochus Epiphanes*'s [2. Macc. XIII.2.] but *Three Hundred*.[147]

Q. *Saul tarried seven Dayes, according to the Time that Samuel had appointed*? v. 8.

A. He mistook *Samuel*s Meaning. *Samuel* had said, He would come and offer sacrifice seven dayes; and then adds, *Thou shalt tarry till I come*. Old *Rupertus* and *Angelomus* have observed an *Amphibologia*[148] in *Samuel*s Words, but it was a Folly in *Saul*, to take them in the wrong Sense.[149] His last Words, were as much as to say, *Be sure to tarry till I come, and show thee what thou shalt do*. Indeed, common Reason might have taught him, that if the *War* was to be undertaken, it was (as Dr. *Patrick* observes) also to be managed, by the Counsel of the Lord.[150] He ought not to have sacrificed, or have done any other solemn Act, before the Prophet, who was the Embassador of the Lord, arrived.

4806.

Q. *Samuel* saies to *Saul*, If thou hadst been obedient, *The Lord would have established thy Kingdome forever*. How could this be, when it had been long since promised, That the Kingdome should be given to the Tribe of *Judah*? v. 13.

A. This, *Forever*, is, *In Sæculum*.[151] And a, *Sæculum*, is no more than a good, long, large Spott of Time.

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147 Patrick, *A Commentary* (138–39).

148 An uncertainty or equivocation.

149 Patrick, *A Commentary* (140), citing Rupertus Tuitiensis, possibly *Commentariorum in duodecim Prophetas minores Libri XXXI*, in *Osee Prophetam Commentariorum* (lib. IV) [PL 168]; and Angelomus Luxoviensis, *Enarrationes in Librum Regum* (lib. I, cap. XIII) [PL 115.296C]. The Latin text of Angelus reads: *Et exspectavit septem diebus juxta placitum Samuelis, et non venit Samuel in Galgala*.

150 Patrick, *A Commentary* (140).

151 "Into a cycle." *Saeculum* is the "cycle" of the seasons and thus a term for periods of time.

This is *Ralbag*s way of solving the Difficulty; How this Purpose of Heaven, could consist with the Prophecy of the Sceptre for the Tribe of *Judah*.[152] | [194v]

Q. Where lay *Sauls* Miscarriage? v. 13.
A. *Abarbanel* speaks distinctly upon it. *Samuel* told him, first, he would come & offer Sacrifice. He bid Him, secondly, wait seven Dayes. Lastly, He said, he would direct him what to do. Now *Saul* transgressed every Part of this. He offered Sacrifice himself; & he did not stay till the End of seven Dayes, but he did it on the Morning of the Seventh. And, he intended to Begin the War, without any Direction from the Inspired Prophet of God.[153]

Q. Wee read about, *The Valley of Zeboim*; why was it called so? v. 18.
A. All the Hebrew Interpreters, as R. R. *Solomon*, *Kimchi, Esaias, Mardochæus* in his Concordance, and others in their *Lexicons*, declare, the Hebrew Word /צבעים/ *Zeboim*, to mean a Sort of *Serpent*.[154] And *Jonathan* in his Chaldee Paraphrase led them the Way to this Interpretation; rendring it, *The Valley of Vipers*.[155]

Bochart thinks, the Word means that sort of *Speckled Serpents*, which the *Græcians* and *Egyptians* called, *The Hyæna*, and whereof the *Beresith Rabba* Hyperbolizes, That it has three hundred & sixty five several Colours.[156]

Of that *Serpent*, we may say with *Lucan*; *Pluribus ille notis variatam tingitur alvum*.[157]

Q. What Course did the *Philistines* take, to keep the *Israelites*, from *Smiths* and *Swords* and *Spears*? v. 19.
A. Perhaps they did it, by extorting a *Covenant*, with a *Penalty,* from them: And methinks, one may see an Illustration of this Passage, in the Law, which *Porsenna* Imposed upon the *Romans*, in his Covenant with them. *Ne Ferro, nisi in Agriculturâ uterentur*.[158] The Historians, of that People which afterwards

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152 Patrick, *A Commentary* (143), citing Levi ben Gerson, or Ralbag. As a possible source *see* Ralbag, *Commentarius in Prophetas priores* (1494); see also the *Biblia Rabbinica*: Yaakov ben Hayyim, *Mikraot Gedolot* (1524), vol. 2, at 1 Sam. 13:13; and *Samuel: A New English Translation*, in loc.
153 Patrick, *A Commentary* (142), citing Abravanel, *Commentary on the former Prophets*, at 1 Sam 13.
154 Mather cites Bochart, *Hierozoicon* (pars prior, lib. 1, cap. 9, col. 68); and David de Pomis (1525–after 1593), *Zemah David* (1587).
155 Chaldee Paraphrase: *vallem Aphghaia* (*see* Walton, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* 2:234).
156 Bochart, *Hierozoicon* (pars posterior, lib. III, cap. VII, col. 396), quoting *Beresith Rabba: Et tamen colores habet trecentos sexaginta quinque.*
157 Lucan, *Bellum Civilis* (9.713). "It is tinted on its dappled belly with more marks [than a Theban serpentine adorned with tiny flecks]."
158 Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* (34.39.139). "That he not make use of iron, unless in the tending of a field."

carried the World before them, do smother that Story in Silence; but *Pliny* ingenuously Confesseth it, & Reporteth it; in his Thirty-fourth Book.[159] By[160] the Way, How unlike the *Jewish* to that *Roman* History.

When tis said, *They went down to the Philistines, to sharpen* their Instruments; the Meaning is not, unto the Countrey of the *Philistines*, but unto the Garrisons, which they still held among the *Israelites*.[161]

4807.

Q. But what Course did the poor *Israelites* then take, to Arm themselves?
A. They had *Slings* and *Bowes*; and they were not without *Stones* and *Darts*, to be employ'd in them. This is the Answer that *Munster* gives unto the Quæstion.[162]

But, by the Way, observe the Sloth of the *Israelites*, That when *Samuel* gave so great an Overthrow to the *Philistines*, the *Smiths* and other such Artificers, were not properly Restored. It may be added, The Trade is not presently learnt.[163]

The *Chaldæans* imitated this Policy of the *Philistines*. 2. King. XXIV.14.

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159 Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* (34.39.139).
160 The rest of the entry is a later addition.
161 Patrick, *A Commentary* (145), entry on I Sam. 13:19.
162 Münster, *Hebraica Biblia* (262).
163 Patrick, *A Commentary* (145).

1. Samuel. Chap. 14. [195r][164]

Q. We read of *Saul*, with his Army; *He tarried in the uppermost Parts of Gibeah, under a Pomegranate tree, which is in Migron*? v. 2.

A. Sir *Thomas Brown*, objects against its being taken in the literal Sense. For a *Pomegranate-Tree* is but low of Growth, & very unfitt to pitch a *Tent* under it. He thinks we may rather take it, for the Name of a Place; as perhaps for the Rock *Rimmon*, which signifies, *A Pomegranate*, & might be so named from the *Pome-Granates* which grew there; and many think to have been the same that is mentioned in the Book of *Judges*.[165]

Q. *If they say, come up to us, the Lord has delivered them into our hand*? v. 10.

A. A Divine Instinct, was needful for this Assurance.

There is a thing like this in the Beginning of the Fifth Book of *Herodotus*. He saies, The *Pæonians* went to War with the *Perinthians*, by a Divine Direction. They were ordered, That if the *Perinthians* being opposed unto them, should provoke them by Name to Fight, then they should Invade them; if not, Abstain. While they were facing one another, there happened a threefold single Combate; in two of which the *Perinthians* began a Song of Triumph, and Insulted & Challenged the *Pæonians*. The *Pæonians* hereupon said one to another, Νυν αν ειη οχρησμος επιτελεσμενος ημιν, Νυν ημετερον το ε{ργον}, *Now is the Oracle fulfilled unto us; Now is our Business*.[166] And so, with a Shout, they fell on the *Perinthians*, and conquered 'em, & slaughtered 'em, & left few of 'em remaining.

[▽Insert from 196r–v][167] [▽196r–v]

Q. What may be here meant by, *The Ark of GOD*? v. 18.

A. It is plain, That either the High-Priest, or some other deputed in his room, always went with the Armies of *Israel* to the Wars, and carried with him the *Ephod* and *Breast-Plate*, therewith to ask in the Way of the *Urim* and *Thummim*, Counsel of GOD, upon difficult Emergencies. Thus *Phinehas* went unto the Wars, Num. XXXI.6. *with the Holy Instruments*. The Jewish Commentators expound it, of the *Ephod* and *Breast-Plate*; which were, they say, putt into an *Ark* or *Chest*, made on Purpose for it, and carried also on the Shoulders of the

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164 A quarto-sized leaf.

165 Browne, "Observations Upon several Plants mention'd in Scripture," in *Certain Miscellany Tracts* (1686), p. 35. on "the rock Rimmon," see Judg. 20:47.

166 Drawing upon Patrick, *A Commentary* (150), Mather cites Herodotus, *Historiae* (5.1.16). Mather and Patrick have επιτελεσμενος, which Legrand's edition (transl. Godley, 1920) renders as ἐπιτελεόμενος.

167 A duodecimo leaf pasted to the right edge of the preceding quarto leaf.

Levites. Of this *Ark* they understand the Words of *Saul* now before us, *Bring hither the Ark of GOD*. This could not well be the *Ark of the Covenant*; For that was then at *Kirjath-jearim*, & ought never to have been removed from its Place in the Tabernacle into the Wars, and never was, but once against the *Philistines*, and then God punished it, with delivering all into the hand of the Enemy. When *Saul* now said, *Bring hither the Ark*, it was but what was at another time said by *David*; 1. Sam. XXIII.9. *Bring hither the Ephod*. Of the same *Ark*, they understand
[197v] the Words of *Uriah*, in his Excuse for his not going to his House. 2. Sam. | XI.11. *The Ark – abide in Tents*. If it be taken for the *Ark of the Covenant abiding* in the *Tabernacle*, it would have been a Reason rather for his going to his House.

But[168] Monsieur *Saurin* pretty earnestly declares on the Side of them, who hold, that there was but *one Ark* in *Israel*.[169]

And in the Case now before us, he says, It seems most Natural to suppose, that the *Ark* which had been deposited in the House of *Abinadab* at *Kirjath-jearim*, was transported unto the Camp, when *Saul* made War with the *Philistines*, and that *Jonathan* obtained the Victory related in this Chapter.

[△] [△Insert ends]

Q. What Remark, do most of the Ancients make, upon that Matter of *Saul*s bidding the *Priest, withdraw his Hand*, from the *Ark*? v. 19.

A. They generally observe upon it, That the Fall of *Saul*, began with the Neglect of *Prayer*.

[195v] |

Q. *A very great Discomfiture*.] Whence? v. 20.

A. First, *Jonathan* rush'd on them, with such fury, as to throw them down; and then his Armour-bearer killed them. *Victorinus Strigelius* observes, That this was a more wonderful Action, than that of *Horatius Cochlites*, who alone maintained a Passage at a Bridge, against all the Forces of the Enemies.[170]

And then, secondly, there was a *Trembling of God* sent among them. The Pagans called this, *A Panic Terror*; and their stoutest Men Trembled in it. *Pindar* thus expresses it,

Εν γαρ
Δαιμονιοισι φοβοις
Φευγονται και παιδες θεων

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168 Rest of entry a later addition.

169 Jacques Saurin (1677–1730), French protestant and theologian, *Discours Historiques, Critiques, Theologiques et Moraux*, 2 vols. (1720–28), transl. John Chamberlayne, *Dissertations, Historical, Critical, Theological and Moral, on the most memorable Events of the Old and New Testaments*, 3 vols. (1723), 1:482.

170 Strigelius, *Libri Samuelis, Regum, & Paralipoménon* (46). Horatius Cocles was a Roman officer in the late 6th-century CE who defended the Pons Sublicius, at the entrance to Rome itself, against an Etruscan army.

When Men are struck with Divine Terrors, even the Children of the Gods [the most Heroic Spirits,] *betake themselves to flight*.[171]

Lastly; *Josephus* thinks, one thing that contributed unto it, was this; Their Army consisted of diverse Nations, who did not know one another, and so fell into great Confusion.[172]

Q. *Saul*s Adjuration? v. 24.
A. A very Indiscreet Action. A moderate Refreshment is necessary, for Souldiers going about a long Engagement. *Vegetius* observes [L. 3. c. 7.] *Veteribus Sæculis Mos fuit, parco Cibo Curatos Milites ad certamen educere, ut Citatiores Sumpta esca reddere{n}t, et longiore Conflictu non fatigarunter inedia*.[173]

Q. His *Eyes were enlightened*? v. 27.
A. He had been so spent by long Abstinence, that he could *hardly see*. We need not quote *Gerhard Vossius* for it, That our *Eyes* grow dim with long Hunger. But nothing so speedily Restores our Spirits, as *Wine* and *Honey*. They are of subtil Spirits, & soon diffused. It will not be to the present Purpose, to observe what is told us by the Learned, That *Honey* is good for weak & sore Eyes.[174]

| [197r][175]

Q. A Review of *Jonathan*s Action against the *Philistines*? v. 46.
A. Having had Occasion in a Sermon unto a very great Auditory upon the Success of a *New English* Expedition,[176] to descant upon it, I will extract from thence, what more immediately related unto it.

The *Philistines* were a very warlike People, and made such a Figure, that all the Land of *Israel*, is in *Maps*, and in *Books*, often called *Palestine*. GOD had wonderfully destroy'd the Nations that were the Natives of that Countrey, that He might settle His own People there. But He left the *Philistines* to be a long while vexatious to them; *Scourges in their Sides, & Thorns in their Eyes*. He so punished their criminal *Slothfulness*; their *Apostasies* and *Idolatries*. Indeed the *Israelites* did once conquer Part of their Countrey; but the *Philistines* again Recov-

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171 Pindar, *Nemean Odes* (9.27–28).
172 Patrick, *A Commentary* (154), citing Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* (6.2): "the greatest part, not knowing one another, because they were of different nations, suspected one another to be enemies."
173 "It was the custom to lead anxious soldiers into battle with a small meal, so that, once the meal was eaten, they would return more quickly and not grow fatigued with hunger during a prolonged conflict." Patrick, *A Commentary* (156), citing Vegetius, *de Re Militari* (3.7).
174 Patrick, *A Commentary* (157), citing Gerardus Vossius, *De theologia Gentili, et physiologia Christina: sive de Origine ac Progressu Idololatriae* (1641), cap. LXXIX.
175 Slightly undersized folio leaf once glued in with sealing wax.
176 No published sermon of Mather's corresponds with the content of this entry. Mather possibly refers to the expedition against Acadia and Nova Scotia in April 1690 led by Sir William Phips, which resulted in the capture of Port Royal; see *Magnalia Christi Americana* (bk. II, pp. 47–48).

ered it. They had now a *strong Hold* at *Michmash*. Here they armed and animated *Robbers*, who went several Ways; & committed great Spoils upon the *Israelites*. At this Time *Saul* had a small Army with him, in a poor Condition to do any great Matter against the *Philistines*. But his excellent Son *Jonathan*, carrying only his Armour-bearer with him, now made a very strange Attempt on the *Philistæan Garrison*. *Saul*, was for weighty Reasons left unconsulted & unconcerned, in this Action. *Jonathan*, it seems, could scarce have been defended at a *Court-Martial*; At least, if a *Torquatus* were to sitt as the Judge of it.[177] However, we know not how large a *Commission* he might be armed withal. It seems, harder to defend him from the Charge of *Rashness* and *Madness*, in proposing that *he Alone*, attended with none but his waiting Man, should engage in such an Enterprize. But, it was really, a Fortitude & a Performance of an *Hero*, for which he is to be celebrated unto late Posterity. The *Hero* had, as *Peter Martyr* observes, a *Faith* in certain *Promises* of God.[178] And indeed, I make no Doubt, that this was one of those Instances, which our Apostle had in his Eye, when he celebrates, Heb. XI.34. Those *who by Faith turned to Flight the Armies of the Aliens*.

GOD had promised, That if His People would fear & serve Him, *one should chase a Thousand, & two putt Ten Thousand to flight*. Now thought he; *I and my young Man, may engage Ten Thousand of them*.

GOD had more particularly promised, That the Government of *Saul* should be brightened with some *Victory over the Philistines*. Now thought he; *It may be Now is the Time to try for a Victory*. And then, the *Holy Spirit* of GOD came upon him. His whole Action was managed under *Inspirations* of GOD. GOD moved him; GOD Acted him; He was *Inspired* of GOD. *This* carried him thro' his Undertaking. This dictated the Proposal, *Come and lett us go over unto the Garrison of these uncircumcised Ones*, that are Strangers to the *Covenant* of GOD, and have no Claim to His Protection. Upon this Proposal, Behold, how his *Faith* rises. First he says, *It may be the Lord will work for us*. His *Faith* in the Application of the *Divine Power* to a work at *This Time*, was yett in some Degree of Dubious Expectation. But he has no Doubt at all upon him, That *if* GOD would please to work now at *This Time*, they should carry all before them. Of *this* he had a *Faith* stronger than the *Rocks* he was climbing over. And then, for the *Divine Power* itself, which is the Foundation of his Expectation, he has no Manner of *Doubt* at all concerning it. *There is no Restraint upon the Lord, for to save by Many or by Few*. O *victorious Faith*; what *Philistines* can stand before that! A golden Sentence! And so famous an one, that *Asa*, an hundred & forty Years after, putt into a *Prayer* before a *Battel*. A Maxim very contrary to what some great Commanders in our Days have been us'd unto. The Infamous Marshal

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177 Titus Manlius Imperiosus Torquatus, consul of Rome in the 4th-century BCE, who handed his own son over to be executed for violating military disciplines that Torquatus himself had reinstated.

178 Peter Martyr Vermigli, *In duos Libros Samuelis Prophetae* (76–77).

Turenne, had a very different Maxim; *Dieu aidoit les gros Squadrons*, or, *Heaven is a Friend to a great Army*.[179]

There were Two Mighty Rocks, indented as it were into one another, that must be passed over. The most *unlikely Passage* was to be taken. Tis a *Work of GOD*, when the Ways that look'd the most *unlikely*, shall be the Ways to come at what is desired. Sometimes Men have *Rocks* of *Difficulties* before them; *sharp Rocks*, which, it may be, they cannot gett over without *creeping*, and some uneasy Compliances. From the *Two Rocks* of *Michmash*, there may be dispensed an Admonition or two, unto all that engage in public Services. The *Names* of the *Two Rocks* to be gott over, are *Bozez*, and *Seneh*: *Bozez* is as much as to say, *Dirty*; and *Seneh*, is as much as to say, *Thorny*. O all you that will be engaged in any generous | Undertakings, for the Public; Remember, you must gett over [197v] not only *Seneh*, but *Bozez* also; not only *Thorny* Encumbrances, but also *Dirty* Calumnies, Reproaches, Misrepresentations. When you do *That*, you have {the} *Lord working* with you, & in you. Tis a *Work of GOD*. I will add This. A learned *Jew*, who turned *Christian*, Four hundred Years ago, writing a Commentary on the Bible [whereof they said, *Nisi Lyra Lyrasset Mundus delirasset*,][180] says, when he sees *Jonathan* hanging on the *Two Rocks*, he sees a Type of our Blessed JESUS, hanging by the *Two Nails* that fastened His Hands upon the *Cross*. Truly Tis owing to the *Crucifixion* of our SAVIOUR, that the *Philistines* of Hell are conquered. Yea, All the Good we receive in *This World*, is owing to it. And if we would go cheerfully thro' all our *Difficulties*, there is nothing like having an Eye to a *Crucified* SAVIOUR. [see Heb. XII.3.]

Again; I take notice of the *Signal* for *Success* that *Jonathan* pitched upon. There was a *Work of GOD* in it. Says he; *If they say thus, come up to us, then we will go up; for the Lord has delivered them into our hand; and This be a Sign unto us*. We have not here a *Præcedent* for every *Divinatory Stroke*, which the Vain and Rash Minds of Men may run upon. Men should beware of *Tempting* the Holy GOD, by imposing their *Signs* upon Him. To make or to take *Omens*, is a frequent, a profane, an unwarrantable *Superstition*. Our *Jonathan* was under an uncommon *Impulse* from GOD, in the *Signal* he now relied upon. There was a glorious *Acknowledgement* in it. It acknowledges, That the *Hearts* of Men, & the *Tongues* of Men, as well as their *Hands*, are in the *Hands* of GOD. GOD can make wicked Men *speak* what He will. Their *Speeches* are under the Ordering of GOD; execute the Orders of GOD. Oh! That the Abused Servants of GOD, were very mindful of This!

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179 Henri de la Tour d'Auvergne, Vicomte de Turenne (1611–75), Marshal of France under Louis XIV.

180 "If Lyra had not played his lyre, the entire world would have been deranged." By the "Learned *Jew*, who turned *Christian*," Mather means Nicholas de Lyra, an early fourteenth-century Franciscan exegete who may or may not have been a convert from Judaism.

Thirdly. A marvellous Confusion followed. A *Work of GOD*, brought a Confusion upon them. First, The Two Champions unexpectedly falling on the *Philistines*, presently slew Twenty of them. GOD *præserved* His Champions Invulnerable, that none of the *Darts* which were shott by the *Philistines* at them, wounded them. There is a *Work of GOD*, in such *Præservations*. Tis thought by some, A *Fog* then Falling out, was of great Use to cover them from the View of the Enemy. Then, *The Philistines*; They were Terrified; They were Astonished. That which we call, *A Panic Terror*, fell upon them; A *Terror* struck by the Almighty GOD into their Souls. Thus to *Dispirit* an Enemy, is the *Work of God*: The Pagans themselves esteemed it so: The *Philistines* had yett something of *Reason* for their *Terror*. They could never imagine, That no more than *Two Men* could ever make such a Descent upon them: They were fearfully apprehensive of unknown *Ambushments* and *Strategems*. There was yett another thing that contributed unto their *Terror*. *Good Angels* interposed. An amazing *Earthquake*, a stupendous *Earthquake* happened. This is always a *Terrible* Thing. The *Angels* of GOD were *at Work* in such a Thing. There is no standing before those mighty *Angels*. The *Philistines* in the Midst of this Confusion, had the Rage to fall upon one another. They *fell out among themselves*. They could have no Trust in one another. They could not see *Friends* from *Foes*. It was an ancient Conjecture upon it, That the *Angels* of GOD now smote the *Philistines*, with a sort of Αορασια, or a *Blindness* that gave them a Wrong Representation of the Objects before them; such as was once upon the *Sodomites*; and afterwards upon the *Syrians*. They mistook strangely; By Mistake they made at one another; supposing them to be *Israelites*. A Plague often inflicted, when *Angels* come down *from the Machin of Heaven*, into a Matter. Some great Interpreters have said, *Hæc Sententia mihi vehementer placet*.[181] Besure, To break an Enemy by *Divisions* among themselves, This also is a *Work of GOD*. A *perverse Spirit mingled* among them that are to be destroy'd, and facilitating their Destruction, tis a *Dementation* that GOD sends upon them.

Lastly; There was a Train of happy *Consequences*. Things went on, till the *Philistines* were mightily mortified; and *Israel* saw Deliverances, which we shall not proceed now to take notice of.

These few Remarks, are thus made, upon the Expedition of *Jonathan*.

181 "This opinion quite ardently pleases me."

Q. *Footmen*.] v. 4.
A. Horsemen were not allow'd in the *Israelitish* Armies.

Vegetius [L. II. c. 1.] observes, That in Two Regards, *Footmen* are more useful than *Horsemen*. First, Because, *possunt ubique prodesse*. Secondly, Because a great Number of them, *Sumptu et Expensâ minore nutriretur*.[182]

Q. *It Repenteth me*.] v. 11.
A. *Procopius Gazæus* well expresses the Matter. *Penitentia Dei; est Dispensationis ipsius Mutatio*.[183]

Q. Wee read of *Saul*, *setting up himself a Place*; what Sort of a *Place*? v. 12.
A. Wee read of *Absalom*, that he erected himself a *Pillar*, to *keep his Name in Remembrance*. It was an usual Thing, for Conquerors especially, to have *Triumphal Pillars* erected in Memory of their Conquests. Upon the Victory over the *Amalekites*, now *Saul* seems to be in such a Flush, that hee will have a *monumental Pillar*, to Celebrate it. This is here called /יָד/ *An Hand*, which wee render, *A Place*; but the Vulgar Latin, *Fornicem Triumphalem*, a Triumphant *Arch*. The Word being taken, for a *monumental Pillar*, or Trophy, is accordingly as a Promise to them that please God: [Isa. 56.5.] That they shall have *a Place* & a *Name in the House of God*; that is to say, /יָד/ A *Pillar* erected for *Fame*. | [198v]

Q. When it was said unto *Saul, Rebellion is as the Sin of Witchcraft*, what special Design do you see in the Expression? v. 23.
A. I am sure I can see no such Design, as our *passive Obedience* and *Non-Resistence* Folks make such a Noise with this Scripture for.[184] *Rebellion* against

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182 Patrick, *A Commentary* (165), citing *Vegetius*, *De re Militari* (2.1). "They were able to do good everywhere … were nourished by minor supply and expense."

183 Patrick, *A Commentary* (167), citing Procopius Gazaeus, *In Libros Regum, et Paralipomenon Scholia* (44). Patrick translates the Latin to read, "God's repentance is the change of his own dispensation."

184 By the "*passive Obedience* and *Non-Resistence* Folks," Mather probably meant those who opposed the Declaration of Indulgence issued by James II in 1687, which would have allowed for the toleration of Catholics and dissenters, and who then refused to recognize the succession of William to the English throne in 1688. The doctrine of passive obedience, espoused most famously by a coterie of seven bishops, called for treating any dissent to the authority of the crown as illegal and sinful, and instead advised non-resistance to government. Bp. John Lake's deathbed declaration of 23 Aug. 1688 included adherence to passive obedience and non-resistance as doctrines of the Church of England. See William Gibson, *James II and the Trial of the Seven Bishops* (2009).

lawful Authoritie, is indeed a wicked Thing; but a just *Self-Defence* against those that abuse *Authoritie* to do unlawful Things, is not Reprehensible, by the Text now before us; for any Man may see with half an Eye, that not a *Rebellion* of *Subjects* against *Princes*, but a *Rebellion* of *Princes* against God, the Almighty Lord of all, is there spoken of.

But, why this *Rebellion* is to bee compared unto *Witchcraft*, a further Account is to bee given. When King *Saul* himself scowred the *Witches* out of *Israel*, hee then practically confessed, that *Witchcraft* was an *Abominable* Thing; T'was then with some *Emphasis* that his *Rebellion* is in this Way called an *Abomination*. But besides this, I have a little Conjecture for you; That the two great Sins of *Saul*, the former committed at the *Beginning* of his Reign, and the latter at the *Conclusion* of it, are here pointed at. *Saul* was now entring upon his Reign, & then his Crime was his *Rebellion* in sparing of the *Amalekites*, whom the God of Heaven had *Three* several Times declared, that Hee would have *destroyed*. But just at the Close of his Reign, hee fell into the *Sin of Witchcraft*, in consulting the Hag of *Endor*, to know his Fortunes. There was a wonderful Wisdome of Heaven, and the *Spirit of Prophecy* wonderfully expressed, in putting the *Two Crimes* of that forsaken Monarch, thus into *One Admonition*.

Q. *He laid hold on the Skirt of his Mantle*. The Shape of the *Mantle*? v. 27.
A. *Braunius* ha's cutt it out, for you. It was a Foursquare Garment, covering the Breast and the Back; knitt at the Shoulders, but open on the Sides.[185]

3826.

Q. How may we understand those Words of *Agag*, *The Bitterness of Death is past*? v. 32.
A. In Dr. *Kidder*s Account of the Life of Dr. *Horneck*, I have newly mett with this Passage:

"There is nothing renders us more afraid to Dy, than a soft & voluptuous Life. *Oh Death, How bitter is the Remembrance of thee, to a Man that liveth in Rest, in his Possessions*! Ecclus. 41.1.[186] We have an Exemple of this in *Agag*. He came *Delicately*, and was *Pinguissimus et Tremens* [Vulg. Lat. in Loc.] *very Fat & Trembling*. And no wonder then, that he should complain of the *Bitterness of Death*. For so certainly he does, however our Interpreters come to render his Words. *Death* must be *bitter*, where Voluptuousness makes *Life* to be *sweet*."[187]

Upon this Hint, I sett myself to enquire further; and I find it notably countenanced in some of the Jewish Interpreters. They render it, *The Bitterness*

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185 Patrick, *A Commentary* (171), citing Braunius, *Vestitus sacerdotum Hebræorum* (lib. II, cap. V, no. VIII).
186 I.e., the apocryphal book Ecclesiasticus (Sirach).
187 Richard Kidder, 17th-century Church of England bishop and theologian, *The Life of the Reverend Anthony Horneck* (1698), pp. 32–33.

of Death is come upon me. No less a Man, than *R. David*, expounds the Hebrew Word, which we translate, *Is past*, by a Word, that signifies, *Attigit*;[188] It hath *siezed upon me, and most sensibly touched me*.

188 Conjectural reading; *attigit* implies "reached." As a possible source, *see* David de Pomis, *Zemah David* (1587).

[201r] 1. Samuel. Chap. 16.

Q. May there have been any singular *Mystery*, in the *seven Sons* of *Jesse* passing by, and being passed over, before the Coming of *David*, whom the Lord, chose for the King of His People? v. 10.

A. Perhaps there was a *Type* in it. I have somewhere mett with a *Note* of this Importance.

"When the *seven Revolutions* of the Church are gone over, signified by the *seven* Rejected Sons of *Jesse*, then our *David* shall appear, *White* and *Red*, in his most amiable Beauty."[189]

In the mean time, our *David* is Retired; and little Respected, or expected, in the World.

Q. *David* was *Ruddy*? v. 12.

A. *Bochart* thinks, His *Hair* was *Red*; which, as he observes, in ancient times was accounted Beautiful. This agrees with what we have in *Festus*; who, having said that *Rutilius* Signifies, *Red*; adds, *cujus Coloris studiosæ etiam antiquæ Mulieres erant*; It was a Colour, whereof the Women in ancient times were studious.[190]

But indeed, the Hebrew Word, *Admoni*,[191] signifies, *Bright* as well as *Red*. It may be interpreted then, that *David* was one of a *clear* Complexion.[192]

The Opinion of *Abarbanel*, is probable, That at this time *David* was not
[201v] above Twenty Years old.[193] |

156.

Q. What was that *evil Spirit from the Lord*, wherewith *Saul* was *Troubled*; and how was *David*s playing *on the Harp*, an allayment of that *Spirit*? v. 14, 23.

A. God permitted a *Dæmon* to Invade & Possess, this miserable Prince, and very sensibly to disturb his Mind with *Phantasms*, which threw him into many Frantick and Furious Disorders. Now *David*s Harp allay'd these Tempests in the Mind of *Saul*; not by its having some Resemblance of the *Cross*, as diverse of the more superstitious Ancients have conceited; but partly, thro' the Natural Efficacy of *Music*, to compose Raging *Spirits*; [See 2. K. 3.15.] and cheefly,

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189 Mather does not further identify the source for this quote.

190 Bochart, *Hierozoicon* (pars prior, lib. II, cap. XXXIV, col. 343), citing S. Pompeius Festus, *Epitoma Operis de Uerborum significatu Uerrii Flacci* (p. 320, line 4; cf. Lindsay [1913]).

191 אַדְמוֹנִי [admoni] "red, ruddy."

192 Patrick, *A Commentary* (179), citing Bochart, *Hierozoicon* (pars prior, lib. II, cap. XXXIV, col. 343).

193 Mather cites Abravanel, *Commentary on the former Prophets*. As a possible source, *see* Patrick, *A Commentary* (369 f.), at 2 Sam 5:4.

because tis likely the sweet Singer of *Israel*, now sang some of his own Inspired *Songs*; which were Devotions that the Divels could not well stand before. To this Purpose, *Pfeiffer*.[194]

On[195] this occasion, I will take notice of a Passage, in *Alexander ab Alexandro,* Dier. Genial. L. 6. c. 5.

"*Asclepiades* made use of nothing more than the musical Harmony, and Consort of Voices, in curing Frenetical Persons, and such as were disordered in the Mind."[196]

Read the Authors that have written about them that are bitten with the *Tarantula*, and especially the last of them, who is the Ingenious *Baglivi*; and see how *Music* operates upon them, to allay the Ferment of the Poison that ha's infected them;[197] you will therein see the Matter of *Saul* more than a little Illustrated.

Upon[198] *David*s acquaintance with the *Harp*, Dr. *Patrick* observes, That *Nero* truly said, *Antiqui Duces Cithara cecinerunt*.[199] It is mentioned by *Tacitus* in his *Annals*. L: XIV. c. 14.

Cornelius Nepos reports of *Epaminondas*; That he was an excellent Musician.[200]

| [202r]

4109.

Q. We read of *David*, That he was *Anointed Three Times*: Once at *Bethlehem*, while *Saul* was yett living: [1. Sam. 16.13.] A Second time, at *Hebron*, when he became King of *Judah*, on the Death of *Saul*. [2. Sam. 2.4.] A Third Time at *Hebron*, when he was declared King of all *Israel*, & when *Saul*s Posterity was all cast off: [2. Sam. 5.3.] whereupon he took the Tower of *Zion*. Might there be any *Mystery* in this *three-fold Unction*? v. 23.

A. Yes, doubtless. *David* was a Type of the *Messiah*. The *Messiah* is Anointed unto a *Three-fold Office*; that of a *Priest*, and a *Prophet*, and a *King*; He is the *Thrice-Anointed* one.

Yea, and there were Three Steps of His Anointing. The first was in the *Fullness of the Spirit*, wherewith His Humanity was filled at His Nativity. The

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194 August Pfeiffer, 17th-century German Lutheran theologian and orientalist, *Hermeneutica Sacra* (1684).

195 The portion of entry starting here is written in a darker brown ink than the foregoing.

196 Alexander ab Alexandro (c. 1461–1523), Neapolitan lawyer, *Genialium dierum libri sex* (1626), lib. VI, cap. V. Cf. "Music hath charms to calm the savage beast."

197 Giorgio Baglivi (1668–1707), Italian physician and scientist, *The Practice of Physick* (1704), pp. 377–82.

198 The remainder of entry is a still later addition in black ink.

199 "Leaders of old played the lyre."

200 Patrick, *A Commentary* (183), citing Tacitus, *Annals* (14.14); and Cornelius Nepos, 2nd-century BCE Roman biographer, author of *Excellentium Imperatorum Vitae*.

Second was in the *Descent of the Spirit* upon Him, at His *Baptism*, when He was entring on His public Ministry. The Third was, after His Resurrection, when He *Received all Power*, and ascended into the Heavens. He had then finished what He had undertaken, and [Psal. 45.8.] *Therefore, O God, thy God anointed thee with the Oyl of Gladness*, and Heavenly Glory.

~~617~~{?}.

Q. I ask you, to give mee the Instances wherein *David*, was a *Type* of our Lord Jesus Christ, before wee come to take notice of other Passages occurring in the History of that Renowned Man? v. 23.

A. That the *Messiah* often is called by the Name of *David*, is evident. Consider Jer. 30.9. Ezek. 34.24. Ezek. 22.24. Hos. 3.5. Isa. 55.3. with Act. 13.34.

Hence, Things uttered by *David* as concerning himself, under the Inspirations of the Almighty, Do indeed belong to Him, that is *Davids Lord*.

Consider, Psal. 16. and 18. and 22. and 40. and 69. and 88. and 89. –

But besides these Things.

The Story of *David* is more fully and largely described, than any other Persons, in all the *Old Testament*. And the Story of *Jesus*, is that whereof the *New Testament* chiefly consisteth. Yea, every Verse of the whole Bible does lead us, unto Him. [Joh. 5.39.][201]

David signifies, A *Beloved One*. And *Jesus* is Thus unto God: [Math. 3.17.] should bee Thus unto us. [Cant. 5.16.]

It was the Character of *David*, The Lord *Took him from the Sheepfold*. And it is the Character of *Jesus*; Hee is the *Great Shepherd of the Sheep*. Herein, there was one Atchievement of *David*, which is the Performance of *Jesus* too; – While *David* was keeping his Fathers Sheep, at one Time there came a *Lion*, at another Time, there came a *Bear*, and snatched a *Lamb* of the Flock away; but hee caught both by the *Hair of the Nether Chap*, and by slaying them delivered the *Lamb* from Slaughter. The Souls of the *Elect*, are the *Sheep* committed unto the Custody of our Lord, by His *Father*, in the ancient Covenant. A *Divel* is a *Lion*, a *Lust* is a *Bear*, by which these poor *Lambs* are siezed. But the Lord, with a mighty Power does Rescue them.[202]

There was a monstrous *Giant*, who defy'd the Armies of *Israel*. A *Giant*, who was *Three Yards* & *Three Hands*, in Heighth; a *Giant*, whose *Coat of Mail* weigh'd near an *Hundred & Threescore* Pound; a *Giant* who carried a *Spear*, with an *Head* not lighter than Twenty five Pound; This *Goliah*, was by the Sling of *David* laid sprawling on the Ground: but, it is added, [1. Sam. 17.51.] *David ran, and stood upon the Philistine, & took his Sword, & drew it out of the Sheath thereof, and slew him, & cutt off his Head therewith*. Such, but a greater Exploit, ha's our

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201 Mather leaves a blank line before resuming.
202 Mather leaves a blank line before resuming.

Lord Jesus done. That horrid *Goliah*, the *Divel*, ha's triumphed over undone, forlorn Mankind; but our Lord has mortified him, with his *own Sword*. What is the *Sword* of the *Divel*? Tis *Death*. Hee is the *Angel of Death*; and | has a peculiar [202v]
Concernment about, *The Death of Men*. *Death* is the Broad *Sword*, the Drawn *Sword*, with which this *Goliah* terrifies the World. Now, tis said, [Heb. 2.14.] our Lord *thro Death destroyes him, that ha's the Power of Death, that is the Divel*. Thro' the *Death* of our Lord it is, that the Kingdome of the *Divel* is overthrown, and the *Divel* is able to do no Hurt unto the people of God forever. Thus, according to a passage, written, say Some, on the Fall of *Goliah*, [Psal. 9.16.] *The wicked is Snared in the work of his own Hands*.

The[203] Advancement of *David* unto his Kingdome, was very gradual. His first Præferment, was to an Office in the Court of *another King*. Then was hee *King himself* only over *Judah* and *Benjamin*, at *Hebron*. But at last, hee was King over all *Israel* at *Jerusalem*. Thus *progressive* is the Kingdome of our *Jesus*; as in a particular *Soul*, so in the universal *World*. [Math. 13.31.]

I cannot learn, that there were ever, more than *Fifty Thousand Christians* at a Time in the vast City of *Rome*, for the first Three Hundred Years of Christianitie; but you know the Progress which Christianitie made upon the Dayes of *Constantine*. The Kingdome of our Lord, is, first a *Stone*, and then a *Mountain*: indeed, Hee is not yett possessed of his *Davidical* Kingdome.

When *Saul*, thro' extreme *Discontent* and *Melancholy*, sometimes fell into such a *Phrensie*,[204] that hee was ready to knock any Man on the Head, that should stand in his Way; by the Advice of his Physicians, *David* was employ'd as a Musician, to Divert & Refresh his Thoughts; that the *Divel* might not have that Advantage over him. Well; The *Gospel* is the *Joyful Sound*; it is the *Music* of the Gospel, which makes *evil Spirits* leave us; which makes *New Creatures* of us.

All Sorts of *Persons* gave all Sorts of *Troubles* to *David*: [Psal. 3.1.] and in all, hee so comforted himself, *I am a Type of the Messiah in all*. *David* had a *Saul*, & *Jesus* had an *Herod*, who sought his Life. *David* had an *Achitophel*, and *Jesus* had a *Judas*, who betray'd him after much familiaritie. *David*, had a *Doeg* to Bely him, a *Shimei* to Slander him: and *Jesus* had the malicious Pharisees. Yea, both *David* and *Jesus*, went over one *Brook*, namely, that of *Kidron*, when their Enemies were pursuing of them; so they *drank of the Brook in the Way*. And as *David*s worst Enemy, could say of him, *Thou hast Rewarded mee good*, so *Jesus* pray'd for His Murderers, *Father, Forgive them*!

The worst Adversaries *David* had, were driven to confess his Excellencies; [1. Sam. 24.17. & 1. Sam. 26.25.] yea, they that were sent as Messengers to sieze him, were siezed by the *Spirit of Prophecy* before they came away. Thus, they that

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203 Mather leaves a blank line before resuming; the rest of the entry is written in a different ink from the foregoing.

204 MS: "fell into a Such a Phrensie," with "Such a" inserted in the left margin.

sometimes came to entrap our Bl{essed} *Jesus*, went away proclaiming, *Never Man spake, like this Man*. And his pagan Judge, owned concerning Him, *I find in Him no Fault at all*.[205]

What Ground was it, which *David* purchased, for the Foundation of the *Temple* to bee laid upon? It was the Ground of one *Araunah*, a Gentleman among the *Jebusites*, who yett lived as Tributaries in *Jerusalem*. Our Lord Jesus, had once but a *Tabernacle* among the Jewes. But our Lord ha's now a *Temple*, as the *Apocalypse* often intimates; a Larger & a Richer Church. Where? Among the *Gentiles*; among us poor *Jebusites*, who were once without *Hope, Christ, God, in the World*. [See Psal. 18.44.]

It was said, [1. Sam. 22.2] *every one that was in Distress, & every one that was in Debt, & every one that was Discontented, gathered themselves unto David, & hee became a Captain over them*. Not, that hee would shelter *Them* from *Justice*, but only Defend himself with Them, from *Tyranny* and *Oppression*. Thus, lett all that are in any *Misery*, repair unto our *Jesus*; t'was of old said, *This Man Receiveth Sinners*.[206] It was urged, as the Reproche both of *David*, and of *Jesus*. [Consider, Math. 11.28.]

The same Lawes are in the Court of *Jesus*, that were in the Court of *David*. You have them in the *Hundred & first Psalm*.

The *Ornaments* and *Endowments* of *David*, were not so much Resembled, as Exceeded, by the Excellencies of our Lord Jesus Christ. As now, *David* was a very *Wise* Man; [1. Sam. 18.14.] but a *Greater* is here, One in whom is the *Spirit of Wisdome & Understanding*. *David* was a very *Good* Man; [Act. 13.22.] but a *Greater* is here, One *Holy, Harmless, Undefiled*. *David* was a very *Stout* Man; [1. Sam. 16.18.] but a *Greater* is here, a *Most Mighty One*, yea, the *Mighty God*. *David* was a very *Comely* Man; [1. Sam. 16.12.] but still, a *Greater* is here. What the *Beauty* of our Lords *Body* was, we cannot say; the *Ancient Story* that wee have about it, is *Forged*;[207] and it is an evil Thing, for Men to hang up, the *Pictures* of our Lord, in their Houses. But the *Beauty* of our Lords *Person*, this is Transcendent, and very Glorious. Hence, tis said of Him, *Thou art fairer than the Children of Men*.[208]

What shall I say more? Our Lord *Jesus*, ha's, like *David*, offered Himself to *Death*, for our Sakes. When God was destroying of *Jerusalem*, then *David* fell down before Him, [2. Sam. 24.17.] and said, *These Sheep, what have they done? Lett thine Hand, I pray thee, bee against mee*. So ha's our Lord Jesus pleaded, *Lord, Lett mee Dy, and do thou Spare the Sheep*.

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205 John 18:38.

206 Luke 15:2.

207 Apparently a reference to one of the apocryphal gospels, possibly the Book of the Resurrection of Christ, by Bartholomew, which refers to the beauty of the glorified Jesus's body.

208 Ps. 45:2.

Q. What might be the Occasion, of the *Philistines* Renewing a War on the *Israelites*? v. 1.
A. Resolving to be Revenged for their late Overthrow, [Ch. XIV.] they thought, they had a fair Opportunity, when they heard, that *Saul* was distracted.

Q. Wee read *Goliah* to be *six Cubits & a Span in Heighth*. What was the true Measure of a *Cubit*? v. 4.
A. Learned Men have with vast Variety of Reading and Learning demonstrated, That the Proportion between the *Hebrew Cubit*, and the *Roman Foot*, was *Sesquialtera*; a *Cubit* was One Foot and an Half. And there have been further Demonstrations, from the *Roman Foot*, in the *Colotian* Gardens at *Rome*, and from the *English Foot*, at *Guildhal* in *London*, That the *Roman Foot* contained, just 1934. Such Parts, whereof the *English Foot* contains 2000. The *Hebrew Cubit* indeed compared with the *English Foot*, was just seventeen *Inches*, and Two Fifths of an *Inch*. This is at least, as near the Matter, as we can come.

That the *Ancient Cubit* was no more than the *Modern*, there are many Probabilities. Wee find *Sesoosis*, King of *Egypt* (the Son of *Amenophis*) who was drowned in the *Red-Sea*, as may be probably gathered, by comparing of Ancient Authors; named *Sesostrus* by *Herodotus*, *Vesores* and *Vesozes*, by *Orosius*, and *Vesosis* by *Jornandes*: Hee is related by *Diodorus Siculus*, to be in Stature, but *Four Cubits*, & *Four Palms*;[209] which is between Six & Seven Foot of our Measure; And of that Stature, there have been some even in our Dayes. *Herodotus* also in his *Calliope*, speaking of the Dead Bodies, that after the *Platæan* Battel were carried into one Place, he mentions it as a Thing worthy to be recorded unto Posterity, that there was the Body of a Man *Five Cubits* in Length. The Tomb of *Chæops*, or *Chemmis*, one of the Successors of *Sesostrys*, King of *Egypt*, being accurately examined by Mr. *Greaves*, was but six Foot, and 488 Parts of a 1000 in a Foot, according to the English Standard.[210] And 1000 Ells of Filletting being (according to *Herodotus*) employ'd upon a Body, wee must allow Part of the Tomb for *That*. The same *Herodotus* mentions a Woman, one *Phya*, that was employ'd for her great Stature to counterfeit *Minerva*; and yett she was Three

209 Herodotus, *Historiae* (2.102–137; the story of the giant bones is found at 1.68); Paulus Osorius, late 4th/early 5th-century Christian historian and theologian, *Historiarum Adversum Paganos Libri VII* (lib. I, ¶ 14); Jornandes, *De Origine actibusque Getarum* (caps. VI–VI); Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca historica* (1.55.9).
210 John Greaves (1602–52), English astronomer and orientalist, *Pyramidographia, or, a Description of the Pyramids in Aegypt* (1646), pp. 10, 97.

Digits, less than *Four Cubits* in Stature.[211] *Vegetius* tells us, that *Caius Marius* (an Hundred years before Christ) enjoined, that the Cheef of the Roman Souldiers should be *six Foot* high, or five Foot, & Ten Inches, at Least.[212]

Wherefore, of this *Cubit*, wee will now understand, what we read about the Stature of *Goliah*; and of that great *Egyptian* [1. Chron. 11.23.] who was, Five Cubits high.

Q. On the Stature of *Goliah*? v. 4.
A. Dr. *Patrick* advises us to Read, *Magius de Gigantibus*, and, *Caspar Schottus*: But especially, *Hermannus Conringius*, in his Book, *De Antiquo Statu Helmstadii*; and another Book, *De Habitu Corporum Germanorum*; where he shewes, That the ancient *Germans* were of a mighty Stature.[213] So *Cæsar* saies, in his Book, *De Bello Gallico*, where he calls them, *Immani Corporum Magnitudine homines. Pomponius Mela*, and others tell us the same. They were generally seven foot High. They speak of a Nation on the North Side, of the Strait of *Magellan*, whose Bulk is wonderful.[214]

Q. *Goliah*'s Coat of Mail? v. 5.
A. *Bochart* observes, It had Plates of Brass, laid one upon another, like the *Scales* of a Fish.

If it weigh'd *five thousand Shekels*, he was one of a wonderful Strength; to walk under such an Insupportable Weight. But *Fortunatus Stacchus* thinks, that the Coat only cost so much; or was valued at *Five thousand Shekels of Brass*.[215]

~~808~~{?}.

Q. It was said unto *David, Look how thy Brethren fare, and take their Pledge*. What may be the Meaning of, *Taking their Pledge*? v. 18.
A. *Munster* ha's a very proper Gloss upon it. "Carry *Money* with thee for them; that so if thy Brethren have been forced to *Pawn* any thing for their Necessities, thou mayst Redeem it."

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211 Herodotus, *Historiae* (1.60.4).
212 Vegetius, *De re Militari* (I).
213 Thomas Crenius (1648–1728), German orientalist and philologist, *Fasciculus … Opusculorum quae ad Historiam ac Philologiam sacram Spectant … XXXVII. Magius de Gigantibus* (1697); Caspar Schottus (1608–66), German mathematician and physicist, author of *Physica curiosa, sive Mirabilia naturae et artis* (1697); Hermannus Conringius, *De Antiquissimo Statu Helmestadii* (1685); Michael Hertzius, *Bibliotheca Germanica sive notitia scriptorum rerum Germanicarum … De Germanorum … Corporum habitu* (1679).
214 "Men of vast stature of body." Patrick, *A Commentary* (185–86), citing Caesar, *De Bello Gallico* (4.1); and Pomponius Mela, *De situ Orbis* (cap. III).
215 Patrick, *A Commentary* (186), citing Bochart, *Geographia Sacra* (pars prior, lib. III, cap. XIII, pp. 217–18, on Magog); and Scacchus, *Sacrorvm Elaeochrismatron Myrothecia* (1710), 2:33.

Others translate the Hebrew Word, *Mixturam*;[216] that is to say, as *Munster* paraphrases it; *varios Eventus quos cupiebat Pater ad se adferri*.[217]

Some think, That Provision failing, the Sons of *Jesse* had sent unto him for a Supply, & by a certain *Token*; which their Father bids *David* now take with him, to know, if it were theirs. Others translate the Word, *Business*, q.d. Bring me Word, What they do, How they behave themselves, Who are their Companions.[218]

[▽Insert from 204r–v][219] [▽204r–v]

Q. How come *All the Men of Israel*, to flee at the Sight of one Man, when they could look the whole Army of the *Philistines* in the face? v. 24.

A. Dr. *Patrick* observes, The Meaning is, (as the next Words do show,) That they could not endure to hear, his Opprobrious Words against them, and his Blasphemous Words against God.[220]

The Fright of the *Israelites* on this Occasion is notably imitated, by the seventh *Iliad* of *Homer*, in the Fright of the *Greeks* on the Challenge of *Hector*.[221]

Q. The *Reward* promised unto him that should kill *Goliah*? v. 25.

A. To make the Family *Free in Israel*, was, to make them Noble. The *Targum* translates it, make them *Free Princes in Israel*. Particularly, T'was to be Free from paying any Tax or Tribute; which was a Royal Priviledge. Of which, see *Selden*, *de Jure Naturæ et Gentium*. L. VI. c. 14.

Here some observe, That *Saul* had lost his *Piety*. For he sent not unto *Samuel*, nor consulted the Highpriest, nor offered Sacrifice. However, he had not lost all his *Prudence*. He promised a *Reward*. So *Caleb* won *Kiriath Sepher*. So *David* won *Zion*. *Matthias Hostius* observes, The Reward the *Athenians* offered unto any to bring *Xerxes* to them Alive or Dead; An Hundred Talents. He gives many more Instances of exciting Men to valiant Exploits, this Way; in his History of this *Monomachia*.[222]

[△Insert ends] [△]

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216 עֵרָבָה [arubbah] "thing exchanged, pledge, token."

217 Münster, on 1 Sam. 17:18, in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (col. 232). "Their father desired to have carried to him the various things that happened to him."

218 Patrick, *A Commentary* (190).

219 The following is written on a long scrap glued to the bottom right edge of the previous leaf; the verso is blank.

220 Patrick, *A Commentary* (191–92).

221 Homer, *Iliad* (lib. VII).

222 Patrick, *A Commentary* (192), citing John Selden, *De Jure naturali et Gentium* (1640), lib. VI, cap. XIV, pp. 737–41; and Matthaeus Hostius, 16th-century German scholar and professor of Greek at the Academia Francofurtana, *De Numeratione emendata, veteribus Latinis et Graecis usitata* (1582).

[203v] |

2934.

Q. Methinks, the Account of *Davids* Exploit upon the *Lion* and the *Bear*, is not so well express'd, in our Translation; *There came a Lion and a Bear, and took a Lamb out of the Flock: And I went out after him, & smote him, and delivered it out of his Mouth; and when he arose against me, I caught him by his Beard & slew him*. For, first, It seems to suppose, that the *Lion* and the *Bear,* might hunt, as it were together in Partnership. Whereas the *Lion* will not admitt so much as his own *Lioness* (as *Ælian* observes) to hunt along with him. And the Arabian *Damir* (so often quoted by *Bochart*) saies, *Nullam ferarum in Societatem admittit; quià nullam videt, quæ sit illi Par*.[223] With the Poets therefore, he is Μουνολέων.[224]

Again, when tis said, in the singular Number, *I went out after Him, and smote Him*; who is meant by *Him*? the *Lion* or the *Bear*? Why is it not said, *Them*? It is likewise pretty Hard thus, to embroil *David*, with a *Lion* and a *Bear*, both at once; and make him an, *Hercules contrà Duos*?[225] v. 34.

A. You say right. Wherefore I am now to observe unto you, That, the Particle which we render, AND, is very often to be rendred, OR.

And now, lett the Words of *David* be thus translated; *when thy Servant kept his Fathers Sheep, and there came a Lion, or a Bear, and took a Lamb out of the Flock, Then I went out after him*. – You must observe, *David* speaks not of one single Event, that had once happened unto him. No; The Blessed God, who designed our *David* for great Things, did from his *Youth* accustome him to Dangerous and Generous Exploits, & wonderfully deliver him in the Perils of them. It was more than once that he had been thus assaulted; sometimes a *Lion*, and sometimes a *Bear* made an Assault upon his Flock. And now, he describes more than one Way, he had of encountring those fierce Monsters. One while at the first Encounter, he *smote* the assailant with his *Crook*, & saved the *Lamb* from his Mouth. Another while, the assailant would fiercely turn upon him, in his Pursuit; but then, he would Even *take him by the Beard*, & *slay* him: Tho it be so desperate a thing,

Esurienti Leoni ex Ore exsulpere Prædam, as *Lucilius* expresses it. Or, as *Nævius*, *Deprandi autem Leonis obdas Oreas.*[226] [where *Deprandi*, is the same

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223 "He suffers no wild beasts to come into society, for he sees nothing of them which is part of him." Claudius Aelian, *De Natura Animalium* (lib. III); Bochart, *Hierozoicon* (pars prior, lib. I, cap. II, cols. 8–9): *Virium est summarum, nec ferarum ullam in societatem admittit, quia nullam in iis videt quae secum posit conferri.*

224 "Singularly fierce" or "lion-like."

225 "Hercules against two." The proverb, which appears to come from Plato, says "*ne Hercules contra duos,*" "Not even Hercules [can fight] against two."

226 "To take booty from the mouth of a waking lion." Gaius Lucilius, 2nd-century BCE Roman satirist, *Fragmenta Incert.* (49). Naevius, a comic fragment probably from his *Hariolus*

with, *Impransi*; and, *Oreas*, the same with, *Ora*,] I may add, That the Greek Version in the *Complutensian* Edition, Countenances the Translation I have now, out of *Bochart*, offered you.[227]

Q. Is there to be found in Antiquity, any Tradition of *David*s killing a *Lion*? v. 34.
A. *Georgius Longus*, in his curious Book, *De Annulis*, will tell you, from *Gregorious Tholosanus*, That on the Ring worn by *David*, there was a *Lion* engraved; & from R. *Abraham*, That all the Kings of *Judah* following him, had the like Sculpture on their *Signete*. Tis added, That it might be in Commemoration of *David*s killing a *Lion*.

Longus thinks, that herein there might be an Eye to what we afterwards Read; *Behold, The Lion of the Tribe of Judah, the Root of David, hath prevailed*.[228]

Q. *Five smooth Stones*? v. 40.
A. No. Rather *cleft Stones*. The Word signifies, *Partitions*.[229] It signifies the *Stones* to have been *Ragged*. Sharp-pointed Stones were fittest for the Purpose.[230]

Q. What was the Meaning of *Saul*s asking *Abner*, concerning *David, Whose Son is this Youth*? When *David* had been serviceable in *Saul*s Court, under the Character of a *Musician*, I know not how long ago? v. 55.
A. Was it because that *Saul*s Frantic Fits had made him forgett the Names of those that had been his former Attendents? No sure. But *Sauls* Quæstion was, *What Manner of Mans Son is this*? It was observed, That the valiantest Sparks of the whole Nation, were the *Sons* of this Family; and among the rest, *Joab* was of it; *Joab* was the Son of *Jesse*s Daughter, & hee, for his Valour, was made General in the Field, nor, did hee ever once in his Life, miss of the Victory. Now *Saul* was inquisitive, what Manner of Man this *Jesse* was, that his Children all proved such Notable men.

Q. A Remark on *Goliah*'s Menace, *Come to me, and I'l give thy Flesh to the Fowls of the Air*? v. 44.
A. The Orientals use the same Way of Speaking to this Day.

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preserved in Macrobius, *Saturnalia* (3.18). "Go and place the bridle on a hungry lion!" In the original, Mather's *Leonis* is *leone.*

227 Bochart, *Hierozoicon* (pars prior, lib. III, cap. IV, col. 766), citing the early 16th-century Complutensian polyglot bible, *Libri Veteris ac Novi Testamenti multiplici Lingua impressi*, 6 vols. (1514–17, issued 1522), vol. II, col. 753.

228 Georgius Longus, *De Anulis signatoriis antiquorvm siue de vario obsignandi Ritu tractatus* (1615).

229 חלק [challuq] "smooth."

230 Patrick, *A Commentary* (196), citing de Dieu, *Animadversiones in Veteris Testamenti* (155).

It was more usual with the Ancients. *Homer* gives this haughty Air to his Hero's.

– Approach, & Enter the dark Gales
of Death.[231]

231 Perhaps a reference to the death of Hector; cf. Homer, *Iliad* (22.350–355).

Q. A Remark on the *Garments* of the *Hebrews*? v. 4.
A. They did not affect *Novelty* and *Variety* in the *Fashions* of their Garments: They retained the same *Fashions* for many Ages. And indeed, their Clothes being for the most Part loose Vestments, not exactly fitted unto their Bodies, but only cast over, and wrap'd about, or girt close, the less Curiosity was required in the Making. And therefore it is, that we find the Clothes of the *Philistines* fitting *Sampson*s Friends; and *Jonathan*s Robe given to *David*, serving him without any considerable Difference. And because the Trade of a *Taylor* is no where mentioned in the Scripture, tho' *Weavers* and *Fullers* are mentioned there, it seems that of old, it was no Distinct Occupation; but probably the Men, or their Wives, made their own Clothes; For the State & Pomp of the Jews, consisted not in their nice *Fashions*, but in the many *Changes*, the Orient *Colours*, the costly *Matters* & the curious *Embroideries*, of their *Garments*.

Q. The Demand of, *An hundred Foreskins of the Philistines*? v. 25.
A. Dr. *Patrick* observes, This Custome hath prevailed in latter Times in some Countreys, to give their Daughters in Marriage to the most valiant Men, or those who should bring them so many Heads of their Enemies. *Alexander ab Alexandro* reports of a People in *Carmania*, that if any were desirous to marry, it was necessary, he should first bring the King, the Head of an Enemy. *Vincent Le Blanc* reports the like of others.

But why did *Saul* desire the *Foreskins* of the *Philistines*, and not their *Heads*? To this *Procopius Gazæus* answers, That *Saul* did not know, but *David* might cutt off the Heads of his own Subjects, & bring them instead of the *Philistines*. He ask'd so many *Foreskins*, which the *Israelites* had not, that he might be sure, he had killed so many Enemies.

As for Portions, the *Hebrew* Custome, was not like that of the *Romans*; who required a Wife to bring a Portion unto her Husband, *Ut Onera Matrimonii tantò æquius sustineat*.[233] Among the Hebrews, the Husband endowed the Wife, & received nothing at all with her. So was the Custome of the People in that Land, before the *Israelites* had Possession there. See Gen. XXXIX.17.[234]

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232 A quarto-sized leaf tipped in with sealing wax.
233 "Such that the burden of marriage might be equally borne."
234 Patrick, *A Commentary* (209–10), citing Alexander ab Alexandro, *Genialium dierum* (1626), lib. I, cap. XXIV; Vincent Le Blanc, *Les Voyages Fameux du Sieur Vincent Le Blanc Marseillois* (1649), published in English as *The World surveyed, or, the famous Voyages and Travailes of Vincent le Blanc, or White, of Marseilles* (1660); and Procopius Gazaeus, *In Libros Regum, et Paralipomenon Scholia* (60).

[205v] |

Q. *The Princes of the Philistines went forth*, to fight the *Israelites*? v. 30.

A. Being highly incensed by *David*s late Action, as well as by former Losses. Probably, they might think, *David* would make use of the Benefit of the Law, [Deut. XXIV.25.] of not going to War in a Year after he was married.

Q. What was the *Teraphim* employ'd by *Michal*? v. 13.
A. Dr. *Patrick* thinks very justly, It signifies not any thing made for a superstitious Use, which *David* would not have suffered in his House; But a simple Image of a Mans *Head*; such as we now use for Blocks, whereunto to comb our *Periwigs*. *Abarbanel* affirms, and *Abendana* followes him; That Women were wont in those Dayes, to make such Figures, in the Likeness of their Husbands; that in their Absence they might have them after some Sort present with them.[236]

Q. The *Pillow of Goats Hair*, lett it not be thought, that we concern ourselves too far, *De Lanà Castrinà*,[237] if we enquire after it. v. 13.
A. The Word *Chebir*,[238] which we translate, *Pillow*, the great *Bochart* will have it signify no more than, *great*.[239] The Meaning is, That she putt a *great* deal of *Goats Hair* upon his Bolster.

Now in those Countreys, *Goats* had *long Hair*; which was also shorn like the *Wool* of *Sheep*, & Served for many uses. It was not unlike *Mans Hair*. It was also of diverse Colours. It is probable therefore, that *Michal* might single out such *Goats Hair*, (which was ready at hand, for they spun it,) of the same Colour with *David*s. | [206v]

2466.

Q. Wee find *Samuel*, and *David*, Dwelling together at *Najoth*. Can you tell, any thing that pass'd between them, when they *dwelt* thus together? v. 18.
A. Tis very probable, that the Building of the *Temple*, was a thing first of all suggested by the Prophet *Samuel*. *Samuel* now having *David*, in Affliction, with him at *Najoth*, it was consulted between them, that when *David* came unto his Kingdome, he should either Build a *Temple* for God, or at least præpare *Materials* for the erecting & furnishing of that glorious Fabric. They *now* contrived all things, even to the very *Porters* that were to watch in the Gates of the *Temple*, reckoning them up, according to their *Genealogies*, in their several Villages. [1. Chron. 9.22.] Unto this *Temple* thus designed, *Samuel* himself was afterwards a Considerable Benefactor, as tis reported of him, in the First Book of the

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235 A quarto-sized leaf.
236 Patrick, *A Commentary* (215).
237 "Upon Castrician wool." The Catricians were an important family in the late Roman republican and early imperial periods.
238 כְּבִיר [kavir] "a quilt (or fly-net) of goats' (hair)."
239 Bochart *Hierozoicon,* Prefatoria ad Lectorem ([xii]).

French 17th-century blockhead

Chronicles. Nay, *Saul* himself dedicated some Treasures to this House of God. [See 1. Chron. 26.28.]

Conr. Pellicanus thinks, That *Najoth*, signifies, the *Habitation*, or *Colledge*, where the Prophets dwelt, at *Ramah*.[240]

4809.

Q. How comes it that *Saul*, falling into the prophetic Rapture, *strips off his Cloathes*? v. 24.

A. *Munster* gives the Reason; *Quandò Prophetæ tangebantur Spiritu Dei amittebant Sæpenumero usum Sensuum exteriorum nescientes quid for{t}is fieret. Undè abjecerunt Vestes suas, et corruerunt in terram, ob internam Dei Locunonen, non potentes subsistere in Pedibus suis*.[241]

By this fall of the *Prophetic Spirit* on *Saul*, there was given an Opportunity for *David*s Escape out of his Hands.

It is probable, *Saul* only cast away his *upper Garment*.

When it was said, The Germans appeared *Naked*, it is interpreted by *Tacitus*, *Rejectâ Veste superiore*.[242]

Dr. *Patrick* inclines to the Opinion of R. *Solomon*, and other Jewish Doctors, That *Saul stript off* his *Royal Robes*, & appeared like an ordinary Man. *Procopius Gazæus* notes, *Habitus ille Regni ablationem significabat*.[243]

The *Nakedness* of *Saul*, is doubtless to be understood, in the same Sense that *Aurelius Victor*, speaking of those who were sent unto *Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus*, to bring him unto the Senate, for the Dictatorship, says, They found him *Naked*, ploughing on the other Side of *Tyber*.[244] *Livy* speaking of the same thing, only says, he called on his Wife, to bring him his *Toga*.[245]

It can't be supposed, That *Isaiah* [Isa. XX.2.] lived Three whole Years, without any Clothes upon him.

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240 Pellican, *Commentaria Bibliorum et illa brevia quidem ac Catholica* (2:89).

241 Münster, *Hebraica Biblia*, in loc. (269). "Because prophets are touched by the Holy Spirit, they oftentimes let slip what will perchance be far away from the ability of their senses. Whence they cast off their clothing and run about the land by an internal motion of God, being unable to remain standing on their own feet."

242 "With their upper clothes having been cast aside." The Tacitus citation is uncertain.

243 "This comportment of the king signaled his taking away." This paragraph is from Patrick, *A Commentary* (215). Procopius Gazaeus, *In Libros Regum, et Paralipomenon Scholia* (63).

244 Aurelius Victor, 4th-century CE Roman politician and historian, possibly *Liber de Caesaribus* (32.3).

245 Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* (3.26).

[207r] 1. Samuel. Chap. 20.

~~1286~~(?).

Q. What was the *Kindness of the Lord,* ask'd of *David* by *Jonathan*, and why asked? v. 14.

A. It was in Opposition to the horrid and bloody Custome, that *Jonathan* knew to be used among the Princes of the Neighbour Nations; where a Prince coming to the Throne, usually murdered the Children & Kindred of their Predecessore, to prevent any Disturbance from their Claims unto the Government.

[207v] |

Q. The Story of *Jonathan*s employing his Lad, for the fetching of Arrowes as a Signal unto *David*, seems very Jejune. What *Artifice* was therein, what *Occasion* was there for that *Signal*, when wee find, in the Close of the Chapter, they wanted not an Opportunity for a *personal* Conference? v. 21, 41.

A. There are three things that will give your Mind a satisfactory Entertainment, if you consider them.

First, There was justly apprehended by *Jonathan*, a *Necessity* of communicating with *David*, by some *Sign*, in the difficult Matter which was now before them. *Jonathan* rationally Imagined, that hee should bee so Ey'd, so Dog'd, so Examined in every Step, especially now there was a Confluence of so many Persons about the Court, in this Festival Time, as to render his personal Interview with *David*, altogether unattaineable.

Secondly. There was a most Ingenious *Propriety*, in the *Sign*, whereby *Jonathan*, did now communicate unto David his Fathers bloody Purposes against him. I will not here suppose any Designed *Belomancy*;[246] as if by the Circumstances of *Arrowes*, that might bee shot in this Place, any *Divination* could bee formed for the Confirming or the Removing of any Conjectures that *Jonathan* might have about the Circumstances of *David*: hee might without *Witchcraft* conjecture all that hee did. But, first, His Pretence for a little Exercise at *Archery*, was the most plausible that could bee, to bring him off, in Case hee had been challenged with unlawful Correspondencies. Again, For him to make those Words, unto his Boy, *Thou must go farther afield*, significative unto his Friend, *Thou must bee gone farther off*, was very Agreeable. Further, For him to appoint the Stone *Ezel*, the Office of which *mercurial* Stone, was to *Direct* Passengers in the Way they were to go, for the Spott where his Friend was now to receive *his* Directions, *This* also was not at all unsuitable.

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246 Divination with arrows.

But, then, Thirdly. What needed all this ado, when as *Jonathan* came anon to speak with *David*, face to face? I Answer; *Jonathan*, did beyond his Expectation find, that after hee had used the more secret Way of Intelligence, which hee had first Agreed with *David*, the Coast was clear; hee saw that a particular Providence of God, had ordered the Place to bee at this Juncture, without such a Resort of People, as had been usual, and suspected. If then, hee took this Opportunity, thus providentially & unexpectedly putt into his hands, to talk more particularly with his Distressed Friend, upon Points of singular Consequence between them; I know no Reason, why the former Contrivance, of another way to Intimate their Minds unto one another, should therefore bee Reflected on.

After[247] the Writing of this, I find Mr. *Robert Jenkins* thus agreably expressing of the Matter. – "It seems, they had a more favourable Opportunity, than they expected, of conversing there; and tho' this happened beyond Expectation, yett the sacred Historian is so punctual as to acquaint us with that Sign, which was given, by an Agreement made between *David* & *Jonathan*, when they supposed, that it would not have been safe for them, to come unto one another."[248]

Q. What was the Manner of *sitting at Meat* among the *Israelites*? v. 25.
A. It was that which the *Greeks* and *Romans* used in After-times; In a *Semi-Circle*. They Called it, *Sigma*; from the Ancient Figure of that Letter; C. The middle Place, in this fashion of Sitting, was the most honourable among the *Israelites*; as may be gathered from the Place now before us!

R. *Solomon* saies upon it, *Saul satt in the Head of the Couch, next the Wall*. The Back, or Middle of the Semi-Circle, must needs be towards the Wall, for all Conveniences.

Bochart here observes, That the Custome of lying along, & leaning on the Elbow, at the Table, was not yett introduced. They *satt at Meat*, as we do.[249]

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247 The remainder of the entry is written in a later, darker brown ink.
248 Jenkins, *The Reasonableness and Certainty of the Christian Religion* (2:66).
249 Patrick, *A Commentary* (226), citing Bochart, *Hierozoicon* (pars prior, lib. II, cap. V, col. 598).

4810.

Q. Give us honest *Munster*s Gloss, upon the Account, which *David* gives of his Followers, when he begged *Bread* for them? v. 5.

A. When it is said, *The Vessels of the young Men are Holy*, *Munster* understands it, of their *Garments*.[250]

What followes, *And the Bread is in a Manner common*, he reads, *etiam si Via profana fuerit*, q.d. tho' our Journey may be called, *profanum Iter*,[251] and we had not the least Thought that we should have Occasion to partake of any Holy Things, while we were upon it; yett no Pollution ha's happened unto us, that should hinder us from eating of the *Holy Bread*. [*Et quantò magis hodiè sanctificetur* (panis) *meus*!][252] And how much more, when we found, that we should want the *Holy Bread*, may you think, that we abstained from every thing, that might render us unfit to be Partakers of it?

Q. *David*s Opinion, of *Goliah's Sword*? v. 9.

A. I will offer you a Thought, occurring in a Discourse of Dr. *Arrowsmith*, and improved by him, upon a Point of *experimental Piety*.[253]

Some enquire, why *David*, when he asked for a *Sword*, and had *Goliah*'s offered him, said, *There is none like to That*! It is probable, he might soon have mett with others of as good Metal, & some fitter for his hand: But he præfers *That* above all, because of his *Experiment*: God had formerly blessed him in the Use of *That*.

[208v] |

Q. What was that *Scrabbling on the Doors*, which *David* used, when hee feigned Madness? v. 13.

A. It was a *Scribbling on the Doors*. The Hebrew Word is /וַיִּתָּו/ whereupon the Whimsey of *Cornelius a Lapide*, is that hee described the Letter *Thau*, wherein, you know they fancy the Sign of the Cross.[254] But the true Notion of the Thing

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250 Münster, *Hebraica Biblia*, in loc. (271).

251 "Even though the road was wicked" … "A wicked journey."

252 "And how much is my bread sanctified today."

253 John Arrowsmith (1602–59), master of St John's and Trinity Colleges, and Regius Professor of Divinity, University of Cambridge, author of *Tactica Sacra, sive, De Milite spirituali Pugnante, Vincente, & Triumphante Dissertatio* (1657).

254 From תָּוָה [tawah], "to make or set a mark." Cornelius à Lapide (Cornelis van den Steen) (1567–1637), Flemish Jesuit and biblical exegete, *Commentaria … in Josue, Judicum, Ruth, IV Libros Regum*, 2 vols. (1700), 1:329.

is, That when *David* feigned himself mad, hee went about making Various, and Idle *Characters* upon the Walls. There is no *Illision*, but *Signation*, in the Signification of the Word here used.

4811.

Q. We read, *every one that was in Debt*, repaired unto *David*. Why would he entertain such People? v. 2.

A. *Munster* saies, They were not such *Debtors* as refused honestly to pay their *Debts*, but such as had cruel *Creditors*, and were by their *Creditors* turned out of their Possessions.[255] *David* might well enough be a Patron of such *oppressed People*.

Especially, if they were such as were Impoverished by cruel Exactions of *Saul* upon them, for their being in *David*s Interests; which is not Improbable.

We[256] find, It was the Manner in ancient times among the *Gauls*, for those who were in Debt, or under Oppression, to betake themselves unto the Service of some *great Men*. By whom, as they were maintained, so they Devoted themselves to Live and Dy with them. *Cæsar* tells us. [De Bell. Gall. L. 6. c. 13.] *Plerique cum aut aere alieno aut Magnitudine Tributorum, aut Injuria Potentiorum premuntur, sese in Servitutem dicant nobilibus*.[257] These were called, *Soldurii*. The Men that came to *David*, seem resolved to Live and Dy with him.[258]

Q. Upon what Considerations moving, were the Parents of *David*, by him left under the Protection of the King of *Moab*? v. 4.

A. You may bee sure, *David* would never trust them to the Mercy of *Saul*, whose *Tender Mercy*, the *Priests of the Lord* found to bee *Cruelty*. But it is likely, the King of *Moab* might have a particular Hatred for *Saul*, because of the Desolations, hee had given to the *Ammonites*, which were one with the *Moabites*. [You have the History in 1. Sam. 11.11.] Now *David* wisely takes this Advantage, and hopes to find *Kindness*, where *Saul* found Hatred.

Quære, Whether *Hanun* might not bee Son to this King of *Moab*; and so you have the Meaning of that Passage in 2. Sam. 10.2. *I will show Kindness to him*, *as his Father showed Kindness to mee*? Moreover, *David* himself was a *Moabite* by the Mothers Side. He was descended from *Ruth*, a *Moabitess*. The Jews also imagine, that she was of the *Royal* Family.

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255 Münster, *Hebraica Biblia*, in loc. (272).

256 Ink changes from brown to black.

257 Julius Caesar, *De Bello Gallico* (6.13). "When the majority are oppressed by debt or heavy tribute, or harmed by powerful men, they swear themselves away into slavery to the aristocracy."

258 This paragraph is taken from Patrick, *A Commentary* (238).

~~4812.~~

Q. Why does the Prophet advise *David*, that he should Retire unto the Land of *Judah*? v. 5.

A. *Munster* offers this Reason for it. Because *David*s own Tribe and Kindred would be ready to Defend him from any Oppressions, that *Saul* should go Tyrannically, *contrà jus et æquitatem*,[259] to impose upon him.

Q. *Saul* having *his Spear in his hand*? v. 6.

A. By his *Spear* is meant, his *Scepter*. *Justin* [L. XLIII. c. 3.] speaking of the First Times of the *Romans* (which was about the Reign of *Saul*) saies, *per ea adhuc Tempora, Reges Hastas pro Diademate habebant, quas Græci Sceptra dixere*.[260] He adds; "In the Beginning of things, the Ancients worshipped *Spears* for Immortal Gods; In Memory of which Religion, *Spears* are still added unto the Images of the Gods." *Pausanias* tells us, in his *Bœotica*; that the Kings of *Argos*, called their Scepters, by the Name of *Spears*.[261]

| [blank] [209v]

259 Münster, *Hebraica Biblia*, in loc. (273). The Latin phrase, "Against justice and equality," is not from Münster.

260 "At this point in time, kings held spears rather than crowns, and the Greeks called those spears 'scepters.'"

261 Patrick, *A Commentary* (240), citing Justin, *Epitome of the Philipic History of Pompeius Trogus* (lib. XLIII, cap. III); and Pausanias, *Periegesis* (lib. IX, on Boeotia).

Q. How, unseen in the *Sides of the Cave*? v. 3.
A. Some of the Caves were exceeding *Large*; as well as *Dark* in the remote Parts of them. *Strabo*, L. XVI. mentions, one that would contain Four Thousand Men.[263]

4057.

Q. What might be the true Occasion of *David*s Heart smiting him? v. 5.
A. One Mr. *Lawson*, in a little Bundle of his, *Gleanings & Expositions*, offers unto us this Thought.

It was not because *David*s Heart accused him of any Sin; for there was no Sin in what he did. But it was, the failing of his Heart, upon the Reflection and Remembrance, of the Venture he had run in the late Action. Thinks he, "What if *Saul* had seen me come near him, with my Knife in my Hand? Then he, who now reports, that I seek his Life, would with some Colour much more have Reported, that I was going to have thrust my Knife into his Body. Tis true, I never purposed any such thing, yett it would have carried such a Show, & I should hardly have perswaded the World unto the Contrary. Wherefore, If it were to do again, I would not run such a Venture, as I have done." The Providence of God keeps Things out of our Minds, & brings Things into them.[264]

[210v] |

Q. The *Proverb of the Ancients; Wickedness proceedeth from the Wicked*? v. 13.
A. Tis much like that Greek Adage, κακου κορακος κακον ωον.[265]

Q. Some have quæstioned, How *David* kept his Oath unto *Saul*, when he afterwards hang'd up seven Sons of *Saul*? v. 22.
A. Dr. *Patrick* answers, They should consider, He did not that of Himself, but at the Desire of the *Gibeonites*, to whom God required that Satisfaction should be given.[266]

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262 Mather wrote no entries on 1 Sam. 23.
263 Patrick, *A Commentary* (256–57), citing Strabo, *Geographica* (16.2.20).
264 John Lawson (dates unknown), *Gleanings and expositions of some, and but some of the more difficult places of scriptures* (1646), p. 8.
265 "The evil egg of an evil crow."
266 Patrick, *A Commentary* (263).

Q. *David*s going into the Wilderness of *Paran*? v. 1.
A. It was in the southern Parts of *Judæa*, near to *Arabia*; into which he might presently fly, if there were Occasion. *Hottinger* observes, That the *Mahometan* Writers, make *Paran* a Part of *Arabia Deserta*. Now therefore *David* ha's his Dwelling in the *Tents of Kedar*; which was the same with *Paran*, as *Fuller* observes, in his *Miscellanies*.[267]

Q. *He was of the House of Caleb*?] v. 3.
A. Descended of a worthy Ancestor; but very unlike him. The Hebrew Word is, *A Calebite*.[268]

The Word, *Caleb*, signifying, *A Dog*, some of the Ancients think, tis here Insinuated, That he was of a *Dog-like* Disposition; A *Dogged* Fellow. The LXX translates it, ο ανθρωπος κυνικος or, A *Cynic*. So the *Syriac*, and *Arabic*.[269]

Q. Do *Two Bottles of Wine* bear any Proportion to the rest of *Abigail*s present? Or would they in any Measure answer the present Occasion? v. 18.
A. If they were such *Bottles* as our ordinary ones, they would hardly do. But their *Bottles* then were leather *Bags* or Sacks, which were so contrived as to hold liquid Things. The *Gibeonites* brought such to the Camp of *Israel*. Our SAVIOUR speaks of such. *Two* of these might hold a Quantity of Wine, proportion'd unto as many *Loaves of Bread* as are spoken of.

{....}

Q. *David* swears, That he would not leave to the Family of *Nabal*, *Any that pisseth against the Wall*! What may be the Import of that Phrase? v. 22.
A. Some, extending it unto *Dogs*, have understood it of a Total Extinction, of Every thing that had Life. But several Exceptions may be made against such an Interpretation. Wherefore *de Dieu*, with some other Interpreters, falls into the other Extreme, That the Expression relates only to young Boyes, that have not yett the Discretion to manage that natural Action with Modesty. But this

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267 Patrick, *A Commentary* (264), citing Johann Heinrich Hottinger, 17th-century Swiss philologist and theologian, *Historia orientalis quæ ex variis Orientalium Monumentis collecta* (1655), p. 58; and Thomas Fuller, "*Miscellanies*" (probably *Good Thoughts in bad Times consisting of personall Meditations, Scripture Observations, historicall Applications, mixt Contemplations* [1646] or *The second Century of good Thoughts in bad Times* [1647]).
268 כָּלְבִּי [kalibbi], "Calebite," adj. gent. of כָּלֵב [kalev], "Caleb."
269 ὁ ἄνθρωπος κυνικός [ho anthropos kynikos], "the man was churlish" (LXE); κυνικός [kynikos], "dog-like" (LS). Patrick, *A Commentary* (265); for the LXX, Syriac and Arabic versions, *see* Walton, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (2:284–85).

Opinion is ridiculous; tis a Wonder it should come into the Head of so learned a Man.

The Expression signifies, only *Men* in general. The Threatning against *Ahab*s Family ran in these Terms; and *Jehu* accordingly slew only the *Men* belonging to it. *Jezabel*, a Woman suffered by Vertue of another Threatning particularly pronounced against her.

I do not alwayes approve, the Proposals made in the late *Essay for a New Translation*; Some of them are Frivolous, others of them are Dangerous. Yett I concur, with what is there made on this Head; That this Phrase be alwayes translated, *Men*.[270]

Q. *So, and more also, do God unto the Enemies of David*. Why so? v. 22.
A. He means, unto Himself. But being unwilling to pronounce his own Name, or any that was respected by him, in a Curse, he transfers it unto an Enemy. Tis by a Figure called, *Euphemismus*. *Cocceius* observes, T'was common in the Hebrew Language, when they speak of any Evil unto themselves, to translate it unto another Person. He gives Instances, out of the *Maccoth*, and *Bava bathra*.[271]

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507.

Q. The Servants of *David,* are said in the Original here, to bee such as were, *At the Feet of David*.[272] You have the like Phrases, in many other Scriptures. Especially, in Deut. 33.3. What was the Original of that Expression? v. 27.
A. If it bee not enough, to mind you, that Servants who follow their Masters must observe the Motions of their *Feet*, or that in all Ascents, they must indeed bee actually at their *Feet*; I will then endeavour to illustrate this Passage, from the *Roman* Customes, which doubtless were derived from the Rites practised in *Phœnicia*. Among the Romans, they who waited at the Table, stood at the *Feet* or behind the Heels, of those on whom they waited; for at the Table they lay on Carrets, with their *Feet* stretched out. Hence that of *Seneca*, *Servus, qui cænanti ad Pedes steterat*. Thus in *Suetonius*, *Ad Pedes stantes* are Servants; and, *Ad Pedes*, without any Addition, ha's the like Signification in *Martial*; and, *A Pedibus*, is used by *Tully* in the same Sense.[273]

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270 Charles Le Cène, 17th-century French Huguenot, *An Essay for a new Translation of the Bible* (1702), pp. 183–85.
271 Patrick, *A Commentary* (269–70), citing Johannes Cocceius, 17th-century Dutch theologian, *Duo tituli Thalmudici Sanhedrin et Maccoth* (1629), p. 244.
272 בְּרַגְלֵי אֲדֹנִי [beraglei adoni], "at the feet of my lord."
273 Seneca, 1st-century Roman philosopher, statesman, and dramatist, *De Beneficiis* (3.27), "The slave, who stood at his feet while dining." Suetonius, late 1st/early 2nd-century Roman historian, *Vita Galbae* (22.1), "Standing at his feet." Martial, *Epigram* (20.19); Vioque notes

1288.

Q. What may bee particularly intended by, *The Battels of the Lord*? v. 28.
A. By the, *Battels of the Lord*, were meant those which were fought against the Nations, whom the Lord had appointed unto Destruction; All others were but *Bella Regni,* – the *Wars of the Kingdome*.

Q. What may be meant by, the *Bundle of Life*? v. 29.
A. I will answer you, out of *Munster*. *Intelligunt Hebræi per Fasciculum Viventium* /כסא הכבוד/ Solium Majestatis, *sub quo aiunt animas justorum in Sæculo alio quiescere*. And therefore they commonly have on their Tombs, that Inscription, *sit anima ejus ligata, in Fasciculo Viventium*.[274]

But[275] I may give you some further Strokes of Illustration upon the /צְרוֹר הַחַיִּים/ *Bundle of Life*?

The *Jewes* do use to Mention this Matter much in their Funeral *Songs*, and Inscribe it on their *Tombs*.

Now it may bee curiously Illustrated, from a Passage, which our Saviour, long after had; in Math. 13.39. *The Harvest is the End of the World, and the Reapers are the Angels*.

The Condition of *Plants*, and most particularly, of *Corn*, is by the Holy Spirit often applied, as a Figure, to the *Resurrection of the Dead*.

Our Lord Jesus Christ, *Rising* from the *Dead,* is called in 1. Cor. 15.20. *The First-fruits of them that sleep*. The *Sheaf* of the *First-fruits* under the Law, [which the *Talmud* saies, was to bee cutt down in the *Night*,][276] was a Type of our Jesus Christ, who Dyed, when *there was a Darkness over the Face of the whole Earth*. That *Sheaf,* was Carried into the Court-yard of the Sanctuary, Threshed, Parched, Ground, then Lifted up, and Waved before the Lord. So was our Lord. The Jewes *Threshed*, by the Treading of *Oxen*, and Wheels indented with Iron Teeth. Did not many *Bulls* encompass our Lord about? Hee was *Bruised for our Transgressions*. Hee complained of His being *Parched*. And it is expressly said, Hee was *Lifted up*. Yea, and in the *Earthquake*, Hee was *Waved* before the Lord. Now, in relation to Him, who is thus, the *First-fruits*, the Apostle saies, wee are συμφυτοι, *Planted together with Him in the Likeness of His Resurrection*.[277] Thus

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that this "strictly refers to the position of the amphora at the glutton's feet, but also recalls a type of slave whose job it was to position himself at the feet of his master to pick up scraps of food falling from the table." Cicero, *Epistula* (56).

274 צְרוֹר הַחַיִּים [tseror hachayyim], "bundle of life." Münster, *Hebraica Biblia*, in loc. (276). "Some of the Hebrews understand by 'the bundle of life' /כסא הכבוד/ a majestic throne, under which, they say, rest the souls of the righteous in another world" … "Let his soul be restrained, in the bundle of life."

275 Originally, Mather set up the remainder of the entry as a separate entry.

276 Mather refers to Münster's gloss (*see* Pearson, *Critici Sacri* 2:2357).

277 σύμφυτοι [symphytoi], pl. adj. of σύμφυτος [symphytos], "born with one, congenital, innate, natural, inborn, inbred." Cf. Rom. 6:5.

the Prophet saith, *our Bones shall Flourish like an Herb*.[278] Now *Herbs* reinforce from the *Root*. And *Aristotle*, in the Books, *De Animâ*, teaches us, to call, The *Root*, the *Head*; and the *Top*, the *Feet*.[279] Well, wee shall yett Rise; for, the *Axe is not laid unto the Root of the Tree*; our Lord lives. *There's Hope in the Tree*, saith Holy Job;[280] for yett thro' the *Scant of Water*, it will bud, and bring forth *boughs like a Plant*. Hence, in Isa. 26.19. The *Dew* of *Dead Men*, is as the *Dew of Herbs*. The Jewes, in the Book *Zohar*, tell us, That at the Last Day, a *plastical Dew, shall fall down upon the Dead*, and Revive them.[281] Wee won't ask, *who shall beget these Drops of Dew*? Tis Hee, *whose Head is fill'd with the Dew*. In the great Morning of the World, the *Dew* shall fall first upon the *Dead of Christ*, as the *Dew* fell upon the Fleece of *Gideon*. [Pray, pursue that Thought at Leisure.][282] They who then Rise, and are by the *Angels* of God, those *Reapers*, Gather'd, and *Bundled* for the Kingdome of Heaven, these are the Persons, *Bound up in the Bundle of Life*.

[212r][283] |

Q. *Nabal*s becoming as a *Stone*? v. 37.

A. The Particle, *AS*, is justly supplied by our Translators. The Latin Poets have employ'd the same Way of Speaking, to express a very great Surprize. *Ovid* represents *Ariadne*, in the Astonishment upon the Flight of *Theseus* from her, as if she had been turned into a Rock.[284] Well-known is the Fable of *Niobe* turn'd into a Stone. Tho' *Cicero* says, the Fiction only represents her perpetual *Silence* on her Mourning.[285]

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278 Isa. 66:14.

279 Aristotle, *De Anima* (416a).

280 Job 14:7.

281 Soncino Zohar, Bereshith (§ 1, p. 130b): "R. Isaac discoursed on the verse: *And the dust returneth to the earth …* remain until the time when the Holy One will bring the dead to life again. Then God will cause the identical body and the identical soul to return to the world in their former state, as it is written, 'Thy dead shall live, my dead bodies shall arise' (Is. XXVI, 19). The same soul is meanwhile stored up by the Holy One, thus returning to its original place, as it is written, 'And the spirit returns to God who gave it' (Eccl. XII, 7). And at the time when the Holy One will raise the dead to life He will cause dew to descend upon them from His head. By means of that dew all will rise from the dust, as it says, 'for thy dew is as the dew of light' (Is. XXVI, 19), these being the supernatural lights through which the Almighty will in future pour forth life upon the world." For a similar passage, see Soncino Zohar, Shemoth (§ 2, p. 28b).

282 Judges 6. Mather's parenthetical comment may be an encouragement to the reader to meditate further on the matter, but he does pursue the issue in his "Triparadisus" (see *Threefold Paradise*, ed. Smolinski, "Introduction," pp. 47–50, and sec. IX and X on "the New Heavens opened" and "The New Earth survey'd," pp. 244–94). On the "*plastical Dew*," *see* Mather's discussion of *Nishmath Chajim* in his *Angel of Bethesda* [1722] and "Capsula V" in Mather's medical handbook, *Angel of Bethesda* (ed. Jones); *see* also William B. Hunter, Jr., "The Seventeenth-Century Doctrine of Plastic Nature" (197–213), and *BA* 1:375, 414, 596, 599.

283 A quarto-sized leaf.

284 Ovid, *Heroides* (10.52): *quamque lapis sedes, tam lapis ipsa fui*.

285 Cicero, *Tusculanarum Disputanionum* (3.26.63): *Nioba fingitur lapidea propter aeternum,*

~~3344~~.

Q. That Mode of Speaking used by *Abigail*; *Behold, lett thine Handmaid be a Servant, to wash the Feet of the Servants of my Lord*: Is there any thing observable in the Languages of the *Orient*, that may serve to Illustrate it? v. 41.

A. Sir *John Chardin*, in the Præface of his, *Travels into Persia & the East-Indies*, ha's this Notable Passage.

"The Language of that *Divine Book* (especially the *Old Testament*) being *Oriental*, and very often Figurative and Hyperbolical, it is manifest, it cannot be well understood, without a Knowledge of the things, from whence such Figures are taken, which are Natural Proprieties, and Particular Manners of the Countreyes to which they refer. I discerned this in my first Voyage to the *Indies*; For I gradually found a greater Sense and Beauty in diverse Passages of the Scriptures, than I had before, by having in my View, the Things either Natural or Moral, which explain'd them to me; and in perusing the different Translations, which the greatest Part of the Translators of the Bible had made, I observed, that every one of them, to render their Expositions, as they thought, more intelligible, used such Expressions, as would accommodate the Phrase, to the Places where they writt; which did not only many times pervert the Text, but often render'd the Sense obscure, and Sometimes absurd also. In fine, con-|sulting the Com- [212v]
mentators, upon such Kind of Passages, I found very strange Mistakes in them; and that they all along guess'd at the Sense, and did but grope (as in the Dark) in the Search of it. And from these Reflections, I took a Resolution, to make my *Remarks* upon many Passages of the Scripture; perswading myself, that they would be equally Agreeable and Profitable."[286]

At the Writing of this, I am not informed, that these *Remarks* of this Ingenious Gentleman were ever published.[287] *Truly the Light would be sweet, & it would be a pleasant thing to behold* the *Illustrations* of the Divine Oracles, from the Pen of such a Gentleman. I hope, the Thirst of the Inquisitive after them, will at last bring them into the *Light*.

In the mean time, I will here insert a Passage, which I find in the First Volumn of his *History*; because, I thought, it a little Illustrated the Text, which we have now before us.

He recites, a *Note of Recommendation*, which he had from the Steward of the King of *Persia*'s Houshold. In that Note, there is mention made of his Rarities and Curiosities, as being, *worthy the Wardrobe of the Slaves of the King*. On that Passage he bestowes these Annotations;

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credo, in luctu silentium, Hecubam autem putant propter animi acerbitatem quandam et rabiem fingi in canem esse conversam.

286 Jean Chardin (1643–1713), French jeweler and traveler, *The Travels of Sir John Chardin into Persia and the East-Indies the first Volume* (1686), pp. vii–viii.

287 Only the first volume of Chardin's account was published, with editions appearing in 1686, 1689, and 1691.

"As much as to say, That the Kings Wardrobe is so full of rare & precious Jewels, that no body can bring any thing that is fitt to be putt therein. And therefore, *Persian* Eloquence makes very much use of this Circumlocution of Language on all Occasions. So speaking of an Embassadour, that ha's paid his Obeysance to the King, they say, *That he ha's kiss'd the Feet of the Slaves of the King*. In like Manner, when they would say that the King ha's perform'd any great Action, they say, *The Slaves of the Prince have performed such a great Action*. In the *Alcoran* you shall meet with many such like Expressions. As for Exemple; speaking of the Works of GOD, they call em, *The Works of Angels*. *The Angels created the Heavens and the Earth*. Which, say the *Mahometans*, more clearly expresses the Power of GOD. For if the *Angels* have so much Power as to create Worlds, how great must be His Power, whose only Servants, and Ministers they are!"[288]

288 In this paragraph Mather is paraphrasing from Chardin, *Travels* (223).

1. Samuel. Chap. 26.

[▽Insert from 199r–200r][289] [▽199r–200r]

Q. *Saul* prophesies of *David; Thou shalt do great things, & also shalt still prevail*? v. 25.

A. *Saul* it may be look'd on the taking away his *Spear*, which was his *Scepter*. [1. Sam. XXII.6.] as an Omen, that the Royal Authority should be translated unto *David*.[290]

289 199r is blank.

290 Patrick, *A Commentary* (286).

[200r][291] 1. Samuel. Chap. 27.

Q. *Give me a Place, in some Town in the Countrey*?] Why this Request of *David*? v. 5.

A. Dr. *Patrick* thinks, Because in a private Town, he might more freely exercise his own Religion; without giving Offence to the *Philistines*, who worshipped other Gods.[292]

[200v] | [blank]

[△] [△Insert ends]

291 A quarto-sized leaf.

292 Patrick, *A Commentary* (288).

1. Samuel. Chap. 28.

4814.

Q. How came *David* so easily to repair unto *Achish*, when he had not long ago so narrowly escaped out of his Hands? v. 1.
A. The Hebrewes answer, That he first sent an Agent unto *Achish*, to lett him know, what Persecution he suffered at home, and that he could be safe no where else, and that he should bring six hundred Men with him, ready to serve him in any of his Expeditions.

4815.

Q. How long did *Saul* out-live *Samuel*? v. 3.
A. The Jewes tell us, About *seven Months*. The Death of *Samuel* is repeted here, to show that *Saul* was now sensible of his Loss, & wanted his Advice, in the Distress now come upon him.

4816.

Q. How could *Saul* enquire of the Lord, by the *Urim*, when the *High-Priest* was now an Exile with *David*? v. 6.
A. The Hebrewes answer; That in his Distress, he sent Agents unto *David* and *Abiathar*, with His Desires, to have the *Ephod* employed for him.

Q. We read here; Saul *enquired of the Lord*. We read, 1. Chron. X.14. *He did not enquire of the Lord*. Reconcile them? v. 6.
A. *Kimchi* and others, thus Reconcile it. Since he did not *continue* to *enquire of the Lord*, but went unto a *Witch*, it was all one, as if he had not enquired at all; For he did it, faintly, coldly, indifferently, Resolving that if he were not presently heard there, he would go somewhere else for Counsel.[293]

Buxtorf observes out of *Samuel Laniado*, a learned Jew; That he whose Heart is perfect with God, lifts up his Eyes to Him, & fixes them on Him, hoping in Him, tho' He does not presently hear him; and he perseveres in his Hopes, firmly settling a Resolution to wait upon Him. So did not *Saul*; who was Remiss & Negligent, saying, *If God will not hear me, I will go and consult a Familiar Spirit*.[294]

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293 From Patrick, *A Commentary* (288), Mather cites David Kimhi. As a possible source, see Kimhi, *Former prophets*; see also *Biblia Rabbinica,* in which Kimhi's commentary was reproduced: Yaakov ben Hayyim, *Mikraot Gedolot* (1524), vol. 2, at 1 Sam. 28:6; and *Samuel: A New English translation*, in loc.
294 Patrick, *A Commentary* (288), citing Kimhi (as a possible source, see Kimhi, *Former prophets*; see also *Biblia Rabbinica,* in which Kimhi's commentary was reproduced: Yaakov ben Hayyim, *Mikraot Gedolot*, vol. 2, at 1 Sam. 28:6; and *Samuel: A New English translation*,

~~1172.~~

Q. *Saul cutt off those that had Familiar Spirits, & Wizzards, out of the Land*: upon what Provocation? v. 9.

A. The Jewish Commentaries tell us, T'was because they foretold, That *David* should bee King. And some have thought, That *Saul*s falling upon the *Gibeonites*, was when his hand was in, at this Action: pretending that *they* also were *Witches*.

It[295] seems there had been some, who *publickly* practised the Arts of Sorcery; as one still did *privately*, at *Endor*. There were such among the Heathen. *Plutarch* in the Life of *Cimon*, speaks of *Pausanias* going to a Νεκρομαντειὰ An *Oracle of the Dead*, at *Heraclea*; where he call'd up the Soul of *Cleonice*.[296]

[213v] |

Q. It has been a Quæstion greatly agitated; whether it were the true *Samuel* that appeared unto *Saul*, when we read concerning the Apparition to him; *Saul perceived that it was Samuel*? v. 14.

A. Some are of the Opinion, that it was the real *Samuel*. Diverse of the *Fathers* and *Schoolmen* are of this Opinion; and so are *Delrio*, & *Mendoza*, and other Popish Authors. Of late, *Glanvil*, and *Winder*, among ourselves, favour the Notion. Of these, there are some, who (like *Theodoret*) think, that it was not the *Witch* of *Endor*, but God Himself, who sent him: *Lyra* supposes, that God interposed the Real *Samuel*; as He unexpectedly broke in upon *Balaam*, when hee was about his magical Impostures. While unto some it appears very improbable, That God, who would not answer *Saul*, by *Urim* and *Thummin*, or any other Way, would now do it, in the wicked Way of *Necromancy*; or *Psycomancy*. Others think, that he was fetch'd by the *Witch* herself. The first who asserted this, was *Josephus*. *Justin Martyr* and *Origen* follow him; apprehending the Souls of the Godly, to be lodged somewhere near unto us, from whence they might be with Ease recalled. It seems, as if *Sulpitius Severus* were of the same Opinion.[297] The Surprize of the Woman, upon the Sight of *Samuel*, is brought as one Argu-

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in loc.); Johann Buxtorf the Younger, 17th-century protestant Hebraist, *Urim et Thummin*, in *Exercitationes ad historiam* (1659), pp. 318–19, who in turn cites Samuel Laniado, late 16th-century rabbi at Aleppo, and his reference to Schlomo Ephraim Luntschitz (1515–1619), *Sefer Keli yakar ha-shalem* (1602), fol. 251, col. 4.

295 Ink changes from brown to black.

296 Plutarch, *Lives* (2.421).

297 Up to this point in the entry, the information is taken from John Edwards, *Exercitations critical, philosophical, historical, theological* (1702), pp. 73–74, citing Martini Antonio Delrio (*Disquisitionum magicarum Libri Sex* [1599–1600, 1657], p. 130); Francisco de Mendoza (*Viridarium sacrae ac Profanae eruditionis* [1632], lib. IV, pp. 34, 76); Joseph Glanvill, 17th-century English clergyman and philosopher (*Saducismus Triumphatus* [1681, 1689], sec. XIV, pp. 296–97); possibly Henry Winder (dates unknown), author of *The Spirit of Quakerism* (1696); Theodoret, *Quaestiones in Libros Reges et Paralipomena*, in loc.; Lyra, *Postilla super totam Bibliam (*vol. 1, in loc.); Joseph, *Antiquitates Judaicae* (4.15); Justin Martyr (*Dialogue*

ment, that it was the Real *Samuel*. And there is a Passage in the *Apocrypha*, to countenance this Opinion.[298]

Others are of the Opinion, That it was a *Dæmon* assuming the *Likeness* of *Samuel*. Among the Ancients, thus thought the Author, of, *The Answers to the Quæstions of the Orthodox*; which therefore we may infer, was not *Justin Martyr*. *Tertullian* is vehement; *Absit ut Animam cujusquam Sancti nedum Prophetæ, à Dæmonio credamus extractam*.[299] With him agree, *Cyril of Alexandria*, and *Gregory Nazianzea*, and *Nyssen*, and *Basil*, and *Jerom*, and *Eustathius* of *Antioch*; & some others. *Austin* is doubtful; he disputes the Matter on both Sides; but at last concludes, That he is rather inclined to think, it was not the Real *Samuel*. And this is the Opinion of *Bede*, and *Anselm*, and *Rabanus*, and *Thomas Aquinas*.[300] And the Generality of our Protestant Divines are of this Judgment.

We know, It was customary among the Gentiles, for Magicians, to make *Dead Persons* appear; and they would bring whomsoever their Clients desired. Thus a *Wizzard*, by *Pompey's* Command, calls up a Dead Souldier, of whom he enquired the Event of the *Pharsalic War*. [*Lucan*. L. 6.][301] Many other Exemples there are in History. These *Apparitions* probably, were *Cacodæmons*, which feigned themselves to be the *Spirits* of Men departed. Why may we not think the same of the *Samuel* appearing unto *Saul*?

Certainly, The Souls of Holy Men departed, are not under the Power of *Divels*; much less, of *Magicians*; to bring them hither, when they please. If there were such a *Gulf fixed*, that the Soul of *Lazarus* could not be brought out of *Abrahams* Bosom,[302] how could a Witch bring the Soul of *Samuel* from thence. The Words of her *Samuel* also, *To morrow thou and thy Sons shall be with me*, are

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with Trypho, cap. CV); Origen, *Hexapla*, on I Regum 28, and Sulpicius Severus, late 5th/early 6th-century Christian historian and chronicler, *Historia Sacra* (1.1).

298 Possibly a reference to Sirach 46:23, referring to Samuel: "And after this he slept, and he made known to the king [Saul], and showed him the end of his life, and he lifted up his voice from the earth in prophecy to blot out the wickedness of the nation."

299 Tertullian, *De Anima* (57.749a). "Yet, let one be disinclined to believe that the soul of a saint (much less that of a prophet) might be forced out by a demon."

300 This paragraph, up to this point, is taken from Edwards, *Exercitations critical, philosophical, historical, theological* (77–78), citing Pseudo-Justin Martyr, *Questiones Responsiones ad Orthodoxos*; Tertullian, *De Anima* (57); Cyril of Alexandria, late 5th/early 6th-century CE patriarch and theologian, *De Adoratione* (lib. VI); Gregory Nazianzenus, 4th-century CE archbishop of Constantinople and theologian, *Adversus Julianus* (Orat. I, ¶ 54); Gregory of Nyssa (also attributed to Methodius), *De Pythonissa*; Basil of Caesarea, 4th-century CE bishop and theologian, on Is. 8; Jerome on Matt. 6 (also on Is. 3 and 7:11, and Ezek. 13:17); Eustathius of Antioch, *De Engastrimytho de Origenem*; Venerable Bede, late 7th/early 8th-century Northumbrian monk and historian, *In Samuelem Prophetam*; Anselm of Canterbury (c. 1033–1109), Benedictine philosopher and archbishop; Rabanus Maurus, late 8th/early 9th-century Frankish bishop and theologian, *Commentaria In Libros IV Regum*; and Thomas Aquinas (*Summa*, II–II, Q. clxxiv, a. 5, ad 4).

301 Lucan, *Pharsalia* (a.k.a. *Bellum Civilis*), lib. VI.

302 Luke 16:19–31, especially v. 26.

hardly consistent with Truth, & therefore not with a true *Samuel*. Her *Samuel* appears *Ascending* out of the *Earth*; whereas the True *Samuel* would have appeared as *Descending* from *Heaven*. Tis not likely, that the true *Samuel* would have preached unto *Saul*, nothing but horrible Desperation, without so much as one Exhortation to Repentance. Consult *P. Martyr* on the Place.[303]

My Parent, in his, *Remarkable Providences*; and, *Edwards*, in his *Exercitations*; have handled this Problem; as well as *Voetius, De Spectres*.[304] And this is the Summ of what they say upon it.

The Men, who, like *Webster*, go to make this whole Transaction, a Cheat, a Trick, an Artifice;[305] I know not which is greater, their *Stupidity*, or their *Profanity*: but both are very great. The *Witch-Advocates* find the History, to be such a Proof of *Witches*, that they try very odd Shifts to evade this Proof. Dr. *More* saies, *They play more Hocus-Pocus tricks in the Explication of that Passage, than the Witch herself did in the Raising of Samuel*.[306] When they have done all, we must conclude with Dr. *Edwards*, *we are to look upon this famous Relation of the Witch of Endor, as an undeniable Proof of Witches transacting with evil Spirits*.[307]

Tertullian in his *Apologetics*, speaks of those, who by their Black Arts called up the *Souls of the Dead*.[308] This was performed sometimes by the magical Use of a Bone of a Dead Body. Hence that of *Horace*; *Animas Responsa daturas*.[309] They did it sometimes with pouring Hot Blood into a Carcase. Thus *Lucan*.

– Dum Vocem defunctu in Corpore quærit protinus astrictus caluit Cruor,
atraque fovit Vulnera.[310]

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303 Vermigli, *In duos Libros Samuelis prophetae* (158–69).

304 Increase Mather, *A disquisition concerning the state of the souls of men, (especially of good men) when separated from their bodies* (1707), esp. pp. 19–31; Edwards, *Exercitations critical, philosophical, historical, theological* (71–80); Gisbertus Voetius (1589–1676), Dutch Calvinist theologian, *De Spectris*, resp. Andreas Essenius, 28 Oct. & 4 Nov. 1637, in *Selectarum Disputationum theologicarum*, 5 vols. (1648–69), 1:985–1017.

305 John Webster (1611–82), English schoolmaster and polemicist, *The displaying of supposed witchcraft* (1677); both Increase Mather and John Edwards mention Webster in the works cited by Mather.

306 This statement appears in Glanvill, *Saducismus triumphatus … With a letter of Dr. Henry More on the same subject and an authentick but wonderful story of certain Swedish witches done into English by Anth[ony] Horneck*, in the Translator's Preface (p. [iii]) of the last section, with a separate title page that reads, *An Account Of what happened in the Kingdom of Sweden In the Years 1669, and 1670. In Relation to the Persons that were accused For Witches: And Tried and Executed By the King's Command* (1689). Thus the statement appears to be by Horneck rather than More.

307 Edwards, *Exercitations critical, philosophical, historical, theological* (80).

308 Tertullian, *Apologia* (32).

309 Horace, *Sermones* (1.8.29). "Spirits about to give a response."

310 Lucan, *Bellum Civilis* (6.750–751). The Lucanian line starts with *Protinus*, and the phrase before it is odd: "When the voice in the dead corpse is sought, at once the frozen blood grew hot and warmed the blackened wounds."

[214r][311]

Q. The affair of *Saul* consulting the Witch of *Endor*; an Illustration that shall sett it in a true Light, is now asked & hoped for? v. 25.

A. Monsieur *Jurieu* will be very helpful to us on this Occasion.[312]

The /בצלנ אוב/ *Masters of the OB*, (whereof this Witch is called, *A Mistress*,) were properly Necromancers, who pretended unto a Power of Raising the *Manes* of the Dead, & fetching discoveries from them.[313] For which Purpose they caused them to appear in a spacious *Vessel* filled with *Water*, and at the same time there was heard a certain Hoarse *Voice*, as coming forth at a Distance from the Abyss of the Earth, which is the Dwelling-Place of the Dead.

Among the several Sorts of *Necromancers*, there was one that procured an Apparition of the Dead, under a visible *Form*, and an audible *Voice* accompanying of it. Their *Necromancy* was distinguished by several Names, according to the various Instruments used by the Magicians, for the Evocation of the Dead. When they made them appear in a *Looking-Glass*, it was called, *Catoptromancy*; But if they appeared in a deep *Vessel* (described by *Hermolaus Barbarus*, and by *Budæus,*) it was called, *Gastromancy*. *Budæus* affirms, That the Word Εγγαστριμυθοι, signifies often those who performed the Divination by the large Vessel, which was called, γαστρη.[314] This Divination was called, *Hydromancy*; wherein the Soul of the Deceased appeared with an Humane Shape in the Water. Of this Kind was the *Ob*; where the Figures of the Dead Bodies made their Appearance, in a clear & pure Water, with a confused Noise; while at the same time, a Voice was heard, as coming from under-ground, at a considerable Distance, answering the Quæstion that had been proposed. Because the LXX use the Word Εγγαστριμυθοι, for the *Ob*, wee are now released from a Necessity of applying & confining it unto the *Ventriloquium*, wherein the Witch has her Voice coming from her Belly: Tho' *Maimonides*, and *Mikotsi*, and the *Talmud* have ignorantly defined the *Ob*, to be an Impure Spirit, which makes a Voice come from the privy Parts as out of a Bottle.[315]

The Word, OB, signifies a *Bottel*, a *Barrel*, a *Cask*, or very deep Vessel. The Latin Word, *Obba*, which is the same with the Chaldaic *Ob*, is a *Tuscan* obsolete

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311 A folio leaf tipped in with sealing wax; this is a folded double leaf, as is the next, which is also torn so that only the top one-third is present.

312 Jurieu, *A Critical History of the Doctrines and Worships* (2:111–15).

313 בַּעֲלֵי אוֹב [ba'alei ob], "lords of the necromancer / prophecying spirit of the dead."

314 ἐγγαστριμύθοι (pl.) of ἐγγαστρίμυθος [engastrimythos] "ventriloquist"; γαστήρ [gaster], "belly."

315 On the LXX Greek, see previous note. Jurieu, *Critical History* (2:110–14), citing Hermolaus Barbarus (Ermolao Barbaro), 15th-century Italian scholar and author of *Compendium Scientiae Naturalis* (1548); and Gulielmus Budaeus, early 16th-century French philologist and author of *Commentarii Linguae Graecae* (1529), on εγγαστριμυθοι (Ventriloquism). Mather cites Maimonides and the *Jerusalem Talmud, Tractate Sanhedrin*; as possible sources, *see* Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah* and MiKotzi, *Sefer Mitzvot Gadol (SeMaG)* (1522).

Word, signifying, a Vessel, wherewith of old, they did use to perform their *Libations* upon the Sepulchres of the Deceased. And why should not the Jewish *OB*, signify also a Vessel of *Necromancy*, used for the Evocation of the Dead? This Art is by *Psellus* called, λεκανομαντεια, *Lecanomancy*; from the Word, λεκανη, which signifies, *A Basin*.[316] He saies, They threw a Peece of Gold into a *Basin*, upon which they poured the Water; and then offering certain Sacrifices, with Invocations to the Dæmons, there was heard a Kind of Groaning or Grumbling in the Bottom of the Vessel; whereupon the Dæmon appearing in a visible Shape, did with a low Voice utter his Words. This is an Art practised unto this very Day. Monsieur *Jurieu* reports a notorious Instance of it, in the Place where he lived, & while he was there. And whereas most of our modern *Magicians*, rather use the *Looking-glass*, which produces the same Effects with the *magical Water*, I can myself add surprizing Exemples of both Sorts of *Sorceries*, which
[214v] have been known to have been practised in my Neighbourhood.[317] It was this | *Catoptromancy*, with which the Wizard entertained the English Embassador at *Rome*, with the Aspects of all the English Princes, that should succeed *Henry* VII, down to *Charles* I. Monsieur *Jurieu* recites the Story; and adds, "If the World could be Convinced, from whence I have this History, it would not be look'd upon as Fictitious, as most such Relations are."[318]

Austin is of the Opinion, [De Civit. L. 7. c. 15.] That *Numa Pompilius* was a Necromancer, who raised those Gods, with whom he pretended a Correspondence, in the *Water*.[319]

The Witch of *Endor* doubtless produced the Apparition of *Samuel* in a large Vessel filled with *Water*. That it was not the Real *Samuel* that appeared, is plain from a thousand Reasons; but especially from this: The Witch could have made the Shape of any Person then living to have appeared, if *Saul* had asked for it, as well as of the Deceased *Samuel*. It was a *Dæmon* which took the Shape, that the Witch called for; as tis done in the unlawful Practices of our Dayes.

Monsieur *Jurieu* thinks, That there is in the very Name of *En-dor*, a Circumstance to confirm us in the beleef of it, that the Profession of this Witch was *Hydromancy*. *En-dor* signifies, *An everlasting Spring*; from the Purity of the *Water* there. Tis notorious, That the Dæmons affect a Sort of *Purity* on these Occasions. The *Necromancers* procure the Apparition of their *Dæmons*, in the purest Water; and they employ a Maiden-Child commonly to See the Apparitions, & hear the Oracles. This agrees, with what *Apuleius* relates, from *Varro*; of a Necro-

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316 A neologism, of λεκάνη [lekane], "a hod," and μαντεία [manteia] (μαντεύομαι), "prophesying, prophetic power." (Cf. λέκος [lekos], "a dish, plate, pot, pan.")

317 For examples of sorceries in Mather's "neighbourhood," see *Wonders of the Invisible World* (1692).

318 Jurieu, *A Critical History* (2:113–15), citing Michael Psellus, 11th-century Byzantine historian and philosopher, *De operatione Dæmonum dialogus* (1615).

319 Jurieu, *A Critical History* (2:115), citing Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* (7.15).

mancer, who shewed unto a *young Lad*, the Image of *Mercury* in the Water; and this *young Lad* heard the Image recite an hundred & sixty Verses, containing a Prediction of every thing that was to happen in the *Mithriduric* War.[320]

Let us repair to Isa. XXIX.4. *And thou shalt be brought down, & thou shalt speak out of the Ground, and thy Speech shall be low out of the Dust, and thy Voice shall be as out of the Ground*, [like /אוב/] *as of one that hath a Familiar Spirit, and thy Speech shall whisper, as out of the Dust*. This Text well considered, will notably illustrate the Matter we have before us.

Ralbag ha's a Passage in his Commentary, on 1. Sam. XXVIII.7. which will do it a little further. *Our Doctors of happy Memory thus represent the* /אוב/ *That he who raises the Dead, does not hear the Voice, but only see the Figure; whereas on the contrary, he who does ask the Counsel does not see the Figure, but only hears the Voice, which answers his Quæstions. Thus the Woman sees the Image of* Samuel, *but she does not hear him speak. On the other hand*, Saul *sees not* Samuel, *but only hears his Voice*.[321]

It is apparent from the History of Endor, that the Magician made the *Manes* of the Dead appear, in *Ob*, a Vessel filled with Water; And from the Passage in *Isaiah*, That upon the Apparition, there was a certain *low Voice* heard, out of the Bowels (not of the Sorceress, but) of the Earth.[322]

Another Passage of *Isaiah*, will give a further Light unto it; Isa. VIII.19. *When they shall say unto you, seek unto them that have Familiar Spirits,* /את האבות/ or, Necromancers, *and unto Wizards that peep & mutter: should not a People seek unto their God? For the Living to the Dead*? They who consulted the *Ob*, did *speak for the Living to the Dead*![323]

And it is plain, that Εγγαστριμυθος,[324] the Word used by the LXX on this Occasion, | was a general Word, applied unto all Wizards, who in their [215r] Divinations brought forth a *low Voice*, that seem'd at a Distance, whether out of their Bowels, or out of the Ground. And therefore the LXX themselves do also translate the Word, *Ob*, in these terms, φονουντες εκ της γης. *Those that cry out of the Ground*.[325]

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320 Jurieu, *A Critical History* (2:113–14), citing Apuleius, 2nd-century CE Latin novelist, *Apologia* (42.6) from 1st-century BCE Roman scholar Marcus Terentius Varro ("In Apol. Mag.").

321 אוֹב [ob], "necromancer, prophecying spirit of the dead." Jurieu, *A Critical History* (2:117), citing Levi ben Gerson, or Ralbag, *Commentarius in Prophetas priores* (1494), at 1 Sam. 28:7; see also *Biblia Rabbinica*, in which Ralbag's commentary was reproduced: Yaakov ben Hayyim, *Mikraot Gedolot* (1524), vol. 2, at 1 Sam. 28:25; and *Samuel: A New English Translation*, in loc.

322 Jurieu, *A Critical History* (2:118).

323 אֶת ־ הָאבוֹת [eth-havoth], "necromancers/ prophecying spirits of the dead."

324 ἐγγαστρίμυθος [engastrimythos], "ventriloquist."

325 φονοῦντες ἐκ τῆς γῆς [phonountes ek tes ges], "[those who are] speaking out of the earth"; cf. Is. 29:4. The last two paragraphs are derived from Jurieu, *A Critical History* (2:118). Mather leaves a blank line before resuming.

Quære; How far these Communications may help to illustrate that obscure Passage: Job. XXVI.5. *Dead things are formed from under the Waters, with the Inhabitants thereof*.[326]

[215v] | [blank]

326 Following this entry is a comment written in a different hand (*see* App. B).

Q. The Meaning of that Acclamation; *This is Davids Spoil*? v. 20.
A. Not that he challenged it all to himself; But that it was acquired by his Valour and Conduct; which (as Dr. *Patrick* observes) they now magnified, who lately spoke of Stoning him. Some think, They sang a Triumphant Song, and this was the *Burden* of it.[328]

| [216v]

Q. The Law for *Division of Spoils*; *As his Part is, that goes down to the Battel, so shall his Part be, that tarrieth by the Stuff*? v. 24.
A. *Grotius* observes, That *Polybius* in explaining the Order of Dividing the Spoils of War, alotts a Portion to those who remained in the Camp. The Proportions were various in several Places. In some, a Simple Portion was given to a *Footman*, a Double to a *Centurion*, a Treble to an *Horseman*. In other Places they varied from this. But however the Division was made, the Commander in Chief, took the best of the Spoil to himself.

The Equity of *David*s Law here was evident.

The Law may seem to have been ordained by God Himself, in the XXI of *Numbers*. If so, tis much that it should not be alledged by *David*, on the present Contention.

But, as Dr. *Patrick* observes, This was a very different Case from that. There, the Threescore Thousand, who staid at home, had no more among them, than the Twelve thousand, who went into the Battel. And what was then done, was not ordained, as a Statute for all Generations.

This was a New Law. And it perpetually continued, unto the Time of the *Maccabees*. [2. Macc. VIII.28, 30.] *Osiander* observes, That it pleased the *Romans* to do the same; as *Festus* tell{s} us.[329]

But *Godeschalcus Steuechius* upon *Vegetius de Re Militari*, showes at large, The most ancient Custome among the *Romans*, was, To burn Part of the Spoils,

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327 A quarto-sized leaf. Mather wrote no entries on 1 Sam. 29.

328 Patrick, *A Commentary* (312).

329 Andreas Osiander, early 16th-century German Lutheran theologian, *Biblia Sacra Utriusque Testamenti* (1522, 1600), margin in loc.; Sextus Pompeius Festus (and Marcus Verrius Flaccus), *Operis de verborum significatione* (1474), p. 202 (cf. Lindsay [1913]), telling of a law by the Roman king Pompilius, by which the spoils that had been won in war were divided in three groups. For each group of spoils a different god had to be satisfied: Jove, Mars and Janus: […] *esse etiam Pompili regis legem opimorum spoliorum talem: 'Cuius auspicio classe procincta opima spolia capiuntur, Iovi Feretrio darier oporteat, et bovem caedito, qui cepit aeris […] Secunda spolia, in Martis ara in campo solitaurilia utra voluerit caedito — Tertia spolia, Ianui Quirino agnum marem caedito, C qui ceperit ex aere dato.'*

as an Offering to their Gods; And for the rest, the Souldiers were permitted sometimes to keep, what every Man had gott for himself. And sometimes, if the Necessities of the Commonwealth required, they were all brought unto the *Quæstor*, to be putt into the public Treasury. Out of those, which every Man kept for himself, they were wont, when they came home, to have some of them upon the Posts of the Gates to their Houses, which it was lawful to Remove, upon the Selling of the House to another Man.[330]

[217r] | [blank]

330 The entirety of this entry is taken from Patrick, *A Commentary* (214–15), citing Grotius, *De Jure Belli ac Pacis* (cap. VI, sec. XVII); and Godescalcus Stewechius (1551–86), *Commentarius Ad Flavi[i] Vegeti[i] Renati Libros de Re Militari* (1670), lib. II, cap. VII.

Q. Remarks upon *Bethshan*? v. 10.
A. It was a City pertaining to the Half-Tribe of *Menasseh*, on the West of *Jordan*, & not far from *Jordan*, & the South-Coast of the Sea of *Galilee*.[332]

It was a considerable City, in the Times of *Eusebius* and *Jerom*;[333] and had then for some Ages been called by the Greek Writers, *Scythopolis*; probably from some Remarkable Occurrence there, when the *Scythians* made an Inroad into *Syria*.

~~1718.~~

Q. What Remarkable may one see, in the *Philistine*s putting *Saul*s Armour, in the *House of Ashtaroth*? v. 10.
A. I do not now Invite you to Remark, the ancient Usage of Conquerors, in laying up the *Arms* of the Conquered for Monuments of their Victories; and particularly laying them up in *Temples*.

Read the Commentaries on *Vegetius*, and you'l see, *Invaluit Usus, ut Spoliis Hostium Templa exornarentur*.[334] Hence *Virgil*.

Multaque prætereà Sacris in postibus Arma,
Captivi pendent Currus, Curvæque Secures.[335]

But the Remark, whereto I invite you, is This.

If you Turn Ten Chapters back, you will find, That the *Arms* of *Goliah*, had been laid up in the Tabernacle;[336] and on the Occasion of *David*s using these *Arms*, Bloody *Saul* murdered the Priests of the Lord. God is now Revenging that Murder upon him; and, as hee had made the Arms of a *Philistine* laid up in the Tabernacle of God, a Prætext for his Killing of worthy Men, *Philistines* now kill him, and lay up his Arms, in the Temple of an Idol.

Q. What was the *Burning* bestow'd on the *Bodies* of *Saul*, & his Sons? v. 12.
A. Some think, The *Flesh* was burnt, because grown Putrid and Rotten. Others, that only Aromatic *Hott* Spices were poured on the *Flesh*, as once on *Jacob*s.

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331 A quarto-sized leaf, the recto of which is blank except for the chapter heading.
332 Patrick, *A Commentary* (320).
333 Eusebius, *Onamasticon* (Beta, in Judges). See also *Jerome's Chronicle*, which contains Eusebius' chronological tables that accompany book of Eusebius' *Chronicon.*
334 Possibly Stewechius, *Commentarius Ad Flavi[i] Vegeti[i] Renati Libros de Re Militari* (lib. II, cap. VII). "This was the prevalent use, to adorn temples with spoils of the enemy."
335 Virgil, *Aeneid* (7.ll.183–84): "Trophies of arms in goodly order hung along the columns."
336 1 Sam. 21:9.

The *Targum* reads it, *They burnt upon them*, or, *over them*. *Kimchi* notes, The Paraphrase had Respect unto a Custome of the Ancestors, to burn the Beds, and other Utinsels of the Dead, upon their Graves; or to the Burning of Spices.

Among the *Jews*, there was no such Custome, as, *To burn the Bodies of the Dead*. But some think, This People imitated the Custome of the Heathen; being a People that affected Singularity. [see Judg. XXI.18.] *Gierus* thinks, they were now guilty of a Singularity. And therefore in the *Chronicles*, tis left unmentioned.[337]

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337 Patrick, *A Commentary* (320–21), citing the *Targum of Samuel*; Kimhi, *Former Prophets*, at 1 Sam. 31; and Martin Geier (1614–1680), *De Ebraeorum luctu lugentiumque Ritibus e sacris Praecipue* (1656); see also *Biblia Rabbinica*, in which Kimhi's commentary was reproduced: Yaakov ben Hayyim, *Mikraot Gedolot* (1524), vol. 2, at 1 Sam. 31:12; and *Samuel: A New English Translation*, in loc.

1287.

Q. Why should that Book which wee call, The *Second Book of Samuel*, wear the Name of *Samuel*, when it reports nothing but what happened after the Death of *Samuel*?
A. The Book relates the Accomplishments of the Things which had been prophesied by *Samuel*, and the Effects of *Samuel*s Counsels, either Despised, or Observed, by the Two Princes whom *Hee* anointed.

Q. The Report which the *Amalekite* young Man gave concerning the Death of *Saul*, & his own Share in hastening that Death; was it False, or True? v. 6.
A. The learned *Schmidius* proves by many Arguments, that the young Man told not a *Lye*, tho' tis commonly thought that hee *did*.[1] *Saul* was fallen upon his own Sword; & his Armour-bearer supposing him to bee dead by that Fall, presently stab'd himself. But by some Error in the Sword of *Saul*, the Thrust had missed his Heart. So that hee lay Bleeding & Panting there, when hee saw the *Amalekite* Approaching him.

Whereupon there passed between him & the young Man, the Discourse which is now related. *Saul* beg'd the young Man to dispatch him with another more effectual Wound; the young Man did it, as knowing his Condition to bee mortal by the Wound hee had already Received. *The Fall*, mentioned here, in v. 10 was, *The Fall upon the Sword*, mentioned in 1. Sam. 31.4.

708.

Q. What was there of a *Remarkable Providence,* in an *Amalekite*s carrying from slain *Saul* unto *David*, the Ensigns of his Royaltie? v. 6.
A. The *Sin* of *Saul*, in his not slaying the *Amalekites*, was now punished in the *Death* of *Saul*. It was *Remarkable*, that an *Amalekite* must now bee an Instrument in killing him. For that Neglect of *Saul*, the Kingdome was transferred from him to *David*. It was *Remarkable*, that by the Hand of an *Amalekite*, now *David* receives the Royal Ornaments of *Saul*. Nor am I without Suspicion, That when *David* stabbed the *Amalekite*, hee had some such Thoughts working in his Mind, and was willing to show his Readiness to Do, what *Saul* had Omitted.

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1 Sebastian Schmidius (1617–96), professor of theology at Strassburg, *In Librum posteriore Samuelis, Commentarius* (1689), in loc.

2299.

Q. The Dying Words of *Saul*, reported by the *Amalekite*, according to *our* Translation were, *Anguish is come upon mee*. How were they according to *yours*? v. 9.

A. I can bring you good Authority, for another Translation. *Saul*, was now pursued by the Distressing Vengeance of God. In his Distress, his Conscience with a just Reflection, cries out, of the Crime, that had brought the Wrath of Heaven upon him. What wee render, *Anguish is upon mee*, may bee rendred, *The embroidered Garment*, [namely, of the *Priests* that hee had slain,] *hath taken Hold on mee*.[2] The Wounds upon his guilty Soul, now bled afresh; hee call'd to Mind, the Guilt of the Murder hee had committed upon the Men that wore an *embroidered Garment*.

Some following the Chaldee, expound it of the, *Tremor, quo aiunt Saulem correptum post trucidationem Sacerdotum*.[3]

Q.[4] The *bracelet* on *Saul*s Arm? v. 10.

A. The Chaldee Paraphrase terms it, His *Phylacteryes*, or his *Prayer Ornaments*; probably he putt on these, as his εφοδιον,[5] foreknowing his Death at this Time. When the Jewes are about to Dy, they putt on their *Tephillis*.

Q. What did the *Crown* do here? v. 10.

A. It is not likely, that *Saul* wore his *Crown*, when hee was in the Fight; For that had been to sett out himself as a *Mark* for the *Philistines* to shoot at. But it was carried along with him into the Field, (as Dr. *Patrick* notes,) by some that attended him; ready to be putt on, if he had gotten the Victory, and returned in Triumph. The Jews think, it was in the Custody of *Doeg*, his *Armour-bearer*; who before he killed himself, gave it unto his Son, (this young *Amalekite*) & bad him carry it unto *David*, in hopes he might thereby ingratiate himself with him.[6]

Q. *David*s bewayling the Death of *Saul*, so pathetically? v. 12.

A. Dr. *Patrick* mentions this among other Causes for it. The Manner of his Death very much affected him. And the more, because he heard perhaps of his being just before, to consult a Witch, & not giving any Tokens of Repentance.[7]

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2 שֶׁבֶץ [shavats]; translations in the BDB and Holladay are both inconclusive but suggest "seizure of weakness, cramp." KJV: "anguish."

3 ἐφόδιον [ephodion], "supplies for travelling, money and provisions"; cf. Deut. 15:14. Chaldee Paraphrast, in Walton, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (2:308). "The tremor, which, they say, Saul was seized with after murdering the priests."

4 This entry is squeezed in along the right margin.

5 Chaldee Paraphrast, in Walton, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (2:310): *et armillam quae super brachium ejus*. "The trembling, by which they say Saul was seized after the massacre of the priests."

6 Patrick, *A Commentary* (325).

7 Patrick, *A Commentary* (326).

{....}

Q. What is the Sense of that Passage, *Hee bade them Teach the Children of Judah the Use of the Bowe*? v. 18.

A. According to our Translation, I cannot well comprehend the Sense of it: except you'l say, That the *Philistines* had made fearful Slaughters of the *Israelites*, by their being such curious *Archers*, and the Study of *David* was to have the *Israelites* out-shoot the *Philistines* in their *own Bowe*. But indeed the true Sense of it is this. *David* bad his *cheef Musicians* to teach his People, the Song of *Lamentations*, which hee composed upon the Death of *Jonathan*. It is that *Song*, which | is here called, *The Bowe*, or, *Kesheth*; and this, not only because the Philistine [218v] *Archers* occasioned it, or because hee Remembred the *Bowe*, wherein *Jonathan* shott his Arrowes, when the Covenant was made between them; but because the most remarkable Passage in the Song, is that, *The Bowe of Jonathan turned not Back*. T'was the Oriental Fashion, to entitle Composures from some very Remarkable Word, in those Composures.

{....}

Q. What is meant by, *The Book of Jasher*, sometimes mentioned, in the *Book of Scripture*? v. 18.

A. *Schmidius* do's by *Jasher* understand none other than, *The most Righteous God Himself*.[8] That Name, is in the Bible, more than once ᾽ἐξοχικῶς putt upon the *Righteous God*.[9] That *Just One*, ha's a *Book of Remembrance*, in which are entred the glorious Things that past between Him, & His People. And it is possible there might also bee in *Israel* some Records thus entituled, wherein were Memoirs of Gods Dispensations towards *Israel* in the former Ages; much of the same Nature, with what is called in Num. 21.14. *The Book of the Wars of the Lord*.

Munster tells us, That by, *Liber Rectissimi*, is meant, The Book of *Genesis*, which is, *Liber Abraham, Isaac, & Jacob, rectissimorum Virorum, qui Verbo et Opere docuerunt; contrà impios et infideles homines sumenda arma*.[10]

Q. Is there no *Rain*, or *Dew* now ordinarily falling on the *Mountains of Gilboa*? v. 21.

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8 Schmid, *In Librum posteriorem Samuelis*, in loc.

9 ἐξοχικῶς [exochikos], "exceptionally, eminently, mightily", of ἐξοχος [exochos], "standing out"; the normal adverbial form is ἐξοχα (neut. pl.). Cf. Johann Gerhard, *Aphorismi Succincti Et Selecti* (1611), XVII, *Aphorismi theol. de s. baptismo*: εἰδικῶς καὶ ἐξοχικῶς. The Hebrew word is יָשָׁר [yashar], "straight, right, correct, just, righteous;" LXX: βιβλίου τοῦ εὐθοῦς ("book of Right"), VUL: "libro Iustorum," LUT: "Buch des Redlichen", KJV: "book of Jasher."

10 Münster, *Hebraica Biblia*, in loc. (282). "The Book of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, most righteous of men, who taught by word and deed that arms must be taken up against unholy and faithless men."

A. *Brochardus*, travelling over *Gilboa* A. D. 1283, found, yea, felt, both *Dew* and *Rain*.[11] But what? Was there any Infidelity in *David*s Words, *yee Mountains of* Gilboa, *lett there bee no Dew, neither lett there bee Rain upon you*? Would not *Faith* have even Removed, the *Mountains* themselves? In Truth, *David* intended not that his Curse ever should take Effect; hee did only in a poetical Strain thus utter & express his Passion. And it was far safer, to fall under his *Diræ*, as a Poet, than as a Prophet; as *Judas* in *Achitophel* could witness.

Besides, Take this for a Rule; That the *passionate*, not to say, *poetical* Wishes of good Men, in the Scripture, are frequently to bee understood, as having that Condition Interposed, *If the thing were in itself Allowable, or, by mee Attaineable*. Thus, Rom. 9.3. *I could wish that myself were Accursed from Christ, for my Brethren*. Take it so, *I could Wish it, if it were lawful, or useful for mee to make such a Wish*. In like Manner here, suppose the Psalmist expressing himself to this Purpose, *O yee Mountains of* Gilboa, *if it were a just thing, & in my Power, I could wish no Rain or Dew might fall upon you, since upon you there ha's been the Fall of my Dearest Friend*.

Q. *David*s Encomium on *Saul* as well as *Jonathan*? v. 23.

A. It advances the Glory of *David*, that he praises his Enemy, for what was *praiseworthy* in him. They say, *Cæsar* could not but weep, when he saw *Pompey's* Head; but wee read of nothing that he spoke in his Commendation.

He saies, They were *swifter than Eagles*; That is, in pursuing their Enemies. In the Choice of Souldiers, *Vegetius* tells us, *et Velocitas requiranda est, et Robur*.[12]

[219r] |

Q. The *Daughters of Israel*, were by Saul *clothed with Scarlett*, and *other Delights*. What were the *other Delights*? v. 24.

A. The Word, *Other*, is not in the Hebrew. It only means, that *Fine Cloaths* were their *Delights*.

Scarlet was every where counted the most precious Colour. The Emperours Mantle, as *Braunius* observes, was of *Scarlet*.[13]

The *Scarlet* used by People of Quality, especially in great Solemnities, among the Jews; it was not died with Madder, or Cochinele, or with the Powder

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11 Brocardus Monachus [and Kaspar Peucer], *Descriptio Locurum Terrae Sanctae exactissima* [1475], in *De Dimensione Terrae et geometrice numerandis Locorum particularium intervallis ex Doctrina triangulorum Sphaericorum & canone Subtensarum* (1554), pp. 215–16.

12 "Both speed and strength are necessary." The quote is from Vegetius, *Epitoma Rei Militaris* (1.8), though Vegetius' text has *videtur* rather than *est*: "it seems necessary," rather than "it is necessary." Patrick, *A Commentary* (331–32).

13 Patrick, *A Commentary* (332), citing Braunius, *Id est vestitus sacerdotum Hebraeorum* (lib. I, cap. XV, pp. 287–315).

in Grain called, *Alchirmes*;[14] All Inventions of a later Date; but with a *Shrub*, the *Red Berries* whereof gave to the Cloth its glorious Tincture.

[The *Crimson* was made of the Blood of a *Worm* found in the Fruit of a Tree, and therefore called, *Vermilion*.]

2651.

Q. Why does David say of his Jonathan, Thy Love to me was wonderful, *passing the Love of Women*? v. 26.

A. *Jonathan* knew *David* was to take his Kingdome from him, and yett the *Love* of *Jonathan* to *David* was | very affectionate. Now such *Love* was *wonderful*; [219v] every body will count it so.

But how comes a Comparison to the *Love of Women* into the Case? The Jewish Rabbi's tell us, This Passage is an Allusion to what we read, in Gen. 3.16. *Unto the Woman He said, I will greatly multiply thy Sorrow by thy Conception; in Sorrow thou shalt bring forth Children; yett thy Desire shall be to thy Husband*. One would think, that after the exquisite *Sorrow* a poor Woman had undergone in her *Travail*, there should be nothing so formidable or abominable to her, as the Conversation of her *Husband*. But for all this, *Her Desire is to her Husband*. Now, this is *wonderful*!

14 *Madder* is a vining plant used to produce a crimson dye; *cochinel* is a scarlet dye made from the dried body of an insect; *alchermes* is an Italian liqueur colored bright red.

~~365{?}~~.

Q. Here seems to bee a chronological Difficulty. *Ishbosheth* reigns over *Israel,* no more than *Two Years*. It is added, That *David* was King in *Hebron* over *Judah*, Seven Years and Six Months. What then? Shall wee imagine, that *Israel* continued above a *Lustre* of Years, in an *Inter-regnum*, or an Anarchy? v. 10, 11.
A. No. When in this Place, as well as in 2. Sam. 5.4, 5. *David*s Reign is distributed into two Periods, the one of *Seven* Years, & an half, the other of *Thirty* and Three Years, the Distribution is not made with an Exact Respect unto the *Subjects* of his Reign, but with Regard unto the *Seats* of it; it is a Division of his Reign, into *Hebronitic* and *Hierosolymitic*. Indeed when hee first began to Reign in *Hebron*, hee had only *Judah* to Command; but at the End of Two Years, hee had all *Israel* coming into him; tho' tis also possible, that all the Dispositions to Unsettlement among the Tribes, were not wholly extinguished, until they saw him conquer and possess *Jerusalem*, the Place appointed for the *Throne* of the Lord; and this was not until *Seven* Years & an half, after the Death of *Saul*.

Ralbag interprets this *Two Years*, to be, q.d. *Ishbosheth reigned Two Years* before there was any Hostility between him & *David*. It is a meer Fancy of the Jews, in *Seder Olam Rabba*, That the Throne was vacant, and there was no King in *Israel* for Five Years.

Dr. *Patrick* thinks the Conjecture of *Victorinus Strigelius*, to be better, who having mentioned that of *Ralbag*, adds, That after the War broke out between *David* and *Ishbosheth*, and the Power and Interest of *David* increased, *Ishbosheth* being an unactive Prince, *Abner* took the Administration of the Government upon himself, and managed the War, the other Five Years, which passed before *David* came to the Throne of *Israel*. These Five Years are not reckoned, into *Ishbosheth*s Reign; because he had now no more but the meer Name of a King.[15]

Ish-bosheth is [1. Chron. VIII.33.][16] called, *Esh-baal*. Several other Names end indifferently in *Basheth* or *Baal*. *Jerubbaal*, is called, *Jerubbesheth*. [2. Sam. XI.21.] *Mephibosheth*, is called, *Meribbaal*. [1. Chron. VIII.34.] *Bosheth* signifies, *Shame*, and *Confusion*. And *Baal* being an Infamous Idol, the Holy Scripture makes these Names end indifferently, either in *Baal* or *Bosheth*.

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15 The last two paragraphs are taken from Patrick, *A Commentary* (337), citing Levi ben Gerson, or Ralbag, *Commentarius in Prophetas priores* (1494), at 2 Sam. 2:14; *see also* the *Biblia Rabbinica*, in which Ralbag's commentary was reproduced: Yaakov ben Hayyim, *Mikraot Gedolot* (1524), vol. 2, at 2 Sam. 2:14; and *Samuel: A New English Translation*, in loc. Also cited is Victorinus Strigelius, *Libri Samuelis, Regum, & Paralipoménon* (121).
16 MS: "33."

| [220v]

Q. *Abner* is the Aggressor. *And Abner said unto Joab*? v. 14.

A. Dr. *Patrick* supposes, *David* had ordered *Joab*, that he should not Begin the Quarrel; but only Stand upon his Defence. For he had sworn unto *Saul*, that he would not cutt off his Posterity. And therefore he would not willingly engage against *Ishbosheth*.[17]

{....}

Q. *He smote him under the Fifth Rib*; how do[18] some understand the Expression? v. 23.

A. *Munster* informs us, that what we render, *The Fifth Rib*, some read, *Viscera vitalia*.[19] And there are *Five* of these; The *Heart*, the *Lungs*, the *Liver*, the *Spleen*, and the *Gall*.

R. *Johannes* in his *Gemara Sanhedrim*, C. 6. s. 7. saies, The *Fifth Rib* is the Place where the *Liver* and *Gall* are scituated.[20]

Q. *Joab*s Words to *Abner*, *unless thou hadst spoken, surely then in the morning, the People had gone up every one from following his Brother*? v. 27.

A. *Abner* had Spoken of *Bitterness in the latter End* of the Civil War. *Cicero* would have done so. In Civil Wars (he saies in the Fourth Book of his *Familiar Epistles*,) all things are miserable, and nothing more miserable than *Victory* itself.[21] Elsewhere he saies, *Extremum omnium malorum est Belli Civilis Victoria*.[22]

Joab wishes *Abner* had been of this Mind in the Morning. There had not been any Fighting at all, he tells him, had not he desired it.[23]

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17 Patrick, *A Commentary* (338).

18 Mather deletes "the Jewes."

19 Münster, on II Sam. 2:23, in Pearson, *Critici Sacra* (col. 2384). "Vital organs."

20 This last sentence is from Patrick, *A Commentary* (341), citing Gemara Sanhedrin (cap. VI, § 7).

21 Cicero, *Epistulae ad Familiares* (lib. IV, epistle IX).

22 Cicero, *Epistulae ad Familiares* (lib. IX, epistle VI). "The worst of all evils is victory in civil war."

23 The last paragraph is taken from Patrick, *A Commentary* (343).

Q. The Son which *David* had, by *Abigail,* the Wife of Nabal; why might he be called *Chileab*? v. 3.

A. In 1. Chron. 3.1. his Name is *Daniel*. That was, as the Jewes tell us, his, *Nomen Fundamentale seu Primarium*.[24] But he might have his Name *Chileab*, according to them, on this Occasion. *Chileab* is as much as to say, *like his Father*. It seems the /ליצני להור/ *Scoffers of the Time*,[25] in a Way of Scoffing, said, That *Abigail* was with Child by *Nabal* when she came to *David*, and that the pretended Son of *David* would be the real Son of *Nabal*. But God, for the Removing of this Calumny, ordered the Countenance of the Child, so remarkably to resemble *David*s, that People talk'd no more so Impertinently; & the Child was called *Chileab*.[26]

4819.

Q. What Remark do the Jewes make upon *Maachah* the Mother of *Absalom*? v. 3.

A. She was, they say, a very Handsome Lady, who falling a Captive into the Hands of *David*, he compelled her against her Will to become a Proselytess unto the *Israelitish* Religion; *et ob id putant ex ea natum Absalom, Filium tam rebellem*.[27]

Q. Who was *Eglah*? v. 5.

A. She being styled only *Davids* Wife, it has led the Jews into an Opinion, That it is *Michal*, who is here called so, as being a lovely Woman. We read indeed, 2 Sam. 6.23. *She had no Child until the Day of her Death*. But that only means, that she was barren after her taunting of *David*.[28]

Q. *These were born to David in Hebron*.] v. 5.

A. During the six Years & an half, that he Reigned there.

Conradus Pellicanus hath an Observation on this Place. God so dispensed things in those dayes, that Men of *many Wives*, rarely had *many Children*. *Quasi*

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24 "His primary or fundamental name."

25 לֵץ singl. [lets]; לֵצִים [letsim], pl. "babbler, scoffer" (cf. Ps 11); דּוֹר [dor], "period, age, generation."

26 Mather adds the Latin and Hebrew, but otherwise this paragraph is taken from Patrick, *A Commentary* (345).

27 "And on account of this they thought that Absalom was born from her, such that he was a rebellious son." *See* Patrick, *A Commentary* (345).

28 Patrick, *A Commentary* (346).

natura reclamante rei indignitatem; as if Nature abhorred the Indignity of the thing; & approved the Conjunction of one Man with one Woman.[29]

~~2928~~{?}.

Q. Those Words of *Abner*, *Am I a Dogs Head*? How are they to be understood? v. 8.

A. The *Caput Canis*, is by the Syriac rendred, *Caput Canum*. And all the Hebrew Interpreters do so carry it.

When *Job* speaks of some, whom he would not *sett with the Dogs of his Flock*; it means, that he would not sett them *over his Dogs*. The, *Præfectura Canum*, was alwayes thought a vile & mean Office. The κυναγωγος,[30] was counted a very Abject sort of an *Officer*. The Gloss of many *Rabbi's* upon the Text before us, might now be introduced. It is enough, to introduce that of R. *Esaias*, which is This: *cum sim Caput* (i.e. Imperator) *totius Israelis sprevisti me, quasi solum fuissem Caput* (i.e. Præfectus,) *Canum*.[31]

| [221v]

Q. *David*s Recovery of his Wife *Michal*, from *Phaltiel*? v. 15.

A. *Abarbanel* confutes the Opinions of the *Thalmudists*. He thinks, That *Saul* was not so impious, as to take a Wife from her Husband, & give her to another; nor *David* in such need of a Wife, as to send for *Michal*, if she had lived in Wedlock with another Man. He observes, It is not said, That *Saul gave her to Wife to Phalti*. He is only said, to *give her*. That is, To commit her unto his Care and Custody in the Absence of her husband, that she might live vertuously, & not follow after *David*. He supposes, *Phalti*, to have been an old, grave, and pious Man, who might be trusted with her, as he was with the Children of *Merab*, the other Daughter of *Saul*, who sent them to *Phalti* to be educated, & to bear *Michal* Company. As for his being here called, *Her Husband*; he observes, the Word is not *Baalah*, but only *Ishah*;[32] which is used, he saies, for one that is the Keeper & Overseer of another Person.[33]

308.

Q. What was the End of *David*, in denouncing his Curses upon the Seed of *Joab*? v. 29.

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29 Patrick, *A Commentary* (346), citing Pellicanus, *Commentaria Bibliorum et illa brevia quidem ac Catholica* (2:108).

30 κυναγωγός [kynagosos], "a leader of hounds, huntsman."

31 Bochart, *Hierozoicon* (pars prior, lib. II, cap. LVI, cols. 680–95); quote from Esaias, col. 685. "When I was the Head (i.e., the Commander) of all of Israel, you despised me, as though I were only the Head (i.e., the prefect) of the dogs."

32 אִישׁ־בֹּשֶׁת [ish-bosheth] "Ishbosheth" (KJV).

33 Patrick, *A Commentary* (351), citing Yitzhak Abravanel, *Commentary on the former Prophets*.

A. Upon a Præsumption, that in the Generation of *Joab*, as well as in Every other Generation, there would alwayes bee some wicked Person worthy of such Calamities, *David* here prophetically Imprecates diverse Plagues to bee alwayes entail'd upon some or other of them. His End was that there might bee alwayes a living, standing, public Monument of his *Innocency*, as to the Murder, commited by *Joab* upon *Abner*: and if you mark it there is a *Jus Talionis* considered in these Direful Imprecations. *Joab* had shed the *Blood* of *Abner*. Now *Issues, Fluxes, Leprosies*, or Disorders of the *Blood*, are wished unto his family. *Joab* had assassinated *Abner* with a *Sword*; now falling on a *Sword* is wished unto his family. *Joab* had kill'd *Abner*, that hee might secure his *Bread*, which was the Salary of his Office; now lacking of *Bread* is wished unto his Family. *Joab,* had sent Messengers, which Rode *post* after *Abner* to betray him; and now there is wished unto his Family the *slow* Pace of them that lean upon a *Staff*.

As for the Wish of *one leaning on a Staff*; it is taken by *Pellican*, for one that should have the *Gout*.[34]

[222r] |

Q. Remarks upon the *Bier* of *Abner*? v. 31.

A. Among the Ancients, when the Dead Body was dress'd, they *crown'd* it. *Cicero*, L. 2. *De Legibus*, observes, That the *Crown* obtained by Vertue, should without Fraud be allow'd unto the Dead. Some were crowned only with Chaplets of Flowers & green Branches, as Lillies, Roses and Violets; Olive and Bay-Leaves, & the like precious Plants and Flowers. With these they likewise adorn'd the *Couch* the Body was to ly on; But the Jews did theirs with sweet *Odors* and *Spices*. [2. Chron. XVI.14.][35]

Suidas thinks, this Custome of *Crowning* the *Dead*, was taken from the *Games* wherein Conquerors were so Rewarded; signifying, That the *Dead* had finished their Work; or, To express the Joys the *Dead* were to receive when Removing out of the World; For *Garlands* were Tokens of Rejoicing, & therefore used at Festivals.[36]

The *Primitive Christians* did not approve of these Customes; as we find in *Tertullian*, and *Minutius Fælix*.

Yett there have been some *Christians*, who were willing to carry a Garland before a Corpse, or fill the Coffin, or strow the Way or the Grave with Flowers.[37]

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34 This last comment is from Patrick, *A Commentary* (357), citing Pellican, *Commentaria Bibliorum et illa brevia quidem ac Catholica* (2:109).

35 Thomas Greenhill (d. 1732), English surgeon and author, *NEKPOKEΔEIA; or, the Art of Embalming* (1705), p. 69, citing Cicero, *De Legibus* (lib. II).

36 Greenhill, *NEKPOKEΔEIA* (69), citing Suidas, attributed author of the Suda, a massive Greek encyclopedic lexicon.

37 Greenhill, *NEKPOKEΔEIA* (70), citing Tertullian, *De Corona Militis*, and Minutius Fælix, *Octav.* (109).

Thus *Prudentius* writes, *Nos tecta fovebimus Ossa, Violis et Fronde frequenti, Tumulumque et frigida Saxa Liquido spargemus odore*.[38]

Then follow'd, the Laying out of the Corpse; bringing it unto the Entrance or Threshold of the House. The Poor, on the Ground, or a Bier in an ordinary Coffin. The Rich, on a Bed, or a Couch adorn'd sometimes with Jewels, Arms, Books, and other Things, in which they delighted most while they lived; but commonly with all Sorts of precious & fragrant Flowers. While the Body was in this Place, they gave it constant Attendence, to defend it from any Injury that might be offered.

The next thing was the *Elatio*, or carrying forth, for which the Time was various. This was usually on the Shoulders of Men; and performed by nearest Relations; But Magistrates and Senators, or the Chief of the Nobility, bore those who had highly deserved of the Commonwealth; as *Quenstedt* more particularly informs us. But meaner Persons, yea, and great Men too, who were hated by the People, were carried forth to their Burial, by the *Vespillones*, or *Sandapilani*, the Sextons, who lived by that Employment. In this last Way of bearing out the Dead, we | may suppose them to have used the *Sandapila*, or common Bier; as [222v] the others did the *Lecticæ*, or *Lecti*, the Litters, or Beds. Of this latter, *Greenhil*, writing about the *Art of Embalming*, understands the *Bier* of *Abner* now before us.[39]

[▽Insert from 222v] [▽222v]

Q. That Passage of *David*, in his Funeral Oration upon *Abner*; *Thy Hands were not bound*. How may one take it? v. 34.

A. What is there to *Bind our Hands* from taking that Paraphrase of *Grotius* upon it, *Non is Tu eras qui sine delectu rerum Manus tuas alteri Commodares*.[40] The Hebrewes refer this Passage to the Constancy of *Abner*, who would not bee such a Slave unto *Saul*, as to lend him his *Hands*, for the doing that Murder, which was done by *Saul*s Command upon the Priests of the Lord.

[△Insert ends] [△]

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38 Greenhill, *NEKPOKEΔEIA* (70), citing and quoting Prudentius, a Spanish-Christian poet of the late 4th/early 5th-century: "We will foster the covered bones (of the Dead), / with violets and plenty of foliage, / and the tomb and the cold rocks / we will besprinkle with liquid odour." *Liber Cathemerinon*, hym. 10, vs. 169 [PL 59. 888A; cf. Cunningham {1966} CCL 126; cf. also Lavaranne {1972}].

39 Greenhill, *NEKPOKEΔEIA* (71–74), citing Joannes Andreas Quenstedt, 17th-century German Lutheran theologian, *Sepultura Veterum sive de antiquis Ritibus sepulchralibus Romanorum, Graecorum, Judaeorum et Christianorum* (1648), p. 114.

40 "You were not one who lent your hands to others without taking something." Hugo Grotius, *Annotationes ad Vetus Testamentum*, in idem, *Opera Omnia Theologica in Tres Tomos Divisa* (1679), 1:132, on 2 Sam. (VUL: 2 Reg.) 3:34.

[223r][41] 2. Samuel. Chap. 5.

{....}

Q. How will you Interpret, that Passage, about, *The Taking away of the Lame & the Blind, hated of* Davids *Soul*, in the Taking of *Zion* from the *Jebusites*? v. 8.
A. Not by the old *Rabbinic* Stories, That when Abraham of old purchased his Burying-Place, hee promised that none of his Posterity should in an hostile Manner Invade that Spott of Ground, and, that the *Jebusites* in remembrance of this business, erected certain Brazen Images on the Walls of their City, whereon they engraved the Covenant which they had thus made with *Abraham*; and that when the *Israelites* would now have possessed themselves of this Place, the *Jebusites* pointed hereunto, saying, *except you take away these Blind and Lame Images, & make void your Fathers Covenant, you cannot enter here*. Yea, To complete this Fable, some of the Jewish Writers tell us, That the Images erected by the *Jebusites*, were of *Isaac*, who was *Blind* before hee dy'd, & of *Jacob*, who was *Lame*.

The true Sense of the History amounts to This. *David* besieging of *Zion*, the *Jebusites* in an Insolent, and Insulting Manner derided his Attempt. They told him, That they had no need of employing any other than their *Blind* & *Lame* Inhabitants, to Repel all his Batteries; the Place was able to Defend itself. Yea, tis probable, they placed their *Blind* & *Lame* Folks, in the cheef Passages of their City, to which with a Sort of Opprobity, they pointed, saying, *Dispatch these, before you think to conquer us*. Hereupon so provoked was our *David*, that hee ordered the Killing of all the *Blind* & *Lame* Wretches there, which fell into his Hands; & a Proverb arose upon it. This Proverb was used by Way of Jest, upon such as Removed from any Place, without Hope of any Return unto it. *The Blind and the Lame shall come hither no more*; as they came no more into *Zion*, after *David* in his Indignation had thence taken them away.

But if this Exposition favour you not, what think you of another? The *Jebusites* placed their Tutelar Gods upon their Walls, and then placed all their Hopes in those Gods: even those Gods, which *David* called, in Psal. 115.4, 5, 7. The *Blind* & the *Lame*. As if they had said, "Tho' you call our Gods *Blind* & *Lame*, they are strong enough to shelter us from you." *Joab* nevertheless carried the City; & then there arose a *Proverb* of this Importance. Let no Man after this committ his House unto the Protection of such Insignificant *Houshold-Gods*!

We will add, *Grotius*'s Notion about the Business.[42]

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41 A quarto-sized leaf tipped in with sealing wax; Mather wrote no entries on 2 Sam. 4.
42 On Mather's emendations here, *see* App. B.

The *Jebusites*, by Way of Scorn, said, That the *Blind* and the *Lame* would bee sufficient for the Defence of their Tower. But the Tower was taken by the Stratagem, of poisoning the *Waters*, that supplied it; a Stratagem of which *Frontinus* (L. 3. c. 7) will furnish you with Instances. Hereupon *David*, in Remembrance of the Business, ordered that never any *Blind*, or any *Lame*, should enter into *This House*, the Tower of *Zion*.[43]

| [223v]

Q. *The Sound of a Going in the Tops of the Mulberry Trees*.] v. 24.

A. *Bochart* observes, That it should be read; *In the Beginnings of the Mulberry trees*; that is, in the Entrance of the Place, where the *Mulberry Trees* were planted. There God would make a Sound, as if a vast Number of Men, were marching to fall upon the *Philistines*.

Men do not walk on the *Tops* of *Trees*. But we read of, [Nah. III.10.] *The Top of a Street*; that is, The Beginning of it. *Gilead* is called, *The Head of Libanus*; because *Libanus* begins where *Gilead* ends.[44]

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43 Grotius, *Annotationes In Vetus Testamentum*, vol. I, in loc., citing S. Iulius Frontinus, 1st-century CE Roman writer on military and engineering matters, *Strategemata* (3.7.6; cf. Ireland [1990]): *Clisthenes Sicyonius ductum aquarum in oppidum Crisaeorum ferentem rupit: mox adfectis siti restituit aquam elleboro corruptam, qua usos profluuio uentris deficientes cepit*. Thus, the technique of capturing the towers that Grotius mentions was to poison the waters with hellebore (*elleborum*).

44 Patrick, *A Commentary* (378), citing Bochart, *Geographia Sacra* (pars prior, lib. IV, ch. XXII, pp. 204–11).

Q. What might it be, that embolden'd the *Israelites* to sett the *Ark* upon a *New Cart*, when it should have been carried on the Shoulders of the *Kohathites*: [who therefore had not *Oxen* allow'd unto them, as they were unto the other *Levites*?] v. 3.

A. No doubt, the Exemple of the *Philistines*. They Remembred, That the *Philistines* had mett with no bad Success in this Way of Proceeding. But God will not lett that be excused in *Israelites*, which He will in *Philistines*.[45]

2910{?}.

Q. They came to *Nachons Threshing Floor*. Who was *Nachon*? v. 6.

A. *Bochart* supposes, *Nachon* to be, not the Name of a *Man*, but of the *Place*: that it is called so, by Anticipation; for *Nachon* signifies, *smiting*.[46] Tis, *Area percussionis*. In the *Chronicles*, tis called, *The Threshing-floor of Chidon*; which is as much as to say, *Of Destruction*.[47]

{....}

Q. What was the Miscarriage of the *Oxen*, whereat *Uzzah* was concerned? We read it, *They shook it*, or, *They stumbled*. {v. 6.}

A. There is a wonderful Variety among Interpreters, in rendring the Word, here used.[48] But *Bochart* at last thus determines the Signification of the Word, *They stuck in the Mire*. And he supposes, that *Uzzah*, either lest the King with the Nobles might be putt upon too long a Stop, in their Procession, or, lest the *Ark* might receive too violent a Shake, in the Strain of the Oxen to gett out of
[225v] the Mire, | he began to take out the *Ark*, that he with his Brother, might now carry the *Ark* to *Zion*, which probably was but a little Way off.[49]

165.

Q. What was that *Error* of *Uzzah*, for which the *Deadly* Judgments of Heaven overtook him? v. 7.

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45 Both the question and the answer are largely taken from Patrick, *A Commentary* (380–81).

46 Patrick, *A Commentary* (382), citing Bochart, *Hierozoicon* (pars prior, lib. II, cap. XXXVI, col. 372).

47 1 Chron. 13:9. On Mather's switching of the entry order on this page, *see* App. B.

48 שָׁמַט [shmt], "loosen, detach, draw away, let (a cart) go off (by itself)."

49 Bochart, *Hierozoicon* (pars prior, lib. II, cap. XXXVII, cols. 371–375).

A. *Austin* thinks, that some old Sin of *Uzzah*, not now mentioned, was yett now punished.[50] But alas, there was a gross *Error* now commited! And what was it? It is commonly thought, with *Jerom*, that the *Error* was the Carrying of the *Ark* in a *Cart* with *Oxen*, when it should have been carried on the *Shoulders* of *Men*.[51] But, why then must *Uzzah* alone bee chastised? After all, it seems as if the *Unbeleef* of *Uzzah*, were that *Error*, whereat the God of Heaven expressed Himself thus provoked. The Jewish *Talmud* therefore animadverts upon this Incogitancy of *Uzzah*, & represents the Almighty God as bestowing this Rebuke upon him, *Uzzah Did not you lately see such a Presence & Providence of mine about my Ark, that the Ark even carried its own Carriers, & think you, that the Ark now cannot carry itself?*[52] It was *Uzzah*s unbeleeving *Fear*, that God could not, or would not, Interpose, to præserve the Ark from Damage, which caused him to reach forth his Hand unto it, with more *Irreverence*, than a *Chest* so owned by the *Invisible World* should have been treated with. Here was the *Error* of *Uzzah*!

[▽Insert from 224v] [▽224v]

{....}

Q. It is said, *The Lord Blessed* Obed-Edom, *and all his Houshold*. What remarkable Instances of it? v. 11.

A. First, God Blessed *Obed-Edom*, with a *Numerous Progeny*. We quickly read of Threescore & Two descended from him. [1. Chron. 26.8.] Secondly; They were all employ'd in the House of God. Thirdly, They were enabled laudably to discharge their Employment. Fourthly; They were advanced unto considerable Dignity, being made *Rulers thro' the House of their Father*.

[△Insert ends] [△]

{....}

Q. What were the *Fatlings* used in the ancient Sacrifices? v. 13.

A. That *Fatling*, I take to bee the *Bos Africanus*, described in *Bellonius*.[53] Imagine you see a little Bull, of a square Body, yellow & shining Hair, the Horns like Half-Moons turning Inward; & you behold the *Fatling*. Tis less than a *Stag*, but bigger than a *Goat*.

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50 Possibly a reference to *Quaestiones in Veteris et Novi Testamenti*, which scholars no longer attribute to Augustine but to Pseudo-Augustine (1908).

51 Jerome, *Divina Bibliotheca 09. Libri Duo Samuelis vel Liber 1 Malachiam* [PL 28.563–664A], p. 674.

52 Cf. Patrick's reference to Abravanel, at 2 Sam. 6:7, whose quotation is similar to that of Mather's "Jewish Talmud." "An alternative explanation of the offence, offered by Rashi, is that it was presumptuous on his part to assume that the ark required his assistance" (*Samuel*, intro. and commentary by Shelomoh Goldman [1951], p. 221).

53 Petrus Bellonius (Pierre Belon), 16th-century French naturalist and classicist, in Carolus Clusius, *Exoticorum Libri decem: quibus Animalium, Plantarum, Aromatum, aliorumque peregrin … item Petri Bellonii Observationes* (1605), lib. II, cap. I, p. 119, on the *Bos Africanus*.

[224v] |

Q. The *Dancing* before the *Ark*? v. 14.

A. Dr. *Patrick* thinks, Tis probable, from hence the Heathen learnt to *Dance* before their Gods. *Callimachus* mentions, the *Chori* and the Dancings of Youth, at the Altar of *Apollo*. And as there were παιδικοι χοροι, so there were also Ανδρικοι,[54] and among the *Lacedæmonians*, of *old Men* also. And *Plato* observes, That among the *Egyptians*, all Kinds of Musick, and Songs, and Dances, were consecrated to their Gods; *Ezekiel Spanhemius* ha's notable things of this Matter, in his Observations on the *Hymn* of *Callimachus*.[55]

Q. When the Story of *David*s being derided for his Devotion, is related, it is said, *Michol,*[56] *the Daughter of Saul, came out and spoke*: why is it not said, *Michol, the Wife of David, came out*? v. 20.

A. *Michol* was by her Education disposed unto Jeering and Fleering at *strict Piety* where shee saw it. The Exemple of her Father *Saul*, had corrupted her with such a Disposition. When shee scoff'd at the Religion of *David*, shee acted like *Saul*s own Daughter; & therefore the Holy Spirit of God here mentions her with such an Indigitation.

Q. *Michal* in her Passion, aggravates the Action of *David*, and repræsents his Dancing, as a very mean Action? v. 20.

A. Doubtless, *David* kept himself within the Rules of Modesty; and considered the Command of God unto the *Israelites*, requiring them to Rejoice in their Feasts. [Deut. XII.7. and XVI.12.]

Plato observes, That some *Dances* are, εμελως, with Decent and Modest Motions of the Body: others πλημμελως, Wanton and Immodest. None can imagine, *David* guilty of using the Latter before the Holy God. He used no Desultorious Motions, but a Decent, Composed, Regular Action.[57]

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54 "Choruses of Children" … "[Choruses] of Men."

55 Patrick, *A Commentary* (386), citing Plato, *De Legibus* (3.700a–e); and Ezechiel Spanheim (1629–1710), German jurist and theologian, *Callimachi Hymnos observationes* (1697), "Hymnum in Apollinem" (v. 8, pp. 52–53).

56 I.e., Michal; cf. next entry.

57 Patrick, *A Commentary* (389).

~~4820~~{?}.

Q. What Remark upon those Words, *I will sett up thy Seed after thee*, which *shall proceed out of thy Bowels*? v. 12.
A. *Munster* ha's this Remark upon it. It was now declared, that the Kingdome of *Israel* must not descend unto *Absalom* or unto *Adonijah*; for these had already *proceeded* out of the *Bowels* of *David*.[58]

Q. *Thy Throne established forever*.] v. 16.
A. *Procopius Gazæus* will have this chiefly intended of the Kingdome of *Christ*. He is, no doubt, in the right of it. It is not enough, to confine it, with *Kimchi*, to the Space of between Four and Five Hundred Years, that the kingly Authority continued in the Family of *David*: (tho' that were a Rarity) From hence, he thinks, the Jews came to say: Joh. XII.34. *We have heard out of the Law, that Christ abideth forever*.[59]

| [225v]

104.

Q. *David* expresses himself as very Sensible of the Divine Kindness in Raising Him from a Low & Mean Estate, unto Royal Grandeur; *who am I, Ô Lord God, & what is my House*? Pray, can you from Antiquity, Report any other Expression of his Grateful Humility, or his Humble Gratitude, agreeable unto this? v. 18.
A. Yes. *David*, left the Thankful Remembrance of his Condition, imprinted on the *Coin* of his Kingdome. On one Side of his *Coin*, were to bee seen his old *Pouche*, and *Crook*, the Instruments of *Shepheardy*; on t'other Side were to bee seen, the Towers of *Zion*: so *Christianus Gerson*, an Author converted from *Judaism*, ha's informed us.[60] Behold, A Commentary upon Psal. 78.70, 71, 72. and an Instance of the same Temper with which the *Twenty Third Psalm* was written by the Royal Shepherd. Wee need not now quote *Pacatus*, to tell us, *Dulcis est in*

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58 Munster, *Hebraica Biblia*, in loc. (288).
59 Patrick, *A Commentary* (396), citing Procopius Gazæus on 2 Sam. 7:16 (see *In Libros Regum, et Paralipomenon Scholia* 119–20).
60 Christian Gerson (c. 1569?–1622), perhaps from his *Der Jüden Thalmud Fürnembster innhalt und Widerlegung* (1607). Mather repeats this illustration in his life of Sir William Phips in *Magnalia* (bk. 2, p. 68).

Bonis Miserarium Recordatio;[61] or, *Sidonius* to tell us, *Delectat meminisse Malis*.[62] Tis enough to produce a Peece of *David*s Coin for it.

And now my Hand is in, at the *Telling* of this *Money*, wee'l produce one or two Pieces more, which were coined upon Occasions not altogether unlike that which ha's been mentioned. The great *Mordecai*, in Memory of the Vicissitudes which had passed over him, coined his *Medals*, on one Side whereof, you might see, *Sackclothe in Ashes*, but on the other Side, *An Illustrious Crown*. Truly, I had almost said,[63] Tis pitty but every Christian, should wear about his Neck, one of those famous *Medals*!

But I'l show you a Piece of yett an elder Date; It is one that has the Name of the Prophet *Samuel* upon it. This Coin had on the one Side of it, An Handful of Ears of *Corn*, sett off with a Variety of Intermixed *Flowers* and *Fruits*, between Two *Pitchers*, one, suppose of *Wine*, t'other, of *Oyl*. On the other Side of the Coin, there was, the Figure of the *Golden Pot,* which Reserved the *Manna*, in the Sanctuary; & that Inscription, *Negaltha Letsum*, i.e. *ereptus es a Jejunio*.[64] *Villalpandus* conceives, That *Samuel* intended, by this Money to perpetuate the Remembrance of the Peoples wonderful Sustentation, in the Wilderness, by that *Manna*, which indeed answered all the other Desires or Delights, which the People might have to bee gratify'd. Hee would not have them to forgett, That while they had that *Manna*, they had in it, all that was Necessary or Comfortable for Humane Life. It was, as the Apocryphal Book of *Wisdome*, ha's it, *Panie de Cœlo, omne in se Delectamentum habeus*.[65]

Q. On *David* here *sitting* before the Lord? v. 18.

A. If he *satt* in so sacred a Place as the *Tabernacle*, we may, as *Howel* notes upon it, Reasonably suppose, that he *satt* on the *Ground*. Why may not the Word be softened, with reading it, *He placed himself*? *Josephus* carries it so: He fell on his face, and prostrated himself in the Manner of the most Humble Suppliant.[66]

Q. What may you suppose intended in those Words of *David*, which wee translate, *Is this the Manner of Man, O Lord God*?[67] v. 19.

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61 "The recollection of miseries is pleasant in good times." Latinus Pacatus Drepanius, 4th-century CE Latin panegyrist, possibly *Panegyricus Theodosio* (1651).

62 "It is pleasant to remember bad things." Sidonius Apollinaris, 5th-century CE bishop and poet, author of *Panegyrics* on Roman emperors as well as of a number of surviving poems and letters.

63 "I had almost said" is interlineated in a different ink.

64 "You were burst by hunger."

65 From Wisdom of Solomon 16:20, "Bread of heaven, agreeing to every taste."

66 Laurence Howel (c. 1664–1720), nonjuring Church of England clergyman and teacher, *A compleat History of the Holy Bible*, 3 vols. (1716), 2:44, n. *m*, citing Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* (7.4.4).

67 Mather refers to 2 Sam. 7:19: יְהוִה אֱלֹהִים וְזֹאת תּוֹרַת הָאָדָם

A. I do suppose, that the Union of the *Divine* Person, & the *Humane* Nature, in our Bl{essed} Lord Jesus Christ, is intended in those Words; *Lord God*, is to bee construed, in Apposition, to, *The Man*. The Almighty had been giving unto *David*, a Revelation of, *Things for a Great While to come*; even, of the *Messiah*, whereof *Solomon* was to bee but a *Type* and a *Pledge*. Whereupon, with an admiring Soul, hee cries out, *This is the Form of the Man who is the Lord God*! q.d. I now see that *God-Man*, described, who is to bee the Saviour of the World. And, *Pfeiffer* thinks, that the Son of God, in the Shape of Man, as a *Præludium* of His future Incarnation, gave now to *David*, a Vision of Himself.[68]

Dr. *Gell* ha's a particular Notion of this Text; when he saies, *David* calls it, /תורת אדם/ *The Law* of Adam, or, That which is implanted in Man, To Love, & to take Care of, his *Name*, his *Children*, his *Offspring*, & his *Family*.[69]

Q. *For thy Words Sake hast thou done all these great Things*. What is the Meaning of it? v. 21.

A. For thy *Christ*s Sake. The Jewes, did of old call the *Messiah*, The *Word of God*. And the Chaldee Paraphrase, frequently putts the Name of, *Midbar*, or, *The Word*, upon him.[70] Hee is thus in respect of the *Eternal Generation* of His *Person*. As a *Word*, is the *Birth* of the Mind; so the Messiah is eternally Begotten, by the infinite Understanding of God the Father, eternally Reflecting upon His own Glory. And, Hee is thus; in regard of His *Office*. The *Will* of a Man, is discovered by his *Word*; And it is the *Messiah*, by whom the *Will* of God is Reveled, unto the Children of Men. Once more, Hee is thus, because the great *Promise* is of Him. The *Messiah*, was the great Thing, proposed in the *Word* of *Promise*; As among Men, when wee say, *I'l give you my Promise*, wee say, *I'l give you my Word*: Thus, the *Messiah*, is the chief Thing, in the *Word*, that is to say, in the *Promise*, of God.

Q. Upon that Clause, *Thy Servant has found in his Heart, to pray this Prayer unto thee*? v. 27.

A. *Austin* much lamented, the Distraction of his *Heart*, with *vain Thoughts* in the Time of his Devotions. *Ipsæ plerumque Orationes impediuntur vanis cogitationibus, ità ut vix stet Cor ad Deum suum, et quodammodo fugit à se, nec invenit Cancellos quibus se includat, aut obices quosdam, quibus retineat avolutiones suas,*

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68 August Pfeiffer (1640–1698), German Lutheran theologian and orientalist, possibly his *Hermeneutica Sacra* (1684). See also *Dubia vexata Scripturae Sacrae* (1684), though there is no entry to 2 Sam. 7:19 in the index.

69 תּוֹרַת הָאָדָם [torath ha'adam], "law/custom of man." Robert Gell (1595–1665), Church of England rector, *An essay toward the amendment of the last English-translation of the Bible* (1659), p. 730.

70 Chaldee Paraphrast, in Walton, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (2:332).

et vagos quosdam Motus.[71] He saies, He had thought his own Case had been singular, if he had not found *David* low,[72] (for so he read it.) *Thy Servant has found his Heart to pray unto thee*. His *Heart* had often left him; He had been forced often to run after the Fugitive; often to cry out, *My Heart has left me*.

71 Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos* (85). "And most prayers are themselves hindered by empty thoughts, such that the heart scarcely stands next to its God […]. In a certain manner, it flees from itself. It has neither discovered the bars by which it is confined, nor did it cast off those very same things by which it holds in check its tumblings and meandering motions."
72 Conjectural reading of a poorly written word.

4821.

Q. Why was *David* so hard upon the *Moabites*? v. 2.
A. The Hebrewes have a Tradition, That it was because the *Moabites* had murdered his *Parents* and his *Brethren*.

Whether that be so or no, the *Moabites* had alwayes been implacable Enemies to the *Israelites*. It was their Hatred of *Saul*, that made them show any Kindness to *David*.

The Conquerour now divided the Countrey into three Parts; condemning two of them to be destroy'd.

The rest paid a *Tribute*; which continued all the Dayes of *David* & of *Solomon*. And after the Kingdome was divided, it was paid unto the Kings of *Israel*; until upon the Death of *Ahab*, they disputed the Payment of it. [2. King. III.4, 5.][73]

~~4822.~~

Q. Why took *David* that Method of *Houghing* the *Horses*, of *Zobah*? v. 4.
A. Take the short Account that *Munster* gives of it.

Prohibit Lex ne Rex sibi multiplicet Equos, et idcirco non licuit David illos accipere in Prædam; et cum sint Creaturæ innocuæ, noluit ut occiderentur. Ne tamen hosti essent auxilio, iubet eos amputatione Extremitatum pedum inutiles reddi.[74]

Q. The *golden Shields*, which were *on the Servants of Hadadezer*? v. 7.
A. Read it; *with the Servants of Hadadezer*;[75] that is, in their Custody, who were the Officers of his Treasury. For, as Dr. *Patrick* thinks, tis not likely, that they brought them into the Field of Battel.[76]

| [226v]

Q. *David smiting the Syrians, in the Valley of Salt, being eighteen thousand Men*? v. 13.
A. Dr. *Patrick* observes, There is nothing in the Hebrew, to answer the Word; *Being*.

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73 Patrick, *A Commentary* (403).
74 "The law prohibits a king from increasing horses for his own benefit, and for that reason David was not allowed to take them as booty. Because these creatures were innocent, he did not want them to be killed. However, lest they be an aid to the enemy, he ordered that they be returned useless, with their hooves amputated." Münster, *Hebraica Biblia*, in loc. (289).
75 הֲדַדְעֶזֶר צֹבְרֵי
76 Patrick, *A Commentary* (406).

He slew *eighteen thousand Edomites*; besides the two and twenty thousand *Syrians*. We read it expressly, 1. Chron. XVIII.12. and Psal. LX. Tit.[77] They were not *Syrians*, but *Edomites*, that were slain in this Valley. Only in the Psalms, there is Mention made of no more than Twelve Thousand slain. Some therefore think that a Distinct Battel from this. But *Abishai*, who began the Fight, probably slew Six Thousand; and then *Joab* coming with his Reserve slew Twelve Thousand more; This in all makes Eighteen Thousand.

Salmasius takes the *Valley of Salt* to be (not near the *Dead Sea*, as *Epiphanius* would have it, but) in the Countrey of *Edom*. It was called by this Name, either perhaps from the *Salt Springs* which were there, or from the *Salt* there digged up.[78]

There[79] is our Dr. *Wells*, who in his *Geography of the Old Testament*, being encouraged from, 1. Chron. XVIII.12. where they are called, *Edomites*, who in 2. Sam. VIII.13. are called *Syrians*, and considering that the *Valley of Salt* near the *Edomites*, is at a mighty distance from the *Syrians*, he appears very fond of supposing an Error in the Hebrew Text, rising from the Resemblance of the Two Letters, *Daleth* and *Resch*, /ארם/ he will have to be read, for, /ארם/ *Edom* for *Aram*. – So fond of it, as to putt the Advertisement of it in the Title-Page of his Book.[80]

Q. *Ahilud* was *Recorder*? v. 16.
A. An Employment hardly considerable enough, to make a Man, the prime *civil* Officer of the Kingdome. *Victorius Strigelius* makes him to have been the *Chancellour* of the Kingdome.[81]

Q. *Serajah* the *Scribe*? v. 17.
A. Or, Secretary of State. The Hebrew Word, *Sopher*,[82] imports, *learning*. Dr. *Patrick* therefore takes him to have been prime Councellor in the Law, who alwayes attended the King.

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77 I.e., Title, or the epigram to the Psalm.

78 Patrick, *A Commentary* (408), citing French classical scholar Claudius Salmasius (1588–1653), possibly *De re militari Romanorum Liber* (1657); Epiphanius of Salamis (c. 315–403 CE), *Panarium* [PG 41. 155–1200; 42.9–888] (cf. Williams [1994; 2009] and the English transl. by Amidon [1990]).

79 Here the ink changes from medium brown to dark brown.

80 אָדָם [adam], "man, mankind"; Mather makes reference to אֱדֹם [edom], "Edom," and seems to refer also to אֲרָם [aram], "Aram(eans)." Edward Wells (1667–1727), Church of England clergyman and educator, *An Historical Geography of the Old Testament*, 3 vols. (1711–12); the title of vol. 3 announces "the present corrupt Reading of 2 Sam. 8. 13 Corrected."

81 Patrick, *A Commentary* (409–10); Strigelius, *Libri Samuelis, Regum, & Paralipoménon* (140).

82 סוֹפֵר

L'Empereur thinks, there were two Sorts of Scribes, an ecclesiastical and a civil; and here understands the Latter; and would have him signify no more than *Muster-Master* of the Army.[83]

83 Patrick, *A Commentary* (411), citing Constantijn L'Empereur, *Bonaventvra Cornelius Bertramus De republica Ebræorum* (1641), pp. 383 ff.

[227r][84] 2. Samuel. Chap 10.

Q. What was the *Kindness*, that *Nahash* had shown unto *David*? v. 2.
A. It is uncertain. Some of the Jews tell us, *David* fled unto him, when he durst not stay with *Achish*, and he received him kindly.

Others, that he entertained his Relatives, when the King of *Moab*, to whom *David* committed, slew some of them. It is most probable, that being an Enemy to *Saul*, who had given him a great Overthrow, he proved a Friend unto *David*, when he was persecuted by him, & sent him Assistance, it may be, offered him his Protection.[85]

Q. The Disgrace offered unto, *David*s Embassadors? v. 4.
A. It was the Highest that could be. For, as Dr. *Patrick* observes, all People thought their *Hair* a great Ornament; & never shaved their Heads or Beards, but in Case of Mourning; which also was forbidden to the *Israelites*. [Lev. XIX.27. Deut. XIV.1.] And therefore, when he had caused one half of their Beards, to be cutt off, they abhorred to cutt the other. This made them look Ridiculously. [See Isa. XV.2. Jer. XLI.5. and, XLVIII.37.] We learn, what a foul Disgrace, yea, what an heavy & grievous Punishment this was in Ancient Times, from *Nicolaus Damascenus*, mentioned by *Stobæus*, [Tit. 42.] who saies, That among the *Indians*, the King commanded the greatest Offenders to be shaven, κελευει κειρασθαι ως εσχατης τιμωριας,[86] as the sorest Punishment he could inflict upon them. *Tacitus* tells us, That among the Ancient *Germans*, the Punishment of *Adulterers* was left unto the Husbands, who were wont to cutt off their Hair, and turn them out of Doors, and whip them thro' the Streets.

At this Day, It is the greatest Indignity that can be offered unto any Man in *Persia*, to cause his Beard to be shaved off. So *Tavernier* tells us; and that the King of *Persia*, caused an Embassador of *Aurengzeeb* to be thus used; upbraiding him that he was not worthy to wear a *Beard*, & ordering it to be Shaved off.[87]
[227v] This was just | like the Act of *Hanun*. And *Aurengzeeb*, like *David*, most highly resented the Affront that was offered him.[88]

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84 A quarto-sized leaf tipped in with sealing wax. Mather wrote no entries on II Sam. 9.
85 Patrick, *A Commentary* (419).
86 "[The king] ordered [them] shorn as a final punishment." Nicolaus Damascus, 1st-century BCE Greek historian of the Roman Empire, *Fragmenta* (143), in Johannes Stobaeus's *Anthology*, composed of "Eclogues" (libs. I–II) and "Florilegium" (libs. III–IV).
87 Tavernier, *The six voyages* (121).
88 Patrick, *A Commentary* (420–21), citing, in relation to Tacitus, Georg Ritterhusius (Rittershausen), *Asylia hoc est, de jure Asylorum Tractatus locupletissimus* (1624), cap. X.

Q. *Joab*, in his Battel, first falls upon the *Syrians*? v. 13.
A. As Dr. *Patrick* observes, He did very prudently, to fall upon the mercenary Army first. They that are hired to fight, have a Care, if they can, to save themselves, have little regard unto the Cause for which they are to fight.[89]

89 Patrick, *A Commentary* (424).

4823.

Q. *The Time when Kings go forth to War*; what *Time* is intended in that Expression? v. 1.

A. *Munster* gives us the Answer of the Hebrewes about it; *Tempus quandò Segetes in agris inveniuntur pro Equis pascendis*.[90]

It[91] is here said to be, *At the Return of the Year*. Now the Year began in the Month *Nisan*.[92] A Month so commonly taken, to march into the Field, that *Bochart* thinks, it had its Name, from *Nisim*; which signifies, military Ensigns, that were usually advanced in that Month. So *March* had its Name with the Romans, from *Mars* their God of War, because then they began their military Expeditions.[93]

Q. A Remark on the Speech of *Urijah* to *David*; *As thou livest, & as thy Soul liveth, I will not do this thing*? v. 11.

A. One observes, He raps out an Oath, like a Souldier. But yett the Generosity express'd him, carried in it a Sting to the Soul of guilty *David*.[94]

~~666.~~

Q. Is there to bee found, in pagan Antiquitie, any Remembrance of *Uriahs* carrying the Letter of his Death, to *Joab*? v. 14.

A. You know what *Homer*, and others tell, of *Prætus*, who sent Letters by *Bellerophon*[95] to *Jobatas*, wherein *Bellerophons* Death was Designed and Contrived.[96] There is but little Difference, between *Jobatas*, and *Joab*.

[228v] |

Q. A Remark on *Urijah*s Letter? v. 15.

A. Every body remarks on this deplorable Occasion, how one Sin begetts many; and Even deprives Men of the Use of their Understanding.

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90 "The time when corn was found in the fields for feeding horses." Münster, *Hebraica Biblia*, in loc. (291).

91 Ink changes from brown to black.

92 I.e., the first month in the Hebrew ecclesiastical calendar, equivalent to March-April in the Georgian calendar.

93 Patrick, *A Commentary* (426–27), citing Bochart, *Hierozoicon* (pars prior, lib. II, ch. L, cols. 551–619).

94 *See*, for comparison, Patrick, *A Commentary* (432), which has slightly different language while expressing similar sentiments.

95 MS: "*Bellephoron.*"

96 *Iliad* (6.155–203).

Abarbanel observes, *David* might better have told *Urijah* the Truth, & begg'd his Pardon, & oblig'd him to stay with him till the Child was born, & secretly putt it out to Nurse. Hereby the matter would have been so managed, that it should not have been commonly divulged, nor certainly beleeved. But his Eyes were blinded, & his very Nature was degenerated, now he was given up to Sensuality. He that formerly spared *Saul*, when he could have destroy'd him, & none have known who did it, now seeks the Death of a faithful Servant, after the most unworthy Manner in the World.[97]

Q. Upon the whole Affair of *Davids* Miscarriages? v. 17.

A. I remember, to have somewhere mett with a Thought of this Importance.

In this whole Matter, there is a notable Type of an Occurrence, which ha's been of great Consequence in the Church of God.

What was *David* now, but a Type of that *Reason*, which God ha's placed in Mankind, for our Government? This King ha's departed from God, & forgotten his Dependence on Him that raised him. The King is fallen into an horrible *Adultery*. Humane *Reason* grown corrupt, ha's murdered the Saviour of the World; & rejected His Maxims, & reputed them for Follies. The true *Lamb*, and *Spouse* of our Saviour, ha's been criminally siezed upon, by this Adulterous Governour; the Church of God ha's been siezed & vitiated. This ha's procured the Threatnings & Chastnings wherewith God visits depraved Mankind; the Plagues of *David* come upon the Nations; and none of the Methods used by their boasted *Reason* can deliver them. The Things which are the *adulterous Offspring* thereof, shall also be destroy'd; God will take them out of the World. But there is good Newes for us, in the Midst of these grievous things. God will bring the *Reason* of Mankind into the Dispositions of *Repentance*. Then the True *Wisdome*, figured by *Solomon*, & afforded by our Saviour, shall be brought into the World. And a glorious *Peace* will follow thereupon; with a Victory over all the Churches Enemies.

Tis a very notable Contemplation. The *Deep Things of the Spirit of God* would be notably *searched out*, if more such *Illustrations*, but well-adjusted ones, & such as might be well-defended, were employ'd upon his Holy Oracles.

Q. Who were the *Shooters off the Wall*? v. 24.

A. Either they were *Archers*; or such as managed the *Machines*, (which perhaps they had in these Dayes, as they had afterwards, among the *Romans*) out of which they shott *Stones* and *Arrowes*. *Vitruvius* tells us, that out of their *Catapultæ* and *Scorpiones*, they shott *Arrowes*, and out of their *Balistæ* they shott

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97 Patrick, *A Commentary* (433), citing Abravanel (see *Samuel II: A New English Translation* 317).

Stones.[98] Others indeed, say just the Contrary, as *Goteschalchus Stewechius* tells us, in his Commentary on *Vegetius*.[99]

98 Marcus Vitruvius Pollio, 1st-century BCE Roman architect and engineer, *De Architectura* (lib. X, cap. xv–xvi).

99 Patrick, *A Commentary* (435), citing Godescalcus Stewechius, *Commentarius ad Fl. Vegetius Renati* (446 ff.).

{..66}

Q. What special Remark has been sometimes made, upon that Sentence of *David*, *He shall Restore the Lamb Fourfold*? v. 6.

A. The Ancient Hebrewes, as they are cited by R. *Levi*, say, That these Words of *David* were ominous: For no less than *Four* of *Davids* own Sons, came to untimely Ends; as many as the *Lambs* that he sentenced the Rich Man to pay, in his Restitution.[100] The first Child by *Bathshebah*, and then *Amnon*, and *Absalom*, & *Adonijah*; Tho' because *Adonijah* a little out-Lived his Father *David*, some (as particularly, R. *Salome* & R. *Kimchi,*{)} chuse to substitute his Daughter *Thamar*, to make up the Number *Four*.[101]

149.

Q. A *Deist* cavilling against the Scriptures, will object, That there seems a strange Countenance to bee given unto *Adultery*, yea, unto *Incest*, where tis mentioned among *Davids* Blessings, *That God gave his Masters Wives unto his bosom*? How will you vindicate it? v. 8.

A. It were very strange indeed, if a Passage designed on Purpose to upbraid the *Adultery* of *David*, should countenance *Adultery*! But hear the Jewish Interpretation of this Place; The Jewes tell us, That the Wife of a King, never could marry after the Decease of her Husband. So sais the *Gemara* on the Title *Sanhedrim*. Tho' some of them follow the Opinion of R. *Jehuda*, that shee might marry the succeeding King:[102] but that Opinion is chiefly built on the Text now before us, whereof the rest give a better Account. That Account is this; The Hebrew Word נשים doth not imply the *Wives* of *Saul*,[103] but the *Maids of Honour*, or Attendents on the Court of *Saul*; which all fell into *Davids* Power; & out of whom hee might choose *Wives*, without any danger of *Incest*. And even some of those, who

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100 I.e., Levi ben Gerson, or Ralbag. As a possible source, see Ralbag, *Commentarius in Prophetas priores* (1494); see also *Biblia Rabbinica*, in which Ralbag's commentary was reproduced: Yaakov ben Hayyim, *Mikraot Gedolot* (1524), vol. 2, at 2 Sam. 2:16; and *Samuel II: A New English Translation*, in loc. The quotation might be drawn from Bochart, *Geographica Sacra* (61).

101 Patrick, *A Commentary* (440), citing Bochart, *Hierozoicon* (pars prior, lib. II, cap. XL, col. 395). Mather's text, translated from Latin, closely follows that of Bochart, so it is likely he followed Patrick's reference to Bochart.

102 Reference is made to Rabbi Jehuda on the *Tractate Sanhedrin*, see John Selden, *Uxor Hebraica* (lib. 1, cap. 10), and Wilhelm Schickard (1592–1635), *Ius regium Hebraeorum* (1625); Patrick (*A Commentary* 358) cites Rabbi Jehuda through Schickard on 2 Sam. 3:31. For Mather's deleted marginalia, *see* App. A.

103 נָשִׁים [nashim], "wives."

assert it Lawful, for one King to have married his Predecessors Wife, yett in this Case of *David*, say that the Word only implies, that *These* were of *Saul*s Family, as *Merab* and *Michal* were; and not the *Wives* of *Saul*.

Munster,[104] takes notice of this, That *Michal* the Wife of *David*, was the Daughter of *Saul*. The *Wives* which *David* had, were his *Master*s; that is, his Masters Daughters & Ladies.[105]

Q. The *great Occasion which David gave unto the Enemies of the Lord, to Blaspheme*? v. 14.

A. The Nations in the Neighbourhood of *Judæa*, might now take Occasion to despise the God of *Israel*, and His Holy Law, when they saw it regarded no more, by the best Men that professed it. They might also Blaspheme the great God, as a Respecter of Persons, who had rejected *Saul*, when *David*, who had been guilty of such Offences, was yett kept on the Throne. Perhaps also, as Dr. *Patrick* adds, The *Ammonites* insulted over *Israel* and their God, when they had killed *Urijah* and others with them. We know likewise how in the primitive times the Enemies of Christianity insulted the Christians, on the scandalous Actions of our *David*;
[229v] and how much wicked Christians in our Dayes encourage themselves in their | Wickedness, from *David*s Exemple. Tho' *David* will have a Part in the Heavenly World, yett there are Millions in Hell, upon whom the Scandals of *David* have had their Influence, to bring them thither. Oh! the unsearchable Judgements of God!

But *Procopius Gazæus* here well observes, That there was Mercy mixed with Punishment, in the Death of the Child. If the Child had lived, it would have been a standing Monument of his Adultery.[106]

Q. On *David*s Conduct about the Dying Child? v. 17.

A. The Annotators on *Homer*, take notice, of what illustrates this Custome of the Orientals, that *Achilles* in his Mourning, [Iliad. 22.] refuses to wash, retires to the Sea-Shore; and sleeps on the Ground.[107]

{....}

Q. What was, *The House of the Lord*, into which *David* came, after the *Death* of his Child, was notified unto him? v. 20.

A. *David* had been Praying and Fasting *Seven Dayes* (taking only some small Repast in the Evening), in hopes that the *Threatning* about the Death of his Infant was no more than a *conditional* Threatning. But when hee Saw the Execu-

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104 The last paragraph may be a later addition; it is written in a slightly different ink and handwriting.

105 Münster, *Hebraica Biblia*, in loc. (292).

106 Patrick, *A Commentary* (444).

107 Annotators on Homer, *Iliad* (22.ll.50–65).

tion of it, hee would not yett *eat a Meal*, until hee had been in the *House of the Lord*, that Hee might there further bewayl his great *Sin* before God, & Request & Obtain the Pardon of it. Now, this *House of the Lord*, was the *Tent*, which hee had erected for the *Ark*. But from this, as well as diverse other Instances, there is confirmed the Observation, That *David* was, *Liberorum Amantissimus*.[108]

Q. Why is *Rabbah* call'd, *The City of Waters*? v. 27.
A. Not barely, for its extraordinary Populousness; *Waters* being often used for, *People,* in Scripture-Phrase; inasmuch as they are both of them Unstable & Unconstant; both of them, when they gett Head, Implacable; both of them, useful Servants but Intolerable Masters. But, because it was a City, *Low, Plashy, Dirty* in the Scituation of it; which conduced much to the Strength of it, & rendred it impossible to bee undermined.

Q. How could the Head of any Man living, wear a *Crown*, that weigh'd a *Talent*; (or, about *Forty Seven Pounds*;) which is the *Weight* allow'd unto the Crown of the King of *Ammon*? v. 30.
A. Tis plain, that not the *Worth*, but the *Weight*, of the *Crown*, is here declared, *A Talent*; and after all the Shifts of Interpreters hereabout, the only Account that is to bee given of it, is; That it was proper to describe the Crown of an *Ammonite*, by the *Syriac,* & not by the *Hebrew* Weight. Now the *Syriac* Talent, was but a Quarter Part of the *Hebrew*; and so the *Ammonitish* Crown weigh'd but a Matter of *Twelve Pounds*; which might bee Born with a little Patience, while the Grandeurs & Riches of a Mighty Kingdome were the Supporters of it.[109]

4824.

Q. What and whence were the Hardships which *David* putt upon the conquered *Ammonites*? {v. 31.}
A. He not only ordered them to {be} slain, with *Sawes* and *Axes* and *Harrowes*, but ordered them also to be burnt in the *Lime-Kilns*; *In Loco scilicet* (as *Munster* observes) *ubi pro Honore Dei sui Moloch, filios suos flammis exurendos immolabant*.[110] In the very Place where the Idolaters had sacrificed their Children unto *Moloch*, this Vengeance was executed on them.
| [230r][111]

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108 "The most beloved of the children."
109 Compare Patrick, *A Commentary* (452), where he cites Bochart, *Hierozoicon* (pars prior, lib. II, cap. 38, col. 380).
110 "In this place, it is evident, when they honored Moloch in place of their God, they sacrificed and burned their children in flames." Münster, *Hebraica Biblia*, in loc. (292).
111 A duodecimo-sized slip that was originally attached to the bottom of the preceding leaf with sealing wax.

Q. May there not be a further Sense of *David*s making the conquered *Ammonites* to *pass thro' the Brick-Kiln*? v. 31.

A. An ingenious Man, one *Jacobius Lydius*, has written a Treatise entituled, *Syntagma Sacrum de Re Militari*. In this Treatise, he illustrates diverse Passages of the Sacred Scripture. I will touch upon two or three of his Illustrations.[112]

In *Dan*. 11.45. what we read, *Palace*, may be rendred, *Robe*, or *Vest*, or *Garment*.[113] The, *Tentaria Tunicæ Suæ*, may mean, *Tentoria, unde Tunica coccinea, Signum Pugnæ extendi consueverat*.[114]

Of the *Leviathan* we read, Job. 41.29. *He laughs at the shaking of a Spear*. *Lydius* thinks, it rather may refer, to the Brandishing of the *Torches*, or *Fire-brands*, done by the Officer called the *Pyrophorus*; with which Actions, they perform'd their Challenge, & Began their Battel, of old. The LXX countenances it.

When they say, Amos. 6.13. *Have we not taken to us Horns by our own Strength*? *Lydius* thinks; it refers to their Fortifications, & particularly to that Sort of them, which from their Acute Prominencies, are among the Moderns, called, *Hornwork*.

When we read, Rev. 4.10. *They cast their Crowns before the Throne*; *Lydius* thinks, that it was an Allusion, to a famous Action of the Roman Generals, who after their Victories, went up to the Capitol, & there deposited their Crowns in
[230v] the Lap of the Statue of *Jupiter*. I will | add no more, but the Offers of our *Lydius,* upon this action of *David*, making the *Ammonites* to *pass thro' the Brick-Kiln*. He quotes *Menochius* to countenance it; That there was among the Ancients, a way of Drawing up an Army in a *Quadrangular* Form, resembling the Figure of a *Brick-kiln*; and the *Ammonites*, were compelled to pass thro' the Army of the *Israelites* drawn up in this Form, (and run, as I may say, a fatal, *Gatloup*, or *Gantlet*) that so they might perish by the Spears of the *Israelites*, becoming their Executioners, as they came within the reach of them. He saies, This was a known Way of animadverting on capital Offenders in the Armies of the Ancients.

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112 Jacobus Lydius (1610–79), Dutch theologian, *Syntagma sacrum de re militari* (1698), pp. 155–56, 154, 164, 208, 197.

113 אַפִּרְן [appenden], "palace."

114 "Tents from which it was a custom to extend red clothes, which were a sign of battle."

4825.

Q. How could it be imagined by *Thamar*, that she was capable of being married unto her Brother *Amnon*? v. 13.

A. The Hebrewes answer, That she was a Sister, *secundum Carnem*, not, *secundum Legem*.[115] *David* fell in Love with *Maacha*, the Mother of *Tamar*, while she was yett unconverted from her Paganism; and before her Conversion, he begat this Daughter of her. *Amnon* had another Mother. And *Tamar*, because of the Time when *David* became her Father, they say, was as if she had another Father. Being born in Paganism, *Amnon* might have married her.

The Jews have indeed a Tradition, That tho' an Israelite might once lie with a Captive, yett if he intended a further Cohabitation with her; & to make her his Wife, she must become an *Israelite*. A Child born of the first Copulation, and a Child born after her Conversion, they say, were Considered as not procreated of the same Parents, & so they might marry to one another. Thus they account for *Amnon* and *Thamar*.

But Monsieur *Jurieu* sais, *Thamar* used these Words, for nothing but only to gett rid of *Amnon*; It being certain, That in such Extremities, a Woman may have recourse to Suppositions, as well as to real & solid Arguments.[116]

~~4826.~~

Q. What was the Cause of the Hatred which *Amnon* conceived for *Tamar*, after he had so Abused the Lady? v. 15.

A. A Judgment of God, which we have often seen executed, when *unlawful Amours* have been gratified.

Some assign the Cause of this *Hatred*, unto the Bitter, Violent, Opprobrious Words, with which the assaulted Lady, would have defended her Chastity.

But, *Munster* tells us, *Alij dicunt*, *quòd ab illa Hora fuerit Virilitate destitutus*.[117] And such a Judgment ha's been known in this Countrey, to follow upon a meer Attempt of *Adultery*.

Rasi,[118] and others among the Jews, tell us, *Tamar* in her Struggling with *Amnon*, to resist his Attempt upon her, hurt those Parts wherewith he offended; which extremely enraged him. Dr. *Patrick* thinks, This is not Improbable. But

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115 "According to the flesh" … "According to the law."

116 Jurieu, *A Critical History of the Doctrines and Worships (both Good and Evil) of the Church* (1:210).

117 "Others say it was because, by this time, they had been made devoid of manhood." Münster, *Hebraica Biblia*, in loc. (293).

118 Ink changes from brown to black.

others think it, a better Account to say, That she Reproached him so bitterly with what he had done, that he could not endure to hear it. Perhaps also his own Conscience flew in his face.[119]

Q. How came *David*, so to spare *Amnon*? v. 21.
A. He was his eldest Son.[120]

[231v] |
~~760~~.

Q. What *Remarkable Providence*, can you see, in the Circumstances of *Amnon*s Death? v. 28.
A. Behold the Justice of Heaven!

David had committed *Adultery*, cast *Urijah* into[121] *Drunkenness*, and then *Murdered* him. Now *Amnon* commits *Incest*, becomes *Drunk*, and is *Murdered*.

Amnon Committed his Villany at his *Meat*, and at his *Meat* Received his Punishment.

Q. Why does *Absalom* choose, *Talmai*, the Son of *Geshur*, to fly unto? v. 38.
A. Hee was his *Grandfather*.[122] See 2. Sam. 3.3.

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119 Patrick, *A Commentary* (460), citing Solomon Jarchi, or Rashi. As a possible source *see* Rashi, *Commentarius Hebraicus in Libros Josuae, Judicum, Ruth, Samuelis etc.* (1714); *see* also *Biblia Rabbinica*, in which Rashi's commentary was reproduced: Yaakov ben Hayyim, *Mikraot Gedolot* (1524), vol. 2, at 2 Sam. 3:15; and *Samuel II: A New English Translation*, in loc. (335).
120 Patrick, *A Commentary* (462).
121 All of the underlining in the rest of the entry is in a different ink.
122 This word is underlined in different ink.

2. Samuel. Chap. 14.

[▽Insert from 233r–234v][123] [▽233r–234v]

Q. What was the Intent of that Passage in the Ingenious Womans Discourse: *Neither doth God respect any Person*? v. 14.

A. Dr. *Patrick* observes, The Hebrew terms used here, are never used in that Sense. He judges, they should be translated, *God doth not take away the Soul*, or, *Life*. She argues from the sparing Mercy of God, who doth not presently inflict the Punishment of *Death*, when Men have deserved it. Perhaps also she might have a more special Respect unto *Absalom*, whom God had not cutt off, but lett him live. She desires *David* to imitate God.[124]

| [233v]

Q. *Because the People have made me afraid*.] v. 15.

A. Dr. *Patrick*, upon very good Objections against our common Reading, showes that it ought rather to be read; *Altho' the People made me afraid*. It is not likely, that there was any mighty Dissatisfaction among the People, because *Absalom* was not Recalled. Rather *David* was afraid, they would be dissatisfied, if he were. But the Meaning of the Gentlewoman was, That those whom she advised withal, told her, she was too bold in her present Attempt. But this did not much discourage her, because she presumed, the King would give her a favourable Audience; & not be angry with her, since all she did or said, was well intended.[125]

Q. *The Inheritance of God*.] v. 16.

A. When she calls the Land of *Israel*, *The Inheritance of God*, who dwelt among them there; she secretly putts the King in Mind, how dangerous it was, to lett *Absalom*, to continue in an Idolatrous Countrey where God was not worshipped, as He was in the Land of *Israel*.[126]

Q. *As an Angel of God, so is my Lord the King*.] v. 17.

A. She doubted not of such a kind Answer, as the *Angels* bring; who are Messengers of Divine Mercy.

There is a great deal of Artifice, in the Gentlewomans Discourse. For, as Dr. *Patrick* observes, To præsume upon the Kindness of another, and expect Gra-

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123 At this point, there is a dislocation in the MS: L. 232 contains entries on ch. 15 and so they have been moved to their proper place. L. 233 is quarto-sized, tipped in with sealing wax.

124 Patrick, *A Commentary* (473).

125 Patrick, *A Commentary* (474).

126 Patrick, *A Commentary* (475).

cious Answers from their Noble Qualities, is very moving. Men are very lothe to defeat those, who think so highly of them: According to that of *Aristotle*, in the second Book of his *Rhetorick*; *we love those that admire us*.[127]

[234r] |

Q. A Meditation of *Strigelius*, upon the Return of *Absalom*? v. 23.

A. Here we may raise our Thoughts, to apprehend a little of the Inconceiveable Love of our Heavenly Father, towards His own Eternal Son, & towards Mankind on His Account.[128]

[234v] |

600.

Q. How do you apprehend, & understand that Report, *Absalom, at every Years End polled his Head, because the Hair was heavy on him, and hee weighed the Hair at two Hundred Shekels*? v. 26.

A. The *Shekel* was not only a *Weight*, but a *Coin*. The *sacred Shekel*, was in strict Value, Two Shillings and Fourpence of English Money. The *common Shekel*, was but half as much. Tho' they are generally reckoned at *Half a Crown*, and *Fifteen-Pence*. But then, there was a *Shekel* of *Gold*, which was *Fifteen Shillings* at the last.

This Passage of *Absaloms Hair*, is commonly understood, as if his Hair, when *cutt off* once a Year, weighed *fifty* Ounces, which is, Four Pounds, Two Ounces; if you reckon by the *lesser Shekel*, as a *Weight,* & not as a *Coin*; but if you make your Computation, by the *Greater Shekel*, so considered his Hair weighed Eight Pounds, Four Ounces. But this cannot well bee, tho' his *Hair* was *Heavy*. *Two Hundred Shekels* of the lesser Weight, are more ponderous, than the Fleeces of Two Ordinary *Sheep*.

Wherefore by *Shekel* here, is not meant *Weight*, but *Coin*. *Absaloms* Hair grew excessively, and it being very *heavy*, hee yearly cutt it off. When it was weigh'd, it was found worth *Two Hundred Shekels*, or Twelve Pounds, Ten Shillings, in English Money; but much more according to the rate of the *larger*, & much more still, according to the *golden*, Shekel. So much *Money* hee could have had, for the yearly Loppings of his Hair; and so much & more, they, to whom hee gave it, made of it; His Servants, parted with it, at a dear Price, to the Ladies of *Jerusalem*, who were Ambitious of Adorning their *Heads* with the Hair of the beautiful *Absalom*, the Locks of the Kings Son.

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127 Patrick, *A Commentary* (475–76), citing Aristotle, *Rhetoric* (2.6.15): "Now men esteem those who admire them and those whom they admire, those by whom they wish to be admired, those whose rivals they are, and whose opinion they do not despise."

128 Patrick, *A Commentary* (478), citing Strigelius, *Libri Samuelis, Regum, & Paralipoménon* (162): *Ideo autem impressit Deus στοργὰς parentibus, ut sint monitrices & concionatrices de amore Dei primum erga filium, deinde erga genus humanum, quod condidt propter filium.*

Especially, if *Absalom* were now, as Dr. *Lightfoot* thinks, a Temporary *Nazarite*, and lett his Hair grow from Year to Year, because of his Vow: *Then* some of the better disposed Females, might in a Religious Way, buy up these Reliques of *Nazaritism*, & reckon them sacred Things.[129] See Mr. *Edwards*, on the *Style of the Holy Scriptures*.[130]

But[131] this Account will not satisfy Dr. *Patrick*.

What he observes, is this. In those Dayes *Hair* was accounted a great Ornament: And the longer it was, the more it was esteemed. No Wonder that *Absalom* nourished it with so much Care, & lett it grow to such a Length. In after Ages, they used much Art, as perhaps they did now, to make their Hair grow Thick, & Long, & Strong. And as *Bochart* showes us, they also anointed their Hair, with Oils of *Cinamon*, & other Spices, & after that, powdered it with Dust of *Gold*, which made it very ponderous. *Absaloms* Hair weigh'd *Two hundred Shekels*; which he demonstrates, was no more than Three Pounds & Two Ounces, of our Weight. This is not at all incredible; considering, that he lett it grow as long as he was able to bear the Weight of it; which was increased by the *golden* Addition aforesaid. *Josephus* informs us, That such Ostentation was in Use among the Jews, in those Dayes. For speaking of the Noble Guard, which attended King *Solomon*, with long Hair, flowing about their Shoulders, he saies, They scattered in their Hair every day, ψηγματα του χρυσου, *little Particles of Gold*, which made their *Hair* shine & sparkle, by the Reflection of the Suns Rays upon the *Gold*.

Bochart showes how absurd it is to imagine, That the Son of a King, would sell his *Hair*. Besides, the Text saies, *He weighed it*. If it had been sold, the Buyer would have weigh'd the Money.[132]

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129 Lightfoot, *The Harmony, Chronicle and Order of the Old Testament* (28).

130 Edwards, *Of the Stile of the Holy Scriptures,* is vol. 2 of his *Discourse concerning the Authority, Stile, and Perfection of the books of the Old and New-Testament*; see ch. VIII, pp. 306–07, from which Mather takes the wording for the previous part of the entry, including the reference to John Lightfoot.

131 The remainder of the entry, written in different ink from the preceding, was once a separate entry.

132 Patrick, *A Commentary* (479–80), citing Bochart, *Geographia sacra* (1692), letter to Michaeli Faukelio, *Absalomi Capillorum Pondus Definitur* (cols. 882–891, esp. col. 887 on Absalom weighing his hair). On the coiffing habits of Solomon's chariots drivers, see Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* (8.7.3): "They had also dust of gold every day sprinkled on their hair, so that their heads sparkled with the reflection of the sun-beams from the gold."

[235r][133] 2. Samuel. Chap. 15.

Q. *Absalom kissing* the People? v. 5.
A. Vile Flattery! Dr. *Patrick* observes, People are pleased with unwonted Complements. *Plato* observes, That when any Person intended to make himself a Tyrant, in a popular State, he no sooner entred upon the Government, but προσγελατε και ασπαζεται παντας ω αν περιτυγχανει. *He smiled upon all, and kindly saluted them, wherever he mett them*. He avowed his Hatred of Tyranny, and he promised great Things, both privately & publickly; και πασιν ιλεως τε και πατρωος ειναι προσποιειται. And *he seem'd, Mild, and Gentle, & Fatherly to all*. [Lib. VIII. de Repub.][134]

Q. *After Forty Years*.] v. 7.
A. Dr. *Usher* understands it; Forty Years after *David* was anointed by *Samuel*.[135] That is, when he was Threescore Years old; or, Ten Years before he died.[136]

[▽232r] [▽Insert from 232r][137]
{....}

Q. *After Forty Years, Absalom said, lett mee go pay my Vow*. I pray, *Forty Years*, from whence? v. 7.
A. These *Forty Years* are counted, from the Time that *Israel* asked a King: Three from *Saul*s, and Thirty seven from *David*s, Anointing; Then began *Absalom*, to challenge the Kingdome. And the Reckoning from such a Date, gives this Intimation; As their *Asking for a King*, did offend the God of Heaven, so now they undergo a proper Punishment for it, when they have so many Kings, that they know not well, which to follow, & many of them do perish in following the Usurper.

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133 A quarto-sized leaf tipped in with sealing wax.
134 Patrick, *A Commentary* (485), citing Plato, *De Republica* (8.566d–e): "Then at the start and in the first days does he not smile upon all men and greet everybody he meets and deny that he is a tyrant, and promise many things in private and public, and having freed men from debts, and distributed lands to the people and his own associates, he affects a gracious and gentle manner to all?"
135 MS: "*Saul*."
136 James Ussher (1581–1656), primate of Ireland, theologian, and historian, *The Annals of the World* (1658), p. 37, as cited in Patrick, *A Commentary* (487). Ussher dates this incident to the year of the world 2981, or 1028 BCE.
137 This leaf, moved here according to Mather's dislocation, apparently was originally folio-sized, but the bottom two-thirds is torn off; the verso is blank.

Some[138] learned Men, suspect, that an Error may by the Negligence of Transcribers be crept into the Text; And that for *Fourty* should be read, *Four*; which is the True Number of Years, from the Time of *Absalom*s Re-establishment in *Jerusalem*, or his Reconciliation to his Father.

| [blank] [233v]

[△Insert ends] [△]

~~4058~~{?}.

Q. *David* bids *Ittai*, *Go to Jerusalem, & abide with the King*; whereas *David* the King, was now flying out of *Jerusalem*; and he would hardly own *Absalom* for King, or advise *Ittai* to do so? v. 19.

A. Tis an Elegancy; q.d. go to *Jerusalem*, where *Absalom* is; yett lett thy Heart *Abide* with *me*, and there take my Part.

| [blank] [235v]

138 Ink changes from light brown to dark brown.

[236r] 2. Samuel. Chap. 16.

Q. What meant *Shimei* in casting *Stones* at *David*? v. 6.
A. Be sure, Contempt enough.

But some fancy, it was to Reproach him for his *Adultery*; for which his Desert was, to have been *stoned*.[139]

Q. When *Abishai* said of *Shimei*, *Lett mee Go, and take off the Head, of this Dead Dog, that speaks evil of the King*, is there no useful Remark to bee made on *David*s Answer unto him? v. 10.
A. I have Read this Remark thereupon.

"Tis *womanish*, not to endure *evil Speaking*; and therefore King *David*, when hee reprehended *Abishai*, who would have been Revenged on *Shimei*, for his *Cursing*, said, *What have I* {*to*} *do with you, O yee Sons of Zerujah*? Hee calls them from the *Mother*, not the *Father*; to show, that they had too much of the *Mother* in them, who were too Impatient of *evil Speeches*."[140]

[236v] |

Q. Whence that pernicious Counsel of *Achitophel* to *Absalom*, *Go in unto thy Fathers Concubines*? v. 21.
A. It was not meerly, to take away all Possibility of Reconciliation between *David* and *Absalom*, and so to drive the young Wretch into a Necessity of prosecuting his Rebellion with all the Vigour possible; but it might also bee to Revenge the Injury that had been done unto his own Family. You must note that *Achitophel* was the Grandfather of *Bathshæba*. *Bathshæba* was the Daughter of *Eliam*. [2. Sam. 11.3.] *Eliam* was the Son of *Achitophel.* [2. Sam. 23.34.] Now *Achitophel* to retaliate the Wrong done unto his Kinswoman, both embarques in a Conspiracy against the Person by whom the Wrong had been done, & makes the Debauching of that Persons Wives, to bee one Part of the Conspiracy.

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139 Patrick, *A Commentary* (502).
140 Mather does not further identify the source of this quote.

Q. *Nahash*.] Who was *Nahash*? v. 25.
A. T'was *Jesse*.

Kimchi observes, many Persons had Two Names.[142]

Nahash signifies, *A Serpent*. Hence, when *Isaiah* saies, ch. XIV.29. *Out of the Root of the Serpent*, [or, the Root of *Nahash*,] *there shall come forth a Basilisk*: The Chaldee Paraphrase expounds it, *out of the Root of Jesse shall come forth the Messiah*; who was typified, by the *Brasen Serpent* in the Wilderness.[143]

Q. The Provisions brought unto *David*? v. 29.
A. We may learn from thence, what was the ordinary Victuals used in those dayes.

Here is no Mention of any *Flesh* Meat, but *Sheep*; which were very plentiful in those Countreys. *Fish* was also plentiful; but we do not find any Mention of its being eaten, till the later times. Learned Men suppose the Ancients despised it, as too light & delicate for strong Stomachs. They observe, that *Homer* never speaks of it; nor any *Græcian* Writer of the Heroic Times.[144]

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141 A quarto-sized leaf tipped in with sealing wax; the recto is blank, except for the chapter heading.
142 David Kimhi (see *Samuel II, A New English Translation* 374).
143 Patrick, *A Commentary* (518–19).
144 Patrick, *A Commentary* (521).

[238r][145] 2. Samuel. Chap. 18.

Q. The *Wood of Ephraim*? v. 6.
A. Called so, not because it belonged unto the Tribe of *Ephraim*; They had no Possessions on that Side of *Jordan*, where the Battel was fought. But the *Gileadites* gave it that Name, in Memory of the great Slaughter, *Jephtah* made of the *Ephraimites* hereabouts.[146]

Q. The Manner of *Absalom*s Death? v. 9.
A. His Neck was wedged in, between the Boughs, by the swift Motion of the Mule, that he was not able to disengage himself.

Dr. *Patrick* sees no Colour for their Opinion, who think, he hung by his *Hair*, which being very long, was wrapt about the Boughs of the Tree; Nor is it probable, that he was without an *Helmett*, which covered his *Hair*.

It is Remark'd, That as he committed Incest, with his Fathers *Ten* Concubines, thus *Ten* young Men compassed him about, and killed him.[147]

[238v] |
~~1627~~{?}.

Q. How could *Absalom* say, *I have no Son to keep my Name in Remembrance*; when elsewhere we read, he had *Three Sons* and a *Daughter*? v. 18.
A. It seems, the *Sons* all Dy'd before their *Father*.

But *Munster* tells us, *Alij dicunt quod adhuc vixerunt, sed erant inepti ad Imperium*.[148]

Q. *If he be alone, there is Tidings in his Mouth*.] v. 25.
A. He is a Messenger from *Joab*, & he brings good News. For if they had been Routed, there would have been more than one seen running away.[149]

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145 A quarto-sized leaf tipped in with sealing wax.
146 Patrick, *A Commentary* (524).
147 Patrick, *A Commentary* (525, 528).
148 "Others say that, up until this point, they lived, but they were unsuitable to power." Münster, *Hebraica Biblia*, in loc. (299).
149 Patrick, *A Commentary* (532).

Q. *Mephibosheth* had neither *Dressed his Feet*, nor *Trimmed his Beard*: had wholly neglected himself, as in a Time of public Sorrow. What was the *not Dressing of his Feet*? v. 24.

A. *Schickard* and others understand it, that he had not cutt the Nails of his Toes, but lett them grow, as he did his Beard.

Dr. *Patrick* thinks, it may be understood, of his not washing his Feet; the Neglect of which, made men very sordid. In these Countreys, using to ly upon Beds, when they came in, they putt off their Shoes, & washt their Feet, (as tis express'd by *Scaliger*) *Ne pulverosis Pedibus Strata inquinarent*.[151] Besides, in hott Weather, the Smell of their Feet, without washing, was offensive.[152]

| [240r]

{7.2}.

Q. What think you of *Davids* Words unto *Mephibosheth*, *I have said, Thou & Ziba divine the Land*? v. 29.

A. I think, that hee *Said* Well. I am sorry to see, what Hard Thoughts are commonly taken up, concerning the Holy *David*, for passing Such a Sentence as is now before us.

You know, how *David* had been deluded by *Ziba*, to make him *Owner* of *Mephibosheth*s Land, whereof hee had been but a *Tenant* heretofore; and it is commonly supposed, that here *David* still Renewes & Confirms, at least *Part* of the Sentence, which hee had before so rashly uttered. Not only have the most of Christian Expositors cryed out upon *David*, for his extreme and cruel Harshness, in giving away unto a False Loon, half the Land of Innocent *Mephibosheth*; but also the Jewish Expositors make hard Reflections upon *David* for his Action here; and they make this Remark upon it, *I have said, Thou and Ziba divide the Land, At the same Instant, the Providence of God said, Then lett Rehoboam & Jeroboam Divide the Kingdome*. Whereas, in my Opinion, wee have hitherto done more Injury & Injustice to *David*, than ever *hee* did unto *Mephibosheth*. *David*, if I don't mistake, does here only & fully Revoke a Peece of *Rashness*, which hee had before fallen into. And I thus advance towards the Proof of my Exposition.

First. It is uncharitable to suppose, *David* would wrong *Mephibosheth*. To take away the Livings of so Blameless & Righteous a Person, because a base Fel-

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150 Quarto leaf tipped in with sealing wax; the recto is blank.

151 "Lest the material strewn on their dusty feet should befoul [the beds]."

152 Patrick, *A Commentary* (544–45), citing Wilhelm Schickard, most likely his *Ius regium Hebraeorum*; and Joseph Juste Scaliger, *Jul. Caesaris F. Opus Novum de Emendatione Temporum* (1583), lib. VI, p. 271.

low had *Belyed* him, would have been a most abominable Thing. The *Wisdome* of a *David* would not have permitted him to bee baffled & befool'd, by such a palpable Cheat, as would now have been putt upon him; especially, when a Thousand Men of *Benjamin* were now at his Elbow, to give him a true Information; Hee had a little before, been called, *one like an Angel of God, to Discern Good & Bad*; whereas now, it must have been said, *There are few Mortals but what would have had more Discretion therein*. Nor would the *Justice* of a *David* have allow'd a Judgment, so Unreasonable as well as Arbitrary: it was after said, *Hee did that which was Right in the Sight of the Lord, & Turned not aside all the Dayes of his Life, but only in the Matter of Urijah*: whereas, wee must now have look'd for one Exception more, *And in the Matter of Abused Mephibosheth*. Besides all this, The *Kindness* of *David* for the Father of *Mephibosheth*, his old & his dear Friend *Jonathan*, was inconsistent with such a Peece of Barbarous Cruelty: a *Love*, beyond that of a *Woman*, to the Father, would not so easily sowre into a *Wrath* beyond that of an *Enemy* to the Son: And this the rather, because the very *Beard* and *Garb* of the Disconsolate *Mephibosheth*, was enough to proclaim his Innocency. I add,

Secondly. As hee *Would* not, so hee *Did* not, commit so great a Wrong. And, methinks, the Holy Spirit of God, seems to Invite us unto such an Apprehension, by the Dislocation of the Story. For, I pray, mark it; In the Twenty third Verse, you have *David* at *Jordan*; and again, at the Thirty first Verse you have *David* at *Jordan*; and yett, in the Story of *Mephibosheth*, which lies between those two Verses, you have *David* at *Jerusalem*. Now, whence this Dislocation? How comes the Story of *Mephibosheth* to bee thus Anticipated? There was doubtless a Reason for it; and it might bee This. In the preceding Paragraph, You have *Shimei* and *Ziba* (a very proper Couple!) both meeting of *David* at *Jordan*. There you find, that *Shimei*, a bauling, railing, Bloody *Traitor*, upon his Confession, obtains the Pardon of his Crimes. Well, Immediately upon this, the Discourse between *David* and *Mephibosheth*, tho' it happened some time after, is introduced here. Which may sufficiently suggest unto us, If *David* could bee so easily Reconciled, unto a Cursed *Shimei*, certainly hee could not bee inexorable to an Harmless *Mephibosheth*; hee that would not hear *Abishai* pressing for a Revenge upon a *Shimei*, would hear a just *Mephibosheth* making a Just Apology for himself.

But after all; The Hinge of all will Turn, upon the true & right Notion of the Bargain heretofore made, about the Lands of *Mephibosheth*. You shall Read, I'l show you, the *original Covenant* about those famous Lands; Tis in 2. Sam. 9.10. *The King called to Ziba, Sauls Servant, and said unto him, I have given to thy Masters Son, all that pertained to Saul, & all his House. Thou therefore shalt Till the Land for him, and thou shalt bring in the Fruits, that thy Masters Son may have Food to eat. But Mephibosheth, thy Masters Son, shall eat Bread alwayes at my* [240v] *Table. And Mephibosheth had a young Son, whose* | *Name was Micah*. Upon the

whole, I thus understand the Contract. *Ziba* was not a *Proprietor* of these Lands; but was a *Tenant*, or, more properly, a *Bayliff*, or a *Steward* of them. *Ziba* was to Till the Lands; but how were the Profits to bee disposed of? Why thus; one half of the Incomes was for the Maintenance of *Mephibosheth* at the Court; it was to bear his Court Expenses. For, when *David* invited *Mephibosheth* to Court, it was not, that hee might there live upon Alms; but it was out of Respect and Friendship to him, as the like was done to *Barzillai* afterwards; and, perhaps, there was a *Reason of State* in it, which there is no need of mentioning. Hee was to live in Port, as a Person of Qualitie, with his Retinue there; and half the Revenue of his Lands was to mentain it. But which Way went the *other Half*? The Product of the *other Half*, was divided between *Micah*, and *Ziba* himself; in short, *Ziba* ha's a Moiety, for the Maintenance of *Mica*, and hires a Moietie for the Maintenance of *Mephibosheth*; and upon that Score tis said, *All that dwelt in Ziba's house were Servants to Mephibosheth*.[153]

Well then, when *David* now saies, *I have said, Thou and Ziba divide the Land*; hee does but unsay what hee had rashly said, When *Ziba*'s Lye surprised him, & orders things to bee according to the first Settlement, & Contrivance of them; tis, q.d. *I now Recal the Rash Words I spoke about your Lands*, Mephibosheth; *you need bee at no further Care; you know what I said in our first Act of Settlement; I would have that stand for the Present; you shall enjoy that I had rashly taken from you*. If any now object, that our *David* went not far enough, in making Reparations to *Mephibosheth*; why did not hee take *Ziba*, and hang him! Tis answer enough, That it was now no *Time* for *That*; and what was done afterwards, *who can tell?*[154]

That you may not count mee singular in this Exposition, I will now tell you, that long after I had, by Encouragement from Dr. *Lightfoots* Conjectures, written these things, I find this Gloss, upon these Words of *David*, in the *Annotationes in Vetus Testamentum, Incerto Authore*, printed in *Cambridge*, in the year 1653.

Sententiam priorem, ut colonus hic tibi sit Partiarius, (*Anglice* Villain reguardant, or, Villain in Grosse) *nunc habeo ratam: Vide Supr. 9. 10. Illam autem Retracto, Supr. 16. 14.*[155]

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153 2 Sam. 9:12.

154 See Lightfoot, *The harmony, chronicle and order of the Old Testament* (28–29), upon which Mather expands extensively. At this point in the MS, Mather left approximately six blank lines before resuming, in which space appears a poem in another hand (*see* App. B).

155 "I now hold the prior reckoned opinion, namely, that the husbandment shares with you. However, I reconsider this above." Anthony Scattergood, 17th-century English cleric and scholar, *Annotationes in Vetus Testamentum* (1653), p. 234.

Dr. *Patrick* also saies, If we carefully attend unto the Words, they are as much as if he had said, *my first Grant shall stand*, when he decreed, that *Mephibosheth* should be Lord of the Lands, and *Ziba* should manage it for him.

Tis clearly made out, by *Selden*, in his Treatise, *De Successionibus*. [Cap. XXV.][156]

Q. We do not read, *what Barzillai* asked, or *David* did, for *Chimham*? v. 38.
A. There is Mention made, Jer. XLI.17. of, *The Habitation of Chimham*, and this, near to *Bethlehem*. It is a very Reasonable Conjecture of *Grotius*, in his Annotations on that Place, that *David* having a Patrimony in the Field of *Bethlehem*, the Place of his Nativity, *Ius ibi habitandi, & fructus quosdam suos faciendi dedit Chimhamo*; he bestowed it on the Son of *Barzillai*; & from thence it had the Name of *Chimhams Habitation*, till the Dayes of *Jeremiah*.[157]

156 Patrick, *A Commentary* (546–47), citing Selden, *De Successionibus* (cap. XXV, cols. 89–90).

157 "By having possession of the right and by producing his own fruits which he gave to Chimham." Patrick, *A Commentary* (549), citing Grotius, *Annotationes ad Vetus Testamentum*, in idem, *Opera Omnia Theologica in Tres Tomos Divisa* (1:385, on Jer. 41:17).

Q. Who might *Sheba* be? v. 2.[158]
A. Perhaps one akin to *Saul*, as *Shimei* was; And one of the Commanders in *Absalom*s Army, next unto *Amasa*. So *Strigelius* understands the Hebrew Words, *unus ex proceribus*;[159] A Nobleman, of great Power and Authority among the People.

Q. *Joab* taking *Amasa* by the *Beard*, with his Right Hand, to kiss him? v. 9.
A. This is the Custome still among the *Indians* in the *East*. They take one another, by the Chin or Beard, when they would give an Hearty Salute; and say, *Bobba*, i.e. Father; or, *Bii*, that is, Brother. So the Author of the Voyage to the *East Indies*, at the End of *Peter de Valle*'s Travels.

You have it in honest Mr. *Terry*'s Voyage to *East-India*.[160]

| [241v]

Q. What was the Meaning of that Proverb, wherein *they were wont to speak of old Time, saying, They shall surely ask Counsel at Abel, & so they ended the Matter*? v. 18.
A. The Original[161] runs thus; *They plainly spake in the Beginning, saying, surely they will ask of Abel, & so make an End*. Perhaps this Gentlewoman here only Reports, the Words which the People of the Town spoke to one another, when this Broil was beginning; They took it for granted, when the *Beseigers* come, they'l first *enquire* of us, whether wee are for *Peace* or for *War*, and that Enquiry will soon bring the *Matter to an End*.

But, I remember, Dr. *Lightfoot*, in his chorographical Notes, upon the Gospel of *Luke*, ha's a further Interpretation of this Place; q.d. when *Sheba*, & his Followers came hither, *They at First certainly said thus, That they would ask Abel of its Peace*, [or, on whose Side it was,] *and so they made the Matter entire*; or, made a Show of their own Integrity.[162] That wherein *Joab* was to bee satisfied, was that the City had not taken Part with the Conspirators. This prudent Woman, accordingly assures him, that *Abel* never invited *Sheba*, & his

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158 MS: "3."
159 שֶׁבַע [sheva], personal name, "Sheba" (KJV); Σαθεε (LXX); Seba (Vulgate). See also Strigelius, *Libri Samuelis, Regum, & Paralipoménon* (183).
160 This sentence is probably a later addition. The reference repeats the one at the end of the previous paragraph, to Edward Terry (1590–1660), East India Company chaplain and travel writer, *A voyage to East-India* (1655), p. 213.
161 הַתָמוֹ וְכֵן בְּאָבֵל יִשְׁאֲלוּ שְׁאֹל לֵאמֹר בָּראשֹׁנָה יִדְבְּרוּ דִּבֵר
162 Lightfoot, *Horae Hebraicae & Talmudicae, Impensae in Evangelium S. Lucae* (1674), p. 138.

Rebellious Accomplices, nor would have Admitted them into the Town by any Means, but they were deceived by their Fawning and Flattering Words, while they pretended only to enquire about the Peace of the City. And that hee might more effectually know the Truth hereof, shee said, That they would immediately throw the Head of *Sheba*, over the Wall.

Thus Dr. *Patrick* takes it. She said, "When the People saw thee lay Siege to the City, they said, surely they will ask us, if we will have Peace, and then we shall soon come to an Agreement, and make an End." She secretly remembers *Joab* of a Rule in the Law; Deut. XX.10. which commands them to offer *Peace* unto the Cities of other Nations, when they came to besiege them; & therefore much more to a City of their own; as *Abel* was.

To this Purpose R. *Solomon Jarchi*.

There is a late Writer, who thinks, this may be the Sense of the Words. It was a common Saying in *old Time*, if any one asked, whether *Abel* was a Place of Justice and Judgment, or a Den of Thieves; the Answer was, They are an Upright People. Therefore she asks *Joab*, why he went about to destroy a City so famous for Vertue.

Thus *Mayerus*, in his Annotations on *Seder Olam Rabba*.[163]

163 Patrick, *A Commentary* (559–60), citing Solomon Jarchi, or Rashi (see *Samuel II: A New English Translation* 403); and German Lutheran theologian Johann Friedrich Mayer (1650–1712), *Annotations on Seder Olam Rabba* (1699), cap. XIV.

1894.

Q. What was at the Bottom of that *Zeal for the Children of Israel*, pretended by *Saul*, when hee slew the *Gibeonites*? v. 2.
A. The *Gibeonites* lived in the City, where *Saul* was born; If the *Gibeonites* were cutt off, *Saul*s Children would enjoy their confiscated Estates; hee now seems mighty *Zelous* that no *Canaanites* might live mixed among the *Israelites*; thus the *Gibeonites* must bee murdered: and[164] there is a Tradition, that when *Saul* was exterminating of *Witches*, hee fell upon the *Gibeonites*, charging them with being so.

Q. When was it, that *Saul* slew the *Gibeonites*? v. 2.
A. *Abarbanel* thinks, it was when he slew the City of *Nob*, where the *Gibeonites* were Hewers of Wood, and Drawers of Water, to the *Priests*, whom Saul cutt off.

The same Author enquires, why God inflicted not this *Famine*, rather for the Slaughter of the *Priests*, than of the *Gibeonites*? He gives this Account; That the Slaughter of the *Priests* was punished formerly, by the Death of *Saul*, and of his Sons, in the Battle with the *Philistines*. And now, he was punished in the Sons of his *Concubines*. Yea, All *Israel* suffered by the Famine; Because they did not hinder *Saul* from the Murder of the *Gibeonites*, & remember him of the Oathe made unto them. Nay, perhaps, they approved what he did, and were willing to see the Land rid of Foreigners.

He observes also, That the *Gibeonites* being *Drawers of Water*, God putt the *Israelites* in Mind of their Offence, by witholding *Rain* from them. Just as his Refusing to Answer *Saul* by *Urim*, was a suitable Punishment, for his Murdering the Priests, who consulted God by that Oracle.

Abarbanel thinks, *David* suspected God might still punish him for the Sins he had committed in the Matter of *Urijah*. But God comforts him, with letting him know, the Sins of *Saul* were the Cause of the present Controversy.[165]

Q. *The Five Sons of Michal, that she brought {up} for Adriel*. How were they the Sons of Childless *Mical*? v. 8.
A. Not *Michal*, but *Merab*, was the Wife of *Adriel*. But *Michal* brought up those Children which *Merab* had by *Adriel*. And the Jews observe on this Oc-

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164 For Mather's deletion, *see* App. A.
165 Yitsḥaḳ Abravanel, *Effigies accuratissima, seu Commentarius in quatuor priores Prophetarum Josuae, Judicum, Samuelis & Regum* (1666/67).

casion, That whoever brings up a Pupil in his House, is in the Scripture spoken of, as having Begotten him.

Q. *Rizpah*s waiting on the exposed Corps of the Sons of *Saul*, *until Water drop't upon them out of Heaven*: why was it until *Then*? v. 10.
A. The *Famine* at this Time upon the Land, was from *Drought*. The Persons whose Lives were sacrificed, for the appeasing of the Divine Wrath which inflicted this *Famine*, must hang, until the Atonement appeared, by the *Drought* being over. This Atonement was made evident, when the *Water drop't upon them out of Heaven*; which was not long, for *Josephus* tells us, ῎ηρζατο δε ὗειν παραχρῆμα ὁ Θεος.[166] *God quickly began to Rain upon the Land*.

But, laudable was the Action of *Rispah*; for, as *Ambrose* tells us, *Nihil hoc Officio præstantius; ei conferre, qui jam tibi non potest reddere; vindicare a Volatilibus, vindicare a Bestiis Consortem Naturæ*.[167]

By[168] the Bodies hanging several Dayes, tis evident, this was no *legal* Punishment. And therefore *David* committed it unto the *Gibeonites*, and would not execute it by his own officers.

[242v] |

Q. The Occasion of what was now done by *David*, for the Bones of *Saul* and *Jonathan*? v. 12.
A. The Noble Act of *Rizphah* (as Dr. *Patrick* observes,) moved *David*, to do some honour unto the Carcases of her Sons, & unto the whole House of *Saul*. He sent therefore for the Bones of *Saul* and *Jonathan*, to inter them, and those of these Children of *Saul*, with their Ancestors.[169]

Q. *Ishbi-benob*s New *Sword*? v. 16.
A. The Word, *Sword*, is not in the Hebrew; Nor is there any thing Remarkable, in his having a *New Sword*. Therefore it should be translated, *A New Kind of Weapon*; or, as Dr. *Patrick* thinks rather, *A New Belt*; which had been bestow'd on him, as a Reward of some great Exploit performed by him; or as a Token of some New Honour or Command, conferr'd on him in the Army.

[See, 2. Sam. XVIII.11.][170]

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166 Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* (7.297).
167 "No duty is superior to this one: To confer upon one, who is not able to give back to you; to defend the partner of nature from the birds and beasts." Ambrose (339–397 CE), *De Tobia* (cap. 1, p. 520, line 16 [PL 14. 761B].
168 Ink changes from brown to black.
169 Patrick, *A Commentary* (569).
170 Patrick, *A Commentary* (571).

Q. The Giant of *six Fingers* on each Hand, had *six Toes* on each Foot? v. 20.
A. *Tavernier* tells us, The eldest Son of the Emperour of *Java*, who reigned, A. C. 1648, when he was on that Island, had *six Fingers* on each hand, & *six Toes* on each Foot.[171]

I know such an one, in the Neighbourhood of *Boston*.

171 Patrick, *A Commentary* (573), citing Tavernier, *Collections of Travels through Turky into Persia, and the East-Indies* (95).

[243r][172] 2. Samuel. Chap. 22.

Q. The Comparison between *eighteenth* Psalm, and the Copy of it, in the Book of *Samuel*?

A. *Abarbanel* will have the *Psalm* composed by *David* in his Youth. By the Words, *In the Day that the Lord delivered him*, he thinks, tis meant, that every time he received any Deliverance from God, his usual Method was to acknowledge it thankfully in the Words of this Song.

It was composed at first, for his own private Use; but in the End of his Dayes, he thought fitt to communicate it unto others. He therefore putt it into the Book of *Psalms*, that it might be of like Use to any whose Experiences might be like unto his own. He then also Review'd it, and made several Alterations in it; which, small and great, amount, as he observes, to *Seventy Four* in Number. And this he did, as he thinks, to make his Meaning the plainer; that the People might not mistake it.

The XVIIIth *Psalm*, is directed, *To the chief Musician*; which argues, it was then intended for public Use. Here is nothing said of *that*, while it was yett a Peece of Privater Devotion.[173]

Q. The great Heap of Metaphors? v. 2, 3.

A. *Strigelius* observes, Tis a large Paraphrase on the First Commandment. Compare, Deut. VI.4, 5. and X.12.[174]

Q. What were the *Foundations of Heaven*, that *mov'd* and *shook*? v. 8.

A. In the XVIII{th} *Psalm*, tis, *The Foundations of the Hills*. By *Heaven* here then is meant, *Mountains* that reach to *Heaven*.

We don't read of literal *Tempests* and *Earthquakes* accompanying the Deliverance of *David*. If there were, yett *Strigelius* brings out of *Livy*, strange Instances, of Gods Interposing with such Operations of His Providence, in Battles.[175]

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172 A quarto-sized leaf, sewn in.

173 Patrick, *A Commentary* (574), citing Abravanel, *Commentary on the former Prophets* (see *Samuel II: A New English Translation* 418).

174 Patrick, *A Commentary* (575), citing Strigelius, *Libri Samuelis, Regum, & Paralipoménon* (190): *Haec congeries epithetorum Dei, est luculenta paraphrasis primi praecepti*.

175 Patrick, *A Commentary* (576–77), citing Strigelius, *Libri Samuelis, Regum, & Paralipoménon* (191), who refers to Livy's account in *Ab Urbe Condita* (lib. VI, citing "Decad. 3"). Cf. Livy, *History of Rome*, vol. 3 (bks. 5–7), transl. Foster (1924; Loeb 172). If this is indeed a reference to cap. III, then he intends the account of Camillus' surprise attack on the unwary Etruscans after they had conquered and were sacking Sutrium.

| [243v]

Q. What may be meant by, *Thick Clouds of the Skies*? v. 12.

A. We have here a Description of the *Angelical Powers*, who surrounded the Lord, on all Sides, as His Ministers.

Andræs Cæsariensis truly observes, in his Commentary on the *Revelation*, That whensoever we read in the Sacred Books, of *Clouds*, or *Thick Darkness*, we are alwayes to understand, υπουργος των θειων πραγματων· *Some Ministry, ready to serve in Divine Affairs*.[176]

Q. *Hindes Feet*? v. 34.

A. It is thought commonly to refer unto the *Swiftness* of the *Hindes*.

But *Bochart* makes it probable, that it refers to the *Firmness* of their Treading, which is very Remarkable.[177]

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176 Patrick, A Commentary (578), citing Andreas Caesariensis, 6th-century CE bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, *In D. Ioannis Apocalypsim compendiaria explanatio* (c. 1555).

177 Patrick, *A Commentary* (582), citing Bochart, *Hierozoicon* (pars prior, lib. III, cap. XVII, cols. 879–894).

Q. In the *last Words of David*, one may expect something Extraordinary, & Remarkable; beyond common Observation. I pray, what have *you* observed? v. 1. –

A. One thing that I have observed, is This. The *Exordium* of these Words,[178] is with us, translated so, *David, – the Man who was Raised up on high, the Anointed of the God of Jacob*: – But I think the better Translation were, *The Man Confirmed* [or, Established] *of the Messiah of the God of* Jacob; so that the Name of, *The Messiah of the God of Jacob*, too August a Name sure for any Υιλος ανθρωπος,[179] is not here an Epithete on *David*, but on our ever-blessed Saviour, concerning whom the glorious Faith of *David* is here Confessed.

Another thing that I have observed, is, That the Words of *David* here, about a *Just Ruler over Men*, are a most Illustrious Prophecy concerning the future *Kingdome* of our Lord Jesus Christ. And I do with sufficient Reason Read them so, *There shall bee a Ruler over Men, Righteous, Ruling in the Fear of God, – This is all my Salvation, & all my Desire; tho' as yett Hee make Him not to spring up*.

Abarbanel[180] reads it; *when he that Rules Men is Just, then the Fear of the Lord will Rule, & have Dominion on the Earth*.[181]

Q. Is there not yett a further Sense, wherein *David* may bee said to bee, *constitutus super Messiam*, *Appointed upon the Messiah*?

A. Yes; *Ratione Paternitatis*;[182] the *Messiah* was to Descend from him.

And this Coming of the *Messiah*, is here called, *The Covenant, præparatum in omnibus*: upon which the Gloss of R. *Salomon* is, *In omnium Prophetarum Ore*.[183]

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178 הֻקַם עַל מְשִׁיחַ אֱלֹהֵי יַעֲקֹב. The complete passage which Mather refers to is דָּוִד בֶּן־יִשַׁי וּנְאֻם הַגֶּבֶר הֻקַם עַל מְשִׁיחַ אֱלֹהֵי יַעֲקֹב; "David the sonne of Jesse saide, and the man who was raised up on high, the Anointed of the God of Jacob" (KJV 1611); cf. the NAU: "David the son of Jesse declares, The man who was raised on high declares, The anointed of the God of Jacob." *Exordium*, "introduction, preface."

179 "Mere man."

180 Ink changes from brown to black.

181 This final reference is from Patrick, *A Commentary* (588), citing Yitzhak Abravanel, *Commentary on the former Prophets* (see *Samuel II, A New English Translation* 431).

182 "By reason of paternity."

183 "Prepared in all" … "In the mouth of all the prophets." From Raimundus Martinus (Raymund de Saint-Martin), *Pugio Fidei* (pars II, cap. IX, p. 302), Mather cites Solomon Jarchi, or Rashi, *Commentarius Hebraicus in Libros Josuae, Judicum, Ruth, Samuelis etc.*; *see* also the *Biblia Rabbinica*, in which Rashi's commentary was reproduced: Yaakov ben Hayyim, *Mikraot Gedolot* (1524), vol. 2, at 2 Sam. 23:1; and *Samuel II, A New English Translation* (432).

4828.

Q. *Munsters* Paraphrase on the *last Words of David* may be worth reciting?
A. *Crescet Regnum meum sicut Lux matutina, quæ paulatim in majorem accrescit Claritatem. Lux autem, quæ nube turbatur, aut pluvia, nihil prodest, nisi quòd herbam crescere facit, citò perituram. Non sic erit Regnum meum, quod fœdere interveniente est firmatum; ex quo procedit Salus mea, et totum desiderium meum, scilicet Christus Dei. Hoc non crescet sicut Herba, quæ mox arescit, sed Regni eius non erit Finis. Impii verò et Viri Belijaal, qui Reqnis Tyrannicé præsunt, sunt ut Spinæ evulsæ quæ sine Ferreis Instrumentis tractari non possunt, aut certe Igne sunt exurendæ, sic omnia Regna Mundi tandem degenerant in interitum solum Regnum Davidicum et Christi manebit in æternum*.[184]

Q. That Clause, *Tho' He make it not to grow*: How may it be interpreted? v. 5.
A. The House of *David* was much impaired, by the *Babylonian* Captivity. However still there were *Princes* of that House, that still kept it in a Condition somewhat Flourishing. But at last, it fell into a very Abject Condition; as *Reizius* observes, *ut impleretur Vaticinium Davidis, Messiam venturum quandò Domus ipsius non germinaret*. 2. Sam. 23.5.[185]

L. *de Dieu* saies, *David* amplifies the Stability of his Kingdome from Three things, which are very grateful to Men, but are not stable. The *Sun* rises, but goes down again. The *Morning* may be clear, but anon *Clouds* arise. The *Tender Grass* springs up, but withers away. Not so, saith he, is my Kingdome before God. It is flourishing like all these; but it is *perpetual*. He hath made an *everlasting Covenant* with me.[186]

{....}

Q. Wee read, That the *Sons of Belial*, (the Enemies and Rejecters of the *Messiah*,) *shall bee utterly Burnt with Fire, in the same Place*? v. 7.

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184 "My reign will rise just like the morning light, which gradually grows to greater splendor. However, light, which is disturbed by a cloud or by rain, produces nothing, except making a plant grow which will quickly wither away. My kingship will not be thus, because it has been made strong by an intervening treaty. From it my salvation, clearly Christ the Son of God, puts forth all my desire. [My kingdom] will grow not like plants, which soon wither, but rather will have no end. In fact, impious and Belial-like men, who preside over the despotic rule of kingship, are like removed thorns, which cannot be torn out without iron implements, for they were certainly burned out by fire. Thus, all kingships in the world deteriorate at length into destruction. The sole kingdom of David and of Christ will remain for eternity." Münster, *Hebraica Biblia*, in loc. (305).
185 Johannes Heinrich Reizius (Reitz) (1655–1720), German Pietist theologian, *Thomae Godwini Moses et Aaron, seu civiles et ecclesiastici Ritus antiquorum Hebraeorum* (1690), lib. I, cap. I, p. 5; Thomas Godwin's *Moses and Aaron* was originally published in English in London, 1655.
186 This paragraph is from Patrick, *A Commentary* (589), citing de Dieu, *Animadversiones in Veteris Testamenti* (179–80).

A. No: what wee read, *In the same Place*, may bee rendred, *In the Sabbath*.[187]

When that great *Sabbatism,* (of the Kingdome of the *Messiah* which wee look for,) shall arrive, it will bee attended, with a Terrible *Conflagration*: and in that Conflagration, (which is the same, with the *Third Wo*, or Seventh Trumpet, in the *Apocalypse,*) the *Sons of Belial*, which are called, *Those that corrupt the Earth*, shall then bee *utterly Burnt with Fire*. Behold, a New, and a very Notable Gloss, upon this Passage of Scripture!

~~1829~~{?}.

Q. Why is the First of the Worthies, described by that Character, *sedens in Sessione, vel in Loco Sapientiæ*?[188] v. 8.

A. Many of the Hebrewes think, it was therefore *David* himself.

But we have the Name of the Hero; It was, *Adino*. And he is called, *one sitting in the Seat of Wisdome*, as the Hebrewes tell us, *propter Juge Studium ejus in divinâ Lege*; For his Daily, and Constant Study of the *Law*.[189]

[244v] |

164.

Q. What was the Sense of *David*s passionate Longing, *To Drink of the Water of the Well of Bethlehem*? v. 15.

A. The Jewes tell us, Hee wanted the Solution of some Quæstion, from the *Sanhedrim* then sitting at *Bethlehem*. A likely thing, when the *Philistæan* Army was now Besieging of the Town! *Cornelius à Lapide*, more probably supposes the Deliverance of *Bethlehem* itself, to bee intended in this Wish of *David*.[190] But after all; It seems as if *David* now assured of Gods Mercy to *Bethlehem*, inasmuch as the *Messiah* was to bee Born at that Place, uttered his longing Desires, for the Appearing of that *Messiah*. The *Waters* for which hee wished, were not Natural and Literal *Waters*, but the *Spiritual* Ones, whereof wee read in Joh. 4.10, 14. & in other Scriptures. It seems too *muliebrious* a Thing, for so great a General as *David*, to *long* for the Water of one Spring more than another; and therefore when hee had this Water, hee only *poured it out* (as t'was their Manner in that *Feast of Tabernacles*, which was a Type of our Lords Incarnation) to intimate, that they were mistaken in his Expressions; t'was a sublimer & a diviner Water, which hee wished for.

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187 בַּשָּׁבָת [bashshaveth] in the KJV 1611: "in the *same* [set as supplied] place"; cf. NAU: "in *their* [ibid.] place."

188 "Sitting in session, or in the place of Wisdom."

189 "For the sake of his continual study of the divine law."

190 Lapide, *Commentarius in Josue, Judicum, Ruth, IV Libros Regum* (2:87).

To[191] confirm this Illustration, I will transcribe a short Passage, from our[192] Mr. *Maundrils* Journey from *Aleppo* to *Jerusalem*. A. D. 1697.

"We walked out to the Westward of *Bethlehem*. The First Place we were guided to, was the Well of *David*, so called, because held to be the same that *David* so passionately thirsted after: [2. Sam. 23.15.] It is a *Well* (or rather, a *Cistern*,) supply'd only with *Rain*; without any Natural Excellency in its Waters, to make them Desireable. But it seems, *David*s Spirit, had a further Aim."[193]

Q. Two *Lion-like* Men? v. 20.
A. The Hebrew Word,[194] *Ariel*, signifies, *A Lion of God*; That is, A great Lion. It was the Name among the *Moabites*, for a very Valiant Man. At this day among the *Arabians*, they call such an one, *Assedollabi*, or, *A Lion of God*.[195]

2939.

Q. What might be the true Occasion of *Benajah*s coming athwart the *Lion*, which *he slew in the Midst of a Pitt, in Time of Snow*? v. 20.
A. R. *Levi* aggravates the Matter to the Heighth, from the cramping Enfeeblement which the Cold gave unto *Benajah*, at this Time.[196] And *Josephus* adds to the Aggravation from the Voluntariness of *Benajah*, to enter upon this Engagement.[197] But *Bochart* layes the Matter thus. In the *Anthologia*, we find a *Lion* seeking a Recess, in a *Goat-Pen*, to avoid the Inconveniences of the *Snow* and *Hail* then falling.[198] This might be the very Occasion of this our *Lion*s, retiring into the *Pitt* or *Cave*; even to obtain some Defence against the Injuries of the Weather. *Benajah* for the same Occasion also turned into the *Cave*; where he mett the *Lion*, by this Accident gott thither before him. The sacred Writer

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191 Mather skips a line before writing the addition to the entry, with which the ink changes from brown to black.
192 Variant: "One." Mather renders the final letter as he usually renders a superscript "r."
193 Maundrell, *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem* (89).
194 הַבאֶל [aryeh] "lion."
195 Patrick, *A Commentary* (597).
196 Mather cites Levi ben Gerson, or Ralbag, *Commentarius in Prophetas priores* (1494); Patrick refers also to the Rabbis here (*A Commentary* 597) and in Bochart (*Hierozoicon,* pars prior, lib. III, cap. V); *see* also *Biblia Rabbinica*, in which Ralbag's commentary was reproduced: Yaakov ben Hayyim, *Mikraot Gedolot* (1524), vol. 2, at 2 Sam. 23:20; and *Samuel: A New English Translation*, in loc.
197 Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* (7.12.4): "When God sent a snow, there was a lion who slipped and fell into a certain pit, and because the pit's mouth was narrow it was evident he would perish, being enclosed with the snow; so when he saw no way to get out and save himself, he roared. When Benaiah heard the wild beast, he went towards him, and coming at the noise he made, he went down into the mouth of the pit and smote him, as he struggled, with a stake that lay there, and immediately slew him."
198 Patrick, *A Commentary* (597), citing Bochart, *Hierozoicon* (pars prior, lib. III, cap. V, cols. 767–778). On the lion trapped in a goat-pen, see lib. III, cap. IV, col. 751.

saying, *It was in Time of Snow*, only intimates the Occasion of their thus coming together.

For my own Part, I rather think, with *Justin Martyr*, That the *Lion* was one which had been very mischievous in the Neighbourhood, and that the brave *Benajah* voluntarily ventured his Life to rid his Countrey of such a Plague.[199] Probably, the *Pitt* was made on Purpose to take him; and the *Time of Snow* may be a signal Circumstance, inasmuch as *Lions* at this time are fiercer, & madder, and more hunger-bitten than at other Times.

[245r][200] |

4295.

Q. But is not a Greater than *Benajah* here? v. 20.

A. Yes. The Holy Spirit of God would now lead our Thoughts unto the Lord JESUS CHRIST, as the glorious Antitype. No less a Person than *Jerom*, gave me the Apprehension. And *Ursin* long after him adds to the Authority. Yea, the Commentaries written upon this History, more than a Thousand Years ago, tell us, That *Benajah* here was, *Figura Domini descendentis in Inferium et vincentis Diabolum*.[201]

First: who is our Lord Jesus Christ? We may behold Him as a *Benajah*; For He is, what the Name signifies, *The Son of God*. If *Benajah* should signify, A *Building* of the Lord: certainly, There is none so worthy of that Name, as our Lord Jesus Christ, who is, *The Temple of God*. Or, if *Benajah* should signify, A *Building* for the Lord: certainly, There is none so worthy of that Name, as our Lord Jesus Christ; for we *look for a City, whose Builder & Maker is He*. But we will rather keep to the Notation which we first litt upon. *Benajah* is as much as to say, *A Son of the Lord*. The *Angels* of the Lord, are by *Creation* so; The *Servants* of the Lord, are by *Adoption* so: But our Lord Jesus Christ is by an *eternal Generation* so.

Secondly; we have an *Adversary*, the *Divel*. And why should we not look upon a furious & bloody *Lion*, as a lively Emblem of this our Adversary. Look on the *Lion* in the Pitt, encountred by *Benajah*, and say, *such an Adversary the Sheep of our Lord Jesus Christ are in danger of*. See 1. Pet. 5.8. no *Lion* can be so
[245v] eager for Spoil, as the Divel is to sieze, and sport, and slay the Souls of | Men. The Souls that fall into the Jawes of the Divel, are more unmercifully torn to Peeces, than any thing that a raging *Lion* ha's fallen upon.

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199 Mather makes mention of Justin Martyr, perhaps drawn from his *Apology* or *Dialogue with Trypho*, or *The Discourse to the Greeks* (cf. *ANF* 1).

200 Duodecimo leaf originally attached to bottom of preceding leaf with sealing wax, now loose.

201 "A depiction of the Lord descending into hell and conquering the Devil." German Lutheran theologian Johannes Heinrich Ursinus (1608–1667), perhaps his *Analecta Sacrorum Libri sex* (1658–60, 1668–69).

But, Thirdly; good Newes for the Chosen of God! Our *Benajah* has Fought the *Lion*, and Kill'd him: our Lord Jesus Christ, ha's obtained a wonderful Victory over the Divel. The Temptations which our Lord underwent from the *Divel*, and indeed, all His Afflictions, from the Men that were inspired by the *Divel* to Trouble him; There was His Conflict with the *Lion* in all of these. But His Conflict with the *Lion* issued in a *Conquest* over him. See 1. Joh. 3.8. The Effect of it, is, That the Elect of God are pluck'd out of the *Divel*s Hands: And, That the *Divel* cannot prevail in his Plotts against the Church of the most High.

Fourthly, where was the Place that *Benajah* slew the *Lion*? It was in the *Midst of a Pitt*. Our Lord Jesus Christ *came down into the Pitt*, that He might there conquer the *Divel*. Yea, it was this very thing, which did conquer Him. Our Lords Coming into *this World*, was in some Degree a Coming into *a Pitt*; the very Suburbs of Hell, and a *Pitt* which had the Divel ranging & roaring in every Corner of it. But more than this; our Lord would by *Death* go down *into the Pitt*. The *Grave*, was the *Pitt*. When our Lord came out of the *Grave*, He sang; Psal. 40.2. *He brought me up out of an horrible Pitt*. The Force of the *Lion*, lay in the *Sentence of Death*, which the Law of God had pass'd upon the Sinner. Our Lord Jesus Christ, by His Death, made Satisfaction to the Law. By this the *Lion* ha's lost his Force. See Heb. 2.16.

Finally; And in a *Time of Snow too*! It was literally true, that at the latter End of the *Winter* our Lord Jesus Christ, underwent the Bruises and Sufferings, by which that *Lion*, the *Divel*, ha's been conquered. But, a Time of great Adversity, of numberless Difficulties, of confining Circumstances, is allegorically to be called, *A Time of Snow*. Thus the ancients carry it. Our Lord saw such a Time, when by expiatory Sufferings, He vanquished the *Lion*, which was making depredations upon us.

| [246r][202]

Q. How happens it, that *Joab*, is not reckoned in the Catalogue of *David*s Worthies; *Joab*, who was General over them all? v. 39.

A. One observes, He was a *Species* of himself; a Man that was not proper to be rank'd with any other; a Composition for which it is not easy to find a Parallel. His Vertues and his Vices do seem in a Manner æqual; but both so extraordinary, that he could scarce be Rank'd with other Men.

He was a Son to *Zerujah*, the Sister of *David*. Probably *Abishan* was his elder Brother; but *Joab* out-did his elder Brother in Point of Cunning and Address; tho' in Valour they were not inferior the one to the other. The Occasion of his Rising to be *General*, is well-known; a Promise of *David* at the Siege of *Jerusalem*.[203]

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202 A quarto-sized leaf tipped in with sealing wax.

203 1 Chron. 11:6.

I find one making this Conjecture. It should seem, that *Zerujah* either had married not very honourably, or that he never married at all, but her Sons were all Illegitimate: since *Joab*, and his Brothers, are an Exception to the stated Rule, observ'd by the Hebrews, in marking out the Descent of Persons by the *Father*. It is said of *Abigail*, the youngest Sister of *David*, that she married *Jether*, and by him had *Amasa*;[204] but no such Account is to be found of *Zerujah*s marrying at all. It seems as if *Zerujah* was not a Woman of the best Conduct in the World. Wherefore *David*, whenever he shews his Anger against *Joab* & his Brethren, still calls them, *Sons of Zerujah*.

[246v] |

Q. We may carry on our Enquiry after Omissions in the Catalogue of Hero's. Why is there no Mention of that *Jonathan*, who slew a Giant? [2. Sam. XXI.21.]
A. It seems, the Hero's are considered according to their personal *Merits*; not according to the Dignities of their Families.

Jonathan the Son of *Shimeah*, (or *Shummah*) was a Nephew to *David*. And yett he is omitted; tho' he did a very noble Exploit. How he comes to be omitted cannot now be understood. He was a brave & gallant man. But perhaps, he did something afterwards to bring a Blemish on his Honour. Or perhaps no Man could be admitted into this List, until he had by more than one Action signalized himself.

Why else is *Elkanah* the *Bethlehemite* inserted, for slaying the Brother of him whom *Jonathan* slew?

On this Occasion one saies, "I cannot but, by the Way, take notice of a strange Mistake in our Version, in rendring the words [*the Brother of* Goliah *the* Gittite,] as if we should understand, that this Giant, whom *Elkanah* slew, was the *Brother* of that *Goliah* whom *David* slew. Whereas the Hebrew saies expressly, That *Elkanah* slew *Goliah* the *Gittite*.[205] And this same *Goliah*, is said to be the Brother of the other three Giants of that City; namely, *Isbibenob* whom *Abishai* slew, *Saph*, whom *Sibbechai* slew, & the other Giant, whose Name is not mentioned, whom *Jonathan* slew. For it is expressly said, *That all these Four, were the Sons of* Arapha (or of *Rapha*, as the LXX render it, ραφα)[206] *of Gath*; or as our Version ha's it, of *the Giants of Gath*. So that the *Gathish Champion* slain by *Elkanah*, was not the Brother of the old *Goliah*, nor of any other of that Name, but was himself of the same Name with him, that was slain by *David*, near fifty Years before; as being specified to be the Son of *Rapha*, & the Brother of the other Three Persons mentioned."

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204 1 Chron. 2:17.
205 אֶלְחָנָן בִּן […] הִכָּה אֶת לַחְמִי אֲחִי גָלְיָת (2 Sam. 21:19): "Elhanan […] slewe *the brother of* [set as supplied with ref. to 1 Chron. 20:5] Goliath the Gittite" (KJV1611), cf. NAU: "Elhanan […] killed Goliath the Gittite."
206 2 Sam. 21:22 according to LXX, in Walton, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (2:390).

Q. *He moved David*? v. 1.
A. *Abarbanel* thinks, it is, as if it had been said, *The Anger of the Lord which was kindled against Israel, moved David*. That is, The same Sin, for which God was Angry with *Israel*, was the Cause of *David*s being seduced in this thing, that he might be punished.[207]

4059.

Q. How come the People so horribly to perish, when it was *David*s Fault, and none of *Theirs*, that the People was Numbred? v. 1.
A. The People had been guilty of horrible Rebellion against God, in *Rebelling* against His chosen Servant, the Figure (and Parent) of the Messiah. Twice had they newly made an Insurrection against our *David*; Once with *Absalom*, and then with *Sheba*. God would now punish the People for this *Their* Wickedness. But now, that so *David* might not grow proud upon this Occasion of the Lords appearing for him, God leaves him to a Fault about the *Numbring* of the People, which gives an Opportunity for him to be Humbled, as having an Hand in the Provocation that brought the Plague upon them.

Q. What might be the Land of *Tahtim-hadshi*? v. 6.
A. Tis in English, *The Netherlands newly inhabited*.

It was probably, the low Countrey lying about the Lake *Semechonites*, which Lake lay North of the Lake of *Gennesareth*, between it, and the Head of *Jordan*, and had a great deal of marshy Ground about it. This marshy Tract might probably be improved by draining, and so made Habitable, & have this Name given to it.

Q. What was the Sin of *David*, in his *Numbring* the People? v. 10.
A. Dr. *Patrick* thinks, That after all, we must content ourselves with what *Ralbag* saies; whom *Abarbanel* also followes, after his Examination of other Opinions. *David* being the Anointed of the Lord, & signally advanced & prospered by Him; yett now made Flesh his Arm, & confided in the *Number* of his People; wherein such a King as he, should not have placed his Confidence, but in the Lord, who can *save by few as well as by many*.

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207 Patrick, *A Commentary* (601), citing Abravanel, *Commentary on the former Prophets* (see *II Samuel: A New English Translation* 443).

Abarbanel adds, The Greatness of a Sin is not alwayes to be measured from the Sin itself, but by the Quality & Dignity of him that committeth it. Thus *Moses* and *Aaron* were punished for a small Sin.[208]

~~268.~~

Q. Can you observe any *Curiositie*, in the Terms, which the Language of Heaven, uses concerning *David*, after his Numbring of the People? v. 12.
A. Yes. When *David* was purposing to build an House for God, the Lord said, in 2. Sam. 7.9. *Go and tell my Servant David*. But when *David* had sinned in his Numbring of the People, then the Language is altered, in 2. Sam. 24.12. *Go and say unto David*. There is no greater Testimony of the Divine Favour unto any one, than for him to bee owned, *A Servant of God*.

[247v] |

~~787~~.

Q. Here are *Seven Years Famine* offered unto sinning *David*: but [in 1. Chron. 21.12.] it is but *Three Years Famine*. How do these things agree? v. 13.
A. Wonderfully well; And with our Illustration of this Matter, wee shall sett the Clock of *Time* right, for the whole Reign of *David*.

Know then, That *Three* Years, of the Famine, for the Slaying of the *Gibeonites* had been out; and while the *Fourth* Year was Running, *David* fell into the Sin of Numbring the People. That Year of Numbring being well-nigh expired, *Three* Years more of a Famine Threatned, make up the *Seven*.

Now the First of the Seven Years, Famine, was the Year that next followed after *Absalom*s Rebellion; As, That Year of the Rebellion, was Forty Years, after *David*s first Anointing in *Bethlehem*; Before which year, *Saul* had Reigned Three Years; and tho' hee Reigned Five Years after it, yett those are not reckoned into his Reign, because the Lord had now rejected him.

Q. The *Number* of them who died? v. 15.
A. Seventy Thousand Men. If the Plague had raged three Dayes, and in every Nine Hours had killed so many, above a Third Part of those who were numbred, would have died by this Plague. But, as *Kimchi* here observes, By the great Mercy of God, the Time was contracted.[209]

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208 Patrick, *A Commentary* (606–07), citing Ralbag, or Levi ben Gerson, and Abravanel, *Commentary on the former Prophets* (*see Samuel II, A New English Translation* 443).
209 Patrick, *A Commentary* (610), citing David Kimhi (*see Samuel II: A New English Translation* 448–49).

~~2912~~{?}.

Q. We read, *The Lord sent a Pestilence upon Israel, from the Morning even to the Time appointed*. What is meant by, *The Time Appointed*? v. 15.

A. It may be rendred, *The Time of the Congregation*.[210] The same Word /מוצד/ is used, when we read of, *The Tabernacle of the Congregation*. Compare Psal. 74.18. It[211] means therefore, the Time of the Peoples *Coming together*, for the *Evening Sacrifice*, which was at three a clock in the Afternoon. *Jerom* in his *Hebrew Traditions* does confirm this Opinion.[212] The Pestilence then raged for a Matter of *Nine Hours*. If Seventy Thousand were slain in that Space, what would have been, if the Pestilence had proceeded in its Rage for *Three Dayes*? But, as *Kimchi* expresses it, *ex Dei Misericordiâ Pestis Tempus contractum est* [As Mar. 13.20].[213]

~~788.~~

Q. *The Angel with a drawn Sword over Jerusalem*; *but Restrained by the Lord*: was there any thing singular, in the Place of this Vision? v. 16.

A. There was *This*; It was in the very Place, where *Abraham* once had his *Knife Drawn to slay his Son*, but was *Restrained* by a Command from Heaven. –

Perhaps[214] he appeared, not unlike that Sort of *Comet*, which they call by the Name of *Xiphias*.

1923.

Q. The *Place*, where the *Temple* was built, is there any Ingenious and Profitable Remark, to bee made upon it? v. 18.

A. Tis a Passage, in the Life of Mr. *Ph. Henry*; To quicken People unto Diligence and Liveliness, in the Worship of God, hee would sometimes observe, *That the Temple was Built upon a Threshing Floor*, a Place of Labour.[215]

By[216] the Way, Mount *Moriah* had Three Tops, or Hills, adjoining to one another, *Zion*, and *Moriah*, and *Calvary*. The whole Ridge of these Mountains, was of old called, *Moriah*; But after *David* had rendred *Zion* famous, the Name of the whole Ridge came to be *Zion*; And the Temple was built on *Zion*.

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210 מוֹעֵד [mo'ed], "meeting-place, meeting, assembly, appointed time, fixed day."

211 Mather drew a small heart in the margin beside this sentence.

212 Mather cites Jerome, possibly *Commentarii in Ezechielem*, lib. 4, cap. 14, line 578 [PL 25. 120A; cf. Glorie {1964} CCL 75]. There, it reads: *si autem et pestilentiam immisero super terram illam, et effudero indignationem meam super eam in sanguine, ut auferam ex ea hominem et iumentum*, […] ("But if I send a pestilence on this earth and spread out my indignation over it with blood, in order to take away man and cattle, […].")

213 "The duration of the pestilence was shortened by the mercy of God." David Kimhi (*see Samuel II, A New English Translation* 448–49).

214 Ink changes from black to dark brown.

215 Matthew Henry, *An Account of the Life and Death of Mr. Philip Henry* (1698), p. 224.

216 Ink changes from black to dark brown.

Q. *David bought the Threshing-floor, & the Oxen, for fifty Shekels of Silver*. In the *Chronicles* we read, *He gave him Six hundred Shekels of Gold, by Weight*?[217] v. 24.
A. Dr. *Patrick* solves the Difficulty thus. For the *Threshing-floor* & the *Oxen*, he gave only *Fifty Shekels of Silver*. But all the Ground about it, (out of which the Courts of the House of God were afterwards made,) cost him *Six hundred Shekels of Gold*.[218]

Q. But what Relation to this affair have the *Oxen*, and the *Threshing Instruments*? v. 24.
A. The *Business* of the Floor, which was *Threshing*, was carried on by *Oxen*. Compare Isa. XXVIII.27, 28.

The Turning of the *Cartwheel* on the Grain, may be alluded to, in Prov. XX.26. *The Wheel brought over the Wicked*.

The *Threshing* Instruments, of *Yokes* & *Wheels* & the rest, would afford much more Wood for the Sacrifice, than many *Flails* that would have done.

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217 1 Chron. 21:25.
218 Patrick, *A Commentary* (614).

Q. That Business, of *David*s being cherished by *Abishag*; what was the true State of it? v. 1.

A. The extreme Infrigidation, which befel *David*, may have many Causes assigned for it. Some of the Jewish *Rabbins* tell us, T'was a Chastisement upon him, for cutting off the Garment of *Saul*. Others of them tell us, T'was the Effect of a Fright conceived by him at the Sight of the *Destroying Angel*. These Conjectures are less pertinent far away, than *that* of those who tell us, That his being the youngest Son, of old and cold Parents, did contribute unto this Weakness in him. After all, the true Account is, That hee was about *Seventy Years* of Age, and hee had at this Age, more then *Seven hundred* Griefs & Cares to mortify him; and, as *Lyranus* adds, hee had spent much *Blood*, in the Bloody Wars, wherein hee had spent his Dayes.[1] All this together, chill'd him: they made him, as hee himself elsewhere expresses it, *Like a Bottel in the Smoke*! Now, to cure this *Chilness* & excite the *Native Heat* now almost extinguished in him, they took the most *Natural Course* in the World. But in order hereunto I conceive, with *Jerom* & others, That *Abishag* became the *Wife* of *David*.[2] And, whereas, *Adonijah* desired her afterwards, in Marriage, that which emboldened him was, That her Marriage to his Father, never had been *Consummated*. Besides, you know how hee paid for a Demand, That had so much Approche, & Colour, of *Incest* in it.

Mr.[3] *Capel* has a Remark upon it; That there is hardly one Man in a Thousand, but one way or another, more or less, he cutts off Some of his Dayes.[4] *David* was Bedrid, about the Age, that his Father begat him.

Q. *The Stone of Zoheleth, which is by En-rogel*?] v. 9.

A. *Bochart* observes, The Hebrew Word, *Zohel*,[5] signifies, *A slow Motion*.

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1 Nicholas of Lyra, *Postilla super totam Bibliam*, vol. 2, in loc.

2 "David once had been a man of war, but in his seventieth year old age had chilled him and he could never get warm. Accordingly they looked for a girl in all the land of Israel and brought in Abishag the Shunamite to sleep with the king and warm his aged limbs." Jerome, "Letter 52: To Nepotian," § 2, in *Letters of St. Jerome,* in *NPNFii* 6:89. See also PL 22.528; cf. Hilberg (1910) CSEL 54.

3 Ink changes from medium brown to light brown.

4 Possibly Ludovicus Capellus (Louis Cappel), *Critica Sacra* (1650), on 1 Kings 1:2, lib. V, p. 329.

5 זֹחֶלֶת [zohel], derived from *zoheleth*, "serpent."

The *Fullers* here pressed out the Water, which Dropped from the Clothes, that they had washed in this Well. *Josephus* tells us, The Kings Gardens Lay near this Well; which is also affirmed by *Procopius Gazæus*.[6]

[248v] |

~~4830.~~

Q. What Remark has been made by some, on those Words of *Bathsheba*, to *David*; *Lett my Lord King David live forever*? v. 31.

A. *Munster* ha's one, that seems not unworthy to be Remembred;

Cum David propinquus esset morti, non potest verbum istud nisi de futuro intelligi Sæculo.[7]

Q. Why must *Solomon* be *Anointed*? We do not read of every *Kings* being so? v. 34.

A. When the *Lawful Succession* failed, then the *Next King* was *Anointed*. The *Lawful* and *First-born* Successors, were supposed to be *Anointed* in their Progenitor.

But if there were any Remarkable *Strife* about the *Succession*, this also made a *New Unction* to be seasonable. This was the Case of *Solomon*. He must be secured from *Adonijah*s Pretensions.

It has been observed by some of the Curious, That *Saul* and *Jehu* were Anointed, /בפן השמן/ *Vase Unguentario*; which portended the Brevity of their Empire. But *David* and *Solomon*, /בקרן/ *Coram Unguentario*, with a copious Quantity, to denote a Longer Duration of their Kingdome.

[249r] |

Q. Who, or What, were the *Cherethites* and *Pelethites*, often mentioned in the Reigns of *David* and *Solomon*? v. 38.

A. Some of the Jewish Rabbins, deriving of /כרתי/ from /כרת/ *Præscindere*; and /פלתי/ from /פלה/ *Mirabile esse*,[8] have understood these *Cherethites* and *Pelethites* to bee the *Kings most Honourable Privy-Council*, or if you will, the Great *Sanhedrim*, thus called, *quasi Præcisores Verborum suorum*, i.e. *paucorum Verborum*, et, *quasi mirificos et excellentes in Factis suis*.[9] Others have suspected

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6 Simon Patrick, *A Commentary upon the two Books of Kings* (1705), pp. 4–5, citing Bochart, *Hierozoicon* (pars prior, lib. I, cap. IX, cols. 53–72); Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* (7.14.4); Procopius Gazaeus, *In libros regum, et Paralipomenon scholia* (172).

7 "With David close to death, this cannot be the word of the world to be understood about the future." Münster, *Hebraica Biblia*, in loc. (309).

8 כְּרֵתִי [kerethiy], פְּלֵתִי [pelethiy]; *Praescindere*: "prescind, separate" from; *mirabile esse*: "something remarkable."

9 "As it were, men precise in their words, that is of few words, and, as it were, marvelous and excellent in their doings."

them to bee a Sort of, *Serjeants at Arms*, or, *Lictors,* employ'd for the *Punishing* of the Guilty, [so the *Cherethites*, or, *Excisores*,] and the *Rescuing* of the Innocent, [so the *Pelethites*, or, *Liberatores*.] I confess, both of these Interpretations, to bee more Likely, than the Jewish Figment, that *Crethi*, and *Plethi*, were the *Urim* and *Thummin*. Nevertheless, wee will advance nigher to the true Sense, by the ensuing Assertions.

First, It is plain, that the *Cherethites* and the *Pelethites* were *Souldiers*. You find them still every where, carried forth to Battels, and used in all Dangerous Expeditions. Tis for this Cause, that wee have *Them* here concerned, in that *Perillous Action*, The Proclamation of King *Solomon*.

Secondly, It is as plain, That they were not *Common Souldiers*, but a *Select Band* of Men, and indeed, the *Life-Guard* unto the Kings of *Israel*. They were, like the *Cohors Prætoria*, among the *Romans*, & the *Cohors Amicorum*, among the *Macedonians*. Hence, they were not under *Joab*, who was the General of the *Common Forces*, but under *Benajah*. Hence they stood to *David* in the Time of *Absalom*s Rebellion, when the rest of the World abandon'd him. Nor is the *Life-Guard* of those Princes mentioned any where in the Scripture, as one would think it should bee, as well as other their lesser Circumstances, if *These* were not *It*. Briefly, they were to the King, as *Josephus* tells us, The Σωματοφύλακες, *et qui stipabant latera Regis, nec unquam ab eo discedebant*.[10]

Thirdly; It seems, that the *Cherethites* and *Pelethites* were not listed from every Sort of People, but from some special *Nations* or *Families*. Tis very certain, that *Cherith*, was a Region of the *Philistines*. [Consider, 1. Sam. 30.10, 14.] To this Purpose, *Henricus Opitius*, whom I am now consulting, gives us Two Texts more. [Zeph. 2.5. and Ezek. 25.16.][11] Tis no matter, tho' the most Ancient Versions do read here, *A Nation of Perdition*; for tis but an Allusion to the Etymology of the Name; q.d. *I will cutt off, those that have been Cutters off*. But may not a Noted Family in *Israel* Come under this Denomination? Wee also find one *Peleth*, among the Sons of *Reuben*. [Num. 16.1.] And another *Peleth*, among the Sons of *Jonathan.* [1. Chron. 2.33.] Why might not the Kings of *Israel*, have a Guard, culled out from a Family or Two, singularly Famous, for some Remarkable Vertues?

| Fourthly; They seem to have been a Generation of Men, extraordinarily [249v] Expert, at the Use of *Darts* and *Slings*. And what if after all, they should therefore bee found, *Philistæan* Proselytes; used by the Kings of *Israel*, as the *Swissers* are at this Day, by some Kings in *Europe*?[12]

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10 "The body guards and those who closely surrounded the sides of the king and never departed away from him." For references to Benaiah as "captain of the guards" in Josephus, *see Antiquitates Judaicae* (7.5.4, 11.8, 14.4).

11 German theologian and orientalist and professor at Kiel, Henricus Opitius (Heinrich Opitz) (1642–1712), *Davidis & Salomonis Satellitium Crethi & Plethi* (1672), p. 18.

12 Alluding to the famous Swiss Guard at the papal seat in Rome.

Lastly; The Number of them is to *us*, undetermined. There is a Passage in the *Canticles*, which intimates, that they waited on the King, by *Threescore* at a Time. And by the Number of the Golden *Shields* & *Bucklers* præpared by *Solomon* for the Use of his Guards, they seem to have been *Five-hundred* in all.

But it is now time to Dismiss the *Guards*.

Q. It is a Quæstion, To what *Altar* did *Adonijah* fly? v. 50.

A. Whether to that in the Tabernacle at *Gibeon*; or, to that newly built, in the Threshing Floor of *Araunah*? Some think, to this last. For this was the nearest. It is not here said, as it is in the Case of *Joab*; That he *fled to the Tabernacle of the Lord*.[13]

13 Patrick, *A Commentary* (18–19).

4831.

Q. What may be the Difference between, *Statutes*, and *Commandments*, and *Judgments*, and *Testimonies*? v. 3.
A. Take *Munster*s Gloss upon it.
Statutes are, *Quorum Ratio ignoratur*.
Præcepts are, *Quandò additur verbum* (*Seu, Ratio*) *præcipiendi*.
Judgments are, *Quæ inter Hominem et proximum suum decernuntur*.
Testimonies are, *Quæ aliquid testantur, sive alicujus rei memoriam faciunt*; as the *Sabbath*, and the *Passover*, & the like.[14]

Q. The Direction given to *Solomon* about *Shimei*; *Hold him not guiltless*? v. 9.
A. *Abarbanel* glosses, His Design was not to putt him to Death, for his cursing him. He only admonishes *Solomon*, that he should never Trust him, nor follow his Advice; but saies hee, "If he do to thee, as he did to me, or any Wayes offend thee, do not Forgive him, as I did." *David* knew *Shimei*'s Humour so well, he made no Doubt, he would quickly give *Solomon* Occasion to cutt him off.[15]

Q. *Adonijah*'s petition, what was there of *Treason* in it? v. 23.
A. According to the Custome of the Hebrews, No Man who had been the Servant of the King, might serve any other Master; nor might any Man Ride on the Kings Horse or Sitt on the Kings Throne; or make Use of the Royal Scepter. So they say, in the Book, *Sanhedrin*. Much less might any private Person marry the *Kings Widow*. The Successor had the Dispose of her. So the Wives of *Saul* were given to *David*. *Adonijah*s Desire to marry such an one, was look'd on, as an affecting of the Kingdome. Thus *Cocceius* glosses upon it. And it is plain, *Adonijah* understood *Abishag* to be wholly in the Power of *Solomon*, to whom he therefore makes his Application.[16]

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14 "Statutes are the reason of which is not known. Precepts are when a word (or reason) of prescription is added. Judgments are decided between a man and his neighbor. Testimonies are something witnessed, or making remembrance of something." Münster, *Hebraica Biblia*, in loc. (311).
15 Patrick, *A Commentary* 24. On Abravanel on 1 Kings 2:9, *see I Kings: A New English Translation* (1980), 20.
16 Patrick, *A Commentary* (29), citing *Sanhedrin* (ch. 2, § 2, 5), as found in the version of 17th-century Dutch theologian and professor at Franeker and Leiden Johannes Cocceius, *Excerpta Gemarae Thalmudicae tractatus de Synedrio (Sanhedrin)* (1701), cap. 2, p. 197.

Q. *Anathoth*; where? v. 26.
A. A Sacerdotal City of *Benjamin*. *Eusebius* and *Jerom* tell us, Tis Three Miles to the Northward of *Jerusalem*.[17] The Prophet *Jeremiah* belonged unto it.

~~4832.~~

Q. Why would *Joab* fly to the *Horns of the Altar*; being so wise a Man, and so skilled in the *Law*, (the Jewes tell us, He was the Præsident of the *Sanhedrim*,) when the *Law* saies, That one in his Condition was to be taken from the *Horns of the Altar*? v. 28.
A. The Hebrewes Answer, That he could propose no Advantage from it, but only this; He obtained hereby the Favour of being *Buried with his Fathers*; which Favour would have been Denyed him, if he had been executed in another Manner, or by another Sentence. Others[18] tell us, T'was to save his Estate for his Family. *No*.[19]

Q. Why would *Solomon* give order, *Go fall upon him*? v. 29.
A. *Abarbanel* Saies, It was not for the murder of *Abner* and *Amasa*; But the Remembrance thereof moved him, not to pardon the Faults newly Committed; In setting up *Adonijah*; and in the New Plott, of advising him to beg for *Abishag*.[20]

[▽251r] [▽Insert from 251r][21]
Q. On *Joabs* flying to the *Horns of the Altar*, may we not Remark a little further? v. 30.
A. On the *Four Corners* of the *Altar*, and on the last Benching in, where the Priests had their Standing, when they offered the Sacrifices, there were fixed Four small Pillars of a Cubit heighth, and a Cubit on every Side, in the Form of an exact Cube: And these were the *Horns of the Altar* so often mentioned in the Scripture. The Middle of each of them was Hollow; because therein was to be putt some of the Blood of the Sacrifices.

As for the Reasons of *Joab*s Flight hither, that he might have a Burial, or save his Estate, there is nothing in them. It is more probable, that he hoped

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17 Jerome, *Commentariorum In Jeremiam Prophetam Libri Sex* [PL 24.682C–]; *see also* Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* (10.7.3.)
18 This last sentence may be a later addition.
19 Patrick, *A Commentary* (31–32). Because this column is tightly written, Mather did not have space here to amplify his rejection of the last point beyond his concluding "No." It may be that the word is a later insertion. Patrick (*A Commentary* 32) likewise took the reasons given as "mere conceits." Mather did add a small scrap on which he provided his further thoughts, derived from Patrick, on the issue; *see* entry after next, on v. 30.
20 Patrick, *A Commentary* (32), citing Abravanel, *Commentary on the former prophets,* on 1 Kings 2:29 (*see I Kings: A New English Translation* 25).
21 A duodecimo scrap glued with sealing wax perpendicularly on the left edge of 250v.

hereby to obtain a Pardon, as *Abiathar* had, by consecrating himself unto the Service of God. The Laying hold on the *Altar*, had a *Vow* in it for the Future, as well as an *Hope* of present Safety. Whatsoever touched the *Altar*, must be *Holy*. But *Joab*s Crimes had rendred him uncapable of being such a Votary.[22]
[△Insert ends] [△]
| [blank] [251v]

Q. Why did *Joab* say, *I will dy here*. v. 30.
A. Some say, That he might bring *Solomon* into the Peoples Hatred, for staining the House of God with Blood.[23] If *Solomon* did not order him to be drag'd from thence, twas to lett all Men see, that no Place, tho' never so Holy, should secure any Man from Justice.

| [250v]
~~3667~~{?}.

Q. The Impotency of *Shimei*, to bear his Confinement unto *Jerusalem*, have you mett with any Passages in profane History, that may Resemble it and Illustrate it? v. 36.
A. Yes, I have. And among the rest, I find in the Life of the Duke of *Ossuna*, printed at *Amsterdam*, in the Year 1699, a Passage, which when I read, I could not but think of *Shimei*; and it seem'd unto me, to cast some Light, as well upon the Expectation of *Solomon*, as the Inclination of *Shimei*.

It is in that History, noted, That the Duke of *Ossuna*, took Delight in giving some singular Judgments, on particular & peculiar Cases. And this is one of the Instances.

There was a very rich Merchant of *Naples*, Called *James Morel*, above Seventy Years old, who boasted, That he had gained all his Estate, without ever going out of the City of *Naples*; and indeed he had not stirr'd out of it, for Eight and Forty Years. The Duke, who was Viceroy of *Naples*, being informed thereof, sent an Officer to forbid him at any time to go out of the Kingdome of *Naples*, on Pain of Ten Thousand Crowns. At first, the Merchant laughed at the Prohibition; but a little after, he did so much Torment himself, to think, what might be the Viceroy's Reasons, that he could not sleep, but fell into such a Melancholy, as endangered his Life. To rid himself of his Torment, he sent the Ten Thousand Crowns unto the Viceroy, took Coach, & went into the Dominions of the Church, where he staid only One Night, and Returned unto *Naples* on the Fourth Day. The Viceroy bestowed Five Thousand Crowns of the Summ, on the Hospital of the Maimed, and Wounded; and sent the other Five

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22 This paragraph taken from Patrick, *A Commentary* (32).
23 Patrick, *A Commentary* (33).

Thousand back unto the Merchant, with a Message, That this was enough to teach how the *Capricio*'s of *Fools* were to be chastised.[24]

Was not *Shimei* one of these *Fools*?

Q. *Solomon*s Order is, *In the Day thou passest over the Brook Kidron, thou shalt surely dy*. He did not pass over the *Brook*? v. 37.

A. *Solomon* mentions the *Brook Kidron*, because that was in the Way to *Bahurim*, where *Shimei* had his Habitation. But *Solomon*s Intention was, That if he went out of *Jerusalem* any Way, to a greater Distance than *Kidron* was from thence, he should Dy for it. For when he went unto *Gath*, after his Run-away Servants, he went the quite contrary way. That City lay Westward of *Jerusalem*, as *Kidron* did East-ward.[25]

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24 Gregorio Leti (1630–1701), Italian historian and critic of the Catholic church, *Vita di D. Pietro Giron duca d'ossuna*, 3 vols. (1699).

25 Patrick, *A Commentary* (37).

1. Kings. Chap. 3. [252r]

Q. *Solomon* here marries *Pharoahs* Daughter? v. 1.
A. Before he was King, he married an *Ammonitish* Woman, who was the Mother of *Rehoboam*; as is evident from the Age of that King. She was doubtless a proselyte unto the Jewish Religion, or else his Father *David* would scarce have allowed of it. And the Daughter of the *Egyptian* King *Vaphries*, whom he now espoused, was doubtless also a Proselyte: as may be gathered from the Words immediately following; Solomon *loved the Lord, & walked in the Statutes of* David *his Father*.

Q. *Solomon*s going to *Gibeon*, to *Sacrifice*? v. 4.
A. The *Tabernacle* was there, & the great *Brazen Altar* made by *Moses*.
After *Shiloh* was destroy'd, it was carried unto *Nob*. And when the Priests were there slain by *Saul*, it was carried from *Nob*, to *Gibeon*. Here, the Jews tell us, was the greatest Synagogue in all the Land.[26]

Q. How Could *Solomon* say, *I am but a Little Child*? v. 7.
A. It is doubtless a Mistake of *Rasi*, & others, who make him no more than Twelve years old, when he Spake these words.
Abarbanel showes, that if this were true, he must be but Seven or Eight years old, when he began to Reign; for he had now satt some Time on the Throne. This could not well be; for his Father called him, *A Wise Man*,[27] when he Left the Throne unto him. He could not be less than Twenty years old, when he began to Reign. And he now calls himself a *Child*, with respect only to Skill in managing public Affairs. He adds therefore, *I know not how to go out, or how to come in*. Thus *Benjamin* was called a *Child*; [Gen. XLVI.20.] And so *Joshua*; [Exod. 32.10.] tho' they were above Thirty Years old. And the Sons of *Eli*, when they ministred as *Priests*, [1. Sam. 2.17.] were styled so.[28]

| [252v]

Q. The *Wisdome* of *Solomon*, in discovering the true Mother of the Child, by ordering the *Dividing* of it? v. 25.
A. *Abarbanel* thinks, that this Way to discover the Compassion of the true Mother, and the true Mother by her Compassion, was no extraordinary Proof of

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26 Patrick, *A Commentary* (41–42).
27 1 Kings 2:9.
28 Patrick, *A Commentary* (44), citing Solomon Jarchi, or Rashi, and Abravanel, *Commentary on the former prophets*. As a possible source, *see* Rashi, *Commentarius Hebraicus in libros Josuae, Judicum, Ruth, Samuelis, etc.* (1714). Cf. *I Kings: A New English Translation* (33).

Wisdome in *Solomon*, above what might have been in another Man. He thinks, That *Solomon* made a Discovery of the Truth, Antecedent unto this Experiment, by observing the *Contenance* of the Women, their *Manner* of *Speech*, and all their *Motions*. By such Circumstances, he discerned the Secrets of their Hearts, and penetrated unto the very Bottom of the Business. The Command for the *Dividing of the Child*, made evident unto all, what he was himself already sensible of.[29]

29 Patrick, *A Commentary* (50), citing Abravanel, *Commentary on the former Prophets*; *see I Kings: A New English Translation* (37).

Q. Why only the *Fathers* of the Gentlemen here named? v. 8, 9.
A. Dr. *Patrick* saies, Because the *Fathers* were Illustrious Persons, and better known than their *Sons*; and perhaps *they* managed this affayr, by their *Sons*.

Except you'l read, *Ben-Hur*, and *Ben-Dekar*, & so the rest.[30]

~~789~~{?}.

Q. There were Twelve Chief Officers for the Provision of *Solomon*s Houshold, for the Twelve Months in the Year. About the last of them, tis said, *Hee was in the Countrey of Gilead, & hee was the only Officer that was in the Land*: How take you that Account? v. 19.
A. I'l tell you, how the Jewish Rabbins read it: *And One Officer, which was in the Land, for the Leap-year*; or the Thirteenth Month, which befel every Third Year.[31]

But there is nothing in the Hebrew, answering to these Words, *He was*. Wherefore this Clause may not relate unto *Geber*, the Officer mentioned in the Beginning of the Verse. *Abarbanel* expounds it, That besides all those Officers before Named, there was another, who took Care of all Strangers, either going to the Court, or coming from it;[32] As the other Twelve took Care of the Royal Family, & all belonging to it. This Officer made Provision in that Countrey, where the King then dwelt; and therefore is not named, because he was not settled in his Office, as the others were; but chosen by the Citizens of that City, where the King resided.

| [253v]

Q. Why is it here added, *Judah & Israel were many, as the Sand*? v. 20.
A. *Abarbanel* thinks, this & the next Verse explain the Reason, why the Officer mentioned in the Verse preceding was appointed. First, Because *Judah* and *Israel* were so great a People; And, Secondly, Because there came Strangers from several Regions, to bring Presents, or about other Business. It was necessary, there should be such an Officer as this, to sett a Reasonable Price upon all things that were sold in the Market; that they might not exact upon any body, when

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30 Patrick, *A Commentary* (54).
31 On "the Jewish Rabbins," specifically Rashi and Sanhedrin (12a), *see I Kings: A New English Translation* (40; cf. Tosefta Baba Bathra, ch. 2:4).
32 Abravanel, *Commentary on the former Prophets*, in loc.; *see I Kings: A New English Translation* (39). The remainder of the entry is taken from Patrick, *A Commentary* (56).

they saw a Multitude of Buyers, which might have Tempted them to sell their Commodities too dear.[33]

Q. *Solomon*s Provision for one Day; *Thirty Measures* of *Fine Flowre*, for the Superiour People of the Family, and *Sixty* Measures of *Meal*, or a coarser Flowre for the Inferior Servants? v. 22.
A. The *Measure* here spoken of, contained *Ten Ephahs*. Accordingly, some compute Bread enough here provided, for near Three Thousand Persons.[34]

Q. What was the *Tiphsah* here mentioned? v. 24.
A. *Tiphsah* is the same with the City *Tapsacus*; where there was a *Bridge*, & a Ferry over *Euphrates*; as tis testified by *Strabo*, in many Places. And the Name implies as much. For /פסח/ is, *Transire*, To *Passeover*.[35]

Q. Why is it said of *Solomon*, He *had Largeness of Heart, even as the Sand that is on the Sea-Shore*? v. 29.
A. Why not, for the Multitude of his *Idæas*? Or, because, as the *Sand of the Sea*, encompasses all the Coasts of the World, where we inhabit, so did his mind comprehend all things, as well Humane as Divine.

[▽254r] [▽Insert from 254r][36]
Q. The excelling Wisdome of *Solomon*? v. 30.
A. It excelled the *Wisdome* of all the *Children of the East Countrey*. There are some, who by these *Eastern Sages*, understand the *Chaldæans*. But these were more of a Northern People; nor did they begin to be famous for Learning, till the Reign of *Nabonassar*. The *Tyrians* can't be meant, as *Pinæda* imagines. For they were a *Western* People. The Oriental *Arabians* are doubtless intended. It appears by the Book of *Job*, that these were famous for Wisdome in ancient Times. In after-ages, *Porphyrie* reports, that *Pythagoras* travelled into this Countrey, to improve himself in Learning. Here were many of those Wise Men called *Magi*, as well as among the *Persians*. Thus *Conringius*; and our *Patrick*, out of him.[37]

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33 Patrick, *A Commentary* (57), citing Abravanel, *Commentary on the former prophets*, in loc.; *see I Kings: A New English Translation* (39).
34 Patrick, *A Commentary* (57–58).
35 תִּפְסַח [tiphcach]. Patrick, *A Commentary* (59), citing Strabo, *Geographica*, (6.2.21).
36 A small scrap formerly attached to the previous leaf with sealing wax, inserted here per Mather's cue marks (*see* App. B).
37 Patrick, *A Commentary* (63–64), citing Joannes de Pineda, author of *Salomonem Commentarios Salomon prævius, id est De Rebus Salomonis Regis libri octo* (1609); Cyril, C*ontra Julianum*, lib. X, on Porphyry; and Hermannus Conringius, *De Antiquitatibus Academicis Dissertationes … Accessit Supplementorum* (1674), Supp. V.

Abarbinel, takes *Kedem*, to signify, not, *The East*, but, *Ancient Time*. The *Children of Kedem*, are those who were born in the *Dayes of Old*; when Men lived some Hundreds of Years, & so improved themselves in Knowledge (especially Astronomical,) far more than it was possible for Men to do, after Humane Life came under the present Abbreviation. The Following Words, our *Patrick* thinks, do argue, that this is rather a Forced Sense.

The *Wisdome of Egypt* comes in. A Countrey celebrated for *Wisdome* in the | Dayes of *Moses.* [Act. VII.22.] *Egypt* is by *Macrobius* called, *Mater Artium*.[38] [254v] It was famous especially for Astrology. He saies, *Primos omnium cœlos scrutari et metiri ausos fuisse*.[39] The great Serenity of their Air, gave them Opportunity. Their *Civil Prudence* was also celebrated. [Isa. XIX.11.]

And then, the particular Gentlemen, that come into the Comparison. We read of one *Heman*, a Grand-Child of *Samuel*, who was also a Prophet. [1. Chron. VI.33. and XXV.5.] At the same time, there was one *Ethan*, a Levite of the Posterity of *Merari*; who is joined with *Heman* and *Asaph*, as principal Singers; [1. Chron. VI.46. and XV.17.] If the Four Persons here mentioned, *Ethan*, and *Heman*, and *Chalcol*, and *Darda*, were the Sons of *Zerah*, and the Grandsons of *Judah*, [1. Chron. II.6.] They were such as lived long before the Dayes of *Solomon*. But this is confuted by calling of them, *The Sons of Mahol*. Except he had Two Names; and the last were given him, on the Score of his being a skilful Magician; for *Mahol* signifies, *A Pipe*.[40]
[△Insert ends] [△]

Q. We often read about, *The Cedars of Lebanon*? v. 33.
A. The *Cedars* of *Lebanon* were the noblest & largest kind of that Vegetable. The *Phœnician Cedar* is magnified by the Ancients. The *Cedar* of *Libanus*, is a Coniferous Tree; it bears Cones, or Cloggs; (not Berries:) of such a Bigness, that *Melchior Lussy*, a great Traveller, found one upon *Libanus*, as big as Seven Men could compass.[41] There are some now so curious, as keep the Branches, and *Cones* thereof, among the rare Collections of their Cabinets.

The true *Cedar* of *Libanus,* employ'd in the Temple of *Solomon*, has been much destroyed and neglected, & is now very thin. *Bellonius* could reckon but twenty Eight; *Radzevil*, but twenty four; *Biddulph*, the same Number.[42] And a

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38 "Mother of arts." Macrobius, *Saturnalia* (1.15).
39 "First of all examine and measure the heavens."
40 מָחוֹל [machowl] (1 Kings 4:31), which Strong translates as "dancing," not Mather's "pipe."
41 Melchior Lussy (1529–1606), Swiss statesman, representative at the Council of Trent (1562–63), and founder of a Capuchin monastery, *Reißbuch gen Hierusalem* (1590).
42 From Sir Thomas Browne, Certain miscellany tracts (tract 1, col. 40, p. 64), Mather cites seventeenth-century French naturalist and classicist Petrus Bellonius (Pierre Belon), *De Arboribus coniferis* (1553), lib. I, p. 4; Prince Nicolaus Christoph Radziwill (1549–1616) of Vilna (Lithuania), whose travels to the Holy Land are recorded in *Hierosolymitana Perigrinatio*

later Account of some English Travellers tells us, They are now but in One Place of a very small Compass in *Libanus*.

Now *Cedar* is fetch'd from *America*.

630.

Q. What is become of *Solomon*s Book of *Botanicks*, whereof wee have this Report; *Hee spake of Trees, from the Cedar-Tree, that is in Lebanon, even unto the Hyssop that springeth out of the Wall*? v. 33.

A. Great have been the Lamentations of learned Men, upon the Loss of that *Book*. And I will not myself now entertain them, with that confident Exclamation, *I have found it*. But I'l offer you something to bee further considered thereabout.

The *Targum* reads these Words thus, *Hee prophecied of the Kings of the House of David, in this World, & of the Messiah in the World to Come*.[43] I pray, what Occasion could the *Targumists* have, to mention this Thing in this Place?

Is not the *Book of Canticles* here intended? Therein under an Allegory of *Trees*, *Herbs* & *Spices* doth *Solomon* prophetically sett forth the Grace & Love, of the Lord Jesus Christ unto His Church.

What tho', the *Hyssop*, is not particularly mentioned in that *Song*? *Plants* of all Sorts are therein employ'd, as Colours for the Evangelical Mysteries there contained. And, *From the Cedar that is in Lebanon, even unto the Hyssop that springeth out of the Wall*, may bee a Proverbial, and Hyperbolical Expression, to signify, *Plants of all Sorts*.

Q. What particular *Plants* may be meant, by, *The Hyssop that springs out of the Wall*? v. 33.

A. The *Hyssop* of *Canaan*, is observed by *Bellonius*, to differ much from ours.[44]

It is plain, *The Hyssop of the Wall*, is none of ours. But it is plainly a Kind of minor *Capillary*, which best makes out the Antithesis to the *Cedar*.

Some will have *Ezub*, to be the same with the Ethiopian Word, *Azub*, which signifies, *Mint*.

But *Bochart* maintains *Hyssop* to be here meant. The Jews reckon Four Sorts, whereof One may grow upon *Walls*.

Illustrissimi Domini Nicolai Christophori Radzivili (1601) (*see* p. 26 f.); and William Biddulph, English traveler who wrote under the penname, "Theophilus Lavender," *The trauels of certaine Englishmen* (1609), p. 40.

43 Targum Jonathan (Chaldee Paraphrast) on 3 Kings 4:33, in Walton, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (2:424).

44 From Browne, Certain miscellany tracts (tract 1, col. 2, p. 7), Mather cites Pierre Belon, *Les observations de plusieurs singularitez et choses memorables trouvées en Grece, Asie, Iudée, Egypte, Arabie et autres pays estranges* (1588), lib. I, cap. LXXVI, p. 167.

And yett, no necessity for that; what we translate *On the Wall*,[45] may signify, *Near*, or, *By the Wall*.[46]

45 בַּקִּיר; קִיר [keer], or קִר qir (Isa. 22:5), or (fem.) קִירָה [qiyrah], "wall, side; wall (of house or chamber)."

46 Patrick, *A Commentary* (65), citing Bochart, *Hierozoicon* (pars prior, lib. II, cap. L, cols. 551–619).

[255r][47] 1. Kings. Chap. 5.

Q. The *Hiram*, King of *Tyre*, who sent Embassadors unto *Solomon*, on a Complement of Condolence for the Death of his Father? v. 1.
A. *Eupolemius*, (quoted by *Eusebius*, in his *Præpar. Evang.*) calls this King *Suron*, (as he is called, *Huram* in the *Chronicles*) and makes mention of the Letters that were sent by these Embassadors.[48]

Q. How many Embassies passed between *Solomon* and *Hiram*? v. 2.
A. *Abarbanel* observes, There were three. *Hiram* first began. Then *Solomon* return'd it. Hereupon *Hiram* sends to him again. The *Chronicles* mention only Two; for there the Writer only regarded, what concerned the Building of the *Temple*.[49]

Q. Whence came *Solomon*, to demand of *Hiram*, Artists to hew *Trees out of Libanus*? v. 6.
A. *Libanus*, was, if not All, yett a great Part of it, within the Dominion of *Solomon*. He therefore does not ask of him, *Trees*, but *Servants* to prepare the *Trees*. This they understood better than the *Israelites*. Both *Tyre* and *Sidon* were now under one King; and both of them very ingenious in Mechanicks. Especially the *Sidonians* were so. *Homer* calls these, πολυδαιδαλους, *Excellent Artists in many things*. *Bochart* observes, That he ascribes to them, all the neater Sort of Work, both in his *Iliads* & in his *Odysses*. By their Arts, they grew Rich, in a Time of long Peace; wherein they were an Exemple of those that lived very securely. [Jud. XVIII.7.] The *Israelites* did not mind Manufactures, but applied themselves wholly to *Husbandry*. There had been admirable Workmen among them, such as *Bezaleel* and *Aholiab*, in the Dayes of *Moses*, before they entred *Canaan*. Such were necessary for the *Tabernacle*; & were made such by Inspiration. It appears not, that they had any Successors. In the Time of *Solomon*, they had no professed Artificers, who could undertake the Work of the *Temple*.[50]

Here was a glorious Intimation, and a Sort of a Prophecy, that the *Gentiles* would have a Great Share, in carrying on the Work of the Temple of God in the World.

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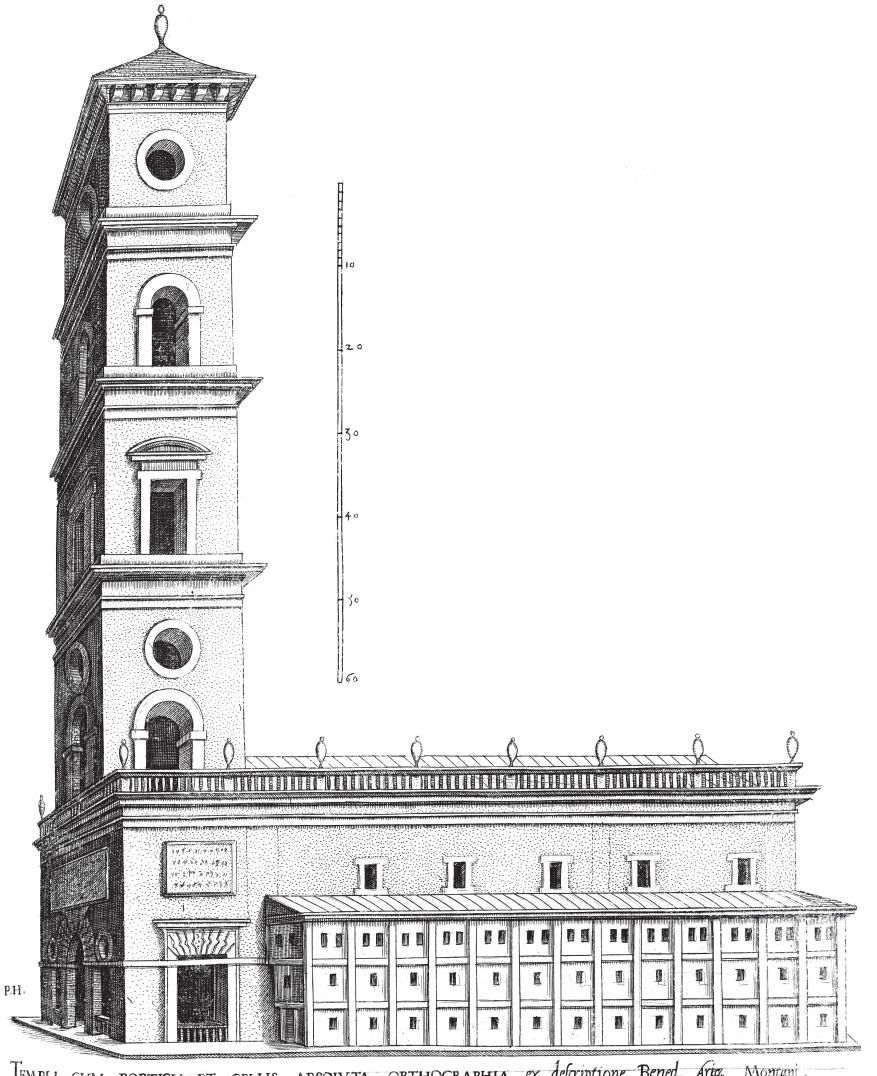
47 A quarto-sized leaf tipped in with sealing wax.
48 Patrick, *A Commentary* (67), citing Eusebius, *Præparatio Evangelica* (lib. IX, caps. 33–34).
49 Patrick, *A Commentary* (67), citing Abravanel, *Commentary on the former prophets* (*see I Kings: A New English Translation* 41). For the scriptural parallel regarding Hiram's (or Huram's) embassies to Solomon, *see* 2 Chron. 2.
50 Patrick, *A Commentary* (68–69), citing Bochart, *Geographica Sacra* (pars prior, lib. IV, cap. XXXV, p. 343), who quotes Homer, *Iliad* (23.743): Σιδόνες πολυδαίδαλοι.



Temple with Galleries (*Templi cum Portico*), from Benedictus Arias Montanus (Benito Arias Montano), *Biblia Sacra, Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, & Latine* (1572).

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Q. *I will Convey them by Sea in Flotes*? v. 9.

A. They wanted not Vessels. *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, That in his Time *Sidon* had, τριήρεις καὶ πεντήρεις πλείους τῶν ἑκατόν. *More than an Hundred Three-Oar Vessels, and Five-Oar Vessels, belonging to them*. And *Strabo* tells us, That *Sidon* was but Two Thousand Furlongs from *Tyre*.[51]

Q. *Solomon* ha's here, *Seventy Thousand* that *bare Burdens*; that is to say, Porters, Carters, and Sea-men, and the like. And *Eighty Thousand*, that were *Hewers in the Mountains*; that is to Say, of Stone; for the Timber was hew'd by the Servants of *Hiram*, in *Lebanon*? v. 15.

A. These Hundred & fifty thousand, were not *Israelites*; as the *Thirty Thousand* mentioned in the next præceding Verses were. They were Strangers of other Nations. [See 1. King. IX.21, 22.] It may seem strange to some, that so many Men should be employ'd, about the Building of so small a Place as the *Temple*. But they must consider, that there were many other Works besides; which *Solomon* both Designed and Finished; and for which there were no other Præparations of Materials, that we know of, but what were made by these.[52]

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51 τριήρεις καὶ πεντήρεις εἶχω πλείους τῶν ἑκατόν (Patrick and Mather both omit the fourth word). Patrick, *A Commentary* (69–70), citing Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca historicae* (16.44.6, line 6): the city of Sidon has "more than a hundred triremes and quinqueremes" (Loeb 389). Patrick's "Two Thousand Furlongs," which Mather copies, is misleading, for Strabo (16.2.22) says "two hundred" stadia, which is approximately 65 km or 40 modern miles (US).

52 Patrick, *A Commentary* (72).

Priest's Vestments (*Sacerdotis Antiqui*), from Montanus, *Biblia Sacra*.

Q. The Heighth of the *Porch* of the *Temple*? v. 3.
A. It is not mentioned here. But in 2. Chron. III.4. it seems to be said, An *hundred & twenty Cubits*. *Kimchi* imagines those words, to relate only to the Porch. But *Abarbanel* wonders how he could entertain such an Imagination; when this *Heighth*, he saies, belongs to the *whole House*. It immediately followes, He *overlaid it with Pure Gold*. This would not be True of the *Porch*. It could only be said of the *House*. This, from the *Foundation*, to His *Covering* of it, was *Thirty Cubits* High; and above that Covering, there were Three Stories of *Chambers*, which were *Ninety Cubits*.[54]

Q. *Windowes of Narrow Lights*? v. 4.
A. *Broad within, & Narrow without*. Hereby the House was better secured from Weather, and yett had *Light* enough. *Casaubon* observes, The *Greeks* call such Windowes, τοζικας. *Fenestras longas et Angustas; ad emittenda tela, quàm ad lucem admittendum factas*; made rather to shoot out Weapons, than to lett in Light. These Hebrew Words[55] he Translates, *Fenestras Prospectus Clausas*.[56]

Q. *Chambers rounds about*? v. 5.
A. *Peter Martyr* observes, That it appears, out of *Ezekiel*, and *Josephus*, that there were *Twelve* of these Chambers on the *South*side; and as many on the *North*; and *Six* on the West.

It followes, *And he made Chambers round about*. In the Hebrew tis, *Ribs*.[57] Hereby some understand, *Galleries*, that encompassed all the Forenamed Chambers, as the *Ribs* do our Entrails. Without these, there could not have been a convenient Passage unto the several *Chambers*; where the Priests laid up their *Garments*, had their *Lodgings*, & eat their *Sacrifices*.[58]

Q. *Narrowed Rests*? v. 6.

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53 A quarto-sized leaf tipped in with sealing wax.
54 Patrick, *A Commentary* 75–76; *see* also Abravanel, *Commentary on the former prophets*, in loc., or *I Kings: A New English Translation* (52).
55 שְׁקֻפִים אֲטֻמִים (1 Kings 6:4).
56 "Long and narrow windows made to shoot out weapons [rather] than to let in light." … "Closed look-out windows." Patrick, *A Commentary* (76), citing Isaac Casaubon, *Animadversionum in Athenaei dipnosophistas* (1664), p. 363.
57 צְלָעוֹת
58 Patrick, *A Commentary* (76–77).

A. *Rebatements*: The Wall was Thicker below, Narrower above. So there was more Space to make the upper Chambers wider.[59]

Q. *Neither Hammer, nor Ax, nor any Tool of Iron heard in the House*? v. 7.
A. All Interpreters note, An Emblem of the Peace which ought to be in the Christian Church, where every thing should be done without Contention. P. *Martyr*s Prayer on the Place is; *Utinam Deus hoc tandem aliquandò elargiatur, ut omnes in Domo suo, idem dicamus et Sentiamus*.[60]

Q. *Beams & Boards of cedar*? v. 9.
A. Hebr. *Vaultings* and *Cielings* of *Cedar*.[61] The Roof was an *Arch* within, which made it look more noble; tho' it was *Flatt* without.[62]

Q. *Chambers five Cubits High*? v. 10.
A. Each of the Three Stories, were *Five Cubits* high; which amounted in all, unto *Fifteen Cubits*. This was Five less, than the Heighth of the *House*. But in these there was left Room for the *Windowes* of the House.[63]

Q. *The Word of the Lord came to Solomon*, (the Jews tell us, by the Prophet *Abijah*;) *Abarbanel* makes a Quærie, Why this Prophecy is inserted thus in the very Middle of the Work? v. 11.
A. *Solomon*, laying the Foundation, and raising the Building very Firm and Strong, | and such as might last unto many Generations, God would not have [256v]
him to præsume upon the Duration of it, unless he, and the People of *Israel*, were obedient unto Him. And therefore He told him, He had better not proceed, nor be at any further Charge, unless he intended to observe His Lawes: The Continuance of this House depended on his Obedience.[64]

Q. *The Oracle*? v. 19.
A. Dr. *Patrick* chuses to understand it, of the *Partition* that separated the *Holy Place*, from the *Most Holy*. *Solomon* established this, tis here said, *In the Midst of the House*. Tho' the term *Debir*,[65] sometimes also signifies, The *Place* itself.[66]

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59 Patrick, *A Commentary* (77).
60 "If God only provided this at last, so that we would all say and think the same in His house." Patrick, *A Commentary* (78), citing Petrus Martyr Vermigli, *Melachim, id est Regum libri duo posteriores cum commentariis* (41).
61 נִבִּים וּשְׁדֵרֹת בְּאַרֻבֹּים
62 Patrick, *A Commentary* (79).
63 Patrick, *A Commentary* (79).
64 Abravanel, *Commentary on the former Prophets* (1686), in loc. (*see I Kings: A New English Translation* 56); Patrick, *A Commentary* (79–80).
65 וּדְבִיר
66 Patrick, *A Commentary* (82–83).

Q. The *Cherubim*? v. 28.
A. Here were *Four Cherubim*, in the *Most Holy Place*, of *Solomon*s Temple. There were Two lesser, made by *Moses*, of Massy Gold; & two larger made by *Solomon*, overlaid with Gold. Those made by *Moses*, were Part of the *Mercy-Seat*, and inseparable from it. Those of *Solomon*, seem to have spread their Wings over it; being added for a greater Glory. *Abarbanel* observes, That *Solomon* did not make a New *Ark*; which was the only thing made by *Moses*, that *Solomon* did not imitate, & make more glorious. He durst not præsume to open the Ark, & to take out the Book of the Law, & putt it into one of his own. He only placed these New *Cherubim* over it, as a *Covering* unto it.[67]

Q. *The Lintel and Side-Posts, a Fifth Part of the Wall*? v. 31.
A. Dr. *Patrick* observes, These Words are obscure. The Words, *Of the Wall*, are not in the Hebrew; but only, *A Fifth*.[68] By this may be understood, that they hold the Proportion of a *Fifth Part*, unto the Doors. But there are those, who think, the Meaning is, That this Gate was the *Fifth* in Number, belonging to the House. The First, was that which lett into the Court of the People. The Second, that which lett into the Court of the Priests. The Third, was the Door of the Porch. The Fourth, of the Holy Place. And *the Fifth*, of the Oracle.

So they interpret v. 33, *The Fourth*.[69]

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2273.

Q. Having *Solomon*s Temple before us, lett us consider, what *Evangelical Illustrations*, the Circumstances of it, may afford unto us. v. 38.
A. Here are indeed many Circumstances to bee considered.

I. Mount *Moriah*, the Place on which the *Temple* was built. Methinks, it may Typify unto us, the *Son of God*, the *Rock* against which the *Gates of Hell* Cannot prevail.

II. King *Solomon*, by whom the *Temple* was built, was a Notable *Type* of our Lord Jesus Christ. This is a thing, which wee have elsewhere observed.[70] But here wee may take in a further Note: *Solomon*, or *Peaceable*, was the Name of him who Built the *Temple*: It may teach us, that the *Church* is to bee built, with *Peaceable* Principles & Practices.

III. The *Temple* was built, not by the Dictates of *Solomon*, tho' the Wisest Man in *the World*; but by the *Pattern*, which the Lord gave *David* his Father, *to understand in Writing, by His Hand upon him*. See 1. Chron. 28.9–20. Thus our

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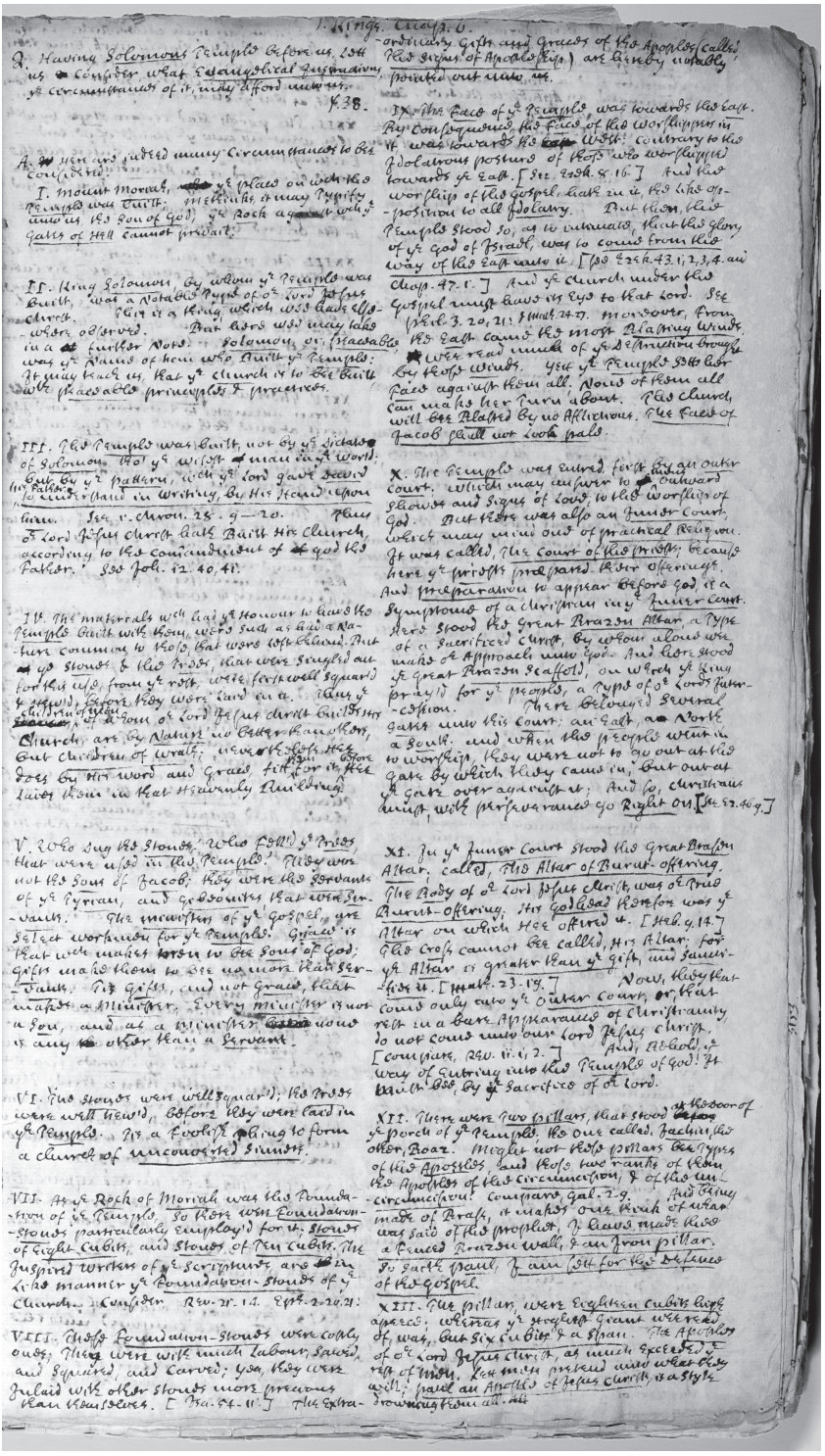
67 Patrick, *A Commentary* (86), citing Abravanel, *Commentary on the former Prophets,* on 1 Kings 6:27 (*see I Kings: A New English Translation* 61).
68 הַמַּשְׁקֹף
69 Patrick, *A Commentary* (87).
70 *See* below, entry on 2 Chron. 1:1, pp. 737–38.



1. Kings. Chap. 6.

ordinary Gifts and Graces of the Apostles (called the Seven Spirits of Apocalypse) are hereby notably pointed out unto us.

I. Having Solomons Temple before us, let us consider what Evangelical Lessons, ye circumstances of it, may afford unto us. v. 38.

A. Here are sundry many Circumstances to be considered.

I. Mount Moriah, ye place on which the Temple was built: intimating, it may signify unto us, the Son of God, ye Rock against which ye gates of Hell cannot prevail.

II. King Solomon, by whom ye Temple was built, was a Notable Type of ye Lord Jesus Church. This is a thing, which was dark Old-Testament observed. Dear Lord we may take in a further Note. Solomon, or Peaceable was ye Name of him who built ye Temple: by may teach us, that ye Church is to be built with Peaceable principles & practices.

III. The Temple was built, not by ye dictates of Solomon, tho ye wisest of men that ever lived, but by ye pattern, which ye Lord gave David his Father, to understand in Writing, By His Hand upon him. See 1. Chron. 28. 9—20. Thus ye Lord Jesus Church hath built His Church, according to the commandment of God his Father. See Joh. 12. 40, 41.

IV. The materials with which ye Temple was built with stone, were such as had a Nature common to those that were to be hewed. But ye stones & the Trees, that were squared for this use, from ye rock, were fore-well squared & prepared, before they were laid in ye building of the House of the Lord Jesus Church built His Church, are by Nature no better than others, but Christians of Wrath; even as both His Elect does by His word and Grace fit for & prepare them in that Heavenly Building.

V. Who hewed the Stones, who fitted ye Trees that were used in the Temple? They were not the Sons of Jacob; they were the Servants of ye Tyrian, and ye Sidonians that were Servants. The ministry of ye Gospel, are Select workmen for ye Temple. Grace is that which makes them to be Sons of God; Gifts make them to be a more Heavenly Servants. It is Gifts, and not Grace, that makes a Minister. Every minister is not a Son, and as a minister is now if any be other than a Servant.

VI. The stones were well squared, ere they were laid in the Temple. It is a foolish thing to form a Church of unconverted Saints.

VII. As ye Rock of Moriah was the Foundation of ye Temple, so Rom was Foundation-stones particularly employed for ye stones of Eight Cubits, and stones of Ten Cubits. The Inspired writers of ye Scriptures, are in like manner ye Foundation-stones of ye Church. Compare Rev. 21. 14. Eph. 2. 20. 21.

VIII. Such Foundation-stones were costly ones; These were with much Labour, Sawed, and Squared, and Carved; yea, they were Inlaid with other stones more precious than themselves. [1 Pet. 2. 4—11.] The Extraordinary Gifts & Graces of the Apostles, were bestowed upon them all.

IX. The face of ye Temple was towards the East. By Consequence the face of the Worshippers in it was towards the West: contrary to the Idolatrous posture of those who worshipped towards ye East. [See Ezek. 8. 16.] And the worship of the Gospel, hath in it, the like opposition to all Idolatry. Dear Lord, that Temple stood so, as to intimate, that the Glory of ye God of Israel, was to come from the way of the East unto it. [See Ezek. 43. 1, 2, 3, 4. and Chap. 47. 1.] And ye Church under the Gospel must have its Eye to that Lord. See Zech. 3. 20, 21. Matt. 24. 27. Moreover, from His Lath came the most Glorious Words & Works that ever were read much of ye Resurrection brought by those Words. Yea ye Temple stood so, that ye Face of Jacob should not be ashamed. Nor shall ye Face of Jacob shall not look pale.

X. The Temple was entred first into an outer Court, which may answer to the outward Shows and Signs of Love, to the Worship of God. But there was also an Inner Court, which may mind one of practical Religion. It was called, The Court of the Priests, because here ye priests prepared their Offerings. And preparation to appear before God, is a Symptome of a Christian may. Inner Court. Here stood the Great Brazen Altar, a Type of a Sacrificed Christ, by whom alone we make ye Approach unto God. And there stood ye Great Brazen Scaffold, on which ye King prayed for ye people, a Type of ye Lords Intercession. There belonged Several Gates unto this Court: an East, a North & South. and when the people were in a Posture to worship, they were not to go out at the Gate by which they came in, but out at ye Gate over against it; And so, Christians must, with perseverance go Right on. [Heb. 12. 1. 2.]

XI. In ye Inner Court stood the Great Brazen Altar, called, The Altar of Burnt-offering. The Body of ye Lord Jesus Christ, was ye Burnt-offering. His Godhead Nature was ye Altar on which He offered it. [Heb. 9. 14.] The Cross cannot be called, His Altar: for the Altar is greater than ye Gift, and sanctifies it. [Matt. 23. 19.] Now, tho they that could only come ye Outer Court, or that rest in a bare Appearance of Christianity, do not come unto our Lord Jesus Christ. And, Ahaz's way of Entring into the Temple of God. It [compare 2 Kin. 16. 10. 11. 12.] was by the Sacrifice of ye Lord. Paul's Boast, By ye Sacrifice of ye Lord.

XII. There were two Pillars, that stood at the door of ye Porch of ye Temple. the One called, Jachin, the other, Boaz. Might not these Pillars be Types of the Apostles, and those two Parts of them the Apostles of the Circumcision, & of the Uncircumcision? Compare Gal. 2. 9. And Christ made of Brass, it makes one think of what was said of this prophet. I have made him a Fenced Brazen Wall, & an Iron pillar. So saith Paul, I am set for the Defence of the Gospel.

XIII. The pillars were Eighteen Cubits high apiece; whereas ye greatest Giant we read of, was but Six Cubits & a Span. The Apostles of ye Lord Jesus Christ, as much exceeded ye rest of Men, [as much pretend unto when they will:] [and an Apostle of Jesus Christ, is a Style becoming them all.]

Recto page [257r] of the holograph manuscript.

Lord Jesus Christ hath Built His Church, according to the Commandment of *God* the Father. See Joh. 12.40, 41.

IV. The Materials which had the Honour to have the *Temple* built with them, were such as had a Nature common to those, that were left behind. But the *Stones*, & the *Trees*, that were singled out for this Use, from the rest, were first well Squar'd & Hew'd, before they were laid in it. Thus the Children of Men of whom our Lord Jesus Christ builds His Church, are, by *Nature*, no better than others, but *Children of Wrath*; nevertheless Hee does by His Word and Grace, fitt them for it before Hee laies them in that Heavenly Building.

V. Who Dug the *Stones*, who *Fell'd the Trees*, that were used in the *Temple*? They were not the *Sons* of *Jacob*; they were the *Servants* of the *Tyrian*, and *Gibeonites*, that were *Servants*. The *Ministers* of the Gospel, are Select Workmen for the *Temple*. *Grace* is that which makes Men to bee *Sons* of God; *Gifts* make them to bee no more than *Servants*: Tis *Gifts*, and not *Grace*, that makes a *Minister*. Every *Minister* is not a *Son*, and as a Minister, none is any other than a *Servant*.

VI. The *Stones* were well squar'd; the *Trees* were well hew'd, before they were laid in the *Temple*. Tis a Foolish Thing to form a Church of *Unconverted Sinners*.

VII. As the *Rock* of *Moriah* was the Foundation of the Temple, so there were *Foundation-Stones* particularly employ'd for it; *Stones* of *Eight Cubits*, and *Stones* of *Ten Cubits*. The Inspired Writers of the Scriptures, are in like Manner the *Foundation-Stones* of the Church. Consider Rev. 21.14. Eph. 1.20. 21.

VIII. These *Foundation-Stones* were costly ones; They were with much Labour Saw'd, and Squared, and Carved; yea, they were Inlaid with other Stones more precious than themselves. [Isa. 54.11.] The extraordinary Gifts and Graces of the Apostles (called, *The Signs of Apostleship*,) are hereby notably pointed out unto us.

IX. The *Face* of the *Temple*, was towards the *East*. By Consequence, the *Face* of the Worshippers in it, was towards the *West*! contrary to the Idolatrous Posture of those who worshipped towards the *East*. [see Ezek. 8.16.] And the Worship of the Gospel, hath in it, the like Opposition to all *Idolatry*. But then, the Temple stood so, as to intimate, that the Glory of the God of *Israel*, was to *come from the Way of the East unto it*. [See Ezek. 43.1, 2, 3, 4. and Chap. 47.1.] And the Church under the Gospel must have its Eye to that Lord. See Phil. 3.20, 21. & Math. 24.27. Moreover, From the *East* came the most *Blasting Winds*. Wee read much of the Destruction brought by these *Winds*. Yett the *Temple* sett her *Face* against them all. None of them all can make her Turn about. The Church will bee *Blasted* by no Afflictions. *The Face of Jacob shall not look pale*.[71]

X. The *Temple* was entred first by an *Outer Court*; which may answer to Mens Outward Showes and Signs of Love, to the Worship of God. But there was also an *Inner Court*, which may mind one of *Practical Religion*. It was called,

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71 See Isa. 29:22.

The Court of the Priest; because here the *Priests* præpared their Offerings. And *Præparation* to appear before God, is a Symptome of a Christian in the *Inner Court*. Here stood the Great *Brazen Altar*, a Type of a Sacrificed Christ, by whom alone wee make our Approach unto God. And here stood the Great *Brazen Scaffold*, on which the King pray'd for the People, a Type of our Lords Intercession. There belonged several *Gates* unto this *Court*; an *East*, a *North*, a *South*; and when the People went in to worship, they were not to go out at the Gate by which they came in, but out at the Gate over against it; And so, Christians must, with Perseverance go *Right On* [See Ez. 46.9.]

XI. In the *Inner Court* stood the Great *Brasen Altar*; called, *The Altar of Burnt-Offering*. The *Body* of our Lord Jesus Christ, was our True *Burnt-Offering*; His *Godhead* therefore was the *Altar* on which Hee offered it. [Heb. 9.14.] The *Cross* cannot bee called, His *Altar*; for the *Altar* is *greater than the Gift*, and *sanctifies it*. [Matt. 23.15.] Now, they that come only unto the *Outer Court*, or, that rest in a bare Appearance of Christianity, do not come unto our Lord Jesus Christ. [Compare, Rev. 2.1, 2.] And, Behold, the Way of Entring into the *Temple* of God! It Must bee, by the Sacrifice of our Lord.

XII. There were *Two Pillars*, that stood at the Door of the Porch of the Temple; the one called, *Jachin*, the other, *Boaz*. Might not these *Pillars* bee Types of the *Apostles*, and those two ranks of them, the Apostles of the *Circumcision*; & of the *Uncircumcision*? Compare, Gal. 2.9. And being made of *Brass*, it makes one think of what was said of the Prophet, *I have made thee a Fenced Brazen Wall, & an Iron Pillar*.[72] So saith *Paul*, *I am sett for the Defence of the Gospel*.[73]

XIII. The *Pillars*, were *Eighteen Cubits high* apeece; whereas the Highest Giant wee read of,[74] was, but *Six Cubits & a Span*. The *Apostles* of our Lord Jesus Christ, as much exceeded the rest of Men. Lett Men pretend unto what they will; *Paul an Apostle of Jesus Christ*, is a Style drowning them all.

| XIV. The *Pillars* were adorned with *Two Chapiters*, five Cubits High [257v] apiece. And so wee read, *Great Grace was upon all the Apostles*.[75] The *Chapiters* had a *Bowl* belonging to them; which intimated, an *Aptness to Receive*. It may bee, the *Network* upon the *Chapiters*, which added unto their Lustre, might intimate the Office of the Apostles, to bee, *Fishers of Men*.

XV. Joined unto the *Nett* on the Top of the *Pillars*, were *Pomegranates*, even Four-hundred for the *Net-Work*; *Pomegranates*, which are Delicious & Beautiful Things. The Blessed *Varieties*, with which the Gospel is *Baited*, may bee sett forth by these *Pomegranates*.

XVI. There were *Chains* belonging to the *Chapiters* on the *Pillars*. Perhaps a Figure of the *Chains and Bonds*, attending the Gospel, whereby Sinners are fast

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72 Jer. 1:18.
73 Philip. 1:17.
74 1 Sam. 17:4.
75 Acts 4:33.

bound unto the Service of Christ: The *Love of Christ constraining them*. These *Chains* had *Pomegranates* on them as well as the *Netts*; even the *Bonds* of the Gospel have an Irrestible Goodness in them.

XVII. The *Chapiters* on the *Top of the Pillars* were of *Lily-Work*. The True Apostles of the *Lamb*, should live upon the care and bounty & kindness of God, & bee content with the *Glory* which is by God putt upon them: (So our Saviour saies, the *Lilies* do:)[76] and not bee cumbred with caring for, and seeking of *Carnal Things*. This *Lily-Work* is to bee placed *over-against the Belly*; to check our Inordinate Care to provide for the *Belly*. When this *Lily-Work* is done, then the *Work of the Pillars is finished*; wee are compleatly fitted for the Service of God.

XVIII. The *Temple* was Higher than the *Pillars*; And the *Catholic Church* is a greater Thing, than the Highest Officers, considered singly, as Officers. But the *Higher* the Temple grew, the *Wider* it grew: the Chambers in the Ascending Stories grew from five Cubits to Seven. [Ezek. 41.7.] The Church is to bee most *Narrow* downward; content with a little of Earth; but with an Heart *Widest* for the most Heavenly Objects, most *Enlarged* there. Those in the Church, who are most concerned with *Earth*, are the most *Narrow-Spirited* for the Things of God.

XIX. Great was the *Beauty* of the Temple; It was dazzling to the Eyes of the Beholders. There should bee such a *Beauty* in the Lives of Christians, & in all the Administrations of the Church, that the World may, with Admiration say; *Behold, what Manner of Stones, & what Buildings are here*.

XX. The *Temple* had a *Porch*, which became the Common Way into the *Temple*, and was the Reception of *all*; and a Gate belong'd unto it, which was called, *The Beau{ti}ful Gate*; where lay the *Lame*, for *Alms*. The *Charity* of the Church is here pointed out unto us. It should bee larger (the *Porch* of the *Temple* was of the same Size with the *Holiest of all*,) as large as our *Holiness*. In our *Charity*, wee are to *do Good unto all*. It should Receive all that come to Worship God in Christ; And as the *Porch* was *High*, it should bee so *High*, as to bee *Seen afar off*.

XXI. The *Porch* was overlaid within, with *Gold*; which you may apply to the Grace of *Love*. As what is called *Gold*, in one Text of the *Canticles*, is called, *Love*, in another, Cant. 5.9, 10. They {that have most}[77] *Love* to the *Saints*, are truly called, *Rich*. Moreover, The *Pillars*, with their stately Work, being sett in the *Porch*, it may intimate, that Ministers are to show unto the Church so much of themselves, as that the Church may learn of them.

XXII. The *Porch* had certain *Steps*, by which they went up into the House of the Lord. [1. King. 10.4, 5.] Hee that enters into the House of the Lord, is

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76 Matt. 6:28.

77 Conjecture for where top of MS page is worn away, leaving only the bottom of some letters.

an *Ascending* Man. The *Steps*, to bee taken *to* & *in* the House of God, are to bee those Motions of ours, that are to bee *ordered by the Word*.

XXIII. The *Porch* had a *Gate*; which was according to *Ezekiel*, [Chap. 40.48.] *Six Cubits Wide*. The *Wideness* of the Gate, encourages those who would gladly enter into the Church, according to the Mind of God; Tho' it bee[78] a *Strait Gate*, for them, that would carry in the whole World on their back.

XXIV. There were *Pinacles* on the *Temple*. Satan attempted to entertain our Lord Jesus Christ, at once, both with the *Type* and the *Antitype*. What are Lofty, Aery Notions, wherein Men fly above the Solid Truth of the Gospel; and are not content with Worship in the *Temple*; but *Pinacles*.

XXV. There were *Porters* belonging to the *Temple*; even *Levites*, whose Work it was, to *Watch at every Gate of the House of the Lord*; that none unduely Qualified might enter there. The Ministers of the Gospel, are in like Manner, to *Watch*.

XXVI. The *Porters* were to keep their *Watch*, round about the *Temple*; and some had the Charge of the *Treasure-Chambers*, others of the *Ministring Vessels*; & unto others belonged the Opening & Shutting of the Gate. *Gospel-Ministers,* must have a very carefull Eye, lest any Defiling Thing do gett into the Church: for Satan will Try *all round about the Temple* for an Entrance. The Church, without its Watchmen, is a very feeble Thing. The *Treasures* of the Gospel are with them. And *Gospel-Ordinances*, which are the *Ministring Vessels*, are under their Management. And, the Letting in, & Keeping out of, the Church, is to bee under their Direction.

XXVII. To lett from the *Porch* into the *Holy Place*, there were *Folding-Doors*; A Repræsentation of Christ, who is *the Way unto the Father*. See Joh. 10.9. Perhaps here was a *Mystery* in it, that wee do not find this Door *Measured*; as wee do the *Door* of the Porch. There are no Dimensions of the *Grace*, in our Lord Jesus Christ. But as this Gate, opened *by Degrees*, first one Fold, then another, than a third; Thus wee have the Mystery of Christ, opening to us continually more & more; but it will never bee sett *wide open* to us while wee are in this World. 1. Cor. 13.12.

XXVIII. The *Doors* turned upon *Golden Hinges*. Those of Divine *Love* are such. The *Posts* on which the Doors Hung were of the *Olive-Tree*, the *Oily-Tree*; which intimates a Government of *Grace* in this Matter.

XXIX. *Firr* was the Matter of the Doors. *Mankind* is often compared unto the *Firr-tree*. [Isa 41.19 & 44.13 & 60.17] The *Humanity* of our Lord, is our *Door* to Blessedness. Our Lord saies, Hos. 14.8. *I am as a Green Firr-tree*.

| XXX. *Cherubims* were engraved on the Doors. The *Angels* are waiting, like [258r]
Servants, at the Door of the House of God. And it is wonderfully pleasing unto

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78 This word is deleted in the MS, but restored here to maintain grammatical structure and syntax.

Angels, to See Sinners coming unto God. And *Angels* take notice how they that come to worship God behave themselves. And no sooner does any poor Creature come to Christ for Life, but there stand *Angels* ready, to take a special Care of them. Yea, and *Angels* being thus represented upon the *Doors*, it may signify, that Christ, who is the *Saviour* of Men, is also the *Supporter* and *Upholder* of *Angels*. But, there were also *Palm-trees* engraved on the *Doors*. A Token of the *Victory*, that Christ, the *Door*, hath obtained over Sin, Death, & Hell, for us. And a Token, that none but such as, like the *Palm-tree*, are *Upright* of Heart, and Life, shall dwell in the Presence of God. Compare, Rev. 7.9.

Upon the *Doors* there were likewise engraved *Open Flowers*; To sett forth the Sweet Savours, which all Comers to Christ will be entertained withal. The Name, & all the Offices, & all the Benefits, of Christ, are very Savoury unto them.

XXXI. The *Walls* (or, Body) of the *Temple* was *Cieled with Firr*. The *Humanity* of our Lord Jesus Christ, which is our Defence, was hereby pointed out unto us. This *Wall was overlaid with Pure Gold*. A Figure of the Righteousness of Christ, by which we are Justified before God. Compare Ps. 45.9, 13. And *Palm-trees* were *Sett* on this *Wall*; To shew that the Elect are *Fixed* in Christ; & so shall abide forever. But *Chains*, even *Golden Chains*, were carved on the *Wall*. Tokens of *Godliness* and *Honour*; and of our Obligations to serve our Lord.

XXXII. The Temple was *Garnished with Precious Stones, for Beauty*; Fixed, no doubt, like *Starrs*, in the *Cieling* of the House. The Ministers of the Gospel are to bee such. Compare, Rev. 1.20. and Prov. 20.15.

XXXIII. There were *Windowes of Narrow Lights made for the House*; Narrow without; but *Wide* within. To answer these *Windowes*, wee have the *Written Word*, by and thro' which, our Lord Jesus Christ showes Himself to us.

XXXIV. In the *Temple*, there were *Chambers* of several Sizes, & for several *Uses*. There were *Chambers of Repose*: which were Types of the Heavenly *Rest*, that our Lord Jesus Christ Will bring us unto. (Heb. 4.3.) There were *Chambers* for *Hiding*. See the Antitype, in Isa. 26.20. There were *Chambers* for *Treasure*. See the Antitype. Col. 1.19. There were *Chambers* which were durable *Dwelling-Places*. Our Lord Jesus Christ ha's præpared such in the Heavens for us. [Joh. 14.2, 3.]

XXXV. There was one Pair of *Stairs*, which were *Turning* and *Winding Stairs*, that led from the *First* to the *Middle*, & so to the *Highest* Chambers. Methinks, one may see *Repentance to Salvation*, written upon them. The Christian keeps *Turning*, and *Rising*, till hee getts up into *Glory*.

XXXVI. There was in the *Temple*, a *Molten Sea*, made of *Brass*, containing *Three Thousand Baths*, for the *Priests* to wash in, when they came to the Service of God in the Temple. In Rev. 15.2. tis called, A Sea of *Glass*; alluding to the Laver in the *Wilderness*, made of the Brasen *Looking-glasses* (Exod. 38.[79] 8.) And it is

79 MS: "28."

there said to bee, *Mingled with Fire*, in allusion to This here, which was *Molten with Fire*. The *Word* of the Gospel, (mingled with the *Fire* of the Holy Spirit, & having in it *Pure Water*, without the Mixture of Humane Inventions) may bee herein Figured unto us. The *Sea*, from Brim to Brim, was *Ten Cubits*. The Gospel ha's in it a Releef against the Impurity contracted by our Sins against the *Ten Commandments*. But This may bee a little too strain'd. From under the *Sea*, there were *Oxen*; which were Types of the Ministers of the Gospel. (1. Cor. 9.9.) The *Lily-flower Work* upon the Brim of the *Sea*, teaches us the Beauty which the Word of the Gospel, is adorned withal.

XXXVII. They were *Twelve Oxen*, upon which the *Molten Sea* stood. These were Types of the *Twelve Apostles*; who had the laudable Qualities of *Oxen* in them, and stood with their *Faces Every Way*, to carry the Gospel into all the World; & were not Ashamed to *Show their Heads*.

XXXVIII. Besides the *Molten Sea*, there were *The Lavers* in the *Temple*: As the *Sea* was to wash the *Worshippers*, so the *Lavers* were to wash the *Sacrifices*. [2. Chr. 4.6.] Why may not these *Ten Lavers* be a Figure of the *Ten Commandments*; in the Purity and Perfection of our Lords Obedience whereunto, hee became capable of being made a *Burnt-Offering*, Acceptable unto God: Christ was made under the *Law*, and His Living according to the *Law*, was His Washing of His Offering in the *Ten Lavers*, in order to His Presenting it upon the *Altar* for our Sins.

XXXIX. There were also *Ten Tables* placed in the *Temple*: which were made of *Hewn Stone*; and on these as it should seem, the *Burnt-Offering* was to bee cutt in Peeces, before the *Burning* of it. The *Stony Heart* of the *Jewes*, was here pointed out; even, that *Heart of Adamant*, upon which the Death of our Lord was contrived & effected. They were *Hewn Stone*, in regard of their *Smooth Pretences*; but Harder than the *Adamant*; and they were placed about the *Temple*: they were *Temple-Men* that were the Doers of all.

XL. On these *Tables* were laid the *Instruments* with which the *Burnt-Offering* was to bee slain: the *Ax*, the *Knives*, the *Hooks*. These may be counted a Type of our *Sins*; *They* were the bloody *Tools*, that slew the *Son of God*. [Isa. 53.5.] These are *in* our Hearts; and they should bee laid *to* our Hearts.

XLI. There were in the *Temple*, Ten *Golden Candlesticks*, & they were very exactly made, *according to the Form,* that Heaven had præscribed for them. What are these, but the *Churches* of the Lord Jesus Christ? [Rev. 1.12, 13, 20.] These are to bee *Many*. And being placed near the *Lavers*, & the *Tables*, it showes, that they should bee much in considering the Death of the Righteous Jesus for our Sins. And the *Light* of the Churches is to shine, with a Diffusive Efficacy: To which End, the *Spirit of Grace* doth supply His Churches with *Oyl*.

XLII. *Lamps*, with *Flowers* and *Knops*, belonged unto these *Candlesticks*. The *Profession* made by the Members of Churches, is to bee, in like Manner, *beautiful*.

XLIII. On the *Golden Table* in the *Temple*, there stood *Twelve Cakes*, called *Shew-bread*, made of *Fine-Flowre*. And these *Twelve Loaves*, doubtless repræsented the *Twelve Tribes* of *Israel*. [1. Cor. 10.17.] *Frankincense* was to bee strewed upon the *Loaves*, which typified the Sweet Sanctification of the Holy Spirit upon the Faithful. See a notable Allusion to This, in Rom. 15.16. *The Offering up of the Gentiles is acceptable to God, being Sanctified by the Holy Ghost*. When the *Shew-bread* grew *Stale*, it was taken away; God ha's little Delight in
[258v] the Services of His People, when they loose[80] their Warmth. But yett the | Priest was to eat the *Old Shew-bread*; when wee can do no more Service in the World, wee shall bee accepted of the Lord Jesus Christ.

XLIV. There were *Golden Snuffers,* to Trim the *Lamps*. If our *Snuffs* are our *Superfluities of Naughtiness*, then our *Snuffers* are the Righteous *Reproof*, that our Lord Jesus Christ ha's ordained in His House for our Good. [Tit. 2.12, 13.] Tis not for every *Fool*, to handle these *Snuffers*; *Paul* bids the *Spiritual* to do it. The *Light* must bee thereby *Mended*, and not *Quenched*. [2. Cor. 13.10.] Our Lord *so Snuffed* the Churches of *Asia*. [Rev. 3.19.][81]

XLV. There were also *Snuff-dishes* made of *Gold*, which carried out the *Snuffs*, that the *Floor* might not bee dirtied, or the *Smell* offended: Aaron must by no Means defile himself, with the *Vice* which hee Reproves in another. The *Snuff-dishes*, must either bee *Repentance*, or *Censure*. *Snuffs* are not left Stinking on the *Floor* of the *Temple*, where either of these are used.

XLVI. There were *Golden Tongs* used about the *Altar*, to Order the *Fire* upon it; & about the *Candlestick* also, there was an Use for them, it may bee to light the *Lamps*, with the *Holy Fire*, from the *Altar*. And with these *Tongs*, there was *Fire* taken off the *Altar*, & putt into *Censers*, to burn *Incense* before the Lord. Why may not these *Tongs* typify the *Grace* of God, that Holy Hand of the *Grace* of God, by which the Gifts of Heaven, are dispensed unto the several Members of the *Church*, to fitt them for their Service in the World? [Compare, Isa. 6.]

XLVII. In the *Temple*, was the *Altar of Incense*, made of *Cedar*. It stood, by the *Ark* of the Testimony, before the *Mercy-Seat*, at the Entring of the *Holiest*, but not within it. It was overlaid with *Pure Gold*, and therefore called, *The Golden Altar*. It was only for *Incense*; which was a Compound of *Stacte*, *Onycha*, and *Galbanum*:[82] A Type of *Prayer*, *Supplication*, & *Intercession*. [1. Tim. 2.1.] This *Incense* was to bee Burned upon the *Altar*, every *Morning*, to show, that it is our Duty every Morning to make our Prayer unto God by Jesus Christ, before the *Vail*, or before the Door of Heaven: and God is never weary of being Addressed with it. And the Kindling of the *Incense* every Morning, intimates the continual

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80 "Loose" was a common spelling for "lose" in the early modern period.

81 This text does not seem to fit Mather's purpose; possibly he meant Rev. 1:11.

82 Ex. 30:34.

Intercession of our Lord Jesus Christ for us. The *Incense* being made of Inflammable *Spices*, intimates, that not a cold & flatt, but *fervent Prayer*, is that which proceeds from the Spirit of Grace. The Smoke of the *Incense*, could not bee so sweet, as a True *Prayer* is unto God. And, as no *Incense* was to bee offered, but on the *Golden Altar*, so no Prayer is accepted, but what is directed in the Name of our Blessed Saviour. The *Altar* stood *without the Vail*, to teach us, to *Live by Faith*; yett it stood so near the *Holiest*, that the Smoke & Smell thereof entred into it. Our *Prayer* can by no Distance bee kept out of Heaven; Yea, therein wee *Draw near unto God*. The *Altar* thus placed, fronted the *Ark*. The *Law* therein is kept from Hurting us; and God sitts there upon a *Mercy-Seat*, ready to Dispense pardons unto us.

XLVIII. There were the *Golden Censers* of the *Levites*, which were a Type of ours; and the *Golden Censers* of the Priests, which were a Type of Christs. The *Censers* were to hold that *Holy Fire*, whereon *Incense* was to bee Burned before the Lord. Of what were the *Censers* Figurative? Of *Hearts*; both Christs, and ours. And the *Fire* putt thereon? but the *Spirit*. And the *Incense* burnt thereon? but our Desires. Of *Christs Censer*, See Heb. 7.25. Rev. 8.3, 4.

But concerning our *Censers*, Remember, these were *Censers* of *Sinners*, Num. 16.17, 37. But then, there are Gospel-Worshippers, that come with *Holy Hearts*, and the *Holy Spirit*, and *Holy Desires* before God, by the Redeemer; And we should labour to bee such, lest our *Incense* bee an *Abomination*.

XLIX. There were *Golden Spoons*; which perhaps were for the Worshippers, to *Eat that Broath* withal, wherein the *Trespass-Offerings* were Boiled. And accordingly, there were for the Boiling of that *Broath*, several *Caldrons*, hanging in the Corners of the *Priests Court*. 1. Sam. 2.13, 14. There is a more Weak and Thin Food, for *Babes*, in the Church of Christ, as well as a *Strong Meat* for *Men*. There are a Sort of *Instructions*, with a Sort of *Sentences*, peculiarly adapted unto their Condition and Capacity. See 1. Pet. 2.1, 2, 3. 1. Cor. 3.2. 1. Thes. 2.7.

L. There were *Bowls* also, and *Basons*, whereof some were of *Gold*, & some were of *Silver*, [Ezr. 1.10.] These were, as it seems, to Hold the *Messes*; which the Priests, at their Holy Feasts, did use to sett before the People. They might bee *Types* of that *Proportion of Faith*, by the Measure of which, every Christian receives of the Holy Food, for the Nourishment of his Soul; where some receive (according to the Difference of their *Bowl* of Faith) it may bee, Three Times as much as others.

LI. There were Likewise *Flagons* and *Cups*. Of these the Jewes made no little Use, on their *Feasting-Dayes*, their *Sabbaths*, and their *New Moons*. What were these, but a Type of the *Divine Consolations*, wherewith Heaven Revives the Spirits of the *Humble* and the *Contrite*?

LII. There were *Chargers*; whereof Thirty were of *Gold*, and a Thousand were of *Silver*. In these were drest the *Meat-Offerings*, when People came to eat before God in His Temple. Methinks, the *Evangelists*, and the *Apostles*, & the

Scriptures, and if you will, the Ordinance of the *Lords-Supper*, may bee by these *Chargers* typified. A *Christ* is therein dress'd out unto us.

LIII. The *Coming in* to the Temple, was by one *Strait Course*; a Type of our one Lord Jesus Christ. The *Goings out* were many. See 2. King. 11.16. 2. Chron. 24.15. & 2. Chron. 26.20, 21. Answerable hereunto are the *Many Wayes*, wherein Men *Apostatize* from God. Wee find therefore, Ezek. 43.10, 11. First the *Goings out* of the House, were to bee shewn unto the *Rebellious House*, and *then* the *Comings in*. This is the Right Method, of bringing Men unto Repentance.

LIV. There were *Singers* in the *Temple*. They sang over the *Burnt-Offering*. As our Lord, with His Disciples, over the *Eucharist*. The *Singers* were Cunning and Skilful. Compare, Rev. 14.3. They sang with many *Instruments*, Figures of the Raised Affections to bee in our Hearts. They were to bee cloathed in *Fine Linen*. Compare, Rev. 7.9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15.

LV. There was the *Outer* & the *Inner* Temple, consisting of the *Holy Place*, and the *Most Holy Place*; the first, a Type of the *Church-Militant*; the Next, a Type of the *Church-Triumphant*. These were joined by One & the same Foundation. Thus, *Earth* and *Heaven* is *One Family*. Nor can one go into the *Holiness* above, without passing thro' *Holiness* below. Heb. 12.14.

[259r] | LVI. As the *most Holy Place* was *Dark*, so wee read the more Special Presence of God, to bee in *Thick Darkness*. The *Holy of Holies* had no Windowes; God in Heaven, is to us altogether *Invisible*. The Things in the *Holy of Holies*, were seen only by the *Light* of the *Fire* of the *Altar*; which was a Type of the Shinings of the Holy Ghost. [1. Tim. 6.16.] While wee are here in the *First Temple*, wee must live by *Faith*, as to what there is in the *Second* Temple. Wee are told of the *Ark*, & the *Mercy-Seat*, & the *Cherubim* there, and wee are to Beleeve what wee are Told. [2. Cor. 4.18.] If any People of Old, looked into the *Holy of Holies*, they were to Dy for it. Wee must avoid vain Speculations.

LVII. The Temple had a *Vail*; an Hanging of *Blue*, and *Purple*, and *Crimson*, & *fine Linnen*, with *Cherubims* wrought thereon; which was a Partition between the *Holy*, & the *Most Holy* Place. This might bee a Type of the *Visible Heavens*, thro' which our Lord passed, when Hee went up to make Intercession for us. [Heb. 6.20.] But it was also a Type of the *Body* of our Lord. For as the *Vail* kept the Things in the *Holy of Holies* from the View of the People; but it was Rent at His Crucifixion; In the Body of our Lord, wee have this Matter wonderfully answered. [Heb. 10.19, 20, 21, 22.] The *Cherubims* on the *Vail*, are the *Angels*, that stand ready to Receive us, at our Entrance into Heaven.

LVIII. There was also a *Door* to the Inner Temple, made of *Olive-Tree*; a Door, opening with Two Leaves: [Compare, Psal. 24.7, 9.] This repræsents to us, the *Gate of Heaven*; Tis Christ, that Fat *Olive-tree*. *Cherubims* were engraved upon it; and *Angels* bid us welcome into Heaven. *Palm-trees* were also carved upon it; Here our *Victory* is finished by our Lord. *Open-flowers* were likewise

carved upon it. Our Lord will never loose a Sweet Savour in the resentments of His People; but at their Death, Hee ha's the sweetest of all.

LIX. There were *Nails*, that weigh'd *fifty Shekels*, of *Gold*; fastned probably in the *Most Holy Place*. Christ, fixed by the Oath of God, in His Everlasting Priesthood, is compared unto a *Nail fastned in a Sure Place*;[83] In Him indeed, *God ha's given us a Nail in His Holy Place*. [Compare, Zech. 10.4.] But may not the *Words* of God, which are *forever Sealed in Heaven*, have a Resemblance here? [See Eccl. 12.11.]

LX. The *Floor* of the *Oracle*, was overlaid with *Cedar*; and so were the *Walls* of it. The *Cedar* is one of the *Highest of Trees*. In *Heaven*, there is the *Heighth* of all Perfections. *Heavenly Glory*, goes beyond all *Earthly*, as the *Cedar* goes beyond the *Trees*. But the *Floor* of the *House*, was *overlaid with Gold*. [Compare, Rev. 21.21.] Oh, what Steps will bee all that wee take, when wee come into *the Holy of Holies*.

LXI. Here was laid up, the *Ark of the Covenant*: The *Tables* of the *Covenant* were kept in it. It was a Type of our Lord; Those *Tables* are kept *Whole*, in Him alone. The *Ark* had the Name of God putt upon it; it is called, the *Strength* of God, and the *Glory* of God, tho' it were made of *Wood*. Our Lord Jesus Christ, tho' made *Flesh*, yea, made *Sin* for us, is much more called so. As the *Ark* was carried upon the Shoulders of *Men*; so our Lord Jesus Christ, by His Ministers, into all Parts of the World. The *Ark* had Singular Testimonies of the Divine Presence {attending it; Our Lord,} many {Ways}[84] God speaks to us, by Him, as from the *Ark*. Hee carries us, from the *Wilderness* of this World, over the *Jordan* of Death, into the Heavenly *Canaan*. The Strong Holds of Satan, like the Walls of *Jericho*, fall before Him; Satan, with his *Idolatries*, like *Dagon*, must fall before Him. The Wicked, who have *uncircumcised Hearts*, will one day bee plagued, for Treating Him Irreverently. A Signal Blessing, like that upon *Obed-Edom*, will bee upon those that entertain Him. To Despair of His Interests, or to Promote the Interests of His Religion, by wrong Wayes, will bee chastised, Like the *Error* of *Uzzah*. If the *Ark* had a *Crown of Gold* about it, a more Illustrious *Crown* is upon our Lord; who like the *Ark*, is overlaid with *Gold*, even with *Grace*, which is better than *Gold*, both within & without. And if the People *Mourned*, when the *Ark* was taken from them, until it was Restored unto the *Mourners*, the Absence of our Lord from us, is to bee in like Manner considered. And the *Removes* of the *Ark* to and fro, are to bee considered, as like those which befel our Lord; until at last God ha's now fetch'd Him up, into the *Most Holy Place*, and there is Hee now settled forever.

LXII. The *Ark*, when carried into its Rest, was placed in the *Inner Temple*, even in the *Most Holy Place*, under the *Wings of the Cherubims*. This World, was

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83 Isa. 22:25.

84 Bracketed words are conjectures for where top of MS page is broken away.

not our Lords Place. His proper Place is in the *Holy of Holies*. There His *Offices*, are now to bee managed: *If Hee were on Earth, Hee should not bee a Priest*. In Heaven, our Lord is before the Face of His *Father*; And the *Angels* are Witnesses of His *Intercession*, with His Father.

LXIII. Here was the *Mercy-Seat*. Its Length & Breadth, was the same with that of the *Ark*. The Length & Breadth of the *Mercy* of God, unto His Elect, is the same with the Measures of the *Merits* of the Lord Jesus Christ. The *Mercy-Seat* was placed above, upon the *Ark*. The Foundation of the *Mercy* vouchsafed unto us, is, in the Lord Jesus Christ. And our Lord-Redeemer was also of *Mercies* ordaining. But without the Lord Jesus Christ, *Mercy* will not act. If you take away the *Ark*, the *Mercy-Seat* falls unto the Ground. But in Him, now *Mercy* can look down from Heaven upon us, tho' the *Law* Stand by.

LXIV. There seems to have been a *Living Spring*, in the Mount, where the *Temple* was Built; and that, wherever were the First-Appearance of the Waters, the *Spring* was in the *Holy of Holies*. Consider, Ezek. 47.1, 12. & Rev. 22.1, 2. and, Joel. 3.18. and Zech. 14.8. Possibly the *Molten-Sea*, and the *Ten Lavers*, were filled, and the *Sacrifices* were washed, from hence. The *Sanctifying Spirit* of the Lord Jesus Christ, is the Antitype of these *Waters*.

LXV. There were *Chains*, not carved, but Real *Chains*, that made a Partition before the *Oracle* within. The *High-Priest*, was hereby taught, that the *Mercy-Seat*, which was the *Oracle*, had an *Additional Glory*, beyond the rest of *the Most Holy Place*. Thus the Glory of the Lord Jesus Christ, is above all the Heavens beside. [Ps. 113.4.] And these *Chains* teach us, that even when wee come to Heaven, Infinite will bee the Disproportion, between Him and us.

[259v] | LXVI. The *High-Priest* went now into the *Holy of Holies*, to burn Incense, in the Golden Censer, and sprinkle the Blood of the Sacrifice for the People, upon & above the Mercy-Seat. The *High-Priest* was to bee washed with *Water*; which intimated the Purity of our Lords Humanity. His curious *Robes*, intimated the Perfection of our Lords Righteousness. The *Holy Oil*, wherewith Hee was Anointed, intimated the *Holy Ghost* on our Lord. The *Sacrifice* of his Consecration, was a Type of our Lord, in His *Bloody Agony*. Our Lord, like him, has now offered a Sacrifice for the People; but it was a Sacrifice of Himself. And Hee ha's carried His *Blood* into the Heavens. There wee have it sprinkled before the *Mercy-Seat*. The *Epistle* to the *Hebrews*, largely & sweetly handles this Matter.[85]

LXVII. None but the *High-Priest* might go into the *Holy of Holies*; Hee went in *Alone*. Thus our Lord Jesus Christ is Mediator *Alone*; and *of the People there is none with Him*.

LXVIII. And, but *Once a Year*. Our Apostle carries this, to our Lords going into Heaven to make Intercession for us, *Once in the End of the World*. See Heb. 9.

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85 See Heb. 7–10.

Wherefore, wee should stand waiting for the Benediction, which Hee will bring with Him, when Hee shall shortly Return from thence. Wee may, like the People, for *Zacharias*, wonder that Hee Stayes so long. But, if *Zacharias* were with *Angels*, our Lord Jesus Christ is with God, and ha's a Great Work to do there; And Hee ha's not been there *Two full Dayes*, at most.

LXIX. The *Cherubims of Glory* covered the *Mercy-Seat*. The *Dwelling-Place* of the *Angels*, is in Heaven. They are alwayes upon the *Wing*, to do the Service of God. They look towards the *Mercy-Seat*, with desire to see, how from thence *Mercy* looks towards us: They then look *towards one another*, Agreeing to Rejoice in the Purposes of that *Mercy*.

LXX. The *Wall* of the *Inner Temple*, seems to be carved, with *Cherubim*, and *Palm-trees*. [Ezek. 47.17.] All *Upright Christians*, like the *Palm-trees*, will one day come to bee placed, with those *Cherubims*, the *Angels*, in the *Holy of Holies*; yea; the *Upright* shall bee *Æqual with Angels*; And bee so placed, as to take up the *Vacancies* of the *Fallen Angels*.[86]

Reader; Into this Illustration, I have digested a whole Book, written by an Honest & Pious Man, one, *Bunyan*: entituled, *Solomons Temple Spiritualized*.[87] And for more Dispatch in my Action, I conformed the Seventy several Articles to the Method, of this Devout Writer; tho' I should myself rather have chosen another as Exacter. Accept and Improve these useful Hints, And lett not the Meanness of the Hand they Come from, render them unacceptable.

Q. We may take this Place to introduce a Remark upon some surprizing Circumstances of the Ancient Sacrifices? v. 38.

A. *Lewis*, in his *Origines Hebrææ*, takes notice of it.

It has been often wondred by learned Men, how it was possible that so many *Sacrifices*, which were often offered at one time upon the Altar, should bee consumed in so short a Time, without any Inconvenience to the Priest, or the People or the Temple. Surely, The *Divine Fire* made a more Quick dispatch than the *Common Fire*. It was like the Lightening; and no Rain could extinguish it, but it would lick all up tho' it were a Trench full.

The *Jews* tell us of several *Wonders*, that were continually exhibited at the Temple; As, That no *Flies* infested the Place, tho' never so many *Beasts* were slaughtered. And, That the Smoke of the Altar alwayes went up Straight, & was never blown aside with the Wind. It appears, that these were no Rabbinical Fancie; For, who could have been able in Summer to have stood in the Court near the Altar, where so much Flesh & Blood occurr'd, if the Slaughter-Place had

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86 Mather leaves a blank line before his conclusion.

87 John Bunyan (1628–88), soldier, lay preacher and pietist theologian, *Solomon's Temple spiritualiz'd* (1688).

been troubled with Flies and Stench, as ours are. And how Smoaky and Reeky a Place, would the Temple & all the Apartments about it have been, and how would those who attended the Service have been choaked & stifled, & no more able to have staid in the Court, if the Smoke from off the Altar had been blown to & fro with every Puff of Wind? We cannot but acknowledge a Sensible & Marvellous Dispensation of the Divine Providence in the Matter!

In particular, That such Multitudes of *Sacrifices*, as were at the *Three Festivals* especially, should be dispatched by the Fire, in the Time allotted for them; it seems rather a *Miracle*, than any thing else.

Ariel,[88] was a mighty Devourer![89]

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88 I.e., Jerusalem.

89 Thomas Lewis (1689–c. 1737), Church of England apologist and Hebraist, *Origines Hebrææ: the Antiquities of the Hebrew Republick,* 2 vols. (1724), 2:355–56.

Q. *The House of the Forest of Lebanon*; where stood it? v. 2.
A. It was in *Jerusalem*, near the House mentioned in the Verse before. It was in a Cool, Shady, Hilly Place, that might have some Resemblance unto *Lebanon*. Here he dwelt in the *Summer*, as in the other in the *Winter*.

It is not likely, that he would sett his *Throne*, (as he seems to have done in this House,) in the Extremity of his Kingdome; nor have placed his *Golden Shields*, at such a Distance from his Capital City, & the usual Place of his Residence.

Its Resembling of *Lebanon* made it called so: Just as many pleasant Places in that Countrey, were called, *Carmel*.[90]

Q. *Hiram*, a Widows Son of the Tribe of *Naphthali*; we read, 2. Chron. 2.14. that she was of the Tribe of *Dan*? v. 14.
A. Her First Husband, was of the Tribe of *Naphthali*; by whom she had this Son. When she was a Widow, she married a Man of *Tyre*; who is called *Hiram*s Father, because he was his Mothers Husband, & bred him up.[91]

Q. *Two Pillars of Brass, of Eighteen Cubits high, apeece*. In 2. Chron. II.15, they are *Two Pillars of Thirty five Cubits High*? v. 15.
A. The common Solution, is that of *Abarbanel*s; That the *Chronicles* do speak of *both Pillars* together.[92] Indeed, *both pillars* made Thirty Six Cubits; but One Cubit must be allow'd for the Basis of Each; which is not there considered. This is a better Solution, than *L'Empereur*s, that One of the Writers means the *Common Cubit*, the other the Sacred, which was as much again.

Eupolemus, an Heathen Writer, takes Notice of these Pillars, and saies, They were as High as the Temple.[93]

Q. The Intention of the *Pillars*? v. 15.
A. It is generally thought, they were erected for Ornaments, because they supported no Building.

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90 Patrick, *A commentary* (90–91).
91 Patrick, *A commentary* (94).
92 Abravanel, *Commentary on the former Prophets*, in loc. (*see I Kings: A New English Translation* 70–71).
93 Patrick, *A Commentary* (95–96), citing Constantijn L'Empereur's preface to *Hoc est Talmudis Babylonici Codex Middoth* (1630); and Eupolemus in Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica* (lib. IX, cap. XXXIV).

But it is no improbable Conjecture of *Abarbanel*, That *Solomon* might have Respect unto the Pillar of *Cloud* [in *Jachin*,] and the Pillar of *Fire* [in *Boaz*,] that went before *Israel* in the Wilderness, & was the Token of the Divine Presence with them. Thus he prayed for the Continuance of that Gracious Presence with the People of God.[94]

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Q. *The Pomegranates were Two Hundred round about*. We read, Jer. LII.23. they were *Ninety Six* on a Side? v. 20.

A. *Abarbanel* thus explains it. The *Pomegranates* on the *Net-work*, were towards the Four Quarters of the World; There were twenty four towards each Quarter; which in all made *Ninety Six*. And in each Angle, there was One greater *Pomegranate*, which made up the Number of an Hundred.[95]

Q. A Remark on the *Molten Sea*? v. 23.

A. Tis very surprising, that so vast a Vessel should be cast, & perhaps more that it should be removed from the Plain of *Jordan*, where it was cast, unto the Inner Court of the Temple. The Supply of Water into this Vessel, is as thro' a Pipe, out of the well *Etam*.

One by whom *Origines Hebrææ* have been written, says, "I beleeve neither History, nor any Founders Art, ever did, or ever will, show such Master-peeces of Workmanship in that Skill & in that Metal, as were this *Molten Sea*, and its *Lavers*."[96]

Q. The *Knops round about, under the Brim of the Molten Sea*? v. 24.

A. They were in the Shape of an *Egg*. On the Top of every one of them, there was an *Ox-head*; from whence *Water* gushed out. So *Abarbanel* gathers from, 2. Chron. II.3. where they are called Oxen.[97]

Q. The *Twelve Oxen*, which the *Molten Sea* stood upon? v. 25.

A. So little Danger was there, of their being worshipped, that the Meanness of the Use, to which they served, hath made it beleeved by some, that *Solomon* made them in Contempt of the *Golden Calf*, which the *Israelites* worshipped in the Wilderness; & placed them under the *Sea*, to lett People see there was nothing worthy of Adoration in these Figures. It is a Weakness in *Josephus*, to think, that *Solomon* offended in making these Figures.[98]

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94 Patrick, *A Commentary* (97), on v. 21, citing Abravanel (*see I Kings: A New English Translation* 72).

95 Patrick, *A Commentary* (97), citing Abravanel (*see I Kings: A New English Translation* 72).

96 Lewis, *Origines Hebrææ* (2:357–58).

97 Patrick, *A Commentary* (98), citing Abravanel (*see I Kings: A New English Translation* 74).

98 Patrick, *A Commentary* (99), citing Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* (8.7.5), where he argues

Q. *It contained, two Thousand Baths*? v. 26.
A. A *Bath*, being about as big as an *Ephah*; (Ezek. XLV.11.) is about Eight Gallons. The Sea then contained Five Hundred Barrels; that is, it had so much Water constantly in it. But, if it had been filled up to the Brim, it would have held Three Thousand Baths; [2. Chron. IV.5.] which Quantity they did not putt into it, lest by the Wind it should be driven over. The most Learned of the Jewes, understand the Words in the Book of the *Kings*, of *Moist* Things; but those in the *Chronicles*, of *Dry*;[99] which being heaped up, would contain, a Third Part more. Herewith some compare those Words of our Saviour, Luk. VI.38. *Good Measure, heaped up, shaken together, & running over*.[100]

Q. What was the *Mouth of it*? v. 31.
A. The *Bases* probably were Hollow at the Top, that the *Feet* of the *Lavers* might enter in, & be fastned there. This is called the *Mouth*. It is hard to know, what is meant by the *Chapiter*. Many take it, for a smaller *Basis*, rising out of the greater.[101]

Q. The *Sea*, on the *South-East* Side of the House? v. 39.
A. So that, (it is Dr. *Patrick*s Observation,) as soon as the Priests entred; which they did at the *East-Gate*, they might have Water, to wash their Hands, & their Feet.[102]

Q. The *Potts*? v. 45.
A. Here they Boil'd the *Sacrifices*, which were divided, between the *Priests*, & the *People* that offered them.

The *Shovels* and *Basons* mention'd here, probably have a different Signification from those mentioned before,[103] probably, *Flesh-hooks* and *Platters*.

Q. Of what might the splendid *Vessels* of the *Temple* bee Shadows? v. 46.
A. It is a Good Hint of the Holy *John Arndt*. They were Types of the Glorious *Bodies*, which we shall receive at the *Resurrection* from the Dead.[104]

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that Solomon "sinned, and fell into an error about the observation of the laws, when he made the images of brazen oxen that supported the brazen sea" (transl. William Whiston).

99 אַלְפַּיִם בַּת (1 Kings 7:26); שְׁלֹשֶׁת אֲלָפִים (2 Chron. 4:5).

100 Patrick, *A Commentary* (100).

101 Patrick, *A Commentary* (102).

102 Patrick, *A Commentary* (104).

103 *See* Ex. 27:3, 38:3, and Num. 4:14.

104 The closest parallel to this statement in Johan Arndt's writings is in *Wahres Christentum*, originally published 1605–10, lib. II, cap. XXXIII, § 14; Mather owned a Latin edition, *De Vero Christianismo* (2 vols., London, 1708), which is listed in the inventory of his library purchased by Isaiah Thomas; transl. Anthony William Boehm, *Of true Christianity*, 2 vols. (1712–14), 2:167–68.

Q. *The Tabernacle of the Congregation*.] Which Tabernacle? That made by *Moses* now at *Gibeon*; or that made by *David*, which was at *Jerusalem*? v. 4.
A. The Latter is never called, *The Tabernacle of the Congregation*, as the Former is frequently. But probably, they were both now carried into the Temple, & laid up there; to avoid all Danger of Superstition, & oblige the Performance of Worship, at this House of God.[105]

Q. When *Solomon* begins his Notable Speech, he saies, *The Lord said, Hee would dwell in the thick Darkness*. To what may that Passage be allusive? v. 12.

A. It has been enquired, whether the *Holy of Holies* in the *Temple* had any *Windowes*; and the Scripture seems *dark* about it, not giving us any *Light*, by Naming any. But the Negative to some seems most probable. For, the *Oracle* was no more than Twenty Cubits High; and there were Three Stories of Chambers round about, on the Outside of it, each of which were Five Cubits high, and wee must allow room for the Beams of the Three Floors, and the uppermost Roof. *Villalpandus* therefore States the Heighth of the Chambers, on the outside of the Temple, to be *Eighteen Cubits*, & Three Quarters.[106] Here there now remains, but One Cubit and a Quarter, for the Windowes of the *Oracle*; but such *Pigeon-Holes* at the Top of the *Oracle*, would have been very uncomely Things.

Now, there are several Passages of Scripture, which mention, Gods *Dwelling in Darkness*: And they are doubtless Allusive to the Habitation of the Divine Majesty, between the Wings of the *Cherubims*, in the *Dark Oracle*; a Place which was opened but Once a Year, and then the Work of the *High Priest* there, was not of such a Nature, as to need more Light than what the opened Doors of the *Holy Place* might yeeld unto it.

Q. When *Solomon* saw the Priests come out of the House of God, in great Consternation, hee uttered what he now did, with his Face turned towards the *Altar*, to compose & comfort them. This argues, that the *Cloud* filled the House, before *Solomon* pray'd. But it appears by, 2. Chron. VII.1, 2, 3. that the Divine *Glory* did not fill it, until after he had pray'd? v. 12.
A. *Abarbanel* Reconciles this, with very good Reason. The *Cloud*, in which was the *Glory* of the Lord (or the *Fire*) came into the *Temple*, before *Solomon* pray'd; which made him say, *The Lord dwelleth in Thick Darkness*. Beholding This, he

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105 Patrick, *A Commentary* (110).
106 Juan Bautista Villalpando (1552–1608) and Hieronymo Prado (1547–95), *In Ezechielem explanationes et apparatus Urbis ac Templi Hierosolymitani Commentariis et imaginibus Illustratus*, 3 vols. (1596–1605), vol. 3, on Ezek. 40–42.

pray'd unto God, who had given such a sensible Token of *His Presence*. When he had made an End of his Prayer, then the *Fire* that was in the *Cloud* broke forth, & consumed the Sacrifices on the Altar; and the *Glory of the Lord* filled the House.[107]

~~1919.~~

Q. *Solomon stood before the Altar of the Lord, and spread forth his Hands towards Heaven*. Is there any Jewish Note upon that Posture and Action, worthy to bee Noted? v. 22.

A. Among other strange Passages in the *Talmud*, I find some strangely pointing to the Crucifixion of the *Messiah*.

As now; when wee read, *Abraham laid the Wood upon Isaac, his Son*: There is in *Bereschith Minori*, this Passage added upon it; *Sicut iste qui fert Crucem suam Humeris suis*.[108]

Thus, when wee read, *Solomon Spread his Hands towards Heaven*: There is in *Libro Beracot Jerosolymitano*, this passage, *Sicut iste Crucifixus, vel in Cruce Expansus, erat Stans*.[109]

These are truly astonishing Passages!

3153.

Q. That Passage, *But will God indeed dwell on Earth*? Unto what may be its Reference? v. 27.

A. There is contained in this Expression, a Wonderment, that the Infinite God would please to dwell in *Solomon*s Temple: But there is yett an higher Matter contained in it. It is a Wonderment, That God would vouchsafe to dwell in the *Temple* of our Lords Humanity; (compare, Joh. 2.19.) That ever a *Man* formed of the *Earth*, should become a Temple to the *Son* of God, and the *Fulness of the Godhead* ever *dwell Bodily* in Him: This is *Wonderful*!

Solomon in his Prayer at the Consecration of the *Temple*, was a Type of our Lord Jesus Christ, consecrating His *Flesh*, with strong Cries & Tears & Humiliations, before His Eternal Father.

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4833.

Q. We read of a *Prayer*, made by those, who *shall know every Man, the Plague of his Own Heart*; what is meant by that *Plague*? v. 38.

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107 Patrick, *A Commentary* (114), citing Abravanel (*see I Kings: A New English Translation* 88).

108 "As one who carries his cross upon his shoulders." *Bereschith Minori*, likely drawn from Raymund Martini, *Pugio fidei.* On Abraham's sacrificing of Isaac, *see* Gen. 22:6.

109 "He was standing as one crucified or stretched out on a cross." *Libro Beracot Jerosolymitano* (*Jerusalem Talmud*, tractate *Berakot,* transl. Jacob Neusner), possibly from Martini, *Pugio fidei.*

A. Perhaps one thing meant, may be, a secret *Plague*, or Grief, known only to the *Heart* of the Person that suffers it.

It is a good Gloss of *Munster*s; *Hoc est, qui Secretâ pressus infirmitate aut necessitate, ad Te Cordium scrutatorem clamaverit*.[110]

Dr. *Patrick* observes, we are taught by *Ezra*, 2. Chron. VI.29. to understand it, for any Private Grief, or Trouble, that any man laboured under; for so the words are there; *When every one shall know his own Sore, and his own Grief*.[111]

Q. The *Brasen Altar*, was *too little to receive the Offerings*? v. 64.

A. Dr. *Patrick* saies, Therefore by a special License from God, he sett up *Other Altars*; which were to serve only during the present Solemnity. The Jews tell us, These other Altars, which *Solomon* erected, were of Stone; which were soon pull'd down again. But *Fortunatus Schaccus* hath said a great deal, to make it probable, that he did not erect any *Altars*, besides the *Brasen*, but sacrified upon the Ground.[112]

Q. *Solomon* made a Feast, *Seven Dayes*, and *Seven Dayes*? v. 65.

A. It appears, 2. Chron. VII.9. that the Feast of the *Dedication of the Altar* lasted Seven Dayes; and the other Seven Dayes were the *Feast of Tabernacles*, which followed after the other.[113]

[262r][114] |

Q. We see the *Temple* finished. Lett us now make some Remarks, upon the Revenues of the *Temple*, and the Sums raised for the Maintaining of its Officers? v. 66.

A. To support the Ministers of the *Temple*, there were ordered first, the *First-fruits* of Seven Species: of *Wheat*, of *Barley*, of *Figs*, of *Grapes*, of *Olives*, of *Pomegranates*, and of *Dates*. This, according to the Rabbis, was a *Sixtieth* Part of the Whole. They that were more liberal, made it a *Fortieth* Part.

Then, the *Great Tithes* were ordered for them. The Tenth Part of the whole Product of the Countrey, was ordered for the *Levites*. And a Tenth of this was for the *Priests*.

Besides this, each Master of a Family, paid a *Tenth* of what remained, for the Celebration of their *Festivals*, and for *Alms* to the Poor. If they Lived at too

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110 "That is, who pressed by secret weakness or compulsion, shouted to you, the examiner of hearts." Münster, *Hebraica Biblia*, in loc. (319).

111 Patrick, *A Commentary* (124).

112 Patrick, *A Commentary* (133), citing Scacchus, *Sacrorum Elaeochrismaton Myrothecium Sacroprophanum* (lib. II, cap. LVI).

113 Patrick, *A Commentary* (134).

114 Slightly undersized folio, tipped in with sealing wax.

great a Distance from *Jerusalem*, they converted it into Money, to buy Provisions for the Festivals.

According to the Computation of *Selden* and the *Jews*, the *whole Tythe*, amounted unto the *Fifth Part* of the whole yearly Increase.[115]

Now, tho' the Tribe of *Levi*, were one of the *Twelve*, yett, according to the Computation in the Book of *Numbers*,[116] they made not above the Forty-ninth Part of the People. However, they enjoy'd near the Fifth Part of the whole Revenue of the Land; besides the Profits which accrued from Oblations, & Sacrifices, & other Perquisites, which were Innumerable. They must needs be very Rich!

In *David*s time, there were numbred 38000 *Levites*, above the Age of 30 Years. Add the Women & Children, and the young Men under 30, a modest Computation will bring it unto above 150000 Souls; and leave out the Families of the Priests from the Computation.

All these being maintained by the *Temple*, Monsieur *Jurieu* justly observes, It may without an Hyperbole be said, That this was the Richest House in the World.[117] The most potent King in the World, could not maintain 200000 Domesticks out of his Revenues.

But, what is further Notable, is, That the *Second Temple* did much surpass the *First*, in Riches. For the *Jews* being mightily multiplied in their Dispersion, vast Riches & Presents were sent unto this *Temple*, from all Parts of the World. There was not a Solemn Feast, but some Hundreds of Thousands flock'd unto *Jerusalem*, and not one of these came with empty Hands. Those also who could not come in Person, did not fail to send their Presents.

Besides the *Tithes* from the Product of the Ground, there were also the *Firstlings* of the Herd and of the Flock; which were sent unto the *Temple*. The *Firstlings* of Mankind were also to be Ransomed; a Male, for five Shekels, a Female, for three. The *Firstlings* of the unclean Beasts were in like Manner to be Redeemed, according to their Value.

Yea, and besides these, the Jews tell us, the *Tithes* of the *Beasts* were *also* thus gathered; They were brought into an Enclosure, and lett out one by one. The Gatherer, standing in the Gate with a *Rod* which was dip'd in Red in his hand, mark'd every *Tenth Beast* as it pass'd by. This being once marked, whether Good or Bad, remain'd for the *Tithe*, & was never changed. The *Priests* had these for their Portion.

No *Tithes* indeed were due, but from the *Holy Land*. From other Countreys there came none but *Voluntary Offerings*.

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115 Jurieu, *A critical History of the Doctrines and Worships* (1:449), citing John Selden, *The Historie of Tithes* (1618), ch. II, p. 17.

116 Num. 1:47, 49.

117 Jurieu, *A critical History* (1:450).

After the Return from the *Babylonian* Captivity, the *Tithes* took their former Course. They were but Ill-paid; until by an Order from the *Sanhedrim*, [262v] there were appointed Active and Faithful Officers | for the gathering of them. In our Saviours Time, they were come to pay them, even with Works of *Super-Erogation*, from their very *Gardens*.

But then, the *Temple* itself had Revenues belonging to it, which were to defray the constant Expences of it. These had no Dependence on the *Tithes*, which belonged unto the *Priests* and *Levites*; And yett they rendred the *Temple*, as Monsieur *Jurieu* observes, the Richest Foundation in the Universe.[118]

Prodigious Presents were sent thither from all Parts of the World; even by Pagans themselves: But especially by Jews. The poor Widow conveys her Two Mites unto it.[119]

Moreover, every Male was to pay by way of Capitation, *Half a Shekel*; which was a Constant and Annual Duty. *Athaliah* made them to pay this unto her Idols; and *Vespasian* made them to pay it unto the Capitol.[120] No Man, tho' never so poor, was exempted from the Tribute; *Maimonides* tells us, even they that received *Alms*, must pay it.[121] The *Priests* & *Levites* were not exempted from it.

When *David* numbred the People, there were found 1300000 Men able to bear Arms; and allowing the same Numbers for the rest, the yearly Revenue of the *Temple*, must at that time amount (as Mr. *Jurieu* computes it) unto above Two Millions of *Livers*, or to speak English, One hundred and sixty three thousand and five hundred Pounds Sterling. In our Saviours Time, he thinks, one might Rationally compute it, at no less than Five times as much.[122]

[263r][123] |

Q. Will not here be an agreeable Opportunity, to describe the Order and Method of the *Ordinary Service* performed every day in the *Temple*? v. 66.

A. We will entertain ourselves with Monsieur *Jurieu*'s Account of it.[124]

A Number of *Priests* being appointed every Week, for the Service of the *Temple*, they lodg'd at Night, in diverse Parts assign'd them for that Purpose. Except those who were employ'd as Guards, most of them had their Lodgings in a Great Structure, that stood at the North-West Corner of the *Temple*, called, /בית מוקר/ *The House of Fire*. Here it was that the more *Ancient Priests*, and the

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118 Jurieu, *A critical History* (1:453).

119 Mark 12:42, Luke 21:2.

120 Queen Athaliah, who assumed the throne of Israel after the death of her son Ahaziah (2 Kings 11, 2 Chron. 22–23); and Vespasian, emperor of Rome during the late 1st century CE.

121 Jurieu, *A critical History* (1:454), citing Maimonides, "Tract. שלוו cap. 1" (*Mishnah Torah)*.

122 Jurieu, *A critical History* (1:455).

123 This and the following leaf, both folios, are tipped in with sealing wax.

124 Jurieu, *A critical History* (1:477–82).

Heads of the Sacerdotal Families, took their Sleep upon *Benches*; but the rest upon the Floor, with their Priestly Vestments under their Heads, & their ordinary wearing Apparrel upon them. In the Morning, before break of day, having washed themselves all over, they putt on their Sacerdotal Habits; Which done, they had no further Occasion for Washing themselves all the day, unless perhaps their *Hands* and their *Feet*. [Here Consider, Joh. XIII.10.]

The Præsident of the Division then in Waiting, used early, with the Break of Day, or sooner, to knock at the Door. [See Rev. III.20.] After they were come out, they divided themselves, into *Two Bands*; and whilst one took the Round on one side, the other did the like on the other; to see whether every thing was in good Order; and meeting all again together, at the *Bakers Office*, they gave Order unto the Overseer of that Office, what was to bee done there: whereupon they went all together unto the Apartment called; /גזית/ *The Pavement*;[125] part whereof was assigned for the Session of the *Sanhedrim*.

Here they presently cast Lotts, to divide among themselves, the several Sorts of Services for the Day; as, To clear the Altars; to kill the Victims, to offer the Incense, and the rest. The Lotts were not cast all at once; but more distinctly, for each of the Operations; And this was the Manner of it. The Præsident of the Division, with the Consent of the rest, pitch'd upon a Number, suppose, Fifty, Sixty, & an Hundred; which being by all agreed unto, he took off the Veil of one present, & said, *I will begin with you*: Then saying to the rest, *Hold up your Fingers*. Every one held up as many of his Fingers as he pleased; And he telling their Fingers, until he came to the appointed Numbers; the Person in whom the said Number ended, was he who was to do the Office. Lett it be that of clearing the *Altar*.

Accordingly, he left the other Priests, in the Hall aforesaid, and went up to the *Altars*; on which there were commonly no less than *Three Fires* burning at once: One at the Eastern Side of the Altar, the most remote from the Temple, designed for the Consuming of the Sacrifices: The Second at the South-West Corner of the *Altar*, the next unto the Temple, from whence they usually took the lighted Coals, to carry them unto the Altar of Incense; The Third, on any other Part of the *Altar*, being designed for the Præservation of the *Holy Fire*, that it might never be extinguished. The Priest arriving to the *Altar*, stirr'd the Ashes and Coals, and having filled a Silver Chafing-dish with them, he went away from the *Altar* to the East-side of it.

This done, those of the Priests who were near at hand, ascending to the *Altar*; if they found any Part of the *Burnt-Offering* unconsumed, laid it on one side, and raking all the Ashes together in the Midst of the *Altar*, took them up in several Vessels, which they carried without the Town, to a Place where they could not be blown about by the Wind. In this Place it was, that they did use

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125 גָּזִית [gaziyth], "something cut, i.e., dressed in stone; hewn, wrought."

to burn the Victims of the *Sin-Offerings* for the *High-Priest*, as well as those for the whole Congregation. This was usually done at Break of Day; but on the sett Feasts, rather earlier.

The *Altar* being thus cleared, they kindled *New Fires*; first that which was
[263v] called, *The Great Pitt*. | Then, that which furnished coals for the Altar of Incense; The Jews tell us, t'was made of the *Fig-Wood*.

The *Fire* was now kindled on the *Altar*, and the Remnants of the Burnt-Offering of the præceding Day were putt into it. All the Priests returned then unto that former Apartment, where they cast *Lotts* again, to see, unto whose Share it should fall, To Kill the Victims; To Sprinkle the Altar, To Clear the Altar of Incense; To Manage the Lamps; To Carry the several Parts of the Victim to the Altar; As also to do what belonged unto the Oblations of Cakes; To which Service there belonged no less than Thirteen different Offices. There were Two principal Offices, reserved for a Third Lott; which were, To present the Incense; And, To Place the Parts of the Victims, on the Wood upon the Altar.

The *Second Lott* was cast in the like Manner with the *First*. Only, when they had cast the Lott for the First Office, that is to say, for the Killing of the Victim, they cast no more Lotts for the other Services; They belonging in Course unto the Twelve Persons that stood next unto him who had the First Lott, in a Circle round about the Præsident. All the other Priests, who had no peculiar Share allotted them in the Service of the Day, attended the rest, as there might be Occasion.

When this was done, the *Communal Sacrifice* began; which was, *Two Lambs* offered by way of *Burnt-Offering* every day; the one in the Morning; the other in the Evening.

After Break of Day, the Præsident ordered certain Priests, to go, and see whether it was Day-light enough to begin the Sacrifice; and particularly, whether they could see the Top of Mount *Hebron*.

He whose Office it was, to kill the *Lamb*, went unto the Place, where they were kept for that Purpose; and having made a full Search once more to bee sure, whether it was *Without Blemish*, it was conducted unto the Place where they usually kill'd the Victims, that is, on the *North-Side* of the *Altar*, where it was tied unto one of the Rings fastened unto the Ground. All the Instruments for the Sacrifice being Ready, they gave some *Water* to the *Lamb*; which they thought conduced unto the more easy coming off of the Skin. In the mean time, the Hour for opening the Gates of the Temple being at hand, and notice given thereof by the Sound of the Trumpett, the *Stationery Men* entred, and laying their Hands upon the Head of the *Lamb*, it was killed, and the Blood caught in a Basin.

At this Moment of time, as near as might be, they whose Office it was to look after the Altar of Incense, and the Lamps, entred the Sanctuary, & performed their Duty there. One gathering the Ashes and Coals on a Golden Plate,

sett it on the Ground and left it there. He who managed the *Lamps*, mounted up to them with a moveable Marble Ascent of Three Steps, and having taken out of such *Lamps* as he found extinguished, the remaining *Oil* and Cotton, he putt fresh ones in their Stead; which he rekindled by the *Lamps* that were still burning, except the *Great Lamp* in the Middle, which was called, *The Western Lamp*; If this were extinguished, it was to be lighted again, by the Fire of the *Altar*; But unto those *Lamps* that were not extinguished, they added only some Fresh Oil; altho' at this first time, only *Five Lamps* of the *Seven* were thus taken Care of.

While these things were transacting within, they kill'd the Victim without, which being flay'd, and cutt in Peeces, they sprinkled the Altar with the Blood; and having then carried them unto the Edges of the Altar, and seasoned them with Salt, they left them there, and went once more to their Apartment.

Here the Præsident repeted a *Prayer*; wherein he implored the Protection, Assistance, & Acceptance of God. After *Prayer* they repeted the *Ten Commandments*; And then Read the *Phylacteries*; on which there was written, Exod. XIII.3–10. and, 10–16. And Deut. VI.4–9.

The Lott was then cast the *Third Time*; to determine, who should putt the *Flesh* of the Offering into the Fire; and who should offer the *Incense*.

Now they Returned unto the *Altar*, where they putt into the Fire, the Divided Sacrifice, which lay ready for it; And at the same time, the Priest, who was to offer the *Incense*, took a Silver-Plate, | filled with *Incense*, attended by another [264r] Priest, who in a Chafing-dish took burning Coals from the Altar.

While both of these Priests were ascending to the Temple, Notice was given to the People of the Time that the *Incense* was going to be offered, by a Beat upon a Certain Instrument of Brass, that was not unlike a Timbrel, placed between the Temple and the Altar, the Sound whereof was heard over the City. The Jewes called it, *Migrepha*. At the Sounding of this Instrument, all that were in the Court of the Temple, performed their Devotions. The Two Priests, who carried the *Incense*, and the *Fire*, were preceded by Two others, whose Care it was to clear the Golden Altar and the Candlestick; And these now went into the Temple, where the Priest, who dress'd the Five Lamps before, now dress'd the Two Lamps that remained. This being done, he took the Vessel, which contain'd the Dregs and Impurities, and prostrating himself towards the most Holy Place, went out of the Temple; as did likewise the other Priest appointed for the Clearing of the Altar, with the Vessel containing the Ashes, having in the first place, after the like Manner paid his Reverence. And the Third Priest, who had brought the Burning-Coals in the Chafing-dish, having putt it down, went also out of the Temple, & left him that was to offer the Incense, alone in the Sanctuary. There he staid for the Signal to be given, when the *Incense* was to be putt upon the Altar; which was to be performed, as soon as the Burnt-Offering began to burn.

At the same time, they said with a loud Voice, Three or Four Prayers, (which we have in the *Talmud*, & in *Maimonides*;)[126] in Conjunction with the People which were there assembled. [See Luk. I.10.]

The Prayers being finished, the *Priests* who stood on the Steps of the Temple, gave there their Benediction, to the People, in the Terms directed in the Sixth Chapter of *Numbers*.[127]

After the *Benediction* began the *Music*. After the *Libumen*, and the Sprinkling at the Bottom of the Altar, the Priests upon the Steps leading to the Temple, sounded their *Trumpetts*; beginning with a Sound composed of Three Notes; The first, a continued Note; The Second, a Division; The Third, another continued Note. Then they sang the *Psalms*, divided into three Parts or Pauses, betwixt each whereof, the Trumpetts sounded the former Notes; when the People prostrated themselves, and after the last Sound, went out of the Temple.

The *Evening-Sacrifices*, offered between the Vespers, that is to say, between Three of the Clock in the Afternoon, and Six, were performed in like Manner with those of the *Morning*; except some few small Ceremonies, wherein they differed. The *Incense* particularly in the *Evening* was offered somewhat later; even after the Victim which was putt upon the Fire of the Altar began to be almost consumed by the Flames.

This was the *Daily Service* of the Temple. The *Sabbath-Service*, and the Service of the *Festivals*, had peculiar Operations; and must have elsewhere an Account given of them.

[264v] |

Q. A Remark on the Fate of the *Temple*, may here be proper enough to be introduced?

A. There is one in the *Origines Hebræ* of *Lewis*.[128]

The *Temple*, notwithstanding the Tokens of the Divine Presence in it, was after all but an *Earthly Fabrick*. And, Lo, what Remarkable *Decays* and *Changes* came upon it! It is beleeved, That no public Structure of such Magnificence, that ever was in the World, ever admitted of more Alterations! There was hardly the Reign of one King during its Continuance, in which it received not some notable Mutations and Abuses. Even in the Time of *Solomon* himself, it was affronted with an *Idolatrous Temple*, built in the very face of it. In the Reign of *Rehoboam*, it was forsaken by the *Ten Tribes*; and afterwards by *Judah* itself; who fell to Idolatry; and then *Shishak* spoiled it. How often were its *Treasures* plundered; sometimes by Foreigners, and sometimes by their own Kings? How often was it profaned; as by *Athaliah*, by *Ahaz*, by *Menasseh*? How the Service of it, either

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126 Jurieu, *A critical History* (1:482), citing Maimonides, *Mishneh Kodashim,* Tractate *Tamid* (5.1).

127 Num. 6:23–27.

128 Lewis, *Origines Hebraeae* (2:466).

totally sleighted, or sleightly performed? Idols, how were they sett up in it; and *Altars* to *Strange Gods*? How was the Blood of the *High-Priest* shed; & the Morals of the *Priests*, how corrupt; and the *House of Prayer*, made a *Den of Thieves*? But sometimes again, how was it Repaired, and the Service of it Restored?

At last, it was fired, and all the Sacred Vessels of it were carried into *Babylon*, after it had stood from its Foundation, about *Four hundred & twenty* Years.

Q. The *Twenty Cities* given to *Hiram*, in the Land of *Galilee*? v. 11.
A. Rather, *Near* it, as the Particle *Beth* frequently signifies. They were no Part of the Land of *Canaan*, when it was divided among the *Israelites*, That could not be Alienated; It was the Heritage of God. They were Cities without the Territory of *Israel*. But they had been conquered, partly by *Solomon*; partly by *Pharaoh*, who gave them as part of his Daughters Portion, to *Solomon*. *Solomon* had Power to dispose of them; Especially since they were not at this time inhabited by *Israelites*. *Hotoman*, a famous Lawyer, thinks, that *Solomon* did not give *Hiram* a Propriety, & a perpetual Right in these Cities; but only the Possession & Enjoyment of them, till the Debt was satisfied, which *Solomon* had contracted, by the Assistence he had from *Hiram*, in building the Temple. *Abarbanel* is of *Hotoman*s Opinion.[129] But our *Patrick* looks on his Ground as not Solid. *Selden* hath shown, that the Kings of *Israel* might dispose of those Lands, which they had conquered in a voluntary War, without the Consent of the Senate. *Bochart* also is of the Mind, that these Cities were no part of the Countrey of *Judæa*.[130]

Q. Why called *Cabul*? v. 13.
A. Tis commonly thought, by way of contempt; q.d. *A Dirty Countrey*. *Josephus* will have it signify, *Displeasing*. But the LXX seem to have understood the Word better. They translate it, οριον, The *Term*, or *Bound*.[131] As if *Cabul* were the same with *Gebul*; *Caph* and *Gimel*, being frequently changed, as tis observed by *Bochart*, who approves this Interpretation. *Chabulon* was the Tract of Ground, which bounded the lower *Galilee*.[132]

Q. *Millo*? v. 15.
A. A large & a very beautiful Place (as *Abarbanel* takes it) near to *Zion*, where the *Israelites* did use to meet, & to take their Pleasure.[133] Because it was *Full* of People, therefore it was called, *Millo*; which signifies, *Fullness*, and *Repletion*. Others will have it, a Deep Valley, between Mount *Zion*, & Mount *Moriah*,

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129 Francis Hotmann, 16th-century French legal scholar, *Questionum illustrium Liber* (1576), Quaestio I, pp. 16–17; Abravanel (*see I Kings: A New English Translation* 107–107c).
130 Patrick, *A Commentary* (139), citing Selden, *De Jure Naturali et Gentium* (lib. VI, cap. XVI, pp. 744–51). Bochart, *Geographia Sacra* (pars posterior, lib. II, cap. IV, p. 794).
131 Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* (8.5.3): "Cabul; which name, if it be interpreted according to the language of the Phoenicians, denotes what does not please"; LXX, in Walton, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (2:252): *Terminum*.
132 Patrick, *A Commentary* (141), citing Bochart, *Geographia Sacra* (pars posterior, lib. II, cap. IV, p. 794).
133 Abravanel, *Commentary on the former Prophets*, in loc.

which *Solomon* filled up, with a noble causeway.[134] One would rather say, It was the *State-House*; A Place where the principal Inhabitants, mett for the Transacting of their Public Affaires.

[▽Insert from 266r–267v] [▽266r–267v]

4622.

Q. We read of *Solomon*, that after he had built the *Temple*, and built his *own House*, he then Built Tadmor *in the Wilderness*. There is one Mr *Ab. Seller*, a learned and worthy Person, who has lately published, *The Antiquities of* Palmyra.[135] And from these *Antiquities*, we may extract several Passages, which will Illustrate, not only *Tadmor in the Wilderness*, but also many other Passages in the Sacred Oracles? v. 18. Compare 2. Chron. 8.3, 4.

A. *Palmyra* was the later Name of that Renowned City, & the most used among the *Græcians* and *Romans*. But the old *Syriac* Name was *Tadmor*, which kept its Interest among the Natives, and ha's at this Day recovered an entire Possession; as other Cities, not far from it have done. *Cæsarea* in *Palæstine*, is at present, as of old, called, *Paneas*; and *Petra* in *Arabia*, is now named, *Bosra*.

Some English Merchants, did of late, generously undertake, to discover and examine the Ruines of this wonderful City. The *Arabs*, who now have what remains of it, in their Hands, did suspect, that the *Europæans*, romaging in the Rubbish among so many Sepulchres, were looking for Treasures. The Suspicion had nothing strange in it; for it was usual, under the Foundations of all magnificent Structures, to bury great Summs of Money; probably, that so the Coin, when the Building should become Ruinous, might revive the Memory of the Founder. *Josephus* tells us, That in *David*s Tomb, the High Priest *Hyrcanus* found a mighty Treasure. And the Author of the *Alexandrian Chronicle* avers, That it was *Hezekiah*, who first opened the Tomb, to show the Riches of his Ancestors, to the King of *Babylon*s Embassadors, and that for profaning the Ashes of his Fathers, God devoted his Posterity to Captivity.[136]

Tadmor, was one of the Limits, to the Vast Empire of *Solomon*; who Reigned *from the River* (Euphrates) *to the Land of the Philistines, & to the Border of Egypt*; *From Tiphsac even to Azza*: That is, from *Gaza* to *Thapsacus*, which was one of the Passes over *Euphrates*.

The *Arabic* Translator of, 2. Chron. 8.3. implies, That *Tadmor* was a City, before *Solomon*s Time, and that he only Re-Edified it; That it was a *Metropolis* of

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134 Patrick, *A Commentary* (141–42).

135 Abednego Seller (1647–1705), nonjuring Church of England clergyman and writer, *The Antiquities of Palmyra* (1705).

136 Seller, *Antiquities of Palmyra*, "Preface," citing Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* (7.15.3), where he states that Hyrcanus took 3,000 talents from David's tomb. Seller also cites *Alexandrian Chronicle*, "p. 364."

Old, as it was in the later times, and had many Towns under its Jurisdiction.[137] This is not altogether improbable; for those Parts of the World, near the Place where the *Ark* rested, after the Deluge ceased, were first peopled.

But gross is the Fable given us, by *John Malela*, the Fabulous Historian of *Antioch*; That the Foundations of *Palmyra*, were laid in the Place where *David* slew *Goliath*, and that *Solomon*, in Memory of that Victory, built a noble City there, & from the Fate of the Giant, called it *Palmyra*.[138]

It stood, as *Josephus* tells us, in a very Fertile Spott of Ground, tho' in the Midst of a Desart. And that it had an Healthy Air, we have the Testimony of *Longinus*, who invited his Friend *Porphyrie* thither, to recover his Health.[139]

Ptolomy places it East from *Alexandria*, in the Longitude, of 71. Degr. 30. min. the Latitude of 34 Degr.[140]

The first Inhabitants of this our *Tadmor*, my Author supposes, were the Sons of *Abraham* by *Keturah*. [See Gen. 25.6.][141]

The Children of the East, were for the same reason for which they were so called, called also, *Saracens*. Our learned *Pocock* ha's taught us, That *Saracens* is, as much as to say, *Orientals*, or, *Easterlings*. *Ammianus Marcellinus* will have the *Saracens* to be the *Arabes Scenitæ*,[142] (tho' *Pliny* and *Ptolomy* distinguish them,) to whom the *Palmyrenians* were couterminous, if they were not the same with them.[143]

The Sacred Scripture tells us, That our *Tadmor* stood *in a Wilderness*. *Josephus* tells us the same; and so does *Pliny*, who was contemporary with *Josephus*.[144] He saies, The City was eminent in the Riches of the Soyl, and its pleasant Streams; but was *on every Side surrounded with a mighty Desart of Sand*. He saies, It seems to have been *Separated from the rest of the World*; and it preserved its Liberty in a Private Condition, between the two mighty Empires, the *Roman*

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137 For the Arabic translation, *see* Walton, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (2:733).

138 Seller, *Antiquities of Palmyra* (4), citing Joannes Melala (or Malela, Malalas), (c. 491–578 CE), Byzantine chronicler from Antioch, *"Par*. I. p. 185. & *Par*. 2. p. 152." *See* Malalas, *Chronicle* (1986).

139 Seller, *Antiquities of Palmyra* (6), citing Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* (8.6.1); and Longinus, 3rd-century CE Greco-Roman philosopher, *Epistle ad Porphyrius.*

140 Seller, *Antiquities of Palmyra* (8), citing, under "Arabia Triplex," Ptolomy, *Geographia Universalis,* "lib. 8, p. 205," in an unspecified edition (in the Venice, 1562 ed. of Giuseppe Moletti, the location is lib. V, p. 195, and p. 46 of the concluding section of charts). These coordinates are near the Pakistan/Afghan border, east of Kabul, but Tadmor/Palmyra is in Syria, at 34' latitude, 38' (not 71') longitude.

141 Seller, *Antiquities of Palmyra* (6–7).

142 "Scenite Arabs." Edward Pococke (1604–91), English biblical scholar and orientalist, who in his *Historia Orientalis* (1672) discusses the origins of the Saracens; see *The Theological Works of the Learned D. Pocock* 1:34, 273.

143 Seller, *Antiquities of Palmyra* (7), citing Ammianus Marcellinus, 4th-century CE chronicler, *Roman History* (23.6.13).

144 Seller, *Antiquities of Palmyra* (8), citing Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* (8.6.1); and Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* (1.1.1.21; "p. 583. *ad Paris,*" i.e., the 1685 ed. by Jean Hardouin).

and the *Parthian*. The same Author mentions, *The Solitudes of Palmyra*; Beyond which, on one Hand is *Stelendina*, (a Country not so much as named by other Writers;) on the other Side, they reached home to *Emesa*; and to the Westward, as far as *Petra* in *Arabia Felix*, from whence to the *Persian* Gulf, it was all Desart.

A *River* there was, running by the Walls, whose Name *Ptolomy* either knew not, or omitted. But other Geographers call it *Palmyra*; affirming, that it had its Rise in the *Palmyrene* Mountains, ran thro' the Countrey, & (as *Marius Niger* saies,) at last emptied itself into the *Euphrates*. At this Day, there is not the Least Footstep of that River left. Our Author conjectures, That it was buried in the Terrible Earthquakes, that | happened in those Countryes, *Anno Christi*, 859; [266v] which Ruined many a Noble City, threw down the Palace at *Bagdat*, incredibly damnified *Carræ*, and *Emesa*, and *Damascus*, and *Edessa*, and *Laodicea*, and all along the Coast of *Syria*. For at this time, the *Arabic Historian* avers, that a River Vanish't, being Swallowed up of the Earth, so that no Man could ever discover what New Channel it had found under Ground. Probably *Tadmor* did not escape a share in the Desolations which then harassed the Neighbour Cities.[145]

When *Solomon* built it, he gave it all the Security, which the Rules of Fortifications in that Age allow'd of; But it was better secured by a brave Garrison; For every one speaks Honourably of the Militia of *Palmyra*. Their *Archers* were excellent *Marksmen*, as *Appian* tells us; and their *Horsemen* armed *Cap à Pe*, notwithstanding the Weight of their Arms, were much better than the *Roman*.[146]

It was the *Metropolis* of a Province: and it had not only the advantage of its own Commodities, but it was also the Thorough-fare of all the Merchants that lived beyond it, towards the *Mediterranean*, who traded unto the Ports of the *Persian* Gulf; & the Caravans must help to enrich the Stages where they baited. *Appian* informs us, That its Inhabitants were great Merchants: *Marc Antony* thought the Plunder of it, a sufficient Recompence for all the Fatigues his Horse endured in the *Persian* War, tho' he fail'd of his Attempt. They form'd themselves into a *Company*, under a *Præsident* or *Governour* of their own; whereof the Inscriptions found at this Day have some Remembrance. Doubtless they carried the Commodities of *Asia*, down the *Euphrates* to *Balsora*, & brought from *Persia* the Merchandizes of *India* and *Arabia*, & furnished the *Romans* with them. *Palmyra* had its own Product also; particularly, *Salt*, with which the Inhabitants drive a Trade at this Day. I find in the Philosophical Transactions, a very probable Conjecture, That here was the *Valley of Salt*, where *David* fought the *Syrians*.[147]

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145 Seller, *Antiquities of Palmyra* (157–58). Marius Niger, *Geographiae Commentariorum libri XI* (1575), "Geographia Asiae Commentariae IIII," p. 505.

146 Seller, *Antiquities of Palmyra* (10). Appian of Alexandria (c. 95–185 CE), Roman historian, *The Civil Wars* (bk. 5, chs. 9–10).

147 William Halifax, "A Relation of a Voyage from Aleppo to Palmyra in Syria," in *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London, 19* (1695–97), no. 217, p. 85, referring to 2 Sam. 2:13.

The *Dates* likewise, the Fruits of their *Palm-trees*, were mighty Delicacies at *Rome* and elsewhere. *Nicolaus Damascenus* thought the *Dates* of *Syria*, a fitt Present for *Augustus*;[148] and *Phœnicia* ha's its Name from its *Palm-trees*. Yea, if we may beleeve *Strabo*, the *Date* was of the same Use to the *Asiaticks*, that the *Coco* is to the *Indians*.[149] The single *Palm-tree* afforded the Inhabitants both *Wine*, and *Vinegar*, *Honey* and *Meal*; & out of it they wove their *Cloathes*. The *Smiths* used the *Shells* for *Fire*; and when you have soak'd the *Shells* in *Water*, you may feed *Cattel*, both greater and smaller, with them. It is reported, That there is a *Persic* Poem, which enumerates Three Hundred and Sixty Uses, (one for every Day of the *Old Year*) of the *Palm tree*. In some Places of *Arabia*, they are perfumed: And those in *Syria*, as they are very Beautiful to the *Eye*, so to the Taste they are very Delicious. These Passages I mention the rather, because many Passages, like some in the *Ninety Second Psalm*, are thereby Illustrated.[150]

The Ruines of its pompous Buildings, to be seen at this Day, are an undeniable Demonstration, That *Palmyra*, was once a mighty, and wealthy City, tho' it be now the Residence of Beggary and Wretchedness.[151]

As long as *Tadmor* was in *Solomon*s Hands, doubtless it was governed by Lieutenants, appointed by himself; the Στρατηγοι and Ηγεμονες of the several Κληρουχιαι, mentioned by *Josephus*.[152]

Probably, it Revolted from *Rehoboam* with the rest of *Syria*, when *Rezin* became King of *Damascus*. But whether it submitted unto the Power of *Rezin*, or formed itself into a *Commonwealth*, as it was afterwards; or what its Government was, till the Dayes of *Augustus*, we have no Records. In his time, it seems governed by a Prince or *Toparch*; almost every Town in *Parthia*, and *Syria*, after the overthrow of *Crassus*, being siezed by some *Roytelet* or other. But in *Plinye*s time, it had recovered its old Form of Government; for he affirms, that in his Dayes *Palmyra* was, (αυτονομους, *Sui Juris*,) neither Subject unto the *Romans* nor the *Parthians*, as F. *Harduin* well interprets the Word [*Privatâ Sorte*] of the Historian.[153] And the Inscriptions discover Monuments erected by the Senate and People of *Palmyra*, to those Illustrious Persons who had laid the *Republick* under Obligations. In the Reign of *Antoninus Caracalla*, it was a Roman Colony: But under *Odænathus* and his Sons, it became the Seat of the *Oriental* Empire, conquered all *Egypt*, and forced a great Part of the *Roman* Empire, to acknowl-

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148 Seller, *Antiquities of Palmyra* (13), citing Nicolaus Damascenus, "*Plut. Sympos.* 8. qu. 4" (in Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 14.652A).

149 Seller, *Antiquities of Palmyra* (14), citing Strabo, *Geographica* (16.4.18).

150 Seller, *Antiquities of Palmyra* (11–15).

151 Seller, *Antiquities of Palmyra* (15).

152 "The military leaders and guides of the several colonies." Seller, *Antiquities of Palmyra* (16), citing Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* (8.2; i.e., 8.35).

153 "Autonomous, their right" … "private lot." Seller, *Antiquities of Palmyra* (17), citing Jean Hardouin (1649–1729), French Jesuit scholar and editor of *Caii Plinii Secundi Historiae Naturalis* (1734).

edge its Jurisdiction. It possessed all the East, as far as *Ancyra*; and it was in a fair way to possess all *Bithynia*, as far as *Chalcedon*, had not the Natives taken Arms in behalf of *Aurelian*. But now it is under an *Arabian* Prince, nominated by tributary to the *Ottoman Port*.[154]

The Religion of *Palmyra*, while Subject unto *Solomon*, doubtless was *Jewish*; But how long it continued so, after the just Judgments of God had confined the Kingdome of *Rehoboam* to narrower Limits, | no Man alive can tell.[155] [267r]

One of the bravest Persons that ever the World saw, was the Lady *Zenobia*. She was a Lady, who for Learning, and Beauty, and Courage, hardly ever had her æqual. After the Death of her Husband, she had the Government of *Palmyra*, and so managed the Matter, that She bid fair for the Conquest of the whole World. She laid a Plan to have Divided the Empire of the World, with *Victorina*, another brave Lady that was her Contemporary. But the Emperour *Aurelian* made her a Captive; and carried her, loaden with Chains of Gold, in that very Chariot, that she had herself præpared with a vast Magnificence, to have made her own Triumphal Entry into the City of *Rome*. This matchless Lady was a *Jewess*, (tho' she had been first a *Pagan*:) and yett, as we learn from *Athanasius*, she behaved herself with a marvellous Tenderness towards her Christian Subjects. She was a great Patroness of learned Men; and among the rest, the famous *Longinus* enjoy'd her Patronage; and it is not unlikely that it was in Complaisance to the Religion of his Mistress, that in his admirable Treatise of, *The Sublime*, he speaks very honourably of *Moses*, and of his Writings.[156] It is thought, she would have been a *Christian*, if she had fallen into better hands, than *Paulus* of *Samosata*; who, as *Theodoret* informs us, that he might ingratiate himself with *Zenobia*, would not allow our Blessed Jesus to be God. She had a great Regard for him, and made him her *Ducenarius*, or *Procurator*, at *Antioch*, by which Title he affected rather to be called, than by that of, *A Bishop*.[157]

At *Palmyra*, we find in both Histories and Inscriptions, many Names, that are evidently of an *Hebrew*, or a *Syriac* Extraction. Because the mentioning of them, will a little contribute unto the Illustrations of the Sacred Scriptures, they shall here be mentioned.

Jaribolus, or *Jariboleus*. Tis *Jerubbaal*, *Gideon*s Name.

Barseches. Tis *Barachias*, or *Barachus*, or *Baruchus*; which last was the Name of the Scribe of the Prophet *Jeremiah*.[158] We find a Bishop of that Name; Βαραχους Επισκοπους Βακαθων.[159] And *Borochus*, the Judge, in *Iamblichus*.

Ouorodes. Tis *Orodes*, and *Herod*.

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154 Seller, *Antiquities of Palmyra* (16–18).
155 Seller, *Antiquities of Palmyra* (19).
156 Longinus, *An Essay on the Sublime* (9.9).
157 The history of Zenobia is told by Seller in *Antiquities of Palmyra* (80–116).
158 See Jer. 36:4–5, and the book of Baruch in the Apocrypha.
159 "Barachus, Bishop of Bakathon."

Sorækus, the Son of one of the same Name, does make a considerable Figure in *Iamblichus*'s Babylonicks.[160] Tis the same with *Saruch*.

Simon. Tis purely Hebrew.

Vaballuthus. Tis *Ballathus*, with an Arabic præfix. *Bal, Belus, Bolathus* and *Balathus*, are the same Name in *Damascius*. *Ballatha* is the Name of a *Syrian* City in *Ptolemy*. And *Sanballat*, (that is, the Prince of *Ballathus*,) appears in Holy Writt, the Governour of *Mesopotamia*.[161] And *Vaballathus*, in *Vopiscus*, is called *Balbatus*. *Bolanus* was one of the Bishops, who condemned *Paulus* of *Samosata*, in the Synod of *Antioch*.[162]

Matthas. Tis Hebrew; *Matthat*, *Matthan*, *Mattathes*.

Martha. Tis Hebrew. A Womans Name.

Airanes. Tis *Aaron*.

Jaraius. Tis *Jair*.

Elabelus. Tis *Elbelus*, or, The God *Bel*. Sometimes *Alagbelus*, *Alagbalus*, corruptly *Heliogabalus*.

Manuæus. Tis the same with *Manoah*.

Zenobius was a Name common among the *Phœnicians* and *Syrians*. *Eusebius* mentions Two Martyrs of that Name, who suffered in *Dioclesian*s Persecution; the one an admirable Physician; the other a Presbyter of the Church of *Sidon*.[163] *Ephremius* the Patriarch of *Antioch*, wrote a learned Book against *Zenobius* of *Emesa*.[164] *Zenobius*, a Bishop of *Cilicia*, was Martyred, with his Wife and Sister *Zenobia*, saies *Simeon Metaphrastes*. And the Wife of *Basiliscus* the Emperour, was called *Zenoba*.

Malech, *Malchus*, *Malchion* (of which Name an eminent Presbyter of *Antioch*:)[165] All from the same Original. As is *Malechus Podosaces*,[166] Prince of the *Arabians*; And *Melham*, Name of the late Prince of *Tadmor*.

Zebeidas, *Zabdas*, *Zabdilas*. Tis the same with *Zabdi*. [Josh. 7.3.] T'was the Name of *Zenobia*s General; whom the Transcribers of *Vopiscus*, have ignorantly turned into a Woman.[167]

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160 Seller, *Antiquities of Palmyra* (191), citing Iamblichus, late 3rd/early 4th-century CE Syrian neoplatonist philosopher, *Dramaticon*, in Photius of Constantinople's *Bibliotheca,* Cod. 94. This section describes the trials of the lovers Rhodanes and Sinonis, and how Soraechus "the Just" assists them.

161 Neh. 2:10, 19, and subsequent references in the book of Nehemiah.

162 Seller, *Antiquities of Palmyra* (192), citing Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* (7.30); Flavius Vopiscus, *Vita Aureliani* in *Historia Augusta.*

163 Seller, *Antiquities of Palmyra* (192), citing Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* (8.13).

164 Seller, *Antiquities of Palmyra* (192), citing Iamblichus, in Photius, *Bibliotheca*, Cod. 228.

165 Seller, *Antiquities of Palmyra* (193), citing Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* (7.29).

166 Seller, *Antiquities of Palmyra* (193), citing Ammianus Marcellinus*, Res Gestae* (24.4.2).

167 Seller, *Antiquities of Palmyra* (193), citing Flavius Vopiscus, *Vita Aureliani* (22, 25).

Samsus. Tis the same with *Samson*. So *Sampsa*. [Ezr. 4.8.] And *Samsaiceramus*, one of the Princes of *Syria*, under *Pompey*. And *Sampsa*, a City in *Arabia*, according to *Stephanus*. And in *Epiphanius*, the Σαμψαιοι, are, ηλιακοι.[168]

Odænathus, the Emperour, is of a *Syrian* Family. *John Melela* alwayes calls him *Enathus*. *Eusebius* mentions *Ennathas*, a Woman, among the Martyrs of *Palestine*.[169] My Author inclines to think, *Enathus*, and *Ignatius*, to be the same Name; *Ignatius* only better turned to please the Ear of the *Greeks* and *Romans*. *Gallienus* assumed the Name in honour of *Odenathus*.[170]

| We return from this Digression. *Benjamin Tudelensis* tells us, That in his [267v] Time, there were Two Thousand profess'd *Jewes*, Inhabitants of *Tadmor*.[171]

In Process of Time, after the Revolt from *Rehoboam*s Government, no doubt, they blended the *Jewish Rites* with those of the *Gentiles*; As the New Inhabitants of *Samaria* did, after the Natives had been transported by *Shalmanezer*; until *Paganism* at last prevailed.[172]

After *Christianity* was planted in the World, and *Thaddæus* had preached the Gospel at *Edessa*, our Holy Religion spread itself unto *Tadmor*; tho' *Paganism* was not utterly dispossessed, as appears by the *Inscriptions* to their Countrey-Gods. It was very early an Episcopal See; but in the Subscriptions of the Ancient Councils, or the *Notitiæ* of the Church, we have little Mention of its Bishops. We find *Marinus* the Bishop of *Palmyra*, subscribing the First General Council of *Nice*. And *John*, Bishop of *Palmyra*, does by the Hand of another, subscribe at the Council of *Chalcedon*. Yea, we find, *An. Dom.* 900. it was yett a Bishoprick. But when it ceas'd so to be, we know not.[173]

Inscriptions inform us of *Dioclesian*s being here; and Church-History gives us Information of Persecution raging in these Parts. Doubtless the Church here, had a Share in the Prosperity that followed upon *Constantine*s arrival to the Imperial Throne. But the Vicious Lives of the Christians, and their Clergy; and the Horrid Opinions with which their Faith was by Degrees depraved, at last subjected them to the *Mahometan* Yoke. When *Syria* submitted unto the Impostures & Successors of *Mahomet*, *Palmyra* was by Degrees reduced unto the mean Condition, in which it is now after some sort subsisting.[174]

Hardly any City in the World ha's pass'd thro' such a Variety of Condition, as *Tadmor*; which however still retains its old Name and Seat; while, of *Ctesiphon*

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168 Σαμψαιοι, "Sampsaioi," is the Greek term for the Ossaeans, a Hellenized Jewish sect influenced by Christianity which was addressed by Epiphanius (cf. *Panarion*); ηλιακοί is the plural nom. form of the adjective, ἡλιακός [heliakos], "of the sun, solar."

169 Seller, *Antiquities of Palmyra* (194), citing Eusebius, *Martyrs of Palestine,* ch. 9.

170 Seller, *Antiquities of Palmyra* (187–94), who renders the name "Odsenathus," which Mather misspells.

171 Seller, *Antiquities of Palmyra* (19); *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela* (ed. Adler, p. 49).

172 Seller, *Antiquities of Palmyra* (19–20).

173 Seller, *Antiquities of Palmyra* (20–21).

174 Seller, *Antiquities of Palmyra* (21–23).

and *Persepolis*, *Ninive* and *Babylon*, (as our Author notes,) with many other Cities in that Part of *Asia*, it may be averr'd, (what the Psalmist saies of some others,) *Their Memorial is perished with them*.[175]

Tadmor is a Name that seems derived from /דמר/ a Word, that implies an *admirable and stupendous Scituation*, probably, because of its being such a Fertile Spott, in the Midst of a mighty Desart. And the Name of *Palmyra*, probably comes, not from a *Latin* Original, with a *Palm-tree* in the Significance of it; but from the *Persian* Word, *Palmee*, which signifies, *A Shield*; and being a Frontier-Town, it agrees well Enough.

The Ingenious Collector of these *Palmyrenean Antiquities*, ha's interspers'd here and there, some other Passages which carry *Illustrations* of the Divine Oracles in them.

One I Shall here mention.

The *High-Priest* had alwayes a *Secretary*, whose Election was confined in Process of Time, to be alwayes from the Inferiour Sacred Orders. In the Old Inscriptions he is called, *Scriba*, *a Libris Pontificalibus*.[176] He Transcribed & Præserved, the Ritual, and other Books, that belong'd unto the High-Priests Office; And many times he managed the Revenues of the Sacerdotal Colledge; being the *Treasurer of the Temple*. So, Q. *Ingenuus Maximianus*, was both *Scriba Publicus*, and, *Curator Ærarii*.[177] (The Public Treaties and Leagues, besides the Deeds of Private Families, were deposited for the most Part in the *Temples*.) Thus *Nehemiah*, (ch. 13.13.) made *Zadok* the *Scribe*, also a *Treasurer* of the *Temple*. *Ingenuus*, in that Inscription of *Gruter*s, was called, *Scriba Publicus*; because the *High-Priest* had probably also another private Secretary for his own Affairs. Thus *Livius Theona*, is said to be, *Ab Epipolis Græcis; Scriba, a Libris Pontificalibus*.[178] Those *Publick Scribes* belonging to the *High Priests*, were doubtless those of whom we read in the Sacred Writings, where the *Chief Priests* and the *Scribes* are commonly joined; Αρχιερεις και γραμματεις.[179] The Station was Honourable; Hence we read, Eccles. 10.5. That God *imprints Glory on the Face of the Scribe*. They continued in Employment among the Jewes, when the High-Priesthood ceased, and even Six hundred Years after our Saviours Time.[180]

I will just mention another.

The Συμποσιαρχος,[181] was the Governour of the Feast, chosen by common Consent of the Company; To Impose the Lawes of *Drinking*, and Regulate all the affayrs of the Table with a *Decorum*, and propose a Recompence to every one

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175 Seller, *Antiquities of Palmyra* (23); Ps. 9:6.
176 "Scribe of the pontifical books."
177 "From Greek, Epipolis; scribe of the pontifical books." Epipolis was a village in Graeco-Roman Egypt.
178 "Secretary of letters from the Greeks in the pontifical books."
179 Ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ γραμματεῖς, "the chief priests and scribes"; cf. Matt. 2:4, 21:15.
180 Seller, *Antiquities of Palmyra* (224–25).
181 Συμποσίαρχος, "Symposiarch."

that entertained the Company with what should be Acceptable and Edifying. *Plutarch* much urges the Reviving of this Office.[182] When the King of *Persia* made his Feast, our Translation carries it, as if *every Man Drank according to the Law*; But, the LXX carries it, ου κατα προκειμενον νομον,[183] *Not according to the Rule præscribed* by the *Symposiarch*, but every Man *Drank what himself pleased*.[184]

But now, lett us Return from our Journey to *Tadmor*.

[△Insert ends] [△]

~~2292.~~

Q. From the *Men of War* here mentioned, have you no Admonition to their Brethren? v. 22.

A. The Word here used for, *Men*,[185] is not that Noble Word, *Ish*, that signifieth *Vertue*, and *Valour*, and is wont to bee applied unto Persons of Renown; but that more contemptible Word, *Enosh*, which signifieth, *Sorrowful*, and, *Sickly*, and *Mortal*. This may not bee, with any Design to Reproach the Calling, but possibly to putt Souldiers in Mind of their *Frailty*, and Humble them, who when in their Plumes, are too apt to bee lifted up.

Q. The *Chief of the Officers*, that were *over Solomons Work*, were *five hundred & fifty*. In 2. Chron. VIII.10. they are but *two hundred & fifty*? v. 23.

A. The Hebrew Doctors commonly {say}, of the Officers there were no more than 250 *Israelites*; the other 300 were *Proselytes*. But the plainest Account is, what *Abarbanel* gives; That there were only 250 sett over those who wrought in the Temple. The other 300 were employ'd in looking after the Works in other Places.[186]

Q. *Three times a Year did Solomon offer*. v. 25.

A. The Meaning is not, that he offered Sacrifices no oftner, but that he never failed, to keep the *Three Solemn Festivals*.[187]

Q. *Ezion-geber*? v. 26.

A. The Name signifies, *The Back-bone of a Man*.[188] It lies in a Rocky & Ragged shore, that runs out into the Sea, with the Resemblance of such a thing. *Arianus* in his *Periplus*, describes the Inmost Part of the *Sinus Arabicus*, where *Ezion-*

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182 Plutarch, *Quaestiones convivales* (620D, line 3), in *Plutarch Moralia* (ed. C. Hubert [1938]).

183 LXX on Esther 1:8 (*see* Walton, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* 3:5); οὐ κατὰ προκείμενον νόμον, "not according to the appointed law."

184 Seller, *Antiquities of Palmyra* (231–35).

185 אֱנוֹשׁ ['enowsh], "men."

186 Abravanel (*see I Kings: A New English Translation* 109); Patrick, *A Commentary* (146).

187 Patrick, *A Commentary* (147).

188 עֶצְיוֹן-גֶּבֶר ['Etsyon Geber], "backbone of a man."

geber lay, as very dangerous, because of the Rocks & Shelves. This makes it less strange, that the Ships of *Jehoshaphat*, were broken in Peeces there, before they putt out to Sea. In after times, this Port was forsaken, and they frequented *Elath*. *Josephus* would have *Ezion-geber*, the Same with *Berenice*, a City on the African Shore. But the Scripture plainly teaches us, that it was a Port of *Idumæa*, not far from *Aela* on the Red Sea, and not very much distant from the Wilderness of *Sin*. See Num. XXXIII. 6. *Eloth*, or *Elath* by the *Greeks* and *Romans* called, *Aela*, and *Ailat*, and *Elat*, and *Alana*, was a Port known in the Dayes of *Moses*. [Deut. 2.8.] belonging to the *Edomites*; or as *Jerom* saies, to the *Egyptians*. Dr. *Patrick* thinks, when *David* conquered *Edom*, he became a Master of this Port. *Solomon* built here in his own Right, and came hither himself. [2. Chron. VIII.17.] It remained in the Possession of the *Israelites* an hundred & fifty Years. *Joran* lost it. [2. King. VIII.20.] *Azariah* recovered it. [2. King. XIV.22.] *Ahaz* again lost it. [2. King. XVI.6.] At last the *Romans* had it.[189]

{1..6}

Q. Wee have elsewhere had some Touches upon *Ophir*.[190] Pray bestow a few more upon it? v. 28.

A. *Africk*; seems to bee the Region; where several Countreyes abound with *Gold*.

Lett it bee considered, whether the Affinity between *Ophir* and *Apher* (for t'was anciently written with *Ph*) bee not considerable; and whether /אופירא/ which anciently perhaps was read *Aphira*, bee not very like to *Aphrica*, where the Inserting of the Letter *C* into the Word, when it came among the Romans, is not at all to bee wondred at. The common Etymologies of *Africa*, are sorry & groundless, in Comparison of this Derivation.

The Voyage hither was not a *Three Years Voyage*, as is generally thought, but it was a Voyage made once in every Three Years. [1. King. 20.22.]

[265v] It is here observed, That *Solomon*s Navy, (the First that wee Read of,) | was *Built on the Shore of the Red Sea, in the Land of Edom*; and thence lanch'd, & sent upon their Voyage. This might bee the Occasion of what you find in *Dionysius* of *Alexandria*, that the *Erythræi* (who are the *Edomites*) were the first that Invented Shipping.[191] And, might not this give Occasion to that confused Passage in *Pliny*? *Navem primus ex Egypto in Græciam Danaus invexit; antè Ratibus navi-*

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189 Patrick, *A Commentary* (147–49), citing Flavius Lucius Arrianus (c. 87–after 145 CE), *Periplus Ponti Euxini*; Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* (8.6.4); and Jerome, *Divina Bibliotheca 05. Liber Elle Addabarim Qui Dicitur Deuteronomium*, col. 411–462B [PL 28.347–420], col. 455.

190 See *BA* 1:716–18, 747–50.

191 Dionysius the Great (c. 200–c. 265 CE), bishop of Alexandria, Egypt.

gabatur, inventis in mari Rubro, inter insulas, à Rege Erythrâ. L. 7. c. 56.[192] This Passage ha's a plain Relation to what wee have now before us, in our Infallible Records. Finally, might not hence arise the Report among the Heathen, that the first *Ship* that ever was, went unto a Countrey to fetch the *Golden Fleece*? And justly might that Ship, have the Name of *Argos*, because they Sail'd so *slowly*?[193]

Q. They fetched *Gold, Four hundred & twenty Talents*? In 2. Chron. VIII.18. we read, *They brought four hundred & fifty*? v. 28.

A. We may well suppose, as *Patrick* notes, That Thirty Talents might be spent in the Charges of the Voyage, Out and Home; only Four hundred & twenty, came into *Solomon*s Coffers.

Abarbanel thinks, That *Solomon* gave Thirty Talents, to the Servants of *Hiram*, for a Gratuity.

Laniado, who delights to contradict *Abarbanel*, saies, the *Jerusalem* Talent, was greater than that of *Ophir*; 450 *Ophir*-Talents made no more than 420 *Jerusalem*-Talents.[194]

It is Easy also to say, There came of Gold Refined, only 420 Talents into *Solomon*s Treasury; tho' the whole Mass was 450.

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192 Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* (7.56): "Danaüis was the first who passed over in a ship from Egypt to Greece. Before his time, they used to sail on rafts, which had been invented by King Erythras, to pass from one island to another in the Red Sea."

193 "Argos" translates as "slow."

194 Patrick, *A Commentary* (150). Abravanel (*see I Kings: A New English Translation* 111); probably Samuel Laniado (fl. 16th c.), of Aleppo, author of several midrashic commentaries, *Keli yaḳar: perush Nevi'im rishonim* (1603), in loc.

Q. The Queen of *Sheba*? v. 1.

A. The Jews, (more truly than *Josephus*, who places her in *Meroe*) find this Lady at *Aljamin*, which was the South Part of *Arabia Fælix*, near the *Red-Sea*. Our Saviour calls her, *The Queen of the South*. *Jamin* in *Hebrew*,[195] (with a Particle added, which makes it *Aljamin* in *Arabic*,) signifies, *The South*. Jewish Tradition gives her a Tincture of Religion, from her Ancestors; being descended by *Keturah*, from *Abraham*. [1. Chron. I.32.] She came to hear of *Solomon*, by the Ships bound for *Ophir*, that sail'd by her Coast, & every where spred the Fame of *Solomon*, & of his God.

Among her Presents, there was *Very much Gold*. *Bochart* shews, That the *Sabæans* abounded in Gold, & had such a Plenty of it from *Ophir*, that they Exchanged it for *Brass* and *Iron*, giving Twice or Thrice the Weight of them.

Yett the *Abyssine* Christians, who say her name was *Marqueda*, are very confident she came from their Countrey; where tis a Tradition, that she had a Son by *Solomon*, from whom their Kings are derived. This is particularly noted by *Ludolphus*, in his Notes on the Confession of *Claudius* the King of *Æthiopia*; where he Sais, *This was the Faith of his Father, the Israelitish King*.[196]

Q. She saw, *His Ascent*? v. 5.

A. The Ancient Interpreters, read the Word,[197] *His Burnt-Offering*. Probably she saw the Service of the Ministers in the House of God, & from *Solomon* understood the Meaning of all that was done there. This threw her into an Ecstasy of Admiration. So the LXX read it. So *Peter Martyr*, *& Victorinus Strigelius*.[198]

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Q. What should be the True Wood, that our Translation calls, *Almug*-trees? v. 12.

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195 יָמִין [yamiyn], "right hand." Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* (8.6.5); Meroe is another name for Kush, Nubia, or Sudan. Where Mather has "Aljamin" and "Jamin," Patrick spells them "Aljemin" and "Jemin."

196 Patrick, *A Commentary* (151–53), citing Bochart, *Geographia Sacra* (pars prior, lib. II, cap. XXVI, pp. 146–56). Mather refers to Hiob Ludolphus (1624–1704), German polymath, jurist, orientalist, and grammarian of the Ethiopian language (Amharic), *Confessio Fidei Claudii Regis Aethiopiae* (1661), Note 1 (unpaginated).

197 וְעֹלָתוֹ; Patrick, *A Commentary* (154), transliterates "Olatho," based on *Targum Jonathan* on 1 Kings 10:5, in Walton, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (2:454), where the term is עֲלָתֵהּ, i.e., "holocausta ejus" ("his burnt offerings").

198 Patrick, *A Commentary* (154). LXX, in Walton, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (2:454); Peter Martyr Vermigli, *Melachim, id est Regum Libri duo posteriores cum Commentariis* (74–75); Strigelius, *Libri Samuelis, Regum, & Paralipoménon* (242).

A. The Hebrew Words *Almugim* and *Algummim*,[199] here and 2. Chron. 2.8. are not indeed accommodated with any Translation at all. Our Translators followed *Munster*, who seeing the Jewish Doctors, wholly divided in the Signification of these Words, thought it wholly unknown what they signified.[200]

Probably these two Words in which there is only a simple Transposition of the Letters, may mean the same Kind of Wood; only *Almugim* expresses its Incorruptibility, and *Algummim* expresses its Figure, growing like a Reed, having a small Bark, without any Knotts.

Lipenius thinks, he has demonstrated, that *Luther* had Reason enough, to translate it *Ebony*.

We shall not enter into any Dispute, about the other Translations. I will only add; That the *Late Essay for a New Translation*, proposes *Algumim*, to be rendred, *Incorruptible Wood*, and *Algummim* to be rendred, *Wood of Reeds*. For tho' *Pineda* and *Lipenius*, may laugh at the latter Translation, yett several have observed, That in the *Indies*, and especially at *Zeilon*, there are a Sort of *Reeds*, more than Seven foot in Circumference, which æqual the finest Pillars of Temples, in Largeness & Beauty, and they are so strong, that most of the Indian *Canoes* | are [268v] made of One Knott of those *Reeds*. It is indeed uncertain, whether any such *Reeds* grew on Mount *Lebanon*, whence K. *Solomon* desired K. *Hiram*, to send him of the Wood *Algummim*. However, a *Wood* may be called a *Reed*, not for its being in Effect really so, but for its resembling a *Reed* in Figure & in Beauty.[201]

Tis true, our Famous *Castel*, thinks it was the Wood called, *Sanctulum*, which is proper for all the Uses mention'd in the Verse that followes; and still growes in *India*.[202]

Q. Why is it added; *The King had at Sea, a Navy of Tarshish, with the Navy of Hiram*? v. 22.

A. Tis to give a further Account, how *Solomon* came to have *Gold*, in such Abundence. He trafficqued for it, in another Fleet, besides that which went unto *Ophir*. That Fleet was *Solomon*s own; & sail'd out of his own Port, *Eziongeber*; tho' it was manag'd with *Tyrians*, because they understood the Sea. But this Navy belong'd unto *Hiram*, and went out of his Port at *Tyre*; and *Solomon* had only a Liberty to Trade in it, unto *Tarshish*; *Hiram* was the Chief in this Business.

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199 אַלְמֻגִּים [almuggiym] (1 Kings 10:12); אַלְגּוּמִּים [alguwmmiym] (2 Chron. 2:8).

200 Münster, *Hebraica Biblia* (322).

201 Le Cène, A*n essay for a new translation of the Bible* (158–62), citing Joannes de Pineda, *De Rebus Salomonis Regis Libri Octo* (lib. IV, cap. XVIII); and Martin Lipenius (1630–92), Lutheran theologian and author of several encyclopedic books on medicine, jurisprudence, and theology. Mather refers to Lipenius's *Navigatio Salomonis Ophiritica* (1658), p. 691. Luther, in the *Biblia Germanica* (1545), renders the term "Hebenhold," i.e., "ebony." See also *BA* 1:717, 1076, 1121.

202 Edmund Castell (1606–85), English orientialist, *Lexicon heptaglotton Hebraicum, Chaldaicum, Syriacum, Samaritanum, Aethiopicum, Arabicum, conjunctim, et Persicum, separatim* (1669).

Once in Three Years came the Navy of Tarshish. It was not So far off, that they could not Return in less than Three Years. But as Abarbanel supposes, They went thither in the End of One Year, & stay'd there the next to buy and sell, & then returned in the Beginning of the Third Year. Bochart ha's made it very probable, That this was Tartessus in Spain; where Strabo & others inform us, in Ancient Times, Gold and Silver were very plentiful.

Ivory was one of the Returns. *Bochart* thinks, the Word rather signifies *Elephants*; which best agrees with what followes; and so all of them are living Creatures.[203]

[269r] |

Q. Some Computations upon the Vast Riches of *Solomon*, may be a little Entertaining to us? v. 29.

A. A Professor of the Mathematicks, our *George Renolds*, has entertained us, with a Treatise on, *The State of the Greatest King*, wherein he has done much of my Work to my hand, and saved much of my Labour.

The City of *Jerusalem* (a Type of Heaven,) where *Solomon* had his Palace, must needs be a very great City. All the Circumcised, with their Families, were obliged under severe Penalties, to go up thither, for the annual Celebration of the *Passeover*, a Festival which lasted for Seven Dayes together. When *Joab* numbred the People, there were found one Million, five hundred & seventy thousand, Men fitt for War; besides *Levites* & *Benjamites*; and if we Suppose but Tenth Part, in the Two Tribes that were not numbred, this will raise the Number to one million, seven hundred & twenty seven thousand Men. The Number was yett greater in the Dayes of *Solomon*. The Men that are fitt for War in any Nation, we will allow not a Sixth Part of the People in the Nation. If we should suppose Two Millions of that Number to be Inhabitants of *Jerusalem* (which are more than as many again as are now in any City of the World,) the rest, which we may call Strangers, make Nine Millions. Now suppose Four Millions of that Number detained from the Festival, thro' various Necessities, yett there must be Five Millions, besides a Multitude of Proselytes, that kept the Feast at *Jerusalem*, & found Entertainment there. It must be no Small City, that could entertain such a Multitude![204]

We read, the Queen of *Sheba*, presented King *Solomon*, with One hundred and twenty Talents of Gold.[205]

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203 Abravanel (*see I Kings: A New English Translation* 117d–118). Patrick, *A Commentary* (162–63), citing Bochart, on Tartessus, *Geographia Sacra* (pars prior, lib. II, cap. VII, p. 90), and on elephants, *Hierozoicon* (pars posterior, lib. I, cap. XX, cols. 135–145); and Strabo, *Geographica* (3.2.11): "the silver-bedded river Tartessus." *See also* Poole, *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:502–03).

204 George Renolds, professor of mathematics at Bristol, *The State of the greatest King, set forth in the greatness of Solomon, and the glory of his Reign* (1721), p. 44.

205 1 Kings 10:10.

This amounted unto Eight Hundred, fourty three Thousand, Nine hundred & five Pounds Ten Shillings, & four Pence, three farthings; of our English Sterling.

Among the Treasures of *Solomon*, there were Two Hundred *Targets* of beaten Gold; Six hundred Shekels to a Target.

This amounts to

$$281301^{l} - 16^{s} - 9^{d}\ ½$$

There were also, Three Hundred *Shields* of Beaten Gold; Three hundred Shekels of Gold in a Shield.

This amounts to,

$$210976^{l} - 7^{s} - 7.^{d}$$[206]

The daily Provision for King *Solomon*s Family, amounted unto Seven hundred & thirty one *Winchester Bushels*,[207] & Two Pecks.

Which, with 10 fat Beeves, 20 Beeves fed in Pastures, and 100 Sheep; besides *Harts* & *Roe-bucks*, & *Fallow-Deers*, & *Fatted Fowl*, was a Sufficient Allowance for Thirty Thousand People.

The Twenty Thousand Measures of Wheat, which King *Solomon* annually gave to *Hiram* the King of *Tyre*, for the Food of his Houshold, amounted unto One hundred & fifty two thousand, five hundred & fifty Eight bushels, one Corn-gallon, & very near One Pint.

The Twenty thousand Measures of beaten Wheat, & the Twenty Thousand Measures of Barley, that *Solomon* gave to the Servants of *Hiram*, that cutt the Timber for him; are each of them, One hundred & sixty two thousand, five hundred & fifty Eight bushels; One Corn Gallon, & very near a Pint.[208]

The Weight of *Gold*, that came to *Solomon* in one Year, was no less than Sixty hundred & Sixty Six Talents; besides what he had from the Merchants, & the Kings of *Arabia*, & the Governours of the Countreys.

These Talents of Gold amount to,

$$4683675^{l} - 12^{s} - 8\ ½.^{d}$$

At One time, the Fleet brought him in from *Ophir*, four hundred & fifty Talents of Gold; which amounts to

$$3164645^{l} - 14^{s} - 0.^{d}$$

At another time, four hundred & twenty Talents, which amounts to,

$$2953669.^{l} - 6^{s} - 4\ ¾.^{d}$$

This is besides what his Fleet brought him from *Tarshish*. | *Hiram* also sent the [269v]
King One hundred & twenty Talents of Gold; which amounts to,

$$843905.^{l} - 10^{s} - 4\ ¾^{d}$$

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206 Renolds, *The State of the greatest King* (58–59).

207 A measure of dry capacity of about 2150.42 cubic inches (35.239 liters), as established in the 9th century CE by King Alfred the Great, whose administrative center was Winchester, England.

208 Renolds, *The State of the greatest King* (60–62).

By *Renolds*'s Computation, King *Solomon* had coming into Him, every day, of his Reign,

390774^{l} – 16^{s} –– 4.^{d} –

Every Week,

2735423^{l} – 14.^{s} – 9.^{d}

Every Year,

142242034^{l} – 9^{s} – 7.^{d}[209]

Solomon had valuable & vast Presents from very many Princes. He also carried on a mighty Trade, thro' the *Red-Sea*, and the Streights of *Babelmandel*, not only to the Coasts of *Africa* on the West, but also to those of *Arabia* & *Persia*, & *India* on the East. By his Fathers conquering of *Edom*, he became a Master of Two Sea-ports, *Eloth* and *Ezion-geber*; and he so made his Advantage thereof, that he drew to *Jerusalem* the Trade from the richest Kingdomes in the World; For which Purpose he went in Person to those Ports, & planted them with Inhabitants that should best answer his Designs.[210]

The *Ophir*, to which he traded, was probably in the Southern Part of *Arabia*; where, *Agatharcides* tells us, the *Alilæns* and *Cassandrians* had Gold in such Plenty, that they would give Double the Weight of Gold for Iron, Triple its Weight for Brass, & Ten times its Weight for Silver; and in digging the Earth, they found in it[211] Gobbets of pure Gold, which needed no refining; the least of them as big as Olive-Stones, the others much larger than so.[212]

King *Solomon* had likewise Forty-four Thousand Stalls of *Horses*, for his Chariots, with Twelve Thousand Horsemen.

If there were Two Horses to a Stall, the Horses were

88000 Horses.

If Three Horses to a Stall, then they must be,

132000 Horses.

And the 1200 Horsemen, must be the Men, to whom the Charge of the Horses was chiefly committed; who might have many under them.[213]

The Sum expended on the Building of the Temple, by Computation, amounts to

One Thousand & Three hundred Millions of Pounds, Sterling.

One a while ago computed, Fifty Millions of Pounds, (which they said, our Nation then owed) as an Eighth Part of the Value of the whole Kingdome.

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209 Renolds, *The State of the greatest King* (63). The remainder of the entry seems to be divided into discrete sections, each separated by a blank line.

210 Renolds, *The State of the greatest King* (65).

211 MS: "it in."

212 Renolds, *The State of the greatest King* (67–68).

213 Renolds, *The State of the greatest King* (68–69).

Then, there was much above Three times the Value of this Kingdome, laid out upon the Temple; which is much above the Value of Two of the best Kingdomes in *Europe*.

Six of the Richest Kingdomes in *Europe*, would count themselves grievously oppressed, if they were obliged but once to pay a Tax, amounting to no greater a Sum, than a few Subjects of King *David* advanced willingly for the House of God at *Jerusalem*.

To Satisfy our Minds, and Rectify our Thoughts, lett it be considered, That from the time of *David*, & *Solomon*, & for above a Thousand Years afterwards, the World had a much greater Plenty of Gold & Silver than it has at this day.

What vast Quantities of Gold & Silver did *Alexander* find in the Treasuries of *Darius*?

What vast Quantities were expended on *Shushan*, when *Tithonus* and his Son *Memnon*, that built it, caused the Stones (as *Cassiodorus* writes) to be joined with Gold!

What vast Quantities, have been Carried in Triumph by the Roman Generals from the conquered Provinces? And what excessive Sums, have the Roman Emperours thrown away in their fantastical Enjoyments?

At last, the Mines were exhausted; and the horrible Devastations, which the Barbarous Nations have made on the Wealthy Nations, have buried a great Part of the Gold & Silver, which was then circulating in the World; And the *American* Mines have not yett been able to repair it.

Lett us reflect on the Wealth which we find Private Men among the Ancients possessed of.

| *Haman*, upon one well-known Occasion, makes to his King an Offer of [270r][214]
Ten Thousand Talents of Silver, from his own Purse.

In *Babylonish* Talents, it amounts to Two Millions One hundred and nineteen Thousand Pounds, of our Sterling Money: But in *Jewish* Talents tis twice as much!

Pythias the *Lydian*, when *Xerxes* passed into *Greece*, was possessed of Two Thousand Talents, in Silver, & Four-Million *Dorics* in Gold; which together amounts to near,

Five Millions & an half, of our Sterling Money.

Crassus the *Roman*, after he had consecrated his Tenths unto *Hercules*, & feasted all the People of *Rome* at Ten Thousand Tables, and given to every Citizen a Donative of Corn that would last him Three Months, found the Remainder of his Estate, Seven Thousand & One hundred Roman Talents; which amounts to above a Million and an half of our Money.[215]

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214 A duodecimo-sized scrap tipped in by Mather to finish the current entry, the verso of which is blank.

215 Renolds, *The State of the greatest King* (72–78).

Q. We read, That *Solomon* had *Seven hundred Wives, Princesses, and Three hundred Concubines*. I have seen this Quæstion upon it: *Quarè Solomon non majorem Vitæ et valetudinis suæ habuerit rationem? Et quomodò potuerit mille uxorum Maritus esse*?[216] v. 3.

A. *Abarbanel* thinks, the Salacity of *Solomon* to have been extraordinary; and that he never conversed any more than once, with many of his *Wives*: after which the Ladies were forever shutt up in the *Seraglio*, from any Conversation with any one else.[217]

But there are others, who think, That *Solomon* did no otherwise than *Ahashuerus*, for whom there were culled out many *Virgins*, that he might have his Choice among them; and accordingly, that among these *Thousand*, there were chosen out, *Threescore Queens*, and *Fourscore Concubines*. Compare Cant. 6.8.

Thus Dr. *Patrick*, reckons it more probable, That *Solomon* kept so many *Wives* meerly for State and Pomp, after the Manner of the Eastern Princes; but never used many of them. Just as they now do in *China*, where the Emperour has a great Multitude of Wives, chosen out of the Prime Beauties of the Countrey, many of which yett he never sees in his Life. So Father *Le Compte* informs us. They say the same of the Great *Mogul*; that he ha's as many Women, as will make up a Full Thousand: (*Solomon*s Number!) Thus we are told, by the Author of the *Voyage to the Indies*, at the End of *P. Le Valle*'s History.

It must be considered, that *Solomon* had not brought them to this Number, at the Beginning of his Reign, but at the latter End; when his Riches increasing, made him study to out-do all the World in his Magnificence.[218]

Q. *And likewise did he for all his strange Wives*. Is not this very wonderful? v. 8.

A. *All* would be ready to claim, what he granted unto one. As our *Patrick* notes: Tis an astonishing thing, that a Man of his Wisdome, should not rather

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216 "Why would Solomon not have had a greater notion of his life and of his health? And how could he have been the husband of a thousand wives?"

217 Abravanel, *Commentary on the former Prophets*, in loc. (*see I Kings: A New English Translation* 121–121b).

218 Patrick, *A Commentary* (169), citing Louis LeComte (1665–1728), French Jesuit missionary, *Nouveaux Memoirs sur l'État présent de la Chine* (1696), translated as *Memoirs and Observations Topographical, Physical, Mathematical, Mechanical, Natural, Civil, and Ecclesiastical. Made in a late Journey Through the Empire of China* (1697), pt. I, p. 62; and Pietro della Vallé, *Les fameux Voyages de Pietro della Valle* (1662), translated as *The Travels of Sig. Pietro della Valle, a noble Roman, into East-India and Arabia Deserta* (1665), § 28, p. 469. Patrick cites "Sect. 20," possibly from a different edition.

have converted them all to his Religion. But he took no Pains for that; having wholly given himself up to Pleasures. Perhaps he also grew conceited of his great Wisdome; & thought, he could *Reconcile* his Religion to theirs, and find a *Good Meaning* in all their Superstitions. *Abarbanel* observes in Several Places, that it is never said, *Pharaoh*s Daughter turned away his Heart from the Lord, or that he sett up an Altar for her; which is an Argument, that she was proselyted into the True Religion, and continued in it. The rest might have been so, if he had made it his business; and had not grown Indifferent, and thought all Religions alike. A Disease that some great Rulers have been so foolish as to fall into![219]

| [271v]

Q. How is it said, That *One Tribe should be left for Davids sake, & for Jerusalems sake*; when we find there were *Two Tribes* left unto the House *David*, and only *Ten Tribes* torn into a Distinct Kingdome? v. 13.
A. *Two Tribes* are plainly intended in the Text. *One Tribe for Davids sake*, and *One Tribe for Jerusalems* sake. That is, *Judah*, for the sake of *David*, who was of this Tribe; and *Benjamin*, for the sake of *Jerusalem*, which was in this Tribe.[220]

Q. The Building of *Millo*, the Occasion of *Jeroboam*s Advancement? v. 27.
A. The Oversight of the Work was committed unto *Jeroboam*. *Abarbanel*, & others of the Jews, tell us; That *Jeroboam* took this Opportunity, to work in the People a Disaffection to *Solomon*, and his Government. He represented, Say they, the building of *Millo*, as a Work of meer Vanity, only to gratify *Pharaoh*'s Daughter. The *Breaches of the City of David*, they take to have been only open Places, at which People might enter, & come easily many Wayes to the Kings Palace; the Stopping of these, hindred an Access thither. This was another Grievance. Especially, when such heavy Burdens were laid on the People, to carry on these Expences.[221]

Q. Upon *Ashtoreth* and *Chemosh*? v. 33.
A. Among the Pagans, the *Shepherds* had, as a God, called, *Pan*, so a Goddess, called, *Pales*. Dr. *Edwards* is of the Opinion, That *Ashtoreth*, or, *Ashteroth*, answers to it.[222] We meet with the Word thrice in one Chapter; Deut. XXVIII.4,

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219 Patrick, *A Commentary* (171–72), citing Abravanel, *Commentary on the former Prophets*, in loc. (see *I Kings: A New English Translation* 122).
220 Cf. Patrick, *A Commentary* (174).
221 Patrick, *A Commentary* (178), citing Abravanel, *Commentary on the former Prophets*, in loc. (*see I Kings: A New English Translation* 127–29).
222 John Edwards (1637–1716), conservative Calvinist theologian and Anglican controversialist. Mather was very fond of his historical and apologetic works and quoted him many times in the "Biblia," though this specific reference in Edwards to Ashoreth remains elusive. *See*, for example, *BA* 1:307–09, 412–16 ff.

8, 51.[223] which is by the LXX rendred, ποιμνια, by the Vulgar Latin, *Greges*; by the *Syriac* & *Arabic*, the same. It is applied unto *Sheep*. Accordingly, *Ashteroth* was probably the *Pastoral Goddess*, or one sett over, *Ashteroth*, Flocks of *Sheep*. *David Kimchi* and others, testify, that the Image of this Goddess was in the Figure of a *Sheep*.[224]

Chemosh, was probably the same with *Baal-Peor*. *Jerom*, and *Selden*, and *Jurieu*, are of that Opinion: The peculiar Idol of the *Moabites*; probably taking this Name from a Place in the Countrey called so.[225] See Num. XXI.19. Jer. XLVIII.7. *Baal-Peor*![226] That filthy *Idol*, whereto *Fornication* was the *Consecration*. Tho *Priapus* made *Membrum agno*, to signify *Lasciviousness*, and in those Infamous Epigrams, entituled *Priapæia*, called the *Deus Salax*. *Chemosh* signifies *Contrectatus*; and he was represented, *Contrectans Membrum Virile Obscœnum Læva tenens*.[227]

That *Solomon* should erect an Altar unto this Idol, on the Mount of *Olives*! *Horrendum*!

Ah! *Solomon*! *Solomon*! What Reflections may be made upon thee!

Q. *Solomon* seeking to Kill *Jeroboam*? v. 40.

A. A Sign of his Dotage (as Dr. *Patrick* notes) that he could entertain a Thought of endeavouring to defeat the Purpose of God!

But how came he to know, what passed secretly between *Ahijah* and *Jeroboam*? It is possible, the Prophet himself made no Scruple to Report, what he had said and done by the Order of God. Or *Jeroboam* himself might be so elated with the Assurance given him, that he could not forbear telling his confidents, who spred it abroad. Or, it may be, the Servants, tho' they heard not a Word spoken, yett seeing the Rending of the Garment into Twelve Parts, giving him ten of the Parts, might speak of it. And *Solomon* might easily understand the Meaning; being told (perhaps by this very Prophet,) That the *Kingdome should be rent from him, & given to his Servant*.[228]

Q. *Shishak the King of Egypt*; who? v. 40.

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223 This is apparently a mistaken reference; *see* Jer. 48:7, 13, 46.

224 For the LXX, Vulgate, Syriac and Arabic versions of the verse, *see* Walton, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (2:464–65). For David Kimhi's commentary, *see I Kings: A New English Translation* (130).

225 Selden, *De Diis Syris* (Syn. I, ch. 5); and Jurieu, *A critical History of the Doctrines and Worships (both Good and Evil) of the Church from Adam to our Saviour Jesus Christ (2:6)*, citing "St. Jerome's Conjecture" that Chemosh and Baal-Peor were the same.

226 The remainder of the entry, with the exception of the last sentence, is written perpendicularly at the bottom of col. 2.

227 "Fondling the indecent masculine member which he is holding in the left hand." A possible source of Mather's excerpts is Thomas Lewis, *Origines Hebraeae* (vol. 2, bk. 5, ch. 15).

228 Patrick, *A Commentary* (183).

A. All the Kings of *Egypt*, were called *Pharaoh*; even from the Dayes of *Abraham*. We never find any one of them, till now, called by a proper Name, to distinguish them from other *Pharaohs*. Unless *Ramesis*, [Gen. XLVII.11.] be the Name of a *King*, & not of a *Place*. Now all agree, that *Shishak* here, is the great King, whom the Greeks call, *Sesostrys*. He, who having subdued *Ethiopia*, extended his Conquests into *Asia*, as far as the *Assyrians*; and *Medians*. Thus *Josephus* tells us; who calls him, *Sethosis*.[229]

Q. *And the Time that Solomon Reigned was Forty Years*. I pray, have you any Remark to make upon the *Time* that *Hee*, and all the Kings of *Judah* after him, *did live*? v. 42.

A. It is an Historical Remark, that none of them, lived unto the Age of *Seventy years*.

As for *Solomon*, he appears to have been but *Fifty Eight* Years old, when he died; Being Eighteen, when he came to the Crown.

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229 Patrick, *A Commentary* (184), citing Josephus, *Against Apion* (1.15). Sesostrys was a legendary Egyptian leader, mentioned by Herodotus and others, who supposedly conquered Europe, whereas Shishak is another name for Shosenq I, a pharaoh of Egypt in the 10th century BCE.

Q. *Solomon*, had he no more Children than *Rehoboam*? v. 1.
A. A Multitude of Children, was counted a great Blessing among the *Israelites*. But if *Solomon* had any more than this one *Son*, and two Daughters, [1. King IV.11, 15.] the Holy Writer would not do him the Honour to mention them. Nor does he vouchsafe to acquaint us, (as is usual,) in the Beginning of his History, who the Mother of *Rehoboam* was. Only in the Conclusion of the History, he twice mentions, that she was an Ammonitess, one of an Infamous Nation.[230]

Q. The *Young Men*, by following whose Counsel, *Rehoboam* was ruined? v. 10.
A. As *Young* as they were, they were old enough to have had more Witt. It is here said, *They were grown up with him*. Whereas he was now, *One and Forty*. They must then be near his Age.[231] But so incident is *Folly* to *Youth*, as that *Fools* may be call'd *Young Men*, at whatever Age!

And the *Israelitish* Kingdome, is not the only one, that has been overturned by the Folly of Heady Young Men. This is observed by an Old Poet, in *Tully*'s Book, *De Senectute*. He quotes these Verses out of a Play of *Nævius*: One Enquires, *Cedò, qui vestram Rempublicam tantam amisistis tam citò*. Another Answers; *Proveniebant Oratores, Novi, Stulti, Adolescentuli*. Upon which *Cato* makes this Remark; *Temeritas est florentis ætatis, prudentia Senescentis*.[232]

Q. *Rehoboam* speaks of *Chastising with Scorpions*. What sort of Things were they? v. 11.
A. The *Flagellation* used among the Jewes, is called, *Bikkoreth*, [Lev. 19.20.] from the word *Bakar*, a *Bull*; because, t'was done with Scourges made of *Bulls Hides*, or, *Ox-Leather*. Our Saviour underwent this penalty, & foretold it unto His Disciples [Math. 10.17. & 23.34. fulfill'd, Act. 5.40. & 22.10.] But, when the Scourging must bee made more grievous, t'was done with *Scorpions*; that is, with *Whips*, whereto were fastned *Pricks* and *Thorns* to tear the Body; and sometimes there were Plummets of *Lead* at the End of them, to batter the Flesh.

This was also a *Roman* Punishment; [Act. 22.24.] as wee find in the Pagan Historians. But there was this Difference; the Jewes chastised Offendors only with *Whips*, the Romans chastised them with *Whips* and *Rods* also, which were

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230 Patrick, *A Commentary* (186).
231 Patrick, *A Commentary* (190).
232 "'Pray, who are those who brought your state with such dispatch to meet its fate?' … 'A crop of brand-new orators we grew, and foolish, paltry lads who thought they knew.' For of course rashness is the note of youth, prudence of old age." Cicero, *De Senectute* (cap. VI), quoting Naevius, *Sport*.

much more painful.[233] The Apostle *Paul* (who once did himself use to *Beat in every Synagogue those that Beleeved on Jesus*,)[234] felt the Bite of Both. (See 2. Cor. 11.24, 25. – the Latter does refer to Punishment from the Jewes; Act. 16.23.)

Q. *The Cause was from the Lord*. A Remark upon it? v. 15.
A. *Livy* speaks notably, *Fatis urgentibus Rempublicam, Omnia, Salutaria monita spernuntur*.[235]

And here, as our *Patrick* remarks, one cannot but observe the vast Difference between the Sacred and Profane Historians. The Intention of the Former, is to possess the Minds of Men, with a Sense of Divine Providence, that secretly rules in all as well public as private Affairs. *Machiavel* himself, tho' not overstockt with Religion, was yet sensible of an overruling power interposing in all things; which few Historians acknowledge as they ought, but write rather, as if they would not have the Reader think of any thing, but the Wisdome, & Power, & Policy of those that manage Affairs. *Conringius* particularly blames *Polybius* as guilty of this; whatever Excuses *Casaubon* makes for him.[236]

| [272v]

Q. *He made Speed to gett Him up to his Chariot*? v. 18.
A. This looks like a further Imprudence. He should have kept Footing in the Countrey of *Israel*. But, as our *Patrick* notes, *Fear is as bad an Adviser as Fury*. This is the First Time, that we read of a King Riding in a *Chariot*.[237]

Q. The Order to the Prophet *Shemajah*, ran so: *Speak to all the House of Judah, and Benjamin, & to the Remnant of the People*. Who are meant by, *The Remnant of the People*? v. 23.
A. By *the Remnant of the People*, is to bee understood, The Half-Tribe of *Menasseh*.

When *Jeroboam*, with the Ten Tribes of *Israel*, Revolted, the Tribe of *Benjamin*, sided with the Tribe of *Judah*. One Reason, why they, and several

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233 Patrick, *A Commentary* (191), citing Bochart, *Hierozoicon* (pars posterior, lib. IV, cap. XXXII); and Wilhelmus Schickard (1592–1635), German professor of Hebrew and astronomy, *Ius Regium Hebraeorum, e tenebris Rabbinicis erutum, & luci donatum* (1674), cap. II, theorem VII, p. 143.
234 Acts 22:19.
235 "By the fates pressing the republic, all the beneficial warnings are rejected." From Patrick, *A Commentary* (192); the citation may be a paraphrase from or a summary of Livy, *History of Rome,* who often uses the Stoic concept of fate.
236 Patrick, *A Commentary* (191), citing Hermannus Conringius, *De Civil Prudentia* (1661), ch. XIV, where Conringius references Niccolo Machiavelli (1469–1527), Florentine statesman and scholar; Polybius, 3rd-century BCE Greek historian; and Isaac Casaubon (1559–1614), French classicist and philologist.
237 Patrick, *A Commentary* (194).

from the other Tribes thus associated, besides the Business of Religion, might bee, Because *Benjamin* itself was a Pretender to a Soveraignty, over the rest of the Tribes, in right of *Saul*, who was the First King of all the Tribes united; which was the Cause of *Shimei*s Reproaching & of *Sheba*'s Rebelling: but when *Jeroboam* sett up for himself, the *Benjamites* not being strong enough to make a Distinct Kingdome by themselves, chose rather to Confœderate with the House of *David*, who had been chosen King by God Himself, and was allied by Marriage to the House of *Saul*, than to favour the Pretences of an upstart of the House of *Ephraim*.

But then, another Reason, why these *Two Tribes*, with the *Half One* thus associated, was, the Convenience of their Scituation; for they were all next neighbours to one another. It is said, Josh. 10.11. *The Lott of the Tribe of the Children of Benjamin, came forth between the Children of Judah, & the Children of Joseph*. By the *Children of Joseph*, here, wee understand not the Tribe of *Ephraim*, whereof *Jeroboam* was, (& therefore that whole Tribe follow'd him,) but the Tribe of *Menasseh*, which was divided into Two; the one half on one Side of the River *Jordan*, belonging to the Kingdome of *Judah*: the other, on the other Side of the River, with *Gad* and *Reuben*, which belonged unto the Kingdome of *Israel*. A third Reason, why these kept close to one another, might bee, from the ancient Kindness, in the Patriarchs of these Tribes to one another. *Judah* saved *Joseph*, from being slain by his Brethren, and was therein a Father to the Tribes of *Ephraim* & *Menasseh*, which else had perished before they were born. The Kindness between *Benjamin* and *Joseph*, is well-known, to all that know the Bible.

Q. Why did *Jeroboam* choose Two *Golden Calves*, rather than any other Images, to bee the Tools of the *Israelitish Idolatry*? v. 28.

A. *Jeroboam* would worship God, under that *Image*, and Figure, which carried the Remembrance of *Joseph* in it; a Figure Dedicated unto *Joseph*, who, by Interpreting the Dream of *Kine*, saved the Lives of more than all his Fathers House. *Jeroboam*, was of the Posterity of *Joseph*; and that hee might effectually bespeak and secure, the Obedience of the People unto him, hee so contrived their Sacred Rites, that they should bee continually minded of their great Obligations to *Joseph*, by whom all the Tribes of *Israel*, were of old, saved from Ruine. Thus the *Julian* Family, would have the Praises of *Æneas* to bee sung by all the Poets in their Time; *Ut eo Lenius ferret populus Imperium illud, velut Fatis datum*.[238]

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238 "As it is easier to control the people of the empire, as given by the Fates." Mather may have found this reference in Herman Witsius, *Aegyptiaca et Dekaphylon* (1683), p. 311; he uses the same sentence in the long entry on 1 Kings 12:33 (below, p. 482), on the history of the Ten Tribes, where he draws extensively on Witsius. Witsius in turn derives the passage from Grotius, *Opera Omnia Theologica*, note on 3 Kings (i.e., 1 Kings) 12:28 (1:151).

Bochart observes, one Egg is not more like another, than these Calves were, to that which *Aaron* had made; Only as the Jews express it in *Sanhedrin*; *Till Jeroboams Time they suck'd but one Calf; but from that time they suck'd two*.[239]

The Prophet *Hosæa* speaks of them in the Fæminine Gender, [ch. 10.5.][240] *Two Heifers*. *Josephus* does the same; And so the LXX. But most of the Ancient Interpreters think, that this Expression was used, only to render the Worship of the *Idols*, the more contemptible. And they say, They were made in Imitation of the *Egyptians*, who worshipped a Couple of Oxen; *Apis* at *Memphis*, & *Mneuvis* at Hierapolis; the one in the Upper, the other in the Lower, Egypt.[241]

Q. What is there that appears particularly Remarkable in *Jeroboam*s Calves? v. 28.

A. One thing remarkable is This. The *Calves* are sometimes called by a Name of the *Fæminine* Gender. [As Hos. 10.5.][242] This was the more effectually to declare them *no God*; for tho' sometimes the *Fæminine Gender*, was by the Idolaters advanced into the Dignity of Divinity, yett all the Names used for the True God, (no less than *Ten* of them) are of the *Masculine*. Quære, How far this leads us to think on the Worship of a *Mary*, which the *Jeroboam* of *Rome* has introduced.

Another thing is This: One of the *Calves* being placed at *Bethel*, (on Pretence of Gods appearing unto the Patriarch *Jacob* there,) the other, at *Dan*, as far off as the very Northern Borders of the Land, (where the Idolatry of the *Israelites* had its Beginning, a little after the Dayes of *Joshua*); and there had been a long time a Resort unto the *Teraphim* there) the Pretence was, That it was too far for them to Travel unto *Jerusalem*; And yett it seems, to serve their Idolatrous Designs, they can Travel to *Dan*, more than twice as far as *Jerusalem*. This affords us, a notable Hint, about the *Temper* of *Will-Worship*, and indeed, of all other Wickedness.

| [273r]

Q. *Jeroboam*s making *Priests of the lowest of the People*? v. 31.

A. *Abarbanel* expounds it, He *made Priests of all the People*. He made any body a Priest, tho' he were not of the Sons of *Levi*.[243]

Jeroboam was forced unto this, because the *Levites* would not serve his Impiety. [2. Chron. XI.14.] Therefore he expelled them, and siezed on their Cities, & their Lands. Thus he eased the People, of paying their *Tithes*; for

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239 Bochart, *Hierozoicon* (pars prior, lib. II, cap. XXXIV, col. 354). Tractate Sanhedrin, XI: "Until Jeroboam came, Israel had to bear the iniquity of one golden calf, and from that time farther on for two and three."

240 MS: "X.15." Mather cites v. 5 in the next entry.

241 Patrick, *A Commentary* (200).

242 Mather drew a small heart in the right margin beside this statement.

243 Abravanel (*see I Kings: A New English Translation* 142–43).

there were none to demand them. He gratified them also, by making *Priests* out of every Tribe and Family; even in the *Extremest Part of the Country*, as the Hebrew signifies.[244] As he transferred the *Kingdome* from the House of *David*, so he transferred the *Priesthood* from the House of *Aaron*. Any one might be admitted unto that Honourable Employment. This was a very popular Thing; and no doubt, it ingratiated him with the *Israelites*.

Cornelius Bertram thinks, That as he had *Priests*, thus he had *Levites* also, of the same Stamp, that is to say, some to officiate under the *Priests*, as the *Levites* did. The Former he called, *Cohanim*, as they were called in *Judah*. The Latter he called *Chemarim*;[245] who ministred, not in *White* but in *Black*; & had their Name from thence.[246]

~~861.~~

Q. *Jeroboam*s Feast, on the *Fifteenth Day of the Eighth Month, even in the Month which hee had devised of his own Heart*; what was it? v. 33.

A. It seems to have been a *Feast*, intended for to Answer the Feast of the *Passeover* kept in *Judah*.

For, *Epiphanius*, in his *Hæresies*, mentions among the *Samaritans*, a Sect called, Σεβουαῖοι, *Sebuæi*, who had their Name from *Sheba*, which signifies, *Seven*, because they observed the *Passeover*, in the *Seventh* Month, or, in *Tisri*, whereas, by the Law of *Moses*, it was to bee observed in *Abib*, or *Nisan*, that is, the First Month;[247] and their Name, as one *Turner* observes against *Joseph Scaliger*, is not ἑβδομαδῖται, but ἑβδομῖται, or, ἑπταμηναῖοι.[248] Now, *Seven* and *Eight*, in these Cases, are the same, as *Grotius* hath observed before mee;[249] and therefore in *Josephus*, the *Passeover* sometimes is of *Seven* dayes, and sometimes of *Eight* dayes Continuance;[250] the first account, excluding the Day in which the *Passeover* was kill'd, & in the Latter including it. Thus, here, if you take in the *Terminus à quo*, as Mr. *Turner* saies,[251] which is the Month before *Nisan*, then *Tisri* is the Eighth Month; but if you consider the Months only *inclusive*,

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244 קֵצ [qatsah], "end, extremity."

245 Zeph. 1:4.

246 Patrick, *A Commentary* (202–03), citing Cornelius Bertram, "*De republica Judaica*" (cap. XVI), published either as *De Republica Hebraeorum* or *De Republica et Politica Judaica*. Where Mather has "Cohanim," Patrick has "Cohenim."

247 Epiphanius, *Panarion* or *Adversus Haereses* (1.11–12), in *The* Panarion *of Epiphanius of Salamis: Book I (Sects 1–46)* (35).

248 John Turner, *An Exercitation concerning the true Time of our Saviour's Passover* (1684); on Joseph Juste Scaliger, the late 16th-century French classicist and linguist, see pp. 115–18.

249 Turner, *An Exercitation concerning the true Time of our Saviour's Passover* (106), citing Grotius on 1 Kings 12:27–28, in *Opera Omnia Theologica* (1:150–51).

250 Turner, *An Exercitation concerning the true Time of our Saviour's Passover* (107), citing Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* (8.8.4–5).

251 Turner, *An Exercitation concerning the true Time of our Saviour's Passover* (121).

beginning at *Nisan* or *Abib*, then it is the *Seventh*; which plainly Reconciles *Epiphanius*, to the Book of *Kings*.

It is also to bee considered, That the *Samaritans* received their Religion from the *Israelitish Priests*, which were sent among them, upon *Salmanesser*s Deportation; and these were *Priests* | of that Order, whereof *Jeroboam* was the [273v] Founder. *Epiphanius*'s Feast, is the same with that in the Book of *Kings*; but *Epiphanius*'s Feast, is also the same with the Passeover; And since *Epiphanius* did not understand Hebrew, the Name itself adds the more of Credibility to the Story.[252]

Q. What became of *Jeroboams Calves*, at the Last? v. 33.
A. The Jewes, in *Seder Olam*, tell us, That the *Calf* of *Dan*, was by *Tiglath Pileser* carried into Captivity.[253] They gather it, from 2. Chron 28.21. And that Eight Years after, *Salmanasser* carried away the *Calf* of *Bethel*. This the Prophet *Hosæa* had foretold, Hos. 10.5, 6.

It was the Manner of the old Conquerers, to Triumph, not only over the *Men*, but also over the *Gods*, of the Countreyes which they conquered [Isa. 46.1, 2. and Jer. 48.7.] See *Plutarch*'s Account, of *Paulus Æmilius*'s Triumph.[254]

The *Idols*, which the Prophets could not overturn by their faithful Sermons, were overturned at Last, by other *Idolaters*.

Bochart thinks, That *Hosæa* calls the *King of Assyria*, by the Name of *King Jareb*; [Hos. 5.13. and, 10.6.] alluding to the Name of *Jerubbaal*, which was given to *Gideon*, upon his overturning the Altars of *Baal*.[255] *King Jareb*, is as much as to Say, *Rex Ultor*.[256]

| [274r]

Q. To what may refer that Passage, of *Jeroboam*s changing the *Feast of Tabernacles*, from the *Seventh* to the *Eighth* Month, *Even the Month which he devised, of his own Heart*? v. 33.
A. Mr. *Whiston* ha's offered us a Thought upon it, which appears to be of great Use, for the Reconciling of many Difficulties, that occurr in the *Chronology* of the *Old Testament*.

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252 Epiphanius, *Panarion* or *Adversus Hæreses* (1.11, 2.5, 15), in *The* Panarion *of Epiphanius of Salamis: Book I (Sects 1–46)* (35 ff.).
253 *Midrash Seder Olam*, transl. Guggenheimer (2005), pt. 3, ch. 22, p. 192. This work represents the rabbinical interpretation of the Bible's historical books and provides a chronology for the Babylonian Talmud. First published in Mantua (1514), Constantinople (1517), and Venice (1545), the work covers the period from the Creation to the end of the Second Temple.
254 In his life of *Aemilius Paulus* (32.2), Plutarch describes the Roman triumphal procession after victory over the Macedonians as including captured "statues, pictures, and colossal images."
255 Bochart, *Geographica Sacra* (pars posterior, lib. II, cap. XVII, pp. 855–858).
256 "King of punishment."

He observes, That the *Jewish Year* by which the Sacred Writers reckon the several Intervals after the *Deluge*, or at least, since the *Exodus* out of *Egypt*, was either the true *Solar Year*, or a *Lunar* one so adjusted by a proper Intercalation to the *Solar*, as to be in a Manner æquivalent unto it. This is evident, Because their Year was to be commensurate unto the Seasons, and to begin alwayes, a Few Weeks before *Barly-Harvest*. [Exod. 12.1, 2. and. 13.4. and, 23.15. and 34.18. and, Deut. 16.1.]

Indeed, the *Antediluvean Year* contained but 360 Dayes. It is possible, the Year might also continue such, unto the Age of *Moses*. And yett it is likewise possible, that the Sacred Historian, might reduce them unto the Years, which were now introduced.

But now, he observes, That the Year ordained by *Jeroboam*, when he drew off the *Ten Tribes* to *Idolatry*, and so used in Part of the Annals of the Kingdome of *Israel*, was a Month shorter than that of *Judah*, and contained no more than Eleven Months in all. And this Year continued until *Jehu*'s Revolution; after which Time it was no Longer used. This Thought is New; but there is very much to countenance it.

Every body knowes, there ha's been a Variety of *Years*, in former Times.

Our *Julian* Year, is 365 1/4 Days.

The *Solar*, is, 365. 5h 49'.

*Nabonassar*s, which was the most ancient, was, 360 Dayes.

The *Arabian* Lunar Year; 354. 8h. 48'.

The Year of some Cities mentioned by *Herodotus*, was, 360, & 390. alternately.

The ancient *Roman* Year, before *Numa Pompilius*, was only of Ten Months.

It cannot appear a strange Supposition, that *Jeroboam*, when he began a separate Polity, contrary to the Law of God, should make an Alteration in the Accounts of Time; especially where such an Alteration, by changing the *Season* of all the *Jewish Feasts*, or Public Worship, did not a little contribute unto the Change of the Worship itself also.

By this Change, he did not introduce a *New Thing*, or a moveable Year, whose Head would wander thro' all the Seasons, but only Restore the Ancient Way of Reckoning, and imitate all the Nations in his Neighbourhood. Probably few or no other Nations, then made Use of a Fixed Solar Year, or its Equivalent. The general Computation of the World seems to have been 360 Dayes: A Very *Vagrant Year*! In the Age of one Man, its Head would run backward, until it came where it was at first.

Now, Compare the Records of *Judah* and *Israel*, for the Interval, which we have now before us. *Eleven Years* in the Annals of *Judah*, make *Twelve Years* in the Annals of *Israel*. Accordingly, from the Beginning of *Rehoboam*, till the common Slaughter of *Ahaziah* and *Jehoram* by *Jehu*, is accounted in the *Jewish* Annals, but 90 Years, and about Six Months; whereas, the same Interval is in the

Israelitish Annals, 97 Years, and about Eleven Months. And thus, in adjusting the particular Reigns of each King of *Judah* and *Israel*, in this Interval, which are otherwise inexplicable, all is easy upon this Supposition; and every Text of Scripture thereto relating falls in of its own Accord. As, he that knowes the Difference between the *Julian* Years, and the *Saracen*, presently reconciles the *Christian* Historians with the *Mahometan*; which otherwise would appear unto him Impossible.

The Supposition, which ha's hitherto prevailed, forces us {into} Great Absurdities. One of them is, That the Six First Kings of *Israel*, after the Division of the Kingdomes, (not accounting *Zimri* for one,) did every one Reign even Numbers of Years, with about a Fortnight over continually; and that also this Fortnight is in every one of them reckoned a whole Year in the Sacred History. Thus *Jeroboam* is {said} to Reign 21 Years and about 15 Dayes, tho' the Scripture Saies, his Reign was 22. Thus *Nadab* is to Reign one Year, and about 15 Dayes, tho' the Scripture saies, his Reign was 2. And so the rest. Now that so many Kings immediately one after another should ever dy, just as *Even Years* expired, is unparallel'd in History, and improbable, incredible. And that a Part of *One Single Month*, should every where be styled a *Year*, is unaccurate, & abhorrent from the Custome of all Historians, and much more, from the Exactness of the Sacred Ones.

And this explains the Passage of *Jeroboam*s taking for the Feast | of [274v] Tabernacles, the *Eighth Month*, even the *Month, which he devised of his own Heart*. Since the *Seventh Month*, namely *Tisri*, was the famous Month for the Solemnities in Honour of the True God, and was the *First Month* also in the *Civil Computation*; Therefore, to take as much as possible, such things out of the Thoughts of the *Israelites*, he abolished the Month, and made the next Month, namely *Marchesvan*, to supply the Place of it, and appointed it the Beginning of his New Year, and the principal Season also, for his New Idolatrous Solemnities. (As *Muharram*, did *after the Heart* of *Mahomet*, become, the First and most Superstitious Month of the Vagrant *Arabic* Year.) And this continued, until *Jehu*'s Revolution putt a Period unto it.[257]

Q. We read, *He offered on the Altar, and burnt Incense*? v. 33.

A. He now præsumed on the Highest Part of the *Priest*s Office; To *Burn Incense*. *Abarbanel* thinks, he did not proceed thus far in *Dan*; but only in *Bethel*; which was in some regard, the *Metropolis* of the Kingdome. He observes also, That the Scripture, Thrice mentions his Offerings, at different Times and Places. First; It is said, He offered on the *Altar*. That is, at *Dan*. Where also *Jewes* went up to Worship. [v. 30.] Secondly, He offered again in *Bethel*; in the Beginning

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257 William Whiston, *A short View of the Chronology of the Old Testament* (1702), pp. 15–19. See *BA* 1:277–301.

of this Year. And then, thirdly, tis here said in the Conclusion; That he went to the *Altar* in *Bethel*, not to offer Sacrifice, but to *Burn Incense*; which he had not done in *Dan*. And when he did this, on his Festival, then came the Man of God unto him from *Judah*.[258]

Q. How far was Religion altered by *Jeroboam*? v. 33.
A. It seems, that *Jeroboam* still imitated the Ceremonies of the *Mosaic Law*. And when he altered the *Feast of Tabernacles*, it was not the *Feast*, but the *Time* of it, that he altered. He would have the *Feast* observed still at *Bethel*, as it had been before at *Jerusalem*.

Some have so settled the Argument. *Salmanasser* the *Assyrian*, carrying the Ten Tribes into Captivity, sent into their Countrey a Colony of *Assyrians* and *Chaldæans*, who carried their Idols along with them, & worshipped them there. But he being informed, that they were devoured by *Lions*, because they did not worship the God of the Countrey, commanded one of the Priests whom they had brought from *Samaria*, to be carried thither; and he, dwelling at *Bethel*, taught them how they should *fear the Lord*. This Expedient succeeded so well, that the Inhabitants were no more a Prey to the Wild-beasts; which is thought a convincing Proof, that the Samaritans worshipped the True God, who had putt them in Possession of that Countrey; and with a Worship somewhat agreeing to what they had received of *Moses*. Otherwise the Worship would not have prevailed with Heaven to withdraw the *Lions* from them.

[275r] |

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Q. After the Revolt of the *Ten Tribes*, from the God of *Israel*, and from His Temple and Worship, what became of them? Distinctly to give us the History of them, would be to Illustrate many of the Divine Oracles. v. 33.
A. We will principally employ the ΔΕΚΑΦΥΛΟΝ of Dr. *Witsius*, to assist us on this Occasion, and supply us with such Thoughts, as may Illuminate us.

When the Ten Tribes first Revolted from the House of *David*, their Leader *Jeroboam*, had sore Difficulties to encounter withal. Had he, and his People, gone up to the Temple at *Jerusalem*, for the Services of Religion, what Reason was there to think, that his People would soon have been fetch'd back to the Religion and Government of the House of *David*? The Sollicitation of the *Priests* would not have been wanting; and if they would have admitted the Attendence of *Jeroboam* at the Temple, it must not have been imagined, but that he must have appeared there as an Inferior to the King of *Judah*. The profane, but subtil, *Talmudists* well enough describe the Thoughts of *Jeroboam*, (which also *Jarchi*,

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258 Patrick, *A Commentary* (204), citing Abravanel (*see Commentary on the former Prophets*, in loc.).

and *Kimchi*, have in the *Talmuds*;) *Didicerant nemini jus esse in atrio Templi sedendi præterquam Regibus Judæ, qui è Domo Davidis sunt. Si igitur, acebat apud se Jeroboam, sedente Rehabeamo me stantem viderint, statuent unum esse Regem, alterum Servum; aut, si sedeam, me in Regem esse Rebellem: ac me proindè interfecto, statim illi adhærebunt.*[259] *Jeroboam* should nevertheless have left the Matter with God, who was able to præserve & maintain his Government; But he flies to wicked Arts, and goes to support his Government by depraving of Religion.[260]

He would retain the Deity, whom the People had acknowledged as the Author of their Deliverance out of *Egypt*; for as *Tully* Saies [Orat. X. *in Verrem*.] *Omnes Religione moventur, et Deos Patrios quos à majoribus acceperunt colendos sibi Diligenter, ac retinendos* [*esse*] arbitrantur.[261] The *Places* for the New Worship of this Deity, he will have to be *Dan* and *Bethel*. *Dan* was to the Northward, where *Mica* had sett up an Idol, soon after the Dayes of *Joshua*, which was for a long while honoured with the Homage of the People. *Bethel* was to the Southward, famous for the Visions of God once and again granted unto *Jacob* there, and by him declared, *The House of God & the Gate of Heaven*. More charming Places could not be thought upon! A Visible *Sign* must be erected, a *Token* of the Divine Presence, an Instrument and Monument, by which the Devotions of the People unto God, must be assisted. The *Symbols* must be *Two Calves*. *Grotius* guesses, That there was a Commemoration of *Joseph* in the Figures of the Creatures, by the Hieroglyphick whereof in *Pharaoh*s Dream he came to his Advancement; and that by the View thereof the People were more likely to be brought into a Veneration for the House of *Joseph*.[262] As the *Julian Family* would have the Praises of *Æneas* to be sung by the Poets, that the People might more Easily submit unto the Empire of that Family. And accordingly, *Grotius* falls in with them, who suppose the Memory of *Joseph* to be continued among the *Egyptians*, in the Idols of *Apis*, or *Serapis*, which were of a Bovine Figure; A Notion learnedly prosecuted by *Vossius*.[263] But *Bochart* hath with as much Learn-

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259 "They had said that no one had the right to sit in the atrium of the temple except the kings of Judah, who are from the House of David. So, Jeroboam said to himself, if they shall see me standing while Rehoboam was sitting, they would think that one was the king and the other a slave. Or, if I was sitting, [they would think] that I was a rebel in the midst of the king. And hence, if I had been killed, they would immediately side with him." Solomon Jarchi, or Rashi, and David Kimhi (*I Kings: A New English Translation* 142–43); for the Talmudists, see Tractate Sanhedrin (101b; see also Jewish Virtual Library, ch. XI, p. 321). This is also cited in Bochart, *Hierozoicon* (lib. II, cap. XXIV, p. 356), who refers to Sanhedrin and Nachman.

260 Herman Witsius, *Aegyptiaca et Dekaphylon* (1683), pp. 310–11; Mather translates from the Latin. For similar content, *see* Mather's "Triparadisus" (*Threefold Paradise* 297 ff.).

261 "All men are influenced by religious feeling, and think that their paternal gods, whom they have received from their ancestors, are to be carefully worshipped and retained by themselves." Cicero, *Actionis in C. Verrem Secundae* (4.132).

262 Grotius on 1 Kings 12:28, in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (cols. 2528–29).

263 Witsius, *Aegyptiaca et Dekaphylon* (312), citing Vossius, *De theologia Gentili et Physiologia Christiana* (lib. I. cap. XXIX, pp. 213–23).

ing refelled[264] that Notion; proving that *Serapis* was a Stranger of a much later Date among the *Egyptians*, and unknown even in the Dayes of *Herodotus*, nor ever mentioned any where before the Dayes of *Alexander*; but first carried into *Egypt* out of *Pontus*, by the Command of *Ptolomy*.[265] The Ingenious *Huetius*, will have *Moses* to be the true *Apis* and *Serapis*; and he ha's many pretty Arguments to establish his Opinion.[266] So that after all we are Left in the Dark, why the *Symbole* of *Two Calves* must be used in the *Jeroboamitic* Idolatry. Only we may conceive, That his *Egyptian* Education, might have in it something to dispose him unto these Figures. Except we should rather say, That *Jeroboam* had herein some Respect unto the *Cherubims*. Which is more likely, than what one saies, That he would Imitate the *Beeves*, under the brasen Sea of *Solomon*. *Jeroboam* uses the same Doxology for his *Calves*, which the *Israelites* did for theirs, when they newly came out of *Egypt*. And it is very likely, That the *Israelites* Learnt *that*, & other Superstitions from the *Egyptians*. [Consider, Act. 7.39, 40. and Ezek. 23.8.] It is yett more considerable, That the *Calves* worshipped in *Egypt*, were for Number *Two*; One at *Memphis*, Another at *Heliopolis*; and *Jerom* thinks, that *Jeroboam* did particularly consider this.[267]

The *Priests* preferr'd by *Jeroboam* to the Service of these his Idols, were, *De Extremis Populi*. L. *De Dieu*, ha's observed, That it means not, (as we translate it,) *Of the Lowest of the People*.[268] But the *Extremity* of any thing, does comprehend all that is within it. [Compare Gen. 19.4. and Gen. 47.2. and Ezek. 23.1.] So that it should be rendred, *Of the whole People*; He laid aside the *Levites*; yea, he
[275v] became himself a *Sacrificer*. | Indeed, all was now *Profane*; For, as our *Witsius* well expresses it, *In Materia Religionis profanum est, quicquid non habet Deum Authorem*.[269] Accordingly, the *Gods* of *Jeroboam*, are called, *Divels* [2 Chron. 11.15.] His *Priests*, are called, *Chemarim*; [Hos. 10.5.] His Dayes of Worship, are called, *The Kings Dayes*; [Hos. 7.5.] And his *Bethel* is called, *Bethaven*. [Hos. 10.5.] Not so Sharp as Just, is the Reflection of *Peter Martyr*; *Certé injustissimas Vices Jeroboamus Deo reddidit. Is usque ad Regnum, illum extulit. Iste verò Deum ipsum usque ad Boves dejecit*.[270]

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264 Disproved, refuted.

265 Witsius, *Aegyptiaca et Dekaphylon* (313–14), citing Bochart, *Hierozoicon* (pars prior, lib. II, cap. XXXIV, cols. 285–90). Ptolemy I of Egypt ordered the creation of Serapis in the 3rd century BCE, and the worship of this god was spread by the Ptolemaic kings.

266 Witsius, *Aegyptiaca et Dekaphylon*, p. 314, citing Huetius, *Demonstratio Evangelica* (lib. I, Prop. IV, cap. IV, §§ IV–V, pp. 120–21).

267 Witsius, *Aegyptiaca et Dekaphylon* (315); Jerome, *Commentariorum In Osee* (lib. I, cap. XIV, vv. 15–16 [PL 25.854]).

268 מִקְצוֹת הָעָם (1 Kings 12:31), "lowest of the people"; Witsius, *Aegyptiaca et Dekaphylon* (314–15), citing De Dieu, *Animadversiones in Veteris Testamenti,* on Ezek. 33:1 (622).

269 "In the matter of religion, whatever God does not have the authorship of, is profane." Witsius, *Aegyptiaca et Dekaphylon* (315).

270 "Surely Jeroboam has given the most unjust requitals back to God. He has raised him to royal power. This man has truly cast away God himself to the oxen." Witsius, *Aegyptiaca et*

Jeroboam did not, like *David*, wait for the Kingdome that was promised unto him; Nor was his Administration like that of *David*. It prospered accordingly. *Nadab*, the Son of *Jeroboam*, reigned no more than Two Years. *Basha* destroy'd him, and his Family, and possessed the Kingdome. *Ela* the Son of *Basha* was murdered in the Second Year of his Reign, by *Zimri*. *Zimri* was on the Seventh Day of his Reign, Besieged and Butchered by *Omri*. *Omri*, after a four-Years Molestation by *Tibni*, getts indeed the upper hand, and leaves his own Son *Ahab*, to Succeed him. *Ahab* comes to a violent and untimely Death. So does his eldest Son *Ahaziah*; whereupon the younger Son *Joram* succeeding, *Jehu* slew him, with his Mother and Seventy of his Brethren. The Fate of *Jehu*'s Family, did not much alter the Course of the Divine Dispensations; but the wretched *Israelites* went on destroying one another, until the *Assyrian* came, and siezed upon all the Survivers.[271]

The *People* were as miserable as the *Princes*. The Idolatry of the *Calf* in the Wilderness, was followed with the Slaughter of Three Thousand. On the Idolatry of *Jeroboam*s Two Calves, there followed a Slaughter of no Less than Five Hundred Thousand. A greater was never heard of! They went on in their Apostasy, till God utterly Rejected them; and they left an Exemple, That, *Neglecta Religio traxerit semper Rempublicam secum et trahet*.[272]

However, the Defection of the People was not universal. They which dwelt in the Cities of *Judah*, continued faithful to the Jewish Religion and Government. [1. King. 22.17.] Such for the most Part were the *Simeonites*. The whole Tribe of the *Levites*, in a manner, left their Possessions, & repaired unto *Jerusalem*. [2. Chron. 11.13, 14.] And a very great Number of Godly People, belonging to all the *Tribes*, did on this deplorable Occasion, fall in with the Jewes. [2. Chron. 11.16, 17.] Moreover, *Abiah* the King of *Judah*, took many Cities, belonging to the New Kingdome of *Israel*. [2. Chron. 13.19.] And *Asa*, the Son of *Abiah*, took more. [2 Chron. 15.8, 9.] Yea, and many Pious *Israelites*, who did not remove their Habitation, yett retained the *Jewish* Worship, & went up into *Jerusalem* to worship; which *Truth* is very particularly declared, in the *Apocryphal Tobit*.[273]

How quickly now comes on the *Ceasing of the Kingdome of Israel*? King *Zachariah*, the great Grandson of *Jehu*, having reigned six Months, is murdered by *Shallum*. The Prophet *Hosæa*, from hence dates the *Ceasing of the Kingdome*. [Hos. 1.4.] For the Successors of *Zechariah* were not so much *Kings* as *Theeves*; and both the *Reign* and the *Fate* of the Wretches, was but agreeable unto their

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Dekaphylon (315–16), citing Peter Martyr Vermigli, *Melachim, id est, Regum Libri duo posteriores* (92–95).

271 Witsius, *Aegyptiaca et Dekaphylon* (317–18).

272 "The neglect of religion has dragged down the republic, and always will." Witsius, *Aegyptiaca et Dekaphylon* (317).

273 Witsius, *Aegyptiaca et Dekaphylon* (318–19); Tobit 1:3, 6; 5:13.

Character. *Shallum* is killed in a *Month*. *Menachem* hiring help, with the Effects of his Robberies, holds the Kingdome somewhat longer. *Pekahjah*, after a short Reign of Two Years, is deposed and murdered by *Pekah*. *Hosæa* soon cutts off *Pekah*, and by the Aid of the Assyrian, is for a little while called, A King. Thus the *Kingdome* seemed like the *Priesthood* of *Ariana Diana*, which no Man obtained (*Strabo* tells us) but, ο γενηθεις αυτοχειρ του ιερωμενου προτερον, *Qui Sacerdotem priorem sua manu trucidaverat*.[274] Or, As among the Romans, *Pompey* is murdered by *Cæsar*; *Cæsar* by *Cassius*, and *Cassius* by *Augustus*. Or, As *Otho* murdered *Galba*, *Vitellius Otho, Vespasian Vitellius*, and *Domitian Titus* the Son of *Vespasian*.[275]

These horrid Confusions were but Præsages of the total Ruine hastning upon the Kingdome. The Condition of the Land in these Confusions, is admirably described by the Prophet *Isaiah*. [Chap. 9.18, 19, 20, 21.]

First, *Pul* the King of *Assyria*, invades the Kingdome, in the Dayes of *Menahem*, & imposed an heavy Tribute upon it. Our *Usher* observes, That this *Pul* was the Father of *Sardanapalus*, (called, *Sardan-Pul*;) And that he was the King of *Ninive*, who Repented at the Preaching of *Jonah*.[276] So that even here did the *Men of Ninive rise up in Judgment* against this Generation. *Pænitent Pagans* are made the Instruments of the Divine Vengeance on *Impænitent Israel*.

Of this Invasion *Hosæa* prophecied. [ch. 7.1.] When the Lord *would have healed Israel*, by *Jeroboam* the Second restoring their ancient Bounds, Then their *Iniquity*, and Resolution to walk in the Wayes of *Jeroboam* the First, was yett more discovered. Then a *Theef came in*, to witt, *Shallum*. And then, *A Troop of*
[276r] *Robbers spoiled without*, | which was the Army of *Pul*, making a Descent upon them.

The Eversion of the *Israelitish* Kingdome, was carried on by *Tiglath Pileser*; who laid wast *Gilead,* and *Galilee*, and *Naphthali*, and made Captives of the Inhabitants. To this the Prophet might refer. Hos. 7.8. *Ephraim hath mixed himself with the People*. He joined with the *Syrians*, in consulting how to sieze and spoil the Kingdome of *Judah*, & extinguish the Instituted Worship of God. It followes, *Ephraim is a Cake not turned*. One Side, one half, of the Kingdome, was horribly Roasted by the *Assyrian* Deprædations. The *Silly Dove*, then *called to Egypt* for Help, when a great Part of the People were *gone into Assyria*; but all to little Purpose. [We have the History. 2. King. 17.3, 4.]

Anon *Salmanasser* comes, and compleats the Eversion. In the Ninth year of *Hosæa*, and the Sixth of *Hezekiah*, and after a Siege of Three Years, poor *Samaria* falls into his Hands. He carries the rest of the *Israelites* into *Assyria*, & plants

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274 "Who has slain the chief priest by his own hand." Witsius, *Aegyptiaca et Dekaphylon* (320); Strabo, *Geographica* (5.3.12, line 27).

275 Witsius, *Aegyptiaca et Dekaphylon* (321–22).

276 Witsius, *Aegyptiaca et Dekaphylon* (321), citing Ussher, *Annales Veteris Testamenti* (1:83; for English parallel, see *The annals of the world* 34).

Colonies of the Barbarous Nations in the Land of *Israel*. So the Kingdome, which had felt *Nineteen* Kings, and seen 235 Years, & Seven Months, & Seven Dayes, came to an End. [As had been foretold. 1 King. 14.14, 15.]

Amos had prædicted; Amos. 5.27. *I will cause you to go into Captivity, beyond Damascus*. It is translated by *Stephen*; Act. 7.43. *I will carry you away beyond Babylon*. Before *Amos*'s time, *Hazael* the King of *Damascus*, had sorely afflicted the *Israelites*, and carried them into Captivity. The Prophet foretels a greater & further Captivity to them, even *beyond Damascus*; but he tells not, how much beyond. *Stephen* comes in with an Illustration; and adds, *Beyond Babylon*, even to the Borders of *Media*. But *Samuel Petit* will have the Prophecy of *Amos* to be, *I will cause you to go further into Captivity, than I will cause Damascus*.[277] *Rezin* of *Syria*, & *Pekah* of *Israel*, conspiring against *Jerusalem*, they both paid for it. For *Tiglath Pileser* fell upon *Syria*, as well as upon *Israel*, and he carried the People of *Damascus* Captives, as far as *Kiram*; [2. King. 16.9. as it was foretold, Amos. 1.5.] which might be, either as *Bochart* thinks, the Κουρηνα, (by the Interpreters called *Cyrna*) of *Ptolomy*, a Midland City of *Media*;[278] Or, as *Grotius* thinks, a Part of *Albania*, where is the River Κυρους, mentioned also by *Ptolomy*;[279] or, as *Cocceius* thinks, that part of *Syria* which was Called Κυρρους, or Κυρριστικη, remembred also by *Ptolomy*; or, as *Petit* will have it, the City of *Babylon* which in *Ptolomy* is called *Chiriphe*.[280] But be it which it will, the *Israelite*s were carried further than so.

The Prophet *Isaiah* foretold, not only the *Thing*, but the *Time*. Isa. 7.8. *Within Threescore and Five Years Ephraim shall be broken*. Indeed, it was within *Twenty Three* Years after this Prophecy was uttered, that it was fulfilled. We will not insist upon *Grotius*'s Essay, to mend the Reading; which, as *Witsius* remarks upon it, is not, *Solertia aliqua medelam facere difficili pericopæ, sed sævis eam stigmatis inurere, et truculentâ manu truncare*.[281] We must begin the Period of *Sixty Five* Years, from some elder Date than *Isaiah*s Prophecy: And some say, From the Prophecy of *Amos*; now repeted by *Isaias*. *Amos* prophesied in the 25th Year of *Uzziah*. Of *Uzziah*s Reign, there then remained 27 Years. And 15 Years of *Jotham* succeeded; 16 Years of *Ahaz*, and 6 of *Hezekiah*. These make up 65;

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277 Witsius, *Aegyptiaca et Dekaphylon* (324), citing French jurist and philologist Samuel Petit (1594–1643), author of *Variarum Lectionum libri IIII* (1633).

278 Witsius, *Aegyptiaca et Dekaphylon* (324), citing Bochart, *Geographia Sacra* (possibly pars prior, lib. II, cap. VI, p. 89); and Claudius Ptolemaeus, *Geographia* (3.12.35, line 6), who mentions the River Κύρος.

279 Witsius, *Aegyptiaca et Dekaphylon* (324), citing Grotius on Amos 1:5, in *Opera Omnia Theologica* (1:510).

280 Witsius, *Aegyptiaca et Dekaphylon* (324), citing 17th-century Dutch theologian Johannes Cocceius.

281 Witsius, *Aegyptiaca et Dekaphylon* (325), quoting and commenting on Grotius, who claims there must be an error in the numbering of the Hebrew scripture. Witsius's response is that Grotius's effort is not "to mend the reading of a difficult passage, but to brand it with a severe stigma and to maim it with a fierce hand."

And many follow *Cornelius a Lapide*, in this Accommodation.[282] But *Cocceius* finds a Dubiousness, and a Disturbance in this Account. He accounts the 65 years therefore, from the Death of *Jeroboam* the Second; with whom the lawful Kingdome of *Israel* expired; the Successors were *Theeves* rather than *Kings*. Now, saies our Prophet, *Sixty Five Years*, from the fatal Alteration, and Abolition, of the *Kingdome*, there shall a final Desolation come upon the *People*.[283] The Computation is thus made out. *Jeroboam* dies in the 15th Year of *Uzziah*. Of *Uzziah*'s Reign there remained 37 Years; But 19 Years after *Uzziah*s Reign, or Three Years after the Death of *Jotham*, does *Hosæa* begin to Reign: And in the 9th Year of *Hosæa* came the Captivity.

It was a memorable Occurrence that fell out a little before the Captivity. For, [2 Chron. 30.11.] *Divers of Asher, and Menasseh, and of Zebulon*, upon the Invitation of *Hezekiah*, came in to the Worship and the Temple of God, at *Jerusalem*; And [2 Chron. 31.1.] *when all this was finished, all Israel that were present, went out to the Cities of Judah, & brake the Images in Peeces, & cutt down the Groves, & threw down the High Places, & the Altars out of all Judah & Benjamin, in Ephraim also & Manasseh, until they had utterly destroy'd them all. Then all the Cities of Israel returned, Every Man to his Possession, into their own Cities*. *Grotius* will restrain this, unto the Cities, that were under the Command of the Kings of *Judah*, because the *Law* would not bear them out, in proceeding any further. But all the Land was the Great JEHOVAHs, and the *Law* for abolishing Idolatry,
[276v] was alwayes in Force. And | the Places reached by this Action, were not in the Possession of *Hezekiah*, but the Reformers took advantage from the *Anarchy* and *Confusion* in *Israel*, under *Hoshæa*, to do what they did.[284]

The Deportation came. Well; But *All* were not carried away. It is described in the Prophecies of *Isaiah*; [Ch. 17.4, 5, 6.] *The Glory of Jacob shall be made thin; It shall be, as when the Harvest-Man gathers the Corn. Yett gleaning Grapes shall be left in it; as the Shaking of an Olive-tree, two or three berries in the top of the uppermost bough, four or five in the outmost fruitful branches thereof*. They that were carried away, were præserved, as *Corn* in the Arms of the Reaper; not as *Chaff* to be utterly consumed. They that were left behind, were contemptible for Number and Figure; and yett they had some Life remaining in them.

Compare, Amos. 3.12.

According to the *Prophecy*, so we shall find the *History*. We read concerning the *Simeonites*, [1 Chron. 4.38, 41.] That in the Dayes of *Hezekiah*, they made a Salley forth, and possessed themselves of a brave Countrey; and that five Hun-

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282 Witsius, *Aegyptiaca et Dekaphylon* (325–27), citing Cornelius à Lapide (1567–1637), Flemish Jesuit exegete and professor at Leuven and Rome, *Commentaria in quatuor Prophetas* (1676), on Is. 7:8, p. 113.

283 For Mather's deletion, *see* App. A.

284 Witsius, *Aegyptiaca et Dekaphylon* (327–28), citing Grotius on 2 Chron. 31:1, in *Opera Omnia Theologica* (1:188).

dred of them in One Party, chased the remainder of the *Amalekites* out of the World, & inhabited their Countrey, at the Time when the Book of the *Chronicles* was written; which was after the Return from the *Babylonish* Captivity.

Moreover, *Josiah* the Grandson of *Hezekiah*, purged the Cities of *Menasseh*, and *Simeon*, and *Ephraim*, and *Naphthali* from their Idolatries, long after the *Assyrians* had carried away the Principal of the Families. Which makes it evident, there was a Number of *Israelites* yett left in the Land.

It is true, These *Israelites* had so lost the Knowledge and Worship of God, when they were mixt with Colonies of *Cuthites*, and *Avites*, and *Hamathites*, which were sent among them, that they petition'd the King of *Assyria*, to allow them a Priest, for their Instruction in so much Religion, as might serve to save them from the *Lions*, which grew troublesome unto them. [2. King. 17.24.]

Doubtless the *Israelites* thus left in the Land, mixed themselves in Marriages with the *Barbarians* that came to settle there. For which Cause, the *Jewes* returning from the *Babylonish* Captivity sleighted & shunned, the affinity of these Mungril *Samaritans*. There was an Instance of it, in the Case of One of the Sons of *Jojada*, who became a Son-in-Law to *Sanballat* the *Horonite*. [Neh. 13.28.] It has been a Mistake, by the way, that this Gentleman, was *Manasseh*, the Brother of *Jaddus* the High-Priest, who, as *Josephus* tells us, married the Daughter of *Sanballat*, a Prince of the *Cuthites*. For that *Menasseh*, was not the Son of *Jojada*, but of *Jonathan*, (whom *Josephus* calls *John*,) and the Nephew of *Jojadah*.[285] And his Father-in-Law, was not *Sanballat*, the *Horonite*, who had the Government under *Artaxerxes*; but a certain *Cuthite*, of the same Name who succeeded unto *Bagosus*, whom *Darius*, the last King of *Persia*, sent with a Commission into *Samaria*.

Their Confusion in *Matrimony*, soon produced a Confusion in *Religion*. And *Menasseh*, a little Reforming the Grosser Superstitions of the *Cuthites*, did, upon his Exclusion from the Priesthood at *Jerusalem*, with the assistence of his Father-in-Law, build a Temple upon Mount *Gerizzim*; *Alexander* allowing of it. Many Priests, entangled in unlawful Marriages, as well as *Menasseh*, fell off to him; and *Sanballat* supplied them with Moneyes, & Houses, & Fields, and sett all Manner of Temptations before them. This *Temple* was, as the Hebrew Story expresses it, *A Stone of Stumbling*; and it was truly called, *Asylum hominum Sceleratorum*.[286] *Josephus* tells us, That if any were punished for any Crimes at *Jerusalem*, Away they fled hither, complaining of Injuries in their Punishments.[287] The Temple stood for near Two Hundred Years, till it was destroy'd by *Hyrcanus* with Fire and Sword.

A Mixture of *Heathenism* and *Judaism* was thus at Length digested into *Samaritanism*; And as the Author of *Juchasin* tells us, Part followed *Simeon*

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285 Witsius, *Aegyptiaca et Dekaphylon* (331), citing Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* (11.7–8).
286 Is. 8:14, I Pet. 2:8. "Asylum of wicked people."
287 Witsius, *Aegyptiaca et Dekaphylon* (332–33), Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* (11.8).

the Just, and *Antigonus* his Scholar, and the School of his Disciples, who were taught by *Ezra* & the *Prophets*.[288] Part followed *Sanballat*, and his Son in law, & offered Sacrifices elsewhere than at the Temple of God, and instituted Rites of their own Devising.

Maimonides and *Bartenora*, confess, That they observed the Law of *Moses* rather better than the *Israelites*, according to the Letter of it; except in the matter of the *Temple*.[289]

But it is plain, That if Persecution arose, they were no Such mighty Retainers of the Law. *Josephus* publishes a Copy of a Letter from them to *Antiochus Epiphanes*, (whom indeed we may rather call, *Antiochus Epimanes*,) wherein they not only disclaimed the Religion of the *Jewes*, but offered, that their *Temple*, which had not hitherto born the Title of any God, should now bear that of, *Jupiter Græcanicus*.[290]

However, when the Jewes were in Prosperity, as the same *Josephus* notes, the *Samaritans* then claimed a Kindred with them; and as the Evangelist *John* instances in one of them, they were up with *Our Father Jacob*.[291]

[277r] The Disputes about the *Temple*, | were indeed alwayes maintained between them; Ridiculously enough, if you'l beleeve *Bereschit Rabba*; where, the best Argument of the Jew against Mount *Gerizzim* was, That *Jacob* did bury his Idols in that Mount; The best Argument of the *Samaritans* for Mount *Gerizzim*, was, That the Mount was not overflow'd with the Flood.[292] Probably they managed their Cause with stronger Arguments, before *Ptolomæus Philometor*, when, upon Occasion of a Sedition in *Alexandria*, made by the Controversies between the *Jewes* and the *Samaritans*, they pleaded the Case before the King & Council, on these Terms, that they which lost the *Day*, should also lose their *Heads*; but the King decreed in favour of the Temple at *Jerusalem*.[293]

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288 Witsius, *Aegyptiaca et Dekaphylon* (333), citing Abraham ben Samuel Zacuto (1452–c. 1515), Spanish astronomer and historian of Salamanca. *Liber Juchasin* or *Sefer ha-Yuchasin* (in which Witsius refers to fol. 14, col. 2) is a genealogical register first published in Constantinople (1566) and reprinted at Cracow (1581) and at Amsterdam (1717). See Zacuto, *The Book of Lineage Or Sefer Yohassim*, transl. and ed. Israel Shamir (2005), p. 46.

289 Witsius, *Aegyptiaca et Dekaphylon* (333–34), citing Maimonides, *Super Berachot* (ch. VIII, § VIII); and Obadias de Bartenura (d. 1530), famous Jewish religious leader and commentator of the *Mishnah* (1549). Witsius refers to "ch. VII, sec. 1, 'ejusdem tractat.,'" in Bartenura's annotations on *Mishnah Beracoth* (*see* Benjamin Kennicott, *The State of the printed Hebrew text of the Old Testament considered* [1759], pp. 41–42).

290 Mather's pun on the name of Antiochus Epiphanes substitutes *phanes*, "consecrated, dedicated," for *manes*, "ghost." Witsius, *Aegyptiaca et Dekaphylon* (334), citing Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* (12.7).

291 Witsius, *Aegyptiaca et Dekaphylon* (334), citing Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* (11.8); John 4:12.

292 Witsius, *Aegyptiaca et Dekaphylon* (334–35), citing *Bereschit Rabba*, § LXXXI (see Soncino *Midrash Rabbah*).

293 Ptolomaeus Philometor was king of Egypt, 180–145 BCE.

The *Samaritans* also made some Alterations with their Sacrilegious Hands in the *Law* itself. In Deut. 27.4. instead of *Mount Ebal*, they inserted *Mount Gerizzim*. Yea, the very Decalogue; they added an *Eleventh Commandment* unto it; they represented it, as uttered by the Mouth of God upon *Horeb*, That they should sett up Stones upon Mount *Gerizzim*, & there *build an Altar* unto God, & there offer *Sacrifices*. Dr. *Owen* thinks, this Interpolation was made, while the Temple of *Gerizzim*, destroy'd by *Hyrcanus*, was yett standing.[294] And yett on t'other Side, it is much that in the *Talmuds*, none of the Rabbi's object this unto the *Samaritans*, where they charge them with a Falsification of the Text in smaller Instances. By the way, we may see what Esteem is to be had of the *Samaritan Pentateuch*, which, as *Witsius* expresses it, *Insano quidam molimine Judæorum Præferendum esse Codicibus nuper contendere cœperunt*.[295]

An Israelite of pure Blood, abhorred nothing so much as a *Samaritan*. In the *Talmuds*, what horrible Curses do we find fulminated at the *Cuthites*. They proceed so far, *Quicunque comedit carnem Cuthæi, is vescitur quasi carne Porcinâ*.[296] However, much of that Severity was abated when the *Samaritans*, both in Religion and in Matrimony approached nearer to the *Jewes*. The *Talmudists* we find sometimes confessing, the *Land*, and the *Springs*, & the *Wayes,* & the *Mansions* of the *Samaritans*, to be unpolluted.

However, we may now see the Meaning of the Antipathy between the *Jewes* & the *Samaritans*, discovered in many Passages of the *Gospels*.

Lett us proceed unto the Condition of the *Israelites* in the Deportation. They were placed in *Halah*, and in *Habor*, by the River of *Gozan*, and in the Cities of the *Medes*. [1. King. 17.6.] Tyrants of old, in this regard used their People, as Graziers do their Cattle; proposing to Tame them, as the *Romans* did the *Cilician Pyrates*, by transplanting them into an Inland Countrey.[297] And thus the poor *Israelites*, must now Drink of *Euphrates* and of *Tigris*, instead of *Jordan*. *Halah* is the *Calachena* of *Ptolomy*, in the North of *Assyria*. *Habor* is the Mountain *Chabaras*, of the same *Ptolomy*, lying between *Media* and *Assyria*. From thence travelling towards the *Caspian*, in the Mid-way you find the City *Gauzania*, (and there you have *Gozan*) between two Channels of the River *Cyrus*, which imparted its Name unto the neighbouring *Region* and *River*, before the *Persians* ruled there, by whom that River was called *Cyrus*, as the next was *Cambyses*, in honour of those two Princes, whom all the World ha's heard of.

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294 Witsius, *Aegyptiaca et Dekaphylon* (337), citing John Owen, *Theologoumena Pantodapa* (1661), lib. IV, Digress. II, p. 305.

295 "What a mad effort some of the Jews have recently taken to affirm that [the Samaritan Pentateuch] is to be preferred to the codices." Witsius, *Aegyptiaca et Dekaphylon* (337).

296 "Whoever eats the flesh of the Cuthites, feeds upon as it were the flesh of swine." Witsius, *Aegyptiaca et Dekaphylon* (337).

297 The Cilician pirates were by the 1st century BCE the scourge of Mediterranean commerce, so Pompey waged a systematic campaign against them until they were all but eliminated; some of the survivors were sent to the southern coast of Asia Minor.

Media is called also [1. Chron. 5.26.] *Hara*. The Greeks likewise called *Media* by the Name of *Aria*, and the *Medians* were called *Arians*, as we find in the *Polymnia* of *Herodotus*.[298]

This *Deportation* tended not at all unto the *Reformation* of the miserable *Israelites*. [Ezek. 36.19, 20.] *Tobit* complains, That all his Kinsmen did *Eat the Meat of the Gentiles*.[299] Wherefore we do not find, that God sent any *Prophets*, unto them, as He did unto the *Jewes* in *Babylon*. But yett the Captivity of the *Jewes* was profitable to these; for by Means thereof, they fell into some Communion with the People and Prophets of God. And *Jeremiah* particularly invites them unto Repentance. [Jer. 3.11, 12.] *Ezekiel* also foretold their coming to Repentance and Recovery.[300] Doubtless the Jewes communicated these Prophecies unto them. Doubtless *Daniel* also, and his Companions, when they were in the Exercise of Government thereabouts, took a Religious Notice of these their Brethren.

Tho' a few scattering Families of the *Israelites*, might go farther afield, yett the Body of them continued thereabouts. We are sure, they were there, after the Return from the *Babylonish* Captivity. [1. Chron. 5.26.]

The Story of the Apocryphal *Esdras*, concerning their Travel into a further Countrey, a Year and halfs Journey, called *Harsaret*, and the miraculous dividing of the River *Euphrates*, to facilitate their Passage, is all over a Fable.[301] It is abundantly convicted for Fabulous, by the Demonstrations of learned Men. Altho' we may allow, that in the long Tract of Time, some of their Offspring, might be translated into *Hyrcania*, *Parthia*, *Persia*, *Carmania*, *India*, and into *Armenia*, *Colchis*, *Iberia*, *Egypt*; and into *Asia* the Less, *Græcia*, *Macedonia*, & if you will, all the Corners of the World.[302]

When the *Jewes* returned from their *Seventy-Years Captivity*, there were some *Israelites*, which accompanied them in that Return. The *Edicts* of the *Persian* Emperours for it, extended unto the *Ten* Tribes, as well as the *Two*. [2. Chron. 36.22, 23. Ezr. 1.1, 2, 3, 4. Ezr. 7.13.] And we find *Men of the People of Israel* actually taking the Benefit of the *Persian* Proclamations and Indulgences.
[277v] [Ezr. 2.2.] *Lightfoot*, and before | him, *Seder Olam*, observe That the *Twelve Thousand*, in the Summ Total of the Families returned, & yett not making any

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298 The River Cambyses, named for 6th-century BCE king of Anshan Cambyses I and king of the Achaemenid Empire Cambyses II, flows from Mount Caucasus into the Cyrus River (now the Kura) between the Black and Caspian Seas. Claudius Ptolemaeus, *Geographia* (bk. XVI), actually calls the place "Calacina"; Herodotus, *Historiae* (Polymnia) 7.62.

299 Tobit 1:10.

300 Witsius, *Aegyptiaca et Dekaphylon* (341), citing Ezek. 36–37.

301 On Harsaret, *see* the Editor's Introduction in Mather, "Triparadisus" (*Threefold Paradise* 23–29).

302 Witsius, *Aegyptiaca et Dekaphylon* (341–42).

particular Article among the Families, were of the *Ten Tribes*, whose Genealogy had not been so exactly preserved.[303] [Ezr. 2.64.]

We find also, the Returned People, *Coming again Every one unto his City* [Ezr. 2.1.] Now tis plain, that the Cities of the *Ten Tribes*, as well as of the *Two Tribes*, were after this Inhabited. Tho' *Samaria*, & some other Places, were occupied by the Barbarous *Assyrian* Colonies, yett in the New Testament, we find *Galilee*, and *Decapolis*, & most part of the Land of *Israel*, possessed by *Israelites*. The People of *Judah* and *Benjamin*, coming out of *Babylon*, were not enough to manage those Places, nor were they *their own Cities*; but they belonged unto the *Issacharites*, the *Zabulonites*, the *Naphthalites*, the *Asherites*, and the *Danites*. Hence in our Saviours time, the Countrey was called, *The Land of Zebulon and of Naphthali*. [Mat. 4.15.]

But there is no room left for Doubt about this Matter, when we have read those Words; [1. Chron. 9.2] *That the First Inhabitants*, which returned unto their Possessions, were *Israelites*, the *Priests*, *Levites, & Nethinims*. These were *the First*, because their Possessions were more certain; and they had no Claim to live in the Cities of *Judah* & *Benjamin*, among whom there was to be a New Distribution of Possessions, regulated by their Genealogical Tables.

Afterwards *Ezra* procured the Return of more *Israelites*, upon a New Edict of *Artaxerxes*. [Ezr. 7.7.] He fetch'd Recruits and *Levites,* for them, as far as from *Casiphia*; [Ezr. 8.17.] which *Casiphia*, was doubtless the Countrey of the *Caspians*, where the Ten Tribes were now seated in their Captivity.

We find also [Ezr. 6.16, 17.] the *Children of Israel, the Priests, & the Levites, & the rest of the Children of the Captivity, kept the Dedication of the House of God with Joy; and they offerd Twelve He-Goats, according to the Number of the Tribes of Israel*. [Compare, Ch. 8.35.] An Imitation it was, of what was done at the Dedication of *Moses*'s Tabernacle, and of *Solomon*s Temple. It was a *Sacrifice* on the behalf of them, who were to worship at the *Temple*; & therefore tis evident, that there were some in each of the *Twelve Tribes*, that were to do so.

In fine; On the Occasion of the Liberty indulged unto the *Jewes,* to return into their own Land, their Neighbours, the *Moabites*, the *Ammonites*, the *Idumæans*, the *Philistines*, & others carried Captives by *Nebuchadnezzar*, took the Liberty to return unto theirs. [Jer. 12.14, 15.] And it would have been much, if the *Israelites* had not made as good an Use of the same occasion. This we know; *Josephus* tells us, That *Ezra* sent Copies of the Kings Edicts in favour of the Return unto *Jerusalem*, into *Media*, unto *all his Nation*; who were greatly

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303 Witsius, *Aegyptiaca et Dekaphylon*, p. 346, citing John Lightfoot, "In addendis ad I Cor. xiv. cap. xi" (*Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae Impensae in epistolam primam S. Pauli ad Corinthios* [1664], pp. 147–51); and *Seder Olam Rabba*, cap. XXIX (*see Ezra and Esther*, in *Seder Olam*, pp. 247–54).

Rejoiced at it, & many of them Repaired unto him at *Babylon*, that they might Return with him to *Jerusalem*.[304]

Thus *Isaiah*, having foretold the Eversion of the *Babylonian* Empire, by the *Median* Power, adds, Isa. 14.1. *The Lord will have Mercy upon Jacob, and will yett choose Israel, & sett them in their own Land, & the Stranger shall be joined with them*. *Jacob* and *Israel* denote more than *Judah* and *Benjamin*. The *Moabites* and *Edomites*, who were brought after this to submitt unto the Rites of the conquering *Israelites*, were the *Stranger that joined with them*.

Thus *Micah*, speaking of the Time that should go before the Coming of the *Messiah*, saies, Mic. 2.12. *I will surely assemble, O Jacob, all of thee, I will surely gather the Remnant of Israel*. No *Tribe* was to be wanting, tho' many *Persons* of every *Tribe* should be wanting.

More distinctly yett; The Prophet *Jeremiah* proclaims *towards the North*, unto the *Ten Tribes* in their Captivity; Jer. 3.14. *I will take you, one of a City, & two of a Family, and I will bring you unto Zion*.

Compare, Jer. 30.3, 4, 10, 18.

Compare, Jer. 33.7, 13, 14.

The *Israelites* which dwelt with the *Jewes*, returning into their own Land, after the *Babylonish* Captivity, were of *Three* Sorts. There were the Offspring of those whom the *Assyrians* had left there. And there were the Offspring of those who had long before united with the *Jewes*, on the account of Religion, and had now taken the same Fate with them. And there were the Offspring of those, whom the *Assyrians* had carried into *Media*. All these made but a *Small Number*, as it had been foretold by *Jeremiah,* that they should.

Their *Families* were not now distinguished, nor their *Possessions*, as they had been at the Beginning. It is true, many of them knew, (as *Anna* did, that she was of the Tribe of *Asher*)[305] to which of the Tribes they owed their Original; But yett they could rarely, if at all, produce an exact Line of Succession, with the Names of each successive Ancestor, for many Generations. We read, 1. Chron. 9.1. *So all Israel were reckoned by Genealogies, and behold, they were written in the Book of the Kings of Israel. But were carried away to Babylon for their Transgression*. The Paraphrase that *Solomon Jarchi*, and *David Kimchi*, give us upon it, is this; The *Israelites* of the *Ten Tribes* had indeed their Genealogical Tables, which being lodged in the Archives, with the Annals of their Kings, were lost in the Destruction of the Kingdome; For which Cause, that Point is here pursued no further.[306] But the *Jewes*, who were carried into *Babylon* for their Transgression also yett præserved their Genealogies, which Part is now to be exhibited.

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304 Witsius, *Aegyptiaca et Dekaphylon* (348), citing Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* (11.5).

305 Luke 2:36.

306 Witsius, *Aegyptiaca et Dekaphylon* (351), citing Solomon Jarchi, or Rashi, and David Kimhi, on 1 Chron. 9:1 (*see I Chronicles: A New English Translation* 61).

Yea, there were many who did not remember, so much as to which of the | Tribes they belonged. [See, Neh. 7.6.] Now, the *Tribes* thus undistinguished, [278r] fell, as it was fitt, into One Body with the Tribe of *Judah*; & were called by the Name of *Jewes*. And from this Time (as the Prophet *Zechariah* expresses it, Ch. 9.9, 10) *Ephraim* and *Jerusalem*, were so united under one Government, that *Ephraim* afforded the *Chariot*, and *Jerusalem* afforded the *Horse*, for the same Expedition; (and it was actually so in the *Asmonæan* Wars,) which Power of *Warring*, was to be taken from them, (tis here foretold,) about the Time of the Coming of the *Messiah*; as we know it came to pass, by Means of *Pompey* and *Augustus*, and afterwards *Vespasian*.[307]

The *Small Number* from each of the *Ten Tribes*, thus returning to their own Land, were greatly & quickly *Increased* by the Blessing of God upon them. Nevertheless, as it was foretold,[308] (Isa. 9.2.) they were to *walk in Darkness, & to dwell in the Shadow of Death*.

We have a notable Prophecy of *Micah*, concerning this Matter. [Mic. 2.12.] Saies he, "If any *Windy* Sort of a Man, come with his *Lying* Stories, & Prophesy a Plenty of *Wine* and of *Strong Drink*, you will beleeve him, for the *Good Newes* that he brings you. But I will bring you the *Best Newes* that ever you heard; *I will surely assemble, O Jacob, All of Thee; I will surely gather the Remnant of Israel*. [Consider the Prophecies of *Obadiah*. As also, Jer. 3.16. and 30.18, 19. and Zech. 8.11.][309]

The Event was according to the Prophecies. The *Israelites* grew so Numerous, that they not only stock'd their own Countrey with Cityes, but Sent forth Colonies, all over *Asia*; and into *Egypt*, and other Parts of *Africa*; into *Greece*, and *Italy*, and *Spain* itself: And they conquered the Nations in the Neighbourhood; the *Moabites*, the *Edomites*, and many Towns of the *Philistines*. Lett *Joppe*, a Town belonging to the *Ten Tribes*, be an Instance; whereof *Strabo* affirms, και δη και ευδρησεν ουτος ο τοπος, *The Place did so abound with Men*, saies he, that from *Jamnia* the adjoining Village, & the Habitations in the Vicinity, they armed *Forty Thousand Men*.[310]

And concerning these *Ten Tribes*, there is this Remarkable, That the Gospel was first of all preached unto them. For our Lord first preached in *Galilee*, at *Capernaum*, a Sea-port Place, on the borders of *Zebulon* and *Naphthali*. And He declared Himself sent unto the *Lost Sheep of Israel*: [Mat. 15.24.] unto whom also He sent His *Apostles*. [Mat. 10.6.] This too, was but according to the ancient Prophecies. Besides those which *Matthew* quotes from *Isaiah*, *Jerom* will have

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307 Witsius, *Aegyptiaca et Dekaphylon* (351–52).

308 For Mather's deletion, *see* App. A.

309 Witsius, *Aegyptiaca et Dekaphylon* (353–54).

310 καὶ δὴ καὶ εὐάνδρησεν οὗτος ὁ τόπος, "And indeed this place was so well supplied with men." Witsius, *Aegyptiaca et Dekaphylon* (359), citing Strabo, *Geographica* (16.2.28).

to be applied this Way;[311] the *Jacobæan* Oracle, about the Tribe of *Naphthali*, being an *Hind Lett Loose*, and giving *Goodly Words*. It is very sure, the Words uttered by our Saviour, in this Tribe, were *Goodly Words*. [Luk. 4.22.] And the Faithful are not amiss compared, unto an *Hind Lett Loose*, when they do in Flocks repair with an Holy Thirst of Soul, unto the *Fountains of Living Water*. Unto the Returned *Israelites* also, God promised [Jer. 3.15.] *Pastors after His own Heart*. The Men first called unto the *Apostleship* (who were *Galilæans*) answered this Character. As they did another, foretold by the same Servant of God; [Jer. 31.6.][312] That of, *Watchmen upon Mount Ephraim, crying, Arise yee, & Lett us go up unto Zion, unto the Lord our God*. The Princes, as we may call them, of the *Nazarenes*, may very suitably be called /נוצרים/ *Notzerim*.[313]

In the mean time, the Bigger Part of the People, belonging to the *Ten Tribes*, remained in their Dispersion. At the Writing of the Books of, *The Chronicles*, we find them, [1. Chron. 5.26.] remaining *To This Day*, where the *Assyrians* had carried them; and this was after the Return of the *Jewes* from their Captivity. And *Ezra* mentions no *Leaders* of the *Israelites*, which accompanied the *Jewes* in that Return; whereas, if they had been considerable for their *Numbers*, doubtless their Distinct *Leaders* would have been considerable enough to have been mentioned. It is also expressly declared, [Ezr. 2.1. and Neh. 7.6.] That the *Israelites* which then returned were they, or the Posterity of them, whom *Nebuchadnezzar* had carried away, and not *Salmanasser*. And *Josephus* tells us, That those *Israelites* of the *Salmanasserian* Captivity, did not care to leave their Habitations.[314] [Compare, Hos. 1.6, 7.]

Of those which thus remained in their Dispersion, there were a *Part*, who so mixed themselves in *Marriages*, and *Impieties*, with the Wicked Nations, among whom they wallowed, that they were entirely Lost, like a few *Drops* falling into the Ocean. But then there was another *Part*, that was more Tenacious of their ancient Religion, and maintained a Correspondence and Communion with the *Jewes*. Of this there is a Notable Proof, in the Complaint, that *Haman* præferr'd against them; Est. 3.8. *There is a certain People scattered abroad, & dispersed among the People, in all the Provinces of thy Kingdome, and their Lawes are diverse from all People, neither keep they the Kings Lawes*. This is to be understood of the *Ten Tribes*; and the Words of the Pagan *Tacitus* may be a good Commentary upon these of *Haman*: *Moses, quo sibi in posterum gentem firmaret, novos*

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311 Witsius, *Aegyptiaca et Dekaphylon* (359), citing Jerome, *Divina Bibliotheca 01. Liber Bresith Qui Dicitur Genesis*, col. 264 [PL 28.163–231], on Gen. 49:21, "Naphtali is a hind let loose: he giveth goodly words." For Mather on this text, see *BA* 1:1140–41.

312 Mather cites chap. 30.

313 Witsius, *Aegyptiaca et Dekaphylon* (361).

314 Witsius, *Aegyptiaca et Dekaphylon* (362), citing Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* (9.5).

ritus, contrariosque cæteris mortalibus indidit. Profana illic | Omnia, quæ apud nos [278v]
Sacra, Rursum concessa apud illos, quæ nobis Jncesta. [Hist. L. V.][315]

It is true, This People came to wear the Name of *Jewes*; for that Name, was become now, not a Name of a *People*, but of a *Religion*. [Compare Esth. 8.17. and Gal. 1.14.] The Chaldee Paraphrase brings in *Jonah* saying, *I am a Jew*. And the *Idumæans*, that were circumcised under *Hyrcanus*, became *Jewes*, in the Language of *Josephus*.[316] *Dio Cassius* tells us, the Name of *Jewes* belonged unto all, οσοι τα νομιμα αυτων καιπερ αλλοεθνεις οντες ζηλουσι, *Quotquot eorum Instituta amplexantur, Etiamsi alienigenæ sint*.[317] *Elias* in his *Tisbi*, observes, That all *Israelites* were called *Jewes*, after the *Ten Tribes* were carried into Captivity.[318] And unto those *Tribes*, no doubt, belonged a great many of those, whom *Luke* finds come to *Jerusalem*, from all Nations, to the Feast of *Pentecost*. Those therefore, who are by *Peter* there called *Jewes*, are by him anon called, *The whole House of Israel*. And unto whom do *Peter* and *James* direct their Epistles, but unto the *Twelve Tribes*? *Paul* does also testify, Act. 26. 7. *That the Twelve Tribes instantly served God*.

Lett us by the way take in Dr. *Lightfoot*s Observations.[319] The whole World, is Divided into *Israelites* and *Gentiles*. The *Israelites* are divided into the *Ten Tribes*, and the *Jewes*. The *Jewes* are divided into *Hebrewes* and *Hellenists*. The *Hebrewes* are divided into those *Within the Land of Israel*, and those *Without the Land*. Will this Observation give us no Light? *Matthew* seems to have written his *Gospel* for the *Hebrewes within the Land of Israel*, & the bordering *Syria*. *Mark* seems to have written his Gospel, for the *Hebrewes without the Land*, in *Babylonia*, and *Assyria*, where the *Ten Tribes* also were lodged. *John* seems to have written his Gospel for the *Hellenists*. And *Luke* seems to have written his Gospel for the *Gentiles*. Among the *Apostles of the Circumcision*, *Syria* seems to have been the special Care, of *James*; *Babylonia* and *Syria*, of *Peter*; the *Hellenists*, & especially the *Asiatic* ones, of *John*.

This is plain; The *Israelites* of the *Ten Tribes*, did, for a great Part, maintain a Fellowship with the *Jewes*, in the Rites of Religion, before & until the Coming of our Lord-*Messiah*. And after this, the Apostles of our Lord preached the Gospel unto them, in the several Countreyes where they were dispersed.[320]

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315 "Moyses, wishing to secure for the future his authority over the nation, gave them a novel form of worship, opposed to all that is practised by other men. Things sacred with us, with them have no sanctity, while they allow what with us is forbidden." Witsius, *Aegyptiaca et Dekaphylon* (364), citing Tacitus, *Historiae* (5.4).

316 Witsius, *Aegyptiaca et Dekaphylon* (365), citing Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* (13.17).

317 "Although of alien race, who affect their customs." Witsius, *Aegyptiaca et Dekaphylon* (365), citing Dio Cassius, late 2nd/early 3rd-century CE Roman consul and historian, *Historia Romana* (37.13.5).

318 Elias Levita (1469–1548), *Thisibites.* השבי *Lexicon Hebraicum* (1557).

319 Witsius, *Aegyptiaca et Dekaphylon* (367), citing Lightfoot, "Id Addendis ad I. ad Cor. IV," (*Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae Impensae in epistolam primam S. Pauli ad Corinthios* 131–32).

320 Witsius, *Aegyptiaca et Dekaphylon* (368–72).

The most of the *Israelites* which now had the Offer of the Gospel, impiously & ingratefully refused it. And they that were in the Land of *Israel*, were the first that felt the *Roman Sword*, Revenging this *Quarrel of the Covenant*. The First Impressions made by *Titus* on the Land, were in *Galilee*; and particularly *Gadara*, which had præferred their *Swine* before their *Saviour*, was the first of all the Towns that he laid in Ashes. He then came to *Jotapat*, whereof *Josephus* was Governour, and after a Siege of Forty Dayes he took it & burnt it. *Vespasian* then præpared for the Besieging of *Tiberia*, and of *Tarichæa*. The *Tiberians* made an early Surrender, & at the Prayers of King *Agrippa* the City was delivered from Excision. The *Tarichæans* were Destroyed. In a Naval Battel on the Lake of *Gennesaret*, Six Thousand & Five Hundred *Israelites* perished. The City falling into *Vespasians* Hands, he murdered the Old Men and Children, which were about *Twelve Hundred*, and sent the Young Men, which were about *Six Thousand*, as a Present unto *Nero*. The rest of the People, which were about Thirty Thousand, he sold for Slaves. In fine, All *Galilee* was conquered, before the *Romans* addressed themselves unto the Destruction of *Jerusalem*.

The Jewish Policy being at Length totally overturned, and fallen under the *Curse* of God, and Hate of Man, the *Israelites* who outlived the Slaughters of those Miserable Dayes, were scattered all over the face of the Earth, & utterly lost their *Genealogies*, in the Ruines of the Temple. The *Israelites* who had hitherto continued in *Assyria* and *Media*, & the Neighbour-Countreyes, were wholly mixed with the *Jewes* of those Countreyes; and being involved in the same Fate with them, they have ever since wandred among the Nations. And as *Witsius* adds, *Neque demonstrari ex ullâ fide dignâ Historiâ potest, decem Tribus distinctum à reliquis Judæis populum nunc esse, nedum Rempublicam aut politiam aliquam habere*.[321]

Consider the Prophecy, Hos. 9.17.

This Account of the *Ten Tribes*, fetch'd from the Holy Scriptures, is much to be præferred before the Fancy of those that look for the *Ten Tribes* in *Tartar*, or in the Countreyes bordering on *Persia* and *Media*, and beyond the River *Sambation*; or, perhaps in *America*, where *Menasseh ben Israel*, in his Foolish, *Spes Israelis*, pretends to meet with them. *Immensa Fabularum Strues, in quam si intuearis* (quoth *Witsius,) Tale aliquid dicas te in Infantiâ inter Somni difficultates à nutricula audisse*.[322]

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321 "It cannot be demonstrated by any history worthy of faith that the distinct ten tribes from the remaining Jewish people exist now, still less that they have a republic or polity." Witsius, *Aegyptiaca et Dekaphylon* (369).

322 "An immense heap of fables, which if you would look into (quoth Witsius), you would say that you had heard something of the kind in infancy between difficulties of sleep from the nurse." Witsius, *Aegyptiaca et Dekaphylon* (371), citing Menasseh ben Israel, *Spes Israelis* (1650), transl. *The Hope of Israel* (1650). Mather disfavored the Lost Tribes theory; *see* "Triparadisus" (*Threefold Paradise* 23–29, 312).

| Nevertheless According to our *Witsius*, we may hope, that there will a [279r]
Time come, when *All Israel,* shall by Vertue of the *Covenant* which the Lord made with their Ancestors, come to the Faith of the *Messiah*; and be at the same Time restored unto the Enjoyment of their own Land, where the Church of *Israel* shall worship the Lord according to His Word, being delivered from the Tyranny of their Enemies.[323]

Consider, Gen. 17.7, 8. And the whole Twenty Sixth Chapter of *Leviticus*.

Yea, There is given unto *All Israel*, a Promise, of being *brought into the Land which their Fathers possessed*; and it is added, Deut. 30.5. *The Lord thy God will do thee Good, and will multiply thee, ABOVE THY FATHERS*. There is no Refuting of what *Abarbanel* saies, in his, /משמיע ישועה/ upon this Place; That this Promise was never fulfilled under the *Second Temple*; for then saies he, *Si non semper, saltem plerumque in Servitutem redacti fuerint; aliquandò Persis et Medis, aliquandò Græcis, aliquandò Romanis et nunquam pertigerent ad gradum hominum Domus primæ*.[324] Briefly, After the Return from the Captivity, they continued still Tributaries to the *Persians*, and as *Nehemiah* and *Ezra* confess, in a Contemptible and Miserable Condition. *Tacitus* tells us, [Hist. V.] *Dum Assyrios penes, Medosque & Persas Oriens fuit, despectissima pars Servientium*.[325] In *Alexander*s Time things ran so low with them, that they had been utterly destroy'd, if God had not prospered the Intercessions of *Jaddus* the High-Priest,[326] for their Deliverance from the Rage of that furious Conqueror; nevertheless they were still Tributaries, only he granted them the Ease of One Year in Seven. After his death, *Ptolomy* the Son of *Lagus*, the King of *Egypt*,[327] siezed the Countrey by force of Arms; & it remained in Subjection and Obedience, to several of the *Ptolomyes*. *Antiochus M*. recovered *Syria*, from *Ptolomæus Eupator*. But the *Ptolomy* who succeeded *Eupator*, sent General *Scopa*, who recovered it again from *Antiochus*. But *Antiochus*, in a Second Encounter, beat *Scopa*, and took *Sidon*, and anon *Sion* too; and all *Judæa*, unhappy whoever were the Conqueror, fell into the Hands of *Antiochus*; who gave it as a Dowry, with his Daughter *Cleopatra*, marrying of *Ptolomy*; as he did *Cœlo-Syria*, *Phænice,* & *Samaria*.[328] The Bloody Ravages and Vastations made upon the Land, by *Antiochus Epiphanes*, every one knowes that ha's read

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323 Witsius, *Aegyptiaca et Dekaphylon* (373).

324 Witsius, *Aegyptiaca et Dekaphylon* (383), citing Abravanel, *Mashmiʿa yeshuʿah* (1644). "If not always, at least for the most part, they were sometimes reduced to slavery, sometimes to the Medes and Persians, sometimes the Greeks, sometimes the Romans, and they never belonged to the first rank."

325 Witsius, *Aegyptiaca et Dekaphylon* (383), citing Tacitus, *Historiae* (5.8). "While the East was under the sway of the Assyrians, the Medes, and the Persians, Jews were the most contemptible of the subject tribes."

326 Jewish high priest in the 4th century BCE.

327 Ptolemy, a Macedonian general under Alexander the Great, who took over rule of Egypt during the late 4th-century BCE.

328 The forces under Antiochus III the Great, who ruled the Seleucid Empire 222–187 BCE, had taken upper Syria c. 199 BCE, only to lose the area briefly to the Aetolian general Scopas,

the Books of the *Maccabees*. After that Storm was over, *Antiochus Eupator,* and *Demetrius*, and *Alexander*, and a second *Demetrius*, and *Antiochus* the Son of *Alexander*, called *Sederes*, caused them New Troubles. [Foretold, Zech. 12.3.] But by the Favour of God, the Jewes weathered out their Troubles, and became Victorious. *Judas Aristobulus*, the Son of *Hyrcanus*, called *Philellen*, was the first who obtained something like a Royal Diadem.[329] He was not very prosperous with it; for he had bloody Contentions with his Brethren, about his Claims, till *Pompey* cast him into Prison; and by the Assistence of *Hyrcanus*'s Party being received into *Jerusalem*, he ravished the Temple from *Aristobulus*'s Party, slew twelve Thousand Jewes, and bestowed a precarious Kingdome & Priesthood upon *Hyrcanus*. *Hyrcanus* being in feeble Circumstances, *Gabinius* ordered all the Jewish Affayrs at his Pleasure.[330] And *Crassus*, going against the *Parthians*, entred *Judæa*, and siezed upon the Holy Treasures of the Temple, which *Pompey* had not meddled with; Two Thousand Talents, and other Gold, unto the value of Eight Thousand Talents more; One bar of Gold, among the rest, that weighed Three Hundred Pounds. After *Crassus*, there comes *Cassius*; who falling first upon the *Tarichæans*, carried away Thirty Thousand Captives. This *Cassius* makes them afterwards a second Visit, exacting a vast Summ of Money from them, which because it was not paid fast enough, four of their principal Cities, with the Inhabitants, were exposed unto Sale.[331] By 'nd by, *Herod* the Great, the Son of *Antipater*, the *Idumæan*, on the Procurement of *Antony*, was by the Senate of *Rome*, declared *King of the Jewes*: A great Slave to the Roman Greatness. After his Death, *Judæa* was become a Province, annexed unto *Syria*.[332] And, now, in spite of all *Josephus*'s Flourishes, it will be impossible to find a Time under the *Second Temple*, wherein the *Jewes* were in their Considerableness advanced, *Above their Fathers*, or beyond, what they were in the Dayes of *David* and of *Solomon*.[333] In the Dayes of *Alexander Jaunæus*, forsooth! That is to say, when *Ptolomæus Lathurus* murdered Fifty Thousand of them; And when *Alexander Jaunæus* himself, raged like a Divel upon his own Subjects, and Crucified no less

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recovering it again the next year after the battle of Panium, which marked the end of Ptolemaic rule of Judea. Antiochus's daughter Cleopatra I Syra married Ptolemy V Epiphanes of Egypt.

329 Briefly the first ruler of the Hebrew Hasmonean dynasty in the late 2nd century BCE.

330 Aulus Gabinius, Roman statesman and general who, after restoring Ptolemy XII to the throne of Egypt in 55 BCE, put down Alexander Aristobulus's revolt in Syria. Gabinius's successor was Marcus Licinius Crassus.

331 Gaius Cassius Longinus, Roman senator, who after acting as one of Julius Caesar's assassins in 44 BCE took command of armies in the east, including those of Egypt and Syria, rule over which he left to his nephew as he went west to join up with Brutus and meet his death at the battle of Philippi.

332 Herod the Great, son of Antipater the Idumeaean (c. 74–4 BCE), was declared king of the Jews after he was forced to flee before Antigonus, Hyrcanus' nephew.

333 Witsius, *Aegyptiaca et Dekaphylon* (385), citing Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* (13.23).

than Eight hundred of them, with the most exquisite Barbarities. And, – But it is not worth our while, to go on in Confuting so fond a Notion.[334]

Many more are the Divine Oracles, which seem to assure us, That *All Israel*, shall return from their Dispersion, to the Knowledge and Service of God, in their own Land.

Consider, Isa. 11.11, 12, 13. and the Words of *Musculus* thereupon; *Quam inconsultò faciunt, qui hunc contextum ad eos | Christianos trahunt, quos Evangelica Doctrina traxit ad Christum*![335] [279v]

Behold, A promised Return of the *Israelites*, from *Assyria*, from *Egypt*, from *Pathros* (that is, *Thebais*,) from *Cush*, (that is, *Arabia* and *Ethiopia*,) from *Elam*, (that is, *Persia*,) from *Shinar*, (that is, *Babylon*,) from *Hamath*, (that is, upon the Mediterranean,) and from the *Isles of the Sea* (that is, from all *Europe*.) And this, in the Dayes of the *Messiah*; In which also, as tis thought by some, the Rise of *Antichrist* is foretold, under the Terms of the *Asp,* and the *Cockatrice*; whose Follies will become so ridiculous, that the very *Children* shall play upon them.

Consider, Hos. 3.3, 4, 5.[336]

Tis foretold, That the *Israelites* must remain *many Dayes*, chast and clear from Idolatry, and yett without the True God. It is added, *Thou shalt not be any Mans*; No Princes nor Elders of their own, should have command of them. At last, The Lord would be *for them*. – Consult the whole Text at Liesure.

Consider, Jer. 35.5.

It is to be fulfill'd, after a *Continuing Whirlwind* has been *with Pain upon the wicked Jewes that rejected the Messiah*; which is the same, that the Apostle calls, 2. Thess. 2.16. *A Wrath unto the uttermost*.

Add, v. 31. and what followes.

Dr. *Ames* very notably saies, [In *Coron. ad Coll: Hag.*] *Facta est reverà promissio toti populo Israelis, – quoad communem eorum statum, non præsentem, sed Futurum, post Gentium plenitudinem ingressam, quum maxima eorum pars, – ad veram Fidem trahentur*.[337]

Add, v. 38, 39. to{o}.

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334 Witsius, *Aegyptiaca et Dekaphylon* (386). Alexander Jaunaeus was one of the sons of Hyrcanus, first Judean king since the Babylonian Captivity; Alexander assumed the throne himself after the death of his oldest brother, Aristobulus. Alexander was in turn defeated by Ptolomaeus Lathurus, king of Cyrus, aided by Cleopatra, queen of Egypt. He spent several years fighting his rebellious subjects, resulting in the deaths of more than 50,000 of them.

335 "How ill-advised they act who refer this context to those Christians for whom the evangelical doctrine has brought them to Christ!" Witsius, *Aegyptiaca et Dekaphylon* (391). Wolfgang Musculus (1497–1563), professor of theology at Bern, *In Esaiam Prophetam Commentarii* (1557), p. 263; *see BA* 1:846, n. 111.

336 Witsius, *Aegyptiaca et Dekaphylon* (391).

337 "And there was the promise that the whole people of Israel – with respect to their common state, not yet present but to come, after the entrance of the fullness of the gentiles, when their greatest part shall be brought to the true faith." Witsius, *Aegyptiaca et Dekaphylon*

It is engaged, That *Jerusalem shall be built unto the Lord*. A famous Interpreter observes, *Non potest autem in Novo Testamento esse urbs Jehovæ, nisi sit Christi; et a Christianis tentatur*.[338] So then, *Jerusalem* is to be Rebuilt by *Christian Israelites*.

Consider, Ezek. 16.53, 55.

[As for the Restitution of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, tis enough to say with *Castalio*, *Cujusmodi futura sit ea Restitutio, scietur suo Tempore*.[339] But see our *Illustrations* upon the Place.][340]

Consider, Ezek. 20.40, 41, 42, 43, 44.

Consider, the whole *Thirty sixth* Chapter of *Ezekiel*. And the whole *Thirty Seventh* Chapter.[341]

I conclude, with the Words of *Calvin*. *Vocatur* Mysterium, *quia Incomprehensibile est usque ad Tempus Revelationis. At nobis, sicut Romanis, patefactum est, ut fides nostra, verbo contenta, expectatione nos sustineat, donec effectus ipse prodeat in Lucem*.[342]

But this Matter of a Restitution for the Tribes of *Israel*, under Distinguishing Circumstances, in This World, it calls for a further and a deeper Consideration. Tis to be considered as, A Mystery; And we may elsewhere employ our more Accurate & Exquisite Thoughts upon it.[343]

(395–96), citing William Ames, *Coronis ad Collationem Hagiensem* (1630), Artic. V, cap. II (pp. 292–319; quote on p. 299).

338 "It cannot be, however, be the city of Jehovah in the New Testament [New Covenant], unless it be of Christ and held by the Christians." Witsius, *Aegyptiaca et Dekaphylon* (397). The "famous Interpreter," also referred to by Witsius, is not further identified, though it may again be Ames, *Coronis ad Collationem Hagiensem* (see previous note).

339 "Which sort of restitution it will be, shall be known in its own time." Witsius, *Aegyptiaca et Dekaphylon* (400), citing Sebastien Castellio (Châteillon), *Biblia Sacra: cum Annotationibus eiusdem* (1573), cols. 1097–98, "Annotatio" on Ezek. 16:53.

340 See *BA* on Ezek. 16:53 ff.

341 Witsius, *Aegyptiaca et Dekaphylon* (406–11).

342 "It is called a MYSTERY, because it will be incomprehensible until the time of its revelation. It is, however, made known to us, as it was to the Romans, that our faith, be content with the word, sustains us in expectation, until the event itself come to light." Witsius, *Aegyptiaca et Dekaphylon* (415), citing Jean Calvin, Commentary on Romans 11 (see *Opera Quae Supersunt Omnia* XLIX – CR LXXVII, p. 142; *Commentarij in Epistolam Pauli ad Romanos* [1540]), transl. John Owen *(CCEL)*, on Rom. 11:25–27.

343 Namely, in "Triparadisus" (*Threefold Paradise* 295–318).

Q. Can you tell the *Name* of the *Anonymous Prophet* whom the Lion slew? v. 1.
A. *Tertullian* affirms his Name to bee *Shemajah,*[344] – Lib. de Jejunijs. Cap. 16. *Josephus* calls him, *Jadon*. *Epiphanius* calls him, *Jaon*.[345]

Q. Why does he mention the *Altar* twice? v. 2.
A. To signify, that he prophecied against that in *Dan*, as well as against this in *Bethel*. A Remarkable Prophecy, for the *Punctuality* of it; and in a Point, which was not to come to pass, till above *Three hundred & Sixty* Years after this time.[346]

Q. Why must not the Prophet *Eat* nor *Drink*, nor *turn again by the same Way that he came*? v. 9.
A. The Reason is plain, why he must not *Eat* nor *Drink* with them. He must not have so much Familiar Society with *Idolaters*. But, why not *Return by the same Way that he came*? Some think, It was to represent that even the *Way* to *Bethel* was abominable; & therefore that it should not be frequented. Or, To show, how much we ought to abhor that which *Leads* to Evil.

But, as *Patrick* observes, It may be a Proverbial Speech, signifying that he should be constant and stedfast in executing the Charge committed unto him.[347]

Q. The *Old Prophet*? v. 11.
A. *Theodoret* proves, that he was a True Prophet.[348]

See, the whole Story sett in a fair Light, by our Illustrations, in 1. Chron. 29.29.[349]

Q. The *Old Prophet*, perswading the Man of God, to *Eat and Drink* with him? v. 19.
A. Dr. *Patrick* thinks, He perswaded him, that the Charge of God, *Thou shalt not Eat Bread nor Drink Water in this Place*; was to be understood of *Sinners* & *Idolaters*, with whom he might not communicate. But he, being a *Prophet*,

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344 Patrick, *A Commentary* (205), citing Tertullian, *De Jejunio Adversus Psychicos* (cap. XVI). Patrick renders "Shemajah" as "Sameas."
345 Patrick, *A Commentary* (205), citing Epiphanius of Salamis, *Panarion,* in the *Tertulliani Opera* (1634) of Nicolaus Rigaltius (Nicolas Rigault) (1577–1654), French classicist and royal librarian.
346 Patrick, *A Commentary* (205–06).
347 Patrick, *A Commentary* (208).
348 Patrick, *A Commentary* (209), citing Herman Witsius, *Miscellanea* (1712), Tom. I, cap. XV, "De Notis Veri Prophetae," § XXII–XXVII (pp. 142–45).
349 *See* entry on I Chron. 29:29, below, pp. 714–36.

was not comprehended in the Command. He saies, *To thine House*; not to the Habitation of any *Idolater*, but to his Habitation, which was undefiled. Thus *Abarbanel*.[350]

Q. Why no Punishment threatned unto the *Old Prophet*? v. 23.
A. *Abarbanel* thinks, Because he *meant no Harm* to the Man of God. He fancied, that when the Man of God said, He might not *Eat* or *Drink* with them, it was only to excuse his going home with *Jeroboam*.[351]

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Q. The *Lion* that slew the Prophet? v. 24.
A. Not far from *Bethel*, there was a Wood; out of which the Two *She-Bears* came, which tore the two and forty Children.[352] Out of this Wood, it is probable this *Lion* came.[353]

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Q. The wonderful History of the godly Prophet, slain by the *Lion*, which afterward stood by the *Carcase*, and slew not the *Ass* that had carried him; it calls for some Remarks? v. 24, 25.
A. And a most *Wonderful History* it was! At present wee'l content ourselves with a Remark or two.

God intended by this terrible Exemple of His Judgment, on a *Prophet* of His own, for Transgressing in but One Circumstance, to terrify the *Idolaters* unto whom He had sent that Prophet, with letting them see, what a *fearful Thing* it would be, for them that were much Greater Transgressors, to *fall into His Hands*.

I remember, *Ælian*, in his *Various History*, ha's a Passage, about the *Athenians*; That because their Agents went *another Way,* than they had ordered them, tho' they managed their Business prudently & prosperously in their Agency, yett they were condemned to Dy for it.[354]

The *Lion* sparing both the *Carcase* and the *Ass*, and standing by them, rendred the *Miracle* much more Illustrious, and as *Jerom* notes, *Ne putaretur casus, et non Judicium Domini*.[355] God would in this thing also *Honour* the Prophet, as well as *Punish* him. *Theodoret* ha's this Note upon it; τετίμηκε δὲ

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350 Patrick, *A Commentary*, entry on v. 18 (210–11), citing Abravanel (*see I Kings: A New English Translation* 148).
351 Patrick, *A Commentary* (212), citing Abarbanel (*see I Kings: A New English Translation* 148–49).
352 2 Kings 2:24.
353 Patrick, *A Commentary* (213).
354 Claudius Aelian, *Varia Historia* (6.5).
355 "Lest it was held to be a calamity, and not the judgment of the Lord." Jerome, *Sophoniam*, cap. II, cited in Bochart, *Hierozoicon* (pars prior, lib. II, cap. XVI, col. 207).

αυτον. *Sed Honore illum etiam post mortem affecit Deus; constituit utique eundem illi custodem, qui Prius occiderat; hâc honorans ut prophetam, illa ut Transgressorem puniens*; ταυτη μεν τιμῶν ὡς προφητην εκεινη δε κολαζων ως παραβάτην.[356] *Kimchi* ha's a Passage of the like Import. But he also adds a Passage, of a further Curiositie. *Asino quoque sua fuit Retributio in hoc mundo, in honorem Prophetæ, qui illi inequitaverat: prout reliquis Animalibus in hac vita, vel merces, vel pœna rependitur, in ijs quæ Hominem respiciunt*.[357]

This Point of *Rewards* dispensed in the Works of Heaven to the *Beasts* of the *Earth*, our *Kimchi,* (quoted by *Bochart*) prosecutes more largely, on Psal. 145.17. *Magna et perpetua est hæc Quæstio inter sapientes; quorum nonnulli asserunt, Felis cum Murem rapit, aut Leo Agnum, ateque alia eujusmodi, hanc pœnam à Deo Benedicto illi Animali infligi, quod rapitur. Quò pertinet quod reperi in verbis Patrum nostrorum beatæ memoriæ* Rabbi Jochanan*, quoties catarrhacten videbat pisces ex mari expiscantem, dixisse,* Judicia tua in Abyssus magna; *(*i.e. *in mari). Alii dicunt, Præmia et Pœnas, ad nullum Animal pertinere, præterquam ad Hominem solum. At nos dicimus etiam reliquis Animalibus rependi præmia et pœnas, in Negotio Hominum. Huc facit, quod reperimus*, Gen. 9.5. *De Sanguine Hominis*, etiam è manu omnis Animalis requiram illum. *Dicitur quoque* Habac. 2.17. et vastitas Bestiarum terrebit eas. *Et ad mercedem pertinet, quod habetur* 1. Reg. 13.28. et Leo non laceravit Asinum. *Sed et magistri nostri b. m. interpretati sunt, Bestijs mercedem competere, putà Asino et Cani. Dixerunt enim, cur* Exod. 34.20. *ex omnibus animalibus, soli Asinorum primogeniti redimuntur*.[358] *Ratio est, quià Israelitarum spolia ex Egypto portaverunt. Et de canibus decitur*, Exod. 22.31. Carnem discerptam canibus projicite. *Quam Sc{ilicet} meriti sunt, eo quod* (in Ægypto) *canis* (in Israelitas) *non movit linguam*. Exod. 11.7.[359] *Undè docemur, Deum Sanctum Benedictum, nullum Animal justâ mercede defrandare. Bochart* wonders, (and well he may) that *Kimchi*, upon this head, mentions not the Revenge upon the Serpent, Gen. 3.14. And the Lawes in Exod. 21.28, 29. and Levit. 20.15, 16.[360]

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356 τετίμηκε δὲ αὐτὸν … ταύτη μὲν τιμῶν ὡς προφήτην, ἐκείνη δὲ κολάζων ὡς παραβάτην. "But God honored him also after death; he certainly appointed the same guard to him who had perished before, in this way honoring him as a prophet, in that way punishing him as a transgressor." Theodoret, *Quaestiones in libros Regnorum et Paralipomenon* [PG 80.713 f.], cited in Bochart, *Hierozoicon* (pars prior, lib. II, cap. XVI, col. 207).

357 "The donkey also had its retribution in this world, in honor of the prophet, who had ridden upon it: just as in this life a reward or punishment is repaid to the remaining animals, so also to those that care for men." David Kimhi, cited in Bochart, *Hierozoicon* (pars prior, lib. II, cap. XVI, col. 207). *See also I Kings: A New English Translation* (150): "The donkey was rewarded for serving the prophet faithfully. This supports the view that dumb animals are rewarded and punished for their deeds."

358 Mather drew a small heart in the right margin beside this statement.

359 Mather drew a small heart in the right margin beside this statement.

360 "This subject is, however, a matter of great perplexity among philosophers, some of them arguing as follows: when the cat preys on the mouse or the lion on the lamb, and so forth, it is a

Q. What were the *Cracknels*, that made Part of the Present, which the Wife of *Jeroboam* was to carry unto the Prophet? v. 3.

A. This is the Account that *Munster* gives of them;

Sunt Pastilli quidam tenues et sicci, Punctis notati, quorum usus habetur in compotationibus.[361]

Patrick observes; The Present was of such things, as might make the Prophet think her, a *Countrey-Woman*, rather than a *Courtier*.[362]

Q. What Remark on the Blindness of old *Abijah*, have we mett withal? v. 3.

A. The *Hearing* of the *Word Preached*, is the standing and settled Method, for the obtaining of Divine Knowledge.

It ha's been produced on the Occasion of this Assertion, as the Observation of an eminent Writer, P. *Molinæus*, writing, *De Cognitione Dei*; That we have Exemples of Holy Men, in the History of the Old and New Testament, whom God punished with *Blindness*, as *Abijah* the Prophet, or with *Dumbness*, as *Zachary* the Priest; But we have no Exemple in Scripture, of pious Men, who were struck *Deaf*, and bereaved of that Sense whereby the Word of God is Receiv'd and Convey'd unto us.[363]

Quære. Was not *Zachary*, *Deaf* as well as *Dumb*?[364]

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punishment from God upon the victim. And to this effect also we find in the words of our teachers, of blessed memory, thus: Rabbi Johanan, on observing a cormorant catching a fish from the sea, remarked: 'thy judgments are like the great abyss' (Ps. xxxvi 7). Others, however, state that the doctrine of reward and punishment does not apply to the diverse species of animals, but only in the case of the human being. For our part, it is our decided opinion that all other species are subject to reward and punishment in regard to their dealings with man. Thus we find: 'from every animal I wil require it' (Gen. ix 5); so also it says: 'and the destruction of the beasts which made them afraid' (Hab. ii 17). And as an instance of a reward it says: 'it did not break the back of the ass' (1 Kgs. xiii 28). And our teachers, of blessed memory, have said: For what reason is there discrimination in favour of the firstborn of asses as against other animals in the matter of their redemption? They explain thus: because they carried the spoil of Israel. So it is said: 'you shall throw it to the dogs' (Exod. xxii 30) – as a reward (for what it says in scripture) 'a dog shall not whet its tongue' (Exod. xi 7). Whence we learn that the holy one, blessed be he, does not withhold the reward of any creature." David Kimhi, quoted by Bochart, *Hierozoicon* (pars prior, lib. II, cap. XVI, cols. 207–08). *See The Commentary of Rabbi David Kimhi on Psalms CXX–CL*, ed. & transl. Joshua Baker and Ernest W. Nicholson (1973), pp. 138–39.

361 "They are some thin and dry crackers, marked with points, which are used in drinking parties." Münster, *Hebraica Biblia*, in loc. (327).

362 Patrick, *A Commentary* (217).

363 Petrus Molinaeus (Pierre du Moulin) (1568–1658), professor of logic at Leiden, *De Cognitione dei Tractatus* (1625).

364 Mather did not answer this query here; Luke 1:62 implies that Zacharias, the father of John the Baptist, was struck deaf as well as dumb for not believing the words of Gabriel.

[281v]

Q. What means, *Him that is shutt up, & left in Israel*? v. 10.

A. *De Dieu* expounds it, Married or Unmarried; q.d. All Sorts of Men. Others refer this, to Treasures that are *Shutt Up* in secret Places, and to *Flocks* that are *Left*, in the Fields.

Or, to Men taken captive, or that have escaped.[365]

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Q. In the young Son of *Rehoboam*, we find, *Some Good thing toward the Lord of Israel*. What was that *Good Thing*? v. 13.

A. I refer you to the common Commentators for your Satisfaction.

I will only mention what the *Rabbins*, who use to abound in their own Sense, (as *Munster* here notes of them,) do report; That he broke the *Lines*, which his Father had made, to hinder the Passage of the godly *Israelites* unto the Sacred and Stated Festivals at *Jerusalem*.[366]

Q. The Meaning of that Clause, *But what? Even now*.] v. 14.

A. *What* did I say? [*That Day*!] Nay, *Even now*. It is as sure, as if it were *now* done.

Kimchi putts no Stop at, *And what*? He thus continues it, *What is this that shall now happen, to that which shall come hereafter*? That is, The present Calamities, nothing to the Future. Dr. *Patrick* observes, This agrees well enough with what followes, concerning the continual Troubles of *Israel*, and their Final Captivity.[367]

Q. How, *As a Reed is shaken in the Water*? v. 15.

A. *Bochart* expounds it; They shall be in perpetual Confusions, by *Civil Wars*. Between so many Kings of so many Families, their Minds would be fluctuating & wavering: They would not know, where to fix themselves.[368]

Q. Is it not strange, *David* should suffer *Solomon* to marry an *Ammonitess*? v. 21.

A. He himself married the Daughter of *Talmai*, King of *Geshur*. But the Son he had by her proved so wicked, that it might have been a Caution unto him, not to marry the Heir of his Crown, unto a Stranger. Tis to be feared, this Lady was not *Proselyted,* (at least not sincerely) unto the Religion of Israel. We find

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365 Patrick, *A Commentary* (219), citing De Dieu, *Animadversiones in Veteris Testamenti* (186–88).

366 Münster, *Hebraica Biblia*, in loc. (327).

367 Patrick, *A Commentary* (220).

368 Patrick, *A Commentary* (220–21), citing Bochart, *Lettre de Monsieur Bochart, a Monsieur Morley Chapelain du Roy d'Angleterre* (1650), pp. 106 ff.

Ammonitish Idolatries among *Solomons* Apostasies. It is repeted, v. 31. Abarbanel thinks, to show that he did not Repent; but that he died in his Mothers Idolatries.[369]

Q. *Shishak* was nearly related unto *Rehoboam*. It is much, he should come up against him, and sieze his Royal City? v. 25.

A. Dr. *Patrick* answers for this; Kingdomes are never married.

Jeroboam also, who lived so long in *Egypt*, probably stirr'd up *Shishak* to this Invasion. Hence we find him Disturbing only *Judah*; he left *Jeroboam*s Countrey undisturbed.

Besides, *Rehoboam* was not a Son of *Pharaoh*s Daughter. So there was no Kindred between Shishak & him.[370]

Q. How could it be said, *There was War between Rehoboam and Jeroboam all their Dayes*; which we read, {1. King.} XII.22. God commanded *Rehoboam* & his People, not to go Fight with *Israel*: And they *obey'd* His Voice? v. 30.

A. The *Jewes* were commanded not to make War upon the *Israelites*; but it is not commanded, That they should not defend themselves, if the *Israelites* made War upon them. This was their Case; The *Israelites* vexed them with continual Incursions and Deprædations.

Or, perhaps on the Borders, they were continually endeavouring to gett ground, one of another; tho' they never came to a sett Battel.[371]

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369 Patrick, *A Commentary* (223, 227), citing Abravanel (*see I Kings: A New English Translation* 158).

370 Patrick, *A Commentary* (225).

371 Patrick, *A Commentary* 226–27.

Q. It is a Testimony given of *David*, That *he did what was Right in the Eyes of the Lord, all the Dayes of his Life*, – *Save only in the Matter of* Urijah *the* Hittite. Some Illustration of this Matter may be necessary? v. 5.

A. The Light wherein some sett the Matter, is this. The Government of *Israel*, was a *Theocraty*. The Glorious Jehovah assumed & asserted unto Himself a Peculiar Government over that People. The Nation had a Peculiar Constitution and Establishment in the *Mosaic* Lawes, wherein the Glorious Jehovah was acknowledged as their Governour.

Now the principal Excellency, on the Account whereof *David* hath Such a Character all along, as, *A Man after Gods own Heart*, was his Fidelity to the *Theocraty*.

It seems very strange, that *Saul* should forfeit his Kingdome, for himself & his Posterity, by his Offence, when *David* in that horrible *Matter of Urijah* did not so. But *Saul*s Offence was (not his usurping the *Priests Office*, as is by some imagined, but) his not waiting until *Samuel* came to direct and order his Proceedings; his going on præcipitantly of his own Head without the *Prophet* of God. This was, interpretatively, to act without knowing the Mind of God, or owning Him as his *King* and *General*. And then in sparing *Agag*, he Repeted the Disobedience.

*David*s Offence in the *Matter of Urijah*, was committed, not *as a Prince*, but *as a Man*. It struck not so directly against the Authority of God, in His claiming the *Israelitish Theocraty*. The only Crime of *David*, that had an Aspect that way, was, His *Numbring the People*. This was more directly against the *Regal* Authority of God, in adminstring the Affaires of that People. This was his main *Political Sin*. And therefore tis observable, That the Wrath of God was more terribly discovered on this Occasion, than on any thing *David* had been guilty of. Other Sins of *David* were heinous; but they did not so affect the *National* Constitution and Establishment; This was an Usurpation upon the *Authority of God*, as He was the | great *King of Israel*. This was an Invasion upon the Prærogative of Jehovah, the *Supreme King*; who brought the People out of *Egypt*, and who had chosen *David*, but still to act under *Him*. However, this being the only Sin of the Kind, that ever *David* was guilty of, & he did sincerely Repent, and by Repentance obtain a Pardon of it, hence we have *David* still characterized as the best King that ever *Israel* could boast of. [282v]

And this was that Excellency of his, that rendred him so famous, as to be the very *Standard*, according to which the succeeding Princes had their Goodness judged of; His *Faithfulness* to his Great Master, and unto the *Government* which that Glorious One claimed over His People. He was untainted for the

Main in *this Point*, and ever express'd himself zelous *this way*; and so the Lord pass'd by his other infirmities.

Jeroboam was a Person who was excellent in his personal Qualifications; but because he invaded the *Prærogative* of God in this tender Point of His Jealousy, and sett up a Worship which God had not instituted, a Black Mark is left upon him; *The Man that made Israel to Sin*. And indeed, this is the very *Counter-Character* to, *A Man after Gods own Heart*; They mutually illustrate one another. You find the Princes that suceeded these Two, are still Judg'd, either *Good* or *Bad*, according to the Resemblance which they had unto these Two, in *that Famous Point*. Behold, A key to abundance of Passages in the Sacred History!

[283r] |

Q. How comes this Clause to be brought in again; *There was War between Rehoboam & Jeroboam all the Dayes of his Life*; since tis *Abijam*, & not *Rehoboam*, the Historian is now speaking of? v. 6.

A. *Abarbanel* thinks, Tis to shew, that *Abijam*, who was a valiant young Man, in the Dayes of his Father, was the Cause of those Wars. *Bochart* thinks, That by *Rehoboam* is meant his Son *Abijam*; Fathers and Children being the same in a Moral Account. Thus what *Jacob* did, is said to be done by *Abraham*. And the *Israelites* cry out, *What Portion have we in David*? meaning his Grandson *Rehoboam*.

Dr. *Patrick* thinks the Intent of the Words to be, That tho' God was pleased, for the sake of *David*, to continue a *Lamp*, that is, a Successor unto him, in *Jerusalem*; yett they should be vexed with continual Wars, & not peaceably enjoy the Kingdome.[372]

~~4836.~~

Q. Why is the Idolatry of *Asa*'s Mother mentioned? v. 13.

A. *Munster*, (who, by the way, saies, that *Maacha*, was *Asa*'s Grandmother,) observes, that this is mentioned, for the Honour of *Asa*: *Quòd optimus Filius per pessimam matrem à vero Deo ad Idololatriam perduci non poterat*.[373] And thus *Abarbanel*.[374] The Sense is not, that *Maacha* brought forth *Asa*, for she was his Fathers Mother. But she brought him up. His Piety therefore was very Remarkable, that he should not be tainted with her Idolatrous Principles.

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372 Abravanel (*see I Kings: A New English Translation* 162). Patrick, *A Commentary* (229–30), citing Bochart, *Hierozoicon* (pars prior, lib. II, cap. XLIII, cols. 421–39, esp. 435–36).

373 "Because the best son could not be carried away by the bad mother from the true God to idolatry." Münster, *Hebraica Biblia*, in loc. (328). The final word in Münster reads *potuit.*

374 Abravanel (*see I Kings: A New English Translation* 163).

~~2657.~~

Q. Of the Idolatrous *Queen-Mother*, tis said, *Asa removed her from being Queen*, because of her Idolatries. How was This? The *Power* of such a *Queen*, was nothing; And the *Title* of a *Queen*, could not easily be taken from her? v. 13.
A. It may be read, *He removed her from the Queen*.[375] That is to say, perceiving the Idolatrous Inclinations of his *Mother*, he would not lett her converse with his *Wife*, lest she should inspire her with the like Inclinations.[376]

| [283v]

~~2565.~~

Q. That Character of *Jeroboam*, *He made Israel to Sin*; what Remark ha's been made upon it? v. 30.
A. I have newly mett with one, in a little Book Entituled, *The Negro's Advocate*. Saies my Author. "The Cause why *Jeroboam* is made to carry that infamous Train, *Jeroboam the Son of Nebat, who made Israel to Sin*, nineteen times after him, in Sacred Scripture, was only for the Contempt of Religion, & his committing the Sacred Oracles to Unclean and Unholy Hands."[377]

Q. What Remark may be made upon the Succession of the Kingdome, in *Jeroboam*s Family? v. 31, 32.
A. It has been Remark'd, That tho' *Jeroboam* had a Prophecy, that he should be *King*, yett it extended no further than unto himself; it extended not unto his Posterity. They[378] therefore, after his Death, should have yeelded the Kingdome unto *Judah*, according to *Jacob*s Will; which because they did not, God plagued them with a continual Succession, & Series of His Judgments, in Treason, in Discord, in Civil and Foreign Wars.

Q. *War between Asa & Baasha all their Dayes*.] We have the very same Words, v. 16. in the History of *Asa*. Whence the Repetition? v. 32.
A. *Abarbanel* saies, Tis Repeted in the History of *Baasha*, to show the Reason, why *Asa* was his Enemy. He would not have been his Enemy, but his Friend, after the Cutting off of the whole House of *Jeroboam*, had he feared God. But he would make no Covenant with him, notwithstanding he had therein fulfilled the Word of God, because he walked in the Sins of *Jeroboam*.[379]

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375 וַיְסִרֶהָ מִגְּבִירָה
376 Patrick, *A Commentary* (231).
377 Morgan Godwyn (1640–85), Church of England clergyman and missionary, *The Negro's & Indians Advocate* (1680), p. 173.
378 Mather drew a small heart in the margin beside this statement.
379 Patrick, *A Commentary* (237) citing Abravanel (*see I Kings: A New English Translation* 167–68).

Q. *The Word of the Lord came to Jehu, the Son of Hanani*? v. 1.
A. He lived unto the End of *Jehoshaphat*s Reign. And his Father was a *Prophet* before him. [2. Chron. XVI.7.] *Abarbanel* observes, There was not wanting a Succession of *Prophets,* during the Kingdomes of *Judah* and *Israel*; and this thro' every Reign. He has made a Catalogue of them; running parallel with each of the Kings. Their Names are in Scriptures.[380]

Q. *Zimri went in & smote him*.] v. 10.
A. Here was a speedy Execution of the Vengeance threatned by *Jehu*; To *make his House like the House of Jeroboam*. *Nadab* the Son of *Jeroboam*, reigned no more than Two Years. *Ela* the Son of *Baasha,* reigned no more. *Nadab* was kill'd with the Sword; so was *Elah*. *Abarbanel* notes, there was a wondrous Likeness, between *Jeroboam* and *Baasha*, in their *Lives*, & in their *Deaths*, and in their *Sons*, and the Fate of their Family.[381]

Theodoret, observing how *Baasha* slew the House of *Jeroboam*, and how *Zimri* slew the Son of *Baasha*, saies, *Per hæc docemur nos, quod eos qui vitam agunt in sceleribus et flagitijs, Deus per se invicem punit, et sceleratum tradit sceleratiori, ijs utens tanquam quibusdam lectoribus*.[382]

~~4835.~~

Q. We find a Sad Fate hastened upon *Zimri*, *For his Sins which he sinned, in doing Evil in the Sight of the Lord, in walking in the Way of Jeroboam, & in the Sin which he did, to make Israel Sin*. He Reign'd but *Seven Dayes*; How could he, in the short Space of *Seven Dayes*, give Occasion for so large a Character? v. 19.
A. Take *Munster*s Answer. *Dicendum, quòd anteà, cum principem ageret curruum, vel equitum, peccare fecit Israel*.[383] However, in this Time, he might give Demonstration enough, of his Resolution, to continue the Idolatry of *Jeroboam*.[384]

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380 Patrick, *A Commentary* (238), citing Abravanel (*see I Kings: A New English Translation* 168).
381 Patrick, *A Commentary* (241), citing Abravanel (*see I Kings: A New English Translation* 170–71).
382 "Through these things we are taught, that those who live a life of crime God punishes through themselves, and makes them more guilty and criminal." Theodoret, *Quaestiones in Reges et Paralipomena* [PG 80.720, 721].
383 "It must be said, that before, when he was the captain of the chariots, or of the horses, he made Israel to sin." Münster, *Hebraica Biblia*, in loc. (329).
384 Patrick, *A Commentary* (243).

[284v]

Q. The Story of *Samaria*. v. 24.

A. Built by *Omri*. From which time, it continued the Capital City of the Kingdome. It was besieged, & sorely distressed by *Benhadad*; and afterwards, upon a Siege of Three Years, taken by *Salmonasser* the King of *Assyria*; who planted a Colony of a mungril Religion there. In the Time of the *Maccabbees*, it was wholly Ruined. *Herod* the Great rebuilt it with much Magnificence; enclosed it with a Wall; Beautified it with a Temple and in honour of *Augustus*, called it, *Sebaste*, which is the same with *Augusta*. *Herod Agrippa* obtain'd it of *Caligula*, and siding with the *Romans* under *Vespasian* against the Jews, the City escaped the common Desolation which then befel their Countrey. Afterwards taking other Measures, it felt the Roman Vengeance, in the Days of *Adrian*. The City ha's gone since to Decay. *Brochard* who traced the Ruines of it, conjectured, it might have been bigger than *Jerusalem*. It is affirmed, That *John Baptist* was beheaded here. It was an Archi-Episcopal See, in the Time of the Christian Emperours. It has now in it, only a few Cottages and Convents, whereof the Greek Monks are the Inhabitants.[385]

Q. How did *Omri worse than all that were before him*? v. 25.

A. He Introduced the Idolatries, which his Son *Ahab* afterwards established.

Or, He compelled the People to worship the *Calves*, & by severe Lawes restrained them from going up to *Jerusalem*. Some think, These are meant by, [Mic. 6.16] *The Statutes of Omri*.[386]

Q. *Jezabel*, the Daughter of *Eth-baal*.] v. 31.

A. In profane Writers called, *Ithobalus*.[387]

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385 Edward Wells (1667–1712), Church of England clergyman and educator, *Historical Geography of the Old Testament* (3:165–67), citing Brocardus Monachus, most likely his *De Dimensione Terrae*.

386 Patrick, *A Commentary* (245).

387 Patrick, *A Commentary* (247).

Q. *Elijah* the *Tishbite*? v. 1.

A. Such was the Care of God over this People, that (as our *Patrick* after others ha's made the Remark,) there were *Prophets in every Reign*, to Admonish them of their Duty and Interest. And now, in the Reign of *Ahab*, when there was the greatest Need of it, God raised up an extraordinary Person, who exceeded all the other Prophets. *Abarbanel* calls him, *The Prince of the Prophets*, next unto *Moses*.[388] *Johannes Frischmuthus*, in a Dissertation about *Elijah*, observes, That because the Original of *Elijah* is not known, and here is no mention of his Father, or his Mother, some of the *Jews* fancy him, to have been an *Angel* fetch'd from Heaven, to induce them unto the True Religion. His Name, which in the Hebrew is, *Elijahu*,[389] carries in it something Divine. *Ægid. Camartus* imagines it compounded of, Three of the Names of God; *Eli*, and, *Jah*, and, *Hu*. The Two First, are undoubtedly the Names of God; and our great *Castellus*, in his *Polyglot Lexicon*, putts, *Hu*, also among the Names of God; and so do the Jewish *Cabalists*.[390]

He was indeed a very eminent Messenger of God; sent by Him, to call the *Israelites* unto *Repentance*. Our *Lightfoot* thinks, That from hence he had the Name of *Thisbites*, (the Hebrew Word, *Shub*,[391] Signifying, *To Return*,) because he was to be the *Converter* of the Nation. *Dionysius Petavius*, upon *Epiphanius* [Hær. LV. N. 3.] saies, That *Elijah* was, Εζ Ιερεων, one of *the Priests*, and Grandson to *Zadok*.[392] But *Kimchi* seems to have given the plainest Account of the Name *Tishbite*; That it was from *Thesbe*, a Town or a Region where he was born: Just as *Abijah* is called, The *Shilonite*; from *Shiloh*, where he was born, or had his Habitation.

Abarbanel thus makes out the Connexion of this Chapter, with the foregoing. *Elijah* admonished *Ahab*, to lay to heart the Punishment of *Hiel* the *Bethelite*; saying, "Fear the Lord, lest He be Angry with thee, as He was with

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388 Abravanel (*see I Kings: A New English Translation* 177).

389 אֵלִיָּהוּ

390 Johann Frischmuth, 17th-century German orientalist and teacher, *De Eliae Prophetae Nomine et Prosapia, Exercitium Academicum ad illustrandum Locum I Reg. XVII, 1* (1683), pp. [1]-[2], citing Aegidius Camartus, *Elias Thesbites: sive de rebus Eliae Prophetae* (1631), p. 169; and Castell, *Lexicon heptaglotton* (821).

391 הַתִּשְׁבִּי

392 Lightfoot on Luke 1:17, in *Horae Hebraicae & Talmudicae, Impensae in Evangelium S. Lucae* (41); Dionysius Petavius (Denis Petau) (1583–1652), French Jesuit theologian, *Epiphanii Opera omnia* (1622). ἐζ ἱερέων, Epiphanius, *Panarion* or *Adversus Haereses* (55.3), on the Melchizedekian priesthood (see K. Holl, *Epiphanius, Bände 1–3: Ancoratus under Panarion [Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller]* 25, 31, 37 [1915–33]).

Hiel, for breaking His Commandment." But *Ahab*, despised his Admonition, and said, "That it was a Chance; For you say, that we are all Idolaters, and yett the Threatning in the Law of *Moses*, [Deut. XI.16, 17.] is not come upon us." Whereupon *Elijah* said, *There shall be no Dew nor Rain these Years*, [Three Years and an half,] *but according to my Word*.[393]

Q. *The Brook Cherith*? v. 3.
A. *Bochart* will have it the same with *Kana*, mentioned by *Joshua*. [ch. XVI.5. XVII.9.][394] So called from the Plenty of *Reeds*, (for *Kana* signifies, *A Reed*,) among which the Prophet lay hid, while he stayd in this Place.
| [blank] 285v

| 286r
Q. Some Illustrations, if you please, upon the *Ravens* bringing *Bread* and *Flesh*, Morning & Evening unto *Elias*? v. 6.
A. Well then, A short Breakfast with him, (in our Illustrations,) if you please to count it so.

We will Omitt the Morose Humour of those Interpreters, who will have the Word, /ערבים/ *Ravens*, to be translated, *Merchants*.[395]

Many of the Ancients, as *Athanasius*, and *Theodoret*, and *Austin*, following some Copies of the *Greek*, do make the Ravens bring only the *Bread* in the *Morning*, & only the *Flesh* in the *Evening*.[396] But the Lord provided more plentifully for His Holy Servant, than so; and gave him a plentiful Meal, both at the *Dinner*-time, & the *Supper*-time usual among the *Israelites*.

The Hebrewes (in *Kimchi*) enquire very sollicitously, where the *Ravens* had their *Bread* and *Flesh*. And some conclude it fetched from *Ahab*s Table, while others conclude it fetched from *Jehoshaphat*s. But *Bochart*s Conjecture, is, methinks, very promising. One of the Seven Thousand Godly Men in *Israel*, might by the Lord be made privy to the *Secret Miracle*, & continually sett the Food ready for this *Corvine* Conveyance.[397] However, Lett us be content with the Answer given by the Author of the, *Mirabilia Scripturæ*, which is, *Undè verò eas Carnes et Panes ille Corvus detulerit, ipse viderit, qui tale officium committebat*.[398]

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393 Patrick, *A Commentary* (249–51), citing David Kimhi and Abravanel (see *I Kings: A New English Translation* 176–77).
394 Bochart, *Hierozoicon* (pars posterior, lib. 2, cap. XIII, col. 216).
395 Patrick, *A Commentary* (252), on v. 4.
396 Athanasius, 4th-century CE Egyptian Coptic theologian and bishop of Alexandria; Theodoret, *Quaestiones in libros Reges et Paralipomena,* in loc.; Augustine, *Contra Faustum Manichaeum* (12.34).
397 Bochart, *Hierozoicon* (pars posterior, lib. II, cap. XIII, cols. 214–17).
398 "When the raven really will have brought (down) the flesh and bread, he, who was committing such a service, will have seen for himself." Bochart, *Hierozoicon* (pars posterior,

It is observable, That a little While hence [1. King. 19.5.] the *Angels* do the very thing, which is here done by the *Ravens*. But God would now use the *Ravens*, *Ut doceret omnes creaturas imperio suo subesse*.[399]

We will not insist on the Fancy, I find in some of the Ancients. *Corvis ministrare Prophetæ præcipitur ut Culpam quam in Diluvio commiserat purgare illa Avis videretur*, – The *Raven* does now to *Elias* make amends for his being so negligent in the Service of *Noah*.[400]

Chrysostom has a Fancy a Little more Considerable. A *Raven* is *Animal* μισοτεκνον. A Creature not over-favourable to its Young Ones.[401] *Elias* had something of the *Raven* in him, when he took up so terrible an Indignation against his Idolatrous Countrymen, (who were as his Children,) & shutt Heaven against them. God, by employing the *Raven* to support *Elias*, would mollify the Mind of the Prophet, & incline him to pray for the Rains of Heaven upon the Land, that his Countreymen might be no longer famished. q.d. ὅρα την ἐκείνων, ὦ Ηλία, φιλανθρωπίαν κλ.[402] "Look, O *Elias*, Look on the Benignity of the *Raven*; tho' it sleight its Young Ones, yett it feeds thee. What? Shall the *Raven* putt thee in Mind of *Compassion*? Where is now thy *Compassion* for thy Countreymen? And, why dost not thou make *Intercession* for them?"[403]

~~685.~~

Q. That form of Swearing, *As thy God liveth*, do you find it any where derived, and remembred in Pagan Antiquitie? v. 12.

A. There is an obscure Passage in that Pagan and Knavish Epigrammatist, *Martial*, which ha's occasioned much Controversy among learned Men. *Martial* Jesting upon a circumcised Poet, Sais to the Jew, that hee won't beleeve a Word hee speaks, except hee swear,

– Per Anchialum. Ecce Negas, Jurasque, mihi, per Templa Tonantis:
Non Credo; Jura, verpe, per Anchialum.
In Verpum. Lib. 11. Ep. 94.[404]

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lib. II, cap. XIII, cols. 215–16), citing Kimhi (*see I Kings: A New English Translation* 178); and Augustinus Hibernicus (fl. 7th c. CE), *De Mirabilibus Sacrae Scripturae* (lib. II, cap. XV).

399 "In order to teach all the creatures in his kingdom that they are under his will." Bochart, *Hierozoicon* (pars posterior, lib. II, cap. XIII, col. 216).

400 "The ravens are instructed to serve the prophets, since that bird, as it seemed, had to expiate the debt which it had encumbered in the Deluge." Bochart, *Hierozoicon* (pars posterior, lib. II, cap. XIII, col. 216). *See* Gen. 8:7.

401 μισότεκνον, "half children." Johannes Chrysostomus, *In Eliam prophetam* [PG 56.583, line 53].

402 ὅρα τὴν ἐκείνων, ὦ Ἠλία, φιλανθρωπίαν κλ: "Look, O Elia, at their begignity." Johannes Chrysostomus, *In Eliam prophetam* [PG 56.584, line 1]. Bochart, *Hierozoicon* (pars posterior, lib. II, cap. XIII, col. 216).

403 Bochart, *Hierozoicon* (pars posterior, lib. II, cap. XIII, col. 216).

404 "For that, circumcised one, you swear by the temples of Jupiter. I do not believe you; swear, circumcised poet, by Anchialus."

I will not Repeat the Multitudes of Conjectures, which Criticks have had upon this *Anchialum*: Whereof many are as remote from the Case, as *Anchiala*, a City in *Cilicia*, where stood the Statue of *Sardanapalus*, was from *Jerusalem*; or, as Αγγαριος, an *Ass* is from an *Angel*. The Epigram is directed unto a *Jew*, and probably, to make it the more Biting, it refers unto a *Form of Swearing* used in the Bible.

Joseph Scaliger, derives it from /אמהי אלה/ i.e. *Si Vivit Deus*;[405] and *Farnaby* approves & inserts the Criticism. Nevertheless, There is after all, no such Hebrew Word, as *Am*, tis *Im*, that signifies, *If*; and *Ala* is not an Hebrew, but an Arabic, Name for *God*.

Thus, Monsieur *Petit*, supposes *Anchialum*, to bee compounded of *An* [Non] *Chai* [Vivit] *Alon* [Deus] or, *Elion* [Altissimus]. And accordingly, it may bee gathered out of *Plautus*, that the Name of God, was pronounced, *Alon*. But after all, *An*, hath no such Signification, as is here pretended unto: and, *Elion*, whereof *Alon*, seems to bee a Corruption, is an Epithite, rather than a proper Name of God; and so, not so likely to bee putt into an *Oath*.

The most accomplished *Selden* tells us, that *Anchialum*, is a Disguised, /יפרע הי עולם/ i.e. *Ulascatur* is *qui Vivit in æternum*.[406] For wee read, that, *Chi Olam*, or, *Hee that Lives forever*, is a Name of the great God: [Dan. 4.31.] and Sworn by, [Dan. 12.17.] wherefore the Verse here, should have run thus.

Non Credo; Jura, Verpe, iperan Chi Olam.

I.e. *Lett him who lives forever, take Vengeance on mee*, namely, If I forswear myself. But still, wee do not any where else read of this Redundancy, *Iperang*, used in Swearing among the Jewes; and, *Chi Olam*, is mistaken for *Chi Gnolma* [in Dan. 4.30.] which will not come into the Verse.

Wherefore, Lett mee now tender you, the Opinion of that worthy Man, Mr. *Edwards*.[407] Which is, that the Word, *Anchialum* contains in it, these Three Words, *An*, *Chi*, and *Elohim*.[408] The Word *An*, is an Abbreviation of *Anna*; which is an usual Interjection; used among the Hebrewes, as *Mercer* observes,

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405 "If God lives."

406 "He that liveth forever." Selden, *Uxor Ebraica seu de Nuptiis et Divortiis ex Iure civili*, Prolegomena, pp. [iv–v] (the 1673 ed. is the first to include a Prolegomena), citing Martial, *Epigrammata* (lib. XI, Ep. 94); Joseph Juste Scaliger; Thomas Farnaby (1575?–1647), English schoolteacher and grammarian, author of *Index rhetorices* (Londoni, 1625); Roman playwright Plautus; and Samuel Petit, author of *Variarum Lectionum*.

407 MS: "M^{r} ~~Jonathan~~ Edwards." An intriguing slip of the pen that suggests that Mather perhaps had heard of, and maybe even met, Jonathan Edwards, since he was related to the Edwardses and had loaned money to Edwards' father, Timothy, pastor of East Windsor, Connecticut. *The Diary of Cotton Mather, 1681–1724*, ed. W. C. Ford, 2 vols. (1911), 2:231–32, 457. For a similar slip, see *BA* 1:1161.

408 John Edwards, *Theologia reformata: or, the Body and Substance of the Christian Religion*, 2 vols. (1717). On the term *Elohim*, *see* 1:70–71.

to Express *Affections*; and *Emotions*, of the Mind.[409] Yea, tis an Interjection of *Asseveration*; it is rendred, *Truly*, [Psal. 116.6.] So that is no Wonder, if it bee used in *Swearing*. This passionate Expletive, in the beginning of a Clause, is of the same Signification, with, *Na*, in the End of it; Whence perhaps, the Greek Word, Nαι, and the Latin Word, *Næ*, Both used in Oaths, are derived. And then,
[286v] | The Two Words, *Chi Elohim*, God Liveth, you will find the express Words, with which they swore, in the Old Testament: [As here in 1. King. 17.12. and 18.10.] To swear by the *Life of God*, is usual there; yea, God Himself *Swears* by it. [Amos. 6.8.] Hence our God is called, *The Living God*; which, one would guess, gave Rise unto the Greek Name of *Jupiter*. The Heathens called him, Ζῆνα, The *Living God*, ἀπὸ; τοῦ ζῆν: and from the Nominative Ζεὺς, which is of the same Original, the Name, *Deus*, comes; it was as much as Δεὺς, and accordingly, in the Three Next Cases, you see ζ turned into δ: Διος &c.

Briefly, when the Jewes would say, *An Chi Eloim*, in their Swearing, the Pagans thought it was all but One Word, or Name. – *Anchialum*.

Or, tis possible, only the Name /אל/ is intended here. *Chai El*; was an Oath: [Job. 27.2.] and *El* was used as well as *Eloah*, and *Elohim*; yea, some Hebricians, think, that these Names do come from the Verb, *Alah*, *Juravit*. Now, If *An Chi El*, were the Oath in this Place referr'd unto, the Pagans thought the Name of the Jewes God, was *Anchiel*, or *Anchial*; and *Martial*, using it here in the Accusative Case, adds the usual Termination to it, whereby it becomes *Anchialum*.[410]

It was not for the Illustration of *Martial*, that I have now laid these things before you; but for the Illustration of *Scripture*, which comes to bee considered with *New Thoughts*, when *Pagan Antiquities* fetch'd from thence, are laid in the Ballances.

Q. The Lamentation of the Woman, on the Death of her Son, saies, *Art thou come unto mee, to call my Sin to Remembrance, and slay my Son*? What *Sin* did shee mean? v. 18.

A. Nay; who can tell?

But I find some, venturing to say; *Probably, t'was the unlawful Generation of that Son*.

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409 Mather probably means Jean Mercier, author of *Thesaurus Linguae sanctae, sive Lexicon Hebraicum* (1614). On the radix אנ, *see* cols. 133, 136.

410 Martialis, *Epigrammaton* (11.94.8).

Q. It is here said, *The Word of the Lord came unto Elijah in the Third Year*. But our Lord speaking of the Drought in this Time of *Elias*, sais, *The Heavens were shutt up three Years & Six Months*. The Modern Jewes make an heavy Noise of the Inconsistency. It should be Reconciled? v. 1.

A. Dr. *Kidder* concurs with the learned *Grotius*; That the Words are thus to be Translated; *Many Dayes passed* (namely, Six Months,) *from the Time when God had spoken to Elias in the Third Year*. At the End of the *Third Year*, after it had ceased to *Rain*, *Elias* received a Command, which was to be executed Six Months afterwards. Dr. *Kidder* saies, "I declare very solemnly, this Interpretation of the Words, as they lie in the Text, is very agreeable to the Text, & to the Use & Sense of the Hebrew Words and Particles in other Places."[411]

Dr. *Patrick* thus explains it. At the Beginning of the *Drought*, it is likely, that *Ahab* imputed the Want of Rain, to Natural Causes; and so did not seek to slay *Elijah*. But after Six Months, *neither the Former, nor the Latter Rain falling* in the Season, he began to be enraged at him, as the Cause of the Drought. This forced *Elijah*, with the Allowance of Heaven, to save his Life by Flight. From *that time*, the Three Years here mentioned, are to be computed; before the Word of the Lord came to him. He was One Year at the Brook *Cherith*; and he was Two Years at *Sarepta*. In the End of this Year, God took Pitty on the Countrey, having fulfilled the Words of *Elijah*.

Abarbanel ha's a Fancy, That the Famine was to continue *Three Years,* as a Punishment inflicted for the Sins of *Three Families*: *Jeroboam* and his Son *Nadad*; *Baasha* and his Son *Elah*; *Omri* and his Son *Ahab*.[412]

Q. How could Ahab take an *Oath* of every *Kingdome*, and every *Nation*, that they had not found *Elijah*? v. 10.

A. These Words incline our *Patrick*, to think, "That *Ahab* Sought *Elijah*, only throughout his own Dominions. Thro' every *Tribe*, which is called a *Nation*; and every *Government*, which is called a *Kingdome*. How could he take an Oath of any but his own Subjects?" Indeed there might be Compacts between him, & the *Moabites, Edomites, Ammonites*, & other neighbouring Nations, that they should harbour none of his Rebellious Subjects. But such a Treaty is unusual.[413]

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411 Richard Kidder, *A Demonstration of the Messias* (1726), pt. III, ch. III, p. 49, citing Grotius on Luke 4:25 (*see Opera Omnia* 1:371).

412 Patrick, *A Commentary* (258–59), citing Abravanel (see *I Kings: A New English Translation* 183).

413 Patrick, *A Commentary* (261–62).

Q. Who were the *Prophets of the Groves*? v. 19.
A. Our *Selden* proves, by comparing many Scriptures, That they were the Prophets of *Astarte*, the great Goddess of the *Zidonians*.[414]

~~1551.~~

Q. *How long Halt yee between Two Opinions*? What Metaphor in it? v. 21.
A. This Uncertainty, and Unconstancy of the People, rendred 'em like a *Bird*, flying off one Bough on to another; and this is that which the Hebrew Word here used,[415] properly signifies.

Q. How did they *Leap on the Altar*? v. 26.
A. Perhaps they danced about it, after the Manner of the Ancient *Salij*, or, as *Bochart* interprets it, *Quasi Furore Prophetico extrà se rapti, incompositis motibus huc illuc ferebantur*.[416] They ran about, as Men in an *Ecstasy*, with a *Prophetical Fury*. They acted like *Prophets*, who were often acted like *Madmen*.

Abarbanel thinks, This *Leaping* or *Dancing*, was a Rite used in the Worship of the *Sun*, which putts all things in *Motion*.[417]

~~1821.~~

Q. The Prophet, in his Mockage of *Baal*, singles out Four Employments for him; *Either hee is Talking, or hee is Pursuing, or hee is in a Journey, or peradventure hee Sleepeth*. Is there anything in *Pagan Antiquity* to Illustrate this Passage? v. 27.
A. By the Pagans there were assigned Four Things, unto *Saturn*, the *God* of Time.

I. *Sermo*; quòd *Temporis Filia sit Veritas*.
II. Hostium *Insectatio*; nam, *Tempus edax Rerum*.
III. *Iter*: nam, *Volat Irreparabile Tempus*.
IV. *Somnus*; nam, *Nulloque Sono convertit ut Annus*.[418]

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Q. What meant they, to *Cutt themselves, with Knives & Lancets*? v. 28.
A. They did more than *Elijah* bid them; Hoping to move their God with their own Blood; in which, perhaps, they thought, he more delighted, than in the

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414 Patrick, *A Commentary* (263), citing Selden, *De Diis Syris Syntagmata* (Syn. II, cap. III, pp. 143–45).
415 סְעִפִּים, "divided opinion."
416 "As if they were torn away from themselves in prophetical rage, they were carried hither and thither in disordered motions."
417 Patrick, *A Commentary* (267), citing Bochart, *Hierozoicon* (pars prior, lib. II, cap. L, col. 556); Abravanel (*see I Kings: A New English Translation* 190).
418 "I. The speech: so that the daughter of time would be truth. / II. The persecution of enemies: for the time is greedy for things. / III. The way: for the time flies away irretrievably. / IV. The sleep; for the year comes to an end without any noise."

Blood of Beasts, or in their Cries. Many Nations offered Humane Sacrifices unto their Gods. And their *Priests*, when they were possessed with a Sacred Fury, were wont to slash themselves, till their Blood gushed out. Thus among the *Romans*, the Priests did in the Worship of *Bellona*: wherein, *Sacerdotes non alieno, sed súo cruore sacrificant*,[419] as *Lactantius* expresses it. Cutting their Shoulders, & running Swords thro' their Hands, they ran about like Madmen. *Apuleius* saies, They that carried about the *Syrian Goddess*, after many other things, took out their Knives or Swords, and cutt themselves.

Mr. Mede ha's a peculiar Notion. That *Baalim* were the Deified Souls of Dead Men; and therefore the Prophets of *Baal* cutt themselves in his Worship. For this was a Funeral Ceremony. [Lev. XIX.28. XXI.5. Deut. XIV.1.][420]

Q. What was the *Altar of God*, which *Elijah* repaired? v. 30.
A. Probably *Carmel* had been One of the most eminent *High Places* in the Kingdome; where the People had formerly offered Sacrifices unto God; according to Ancient Custome. Here, the Worshippers of *Baal* had broke down that *Altar*, & sett up one of their own. There were Two Sorts of *High Places*. There were some for the Worship of the *True God*; which continued even in *Judah*; & even under most Religious Princes. There were others for the Worship of *Idols*, which the good Kings took away, when they suffered the others to stand. *Ahab* on the Contrary, broke down the *Altars of God* in the *High Places*, and allowed none but those that were for *Baal*.[421]

Q. Why *Twelve Stones, according to the Number of the Tribes of the Sons of Jacob*? v. 31.
A. That he might show, he worshipped the God of the Patriarchs; And that all the People, tho' *Divided* in Government, ought to be *United* in Religion. They were the Sons of *One Man*, and he dear to God; and they should have but *One Altar*.[422]

Q. Why is the Name of *Israel* putt on *Jacob*, here so particularly mentioned? v. 31.
A. Tis with a Remarkable Reference to the Occasion; The Purging of his Family from *Idolatry*.[423] Then he was *Israel*: q.d. So must you do, if you would be owned for an *Israel*.

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419 "The priests make offsprings not with the blood of another victim, but with their own."
420 Patrick, *A Commentary* (268–69), citing Lactantius, late 3rd/early 4th-century CE Christian author, *Divinarum Institutionum* (1.21); Apuleius, 2nd-century CE Numidian Latin writer, *Metamorphoses* (8.27); and Joseph Mede on 1 Kings 16:31, in *The Works* (1672), 172, 628, 637 (Mather used the 1664 ed. of Mede's *Works*).
421 Patrick, *A Commentary* (269–70).
422 Patrick, *A Commentary* (270).
423 This sentence is from Patrick, *A Commentary* (270).

Elijah did some things here as a *Prophet*, which another Man might not have done.

Q. How came they by such Quantities of *Water*, as to fill their Trenches about the *Altar*, after Three Years & Six Months of *Drought* upon the People? v. 33.
A. The Water might be fetch'd from the *Mediterranean Sea*, which was hard by. That brackish Water, tho' useless to Quench Thirst, yett was proper enough to Try the present Experiment.

There was also a *Brook* at the Foot of the Mountain.[424]

Q. *Elijah* said unto them, *Take the Prophets of Baal*. Where were the *Prophets of the Groves*? v. 40.
A. Probably, they were not there. *Jezabel*, on whom they attended, would not suffer them to appear. It is likely, they were *Zidonians*, whom she brought with her, from her own Countrey; & were peculiarly under her Command.[425]

Q. *Ahab went up to Eat & Drink*: From whence? v. 42.
A. From the River that was at the Bottom of the Mount, he went up to a Place on the Side of it; where a *Tent* was pitched for him. It is apparent, *Ahab* was present, that he might see the End of this famous Contest, between *God* and *Baal*. And probably, was as much convinced as the People.[426]

This Phrase, *He went up*, occurring so often, shewes, there were several Risings in the Mountain.

Q. This famous Action of *Elijah*; is there in *Pagan History*, any Commemoration of it?
A. It was an Action so full of Divine Majesty, that the Memory thereof continued near a Thousand years after; even unto the Dayes of *Tacitus*; who, tho' he were an Enemy to the *Jewes*, yett in his History (*Lib*. 2.) he takes as much Notice of it, as in his chopt Latin, he could well do. *Est Judæam inter Syrianque Carmelus; ità vocant Montem Deumque. Nec simulachrum Deo, aut Templum, Sic tradidere majores; Aram tantum et Reverentiam*.[427] Undoubtedly, the Altar of the Lord, then repaired by *Elijah*, or another like it, standing in that very Place; to the Dayes of *Tacitus*, as a Monument of that famous Action.

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424 Cf. Patrick, *A Commentary* (271).
425 Patrick, *A Commentary* (273).
426 Patrick, *A Commentary* 273–74.
427 "Between Judaea and Syria is Mount Carmel; this is the name both of the mountain and the Deity. They have no image of the god nor any temple; the tradition of antiquity recognizes only an altar and its sacred association." Tacitus, *Historiae* (2.78); in the modern edition, the final phrase reads *ara tantum et reverentia*.

Q. *Elijah*s Posture in his Prayer? v. 42.
A. He fell on his Knees, and, bowed his Head unto the very Ground, so that it touched his Knees; in token of his Humility & his Importunity.[428]

Q. *Elijah*s Running before *Ahab*? v. 46.
A. God gave *Elijah* more than Humane Strength; in that, tho' he were an *Old Man*, yett he was able to run, as fast as a Chariot could drive. He also shewed his Readiness to {do} the King all the Honour imaginable; far from being his Enemy.[429]

428 Patrick, *A Commentary* (274).
429 Patrick, *A Commentary* (275).

Q. *Elijah*'s Flight? v. 3.
A. We read of no Command he had from God about it. God left him to his own Prudence. This made him think it vain to hope for *Ahab*s protection, who, he saw, would continue an Idolater, & make his People Revolt unto *Baal*. He fled into another Kingdome, where *Jezabel* could not reach him. He would not carry his Servant, because he would not putt the Youth unto the Straits he was like to suffer himself. But some think, it was a Fault in him, to run away, & not rely upon God for his Preservation in his pious Endeavours to keep the People in the true Religion. Some also think, the *Juniper tree* showes how careless he was of his Life; the Shade whereof, as *Virgil* observes, is very noxious.[430]

Q. *Elijah's Juniper Tree*, what sort of a Tree might it bee? v. 4.
A. That ingenious & industrious Author, who lately published his *Almagestum Botanicum*, has this Year 1700, published a *Mantissa*, of above a Thousand New Exotic Plants added unto it.[431] Our learned *Botanist*, considering, that the Sacred Writers, for the most part, are short in explicating things relating to *Botanicks*, ha's been prevailed with, to offer his own Conjectures, about some things in Holy Writt, which have been deem'd inexplicable.

Thus, the LXXs translation of *Gopher*, [Gen. 6.14.] a word no where else to be found in the Scripture, namely, ξύλα Τετράγωνα,[432] (whereof the *Ark* was built) our Author by good Conjecture, ascribes to his *Juniperus arbor tetragonophyllos*, a Sort of *Juniper*, which on account of its Quadrangular Foliature, is a Tree peculiar. It is frequent in the *West-Indies*, & from its vast Dimensions may well be thought the *Cedrus Cimanica*, mentioned in the Varieties of *Cardan*, *Cujus Tabulis si naves conficiantur non sentiunt teredinem*.[433] It is also found in the *East Indies*. He concludes with learned *Vossius*, That it might be the same with *Tetragonia Theophrasti* [Hist. plant. L. 3. c. 6.] And he conceives, it can be no other than that Kind of *Juniper*, under whose Shade the Holy Prophet *Elijah*, composed himself to sleep, in the Wilderness. To it, he attributes that Saying in *Virgil*, – *Juniperi gravis umbra*:[434] And he thinks it may be the same

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430 Patrick, *A Commentary* (276–77). Virgil, *Ecologues*, Poem X.
431 Leonard Plukenet (1641–1706), English professor of botany and gardener to Queene Mary, *Almagesti botanici Mantissa* (1700, 1769), pp. 109–10. Mather's "this Year 1700" provides a firm date for this entry during the first phase of the "Biblia"'s development; see above, Editor's Introduction, p. 9.
432 "Quadrangles made of wood." LXX on Gen. 6:14, in Walton, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (1:24): *arcam de lignis quidratis*.
433 "If ships are constructed with the planks made of it, they are not affected by worms."
434 "Baneful is the shade cast by the juniper."

with the *Juniperus arbor* in *Pliny*, [L. 16. c. 40.] and that those durable[435] Pillars with which they built the most ancient Temple of *Diana Saguntina* in *Spain*, were all framed out of this Tree.[436]

Our Author goes on to enlarge on the *Cedar* of Mount *Atlas*, and those costly Tables of the Romans made out of it. This, he saies, is no other than the *Kitra*, or *Alkitra* of the old Arabians; hence afterwards mistaken for the *Mala Atria*. With *Levinus Lemnius*, he beleeves this Tree, to be the *Shittim*-Wood, of the ancient Hebrewes, as it does plainly appear to be the *Ettalche,* of the *Africans*, and *Harar* of the modern *Arabians*. He also gives his Conjecture, about the *Shittai* Tree, of the *Hebrewes*, Isa. 41.19. Where it is mentioned as a most extraordinary Tree, among the *Cedar*, the *Pine*, & the *Fir* Trees, and no where else in the Scripture. He thinks it may be, the *Leucadendros Africana arbor tota Argentea, Saricea, foliis integris*.[437]

Q. The *Angels* bringing *Meat* and *Drink* unto *Elijah*: what of Curiositie may bee remark'd concerning it? v. 6.

A. There was a Time, when *Abraham*, did present *Meat* with *Drink*, unto the *Angels*; and Behold, how those Benign Spirits, now requite it unto a Son of *Abraham*! They will bee sure to come out of our Debt. Yea, they did it, for a whole Nation of *Abraham*s Posterity, Forty Years together; when *Israel* in the Wilderness, did *Eat Angels Food*, even such as the *Angels* præpared for them.

And see how God is thro' the Lord Jesus Christ Reconciled unto us! The First Action of the *Angels*, towards Man, was to drive him from the *Food* of *Paradise*. But the *Angels* now bring unto one of the Fallen Children of Men, an extraordinary *Food*, one Meal whereof sustains him for forty Dayes together.

Q. *He went in the Strength of the Meat, Forty Dayes & Forty Nights*; It was a Journey of not above Four or Five Dayes? v. 8.

A. He went about private Wayes, that he might not be discovered; & perhaps rested sometimes & lay hid, if there was any danger of his being seen.[438]

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435 The remainder of the entry is written perpendicularly in the second column.

436 Plukenet, *Almagesti botanici Mantissa* (110–11), citing Giralamo Cardano, 16th-century Italian polymath and gambler, *Mediolanensis medici de rerum varietate* (1557), lib. VI. cap. XX, fol. 109; Isaac Vossius, 17th-century Dutch scholar and librarian, *De Septuaginta Interpretibus, eorumque tralatione & chronologia Dissertations* (1663), cap. XII, p. 33; Theophrastus, *Historia Plantarum* (3.6); Virgil, *Ecologues*, Poem X; and Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* (16.40).

437 "*Leucadendros Africana*, a totally silvery tree, *Saricea*, with leaves intact." Plukenet, *Almagesti botanici Mantissa* (40–41), citing Levinus Lemnius, 16th-century Dutch physician and author of *Similitudinum ac parabolarum quae in Bibliis ex herbis atque arboribus desmuntur* (1591). Plukenet (p. 41) refers to "*in Conjectur. de lignis Sethim*." No imprint by Lemnius with a title resembling this has been found, but there is a brief discussion of the cedar in cap. XXXVII of his *Herbarum atque arborum quae in Bibliis* (1579), transl. *An herbal for the Bible* (1587), p. 190.

438 Patrick, *A Commentary* (278).

Q. *What dost thou here*, *Elijah*? v. 9.
A. Q.d. "I have no Business for thee here. This is not a place to do me Service."

A secret Reproof, of his Flying so far away. *Judæa*, or, *Samaria*, or *Damascus* being fitter Places for him to be employed in.[439]

Q. On *Elijah*s Complaint, *They have forsaken thy Covenant*? v. 10.
A. By the *Covenant* seems to be meant, *Circumcision*. The Jews have an Idle Fancy upon this; That upon this Complaint God promised him, he should be always present at the *Circumcising* of Infants, to see it rightly performed. They call him, *The Angel of the Covenant*; and at every *Circumcision* they præpare a Seat for him, and in express Words they say, *This Seat is for the Prophet* Elias. The Chair continues {to be} placed for him Three Days together, & he is upon this Invitation suppose{d} always to come into it.

Q. What occurred, when *Elijah* stood on the Mount, *Before the Lord*? v. 11.
A. The *Shechinah* appeared unto him, after certain Præparations for it.

First, there were Signs of the Approach thereof, *in a Great and Strong Wind, that rent the Mountains*. The Angelical Ministers, which attended His Glorious Majesty, passed along in this terrible Wind. But the LORD was not in it; the *Shechinah* yett appeared not. Nor did it manifest itself, in the following *Earthquake*. *Lightning* & *Thunder* ensued, as once at the giving of the Law, in this Place, the Restoration whereof *Elijah* endeavoured. Still the *Shechinah* did not appear. At last the Lord Himself came, as he perceived by a Murmur of a Voice, which bid him Attend unto what was now to be spoken to him.[440]

Q. The Lord, not expressing Himself to *Elijah*, in the *Wind*, nor, the *Earthquake*, nor the *Fire*, but in the *Still Voice*; what might bee thereby intimated? v. 12.
A. The Nature of the Gospel, & of the Evangelical Dispensations, wherein would bee the greatest Manifestations of God, unto the World, was hereby intimated; even, the *Lenity* of those Dispensations. [Compare Exod. 19.16. with Heb. 12.18, 19, and Jam. 3.17.]

But methinks I see a further Curiositie in this Passage; *Grotius* has noted it; *Obiter admonetur Elias, ut sibi ab Irâ caveat, ad quam Naturâ Suâpte ferebatur*.[441]

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439 Patrick, *A Commentary* (278).
440 Patrick, *A Commentary* (279–80).
441 "In passing, Elias is admonished to beware of his fury, to which he is inclined through his own nature." Grotius, quoted in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (col. 2553).

Q. Some further Gloss, if you please, upon the Lords choosing to discover Himself, in the *Still Voice*, and not in the *Wind*, nor the *Earth-quake*, nor the *Fire*? {v. 12.}

A. R. *Levi* tells us, It was to instruct the Prophet, *Impiorum magis desiderandam pœnitentiam, quam perditionem*.[442]

Indeed there have been many pious Meditations, which Interpreters have had upon this Appearance, of the Divine Majesty. Particularly, *Strigelius* looks on it, as representing the Divine Nature; full of Goodness; not inclined to Affright and Destroy, but placidly to Invite and Præserve. Some also think, that the Lord shewed unto *Elijah*, that he had all the Elements, ready Armed at His Command, if He should please to make use of them, to Destroy Idolaters; but by that *Still Voice* he declared the Divine Tenderness and Patience, which he would have *Elijah* to imitate, by bridling his Anger, unto which he seems to have been somewhat Inclineable.[443]

I think, I should not omitt the Words of *Irenæus* on this Occasion; *Ostendebatur et Regni ejus mitis et pacifica requietio, post enim Spirituum qui conterit Montes, et post Terræ-Motum, et post Ignem, Tranquilla et Pacifica Regni ejus adveniunt Tempora, in quibus cum omni Tranquillitate Spiritus Dei vivificat et anget hominem*.[444] We have here the Condition of things, in the Kingdome of our Saviour, at His Coming, pointed at.

Q. The Prophet complains, *The Children of Israel, have thrown down thine Altars*. How could there bee any *Altars of the Lord* among the *Ten Tribes*, when they might not sacrifice any where, but before the *Ark*, at *Jerusalem*? v. 14.

A. The *Ark* was a long While at *Shiloh*, a Town belonging to the Tribe of *Ephraim*. [Josh. 19.51. Judg. 18.31. & 20.18. & 21.7.] No doubt, *Altars to the Lord*, were erected there! *Mizpeh*, was not far from thence; and there the Eleven Tribes Erected an *Altar of the Lord*. [Judg. 21.4.] *Rama*, or *Arimathæa* was likewise not far from thence; and there *Samuel* erected an *Altar of the Lord*. [1. Sam. 1.1. & 7.16.] *Gideon* belonged unto the Tribe of *Menasseh*: Hee, at *Ophra*, near his Fathers House, Erected an *Altar of the Lord*, at the Advice of an *Angel*. [Judg. 6.15, 24, 26.] *Ebal* was a Mount of *Ephraim*, not far from *Gerizzim*; and on *Ebal*, did *Joshua* build, an *Altar of the Lord*. [Josh. 8.30.] *Carmel* was a Mount of *Issachar*; and *Elias* did there build an *Altar of the Lord*. [1. King. 18.20, 32.] When

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442 "Desire the repentance of the wicked rather than their destruction." Levi ben Gerson, or Ralbag (*see I Kings: A New English Translation* 200). For Mather's deletion, *see* App. A.

443 Patrick, *A Commentary* (280–81), citing Victorinus Strigelius, *Libri Samuelis, Regum, & Paralipoménon* (281).

444 "The mild and peaceful repose of His kingdom was indicated likewise. For, after the wind which rends the mountains, and after the earthquake, and after the fire, come the tranquil and peaceful times of His kingdom, in which the spirit of God does, in the most gentle manner, vivify and increase mankind." Irenaeus, 2nd-century CE Christian theologian and bishop of Lyon, *Adversus Haereses* (4.20.10).

the Kings of the *Ten Tribes* permitted not their Subjects to go up, unto the Worship at *Jerusalem*, the more godly People among them, chose to sacrifice at these *Altars*, rather than to carry their Sacrifices unto *Dan* or *Bethel*, or the Idolatrous *Altars* of *Baal*. Now, when *Jezabel* understood, that *Elijah* had thrown down the *Altar of Baal*, tis no Wonder that in Revenge thereof, shee *threw down the Altars of the Lord*, which the Prophet here makes the Matter of his Complaint.

Q. *Anoint Hazael to be King of Syria*. What the Intention of this? v. 15.
A. *Ralbag* expounds it so; "Inasmuch as thou art so displeased with the *Israelites* for their Impiety, go and anoint one to be King of *Syria*; who shall be a Scourge to them." This was not presently done. And *Elijah* did not Anoint *Jehu* neither; but ordered, that it should be done by *Elisha*, who succeeded him.[445]

Q. The *Sword* of *Haz{a}el*, & of *Jehu*, & of *Elisha*? v. 17.
A. It signifies not, that the Sword of *Hazael* Should do Execution, before the Sword of *Jehu*; and the Sword of *Jehu*, before that of *Elisha*. It only signifies, as *Abarbanel* observes, that God in His Providence had appointed Three Persons, to punish the *Israelites* according to their Deserts; God appointed every one, to execute what was proper for *him* to do.[446]

Q. *Kissing* of *Baal*? v. 18.
A. *Kissing* the *Idol*, was done Two Wayes. Either by applying the Mouth immediately to the Image; which *Cicero* against *Verres* observes, was done to the Image of *Hercules*: or, kissing the Hand before the Image, & then Stretching it out, and as it were, throwing the Kiss to it. *Salmasius* observes, that such *Kissing* was called, *Labrate oscula*. And from hence the Phrases, *Oscula jacere*, and, *Basia jactare*, and, *Manu venerari*, and *Manu Salutare*.[447] *Pliny* saies, *In adorando Dextram ad osculum referimus, totum corpus circumagimus*.[448]

Q. *Elisha* was *ploughing*? v. 19.
A. He was a great Man; who yett, according to the Manners of those Ancient Times, look'd after his Business himself. He was taken from the *Plough* to be a *Prophet*; The *Romans* took some from thence, to be *Dictators* and *Consuls*.

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445 Patrick, *A Commentary* (282), quoting Ralbag on 2 Kings 9:14 (*see I Kings: A New English Translation* 201).

446 Patrick, *A Commentary* (282–83), citing Abravanel (*see I Kings: A New English Translation* 202).

447 "To 'throw' kisses, and, to 'chuck' kisses, and, to implore with one's hand, and, to greet with one's hand."

448 "In greeting someone we take our right hand to the mouth and embrace the whole body." Patrick, *A Commentary* (284), citing Cicero, *Against Verres* (2.4.94); and Claudius Salmasius, "Annotations upon *Flavius Vopiscus* in the Life of the Emperor *Probus,*" in *Historiae Augustae Scriptores* (1620), and *Plinianae Exercitationes in Caii Julii Solini Polyhistorem* (1629), p. 936.

Nothing was in greater Esteem than *Agriculture* among the Ancient *Greeks* & *Romans*, as well as the *Hebrews*. In *Homer* we see Princes living on the Fruits of their Lands and their Flocks, & labouring with their own Hands. *Hesiod* has made a Poem, on Purpose to recommend a Countrey Life, & Labour, to his Brother. The Ancient Nations, did not think, that to *Do nothing*, was to *Live Nobly*. They employ'd themselves as well as their Servants, in the Cultivation of their Lands. Persons of the best Quality, were, Αυτουργοι, Men who did their Work themselves. *Dionysius Halicarnassus*, tells us, That Q. *Cincinnatus* returned from his *Consulship*, to lead, αυτουργον βιον, *A Rustick Life*, as he did before it.[449]

449 Patrick, *A Commentary* (284–85), citing Homer (*see*, for example, *Odyssey* 18.365, where Odysseus challenges Eurymaches to mow grass or to drive oxen against him); Hesiod, 8th or 7th-century BCE Greek poet, *Works and Days*, addressed to his brother Perses; Dionysius Halicarnassensis, *Antiquitates Romanae* (10.19.4, line 8).

Q. *Benhadad*; who? v. 1.
A. Tis as much as to say, The Son of *Hadad*. *Hadad* was of the Seed Royal in *Edom*; and he escaped into *Egypt,* when *David* slew all the Males in *Edom*. He infested *Solomon* in his later Dayes, & endeavoured the Recovery of his Kingdome. Not succeeding in that, it is probable that he established himself in *Syria*.[450]

Q. How could it be said, *He went up*, and *besieged Samaria*? v. 1.
A. He did not actually besiege it, for his Army was routed before he could arrive to it. Therefore the Sense is, *He went up to besiege Samaria*. Tis like a Speech in Gen. XXVIII.10. *He went to Haran*. *Rasi* interprets it, *He went to go to Haran*; For it presently followes, God appeared to him in the Way.[451]

Q. *Ahab*s Application to the *Elders of the Land*; a Remark upon it? v. 7.
A. Dr. *Patrick* observes, That *Ahab* now shew'd some Sparks of Vertue remaining in him. While *Benhadad* only desired what he had in his own Disposal, that is, all the Private Good, he agreed unto it. But when all the People, and the Publick Good was concerned, he would do nothing without their Consent.[452]

Q. Who were the *Princes of the Provinces*, and who their *Young Men*? v. 14.
A. The *Princes of the Provinces* were the Governours of the several Provinces, into which the Kingdome was divided. And their *Young Men*, seem to signify their Servants, or (as we speak) their Pages, that waited on them. Not old experienced Souldiers were now to be employ'd, but Youths who perhaps had never seen a Fight, but alwayes lived at Court.[453]

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Q. What invited the *Syrians* to say of the *Israelites*, *Their Gods are Gods of the Hills*? v. 22.
A. They did not acknowledge the God of *Israel,* to bee the God of the *Universe*; but they took him to bee such an ὀρειβάτης,[454] as *Pan* was called among the

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450 Patrick, *A Commentary* (287).
451 Patrick, *A Commentary* (288) citing Solomon Jarchi, or Rashi (*see I Kings: A New English Translation* 204).
452 Patrick, *A Commentary* (289).
453 Patrick, *A Commentary* (291).
454 "Climber, mountaineer." *Suda, Lexicon* (alpha letter *omicron*, entry 544, line 1). A. Adler, *Suidae lexicon*, 4 vols. [*Lexicographi Graeci* 1.1–1.4] (1928–35).

Græcians: And the Reason of it might bee because they had heard, That Hee gave His Law to His People on a *Mountain*; even in the *Hills of Sinai*. The Countrey of *Israel* was also very *Hilly*. And upon one eminent *Hill* there, the Temple of God was built, and He was worshipped. It was also known, that the *Israelites* delighted much to Sacrifice in *High-Places*; Insomuch, that, when they could not come at *them*, they sacrified on the *House-tops*. [Jer. 20.13.][455]

Q. *Aphek*, where? v. 26.
A. It was a City in the Tribe of *Asher*; probably one of those which *Benhadads* Father took, from the King of *Israel*. Not far from it, was the Plain of *Galilee*, where it was his Purpose to Fight.[456]

Q. How is it, that they made it the *Seventh Day* before they came to Action? The *Syrians* had so much the Advantage of Number, that one would think, they should have immediately surrounded, & destroyed all the *Israelites*? v. 29.
A. Perhaps, the *Israelites* were pitched upon a Rising Ground, and the *Syrians* durst not attack them, till they came down into the Plain.[457]

Q. How came the Wall of *Aphek* to fall? v. 30.
A. Either by the Batteries of the *Israelites*, or by an Earthquake.[458]

Q. Whence the Report of the Kings of *Israel*, being *Merciful Kings*? v. 31.
A. It was thought, they were better natured than other Kings, to Persons in Distress. They retained still, something of the Temper of that Good King *David*; who was full of Tenderness; unto which (as our *Patrick* notes,) true Religion disposes, above all other Things.[459]

Q. Their going out, with *Sackcloth,* & *Ropes*? v. 31.
A. This was in ancient times, the Posture of Supplicants, petitioning for Mercy. Thus among the *Græcians* and *Romans*, they came in a mournful Manner, with a Branch of *Olive* in their Hands. Their *Sackcloth* was a Token of great Sorrow for what they had done; the *Ropes*, a Token of their Submission, to whatever Punishment should be ordered.[460]

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455 Patrick, *A Commentary* (293–94).
456 Patrick, *A Commentary* (295).
457 Patrick, *A Commentary* (296).
458 Patrick, *A Commentary* (296).
459 Patrick, *A Commentary* (296).
460 Patrick, *A Commentary* (297).

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Q. What might be the Meaning of that Article in the Alliance between *Ahab,* and *Benhadad*; *Thou shalt make Streets for thee, in Damascus, as my Father made in Samaria*? v. 34.

A. *Munster* gives us this Gloss upon it; Thou shalt levy *Tribute* or *Custom* from the Traders, that carry on their Trade, in such and such *Streets* of the City.[461]

Interpreters commonly think, He means *Fortifications*; by which he might bridle the Chief City of the Kingdome of *Syria*, & prevent their making any New Irruptions into the Land of *Israel. Citadels*, as we call them.

Got. Vallandus hath said (as Dr. *Patrick* thinks) a great deal to prove, that the *Hebrew* Word signifies, *Palaces*;[462] which he being allowed to build, was a great Token of Subjection.[463]

[289v] |

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Q. The Case of the Poor Man, that lost *his Life*, because of his *Not Smiting the Prophet*, seems to mee, a very Hard Case; I pray your Thoughts upon it. v. 35.

A. Not so *Hard*, it may bee, neither; when you have laid these things together.

First. That the Prophet should foreshew in *Himself*, a *Shadow* of the Calamity that was to come upon *Israel*, was but Agreeable to the Usage of other Prophets. Compare Isa. 20.3, 4. and Jer. 27.2. to Illustrate this prophetical Usage. Moreover, his being *Wounded*, was a Special Subserviency to the Circumstances of the Errand, which hee was now going upon.

Secondly, No doubt, this *Prophet* was *well-known* to bee One; and probably hee might give some very particular *Demonstration* unto the Man whom hee now mett, that the LORD Himself acted him; in making the Demand which the Man Refused. That seems *Implied* at least in the *Explicitness* of that Passage, *Hee said unto his Neighbour, IN THE WORD OF THE LORD, Smite mee*. So that the Mans *Disobedience* and *Contumacy*, may bee more Aggravated, than you are well aware of.

Thirdly, The Resemblance of *Ahab*s Destruction, was now more notably Transferred into the Condition of the unhappy Man, whom a *Lion* slaies, upon his not performing of what God required. *Ahab*, had contrary to the Order of God, Spared *Benhadad*, upon a Pretence of Clemency; and this poor Man, in the like Manner, and on the like Pretence, præferring his own Reason before the Command of God, would not *Smite*, when God had bidden him.

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461 Münster, *Hebraica Biblia*, in loc. (335).

462 וְחוֹמְרוֹת

463 Patrick, *A Commentary* (299), citing Gothofredus Valandus, late 17th-century German writer on legal and civil matters, *Congressus Regum victoris et victi Narrationem: Quae exstat I. Reg. XX, 33,34* (1678), pp. [9]–[10], § *et plateas fac Tibi*.

Lastly, Besides the *Desert* of a Smaller Sin, than this Mans *Omission* of his Duty, which would expose a Man to a Devouring *Lion*, if the Almighty should in Strictness of Justice proceed against it; the *Soveraignty*, yea and the *Righteousness* of the Great God, in the End of the Man, that here became a Prey to the *Lion*, may have a fairer Account given of it. Tho' what need *Mortals, ask, an Account of his Matters*? Briefly, The Man had other Sins enough, to expose him, unto such a *Disaster* as now came upon him; and if the *All-Wise* God now so exactly ordered the Time of the Disaster, that happening just upon the Fault like that of the *Wicked King*s, it should in the Event of it, become *Signal* to the *Wicked King*, I Say, This *Order of Things*, is to bee Adored, rather than Suspected![464]

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Q. It is said of the Prophet, *Hee said unto his Neighbour in THE WORD OF THE LORD, Smite mee, I pray thee*: May wee discern any singular Matter in that Expression? v. 35.

A. I incline to think, That the Holy Spirit of God intended here to carry our Thoughts, unto the Condition of the *Messiah*. Tis very certain, That the WORD OF THE LORD, is the Name of the *Messiah*; and the Prophet here Voluntarily offering himself to bee Smitten, did it, IN THE WORD OF THE LORD, that is to say, Hee did it like the *Messiah*, and as a *Type* of Him. And indeed, an Innocent Person *Smitten* (designing anon to declare himself a *Surety* for another) to Exhibit and Represent the Sin of another Man, was no little Type, of what the *Messiah* was to endure when Hee came to stand a *Surety*, in the Room of Sinners, & became a Sacrifice for their Sins. If a *Lion* Devoured the Man, who did Refuse to assist this Representation of the Sufferings of the *Messiah*, it further carries on a Picture, of the Punishment following upon those Neglects of a Suffering *Messiah*, whereto Men are by Unbeleef disposed.

Q. May there not be a little further Illustration & Vindication of this Matter, The *Prophet* speaking unto his *Neighbour*, to *Smite him*? {v. 35.}

A. Yes. For not only did this Prophet speak evidently, *In the Word of the Lord*; *Theodoret* brings him in saying, Υ̓υκ ἐγὼ σοι επιτάσσω, ἀλλὰ τὸ εν ἐμοὶ πνεῦμα. *Not I, but the Spirit that is in me, requires this!* But also, the Person to whom he spoke, *Bochart* would have it rendred, not *His Neighbour*, but (as *Jerom* renders it) *His Brother*, or, Companion. So the *Chaldee*, so the *Syriac*, so the *Arabic* have it.[465]

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464 Patrick, *A Commentary* (300). For Mather's deletion, *see* App. A.

465 For the Chaldee, Syriac, and Arabic versions of the verse, *see* Walton, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (2:506–07).

It was one of his *Fellow-Prophets*,[466] and therefore one more able to Judge of the *Commandment* given to him. *Rebellion* in such an one was aggravated.[467]

Q. *He disguised himself with Ashes on his Face*. How? v. 38.
A. The Hebrewes understand it, That he covered his Face with a *Veil*, or an *Hankerchief*, or bound it about with a *Fillet*; (for one cannot tell how *Ashes* could cover it,) in token that he was wounded; so that the King would not know who he was.[468]

Q. What was the Mans Pretence? v. 39.
A. His Pretence was, that his Captain having a Prisoner of great Quality, charged him with him; Telling him, that he should be answerable for him, with his Life, if he lett him escape; or else, Redeem his Life with a greater Sum of Money, than he was able to pay.[469]

Q. The *Crime,* & the *Doom* of *Ahab*? v. 42.
A. The *Battle* was the Lords; the Victory was obtained purely by the Power, and the singular Favour of God. *Ahab* should not have Resolved, how to dispose of *Benhadad*, without the Leave of the Lord. He should have consulted Him; for *Benhadad* was Gods Prisoner. God was to have His Part of the Spoil, which He would please to chuse. And now, tis threatned; *Thy Life shall go for his Life, & thy People for his People*. The former Part of this Decree, was fulfill'd Three Years after, when *Ahab* was killed in a Battel against the *Syrians*. The latter Part was deferr'd until the Reign of *Hazael*, and his Wars against the *Israelites*.[470]

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466 Mather drew a small heart in the margin beside this statement.
467 Patrick, *A Commentary* (300), citing Theodoret, *Quaestiones in Libros Reges et Paralipomena*, in loc. [PG 80.740, line 4]; Bochart, possibly *Hierozoicon* (pars prior, lib. III, cap. II, cols. 739–40, on the lion that killed the disobedient prophet); and Jerome, *Divina Bibliotheca 09. Libri Duo Malachim* [PL 28.673–771], cols. 769–70.
468 Patrick, *A Commentary* (301).
469 Patrick, *A Commentary* (301).
470 Patrick, *A Commentary* (302–03).

Q. We read, *Naboth the Jezreelite, had a Vineyard which was in Jezreel, hard by the Palace of Ahab, King of Samaria*. Do you allow the Reading? v. 1.
A. The late Essay for a New Translation does thus correct it, *Naboth the Jezreelite who dwelt in Jezreel, had a Vineyard in Samaria, hard by the Palace of King Ahab*.[471]

And yett there are some other Scriptures, which intimate, that the *Portion of Naboth*, was in *Jezreel*.[472]

Q. *After these things*.] Any special Emphasis in that Clause? v. 1.
A. *Abarbanel* thinks, tis peculiarly noted to sett forth the extream Wickedness of *Ahab*, who spared *Benhadad,* (as formerly Saul had spared *Agag*,) and yett murdered *Naboth*. He lett an Impious Enemy escape, & murdered a Righteous *Israelite*.[473]

Q. What makes *Ahab* so sollicitous, for a *Garden of Herbs*? v. 2.
A. I'l give you an Illustration upon it, which ha's been given me by a learned Physician; Tis Dr. *Grew*, in his *Cosmologia Sacra*.[474]

The ancient State of *Medicine* in the World, he notes, was horribly Magical. It began in *Egypt*. Old *Celsus* tells it as a Part of the *Egyptian* Philosophy, current in his Time; That the Body of Man is divided into Thirty Six Parts, each of which was possessed with a God, or a *Dæmon*; and this *Dæmon*, was called upon by the *Magi*, to cure the Diseases of the Part he possessed. Even in *Galen*s Time, we find, *præstigiaturas Egyptias* practised; he himself writes of them.[475] Other Countreyes were from hence infected with them. Hence *Medicines* were called, *Pharmaca*; which anciently signified, *Poisons*; because it was beleeved, that unless they were magically used, they would do more Hurt than Good. The *Oriental* Nations had their *Teraphim*, for the Cure of Diseases. Whence θεραπεύω signifies

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471 Le Cène, *An Essay for a New Translation of the Bible* (15–16).
472 E.g., 1 Kings 21:1, 6–7, 15–16.
473 Patrick, *A Commentary* (303), citing Abravanel (*see I Kings: A New English Translation* 216).
474 Nehemiah Grew (1641–1712), English botanist and physician, *Cosmologia sacra* (1701).
475 "Egyptian tricks." Grew, *Cosmologia sacra* (268), citing Celsus, from Origen, *Adversus Celsus* (8.58); Galen, 2nd-century CE physician and philosopher and author of *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum*, on the Egyptian magician Pamphilius.

both, to *Worship,* and to *Heal*.[476] And, *Curæ Morborum*, is by *Eusebius* reckon'd one Part of their *Theology*.[477]

God used all proper Means, to save the Jewes, from having to do with that Sort of *Men*, or of *Means*. Hence, He commanded unto them, the Study of Nature, and of Natural Remedies. They had alwayes a Sort of *Apothecaries*, who were to furnish them with Physical Materials. The Wisdome of *Solomon* lay much in *Botanicks*. After his Exemple, the succeeding Princes, both of *Judah* and *Israel*, as *Pliny* tells us (L. 12. 25.) had their *Physick-Gardens*.[478]

And such, does our Doctor think, was that which *Ahab* here made of *Naboth*s Vineyard.[479] *Ahab* was not so sick & sullen for a Garden of *Pott-herbs*, but *Medicinal* Plants, whereof the *Balsamus* was the Chief.

Wherefore also *Joram*, the Son of *Ahab*, when he was wounded, by *Hazael*s Men; he went back to *Jezreel*, where this *Garden* was, that he might be healed of his Wounds.

*Ahab*s fault, was not his Desiring a *Garden*; but his wronging a Peaceable Subject for one.

Dr. *Grew* thinks, *Asa*'s crime, *when he sought not to the Lord, but the Physicians*, was, because at this time, there were none but Magical Physicians.[480]

[290v] |

Q. The Reason of *Naboth*s Unwillingness to part with the *Inheritance of his Fathers*? v. 3.

A. It is natural unto all Men, to value the Ancient Possessions, that have been in their Family; More than this; The Law of *Moses* prohibited the Alienation of Lands, from one Family to another. Indeed, a Man reduced unto Poverty might sell his *Inheritance*; but this might be no longer than till the Year of *Jubilee*; It then returned unto him. Now *Naboth* had no Need; and if he considered, that if he should out of Respect, unto the King, & meerly to do him a Pleasure, part with his Vineyard, he should never gett it out of his Hands at the *Jubilee*. It would be made Part of the Ground belonging to the Royal Palace.

This (as Dr. *Patrick* notes) makes it probable, that *Naboth* was one of the *Seven Thousand*, who strictly observed the Law.[481]

Naboth founded his Refusal, on the Law of God. For indeed, they that possessed the Lands in *Israel* were but only *Usu-fructuaries*, (or such as enjoy'd

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476 θεραπεύοι, θεραπεύοιεν; Galen, *De Methodo medendi Libri xiv*, in C. G. Kühn, *Claudii Galeni opera omnia*, vol. 10 (1825), 10.247, line 3, and 10.945, line 3.

477 "Care of diseases." Grew, *Cosmologia sacra* (269), citing Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica*, lib. IV, Prologomena.

478 Grew, *Cosmologia* sacra (269), citing Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* (12.25).

479 Grew, *Cosmologia sacra* (269).

480 Grew, *Cosmologia sacra* (269–70).

481 Patrick, *A Commentary* (304).

the Profits of them;) God Himself was the True *Proprietor*, [Lev. XXV.23.] who charged the Lands with no other Payments, but the *Tenths,* and the *First-fruits*, to His Ministers. After this, He gave them an Entire Possession thereof, to remain in their several Families forever, without any Alteration; which none could make but Himself.

[▽Insert from 291r][482] [▽291r]

Q. A Remark upon the Destruction of *Naboth*? v. 7.

A. The English of the Name, *Naboth*, is *Prophesy*. And verily, I suspect his *History* to afford also a *Prophesy*.

The Church of *Rome* had a very plain Type in *Jezabel*. You may pursue that Matter, with a thousand agreeable Meditations.

This *Jezabel*, employes the Sæcular Power, with False Testimonies, to Destroy *Prophesy*; to murder and martyr the true *Prophets of God*; such as have the *Testimony of Jesus, which is the Spirit of Prophesy*: His Faithful Witnesses.

The Spirit of *Elias* working in the Servants of God, is to Testify against the Abominations of *Jezabel*, and to discover her False Prophets, & Exhibit them in their True Colours.

Jehu, (herein a Type of our Saviour, *who was, and is, & is to come*,) will cause this *Jezabel* to be trod under foot of his Army.

[△Insert ends] [△]

Q. The Accusation of *Naboth*; *Thou didst Blaspheme God & the King*? v. 10.

A. It was Death, by the Law of *Moses*, To Blaspheme God. [Lev. XXIV.16.] And, by Custome, it was Death to Blaspheme the King; which is also forbidden. [Exod. XX.28.][483] Perhaps they might also stretch that Law hither, which forbad any Man, upon pain of Death, to Curse his *Father*, or his *Mother*, [Exod. XXI.17.] pretending, that the Prince is the Father of his Countrey. To make all sure, they Accuse *Naboth* of Both; that so the People, might be the better satisfied, when they saw him stoned.

But there was a difference between these two. If a Man had only *Blasphemed God*, his Goods came to his Heirs. But when a Man was executed for *Treason against the King*, his Estate went unto the Exchequer; being forfeited unto him against whom the Offence was committed. They Accused *Naboth* of the latter Crime that his Estate might be confiscated; of the former, that Justice might be expedited, or, as the *Talmuds* express it, To *increase the Indignation*.[484]

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482 A small scrap glued to the left edge of 290v, the verso of which is blank.

483 MS cites v. 18; Patrick, *A Commentary* (308), cites v. 28.

484 Patrick, *A Commentary* (308), citing Selden, *De Successionibus in bona defuncti* (cap. XXV, cols. 87–88).

4939.

Q. What is the Emphasis of that Expression, *Thou hast sold thyself to work Evil*? v. 20.

A. *Munster* ha's a Good Gloss upon it.

Utitur Hebraismus hic Verbo, Vendere, *quòd ea res quæ venditur, tota in ementis transeat potestatem*.[485] *Ahab* was a perfect Slave to his Passions.[486]

Q. Of *Ahab* we read, *He went softly*? v. 27.

A. The *Chaldee* reads, *He went Barefoot*.[487] But we rather take it, for such a *Slow Pace*, as intimated, his being reduced unto a *Feebleness* of Body, by Fasting & Sorrow. Or, He had no Heart to go about his Business. He was extreamly cast down.[488]

Q. It was said, *In his Sons dayes I will bring the Evil*? v. 29.

A. Accordingly, it was *his Sons Blood*, not his; which was lick'd up by the Dogs, in that Portion of Ground, where *Naboth*s was. [2. King. IX.25, 26.][489] It is also observable: *Elijah* did not Anoint *Hazael*, who was to be the Executioner of the Divine Wrath: It being prolonged on *Ahab*s Humiliation.

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485 "An Hebraism is made use of in this word, to sell, such that the thing which is sold, totally changes its possessor in the purchase." Münster, *Hebraica Biblia*, in loc. (336).

486 For the last sentence, cf. Patrick, *A Commentary* (312).

487 Chaldee Paraphrast, in Walton, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (2:512): *ambulavit discalceatus.*

488 Patrick, *A Commentary* (313).

489 Patrick, *A Commentary* (314).

Q. Who were the *Four Hundred Prophets* now gathered by the King of *Israel*? v. 6.

A. Some think, They were the *Prophets of the Groves*, who were not slain with the *Prophets of Baal*; Because they are just the same Number. [1. King. XVIII.19.] But perhaps (as Dr. *Patrick* saies,) there were *Schools of the Prophets* kept up still in *Israel*, in imitation of those in *Judah*; wherein Persons pretending to the *Gift of Prophecy* had their Education. In that *Micajah* Calls them *Ahabs Prophets*, they are in Effect called, *False Prophets*. And yett *Jehoshaphat* seems to own them, as *Prophets of the LORD*; however he suspected them. It is not likely that *Ahab* would send for such Prophets as *Idolaters*, to whom, he knew, *Jehoshaphat* would pay no Respect. Probably, they professed themselves to be the *Servants of the Lord*; for whom *Elijah*, by his late Miracles had raised in *Ahab*, some Devotion. Dr. *Jackson* Seems to have produced a good Argument for this, from *Jehoshaphat*s continuing his Resolution, to accompany *Ahab* unto the Battel, notwithstanding all that *Micajah* had said against it. This he would hardly have done, if he had believed, that *Micajah* alone, had belonged unto the LORD, and all the rest unto *Baal*.[490]

Q. What Remarkable is there, in the Prædiction of the False-Prophets unto *Ahab*, about his taking of *Ramoth-Gilead*? v. 6.

A. True Prophets were distinguished from False Ones, partly by This; That they were *plain* in their Prædictions, whereas these were generally *ambiguous* and *æquivocating*. You Remember the stories of, *Crœsus Halyn penetratus*, etc. And, *Aio te Æacida*; etc. And, *Ibis, redibis*, etc.[491] But wee see a Remarkable Exemple of it, in those False Prophets, whom *Ahab* consulted. *The Lord shall deliver into the Hands of the King*. The Relative [It] which is in our Translation, is not in the Original. The Words have two Senses; either, *The Lord shal deliver Ramoth-*

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490 Patrick, *A Commentary* (315–16), on vv. 6–7, citing (p. 316) Thomas Jackson (1571–1646), Church of England clergyman, *The eternall Truth of Scriptures* (1613), bk. II, ch. XVIII, ¶ 2.

491 *Crœsus Halyn penetratus*: When Croesus consulted the Delphic oracle respecting a projected war, he received the answer, *Croesus Halyn penetrans magnum, pervertet opum vim* ("When Croesus passes over the river Halys, he will overthrow the strength of an empire"); Croesus supposed the oracle meant he would overthrow the enemy's empire, but it was his own that was meant. *Aio te Æacida*: King Pyrrhus is said to have consulted an oracle of the god Apollo about whether he should fight the Romans; Apollo responded, *Aio te Aeacida Romanos vincere posse* ("Son of Assidus, I say you will conquer the Romans (I say the Romans will conquer you"). *Ibis, redibis,* i.e., *Ibis, redibis, nunquam per bella peribis*, meaning, depending on how it is punctuated, "You will go, you will return, never in war will you perish," or "You will go, you will never return, in war you will perish."

Gilead into the Hands of the King of Israel; or, *The Lord shall deliver thee, & thy Forces, into the Hands of the King of Syria*.

Q. Why Does *Ahab* say of *Micajah*: *I hate him*? v. 8.
A. Honest Mr. Trap, in a Book entituled, *The True Treasure*, gives us this Thought upon it.

"It is probable, that *Micajah* was that Disguised Prophet, who brought to *Ahab*, the fearful Message, of Displeasure and Death, for dismissing of *Benhadad*. And *Ahab* hates him, and had him in Prison ever since. From whence he is now sent for, & sollicited by the way, to speak Good to the King."[492]

Q. The *Spirit* that *Came forth, & stood before the Lord, and said, I will perswade Ahab*: What *Spirit* was it? v. 21.
A. You know as well as I; the Received Opinion is known unto us all, and it must not now bee Rejected.[493] Nevertheless, Tis worth the while, to report one Jewish Curiositie; which is, That this was the Spirit of *Naboth*, seeking Revenge upon *Ahab*. So some Hebrew Writers, have Imagined.[494]

Q. *Putt thou on thy Robes*.] Does it not seem an odd Complement, thus to pray him, to expose himself to the Danger, which he shunned? v. 30.
A. There are those therefore, who render it; *Putt on these Robes*, (which he then offered him.) "After my Exemple, now lay aside thy Cloak, the Garment of a Chief Commander; and *putt on these Robes*." He brought a Double Change of Raiment into the Field.

Q. How did the Captains *perceive, that he was not the King of Israel*? v. 33.
A. Why not, by his Calling on the LORD for Help? or, it may be, some of them knew him.[495]

[292v] |

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492 John Trapp, 17th-century English dissenting pastor, *Theologia theologiæ, the true treasure* (1641), pp. 228–29.
493 On "the received opinion," *see* Patrick, *A Commentary* (320): "This is not to be understood literally; but that there are evil Spirits who are very forward to entice Men to their own Destruction." Cf. Matthew Henry, *An Exposition of the historical Books of the Old Testament* (1717), on 1 Kings 22: "there are malicious and lying Spirits which go about continually seeking to *devour*, and in order to that seeking to *deceive* … It is not without the Divine Permission that the Devil deceives Men, and even thereby God serves his own Purposes."
494 Including Solomon Jarchi and David Kimhi (*see I Kings: A New English Translation* 228–29.
495 Patrick, *A Commentary* (323).

~~792.~~

Q. Is there any thing singularly observable, in the Place and Way of *Ahab*s receiving his Mortal Wound? v. 34.

A. Tis observable, that this Murderer of *Naboth*, and Sparer of *Benhadad*, is killed at a *City of Refuge*, by *Benhadad*s Army, & with a Shott made at Random. [Compare, Deut. 19.4.] *Ramoth-Gilead* was a *City of Refuge*: [Josh. 20.8.] which probably was one Consideration, that engaged *Jehoshaphat* in the Expedition, against the *Syrians* that were now about that City.

{....}

Q. Tis a Passage in the History of the Circumstances, attending the Death of *Ahab*, *They washed the Chariot, in the pool of Samaria, and the Dogs licked his Blood, and they washed his Armour*; is that Clause, *They washed his Armour*,[496] understood as it should bee? v. 38.

A. It may bee, *No*. That Clause may rather bee Translated, *The Whores washed it*: namely, the Chariot. That *Pool,* was, as R. *Levi ben Gerson* reports, the Place, where the *Whores* did use to wash themselves; and *Josephus* himself tells us, *Meretrices posthâc ex eo fonte aquabantur*.[497] I remember, tis affirmed, by *Raschi*, that *Ahab* was become *Frigid*; and his attendents therefore made him, upon the *Chariot*, the Images of two Whores, to excite Libidinous Inclinations in him. If that were so, there was yett more of Remark, to bee made upon this Matter. However, the Hebrew Word, for *Armour* here הַזֹּנוֹת most properly & usually signifies *Whores*; and it is in the *Nominative Case*, not in the *Accusative*: and I add with *Pfeiffer*, *Ignominiam non parum augebat, quod sanguinem abluerent prostibula*.[498]

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496 וְהַזֹּנוֹת רָחֲצוּ

497 "The harlots continued afterwards to wash themselves in that fountain."

498 "It adds not a little shame, that prostitutes washed away the blood." August Pfeiffer, *Opera Omnia quae extant philological* (1704), p. 233, citing Levi ben Gerson, or Ralbag (*see I Kings: A New English Translation* 232–35); Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaica* (8.15.6); and Raschi (*see I Kings: A New English Translation* 232).

Q. What was the *Lattess*, thro' which Ahaziah fell down? v. 2.
A. By this *Lattess*, the Jews understand some *Net-work* that was in the Dining Room; which being Decay'd, and he Leaning on it, it fell down, and he together with it.[1]

Q. The Name of *Belzebub*, What and Whence? v. 2.
A. Probably with the *Philistines*, & the other *Phœnicians*, the Name was /בעל שמין/ *Beel-Samen*,[2] The *God of Heaven*. But the Hebrewes, by way of Ridicule, changed the Name, into /בעל זבוב/ *Beelzebub*, The *God of Flies*; because his *Temple*, on Occasion of the *Sacrifices* there, was fill'd with *Flies*, whereof the *Temple* of *Jerusalem* was clear, as the Hebrewes report, notwithstanding its Multitude of Sacrifices.[3] Thus *Arnobius* derides the Pagans; *Non videtis sub istorum simulacrorum cuivis stelliones, sorices, mures, blattasque Lucifugas, nidamenta ponere, atque habitare*? And afterwards; *Non in ore aliquando simulacri, ub Araneis ordiri Retia, atque insidiosos casses, quibus volatus innectere stridularum possint, impudentiumque muscarum: Non Hirundines denique intrà ipsos ædium circumvolantes Tholos*?[4]

4734.

Q. May we not entertain ourselves, with some further *Illustrations* upon *Baalzebub*, that *Prince of Darkness*? {v. 2.}
A. It is very probable, That the *Magic* used very early in the *Northern* Parts of the World, was brought from thence, & incorporated into the *Idolatry* of the *Southern*.

Olaus Magnus informs us concerning the *Northern* People, That they were usually furnished with *Magical Darts*, which they made of Lead, in Length about a Finger. By these they executed Revenges on their Enemies, & wounded them with cancerous Tumours, either in the Arms or Legs, which by the Extremity of Pain killed them in Three Dayes time.[5] *Schefferus* thinks, that both *Olaus Mag-*

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1 Patrick, *A Commentary* (329).
2 Patrick, *A Commentary* (330): *Beel-Semin*.
3 Patrick, *A Commentary* 330).
4 "Do you not see that newts, shrews, mice, and cockroaches, which shun the light, build their nests and live under the hollow parts of these statues?" … "Do you not see sometimes over the face of an image cobwebs and treacherous nets spun by spiders, that they may be able to entangle in them buzzing and impudent flies while on the wing?" Arnobius the Elder, late 3rd/early 4th-century CE Christian apologist, *Adversus nationes* (6.16.6–7).
5 Olaus Magnus, 16th-century Swedish Catholic ecclesiastic and patriot, *A Compendious History of the Goths, Swedes, & Vandals, and other Northern Nations* (1658), p. 48.

nus, who writes thus, & *Zeigler* from whom he writes it, are somewhat mistaken, about the *Leaden Darts*. He thinks, the Mistake may be, by misunderstanding the Word *Skot*, which signifies, a *Dart*; but the People use the Term, when Man or Beast is very *Suddenly* taken with any Mischief. *Petrus Claudius* calls it, a *Gan*, which they send abroad, and he makes it a Sort of a *Flye*; but he saies, Tis a little *Divel*, of which the *Finlanders* that excel most in this Art, keep great Numbers in a *Leathern Bag*, and they dispatch daily some of them abroad; and if they destroy no Men, they Rove about, until they meet with something, that they find capable of inflicting Destruction upon.[6]

It is well known, That in my own Countrey of *New England*, the *Indian Powawes* will form a Peece of Leather, like an Arrowes Head, and then to Tye an Hair to it; & over these to employ certain Magical Ceremonies; whereupon a *Dæmon* presently snatches them away, & conveyes them into the Bodies of Persons to be Afflicted. And as the *Laplanders* do send their *Gans* or *Flies* to destroy People, so a *Dæmon* will pretend unto our *Powawes*, to bring a Portion of the Spirit of a Person closely Imprisoned in a *Flye*; and as they deal with the *Flye*, so it fares with the *Body* of the Person they Design to Afflict.

The Learned *Olaus Rudbeck*, in his *Atlantica*, saies That the *Tympanum* of the *Mother* of the *Gods*, whereof we read so much in the Greek and Latin Writers, (tho' by none of them rightly explained) was but a Copy of the *Tympanum* used in *Lapland*; (A *Drum* with Images on it, and a Ring about it, which when it was beaten with *Thor*s Hammer, did answer the Intentions of *Sorcery*:) convey'd into foreign parts by *Disá, Isis, Idæa*, or *Diana*. The ancient Statues illustrate this. He will demonstrate, That *Isis* the Daughter of *Inachus*, going into *Egypt* a Little before the Time of *Moses*, taught the *Egyptians* the Northern Incantations; and Men, that they might Learn all horrible Magic, then came unto the North as unto an Academy.[7]

Well; This Gentleman tells us, That *Thor*, among other Names given him, was called, *Fluge-Guden*, the *God of Flies*; who drove away *Magical Flies* with his *Hammer*; and was the same with the *Belzebub*, which is mentioned in the Scripture. The *Magical Flies,* were *Dæmons*, in the Shape of *Blue Flies*, which the *Finlanders* kept in a *Magical Satchel*. They daily sent them forth on a *Magical Design*; as, to bring them Newes from all Parts of the Universe, & to do things Destructive to Men and Beasts. These *Flies* were driven away by Sacrifices to *Thor*; But the Victims offered by the Jewes at the Temple of *Jerusalem*, were freed from *Flies*, by their Faith in God.

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6 Johannes Scheffer, 17th-century Swedish humanist and professor at Upsala, *The History of Lapland* (1674), pp. 58–59, citing Hieronymus Zeigler, 16th-century Roman Catholic playwright and professor at Ingolstadt, and author of *Christi Vinea: Drama Sacrum* (1551); and Petrus Claudius of Lorraine (1504–68).

7 Inachus was the first king of the Argives. Olof Rudbeck (1660–1740), Swedish explorer and scientist, son of Olaus Rudbeck, and author of *Atland eller Manheim* (1675).

Consider, my Reader, whether these Northern {*Gans*,} flew as far as {*Judæa*}.[8]

[293v] |[blank][9]

[294r] |

Q. What may be the true Meaning of the Word, *Baal-zebub*? v. 2.

A. I will in this Place, employ an Exercitation of Dr. *Edwards* upon the Quæstion.

Some of the Learned, relying on a Tradition of the *Rabins*, tell us, That no *Flies* ever approached and molested, the *Sacrifices* of the True God; whereas the *Pagan Sacrifices* were much infested with them. They Say, That *Baal* was called, *The Lord of the Flies*, by the *Israelites* in Contempt; because of this. Whereas, others think, that this *Ekronitish* God, has his Name from a Power of dispelling and vanquishing the *Flies*; which when they grew very troublesome, the afflicted People invoked him to deliver them from the Plague.

But our *Edwards* thinks, That *Baal-Zebub* was indeed himself a *Great Flie*, or the *Image* of one, which was esteemed a God by the *Ekronites*. The Two Words, *Baal-Zebub*, are both in the Nominative Case; and as much as to say, *The Lord-Flie*; or, *The Master-Flie*: whereas the Learned have hitherto rendered the latter in the Genitive; and therefore no Wonder that *Munster* himself, & our *Selden* after him, confess that they Could never yett learn the Reason of the Name. That which gave our *Edwards* the first hint of his Notion, was, That in the Greek Version, he found it μυιαν θεον Ακκαρων: and in *Josephus*, Τον Ακκαρων θεον μυιαν· The *Fly-God* of *Ekron*.[10] And *Procopius Gazæus* asserts this *Idol*, to be the *Image* of a *Fly*, sett up and worshipped. Another plain Writer also, who yett hath several uncommon Things in him, [*Mic. Glych. Annal. par.* 2.] Ην ζωσαν Ταις ριπισιν ελαυνουσι Ταυτης Τον Τυπον θεον ωνομακασιν· *That sordid Animal, which they beat away with Fly-flaps when it was living, they call'd the Image of it a God, when it was Dead*.[11] This was the chief God of the *Ekronites*, to which *Ahaziah* sent for advice about his Recovery. He neglected the True God, & sent unto the Buzzing Deity of the *Ekronites*.[12]

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8 Bracketed words are conjectures for where the bottom of manuscript page is rubbed and broken away.

9 L. 294 is a folio leaf originally attached with sealing wax to edge of preceding leaf, now loose, the verso of which is blank.

10 Τὴν Ἀκκάρων θεὸν μυῖαν. Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* (9.19.6).

11 Ἣν ζῶσαν Ταῖς ῥιπίσιν ἐλαύνουσι, ταύτης τὸν Τύπον θεὸν ὠνομάκασιν. Michael Glycas, 12th-century Byzantine historian and astrologer; his *Annales* is a chronology of the world from the creation to the death of Emperor Alexis I Komnenos (1048–1118).

12 Edwards, *Exercitations critical, philosophical, historical, theological* (81–84), citing Münster (on Matt. 10:25; for Münster on 2 Kings 1:2, *see* Pearson, *Critici Sacri*, col. 2569); Selden, *De Diis Syris* (Syn. II, cap. V); Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* (9.19.6); Procopius Gazaeus, *In Libros Regum, et Paralipomenon scholia* (271); and Michael Glycas, *Annales*, pars II.

We know not the first peculiar Occasion, of so poor and mean a Peece of *Idolatry*. It may be this Fly-God was erected first of all to free them from Noisome and Hurtful *Flyes*, which infested them. He was the great *Lord-Fly*, which drove away, and *Mastered* all the rest. *Pliny* had gott some Traditions of this. He seems to speak of this very God of *Ekron*, (or *Accaron*, as the *Greek* and *Latin* Versions render it;) which he corruptly calls, *Achorem Deum*. He tells us, That People used to call upon him, when great Swarms of *Flyes* visited them, and brought the *Pestilence* with them; and this God, upon Invocations, and Sacrifices, perfectly destroy'd them.[13]

From this ancient *Baalzebub*, the God of *Ekron*, other Pagans borrow'd the like Vile Deity, and would by all Means have a *Fly-God*, that should upon Occasion, be able to save them from that Sort of Insects. The Greeks worshipped, *Jupiter* απομυιος, and μυιαγρος.[14] And they give this Account, That *Hercules* in *Olympia*, being while at *Sacrifice*, assaulted with a great Company of *Flyes*, *Jupiter* beat them away; whereupon he Sacrificed unto *Jupiter* απομυιος. And *Hercules* himself, had the Title of μυιαγρος, *The Fly-hunter*, given him, by the *Arcadians*, as *Pausanias* tells us; and under that Notion they worshipped him. So *Pliny* likewise tells us; and that they call'd for his Help, when *Flies* were plaguing of them. The same Author saies, That at the *Olympian* Games, they sacrificed a *Bull*, to a God, *Quem Myodem Vocant*;[15] and by that Means, the Sholes of *Flyes*, with which they were haunted, were driven out of the Place. *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, tells us, That the *Græcians* sacrificed unto *Jupiter* απομυιους, and the *Romans* unto *Hercules* απομυιος. All this, was an Imitation of the *Ekronites*, who worshipped, their *Lord-Fly*, as devoutly as the *Egyptians* did their Catts and Dogs.[16]

With allusion to this *Vile* but busy and vexatious Creature, the *Chief of the Infernal Dæmons,* was by the *Jewes* called, *Baal-zebub*, or according to the Syriac, *Beelzebub*; tho' in the New Testament, it is changed unto *Beel-zebul*; which Alteration of the Name was made by the Jewes, to Reproach & upbraid the Idolaters.

| A *Fly*, is an Emblem of *Impudence*. When the *Egyptians* would signify [295r]
this Vice, they made this Insect the *Hieroglyphic* of it, because, tho' it be often beaten away, yett it comes again. The *Jewes*, {who} were near neighbours to the *Egyptians*, & might borrow diverse things of them (besides their *Jewels*,) applied this very fitly to the *Prince of Divels*, whose Impudent and Unwearied Assaults give him a Claim to the Name of *Baal-bezub*, the *Domineering Fly*.

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13 Edwards, *Exercitations* (84–85), citing Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* (29.6).

14 "The guard against the flies, and the fly-god." 'Απόμυιος, in *Etymologicum Magnum* (see Gaisford ed. [1848], p. 131, line 24); Μυίαγρος, in Suda, *Lexicon* (alpha letter mu, entry 1364, line 1, in *Suidae Lexicon*, ed. Adler [*Lexicographi Graeci* 1.1–1.4].

15 "Which they call Myodem."

16 Edwards, *Exercitations* (85–86), citing Pausanias, *Graeciae descriptio* (8.26.7); Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* (10.28, 29.6); and Clemens of Alexandria, *Protrepticus* (cap. II, sec. 38, subsec. 4, line 4).

It must be considered, That the *Flyes* in the Eastern Countreyes, were much larger and stronger than in the Northern; and some Sorts of them, as they were of a considerable Size, so they were Filthy, Venimous, and Infectious, wherever they came.

To this may be referred, those Words of *Solomon*; Eccl. 10.1: *Dead Flyes cause the Ointment of the Apothecary to send forth a Stinking Savour*. Our *Edwards* thinks, it should rather be read, *Deadly Flyes*, or, *Flyes of Death*, as it is in the Hebrew.[17] [To be understood, as Psal. 7.14. *Instruments of Death*.] that is, Deadly, Mischievous, Pernicious.

There is a Sort of *Flyes*, very Putrid and Noxious; as they are bred out of Corruption, so are the Cause of it. They corrupt the most precious Things; the purest Confections. How appositely is this Epithit of *Belzebub*, now applied unto the *Prince of Divels*!

Tis he that is called, *The Prince of the Power of the Air*. His Place is in that Element. It is the *Flyes Element*. There, like those restless Insects, the Divels flutter up and down; and are sometimes very Troublesome. One of them, is as it were, the *Master-Fly*; and is therefore deservedly called, *Bel-zebub*.[18]

Unto[19] these Thoughts of Dr. *Edwards*, I will subjoin one of Dr. *Patrick*. He saies, Mr. *Selden* thinks, the Reason of the Name cannot be found. But the most probable Conjecture is, That he was called *Baal-zebub*, from the Cure of a contagious Disease. *Pliny* tells us, That there being a great Pestilence in *Africa*, which was brought among them by a Multitude of *Flies*, it was extinguished by the Killing of them all, after they had sacrificed unto the God *Achore*. He should have said, *The God worshipped at Ekron*; from whence that Word *Achore* plainly came. And if this were the Original of the Name, it was not so great Wonder, that *Ahaziah* sent unto him, to Enquire about his Illness; Being he was thought so powerful as to cure the Pestilence.[20]

Q. Why is *Elijah* called, *An Hairy Man*? v. 8.

A. Some think he had *Long Hair* on his Head, and Beard, like the Greek Philosophers. It is more probable, that it was, because he was clad with an *Hairy Garment*, which was usual among the Prophets. [Isa. XX.2. Zech. XIII.4. Matth. III.4.] This was the simplest, & most ancient Garment. And therefore we find the old *Hero*'s cloathed in Skins of *Bears*, or *Lions*, or *Tigres*. Perhaps, by this Rude Habit the Prophets express'd their great Grief, on the Score of the sad Condition the People were in, when they came to call them unto Repentance.[21]

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17 מָוֶת זְוּבִי

18 Edwards, *Exercitations* (86–88).

19 Ink changes from medium brown to light brown.

20 Patrick, *A Commentary* (330), citing Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* (10.27).

21 Patrick, *A Commentary* (332).

Q. The *Fire from Heaven*, that consumed the Captain, and his Fifty? v. 10.
A. The Captain did but mock the Prophet, when he call'd him, *A Man of God*. The Prophet replies, as *Abarbanel* glosses upon it; "If I be a *Man of God*, as thou dost *Say*, but not *Think*; I am then to obey *God* more than the *King*. I am under the Power of that God who will make thee know, that he Judges in the Earth."

Elijah proposed the Consuming of these Wretches with Lightning, or *Fire from Heaven* (as *Abarbanel* goes on:) Because he had formerly at Mount *Carmel* fetch'd *Fire from Heaven,* to consume the Sacrifice. These Wretches had slighted that Miracle, and came now in a proud Manner to carry him away by Force to *Samaria*, where he knew *Jezabel* would putt him to Death. How justly is there brought *Fire from Heaven* upon them.[22]

Q. Where had *Elijah* been all this while? v. 15.
A. Behold, his Obedience to God; with Faith to be delivered from the Fury of the King, & the Malice of *Jezabel*.

The Persecutors had made him fly the Countrey. See, 1. King. XIX.3. Here he concealed himself a long Time, and came not unto *Samaria*. *Abarbanel* observes, This is the Reason, that we hear nothing of him, in the War of *Ahab* against *Benhadad*. But now having a Command from God for it, as he had in the Case of *Naboth*, he goes boldly to the King, & confirms with his own Mouth, the Ungrateful Truth, which he had already sent by his Messenger.[23]

| [295v]

Q. It is said in one Place [1. King. 22.42.] That *Jehoshaphat* Reigned 25 Years in *Jerusalem*. But other Places intimate that hee Reigned not so long: for it is said, [1. King. 22.51.] that *Ahaziah* the Son of *Ahab*, did begin to Reign over *Israel* in the *Seventeenth* Year of *Jehoshaphat*, King of *Judah*, and Reigned Two Years; and [2. King. 1.17.] that *Jehoram*, *Ahaziahs Brother*, Son of *Ahab*, reigned in his room, in the *Second* Year of *Jehoram*, Son of *Jehoshaphat* King of *Judah*: and [2. King. 3.1.] that this *Jehoram* King of *Israel,* began to Reign in the *Eighteenth* Year of the Reign of *Jehoshaphat*, King of *Judah*. By all which it appears that *Jehoram*, Son of *Jehoshaphat*, his Second Year of his Reign, runs parallel with the *Eighteenth* Year of *Jehoshaphat*; & consequently *Jehorams* first Year, with *Jehoshaphats* Seventeenth Year. So that both *Ahaziah* began to Reign over *Israel*, and *Jehoram*, Son of *Jehoshaphat* began to Reign over *Judah*, in the same Seventeenth Year of *Jehoshaphat*; and this cutts off 8 Years from *Jehoshaphats* 25 Years, above-mentioned.

Here's One *knot* for you.

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22 Patrick, *A Commentary* (333), citing Abravanel (*see II Kings: A New English Translation* 241).
23 Patrick, *A Commentary* (334–35), citing Abravanel on 1 Kings 19:3 (*see II Kings: A New English Translation* 243).

Again; It is Elsewhere said [2. King. 8.16, 17.] that in the Fifth Year of *Jehoram* Son of *Ahab,* King of *Israel*, *Jehoram* Son of *Jehoshaphat,* King of *Judah,* began to Reign, & hee Reigned Eight Years in *Jerusalem*. Now *Jehoram,* the King of Israel's fifth Year, is parallel with *Jehoshaphat*, the King of *Judah*'s Twenty Second Year; for hee began in *Jehoshaphat*s Eighteenth Year to Reign. So that by this Account *Jehoram*, the Son of *Jehoshaphat* began to Reign over *Judah*, in *Jehoshaphat*s Twenty Second Year. This both Cutts off Three Years from *Jehoshaphat*s Twenty five, and also seems Repugnant unto the former Computation, evidencing the Commencement of *Jehoram*s Reign, in the Seventeenth Year of *Jehoshaphat*.

Here's a Second *Knot* for you.

Once more; A Third Scripture saith, [2. Chron. 21.3.] that after *Jehoshaphat*s Death *Jehoram* his Son, Reigned in his stead, and this could not bee till the twenty fifth Year of *Jehoshaphat*s Reign. Here both the former Times of *Jehoram*s Beginning to Reign seem to bee crossed.

Behold, a Third *Knot*!

And what will you do with these *Gordian Knots* now? Can you handsomely *Unty* them, or must you Tear, and Cutt them asunder? v. 17.

A. I'l *Unty* them well enough. One Observation of *Hugh Broughton* will *unty* them all. Sais hee, Joram, *thrice Viceroy, and Roy, in the 17 and 22, and 25 of* Je*hoshaphat*, never prospered.[24]

First, In the 17{th} Year of *Jehoshaphat*, began his Son *Jehoram*, to Reign, as *Pro-rex*, or *Viceroy* to *his Father*. This was his *First time,* [according to 1. King. 22.51. 2. King. 1.7. and 2. King. 3.1.]

Secondly, In the 22{nd} Year of *Jehoshaphat*, his Son *Jehoram*, again began to Reign as *Viceroy*; which 22{nd} Year was contemporary with the 5{th} Year of *Jehoram*, King of *Israel*; according to 2. King. 3. 1. and 2. King. 8.16, 17.] In this latter Text, it is said *And in the fifth year of* Jehoram*, the Son of* Ahab*, King of* Israel, Jehoshaphat *then King of* Judah, Jehoram *the Son of* Jehoshaphat *King of* Judah, began to Reign. Which gives us plainly to understand, that then *Jehoram* began to Reign as *Viceroy*, his Father being still King; & so hee Reigned, with his Father, four Years before his Death; which 4 Years have to bee reckoned part of his 8 Years Reign; and this the rather, because when *Jehoshaphat*s Death is mentioned, it is not said, *And Jehoram his Son* BEGAN *to Reign*; but, *Jehoram,* his Son, *reigned in his stead*; [2. Chron. 21.1, 3.] for hee had *Begun* to Reign 4 Years before, with his Father; hee now Reigned alone. Well, Here was the Second *Time* of Reigning.

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24 Hugh Broughton (1549–1612), English divine and Hebraist, *A Concent of Scripture* (1590), p. [21].

Thirdly, *Jehoshaphat*, hee Dyes in the 25{th} Year, after hee came to the Crown; then his Son *Jehoram* Reigns in his stead; namely, in his compleat Reign alone; & so hee Reigned 4 Years. This was his *Third Time*.

So that *Jehoshaphat* Reigned Alone, Only 17 Years; but jointly with his Son *Jehoram*, 8 Years more.

[Consult *Roberts*'s Key of the Bible.][25]

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25 Francis Roberts, 17th-century Church of England clergyman, *Clavis Bibliorum. The Key of the Bible* (1648). In pp. 55–65, Roberts lists the kings of Israel and Judah as mentioned in 2 Kings, provides scripture texts in which they are mentioned, and enumerates the length of their reigns.

Q. The *Sons of the Prophets*, with an *Elisha*, at *Bethel*? v. 3.
A. By the *Sons of the Prophets*, are meant the *Scholars* of the *Prophets*, whom they educated in Piety; And God by Degrees bestowed on some of them, the *Spirit of Prophecy*. A wondrous Testimony of the Divine Compassion unto an Apostate People! In *Bethel*, the chief Place of Idolatry, there were *Prophets*[26] of God. Yea, Prophets of a greater Excellency for *Miracles*, were continued in *Israel*, than in *Judah*. There was *more need*[27] of such, to turn their Hard Hearts from the Worship of Idols; & to support and preserve the Pious among them.

The *Sons of the Prophets* were, it may be, such Ministers to the *Prophets*, as the *Evangelists* were to the *Apostles*. The Prophets employ'd these to publish their Prophecies and Instructions to the People, where they could not go themselves; & perhaps explain'd the Law to them. Thus Dr. *Patrick*.[28]

Q. *Elijah's Mantle*? v. 8.
A. This *Mantle* is mentioned Five times in these Books; and still called, *Adareth*,[29] which signifies a *Royal* Robe, as well as a *Prophetical*. [Jon. III.6.] The LXX, in all the Five Places, translate it, μηλωτη,[30] which properly, signifies the *Mantle* to be made of *Lambs-skin*.

Q. *Elisha* prayes, that a *Double Portion* of the *Spirit* of *Elijah* might rest upon him. Give us an useful Descant, from one of the *Fathers* upon it? v. 9.
A. One of them thus descanteth upon it. A *Double Portion* of Grace, was necessary for *Elisha*, who was in favour at Court, & lived in Plenty and Honour; whereas *Elijah* lived in Poverty & Privacy; and it requires more Wisdome to manage Prosperity than Adversity.[31]

1308.

Q. When *Elisha* asked for a *Double Portion of the Spirit* in *Elijah*, how do you understand it? v. 9.
A. Not, *as much again*, of the *Spirit*, as *Elijah* had; it would have been too Improper, and Impudent a Thing, for *Elisha* to have asked *That*. But *Elisha*, desires to bee acknowledged, as an *Eldest Son*, among the Disciples of *Elijah*, to whom

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26 Underlined in different ink.
27 Underlined in different ink.
28 Patrick, *A Commentary* (337–38).
29 אַדֶּרֶת [addereth], "glory; cloak made of fur or fine material; prophet's garment."
30 "Melote"; *see*, for example, LXX on 2 Kings 2:8, in Walton, *Bible Sacra Polyglotta* (2:524).
31 Mather drew two small hearts in the left margin beside this statement.

there belonged a *Double Portion*. Thus, the same Word[32] used here for a Portion, occurrs in Deut. 21.17. where the *Right of Primogeniture* is determined.[33]

Q. *Behold a Chariot of Fire*? v. 11.
A. Angels appeared, in the Form of a bright *Chariot* and *Horses*, running towards them upon the Ground; These coming between them, separated them one from the other. For *Elijah* mounted the Chariot, and in a great Gust of Wind, governed by Angels, was Transported into Heaven.

The Pagans themselves, did not disbeleeve such things; as appears by the story of *Æganympha*, who was made Immortal by *Jupiter*, and of *Dryope* by the *Hamadryades*. And *Bacchus* assured *Cadmus*, that by the help of *Mars*, he should live forever in the Isles of the Blessed, whither they said *Mercury* snatched *Alcumena*. See *Huetius* in his *Quæstiones Alnetanæ*.[34]

Q. Why does *Elisha* now call *Elijah*, *The Chariots of Israel, & the Horsemen thereof*?[35] v. 12.
A. He alludes to what he sees. He compares *Elijah* to what the *Israelites* wanted in their Armies. But he was instead thereof by his *Counsils* and *Prayers*. Hereby they might have obtained great *Victories*, if they had been *Obedient*.[36]

[▽Insert from 296r] [▽296r]
Q. He said, *Where is the Lord God of Elijah*? v. 14.
A. Lett Him show His Presence with me, and His Power, as He did with *Elijah*.

But as Dr. *Patrick* notes, We do not exactly translate these Words; Two Words are left out; *Aph-hu*.[37] The LXX putt them into One Word, αφφω. The Sense whereof is unknown to us. The Chaldee, without any Reason, that we know of, translate it, *Receive my Petition*. The best Account, we have yett had, is in a Dissertation, *De Origine et Prosapiâ Eliæ*, written by *Joh. Frischmuthus*. He observes, That *Elisha* having asked this Quæstion; *Where is the Lord God of Elijah*: Answers himself in these Words, *Aph-hu*; That is, *Etiam ille adhuc super est*; yea, He is yett in Being. Thus *Abarbanel* expresses the Sense; *Tho' Elijah be*

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32 פִּי־שְׁנַיִם
33 Patrick, *A Commentary* (340–41), citing Paul Fagius, early 16th-century German Hebraist, *Thargum, hoc est, Paraphrasis Onkeli Chaldaica in sacra Biblia* (1546), on Deut. 21:17.
34 Patrick, *A Commentary* (341–42), citing Pierre-Daniel Huet, *Quæstiones Alnetanæ* (lib. II, cap. XII, no. XXX, pp. 230–32).
35 Underlined in different ink.
36 Patrick, *A Commentary* (342). Underlinings (rendered as italics) in the entry are in different ink.
37 הוּא ־ אַף

not here, yett his God is. The Servant is wanting, but not the LORD. The Blessed God is yett present with us.[38]

Q. The *Mantle* of *Elijah* employ'd by *Elisha* on this Occasion? v. 14.
A. Probably the *Mantle* was the same, that by the Skirt thereof cast upon him, *Elisha* had been drawn first of all to follow the Prophet. This *Mantle* the young Man loved ever since.

Q. The *Water* of *Jericho naught*, and *Ground Barren*? v. 19.
A. *Abarbanel* thinks, this Curse had been upon this Place, ever since the Time of *Joshua*.[39]

[▽298r] [▽Insert from 298r]
Q. On that Miracle of the *Healed Waters*, and the *Fruitful Soyl*? v. 22.
A. Lett me once for all, enter an *Advertisement*, that will offer you an *Illuminating Thought*, which very much of the Bible is to be readd withal: And the Occurrences of it, will be sett in a fair & sweet *Light* before you, by your so Reading of them.

Lett it be Remembred, That the *Miraculous* and *Extraordinary* Occurrences, Ever now & then mentioned in the Bible, are designed for Prælibations and Exhibitions of what shall be more notably & more commonly done, in the *New Heavens*, and the *New Earth*, and *World of Righteousness*, and *Land of Rectitude*, which *according to His Promise* we *look* for.

We have an Instance in what is now before us. The *Soyl* of the *New Earth*, after the *Fire* of GOD, Like the *Salt* of the Prophet here, has done its Part upon it, is what we have here a Præfiguration of. Lett us now read what *Josephus* writes of the *Soyl*, which had these *Healing Waters* to enrich it. He says; "This Fountain which before was the Cause of Famine & Sterility, was now the Cause of Plenty & Fertility. It so waters the Ground, that where a little of it comes, it does more Good than all other Waters that may ly long upon it. There are goodly Orchards and many Sorts of Palm-trees, growing by the Sides of the Brook; the fatter whereof being pressed, yield a Juice like Honey."

[298v] | He says afterward; "We may call that Part of the Earth, Divine, where whatsoever Fruit is most precious, is in most Abundance. In other Fruits, it surpasses all Countreys in the World. It multiplies all things, and increases them

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38 Patrick, *A Commentary* (342–43), citing Frischmuth, *De Eliae prophetae nomine et prosapia* ([6]), who cites Abravanel "in his commentary" (*see II Kings: A New English Translation* 248).
39 Patrick, *A Commentary* (344), citing Abarbanel (*see II Kings: A New English Translation* 250).

sooner than other Places. The Cause whereof I judge to be the *Pleasant Waters*, & the *warm nourishing Air* hereabouts."[40]

[▽Insert from 296v] [▽296v]

Q. The *Children* that *Mocked* the Prophet? v. 23.

A. The Word, *Naarim*,[41] signifies, *Grown Youth*, as well as *Little Children*. *Isaac* wore the Name, at Five or Eight & Twenty. [Gen. XXII.5, 12.] *Joseph*, at Thirty. [Gen. XLI.12.] *Rehoboam*, at Forty. [2. Chron. XIII.7.] Dr. *Patrick* understands it here, of Adult Persons, who had an Hatred of the Prophet.

If they were meer Children, we may suppose them Instigated by their Parents, or the Priests of *Baal*, to Jeer his Bald Head, and the Ascension of *Elijah*. *Hair* was alwayes accounted an Ornament; *Baldness* was Disgraceful. *Cæsar*, as *Bochart* observes, could not bear to be Jeer'd for his *Baldness*. He thought, the Senate never did him an higher Honour, than in Decreeing, that he should alwayes appear with a Wreath of Laurel on his Head. The *Going up* of *Elijah* was flouted by the Idolaters. They bad *Elisha* also to *Go up*, that they might not be Troubled with him. Thus the Author of the Quæstions and Answers, *Ad Orthodoxos*, understands these Words; as, προς διασυρμον Της Του Ηλια αναληψεως, *To Reproach the Assumption of Elias*.[42]

[return to 298r] [298r]

2167.

Q. *Justin Martyr* enquires the Reason, why the Prophet *Elisha* call'd for Vengeance, on the *Children* that mocked him, when they hardly understood what they did? v. 23, 24.

A. *Justin Martyr* answers, That the *Children* learned that Language from their *Parents*, and therefore God by this Judgment punished both the *Children* & the *Parents*. *Voces ipsas pueri à parentibus edocti, erant, quare puerorum clade parentes flagellarit. Illud enim*. Ascende, Calve, q.d. *Abripiat Te quoque Spiritus, ut itidem à Te liberemur*.[43]

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40 Josephus, *De Bello Judaico* (5.4). Mather seems to have been quoting, with slight alterations, from *The famous and memorable Workes of Iosephus,* transl. Thomas Lodge (1602), p. 688.

41 וּנְעָרִים

42 Patrick, *A Commentary* (345–46), citing Bochart; and Theodoret, *Quaestiones et Responsiones ad Orthodoxos*, Response LXXX (p. 86, line 19, in A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, ed. [1895], 1–150): πρὸς διασυρμὸν Τῆς Τοῦ Ηλία ἀναλήψεως.

43 "Just as in this manner the children had been taught by their parents, so he has flagellated the parents with the ruin of their children." Mather may have the quote by Justin Martyr second-hand from George Swinnock, *Christian Man's Calling* (1662), pt. II, ch. I, p. 416, n. 3 (see *The Works of George Swinnock* [1868], vol. I, p. 416).

And[44] *Munster* ha's this Note upon it; *Non maledixit eis, donec conversus eos vidisset, et in Spiritus cognovisset, quòd morte digni essent, non propter subsannationem illam, sed ob causam aliam occultam*.[45]

[▽296v] [▽Insert from 296v]

Q. The Two *She-bears*? v. 24.

A. The Contempt of *Elisha*, not as a *Man* meerly but as a *Prophet* of God, provoked the *Anger* of God. The *Two She-Bears*, it is likely, had been Robb'd of their *Whelps*; & so were the more fierce & outrageous in their falling on the Children.[46]

[△] [△Insert ends]

[297r] [return to 297r]

2849.

Q. What Remarkable is there in the Age when *Elijah* was Translated? v. 25.

A. There was a Character of the *Great Sabbatism* upon it. It was in the *Seventh Age* from *David*; in whom *Judah* received the Kingdome. You may see the Reckoning, 1. *David*, 2. *Solomon*. 3. *Rehoboam*. 4. *Abiam*. 5. *Asa*. 6. *Jehoshaphat*. 7. *Jehoram*.

Compare *Elijah* the Seventh from *David*, with *Enoch*, the Seventh from *Adam*.

~~671.~~

Q. Is there in Pagan Antiquitie, any further Tradition of *Elijah*s going up to Heaven, in a *Fiery Chariot, with Horses*? v. 25.

A. I cannot say, That there is any. Nevertheless, you shall see what *Chrysostom*, and *Venerable Bede*, have said. They have intimated unto us, That the Greeks mistook Ἡλιου or Ἡλιας, for Ἡλιος:[47] and so applyed this Matter unto the *Sun*, & its Course thro' the Heavens. By the *Fiery Horses & Chariots*, they understood those of the *Sun*; which things they fancied.

It is a Wonder that the Chaldean Astronomers, who have left the Records of several *Eclipses*, that happened about *Hezekiah*s Time, have said nothing

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44 MS: "&." Ink changes from black to brown.

45 "He had not spoken ill of them, until he had seen them converted, and in his spirit he had discerned that they deserved death, not because of that healing but because of another, unknown reason." Münster, *Hebraica Biblia*, in loc. (339).

46 Patrick, *A Commentary* (346).

47 "Elihu or Elias for Helios." *Hlion* and *Hlios* mean "sun" or "sun god," while *Hlias* is the Greek equivalent of Elijah. John Chrysostom, late 4th-century CE theologian and archbishop of Constantinople, perhaps his *In principium Actorum (homiliae 1–4)*, [PG 51.87, line 5]; and Venerable Bede, *Quaestiones Super Regum Libros* (lib. V, cap. VIII [PL 93.447.48]).

about the prodigious Retrocession of | the *Sun*, which then happened; it seems [297v]
to have been suppressed by them, out of Malice to the Jewish Nation, and Monarch, whom the Lord Honoured with that *Miracle*. However, the Poets may seem to refer to it, in the Stopping of the *Sun*, at the Birth of *Hercules*. And there seems to have been a Remembrance of it, in the Rites performed by the *Persian* Priests to *Mithra*; and on their Celebration of a Tripple *Sun*, Going forward, Returning back, and again Going forward.

But there were many other things occurring in the Dayes of the Kings of *Israel*, which are attested by the *Profane* Historians of those Ages, as well as by the *Sacred*.

The Letters between King *Solomon* & King *Hiram*, were, in *Josephus* his Time, to bee seen, in the *Tyrian* Annals. *Menander* and *Dius*, also do particularly mention this Correspondence.[48]

The great Famine in *Elias*'s Time, & the actions of *Salmanasser*, are by *Menander* spoken of.[49]

Herodotus writes about *Sennacherib*, the King of *Assyria*, & his Discomfiture.[50]

And *Nebuchadnezzar*, is mentioned by *Berosus*, by *Megasthenes*, by *Diocles*, and by *Philostratus*.[51]

~~759.~~

Q. Here meeting *Elijah* and *Elisha*, can you not consider both of them, as *Types* of the Lord Jesus Christ? v. 25.[52]

A. It is intimated in Luc. 4.25, 27, That they were so. Accordingly, first for

ELIJAH.

Hee was indeed a Type of *John Baptist*; the *Spirit* and *Power*; yea, the very *Carriage* & *Clothing* of *Elijah*, was in *John*. But hee was also a Type of our Lord Jesus Christ: [as well as of an *Elijah*, which may bee yett to come.] *Elijah* was one who stood by God, and spoke for God, when almost all the World forsook Him. [1. King. 19.10.] Much more, did our Lord Jesus Christ appear for God, when all the People were Degenerate & Impænitent.

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48 Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* (8.2.7–8), on the correspondence of Solomon and Hiram; and (8.5.3), quoting, on Hiram and Solomon and the building of the temple, the ancient Greek dramatist Menander and Dius, i.e., Cassius Dio, late 2nd/early 3rd-century CE Roman consul and historian and author of *Historia Romana*.

49 Menander, "in his account of the acts of Ethbaal, king of the Tyrians," as cited in Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* (8.13.2, 4).

50 Herodotus, *Historiae* (2.141).

51 Berossus, *Babyloniaca*, cited in Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica* (lib. IX); Megasthenes, 4th-century BCE Greek ethnographer and author of *Indica*; Diocles, late 4th/early 3rd-century BCE Greek historian of Persia and Rome; and late 2nd/early 3rd-century CE Greek sophist Philostratus.

52 For this entry, Mather draws on his uncle Samuel Mather's *The Figures or Types of the Old Testament* (1705), pp. 109–14.

Elijah was a Man *mighty in Prayer*. Hee could Even, *Shutt & Open Heaven*, with his *Prayers*. [Jam. 5.17, 18.] Hence, by some, hee ha's been called, *Frænum Cœli*; How? Hee *Prayed Fervently*. Well, wee find this very Character in the *Prayers* of our Lord Jesus Christ; *Strong Cries*. [Heb. 5.7.] And they were very successful too [Joh. 11.41, 42.] The Doors of Heaven itself *Open* and *Shutt*, according to His Intercession.

When *Elijah* went out of the World, hee commission'd *Elisha*, and *Jehu*, and others, to carry on, what hee had begun. And so has our Lord Jesus Christ. Hee is gone to the unseen Regions, where *Elijah* is; but Hee has left His Ministers, His Officers, with a Commission. [Math. 28.19, 20.] And as *Elijah* commission'd both Good and Bad, *Elisha* a Good Man, and *Jehu* a Bad Man; Thus, there is a *Judas* as well as a *Peter*, among those that are commissioned of our Lord.

Finally, The Miracles of *Elijah*, were gloriously *Repeted*, yea, and *Exceeded*, in the Miracles of the Lord Jesus Christ. There were Twelve of them. *Elijah* Raised the Son of a Widow from Death; so did our Saviour. *Elijah* caused that the Meal of the Good Woman wasted not; so did our Saviour once & again multiply Loaves. *Elijah* Fasted Forty Dayes. Our Saviour did the same. The *Ravens* brought meat unto *Elijah* ready dressed, I suppose, from some Rich Mans Kitchen. The *Fishes* brought Money unto our Saviour, when hee had Occasion for it. *Elijah* look'd on *Elisha*, and hee follow'd him. Our Saviour spoke to *Matthew*, & hee follow'd Him. Both *Elijah* and our Saviour Ascended Bodily into the Seat of the Blessed. *Elijah* brought *Fire* from Heaven, upon those that hee was justly provoked at. Indeed our Saviour would not call for *Fire* from Heaven upon those who Abused Him, while Hee was Incarnate here; But the Day is at Hand, when Hee will appear in *Flaming Fire*, to take Vengeance on them that *obey not His gospel*.

Lett us now pass on to

ELISHA:

Who came after *Elijah*, as our Lord after *John Baptist*.

Elisha had in his Family, a *Covetous* and a *Treacherous* Person; but unto this *Gehazi*, a sad Leprosy cleaved afterwards. Thus, in the Family of our Lord, there was a *Judas*.

The Children of the Idolatrous People, in the Neighbourhood, came & Jeered *Elisha* for his *Bald Head*, & flouted & mocked at him, for the Report of *Elijah*s going up to Glory. As a Prophet, under the Impulse of Heaven, hee cursed them, & the *Bears* of the Wood immediately devoured some Scores among them. This will bee the Doom of them that are Scoffers at the Lord Jesus Christ. [Act. 13.41.] *Divels* will, as *Bears*, devour.

The *Miracles* of the Lord Jesus Christ, were *Like* to, but more *than*, the *Miracles* of *Elisha*. There are Twenty One *Miracles* recorded of *Elisha*; but those of our Lord Jesus Christ, exceeded. It is our Lord Jesus Christ, who Heals the

Bitter Waters of our *Jericho*, our Affliction, and makes them wholesome for us. It is Hee, who affords unto us, the *Oyl* of *Grace* and *Joy*, as long as wee have any *Vessels* to Receive it. It is Hee, who gives *Life* to the Dead, *Food* to the Hungry, *Health* to the Poison'd, & *Children* to the Barren. It is Hee who has Myriads of *Angels*, at His Dispose, & for His Defence. It is Hee, who discovers the most *Secret Counsels* of His Enemies, and who causes fearful *Blindness*, & dismal *Terror*, to sieze upon them. It is Hee, who by Influences in and from His *Grave*, does enliven the Dead Souls of Men. Oh! May His *Miracles*, bee celebrated in our *Admirations*!

| [299r][53]

Q. Before we dismiss this Chapter, lett us look back, and again take up, *Elijahs Mantle*? v. 25.

A. One Mr. *Williams Watts*, as long since as the Year, 1637, has a few Remarks upon it in a Discourse entituled, *Mortification Apostolical*.

The fashion of the Ancient Times, was to wear, not *Shoes*, but *Sandals*, and but *One Coat*. This *Coat* was like a *Surplice*; which they wore, not upon the *Bare* {skin}, but over a *Shirt*. *Cassian* tells us, That in colder Countreys they wore *Two* of those.[54] But this was look'd on as a Favour. There was also a *Mantle*, in the Garb of our Apostles, who flung one Lappet of it under the *Rig*{*h*}*t Arm*; and back again over the *Left Shoulder*, & so the *Right Arm* was left Bare. *Salmasius* tells us, That this was also the Habit of the *Cynic* Philosophers.[55] But the Apostles, in being forbidden a *Scrip*, were more meanly accommodated than they. The Stuff of the *Mantle*, was Coarse and Rough. The *Baptist*s was of *Camels Hair*; a Shaggy Thing. Compare, Zech. XIII.4.

It was from the *Roughness* of the *Habit*, and not from an *Esau-ness* of *Skin*, that *Elijah* was called, *An Hairy Man*, & known to be a Prophet by it.

The Covering for their *Head* and *Neck* was a *Sheep-skin*, or a *Goat-skin,* with the *Fell* on it. Of this we read, Heb. XI.37.

And this is that, which Master *Watts* will have to be what our Translation calls, *The Mantle* of *Elijah*.[56] It was indeed his *Hood*. It was this *Hood* which he threw upon *Elisha*, and which he drop'd for *Elisha* at his Ascension. He is not alone in his Opinion.

Clemens Alexandrinus; [Pædog. L. 2. c. 10.] expressly calls it, *A Sheep-skin*. Μελωτη δε ἐχρῆτο Ηλιας ενδυματὶ. *Elias came in an Hood of Sheepskin*.[57] *Chrysos-*

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53 A quarto-sized leaf, stitched in.

54 Cassian, late 4th/early 5th-century CE Christian theologian and mystic, *Institutiones* (1.10).

55 Claudius Salmasius' edition of Tertullian, *Liber de Pallio* (1656), with Salmasius' notes.

56 William Watts (c. 1590–1642), Church of England divine, *Mortification apostolicall* (1637), p. 42.

57 Μηλωτῆ δὲ ἐχρῆτο Ἠλίας ἐνδύματι. Clemens Alexandrinus, *Paedogogus* (2.10.112.3). See

tom, [in 2. Act. Hom. 4.] expressly saies, Ελισσαιος δε δια μελωτης λαμβανει Την χαριν. *Elisha received Grace by a Sheep-skin*.[58] *Jerom* [Epist. 28.] saies, *Meloten reliquis in terris*.[59]

Cassian saies, That *Melota* became the customary and canonical Habit of the *Primitive Mortifiers* in *Egypt*.[60] The Reason given, was that; Heb. XI.37. *They wandred up & down in Sheep-skins*. The Wearing the Skin of a *Dead* Creature, putt them in Mind of being *Dead unto the World*.

An Imitation of it, anon became a Badge of Distinction, & of Magnificence. Hence the *Hoods* worn by Graduates, in the Schools. Ancient and Modern Universities, agree to determine this Sense of *Elijah*s Mantle.[61]

The Word, Μηλωτη,[62] most properly signifies a *Sheepskin*; for Μηλον is, *A Sheep*. However, as *De La Cerda* observes, the Term was applied unto others, & unto a *Goat-skin* in particular. Yea, and a *Camel*s also. *Sozomen* calls this *Melota*, a διφθερα.[63] It is very certain, the Ancients took *Elijah*s Mantle to be a *Melota*.

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Q. Something observable if you please, concerning the *Forty Two Children*, slain by the *Two Bears,* for their *Scoffing* of the Prophet? v. 25.[64]

A. They were Children of *Bethel*, who expressed their Malignity against the Prophet. At *Bethel*, stood one of *Jeroboams Calves*, to which the Town was, no doubt, more than ordinarily Devoted. The People seeing the Approach of a Prophet, whose Practice & Office it was, to Thunder against their *Calf*, probably stirr'd up their Children to affront him. To be called, *A Bald Head*, was an Affront of old, not easily born. *Cæsar* in *Suetonius*, could not bear it, and used all wayes to shun it.[65] *Ovid* saies,

Turpe pecus mutilum, turpis sine gramine campus,
Et sine fronde frutex, et sine crine caput.[66]

Clément d'Alexandrie, Le pedagogue, ed. M. Harl et al., 3 vols. [*Sources chrétiennes* 70, 108, 158] (1960–70).

58 Ἐλισσαῖος δὲ διὰ μηλωτῆς λαμβάνει Τὴν χάριν. Chrysostom, Homily IV on Acts 2:1–2, *In Acta aplostolorum (homiliae I–55)* [PL 60.44, line 37].

59 "'Meloten' in other countries." For Jerome, Watts cites "Ep. 28," i.e., Epistle 71.3 (to Lucinius) in modern editions (*NPNFii* 6:153).

60 Cassian, *Institutiones* (1.7).

61 Watts, *Mortification apostolicall* (42–43).

62 "Melote."

63 Juan Luis de la Cerda (1558–1643) Spanish Jesuit classicist, co-editor of *Q. Septimii Florentis Tertulliana presbyteri Carthaginiensis Opera Omnia* (1701); Salminius Sozomen, 5th-century CE Christian historian, author of *Historia Ecclesiastica*. διφθερα: "diphthera."

64 *See* previous entries on vv. 23–24, regarding the she-bears, above, p. 552–53.

65 Suetonius, *De Vita Caesarum* 1.45.

66 "A mutilated animal, a barren field, a leafless tree are hideous things to see: a bald head is not less so."

And *Petronius*;

Quod Summum formæ decus est, cecidere[67] *capilli*,
Vernantesque comas tristis abegit Hyems.[68]

And *Pollux,* ᾽Ακομους Τηὴν κεφαληὴν ἀκοσμους.[69] And *Thersites* is by *Homer* exposed under this Character. *Ambrose,* in *Hexameron*: ha's this Passage; *Quam speciosa Cæsaries? quàm reverenda in Senibus? quàm; veneranda in Sacerdotibus? quàm terribilis in Bellatoribus? quàm decora in Adolescentibus? quâm Compta in Mulieribus? quàm Dulcis in pueris?* And again; *Tolle, Arbori comam tota arbor ingrata est*. *Quantò igitur major humani capitis ornatus est*?[70] When *Synesius* praised *Baldness*, it was like other Witty Men, who have taken Uncouth Subjects to Try their Witts. *Hubaldus* the Monk, addressed, *Carolus Calvus* with a Poem, of Three Hundred Verses, *In Laudem Calvorum*; and every Word of the Poem, did begin with the Letter C.[71] But you see the Disposition of the *Bethelites*.

The Revenge which the Prophet pronounced upon them, was, not for *Personal Injuries* offered unto himself, but because they intended *Injuries* unto the Blessed God Himself. [Compare Exod. 16.8. and, Act. 5.4. and, 1. Sam. 8.7. and Luk. 10.16.] The Spirit of God in the Prophet, saw, The Wretches mocked not the Prophet, but the God of the Prophet.

The Jewes, quoted by *Kimchi*, are mistaken, when they make it a *Miracle* for any *Bears* to be thereabouts. The *Bears* probably Came out of that very *Wood*, where the old Prophet of *Bethel* found the *Man of God*, whom the *Lion* slew, not far from hence (1. King. 13.14.).[72]

But then, the Fathers find an agreeable Mystery in this History. As the *Bethelite* Children cried unto the Prophet, *Ascende, Calve*:[73] The Jewes did the

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67 Mather copies from Bochart, who renders this word *periere*.

68 "Gone are those locks that to thy beauty lent such lustrous charm / And blighted are the locks of Spring by bitter Winter's sway."

69 "Beauty is fallen! thy hair's soft vernal grace / To wintry baldness gives untimely place."

70 "How gentle and pleasing is the sight of the top of the head? how attractive are its locks of hair? an object of regard for our elders? of reverence for our priests? For warriors, how fear-inspiring, for the young, how pleasing can these locks be, whether arranged becomingly as in the case of women or with the soft sheen of youth? … Take away the tree's leafy locks and the tree is wholly devoid of beauty. How precious, therefore, is this adornment for the human head!" For Mather's deletion, *see* App. A.

71 Bochart, *Hierozoicon* (pars prior, lib. III, cap. IX, col. 819), citing Homer, *Iliad* β; Ovid, *Ars Amatoria* (3.249–50); Petronius, 1st-century CE Roman courtier, *Satyricon* (109; see *Petronii Sarirae et Liber Priapeorum* [1882], p. 76); Pollux, *Onomasticon* (2.3); Ambrose, 4th-century CE bishop of Milan, *Hexameron* (6.9); Synesius of Cyrene (c. 372–c. 414 CE); and Hubaldus de Pisa, late 9th/early 10th century Benedictine monk and poet whose works included a poem of 300 verses to King Charles the Bald.

72 Bochart, *Hierozoicon* (pars prior, lib. III, cap. IX, cols. 819–20), citing Kimhi (*see II Kings: A New English Translation* 251) from *Sotah*: "This too was a double miracle. At this site, there was no forest, nor were there bears. Suddenly, a forest sprung up, and two bears emerged from it."

73 "Go up, bald head."

like, to our Lord, when they crucified Him on Mount *Calvary*. And as there came *Two Bears* on the *Bethelite* Children, *Titus* and *Vespasian*, who devoured the wicked Jewes, were the Anti-type of those *Bears*. And the Number, *Forty two*, signalled on this Occasion, was the exact Number of the Years, from the Death of our Saviour, wherein Destruction came upon that miserable People. *Jerom* on *Zephaniah*, and the Authors of the *Mirabilia Scripturæ*, & of the Sermons *De Tempore* in *Austin*s Works, entertain us with these Reflections.[74]

74 Bochart, *Hierozoicon* (pars prior, lib. III, cap. IX, col. 820), citing Jerome, *Sophoniam* (lib. V), and commentary on Ps. 45 and 84; and Augustinus Hibernicus, *Mirabilium Scriptura* (lib. II, cap. XXIII, and Sermon 204, "*De tempore* sub *Augustini* nomine").

Q. The *King of Moab*, a *Sheepmaster*? v. 4.
A. The Ancient Riches, not only of Private Men, but of Kings, consisted very much in *Cattle*. These they look'd after themselves. And as *Bochart* observes, Their Sons kept their *Sheep*. Thus the greatest Part of the World lived, for near Four Thousand Years. This did not alwayes hinder their being a brave and warlike People. So it appears by the ancient *Romans*, who were thus bred, and yett made themselves the Masters of the World. Such a Sort of Life indeed hardened them, help'd them to Robust Bodies, inured them to Labour, & accustomed them to a severe Discipline.

Cato the *Censor* who passed thro' all the great Offices of the Republic of *Rome*, had governed Provinces, had commanded Armies, was a great Orator, Lawyer, and Politician. Yett he wrote a Treatise, concerning all the Wayes that are necessary for the Improving of *Lands*, and how *Stables* and *Houses* were to be built, for the several Sorts of *Cattle*, & how *Presses* were to be made for *Wine*, & *Oyl*, and a thousand other things. Any one might see, he was perfectly acquainted with Commerce-business, & wrote not for Ostentation, but for the Service of Mankind.[76]

Q. His Tribute, an *hundred thousand Lambs*, and an *hundred thousand Rams, with the Wool*? v. 4.
A. A prodigious Number! And being unshorn, they were but more valuable. But these Countreyes abounded with *Sheep*. *Solomon* offered an hundred & twenty thousand at the Dedication of the Temple. The *Reubenites* drove an hundred & fifty thousand from the *Hagarens*.[77] *Bochart* notes, they frequently brought Forth *Two at a Time*, as also *Twice in a Year*. There is a Place in *Pliny*, that showes, that of old, this was the *Principal Tribute*. All Rents were called, *Pastures*, he saies, *Quià diu hoc solum vectigal fuerat*.[78]

There are two things observed by *Ludolphus*, for the Illustration of this History. First, That this was not an *Animal Tribute*, but Satisfaction for the Damages, which the *Israelites* had sustained in the War with them, or by their Revolt from them; as the LXX understand it. And then, That the Word, *Ajil*,[79]

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75 A quarto-sized leaf, stitched in.
76 Patrick, *A Commentary* (348–49), citing Bochart, *Hierozoicon* (pars prior, lib. II, cap. XLIV, cols. 439–68).
77 Patrick, *A Commentary* (349); see 2 Chron. 7:5, 1 Chron. 5:7.
78 "For a long time this had been the only source of revenue."
79 אַיִל [ayil], "ram, pillar, strong man, mighty tree."

should not be translated, a *Ram*, but, a *Weather*; for the *Ram*, will serve a great many *Sheep*.[80]

Q. How comes *Jehoshaphat* so readily, to join with *Jehoram*; when he had been so unsuccessful in his Conjunction with his Father Ahab, and he seemed afraid of having to do, with his elder Brother *Ahaziah*? v. 7.
A. *Jehoram* had Reformed some things. This might make *Jehoshaphat* have a better Opinion of him, and he might hope that by Kindness to him, he might perswade him to proceed further in his Reformations. Besides, the *Moabites* had lately Invaded his Countrey; [2. Chron. XX.1, 10.] Which might move him, to embrace an Opportunity, to chastise them for it.[81]

Q. *Jehoram* enquires, *Which Way shall we go up*? *Jehoshaphat* answers, *The Way thro' the Wilderness of Edom*? v. 8.
A. This he chose, because he would have the Assistence of the *Edomites*, who were his Tributaries. And it is probable, *Moab* was but weakly fortified on that Side.[82]

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Q. The Kings *went down* to the Prophet. Whither? v. 12.
A. It is not Said, Whither.
But it is observable, what Honour they paid unto the Prophet. They did not send for him, but go to him. It is also observable, How Desirous the Prophet was, to *Do good*. The Story last left him at *Samaria*. But it is plain, he followed the Camp into the Wilderness. He was now at hand.[83]

Q. How are we to understand that Passage; *Then he took his eldest Son, and offered him for a Burnt-offering upon the Wall*? Whose Son is intended? v. 27.
A. I will first give you *Munster*s Interpretation of the Matter.[84]
The King of *Moab*, in his Distress, makes a Salley out of the City. He would have come at the King of *Edom* in this Action, but he could not. However, he siez'd upon the King of *Edom*'s eldest Son, & made a Burnt-offering of his Princely Captive on the Walls of the City. The King of *Edom*, in his Indignation at this horrible Outrage upon him, forsook the Two Kings, in Conjunction with

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80 Patrick, *A Commentary* (349), citing Bochart, *Hierozoicon* (pars prior, lib. II, cap. XLVI, cols. 510–28), who in turn cites Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* (18.3); and Hiob Ludolf (1624–1704), German orientalist, *Historia Aethiopica* (1681), lib. I, cap. III, no. 30. For the LXX reading, *see* Walton, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (2:526).
81 Patrick, *A Commentary* (350).
82 Patrick, *A Commentary* (350–51).
83 Patrick, *A Commentary* (351–52).
84 Münster, *Hebraica Biblia*, in loc. (341).

whom, he had hitherto been acting. *Non igitur proprium Sacrificavit Filium, ut nostri communiter dicunt.*[85]

But, as *Munster* observes, others tell us, That the Son of the King of *Edom* had been for some time detained by the King of *Moab*; and that the Reason of the King of *Edom*s now joining himself with the Kings of *Judah* and *Israel*, was, to deliver the Prince out of the Hands of the *Moabites*.

Non placet.[86]

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Q. That famous Passage; *Then he took his eldest Son, & offered him for a Burnt-Offering on the Wall*: It may need a little further Illustration, and it may lead us to the Consideration of the *Humane Victims* offered in the former Ages? v. 27.

A. There is one *John Smith*, who ha's written a large Treatise, which he calls, *Christian Religions Appeal*. In this Treatise there are some Collections made by that Author, on this great Subject; which I will now employ for the Cultivation of it.

The Oracles of the *Sibylline Books*, quoted by *Lactantius*; repræsent the Saviour of Men, as one that must be, *miserable*, & *contemptible*.

οικτρος, ἀτιμος, αμορφος, ιν οικτροις ελπιδα δωσει.

He shall become miserable, Contemptible, without Form, that He may afford Hope & Help to miserable men.[87]

The Writings of the Philosophers, are but Repositories of the same Doctrine: *Plato* affirms, that it was the Opinion of those Barbarians, from whom he learn'd his Philosophy, as also of the *Brachmans*, *Odrysenans, Getes, Egyptians, Arabians*, *Chaldæans* and all that inhabit *Palæstine*. That those blessed Souls, who leave their Supercælestial Place, & vouchsafe to assume *Humane Bodies* for the Releef of Mankind, in order unto it, they do undergo all the Miseries of this Life.[88] *Isocrates* gives his Vote this Way, in the Name of the greatest Part of the World, and saies, in his *Evagoras*; Των γαρ μεν ημιθεων κλ.[89] *That the most of those, who were esteemed SEMIDEI*, (Half-Gods, Half-Men,) *and those the most famous, were reported to have undergone the greatest Calamities; and that in Pursuit of Atchievments, which were more full of Danger to themselves, than of immediate Profit unto others*. He instances in *Hercules*, whose Dangerous Labours, do seem undertaken as *Propitiations*, to appease the Deity, incensed

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85 "So it is not proper to sacrifice the son, as we commonly say."

86 "It pleases not" – Mather's later judgment on Münster's observation.

87 οἰκτρὸς, ἄτιμος, ἄμορφος, ἵν' οἰκτροῖς ἐλπίδα δώσει. Lactantius quotes from the *Oracula* Sibyllina (8.257); see also Lactantius, *De Vera Sapiente et Religione* (4.16), cited in John Smith (fl. 1675–1711), English rector, *Christian Religion's Appeal from the groundless Prejudices of the Sceptick to the Bar of common Reason* (1675), p. 64.

88 Smith, *Christian Religion's Appeal* (33–34), citing Plato, *Phaedrus*.

89 Τῶν γαρ μὲν ἡμιθέων κλ; Mather translates the Greek. Isocrates, *Evagoras* (9.70, line 5), though *see* next notes for Smith's references.

not for his own Sins, but for the Sins of his Countrey.[90] *Celsus* instances in a Number of *Hero*'s, whom the Nations reputed *Gods*, and whom he compares with our Blessed *Jesus*, for undergoing painful Deaths, whereof their several Countreyes had the Benefit.[91] Whereas other *Hero*'s who did vast Services for their Countreyes, were not so *Deified*. It is evident, That the World, in canonizing *Saviours*, considered not so much the *Present Beneficialness* of the Exploits which Men performed for them, as their *Expiatory Painfulness* to those who performed them. The Sense of the World was, That he who would Redeem the World, must, while he abode here, undergo all Sorts of Miseries; be a *Man of Sorrows and acquainted with Griefs*. Nor did meer *Death* procure a *Deification* for *Curtius*, or *Codrus*, or *Themistocles,* or the *Decii*, or the *Philæni*; because their *Sufferings* were but short; whereas, the *Saviour* must be *acquainted with Griefs*, and all His Life be miserable.[92]

This Doctrine the World wrote in the *Blood* of their *Sacrifices*: the *Blood*, which was universally accounted *Expiatory*, at the first, only in reference to that which was to flow from the *Bruised Heel* of the *Seed of the Woman*. *Hujus oblationis Doctrinam Sacrificia continebant antiqua*, said *Cyprian* of old.[93] In Process of Time, the *Jewes*, & earlier than they, the *Gentiles*, grew vain, & misconceived the *Blood of Bulls and of Goats* to be in themselves *Expiations* for Sin, without relation to the *Antitype*; yett, as God hath beaten the *Jew* from that Conceit, ever since He demolished their Temple; so the *Gentile* argued himself out of it by Degrees; in so much, that in those Parts of the World that have continued *Pagan* to our Dayes, we cannot retrieve the Time (tis so long since) when any *Blood* was offered as *Propitiatory*, but *Humane Blood*.[94]

Having thus far Illustrated that great Article of our Sacred Scriptures, *A Sacrificed Messiah*; we will proceed with our Author to these Considerations.

First; It hath been the universal *Custome* of the *Pagan World*, to attempt the Appeasing of the *Divine Wrath*, with *Humane Sacrifices*. *Clemens* of *Alexandria* instances in the *Messenians*, among whom *Aristomenes,* made a Sacrifice of Three Hundred Men to appease the Gods; The *Lacedemonians*, among whom *Theopompus* did the like; The People of the *Taurican Chersonesus*, who sacrificed all the Strangers they could lay hands upon; The *Thessalians* who sacrified an *Achæan*; The *Cretensians*, among whom the *Lycians* did sacrifice *Men* to *Jupiter*;
[301v] The *Lesbians*, who pacified *Bacchus*, with Humane Sacrifices; The | *Phocensians*, who sacrificed Men unto *Diana Taurica*; The *Athenians*, among whom *Eric-*

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90 Isocrates, late 5th/early 4th-century BCE Greek orator, *Helenae laudatio*; and he "instances" Hercules in *Oratio ad Philippum*, as both cited in Smith, *Christian religion's appeal* (65).

91 Celsus in Origen, *Contra Celsus* (3.9).

92 Smith, *Christian Religion's Appeal* (65–66).

93 "The doctrine of the offering of sacrifices being old." Cyprian, 3rd-century CE bishop of Carthage, *De Ratione Circumcisionis*, as cited in Smith, *Christian Religion's Appeal* (66).

94 Smith, *Christian Religion's Appeal* (66–67), citing Cyprian, *De Ratione Circumcisionis*.

thonius, to pacify *Proserphone*, sacrificed his own Daughter: And the *Romans*, among whom (as *Dorotheus* relates) *Marius* made his Daughter a Sacrifice *Dijs Averruncanis*.[95]

Lactantius proves, That it was the Custome in *Italy*, to præcipitate Men from the *Milvian* Bridge, for appeasing the Wrath of *Saturn*. These were the, *quotannis Tristia Leucadio Sacra peracta Deo*; And to Sacrifice unto the same God, their *own Children* also.[96] Thus Apostate *Judah* queries, Mic. 6.7. *Shall I give my First-born for my Transgression? The Fruit of my Body, for the Sin of my Soul*? The Spirit returns this Answer; *He hath shewed thee, O Man, what is Good*; He has told thee of the *Good One*, the Messiah. *And what the Lord requires of thee, is, To Do Justice, and Love Mercy*; Neither of which is expressed in this Barbarous Inhumanity to thy own Bowels: *And to Humble thyself to walk with thy God*: Not to outrun God, in thy Hastening to bring forth a Saviour, before the Fulness of Time arrives.[97]

The same *Lactantius* relates out of *Poscennius Festus*, the Story of the *Carthaginians*, who sacrificed no less than Two Hundred of the Sons of their Noblemen, to appease the Gods, when the *Sicilians* overcame them. He reports, how the Priests of *Bellona*, did lance and cutt, and slash their own Shoulders, with Swords which they carried in their Hands, and ran like Franticks about their Altars; The same Oratory that was used by the Priests of *Baal*, in *Elijah*s Time. *Herodotus* tells, How at the Feast of Isis, the whole Company lash'd themselves till the Blood came; and in *Papremis*, their Way was to wound one another, to shed the Blood of one another.[98]

Dion informs us, That *Julius Cæsar* sacrificed a Couple of Men to *Mars*. *Pliny* informs us, That the *Moors* Sacrificed Men to *Hercules*; Others say, to *Saturn*. *Tacitus* informs us, That the *Germans* appeased *Mercury* with Humane Sacrifices; That the *Semnons* (or *Suevians*) begun their Solemnities, with *Cæso Publicè Homine*, sacrificing a Man for the Common Good; That others in the Service they performed unto the *Mother* of the Gods (whom they called, *Hertham*, that is, *The Earth*,) Drowned those that officiated in the Procession.[99]

The same Historian tells us, That *Suetonius Paulinus*, at the taking of the *Isle of Man*, found the Groves, where they sacrificed their Captives on their Altars.[100]

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95 Smith, *Christian Religion's Appeal* (67), citing Clemens Alexandrinus, *Protrepticus* (3.42.7, line 4); Dorotheus of Tyre, in his *History of Italy* (lib. IV), mentions Marius who sacrificed his daughter. Smith translates *Diis Averruncanis* as "The Gods that expel mischief." See C. Mondésert, *Clément d'Alexandrie. Le Protreptique* (1949), pp. 52–193.

96 "The yearly sacred sacrifices performed to god by the sad Leucadians."

97 Smith, *Christian Religion's Appeal* (67–68), citing Lactantius, *De Falsa Religione* (1.21).

98 Smith, *Christian Religion's Appeal* (68), citing Herodotus, *Historiae* (Euterpe) 2.59, 61, 63.

99 Smith, *Christian Religion's Appeal* (68), citing Cassius Dio Cocceianus, *Historia Romana* (43.24); Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* (36.4).

100 Smith, *Christian Religion's Appeal* (68), citing Tacitus, *De Moribus Germanorum*.

Dictys Cretensis tells us, How *Agamemnon* sacrificed his Daughter *Iphigenia*, to appease the Displeasure of *Diana*. *Euryphylus* in *Virgil*, on this Ground perswades the *Grecians*, to appease the angry Deity, with the Blood of *Polixena*.[101]

Sanguine placastis Ventos, et Virgine Cæsâ.[102]

Herodotus relates, How the *Getes*, the most moralized of all the *Scythians*, every Year sacrificed a Man, unto their God, *Zamolxis*. The *Messagetes* did so, by all their old Men. All the *Scythians* also sacrificed unto *Mars*, the Hundredth Man of all their Captives.[103]

Plutarch tells us, The Custome reached far Westward; where they sacrificed their own Children, to *Saturn*, if they had them; if not, they bought and brought the Children of other Men; as we do Lambs, or Chickens. The Mothers were to look on, and if they show'd any Sign of Sorrow, t'was very opprobrious. Even to *Hercules*'s Pillars, it prevailed, (as *Timærus* tells us,) for the People to sacrifice their Kinsfolk, if they reached unto the *Seventieth Year* of their Age.[104]

Strabo tells us, That in *Albania*, a Countrey near the *Caspian* Sea, they sacrificed their Servants, after they had well-feasted them.[105]

What needs any further Collection. Go to *Natalis Comes*. Upon my Authors Advice, I Consulted him. I find in his *First* Book, and *Eighteenth* Chapter, a Bloody, and horrid Collection, of Histories, concerning *Humane Sacrifices*.[106]

Long before him, *Tertullian* upbraided the *Pagans* with it, [*A vobis ostendam fieri, partim in aperto, partim in occulto, per quod forsitan et de nobis credidistis*:] That what they falsely charged the *Christians* withal, of *sacrificing a Child & mingling the Blood of it with Corn of Bread*, (a Calumny raised on the Occasion of the *Eucharist*,) was really done among the *Pagans*. The Pagans openly did Immolate their Children to *Saturn*, until *Tiberius* the Proconsul of *Africa*, crucified the Priests who did it, & then still did it secretly, notwithstanding the Imperial Edicts against it.[107]

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101 *Dictys Cretensis Ephemeridos belli Trojani* (1.19–23).

102 "'By flowing blood and a virgin slain.'"

103 Smith, *Christian Religion's Appeal* (68), citing Virgil, *Aenied* (2.116); and Herodotus, *Historiae* (Melpomene) 4.94.

104 Smith, *Christian Religion's Appeal* (69), citing Plutarch, *De Superstitione* (2.13)*;* Timaeus of Locri, late 4th/early 3th-century BCE Greek historian, author of *Historiis* (Smith cites Timaeus on "*rebus Deliacis,"* i.e., "things Delian").

105 Smith, *Christian Religion's Appeal* (69), citing Strabo, *Geographia* (11.4.7).

106 Natalis Comes (Natale Conti), 16th-century Italian humanist and historian, *Mythologiae* (1602), lib. I, cap. XVIII, pp. 61–71. Smith's commendation of Comes (*Christian Religion's Appeal* 69), from whose work Smith actually drew virtually all of the references he cites, reads: "I would not let this part of my Discourse pass without the honourable mention of his Name, who hath taken such *Herculean* pains upon this Subject: to whose Labours I refer my Reader for fuller satisfaction, if he require any."

107 Smith, *Christian Religion's Appeal* (69), citing Comes, *Mythologiae* (lib. I, cap. XVII, "de victimis," pp. 58–61); Tertullian, *Apologia* (8), where, ridiculing the preposterous rumors about infanticide and cannibalism in early Christian worship, he writes, "And then I ask you this;

Now this Custome of offering *Humane Sacrifices*, was not a meer Imitation of *Abraham*. The great Names mustered for the Assertion, That the Imitation of *Abraham*, was the Original of this Custome, do all march under the Conduct of a few *Jewish Rabbis*. | The Army of *Lions*, is less formidable, when they have such [302r] *Hares* to lead them, as R. *Solomon Jarchi*, who fancies, that the Heathen pleaded in Defence of their Custome, the Exemple of *Abraham*. A thing which no more entred into their Heart, than it did into the Lords, to have *Isaac* sacrificed. We have a sufficient Proof of this; in that neither *Philo Judæus*, nor *Josephus*, nor (his Adversary) *Appion*, do in the least mention any Imitation of *Abraham* in this Matter. The first clear Intimation of *Abraham*s Action, to be mett withal in Pagan Writings, is in *Porphyrie*, quoted by *Eusebius*; tho' *Grotius* and *Vossius* cannot see *Abraham* concerned in that neither. And when the *Israelites* degenerated unto the Wickedness of sacrificing their *Children*, there is not the least Intimation, of their pretending to follow their Father *Abraham* in it; but they are expressly charged, [Psal. 106.35.] with learning the Works of the wicked *Canaanites*, in those Abominations: the *Canaanites*, whose Iniquity herein was ripening towards the Harvest, before the dayes of *Abraham*, tho' not *fully Ripe*, until afterwards.[108]

The Consequence is, That this Custome, was a Corruption of the *Primitive Tradition*. *Bestial Sacrifices* were first *Instituted*, but found *Inavaileable*. God had given a Promise, That the *Seed of the Woman* should come, to be *Sacrificed*. The World corrupted this *Tradition*; but confessed, that *Humane Blood* was more effectual than *Bestial*, to atone the Justice of Heaven. They fled unto *Humane Sacrifices* as their Sacred Anchor; supposing all other *Supplications* to be of little Efficacy. These were the, *Fatalia Jussa*, whereto *Fulvius Sabinus* moved the Senate, by the Emperour *Aurelian*s Order, (as directed by the *Sibylline* Books,) in their more than ordinary Exigency.[109]

That this was the Course in a more than ordinary Exigency, when there could not be found any other *Exit* out of a Distress, we have a famous Instance in the King of *Moab*; who being besieged in *Kirharaseth*, & seeing that he could neither hold out against the Assaults of his Enemies, nor with a select

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whether, although you believe it, you think it worth while to attain it at such a cost to your conscience. Come, plunge your knife into an infant, harmless, innocent, and helpless; or if this be the duty of another, do you at least stand by while this human being dies before it has really lived; wait for the flight of the newly-entered soul; catch the immature blood; soak your bread in it; feed freely upon it."

108 Smith, *Christian Religion's Appeal* (70–71), citing Solomon Jarchi, or Rashi, commentary on Jer. 7:31 (*see II Kings: A New English Translation* [1980], p. 258, citing him on 2 Kings 3:27 out of *Pesikta d'Rav Kahana*, p. 13); Porphyry, quoted by Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica* (1.7); Grotius, on Deut. 18:10, in *Opera Omnia* (1:92–93); and Vossius, *De theologia Gentili et physiologia Christiana* (lib. I, cap. XVIII, pp. 142–43).

109 Smith, *Christian Religion's Appeal* (73–74). This incident occurred "[w]hen the Marcomanni invaded the Empire, *an. Christi, 271."* Smith cites Flavius Vopiscus in *Aureliano* (in *Historia Augusta*), caps. XVIII–XX.

Band make his Way through them; & being resolved, that he would not yeeld, until he had tried the last Means of Invoking and Engaging the Divine Aid; he took his *Eldest Son*, the Heir of his Kingdome, & offered him up for a *Burnt-Offering* upon the Wall. The second Thoughts of *Junius* and *Tremelius*, were not the *Wisest*, when they contrive that the sacrificed Prince may be the *Son of the King of Edom*; and they turn, *Suum*, into, *Ejus*.[110] Nor, have the Collectors of the *Contents* in our *English Bibles*, done right, when they have inserted this Article, *The King of Moab, sacrificing the King of Edoms Son*. Their Conjecture is founded, upon the jumbling of *Two Stories* into One. They apply to this Passage in the Book of *Kings*, another Passage in the Prophet *Amos*; [ch. 2, 1.][111] *He burnt the King of Edoms Bones into Lime*. They metamorphise, first the King of *Moab*s Son, into the King of *Edom*s. Then, the King of *Edoms Son*, into the *King of Edom* himself; lastly, the Sacrificing of a *Living Youth* upon the *Wall*, into the haling of *Dry Bones* out of a Sepulchre, & burning them to *Chalk*: Things no more like one another, (saies my Author) than *Chalk* is to *Cheese*. Upon this Fact in Amos, the Current of Exposition is with *Gualter*; [*Quandò hoc factum Sit, nusquam Legitur*.][112] *Emmanuel Saa*, who also saies, *Quandò id factum non constat*,[113] makes this in Amos an Appendix to that in the Book of *Kings*; and the *Chaldee* Paraphrast, ha's a Conceit, that they besmeared their Houses, with the *Ashes* of those *Bones*, instead of *Chalk*.[114] Others think it probable, That after the End of the *War*, mention'd in the Book of *Kings*, the *Moabites* did, in revenge of the *Edomites* confæderating against them, with the Two Palæstine Kings, dig up the Bones of the King of *Edom* (formerly Dead) & burn them in Contempt.[115]

No, The King of *Moab* here offered his own Son, as an *Holocaust*, in his Extremity; *Rem Extremæ Necessitatis et Desperationis aggreditur*;[116] Tis *Josephus*'s expression.

Sanchoniathon tells us, It was the Custome in the last Extremity, to *sacrifice* the Princes best Beloved Son. And with the *Child* sometimes they sacrificed the Life of the *Mother*; by ripping the *Sacrifice* out of the Womb; whereof *Lucan*:

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110 "'His own,' into, "'his'"; Smith, *Christian religion's appeal* (75), citing Franciscus Junius and Immanuel Tremellius, *Testamenti veteris Biblia sacra,* on Amos 2:1 (*statuta ejus non observant*).

111 MS: "2, 16."

112 "When this [i.e., the burning of the bones] had been done, nowhere do we read." Rodolphus Gualtherus, 16th-century Reformed preacher at Zurich, *In Prophetas Duodecim, Quos Vocant Minores* (1563), Homilia IV, p. 96. Where Mather has *nusquam*, the original has *nuspiam*.

113 "It is not clear when this was." Emanuel De Sa (Manuel de Sa), 16th-century Portuguese Jesuit, *Notationes in totam Scripturam Sacram* (1598).

114 Chaldee Paraphrast on Amos 2:1, in Walton, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (6:38): *incenderit ossa regis Idumaeae, et obliniverit eis pro calce domum*.

115 Smith, *Christian Religion's Appeal* (75–76).

116 "Did a thing that showed despair and the utmost distress." Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* (9.3.2).

Vulnere Si Ventris, non qua Natura vocabat,
Extrahitur Partus, Calidis ponendus in aris.[117]

Thus having lost the Scent of the *First Promise*, the poor Gentiles ran to & fro, & became *Vain in their Imaginations*. At last they ran into this: *Stultitia est morte alterius Sperare Salutem*.[118]

| [302v]

Q. That Passage, *There was a great Indignation against Israel*: v. 27.

A. It may be read, *There was great Repentance upon*, (or, among) *Israel*. That is, They were extream sorry, & troubled, at this Barbarous Sacrifice, and wished, they had not pushed on the War so far, that is should end in such an horrid Action, which brought such an Odium upon them.[119]

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117 "Pregnant wombs yield to her knife the infant to be placed on flaming altars." Lucan, 1st-century CE Roman poet, *Pharsalia* (6).

118 "It is folly to hope for health by the death of another." Smith, *Christian Religion's Appeal* (76–78), The final Latin passage is from Johann Jakob Gryanaeus (1540–1617), Swiss Reformed divine and professor at Basel and Heidelberg, *Eusebii Pamphili Episcopi Caesariensis … Opera* (1570), in *Demonstratio Evangelica* (3.4).

119 Patrick, *A Commentary* (358).

[303r][120] 2. Kings. Chap. 4.

Q. Who was, the *Widow of one of the Sons of the Prophets*, that came unto *Elisha*? v. 1.

A. The *Chaldee* Paraphrast expressly saies, It was *Obadiah*s Widow. Dr. *Kidder* in his, *Demonstration of the Messiah*, saies, *I think, no Man can doubt, but so it was*. *Josephus* also saies the Same; the Character of the Man agrees; and the Time falls out well enough; and it is affirmed, *That no Christian doubts it*.[121]

This Prophet *feared the Lord*. He worshipped the True God; neither *Baal*, nor the *Calves*. Tis likely, (Dr. *Patrick* thinks) this might be the Reason of his Poverty. Such Men were discountenanced among the Idolatrous *Israelites*.[122]

Q. The Creditor taking her *Two Sons to be bond-men*? v. 1.

A. Honest Mr. *Terry*, in his Voyage *to East-India*, does by the Modern Custome there, illustrate this ancient Cruelty.

He saies, The *Officers* there, called *Cut-walls* (like our *Sheriffs*) wait on the *Judges*, who are called *Kadis*. These bring *Debtors*, & their *Sureties* too, before the *Judges*; and if they give not Content, unto those which complain of them, they will imprison their Persons, where they shall find & feel the Weight of Fetters; nay, many times they will sell their Persons, their Wives & Children into Bondage, when they cannot satisfy their Debts. And the Custome of the Countrey bears with such hard & pittyless Courses, as were complained of by the *Poor Widow* unto the Prophet *Elisha*.[123]

[303v] |

~~2584.~~

Q. When *Elisha* sent *Gehazi*, to Raise the *Shunamite*s Child, why did hee order him to *Salute no Man by the Way*? v. 29.

A. Tis a Gloss of *Procopius* upon it; It may bee thought it was for Speed; but saies hee, ἤδει τὸ φιλότιμον, ἡ δε φιλοδοζία τῆν θαυματουργίαν κωλύει. Hee knew his *Popular Humour*, and that *Popularity* hinders the *Working of Miracles*.[124] And

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120 A quarto-sized leaf, stitched in.

121 Kidder, *Demonstration of the Messias* (pt. III, p. 75), citing the Chaldee Paraphrast (*see* Walton, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* 2:530): *servus tuus Godadiah maritus meus mortuus est*; and Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* (9.4.2).

122 Patrick, *A Commentary* (358–59).

123 Edward Terry, *A Voyage to East-India* (1655), pp. 384–85.

124 "But the show of vainglory, it impedes the ability to work miracles." Procopius Gazaeus, *In Libros Regum, et Paralipomenon Scholia* (285–86): *Vanae verò gloriae affectatio, impedit facultatem edendi miracula.*

one saies upon it; The *Minister* that is given to it, seldome doth *Wonders* in the *Curing of Souls*.

Q. Why the *Staff* to be laid on the Child? v. 29.
A. He thought it might work a Miracle as *Moses*'s Rod, and *Elijah*'s Mantle did. And had the Faith of the Mother been agreeable, it might have been sufficient. But she distrusted it, & would have *Elisha* go himself. It is a low Conceit of *Abarbanel*, that he ordered the Staff to be laid, only for the Prevention of Putrefaction.[125]

~~2656.~~

Q. What Mystery is there observable in the Circumstances of *Elisha*'s Raising to Life, the Child of the *Shunamite*?
A. Good old *Prosper*, is a little curious upon it. As the Prophet first sent his Servant *Gehazi*, but the Staff of the Servant, would not convey Life to the Dead Child: Thus the Lord first sent His Servant *Moses*, but the *Law* which was *Moses*'s Rod, being laid upon Mankind, Life would not come that Way, neither is any Man *Justified by the Works of the Law*. Wherefore our Lord came Himself; and as *Elisha*, contracted and conformed himself unto the Condition of the Child, whom He Raised, This was admirably done by our Lord in His Incarnation and Humiliation, when He came to give *Life* unto us.[126]

Q. The Prophet putting his *Mouth* & *Eyes*, and *Hands*, on those of the Child? v. 34.
A. This could not be done all together, because his Face and Body was much larger than the Childs. But it was done successively. He laid his Mouth on the Childs Mouth; and then his Eyes on the Childs Eyes; & so his Hands on the Childs Hands. *Elijah* had formerly done the like; in Token, that God inspired the Soul of the Child again, at his Earnest Prayer.[127]

Q. The *Sneezing* of the Child? v. 35.
A. A Sign of Health; and the Purging of his *Head*. His Pain lay there.[128]

Q. The Man with his *Firstfruits*? v. 42.

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125 Patrick, *A Commentary* (366–67), citing Abravanel (*see II Kings: A New English Translation* 267).
126 Prosper of Aquitaine (c. 390–c. 455 CE), disciple of Augustine and contributor to Jerome's *Chronicon*.
127 Patrick, *A Commentary* (368).
128 Patrick, *A Commentary* (368).

A. *Biccurim* is the Term.[129] The Name for the First Fruits belonging to the Priests. Tis likely, this was not such a Present, as Men were wont to make when they came to ask a Prophet any Quæstion. But a *Free-will Offering* for the better Subsistence of the Prophet. It is probable, that pious People now gave to the *Prophets*, that Portion which was assigned by God for the *Priests*, to whom they could not now carry their *First-fruits*, they being in the Land of *Judah*. Dr. *Patrick* supposes, the *Schools of the Prophets* were partly maintained by these Means.[130]

129 בִּכּוּרִים [bikkuwr], "first-fruits."
130 Patrick, *A Commentary* (370–71).

4841.

Q. The Hebrew Word, for, *A Recovery*, from a *Leprosy*, signifies, *A Regathering*.[131] Why so? v. 3.
A. *Munster* gives the Reason for it; *Quòd curatus à Leprâ recolligebatur ad reliquos homines, qui ob Lepram ab eis exclusus fuit*.[132]

Q. The Order for *Naaman, to Wash in Jordan*? v. 10.
A. *Abarbanel* thinks, The *Water*, because cold, was bad for his Disease; The Root of it, a Waterish Humour, which would have been increased by washing in *Jordan*. This might be one of *Naaman*s Objections against it.[133]

Q. *Abana* and *Pharphat*, the Rivers of *Damascus*: what say the Modern Travellers concerning them? v. 12.
A. Mr. *Maundril*, in his Journey from *Aleppo* to *Jerusalem*, A. D. 1697. visits *Damascus*. He describes the River *Barrady*, which breaks out from the Mountains, two Miles above it. The Waters of *Barrady* supply both the City, and the Gardens which belong unto it, in great Abundance. This River, as soon as it issues out, from between the Cleft of the Mountain, into the Plain, is immediately divided into Three Streams; of which, the Middlemost, & the Biggest, runs directly to *Damascus*, thro' a large open Field, called the *Ager Damascenus*, and is distributed unto all the Cisterns & Fountains of the City. Mr. *Maundril* proceeds. "The other Two, (which I take to be the Work of Art) are drawn round, one to the Right Hand, the other to the Left; on the Borders of the Gardens, into which they are lett, as they pass, by little Currents, and so dispers'd all over the vast Wood. Insomuch, that there is not a *Garden*, but what ha's a fine quick Stream running thro' it; which serves, not only for watering the Place, but is also improv'd into Fountains, & other Water-Works very delightful.

"*Barrady* being thus described, is almost wholly-Drunk up, by the City & Gardens. What small Part of it escapes, is united, as I was informed, | in [304v] one Channel again, on the South-East Side of the City; and after about three Hours Course, finally loses itself in a Bog there, without ever arriving at the Sea. The *Greeks*, and from them, the *Romans*, call this River *Chrysorrhoas*, But

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131 יְאַסֵּף
132 "They who were cured of their leprosy, who had been excluded, were recollected to the rest of men." Münster, *Hebraica Biblia*, in loc. (343).
133 Patrick, *A Commentary* (376), citing Abravanel (*see II Kings: A New English Translation* 273).

as for *Abana* and *Pharphat*, Rivers of *Damascus*, [2. King. 5.12.] I could find no Memory, so much as of the Names, remaining. They must doubtless have been only Two Branches of the River *Barrady*; & One of them was probably the same Stream, that now runs thro' the *Ager Damascenus*, directly to the City; which seems by its Serpentine Way to be a Natural Channel. The other I know not well where to find; But its no Wonder; seeing they may & do turn, & alter the Courses of this River, according to their own Convenience."[134]

Q. Why does *Naaman* desire *Two Burdens of Earth*? v. 17.
A. He would make an *Altar* thereof unto the Lord. He judg'd it Reasonable to have an *Altar* out of *Gods Land,* because he saw He dwelt peculiarly in *Israel*. He might have taken *Earth* enough, as he went along in his Way home; yett he desired it as a Gift from the *Prophet*; Imagining perhaps, that he would putt a greater Vertue into it, by his *Blessing*, as he had done into the *Waters* of *Jordan*. *Ralbag* therefore thinks, he desired to have the *Earth,* out of *Elijah*s House. *Abarbanel* thinks, from under his very *Feet*, in the Place where he stood.[135]

Q. What think you of *Naaman*s Words, about, *Bowing in the House of Rimmon*? v. 18.
A. I think the Words may relate not unto his *future,* but unto his *former* Actions; hee does not ask a *License*, that hee may *bow down himself in the House of Rimmon*, but hee does ask a *Pardon* for his having so often done it; the Tender Conscience of converted *Naaman*, smote him for his former Idolatry; and the Prophets Answer, *Go in Peace*, was not a *Toleration* of his Idolatry for the Time to come; but an *Absolution* from his former Faults upon his Pænitent & Ingenuous Confession of them.

Indeed, the famous *Buxtorf*, in a Letter to *Hackspan* saies, *Omnes quot quot vidi Interpretes, referunt ad Futurum.*[136] Be sure so does the Chaldee Paraphrast.[137]

Q. Why not, *A Time to Receive Money*? v. 26.
A. It was a *Time,* when the Nation for their Sins, were in danger to be carried *Captive* out of their Land. Indeed, that fell not out, until an Hundred & fifty Years after this; yett grievous Depradations fell out presently after the Death of *Elisha*; & Approaches towards that horrid Revolution.[138]

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134 Maundrell, *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem* (119–22; quote on pp. 121–22).
135 Patrick, *A Commentary* (380), citing Ralbag, or Levi ben Gerson, and Abravanel (*see II Kings: A New English Translation* 275).
136 A printed version of this letter, probably from Johannes Buxtorf the Younger to Theodoricus Hackspan (1607–59), German Lutheran professor at Altdorf, has not been located.
137 Chaldee Paraphrast, in Walton, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (2:538).
138 Patrick, *A Commentary* (385).

Q. The Leprosy of *Naaman*, cleaving to *Gehazi*, and, his *Seed* forever? v. 27.
A. That is, unto *many Generations*, as the Word, *Forever*,[139] often signifies. The Hebrew Doctors tell us, this relates only to the Children of *Gehazi*, which were then born, and were conscious to their Fathers Crime, & approved of it.[140]

139 עוֹלָם [owlam], "long duration, antiquity, futurity."
140 Patrick, *A Commentary* (385).

Q. The Prophets casting a *Stick* into the Water, and the *Irone* then swimming? v. 7.
A. The Jews understand a Double Miracle here. First, the Iron that had sunk down to the Bottom, Rose up. And then it went unto and into the Stick, & was joined unto it, as unto its Helve. For, why should he throw a Stick into the Water, if not for this Purpose?[141]

Q. It seems very strange, that after so great a Benefit, as *Naaman* had lately received, and the King of *Syria*, in the Cure of *Naaman*, he should send him against *Israel*, and contrive with him to Place his Forces, in the Posts, from whence he might best surprize the *Israelites*? v. 8.
A. Dr. *Patrick* answers, Who can tell exactly, how long this might be after that Time? *Naaman* might now be dead. Or, perhaps *Naaman* might now have lost his Place, because of his Refusing to worship *Rimmon*. Besides, No Benefits will Reconcile Inveterate Enemies.[142]

Q. A very grievous *Famine*? v. 25.
A. Insomuch, that an *Asses Head* was sold for so many *Shekels*, as make Five Pound of our English Money. A great Sum for the *Head*, when the whole *Body* was little Worth! And being an *Unclean* Creature, it was not lawful for the *Israelites*, unless in Case of extreme Necessity. Yea, it was accounted *Unclean* by the *Arabians* also. *Bochart* observes out of *Plutarch*, That such a Scarcity there was in the Army of *Artaxerxes*, when he was among the *Cadusians*, that an *Asses Head*, was sold for threescore Drachma.[143]

[305v] |
1446.

Q. What was the *Doves-Dung*, whereof the fourth Part of a *Cab*, was in the *Samarian* Famine, sold for *five Pieces of Silver*? v. 25.
A. They who render this *Kirjonim*[144] to bee *Doves-Dung*, are putt unto a World of extravagant Shifts, to find out, what Use the *Dung* was putt unto.

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141 Patrick, *A Commentary* (388).
142 Patrick, *A Commentary* (388).
143 Patrick, *A Commentary* (394), citing Bochart, *Hierozoicon* (pars prior, lib. II, cap. XIII, cols. 183–91, esp. col. 189), who in turn cites Plutarch, *Artaxerxes* (24).
144 חֲרִיוֹנִים

Wherefore, the excellent *Bochart* will have this *Kirjonim*, to signify a Sort of *Cicer*,[145] or Coarse Food, sometimes eaten among the Jewes. He saies, tis the same with *Kali*, [2. Sam. 17.28.] which is the Name, that the Arabians also give it. But one will not readily suppose, a Present made unto *David*, of any contemptible Stuff. However, wee will subscribe unto the learned Man, in this, that *Corn* or *Grain*, is here intended. It is the Conjecture of a late Ingenious Writer, That this *Kirjonim*, was the *Offals*, or the *Refuse*, of all Sorts of *Corn* and *Grain*, which they commonly gave to *Pigeons*, at the Time of Year, when they had nothing else to feed upon. The Jewes tell us, that they antiently kept *Pigeons* in certain Houses and Places, built on Purpose for them; and Releeved them there, with Food, as there was Occasion. The vile Remains, or Sweepings of the Floor, on such Occasion given to the *Pigeons*, was called by the Name of *Dung,* in way of Contempt; as *Dung*, is a Word used in Scripture to denote the *Baseness* of a thing. Tis here Joined therefore, with an *Asses Head*, as vile a Food as can bee; and so, it well expresses the Extremities of the Famine. However we will resume the Observations of *Bochart*, so far as to leave it unto Consideration. He observes, That the *Arabians* give the Name of *Doves-dung* or *Sparrows-dung* to two several Things. The First is a Kind of Moss, that grows on Trees or Stony Ground; which resembles a kind of *Pease*, to which those of *Racca* upon the *River Euphrates* give this Name. The other is, a Sort of *Pease* or *Pulse* which was common in *Judæa*, and (by *Jerom* called, *Parched Pulse*,) was brought by the *Gileadites* and *Ammonites*, (2. Sam. XVII.28.) in their Present unto *David*; from whence the celebrated City of *Emesus*, on the Frontier of *Judæa*, seems to have taken its Name. Travellers tell us, That they have Magazines in *Grand Cairo,* & in *Damascus*, where they constantly fry this kind of *Pulse*; whereof, they who go in Pilgrimage to *Meccha* make Provision for their Journey.[146]

Q. But, how much the *Fourth Part of a Cab*? v. 25.
A. A *Cab* was a very small Measure of Corn; containing, the *Jews* tell us, as much as Twenty Four Eggs would hold. It is never mentioned any where else in the Scripture; but it is often mentioned in the *Talmud*. So that the Fourth Part of a *Cab*, was no more than *Six Eggs* could contain. *Bochart* thinks it, the same with a *Log*.[147]

Q. The Reason of the Furious Resolution against *Elisha*? v. 31.
A. It might be, either because *Elisha* had hindred him, from smiting the great Host of the *Syrians*, when he had cooped them up in *Samaria*; which might

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145 Chick pea.
146 Bochart, *Hierozoicon* (pars posterior, lib. I, cap. VII, cols. 38–50), citing Jerome on II Sam. 17:28, *Libro Duo Samuelis*, in *Divina Bibliotheca* [PL 28.675A-B].
147 Patrick, *A Commentary* (395); Bochart, *Hierozoicon* (pars posterior, lib. I, cap. VII, cols. 41–42).

have disabled them, from bringing him unto those Difficulties. Or, because *Elisha* did not employ his Interest in God, as he expected, for to give them Deliverance.[148]

148 Patrick, *A Commentary* (397).

2. Kings. Chap. 7. [306r][149]

Q. A *Measure*? v. 1.
A. The Hebrew Word, *Seah*,[150] signifies, a certain Measure, containing the Thirtieth Part of an *Omer*; which is about a Peck of our Measure.[151]

4842.

Q. What might the unbeleeving Lord have in his Eye, when he used those Words, *If the Lord would make windowes in Heaven, might this thing be*? v. 2.
A. *Munster* thinks, That he might have an Eye to the *Manna*, once poured down from the Granneries of Heaven.[152]

Q. Who were the *Four Leprous Men*, at the *Entring in of the Gate of the City,* of *Samaria*? v. 3.
A. I know not, and how should I know? But if an Hebrew Tradition will satisfy you, I'l give you one; The Hebrewes do suppose these Four *Lepers*, to bee poor *Gehazi*, and his Three Sons.[153]

Q. Who should be the *Hittites*, whom the Imagination of the *Syrians* ran upon? v. 6.
A. Those People of the Land of *Canaan*, called *Hittites*, who dwelt about *Hebron* and *Beersheba*, were extirpated by the *Israelites*. But either some of them fled, and settled themselves in some Neighbouring Countrey, and there grew very populous; or else by the *Kings of the Hittites* we must understand (as *Josephus* doth,) The Kings των νησων, *Of the Isles*: As if *Chittim* were the same with *Cetim*, which he saies, all the *Isles* are called. Every one of these had a King; as *Egypt* itself was then divided into several Kingdomes.[154]
| [blank] [306v]

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149 A quarto-sized leaf, stitched in.
150 סְאָה
151 Patrick, *A Commentary* (399).
152 Münster, *Hebraica Biblia*, in loc. (345).
153 Patrick, *A Commentary* (400).
154 Patrick, *A Commentary* (401–02), citing Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* (9.2).

Q. What Occasion had the Woman, to petition for her *Land*? v. 3.
A. It was the Custome here, as in other Places, that they who left their Countrey had their Goods confiscated.[156]

See *Grotius* upon the matter.[157]

Q. How came *Gehazi*, to be Admitted for to speak with the King; For being a *Leper*, he might not come into the Company of any one; much less into such a Presence? v. 4.
A. Some think, This Difficulty cannot be solved, without affirming, that this fell out, before *Gehazi* Left the Service of *Elisha*. Such an υστερολογια,[158] as the *Greeks* call it, is frequent in Scripture. And the Jews, in *Seder Olam*, do Place this Famine, before the Story of *Naaman*.

But there is no need of this. For *Gehazi*, upon his Repentance, might be Restored unto his former Health. Or, He might speak with the King, at a due Distance, as he walked in the Field, for his Recreation; and was willing to be entertained with a Relation of *Elisha*'s Miracles. Thus *Naaman* conversed with *Elisha*'s Family at a Distance. And the *Lepers* called unto our Saviour, as He went along the High Way.[159]

Q. What meant the Prophet, when he said, *Say to him, Thou mayst certainly Recover: Howbeit the Lord hath shewed me, that he shall certainly dy*? v. 10.
A. His Disease was not of such a Nature, as would endanger his Life, if he did not lose it by some other Means; as the Prophet foresaw, he would.

Josephus tells us, his Disease was only a Deep Melancholy, into which he fell, upon the shameful Flight of his Army, when there was no Enemy near them. This affected his Body: This took away his Appetite; But it might have been cured.[160]

Q. The Meaning of that; *Is thy Servant a Dog, that he should do this great thing*? v. 13.

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155 A quarto-sized leaf.
156 Patrick, *A Commentary* (407).
157 Grotius, in loc., in *Opera Omnia* (1:162): *Mos ergò hic fuit in decem tribubus, quo et alibi reperitur, ut qui patriâ exirent, eorum bona confiscarentur.*
158 Usterologia, or "later contribution."
159 Patrick, *A Commentary* (408), citing Seder Olam, in Gilbert Génebrard, *Chronologia Hebraeorum*, cap. XVII, p. 20 (Guggenheimer ed., ch. 17, p. 154).
160 Patrick, *A Commentary* (410), citing Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* (9.4.6).

A. It is commonly understood, as a Disclaiming of the Brutal Barbarities foretold concerning the Man. But the Words in the *Hebrew* sound otherwise.[161] They are a submissive Form of Speech, wherein the Speaker undervalues himself. [See 1 Sam. XXIV.15. 2 Sam. IX.8.] It runs thus. *But what is thy Servant? A Dog*. As much as to say, a mean & contemptible Creature, who never can have power to do such great Things; which none but a Prince can do.[162]

~~4843.~~

Q. The *Thick Cloth*, which *Hazael dipt in Water*, and *spread on the Face of Benhadad, that he died*; what Sentiments have some Ancient and Hebrew Expositors concerning it? v. 15.

A. Their Sentiments are, That the King lying in a Burning Fever, complained of an Intolerable and Insupportable *Heat*. He cried for some *Cooler* to be applied unto his Face. *Hazael* consequently dipt a *Thick Cloth* in *Cold Water*. It was too *Cold*. Being applied, it struck the *Fever* inward at once upon his *Vitals*. It kill'd him at once, Tho' *Hazael* never intended it. So they excuse him.

However, *Kimchi* don't concur with these Expositors. He makes *Hazael* a premeditated Murderer.[163]

| [307v]

Q. *The Fifth Year of Joram*.] All the seeming Contradictions, between this Verse, and Chap. I.17. and Chap. III.1. How Reconciled? v. 16.

A. By Huetius thus. *Jehoram* began to Reign with his Father, *Jehoshaphat*, in his Seventeenth Year, and *Joram* King of *Israel* in his Eighteenth. The First Year of *Joram* King of *Israel*, will fall out, in the Second Year of *Jehoram* King of *Judah*. His Father dying in the Twenty-Second Year of his Reign, *Jehoram* King of *Judah*, began to Reign Alone in the Fifth Year of *Joram* King of *Israel*.[164]

Q. The Revolt of *Edom*? v. 20.

A. After they had been subject unto *Judah,* an hundred & fifty Years, ever since the Time of *David*, who subdued that Country. This was an extreme Dishonour to *Jehoram*. However, hereby the Prophecy of *Isaac* was accomplished. [Gen. XXVII.40.][165]

Q. What was the *Revolt of Libnah at the same time*? v. 22.

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161 מָה עַבְדְּךָ הַכֶּלֶב כִּי יַעֲשֶׂה הַדָּבָר הַגָּדוֹל הַזֶּה

162 Patrick, *A Commentary* (411).

163 Patrick, *A Commentary* (412), who with Kimhi agrees that Hazael intentionally murdered Benhadad (*see II Kings: A New English Translation* 296).

164 Patrick, *A Commentary* (413), citing Daniel-Pierre Huet, *Demonstratio Evangelica ad serenissimum Delphinum* (Prop. IV, p. 204).

165 Patrick, *A Commentary* (415).

A. *Libnah*, was probably the City of *Judah* so called, which belonged unto the Sons of *Aaron*. The *Revolting* of it, was probably, the Inhabitants refusing to admitt the Idolatrous Worship, that *Joram* would have sett up there. And therefore upon his Death, or soon after, they opened their Gates again.

Compare, 2. Chron. XXI.10.[166]

Q. *Ahaziah*, Twenty two Years old. But in 2 Chron. XXII.2. *Forty two*? v. 26.

A. There are many Attempts to solve this Difficulty.

But, Since the LXX in the Book of *Chronicles*, read not *Forty* but *Twenty*, many learned Men think (as Dr. *Patrick* observes) the Ancient Hebrew Copies agreed thereunto. But by the Carelessness of Transcribers, *Forty* came to be writ instead of *Twenty*. They think it better to acknowledge this plainly, than to fly unto odd Shifts, uncouth & constrain'd Interpretations.

Perizonius hath lately confuted them in these Words.

Si quid ego video, aut Intelligo multò rectius Divinitati et Autoritati Scripturæ S. Consulant qui vitium istic librariorum in re per se Levi agnoscunt, quam qui Difficultatem volunt tollere, contortis, violentis, et Absonis Interpretationibus; quæ ab ipsa Scripturæ locutione, et clarissima Syntaxi longissime recedunt.[167] And then he instances in this very Place; & the Expositions commonly made of it. [*Præfat. in Ælian. Var. Hist.*][168]

Q. *He was Son in Law in the House of Ahab*? v. 27.

A. *Jehoshaphat* married his Sons into it; perhaps, hoping thereby to unite the Two Kingdomes again. But it proved the Ruine of his Family.[169]

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166 Patrick, *A Commentary* (416).

167 "If what I see or understand is correct, let them take care of the divine excellence and authority of the Sacred Scriptures, they who here acknowledge the fault of the transcribers in the trivial case itself, as much as those who are willing to raise this difficulty by complicated, impetuous and inharmonious interpretations. These interpretations from the same passages of Scripture are very far removed from the clearest syntax."

168 Patrick, *A Commentary* (418), citing the LXX (*see* Walton, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* 2:769); and Jacobus Perizonius (Jacob Voorbroek) (1651–1716), Dutch classical scholar, *Claudii Aeliani Sophistae varia historia et frammenta* (1701), Preface. Claudius Aelianus (c. 175–c. 235 CE) was a Roman natural historian and rhetorician.

169 Patrick, *A Commentary* (419).

Q. Who was the young Man here employ'd by *Elisha*? v. 1.
A. The Prophet *Elijah* was commanded to do, what *Elisha* was now about to do. But *Ahab*s Humiliation procured the Judgment, which had been pronounced upon him, to be deferred. So the Execution of it was left unto *Elisha*; who did not go himself, because he was better known, & this Business required Secrecy; or, being old, he was unfitt for such a Journey; for the last time we read of him, he was at *Damascus*. The young Man who was now attending him, the Jews in *Seder Olam Rabba* say, was *Jonah* the Son of *Amittai*; which is the Opinion also of *Abarbanel,* & other Hebrew Doctors.[171]

Q. *I have anointed thee King, over the People of the Lord*? v. 6.
A. They were still the *People of the Lord* by Right, and by Profession, tho' they worshipped other Gods with Him. And it belonged unto Him, to appoint what Ruler He pleased, over them; which He did by His Prophet. Without this Authority, had *Jehu* taken the Government upon him, he had been an Usurper.[172]

Q. They spread their Garments under Jehu's Feet, *upon the top of the Stairs*. Where? v. 13.
A. *De Dieu* understands it, that they did not come down into the Street, but forthwith, upon the very *Top of the Stairs* of the Place where they were sitting, they acknowledged him for their Sovereign.[173] But then, *Gousset*, a later Author, guesses, These were winding Stairs in a Turret, on the Top of which Tower they placed *Jehu*, that all the People might see him, & him proclaimed their King.[174]

Q. What is meant by, *All Israel*? v. 14.
A. The Army. *Joram* left the Army on the Frontiers, for fear *Hazael* should make any New Attempt, for the Recovering of *Ramoth-Gilead*.[175]

Q. The *Driving* of *Jehu, the Son of Nimshi*? v. 20.

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170 A quarto-sized leaf.
171 Patrick, *A Commentary* (419–20), citing *Seder Olam*, cap. XVIII (ed. Guggenheimer, ch. 18, p. 160); and Abravanel (*see II Kings: A New English Translation* 301).
172 Patrick, *A Commentary* (422).
173 Ludovicus De Dieu, *Animadversiones in Veteris Testamenti Libros omnes* (195–97).
174 Patrick, *A Commentary* (424), citing Jacques Gousset (1635–1704), French protestant theologian, Hebraist, and professor at Groningen, *Commentarii Linguae Ebraicae* (1702), p. 173.
175 Patrick, *A Commentary* (424).

A. *Nimshi* was his Grandfather; But a more eminent Person, it is likely, than *Jehoshaphat,* his Father.

He was noted, it seems, for eagerness, in pursuing his Designs. But the *Chaldee* Paraphrast, understands this Matter, quite otherwise. That he *Drove Slowly*, as if he would intice *Joram* to come out of the City, & meet him: Not being willing to engage in the Siege of *Jazreel*.[176]

[309v] |

Q. *Jehu*'s Words to *Bidkar*, *Remember, how that when I & thou Rode together after Ahab*? v. 25.

A. In the Hebrew, the Words are exactly thus; *Remember, Thou and I, were among those, who Rode Two and Two together after Ahab*.[177] He was attended by his Guard, who were wont to Ride in Pairs, Two and Two. And *Jehu* and *Bidkar* then Rode together, & heard *Elijah*s Words.[178]

Q. *The Blood of Naboths Sons*? v. 26.

A. Some think, That *Jezabel* contrived the Death of *Naboth*s Sons, together with their Fathers; That they might lay no Claim to the Possession of their Father. But *Grotius* and others, have observed, That these Words may signify no more, than the *Poverty* to which they were now reduced. All Punishments and Miseries are called *Blood*, among the Hebrews; [Lev. XVII.4.] And to take away their Estate, upon which they should have lived, was in Effect, to take away their *Blood*; in which is the Life of every Creature. Grievous Oppressors we call *Blood-Suckers*.[179]

Q. *She painted her Face*. How? v. 30.

A. In the Hebrew tis, *She putt her Eyes in Paint*;[180] that is, in *Stibium*, which made the Eyes look black; a thing esteemed a Beauty. It also dilated the Eybrows, and made the Eyes appear Big; which in some Countreys was thought very Amiable. The Design of *Jezabel* was not now to Tempt *Jehu* with her Beauty; but to keep up her State & Part unto the Last; for she was a very proud Woman.[181]

Q. *Had Zimri Peace, who slew his Master*? Why does *Jezabel* twit *Jehu* with this? v. 31.

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176 Patrick, *A Commentary* (426–27), citing the Chaldee Paraphrast (*see* Walton, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* 2:556): *quia in quiete ducit*.

177 זְכֹר אֲנִי וְאַתָּה אֵת רֹכְבִים צְמָדִים אַחֲרֵי אַחְאָב

178 Patrick, *A Commentary* (428).

179 Patrick, *A Commentary* (429).

180 עֵינֶיהָ בַּפּוּךְ וַתָּשֶׂם

181 Patrick, *A Commentary* (430).

A. She thought perhaps, he would not meddle with a Woman; and therefore she took upon her, to Rebuke & Upbraid him, with what he had done against her Son. She minds him of *Zimri*. *Zimri* was cutt off by *Omri*, her Father-in-Law, the Founder of *Ahab*s Family.[182]

Q. The Manner of *Jezabel*s Death? v. 33.
A. Some of the Jewish Doctors, particularly *Kimchi* and *Ralbag*, observe the *Lex Talionis* in it. She caused *Naboth* to be stoned; And she herself is condemned now to be stoned. There were Two Wayes of Stoning: either by throwing Stones at Malefactors, till they had knock'd them down, & kill'd them; or, by throwing them down upon the Stones from an High Place, & breaking them to Peeces; as *Amaziah* did the Captives he took of Mount *Seir*. [2 Chron. XXV.12.][183]

182 Patrick, *A Commentary* (430–31).
183 Patrick, *A Commentary* (431) citing David Kimhi and Levi ben Gerson, or Ralbag (*see II Kings: A New English Translation* 310).

[309r][184] 2. Kings. Chap. 10.

Q. The *Sheering House*? v. 12.
A. In the Hebrew tis, *The House of the Shepherds Binding*.[185] They *Bound* the Feet of their Sheep when they *Sheered* them.[186]

Q. *All the Worshippers of Baal came into the House of Baal*. If it means the whole Number of Baalites throughout the Kingdome, how could One House be large enough to hold them all? v. 21.
A. Two Things (as Dr. *Patrick* holds) are to be considered.

First, This Temple comprehended all the *Outer Courts* of it, (as did that at *Jerusalem*,) which were very spacious. Secondly, The Number of *Baal*s Worshippers, was much diminished since the Death of *Ahab*. *Jehoram* the Successor, had no great Kindness for *Baal*; [2 King. III.2.] and the Exemple of a King, is much followed by the People. It is likely also, that *Hazael* King of *Syria*, had destroyed many of them, in his Wars with *Israel*.[187]

[309v] |

Q. *Fourscore Men*. A small Number for such an Execution? v. 24.
A. Tho' no more appeared, others were at hand, to support them if there should be Occasion.

Or rather, These were sett at the several Gates of the *Outer Courts*, that if any endeavoured to make an Escape, they might kill them. The next Verse, may seem to intimate, that a greater Number of Men, went for that Purpose into the Temple.[188]

Q. *The Guard & the Captains cast them down*.] v. 25.
A. Having done the Execution, the Guard and Captains rushed out of the Temple in great Haste, & immediately ran to the *City of the House of Baal*.

By that, we may understand, the Great Buildings adjoining to the Temple of *Baal* in *Samaria*; where the Prophets, and Priests, & their Servants, lived. These were so large, that they were called, *A City*.[189]

Q. What were the *Images of the House of Baal*? v. 26.

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184 A quarto-sized leaf.
185 בֵּית־עֵקֶד ׳ הָרֹעִים
186 Patrick, *A Commentary* (436).
187 Patrick, *A Commentary* (441).
188 Patrick, *A Commentary* (442).
189 Patrick, *A Commentary* (442–43).

A. They worshipped several other lesser Gods, (whose Images they had in this Temple) together with the Supreme God. He was called *Baal*; and these were called, *Baalim*. So *Servius* writes upon the First of the *Georgicks*, that *Veteri ritu*, according to ancient Custome, after the Priests had invoked the special Gods, to whom the Sacrifice was intended; *Generaliter omnia Numina invocabantur*;[190] All the Gods were Invoked; lest any of them should think themselves neglected.[191]

190 "In the old ceremony" … "all the gods in general were called upon."

191 Patrick, *A Commentary* (443). Maurus Servius Honoratus, late 4th-century CE Roman grammarian, *Commentary on the Georgics* (1.21).

Q. *Athaliah*s murderous Ambition? v. 1.
A. *Jehu* had cutt off many of the Seed Royal; others, not a few. Their Destruction was compleated by *Athaliah*, who, as she was Ambitious of Government, so she was Enraged to see *Ahab*s Family cutt off, & resolved therefore to do as much for the House of *David*. Perhaps also she was afraid, *Jehu* should come and kill her, for her being of the House of *Ahab*; and so, she was willing to strengthen herself, by getting into the Throne, which she could not compass, without the Destruction of the Royal Family. She was a *Wicked Woman*, and the Jewish Doctors gather from, 2. Chron. XXIV.7. that she had play'd the Harlott, and had Children by another Man than her Husband.[193]

Q. Where was the *Bed-Chamber* wherein *Joash* was hid? v. 2.
A. It appears by the next Verse, that this *Bed-Chamber* was in the Temple. This Name does not alwayes in the Scripture signify, the *Sanctuary*; but it comprehends all the Courts belonging to it. *Kimchi* observes, The *Whole Mountain of the House, is called, The House of the Lord*. This Chamber, was in the *Outer Court* of all; called by *Josephus*, πρωτον Ιερον, *The First Holy Place*. In the *Inner Court*, no body lay; nor might any Woman come into it.[194]

Q. The *Gate of Sur*? v. 6.
A. The East-Gate; called also, *The Gate of the Foundation*. 2. Chron. XXIII.5. *Abarbanel* thinks, This Gate was called, *Sur*; which is as much as to say, *Go back*, because no Unclean Person durst enter into this Gate.[195]

Q. *Keep the Watch of the House, that it be not broken down*. What the Meaning? v. 6.
A. They were to take special care, that the House of the Lord were not any way profaned. Particularly to Watch, that none out of the Palace defiled it. So *De Dieu* thinks, the Word *Massach*,[196] (which we translate, *Be not broken down*)

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192 A quarto-sized leaf.
193 Patrick, *A Commentary* (446).
194 Patrick, *A Commentary* (447), citing Constantijn L'Empereur, *Hoc est Talmvdis babylonici codex Middoth; De mensvris templi* (1630), cap. II, § III; David Kimhi (*see II Kings: A New English Translation* 320); and Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* (9.7.1).
195 Patrick, *A Commentary* (450), citing Abravanel (*see II Kings: A New English Translation* 322).
196 מִסָּח. De Dieu, *Animadversiones in Veteris Testamenti Libros omnes* (200–02). On p. 202, De Dieu suggests the verse could be interpreted: *Et tertia in porta post cursores, et custodietis custodiam domus mundatione*.

is to be understood; being as much as to say, *Bemassach*, by pulling away those that shall dare to pollute the Holy Place, & would come in to hurt the King.

Other learned Men have Interpreted it; They *were to keep the Watch of the House, at the Breach*; which the wicked Sons of *Athaliah* (her Sons by another Man,) had made. [2. Chron. XXIV.7.][197]

Q. What *Spears* and *Shields*? v. 10.
A. Particularly such as King *David* had used, and Dedicated after all his Wars, as Monuments of Gods Goodness to him.

Perhaps there were also the *Spears* and *Shields* of great Men, which he had taken, as *Spoils* in his Wars.[198]

| [310v]

1310.

Q. They putt the *Crown* upon the King, and *gave him the Testimony*. What is here meant by the *Testimony*? v. 12.
A. *Josephus* understands by it, the *Oyl*, wherewith hee was anointed.[199] And others expound it, of the Book of the Law. [Compare, Deut. 17.18.] But hear *Grotius*; *Mihi illorum explicatio non displicet, qui censent intelligi hoc Nomine* phylacteria, *quæ annexa erant Coronæ per cavernulam, in Coronâ relictam, in eâ parte, quæ futura erat super Frontem. Ea autem dicuntur esse* /לזכרון/ In Memoriam. Exod. 13.9.[200]

Forsterus[201] and *Avenarius*, and others of great Note, chuse to derive this *Eduth*,[202] from the Word, *Adah*, which signifies, To *Cloathe*, To *Adorn*, To *Putt on*. So they take *Eduth*, for some Royal Ornament, which was a Mark of Kingly Dignity. It is probable, It might be a *Bracelet*, that *Jehoiadah* might putt on the young King, together with the Crown. This Conjecture (Dr. *Patrick* saies) is countenanced, by what we read of the *Amalekite*, who brought the *Bracelet* on *Saul*s Arm to *David*, as well as the *Crown* that was on his Head.[203]

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197 Patrick, *A Commentary* (450).
198 Patrick, *A Commentary* (452).
199 Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* (9.7.2).
200 "To me their explanation is not displeasing, they who think that by this name phylacteries ought to be understood. [These phylacteries] were connected to the crown through a small cavity, which has been left in the crown, in that part which will be above the forehead. For those are said to be 'a memorial,' Exod. 13:9." Grotius, in loc., *Opera Omnia* (1:164).
201 Ink changes from brown to black.
202 הָעֵדוּת
203 Patrick, *A Commentary* (453), citing Johann Förster (1496–1558), German Lutheran Hebraist, author of *Dictionarium Hebraicum novum* (1557); Johannes Avenarius (Johann Habermann) (1516–90), German Lutheran Hebraist and author of *Liber Radicum* (1568); and Fortunatus Scacchus, *Sacrorum Elaeochrismaton Myrothecium* (pars III, cap. XLI).

Q. *The King stood by a Pillar*. What & where? v. 14.
A. He Stood, by the Post, of the East-Gate in the Inner Court, where the Station of the King was. *Vitringa* has made this probable, and observes, That the King alone entred at the *East-Gate* on the *Sabbath*, & the *New Moons*. But on other Dayes, at the *South*, or the *North* Gate, where the People entred. [see, Ezek. 46.1, 2.]

He *Stood*, only to be the better seen by the People.[204]

204 Patrick, *A Commentary* (454), citing Compegius Vitringa, *De Synagoga vetere* (31ff.).

Q. *Joash* his Proposal? v. 4.
A. The House of God being suffered to run to Decay, in the Time of *Athaliah*, & her Son; *Joash*, in gratitude unto God, who had præserved him there, took up a Resolution to have it Repaired; and in order to it, commanded what Money should be sett apart for that Purpose.

The Money arose Three Wayes. The first is here mentioned. *The Money of every one that passeth*; Those Words, *The Account*, are not in the Hebrew. Some understand it of the Offering, which Pious People of other Nations made, who came to worship at *Jerusalem*. [1. King. VIII.41.] Or rather, of those who were come to Twenty Years of Age; and having *passed that*, were to pay Half a Shekel. This had been much neglected, in the Time of *Athaliah*, as the *Jewish* Doctors think; but now, being more carefully gathered, there was enough to maintain the Daily Sacrifice, (which was to be supported out of this Money,) and to carry on also the Restoration of the Temple. Tho' *Abarbanel* thinks, it was wholly applied unto the Reparation; And the People voluntarily offered for the Maintaining of the Daily Morning & Evening Sacrifice.

The Second was; *The Money that every one is sett at*. That is, what every Man, who had vowed himself to God, was to pay, by the Estimation that the Priest should make for his Redemption. [Lev. XXVII.2, 3.] Till this Money was paid, his Life was not his own.

The Third was; what Money any Man would freely give to the Service.[206]

Q. Upon the Negligence of the *Priests*, what New Orders of the King? v. 7.
A. First, that they should gather no more Money of the People.

Secondly, that they should not have the Care of seeing the Temple Repaired, but pay what had been gathered into other hands.[207]

Q. The Place where stood the *Chest*, that was to receive the money? v. 9.
A. Dr. *Lightfoot* thinks, this Verse, and, 2. Chron. XXIV.8. don't belong to the same Time. The *Chest* was at first sett in the very *Court of the Priests*, near to the *Altar*; as it is here said. So that the Money still passed thro' the *Priest*s Fingers; who took it of the People, & putt into the *Chest*, that was in their Court, where the People could not come at it. But the Money, not coming so fast, as was expected, this Way, he Removed the *Chest*, or made another, and sett it without

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205 A quarto-sized leaf.
206 Patrick, *A Commentary* (458–60, the latter mispaginated as p. 470), citing Abravanel (*see II Kings: A New English Translation* 326).
207 Patrick, *A Commentary* (460–61, mispaginated as 470–71).

the Court, at the Entrance of it, where every one might have Access unto it. And he proclaimed thro' all the Countrey, They should bring in their Money thither; which came in so plentifully, that there was enough to Repair the House, & for other Uses also.[208]

Q. *They gave the Money, into the Hands of them who did the Work*? v. 11.
A. The Bags of Money (which probably had been seal'd up, in the Presence of the Secretary, & the High-Priest,) were delivered not unto the Priests, whom the King had found Faulty; perhaps in converting the Money to their own Uses; But some select Persons, who had this Business committed unto them.[209]

[311v] |
Q. The Expedition of the *Syrians*, ha's a much Different Relation made of it, in the Book of *Chronicles*? v. 17.
A. *Abarbanel* thinks therefore, there were Two Expeditions; which is approved by several Christian Writers. In the first of them, *Hazael* came up in Person, as is related here; but they purchased Peace of him. And then, in the End of the Year, after they had killed *Zechariah*, the War was Renewed. Tho' *Hazael* did not come himself, but sent a small Army, which they were not able to oppose, and which destroy'd a great many of the Princes of the People, and sent great Spoils to *Damascus*. [2. Chron. XXIV.23, 25.][210]

Q. What *Servants* of *Joash*, were they that *Smote him*? v. 21.
A. They were the Friends of *Jehoiadah*, as *Josephus* thinks; who took this Revenge upon *Joash*, for the Death of *Zechariah*, the *Son of Jehoiada*. See, 2. Chron. XXIV.25.[211]

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208 John Lightfoot, *A Chronicle of the Times, and the Order of the Texts of the Old Testament*, in *Works* (1:2022); Patrick, *A Commentary* (461, mispaginated as p. 471).
209 Patrick, *A Commentary* (462).
210 Patrick, *A Commentary* (464, mispaginated as p. 474). For the view that there were two expeditions, attributed to Abravanel, but also held by David Kimhi, *see II Kings: A New English Translation* 331–32.
211 Patrick, *A Commentary* (465), citing Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* (9.8.4).

2. Kings. Chap. 13. [312r][212]

Q. *God gave Israel a Saviour*. Who was it? v. 5.
A. Some understand, an extraordinary *Captain*, whom God raised up, to fight their Battels, with great Success.

But it being said, *That while Hazael lived, he oppressed them*, we may understand by the *Saviour* here mentioned, most Reasonably the Son of *Jehoahaz*, who when *Hazael* was dead, delivered them from their Bondage. And perhaps he did this in his Fathers Life-time, who made him joint-Sovereign with himself.[213]

It is plain, by comparing things, That *Jehoash* reigned with his Father *Jehoahaz,* Three Years. And by him was Peace Restored unto *Israel*.

Q. *Elisha* falling sick, of the *Sickness whereof he died*? v. 14.
A. In *Seder Olam Rabba*, they say, it was in the Tenth Year of *Joash*. From thence, they gather, how long *Elisha* continued a Prophet in *Israel*. It was from the Nineteenth Year of *Jehoshaphat*, unto this Time. This was Three Score and Five Years.[214]

Q. Why dos *Elisha* putt his hands on the *Kings Hands*? v. 16.
A. To represent that they were not to trust in their own Hands, & Arms & Valour & Conduct, but in God alone, who would give them the Victory.[215]

| [312v]

Q. What may be the Traditions among the *Jewes*, concerning the *Dead Man*, who Revived upon his being *Lett down* into the *Tomb*, or *Cave*, where he *touched the Dead Bones of Elisha*? v. 21.
A. They say, The Man *Reviv'd* and Stood up, no longer, than till he went out of the *Cave*, and there he *fell down Dead* again. For he was, as the Hebrewes generally think, a Wicked Man, & so not worthy to ly in the same Grave with the *Man of God*.[216]

Others of them tell us, That he was a Good and a Great Man, and that his Name was *Shallum*; and that he returned home, and was a Father of Children after this.

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212 A quarto-sized leaf.
213 Patrick, *A Commentary* (467).
214 Patrick, *A Commentary* (470), citing *Seder Olam*, ch. XIX (Guggenheimer ed., ch. 19, p. 163).
215 Patrick, *A Commentary* (470–71).
216 Patrick, *A Commentary* (473), attributes this view to Abravanel (*see II Kings: A New English Translation* 340–41).

Q. *Selah*, what and when? v. 7.
A. It was the *Metropolis* of *Arabia Petræa*; which took its Name from hence; for *Selah* is the same with the Word *Petra*, a *Rock*, on which the City stood. From this Rock *Amaziah* seems to have thrown down the Ten Thousand, whom he took alive, & broke in Peeces. [2. Chron. XXV.12.] *Hagar* signifies the same, as *Bochart* observes; By which Name the *Arabians* call it, from the *Rocky* Mountain, which hangs over this Place. The Apostle *Paul* calls it, by the Arabic Name of *Hagar*.[218]

(311).

Q. The Name of the Place that *Amaziah* took from the *Edomites*, why did hee call it, *Jokteel*? v. 7.
A. *Jōktheel* signi{fi}es, *Obedience to God*. *Grotius* thinks, that *Amaziah* subjected the City to the Lawes of *Moses*.[219]

Or[220] rather, as Dr. *Patrick* observes, by giving it this Name, he acknowledged, that the Possession of this Place, was the Reward of his *Obedience* to the Man of God, who required him to dismiss all the Forces he had hired of the *Israelites*.[221]

Q. The Intent of *Amaziah*'s Challenge to *Jehoash*? v. 8.
A. It is probable, that being encouraged by his late Victory, he Resolved to be Revenged for the Slaughter of his Ancestors, by *Jehu*; and for the late Spoil the *Israelites* had made in his Countrey; but he resolved to have Satisfaction in an honourable Way. The Words may be thus understood; *Either give me Satisfaction, or Let us try it out in a Battle*. It is probable also, he might think of conquering the Kingdome of *Israel*, if he did not satisfy him, & bringing it back to the House of *David*: So *Jehoash* understood him, as *Josephus* thinks; and the Sequel shews it.[222]

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217 A quarto-sized leaf.
218 Patrick, *A Commentary* (476), citing Bochart, *Geographia Sacra* (pars prior, lib. IV, cap. XXVII, p. 312); for Paul's use of the name Hagar, *see* Gal. 4:25.
219 Grotius, in loc., in *Opera Omnia* (1:166): *Obedientia Deo, idque ideo quia in capta urbe jura Mosis constituit.*
220 Ink changes from brown to black.
221 Patrick, *A Commentary* (477).
222 Patrick, *A Commentary* (477), citing Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* (9.9.1).

Q. Why are the Ancestors of *Amaziah* mentioned? v. 13.
A. To show, that this was the greater Disgrace to him; he being descended from a Race of Kings, which *Jehoash* was not.[223]

Q. The Restoring of *Elath*? v. 22.
A. *David* first of all took it from the *Edomites*. The *Edomites* recovered it from *Joram*. *Abarbanels* is a probable Opinion, that *Amaziah*, the Father of *Azariah*, took this Place, after his great Slaughter of the *Edomites*. But he did not annex it unto the Kingdome of *Judah*; by reason of his following Troubles. *Azariah* now therefore did it, by building a wall about it, & fortifying it, & so securing the Possession of it.[224]

223 Patrick, *A Commentary* (479).
224 Patrick, *A Commentary* (482), citing Abravanel (*see II Kings: A New English Translation* 346–47).

Q. The meaning of *Jotham* the Son of the King, being *over the Kings House*? v. 5.

A. He lived in the Palace, & managed all the affairs of the Court, & of the Kingdome. This was in the Twenty Seventh Year of *Azariah*, when he was (as *Rasi* makes Account) smitten with the Leprosy. He continued a *Leper* twenty five Years; during which time *Jotham* took upon him the Administration of the Government; his Father being Incapable of it.[225]

Q. *Pul* the King of *Assyria*, coming against the Land? v. 19.

A. He was Governour of *Babylon*, who together with *Arbaces*, the *Mede*, slew *Sardanapalus*, the Last of the *Assyrian* Kings; and so translated the Empire to the *Chaldæans*. He reigned over *Babylon* and *Niniveh*: and *Arbaces* over the *Medes* and *Persians*. He was the First King of *Assyria*, that invaded *Israel*, and began their Transportation out of their own Countrey. [So *Abarbanel* gathers, from, 1. Chron. V.28.] And this is the First Time we find any mention of the Kingdome of *Assyria*, since the Dayes of *Nimrod*, who erected a small Kingdome here. And they were no great People, one would think, when the LXXXIII{rd} *Psalm* was penned, where they are made Auxiliaries, to the Children of *Lot*, with other small Nations, against the *Israelites*. But now they had a large & powerful Empire.[226]

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Q. *Menachem*s Way of Raising the Tax? v. 20.

A. He thought to Ingratiate himself, with the common People; on whom he laid no Tax. He charged only the Rich; and this also according to the Proportion of their Ability. The Hebrew Words[227] don't import, that he made Every Rich Man in *Israel*, pay *Fifty Shekels*; but that he gave to the King of *Assyria*, so many *Shekels* for every Man; that is, for every one in his Army. So they run exactly: *To give to the King of Assyria*, *Fifty Shekels of Silver for each Man*.[228]

Q. *Pekah*, a *Captain*? v. 25.

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225 Patrick, *A Commentary* (486), citing Solomon Jarchi, or Rashi (*see II Kings: A New English Translation* 350).

226 Patrick, *A Commentary* 490, citing Abravanel (*see II Kings: A New English Translation* 353).

227 לָתֵת לְמֶלֶךְ אַשּׁוּר חֲמִשִּׁים שְׁקָלִים כֶּסֶף לְאִישׁ אֶחָד

228 Patrick, *A Commentary* (491).

A. He was a great Commander under *Pekahiah*. The Hebrew Word, *Shalish*,[229] signifies more than a bare *Captain*. *Josephus* therefore calls him, a *Chiliarch*, or, Colonel, over a thousand Men. The word carrying in it, the Notion of *Three*, some late Writers have therefore thought him to be the *Third* Person in the Kingdome next the King.[230]

Q. *Tiglath-Pileser*; who? v. 29.

A. He was the Son of *Pul*; and he is called by other Authors, *Pul*, or *Phul-Assur*; And here, *Tiglath-Pul-Assur*. The former Part of his Name, was taken from the River, *Tigris*, which is called by the Inhabitants, *Diglito*; from the Borders whereof this King did come.[231]

Dr. *Hyde* ha's given another Account of the Name. He thinks, *Pileser*, is compounded of the Names of Two of their Gods. *Pil*, is the same with, *Bel*; and *Azer*, or, *Azar*, was the Name of *Mars*, a Planet worshipped by the *Persians*. They affected much, to have the Names of their Gods, in their own, which was common among the *Jews* also. For this Cause *Tiglath* is likewise added. All great Beneficial Rivers were counted Sacred, among the Heathen.[232]

But[233] lett us make a little further search into Antiquity.

The ancient Empire of the *Assyrians*, which had governed *Asia*, for above Thirteen Hundred Years, being dissolved on the Death of *Sardanapalus*, there arose Two Empires instead thereof; The one founded by *Arbaces*, Governour of *Media*, the other by *Belesis*, the Governour of *Babylon*; who were the Two principal Commanders, that headed the Conspiracy, which brought the former Empire to an End. *Belesis* had *Babylon*, *Chaldæa* and *Arabia*; and *Arbaces* all the rest. This was in the Seventh Year after the Building of Rome; in the Second Year of the Eighth Olympiad; and the Seven hundred Forty Seventh Year before the Beginning of the vulgar Christian Æra.

Arbaces is he whom the Scripture calls, *Tilgath-pileser*, and, *Thilgath-pilneser*. *Ælian* calls him, *Thilgamus*; and *Castor* calls him, *Ninus junior*.[234] He fixed the Royal Seat at *Nineve*, and there he reigned Nineteen Years.

Belesis is the same with *Nabonassar*, from the Beginning of whose Reign at *Babylon*, commences the famous Astronomical Æra, called, *The Æra of Nabonas-*

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229 שָׁלִישׁ [shaliysh], "shield carrier, adjutant, officer, captain."

230 Patrick, *A Commentary* (492).

231 Patrick, *A Commentary* (493).

232 Thomas Hyde (1636–1703), Church of England divine, professor at Oxford, and oriental scholar. Mather refers to Hyde's *Historia Religionis Veterum Persarum, Eorumque Magorum* (1700), p. 66.

233 The remainder of the entry is possibly a later addition, signaled by a change in handwriting.

234 A search in the writings of Claudius Aelianus has not yielded "Thilgamus," or variants thereof. "Castor" is probably Castor of Rhodes (2nd-century BCE), supposedly the grandson of King Deiotarus. On Ninus and Nineveh, see Hyde, *Historia Religionis Veterum Persarum* (41).

sar. He is by *Nicolas Damascenus* called, *Nanibrus*;[235] But he is in the Scripture called, *Baladan*; Being the Father of *Merodac*, or, *Mordac Empadus*, who sent an Embassador to congratulate *Hezekiah*s Recovery.

These Two Empires God raised up; the one, to overthrow the Kingdome of *Israel*; the other, to overthrow the Kingdome of *Judah*.

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Q. *Hoshæa* slayes *Pekah*, in the *Twentieth* Year of *Jotham*, the Son of *Uzziah*, whereas *Jotham* Reigned but *Sixteen* Years in all. [v. 33.] Is not this Account unaccountable? v. 30.

A. The Reason of this Reckoning, might bee the Wickedness of *Ahaz*, the Son of *Jotham*, in whose Reign this Occurrence happened. The Holy Ghost chuses to reckon by Holy *Jotham* in the Dust, rather than by wicked *Ahaz* alive. In the Slaughter of *Pekah*, the Lord Revenged upon *Pekah*, the Misery which hee had caused unto *Judah*, when hee slew *an hundred & twenty thousand valiant Men thereof, in One Day*. That Misery was brought upon *Judah*, by *Ahaz*, causing the *People to forsake the Lord God of their Fathers*: & therefore, when the Cruelty of *Pekah* therein is Avenged, the Time is computed from *Jotham*, who was a Good Man, & not from *Ahaz*, whose Transgressions had caused this Mischief.

Dr.[236] *Patrick* objects, that this Notion, wherein Dr. *Lightfoot* followes *R. Solomon Jarchi*, will hardly hold; since we have so much of *Ahaz* in the following Part of this History. He saies, The plain Truth is; That *Jotham* reigned Four Year{s} with his Father.[237]

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235 Nicolas Damascenus, 1st-century BCE Greek historian and philosopher, probably in his *Universal History*, only fragments of which remain.

236 Ink changes from brown to black.

237 Patrick, *A Commentary* (494–95), citing William Whiston (1667–1752), English clergyman, philosopher and theologian, *A short View of the Chronology of the Old Testament* (1702), p. 47; Lightfoot, *The Harmony, Chronicle and Order of the Old Testament* (112–13); Solomon Jarchi, or Rashi, in loc., from *Seder Olam*, cap. XXII (*see II Kings: A New English Translation* 355).

Q. The Two Kings came up to *Jerusalem*, & besieged *Ahaz*, but *could not overcome him*. How does this agree with, 2. Chron. XXVIII.5. where these Two Kings gett great Victories over him? v. 5.
A. *Abarbanel* answers, The Things happened at Different Times. The Wars mentioned in the Book of *Chronicles*, were made severally by these Two Kings; wherein they prospered; as being the Ministers of the Divine Providence. But now, when they joined their Forces together, and came not only against other Cities, but against *Jerusalem* too, God would have them to miscarry.[239]

Q. *Rezin* slain? v. 9.
A. He was the Last of their Kings; for the *Syrians* never gott up again; as the Jews observe in *Seder Olam Rabba*. Whether he was a legal Successor to *Benhadad* the Son of *Hazael*, or an Usurper, tis uncertain.[240]

Q. The Kings offering on his New *Altar*? v. 12.
A. Doubtless, He offered himself. But not unto God. We are told expressly, 2. Chron. XXVIII.23. *He sacrificed unto the Gods of Damascus*. A wonderful Blindness, (as Dr. *Patrick* notes,) To worship those Gods, & expect Help from them, who could not preserve their own Countrey from Ruin.[241]

Q. What meant he, when he said, *The Brasen Altar shall be for me to enquire by*? v. 15.
A. He would not have it thought, that he intended wholly to lay aside the Altar made by *Solomon*; But rather to do it greater Honour, by reserving it for his own Private Use: when he pleased to enquire of God by it.

But there not being any mention of the Name of, the LORD, some think, the Meaning is no more, but that he would have it stand where he had sett it, until he considered what further to do with it. So they understand the Hebrew Words, *Li Lebaker*,[242] q.d. I will take care of it; I will order what shall be done with it.

Some add, The famous *Dial* of *Ahaz*, was made with the Brass of it.[243]

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238 A quarto-sized leaf.
239 Patrick, *A Commentary* (498–99), citing Abravanel (*see II Kings: A New English Translation* 358).
240 Patrick, *A Commentary* (500–01), citing *Seder Olam Rabba*, ch. XX (Guggenheimer ed., ch. 20, p. 172).
241 Patrick, *A Commentary* (502).
242 לִי לְבַקֵּר
243 Patrick, *A Commentary* (503).

[315v] |

Q. What was, *The Covert for the Sabbath*? v. 18.

A. There is a vast Variety of Opinions, concerning this, *Musach*.

Dr. *Patrick* thinks, The most probable is, That it was a *Covered Place*, where the King satt in the Porch of the Temple, or at the Entrance of it, upon the *Sabbath*, or other Great Solemnnities, which were called by that Name. Thus *Procopius Gazæus*.[244] This *Ahaz* took away, intending not to trouble himself to come to the *Temple*; but to sacrifice every where; even in the *Several Cities of Judah*; which he would have to be thought as Holy as *Jerusalem*.

It is a probable Conjecture, of one; That *Ahaz* did this, to express his Hatred and Contempt of the *Sabbath*. For the Worship of *Idols*, and the Violation of the *Sabbath*, are frequently joined in the Scripture. [Ezek. XX.16. XXII.8, 9. XXIV.37, 38. See also, 1. Maccab. I.44.][245]

Monsieur[246] *Jurieu* thinks, It might be some Covert Gallery, or *Piazza*, called *Sabbath*, which is to say, *Rest*; because People did use to repose themselves underneath it.[247] *Lightfoot* saies, The Kings Guards did use to stay here for the Coming of the *Sabbath*. Others would have it, the Place where the Priests, releeved from their last Weeks Attendence on Friday night, staid until the *Sabbath* was over.

Q. The Passage thro' which the King came from his own House to the Temple, *he turned another Way*. And it was, *For the King of Assyria*. How for him? v. 18.

A. That he might Ingratiate himself, with the *King of Assyria*, by contemning the Religion of his own Countrey, and approaching nearer to his.

But *Procopius* takes it, the quite contrary Way; That he did this *For Fear of the King of Assyria*. This moved him, to make a shorter Passage into the House of the Lord; that he might flee thither instantly for Safety in Case {of} any Danger. This is not so probable; because he profaned it, & shutt up the Doors of it.[248]

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244 Procopius Gazaeus, *In Libros Regum, et Paralipomenon Scholia* (312, 315): *Ante templum locum habebat, ubi ante tempus sacrificiorum, aut his etiam peractis, sedebat illum in templo collocauit.*

245 Patrick, *A Commentary* (504), citing but not identifying "a very learned Man of our own."

246 Ink changes from brown to black.

247 Jurieu, *A critical History of the Doctrines and Worships* (1:303), citing John Lightfoot (1602–75).

248 Patrick, *A Commentary* (504–05); Propocius Gazaeus, *In Libros Regum, et Paralipomenon Scholia* (315): *Idcirco autem hoc fecit, ut, si quando regia obsidione cingeretur, posset absque metu et periculo, templum ingredi, adiunctum habens introitum. Hoc enim illud significat, quod dicit, a facie regis Assyriorum*.

Q. Here *Hoshæa*'s Reign begins, in the *Twelfth* of *Ahaz*; But, 2. King. XV.30. it begins in the *Fourth* of *Ahaz*? v. 1.

A. *Ralbag* thinks, He was a Servant of the King of *Assyria*, until the latter Period. It is no improbable Conjecture of Dr. *Lightfoot*, That *Ahaz* gave him a great deal of Trouble, after the Death of *Pekah*, in Revenge of the Slaughter he had made on *Judah*. So that he kept *Hoshæa* out of the Throne a great While. And on this Account, he is called, 2. Chron. XXVIII.19. *The King of Israel*; as well as because he walked in the Wayes of those Kings.[249]

But for these, & other chronological Difficulties, I must refer you, to the *Chronology* of the Bible, which this Book begins withal.[250]

Q. Wherein was *Hoshæa*, not so bad as the *Kings of Israel, that went before him*? v. 2.

A. He did not hinder his People, from going to worship God at *Jerusalem*. The Hebrew Doctors tell us, He took away the Guard that *Jeroboam* sett in the Passage, to keep Men from going to the Solemn Feasts there. One of the *Golden Calves*, was now carried into Captivity; and, this might also a little pall *Hoshæa*'s Devotion for that which remained.

And yett in his Dayes God exterminated *Israel*. *Seder Olam rabba*, tells us, This was to show, that it was not meerly for the Sake of their Kings, upon whom the People cast all the Blame of their Depravation and of their Deportation, that they were carried Captive.[251]

Q. *So*, the King of *Egypt*; who was he? v. 4.

A. *Jerom* calls him, *Sua*. *Josephus* calls him, *Soan*. The LXX, *Segor*. He is the same with the celebrated *Sabacon*, an Ethiopian mentioned by *Diodorus Siculus* and *Herodotus*; who took *Boccharis* the King of *Egypt*, and burnt him alive.[252]

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249 Patrick, *A Commentary* (505–06), citing Whiston, *A short view of the chronology of the Old Testament* (48); Lightfoot, *The Harmony, Chronicle and Order of the Old Testament* (114–15); and Ralbag, or Levi ben Gerson (see *II Kings: A New English Translation* 362–63).

250 *BA* 1:231.

251 Patrick, *A Commentary* (506), citing *Seder Olam Rabba*, cap. XXII (Guggenheimer ed., ch. 22, pp. 191–98).

252 Patrick, *A Commentary* (507), citing Sir John Marsham, 17th-century English politician and antiquarian, *Chronicus Canon Aegyptiacus, Ebraicus, Graecus, & Disquisitiones* (1672), § XVI; Jerome, Vulgate, in loc.; Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaica* (9.14.1); LXX, in Walton, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (2:588). Herodotus, *Historiae* (2.137), mentions Sabacos, though no mention is found of him under this name (or variants thereof) in Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca Historica*.

Q. *The Tower of the Watchmen*, what? v. 9.
A. Thought to be those little Houses, which the Countrey People built, wherein to Watch their Flocks, and their Fruits. And præserve them from Wild-beasts and Robbers.[253]

Q. *Groves*; what? v. 10.
A. The Hebrew Word, *Asherim*,[254] which we translate, *Groves*, should be rendred *Idols* of that Name. So our *Selden* has demonstrated; That it signifies not, the *Grove*, but the Deity placed in the Grove. How could *Groves* be *Sett under every Green Tree*?

Kimchi saies, That every woodden Thing, that was worshipped, was called, *Asherah*. *Procopius* of *Gaza*, observes That, the Word, which the LXX here translate αλση, others every where translate, Ασταρωθ, which Word he saies denotes *Astarte*, that is, *Venus*.[255]

~~3846.~~

Q. Lett us have some Illustrations, upon the *Idols*, I mean, the *Assyrian Idols* worshipped by the New Inhabitants of the *Samaritan Cities*. And, first, we read, *The Men of Babylon made Succoth-benoth*? v. 30.
A. The Hebrew Triflers tell us, That *Succoth-benoth* was the Image of an *Hen with her Chickens*. But *Selden*, exploding the Rabbinical Trifles, will have *Succoth-benoth*, to be neither a *God* nor a *Goddess*; but the *Temple* of one, and particularly the Temple of the Babylonian *Mylitta*, or *Venus Urania*. It is in English, *The Tents of Daughters*; and the young Women satt there apart in several *Tents*, where any Stranger, that had paid his Devotions to Madam *Mylitta*, pulling what String he pleased, was accommodated with a Wench at the End of it, ready to be prostituted unto his Libidinous Inclinations. All Women, it seemeth, once in their Life, exposed themselves unto Conversation with a Stranger, tho' some waited a pretty While, before they had the Luck of it. Both *Herodotus* and *Strabo*, gives the more ample Story of this Diabolical Business. (Compare the *Apocryphal* Epistle of *Jeremiah*, v. 43.) Perhaps that Ancient Law, Lev. 19.29. may be a Prohibition of these *Abominable Idolatries*, these *Idolatrous Abominations*. It is by *Selden* proposed unto Consideration, whether the Name *Venus*, do not come from the *Benoth*, in the Name now before us; For indeed, she was called, *Binos*, among the old Græcians; and *Adolphus Occon*, will show

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253 Patrick, *A Commentary* (509).
254 אֲשֵׁרִים
255 Patrick, *A Commentary* (509–10), citing Selden, *De Diis Syris* (Syn. II, cap. II, p. 143); see entry on Judg. 3:7, above, p. 156, for another entry on "groves." Patrick also cites David Kimhi (*see II Kings: A New English Translation* 365); Procopius Gazaeus, *In Libros Regum, et Paralipomenon Scholia* (315): *Hoc vero Astarthen significat, scilicet Venerem*; and LXX (*see* Walton, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* 2:586).

you, old Roman Coins, on which the Name is *Venos*. *Eucherius Lugdunensis* therefore proposes, That *Succoth* should be translated, *Tents*, but that the Name of *Benoth*, should still stand untranslated, as the Name of the *Idol*. But we read of a Colony in *Africa*, about three dayes Journey from *Carthage*, called, *Sicca Veneria*; And *Valerius Maximus* tells us, L. 2. c. 6. Siccæ *est fanum* Veneris, *in quod se Matronæ conferebant, atque, inde prócedentes, ad quæstum dotes corporis injuria contrahebant*.[256] Perhaps the *Punic* Pronunciation of *Succoth*, may have been *Siccuth*. And from this Original may be the Σίκκα Οὐενερια[257] mention'd by *Ptolomy*, and *Procopius*; and the *Sicca Veneria* mentioned by *Anonymus*, and *Victor Uticensis*. And the City might be called, only, *Sicca*, by *Pliny*, and only *Veneria* by *Solinus*. We find *Castus* of *Sicca*, a Bishop in a Council of *Carthage*. *Arnobius*, as *Jerom* tells us, florished here. And *Giraldus*, tells us of, *Sycensis Venus*.[258] | [316v]

~~3350.~~

Q. And what was *Nergal*, the Idol of the *Men of Cuth*? {v. 30.}

A. *Hottinger*, from the *Pantheon* of *Kircher*, tells us, That *Nergal* is a Samaritan Word, signifying, *A Cock*; (which both *Kimchi* and *Jarchi* countenance:) And that it was an *Idol* of the *Fire*, or of the *Sun*, under the Image of, *A Cock*.[259] But *Selden* thinks, That it was an everlasting *Fire*, kept in enclosed Places, with

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256 "They [the Carthaginian women] had among them the Temple of Dry *Venus*, where the Matrons were wont to meet. There, by the injury of their Bodies, they were wont to raise themselves Portions." Translation from *Q. Valerius Maximus, His Collections of the Memorable Acts and Sayings of Orators, Philosophers, Statesmen, and Other Illustrious Persons of the Antient Romans, and Other Foreign Nations* (1684), p. 75.

257 "Sicca Oueneria."

258 Selden, *De Diis Syris* (Syn. II, cap. VI, pp. 215–24), citing Herodotus, *Historia* (1.199); Strabo, *Geographica* (16.20); Epistle of Jeremiah (Baruch 6), v. 43, "The women also with cords about them, sitting in the ways, burn bran for perfume: but if any of them, drawn by some that passeth by, lie with him, she reproacheth her fellow, that she was not thought as worthy as herself, nor her cord broken"; Adolphus Occon, *Impp. Romanorum numismata a Pompeio Magno ad Heraclium* (1601), p. 366; Eucherius Lugdunensis, 5th-century CE Catholic bishop, *Commentarii in Genesim, & in Libros Regum* (1564), on 2 Kings 26; Valerius Maximus, 1st-century CE Latin writer, *Facta et Dicta Memorabilia* (2.6.15); Claudius Ptolomaeus, *Geographia* (4.3.30, line 4; *see* Nobbe, *Claudii Ptolemaei Geographia* [1843–45]); Procopius of Caesarea, *De bellis*, lib. II (i.e., 4.24.6, line 4; see *Procopii Caesariensis Opera Omnia*, ed. Wirth [1962–64]); Anonymus (not further identified); Victor Uticensis, 5th-century CE bishop of Utica, *Historia Persecutionum, quas in Aphrica olim circa D. Augustini tempora* (lib. II); Pliny, *Historia Naturalis* (5.3); Gaius Julius Solinus, c. early 3rd-century CE Latin grammarian, *De Mirabilibus Mundi* (27.7); Jerome, *Liber De Viris Illustribus* (79) [PL 23.723–26]; and Lilius Gregorius Giraldus (1479–1552), Italian scholar and poet, *De Deis Gentium Libri, sive Syntagmata, xvii* (1565), Syn. XIII.

259 Johann Heinrich Hottinger, quoting from Athanasius Kircher, *Oedipus Aegyptiacus* (1:365–66). The two works by Hottinger known to have been in Mather's library, *Analecta historico-theologica* (1652) and *Historiae ecclesiasticae Novi Testamenti* (1655), as well as other key works by Hottinger, do not contain this reference. Solomon Jarchi, or Rashi, translates Nergal as "rooster," and David Kimhi as "wild hen" (*see II Kings: A New English Translation* 371).

a Religious Respect; by the *Cuthæans*; who came from the *Persian* River and Countrey of that Name, where, we need not *Strabo* to tell us, That the *Fire* was worshipped. The Magicians of the *Persian Superstition*, whom we find also among the *Cappadocians*, had their πυραθεῖα, or, *Fire-places*; which are in *Ammianus Marcellinus* called, *Sempiterni Foculi*.[260] While they sang the *Theogony*, they touch'd and stirr'd up the *Fire* with *Rods*; ῥάβδοις λεπτοῖς ἐφάπτονται.[261] The Name *Nergal*, seems to be composed of /ניר/ *Nir*; and /גל/ or /גלגל/ or /גלל/ *Galal*; signifying, *Fontem Ignis Lucisue*; or, *Ignem aut Lucem versatilem*.[262]

Doubtless, *Nergal* was an Idol of the *Fire*, under which the *Sun* was also worshipped by the *Chaldæans*, from whom (as *Agathias* truly conjectures) the worship of the *Persians* was derived. *Ur* of the *Chaldees* (Gen. 11.35.) the Hebrew Writers take therefore to be, not their *Town*, but their *God*; and it means *Fire*, or *Light*. *Maimonides* tells us, *Notum est quòd Abraham natus est in Gente, quæ serviebat Igni, et in incredulitate eorum,*[263] *qui credebant quòd non erat Deus alius nisi Stellæ. Dixerunt, quod Sol et Luna sunt Maximi Deorum*.[264] Tis a Tradition, that *Abraham* was banished into *Canaan*, for his refusing of this Idolatry. This *Nergal* was accordingly, *The God of Nahor*, [Gen. 31.53.] And one of the *Strange Gods*, worshipped *on the other Side of the Flood in old Time*. [Josh. 24.2.] The πυραθεῖα,[265] of this Idol, are meant by the, *Chamanim* destroy'd by *Josias*. [2. Chron. 34.4.][266]

The *Persians* treated their common *Fire* with a World of Religious Respect. They would not Suffer any Filthy Thing to be thrown into it. Hence, the *Persian* in *Dioscorides* would not have his Body burned, lest the *Fire* should be thereby polluted.[267] They proceeded then, to erect a Sort of *Chappels*, or *Temples*, (or, if you will, *Furnaces*) in which they reserved with Religious Respect, a Fire never to be quenched. And Finally, They worshipped it as a God, and as the Image of the *Sun*.[268]

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260 "Everlasting fire."

261 "Thin rods touching." Strabo, *Geographica* (15.3.14, line 10). *See Strabonis geographica*, ed. Meineke (1969).

262 "Light of fires" or "Turning fire or light." Selden, *De Diis Syris* (Syn. II, cap. VII, pp. 225–27), citing (pp. 225–26) Strabo, *Geographica* (16.2); and Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae* (22.6.34).

263 Selden, *De Diis Syris* (Syn. II, cap. VII, p. 229): *illorum*.

264 "It is well known that Abraham was born among the nations that have served the fire, and in their unbelief, they believed that there was no other god except the stars. They said that the Sun and Moon are of the greatest of the gods." Maimonides, *More Nebochim* (lib. III, cap. XXX [i.e., XXIX); *see Guide for the Perplexed*, transl. M. Friedländer (1903), p. 317.

265 Puratheia (or Pyrathaea, as rendered by Selden): "fire altars."

266 Selden, *de Diis Syris* (Syn. II, cap. VII, pp. 228–31).

267 In epigram 162, Dioscorides of Alexandria (*Anthologia Graecae* 7, epigr. 162, line 5) has the dead Persian request that his body not be cremated or have lustral water poured on him because he did not want to pollute either fire or water (*see Anthologia Graeca*, ed. Beckby [1965–68]).

268 Bochart, *Hierozoicon* (pars posterior, lib. I, cap. XVI, cols. 109–19).

3351.

Q. But what was *Ashima*, the Idol of the *Men of Hamath*? {v. 30.}
A. If the learned *Selden* himself say, *Quid fuerit, non capio*,[269] You will easily allow *me* to be Ignorant. But the most probable Conjecture, is that wherein the Jewes do generally concur; That *Ashima*, was a *Goat* worshipped as a *God*: And this Conjecture is maintained by *Kircher* in his *Pantheon*. The *Divels*, demanding to be worshipped by the woful Children of Men, often appeared in an *Hircine* Form; and hence the *Divels* are called /שעירים/ *Hairy Ones*.[270]

There is a Report, That the Samaritans, in the first Clause of the *Pentateuch*, inserted *Ashima*, instead of *Elohim*. *Aben-Ezra* reports it. But it is doubtless a Calumny, raised by the Jewes from their Inveterate Hatred of the *Samaritans*. Tho' it be true, that the Samaritan *Dositheus*, impiously and profanely interpolated the Sacred Oracles, (of which *Dositheus* you may read in *Eulogius Alexandrinus*, recited by *Photius*:)[271] yett it is not likely, that he would proceed unto such a Degree of Madness as This.

Jerom indeed makes *Asima*, the Name of a *Town*; but it is evident from *Josephus*, as well as the Bible, that it was the Name of a *God*, as well as a *Town*.[272]

A[273] late Author takes *Ashima*, to be the same with *Mars*. Because the ancient Αρ was of the same Signification with Αρης among the *Greeks*: And *Shemah* is as much as *Hearing*, or *Obedient*. *Jo. Geusius* [in his Book, *De Victimis Humanis,*] conjectures this, Αρ, to be the same that the *Romans* called, *Hesus*; whom *Lucan* mentions in his *Pharsalia*;

– *horrentque feris Altaribus Hesus*.[274]

Dr. *Patrick* prefers the Conjecture of Dr. *Alix*; That *Ashima* is the Name of GOD; whom the Hebrews call *Hashem*, or, *The Name*. Accordingly, *Aben-Ezra*, affirms, That in some *Samaritan* Books, he read, *Bara Ashima*, instead of, *Bara Elohim*.[275]

| [317r]

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269 "What it is, I do not understand." Selden, *De Diis Syris* (Syn. II, cap. VIII, p. 236).
270 Kircher, *Oedipus Aegyptiacus* (1:369).
271 Dositheos was a 1st-century CE Samaritan Gnostic, against whose followers the late 6th/early 7th-century Greek patriarch Eulogius Alexandrinus wrote in *Various Treatises*, as preserved in Photios, 9th-century archbishop of Constantinople, *Bibliotheca* (Cod. 230).
272 Jerome's Latin translation of Eusebius, Pamphilius, *Onomasticon*, on Kings (see sec. A, n. 170); see also Selden, *De Diis Syris* (Syn. II, cap. VIII). Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaica* (9.10.1).
273 Ink changes from brown to black.
274 "The horrendous wild altars of Hesus."
275 The last paragraph is taken from Patrick, *A Commentary* (518–19), citing Jacobus Geusius (fl. 1660–71), *Victimae Humanae* (1675)*;* Lucan, *Pharsalia* (1.443); Pierre Allix (1616–1717), French protestant divine (see *BA* 1:285, 486–87), whose *Reflexions* Mather uses with some regularity in this section of the "Biblia"; and Abraham Ibn-Ezra, "in his Preface to the Book of *Esther*, that he saw in a *Samaritan* Pentateuch, *Genesis* I.i" (on the Samaritan Pentateuch's use of "Asima," citing Ibn-Ezra's preface to Esther, *see* Walton, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta*, "Prologemena XI," 1:76–77).

3353.

Q. What were *Nibchaz*, and *Tartak*, the Idols of the *Avites*? {v. 31.}
A. The Rabbis *Kimchi*, and *Jarchi*, tell us, That *Nibchaz* was worshipped under the Figure of a *Dog*; and *Tartak*, under the Figure of an *Ass*.

This is all I can learn from *Selden* about them.[276] And I know, /נבח/ is, *To Bark*. All I shall therefore add, is, *Fuller*s Witticism. "It is a good Hearing, that we hear no more of them. Some Heathen accounted those men happiest, that were never born, and those next, who died the soonest. So we esteem those Idols the least bad, which never appeared; & next them, such as are most obscure, the Manner of whose mischievous Worship hath left the least Impressions to Posterity."[277]

3354.

Q. What were *Adrammelek*, and *Anammelek*, the Gods of *Sepharvaim*? {v. 31.}
A. These were no other than *Moloch*; under his *Assyrian* Denominations. But *Kimchi* reports from the Ancients, That *Adrammelek* was worshipped under the Figure of a *Peacock*; *Anammelek* under the Figure of a *Pheasant*.

The Talmuds make them, a *Mule* and an *Horse*.

Dr. *Hyde*, will have *Adrammalek*, to signify, *The King of the Flock*; *Adre*, being as much as, *Greges*. *Anamelek*, he thinks, is much of the same Signification; *Ana*, being as much as *Pecus*, in the *Persian* Language; collectively taken for, lesser Cattel. Of these, it seems, these Gods were to have the Care; & were therefore worshipped; The Riches of these People consisting very much in Cattle. He also observes, They were *Cælestial Constellations*, which they did imagine to promote the Breeding & Growth of Cattel.[278]

Q. How did they *do, after the Manner of the Nations, whom they carried away from thence*? v. 33.
A. They did, after the Manner of the *Ten Tribes*, who worshipped the LORD, and the *Golden Calves* together with him; and sometimes *Baal*, & other Gods.[279]

Q. *As did their Fathers, so do they, unto this Day*.] How long? v. 41.
A. Mr. *Mede* ha's observed, This Medley of Religions, lasted above Three hundred Years; even till towards the End of the *Persian* Monarchy. Then *Menasseh*, Brother to *Jaddu*, the High Priest of the *Jews*, who had Returned unto their own Land, married the Daughter of *Sanballat*, the Governour of *Samaria*. After his

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276 Selden, *de Diis Syris* (Syn. II, cap. VII, p. 237), citing David Kimhi and Solomon Jarchi, or Rashi (*see II Kings: A New English Translation* 371).
277 Fuller, *A Pisgah-Sight of Palestine* (135).
278 Hyde, *Historia Religionis veterum Persarum* (129). David Kimhi, in loc. (*see II Kings: A New English Translation* 371).
279 Patrick, *A Commentary* (520).

Exemple, other Jews of the best Rank, having married strange Wives contrary to the Law, and being lothe to leave them, betook themselves thither also: whom *Sanballat* entertained, & made his Son-in-Law, the *Priest* of their Worship. When *Alexander M.* subdued the *Persian* Monarchy, he obtained Leave of him, to build a Temple on Mount *Gerizzim*; where *Menasseh* was an *High-Priest* unto them. This was very prejudicial to the *Jews*, while those who were Excommunicated or Discontented at *Jerusalem* repaired thither.[280]

Q. It is mentioned as the Reason, why *the Lord sent Lions* among the People;[281] Because *they Feared not the Lord*. *Abarbanel* here enquires; Did not the *Israelites* also want the *Fear of the Lord*? {v. 41.}
A. He answers – Tho' the *Israelites* also served *Idols*, yett they deny'd not the Divine Power and Providence; but imagined these *Idols* to be the Intermediate Causes, by which the Divine Influences might be convey'd unto them. It is plain, That *Jeroboam*, did not deny the LORD; [1. King. XIII.6.] but Acknowledged His Power. But these New Inhabitants, beleeved that the *Idols* which they worshipped, were *True Gods*; And therefore, they were destroyed by *Lions*, because they did not acknowledge the Power & Providence of God, over all Inferiour Beings. Now this Land was peculiarly *His*; And hereby, He vindicated His ancient Inheritance, and Possession to Himself.[282]

| [317v]

Having[283] thus discoursed on the Ancient *Idols*, I will take this Occasion, to mention a Fancy of Sir *John Pettus*. The old Gentleman, in his *Essayes on Metallick Words*, when the Word, *Dung*, occurs, he observes, That by the Chymists, it is called, *Ignis Sapientum*; and that the Heathen had *Dungs* in such Veneration, that they sacrificed unto most of their *Idol-Gods*, on the account of Stercorary[284] Vertues in them. Therefore (he saies) the Translators of our Bible into Latin, instead of *Idols*, calls them *Deos Stercorarios*; of which, my Fanciful Knight apprehends this Reason; That the several uses they made of *Dung*, either for *Medicine*, or *Manuring* their Ground, might be propitious to them.[285]

| [318r]

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280 Patrick, *A Commentary* (522), citing Mede, *Works*, bk. I, Discourse XII (on John 4:23), p. 48 (Mather used the 1664 ed. of Mede's *Works*).
281 2 Kings 17:25.
282 Abravanel (*see II Kings: A New English Translation* 373–74).
283 This could either be a continuation of the previous entry or a separate entry concluding the entire subject of ancient idols.
284 Of or pertaining to dung or manure.
285 John Pettus, 17th-century English natural philosopher and politician, *Fleta minor. The Laws of Art and Nature, in knowing, judging, assaying, fining, refining and inlarging the Bodies of confin'd Metals* (1683), pt. II, entry on "Dung."

4780.

Q. Lett us make some Enquiry after the *Ten Tribes* of *Israel* carried into Captivity; and lett us inform ourselves, first, whither they were carried? v. 41.

A. We will take the Company and Assistence of Mr. *Samuel Lee*, in this Disquisition.[286]

We find the Land of *Israel*, thrice assaulted by the *Assyrian* Emperours.

The first Impression made upon their Countrey, was by *Pul*; possibly *Sardanapalus*. But *Menachem* with a Present of a *Thousand Talents* diverted him.

The Second Impression was made by *Tiglath-Pileser*, who seems to be the same with *Arbaces*, the first King of the *Assyrians*, after the Revolt of the *Medes*. This Prince, took many of their Cities and conquered *Gilead* and *Galilee*, and *all the Land of Naphthali, and carried the People captive to Assyria*. He transported the *Reubenites*, and the *Gadites,* and the *Half-Tribe of Menasseh*, on the East of *Jordan*, [1. Chron. 5.26.] unto *Halak*, and *Habor*, and *Hara*, and to the River *Gozan*.

The last Impression was made by *Salamanasser*, who swept the Land of its Inhabitants, and carried them to *Holak* and *Habor*; by the River *Gozan*, [2. King. 17.6. and, 18.11.] *and into the Cities of the Medes*.[287]

As to *Media*, no particular Places are mentioned; but in *Assyria*, we see several, the Scituation whereof is to be now Examined.

Halah, or, *Chalak*, we will not seek, with some, in *Cholcis*, but in *Assyria*; where we find a Countrey called, *Calacine* by *Ptolemy*, placed above *Adiabene*, belonging to *Assyria*. It is termed *Chalachena* by *Strabo*, and seated in the North Part of *Assyria*, between the River *Tigris* and *Lycus*, and separated from *Armenia* by the Mountain *Niphanes*. The Inhabitants, it may be, are the Χαλωνιται[288] of *Dionysius*, if not the *Calneh* in *Genesis* and *Isaiah*.[289] The Province is at this Day called *Chalcal*, by *Olearius*.[290] The chief Cities of old were *Marde*, *Dithaba*, (perhaps *Bithlis* now) *Savara Bessara*. At this Day, those Places are near to, and Southwest of the Mountains *Sehend* and *Elwend*; and the Cities are *Hemedan*, *Sultamie*, and *Senuan*; for the River which runs a little West of *Hemadan*, Seems to be the Ancient *Lycus*. The City *Calicala*, of Northern Lat. 41. in *Alfraganus*, is called *Hisan*, or *Hisan Cala*, at this Day; and the same with *Asan*, by *Tigris*,

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286 Giles Fletcher and Samuel Lee, *Israel redux, or, The Restauration of Israel* (1677). Henceforth cited as Lee, *Dissertation.* Lee was Mather's subsequent father-in-law, by his third wife, the widow Lydia Lee George (see above, Editor's Introduction, p. 17).

287 Lee, *Dissertation* (32–33).

288 "Xalonitai." *See* Dionysius Periegetes, *Orbis Descripto* (line 1015).

289 Gen. 10:10 and Amos 6:2. Lee, *Dissertation* (34), citing Ptolemy, *Geographia*; Strabo, *Geographica* (16.2.2); and possibly Dionysius Periegetes, c. 2nd-century Greek poet, author of *Geographici Graeci minores*.

290 Lee, *Dissertation* (34), citing Adam Olearius, 17th-century German mathematician, geographer, and librarian, author of *Beschreibung der Muscowitischen und Persischen Reise* (1647), transl. John Davies, *The Voyages and Travels of the Ambassadors sent by Frederic, Duke of Holstein, to the great Duke of Muscovy and the King of Persia* (1662, rep. 1669), pp. 184, 231, 288.

in *Ortelius*; and the Inhabitant is called, *Kalæus*, or, by some, *Calichla*. *Pliny*, treating of these Countreyes, mentions a People called, *Classitæ, per quos Lycus Ex Armeniâ fertur*.[291] Tis corrected by *Bochart* in his *Phaleg*, and made, *Chalachitæ*; and he Cites the *Talmud* explaining *Halak*, by *Helvan*, or *Hulvan*, lying South of *Hemedan*. The River *Lycus* is at this time called *Zab*, and is mention'd by the *Nubian* Geographer; Of old it was called *Zaba* and *Diava*, by *Ammianus*, which signifies, *A Wolf*. And from thence; this Portion of *Assyria* was called, *Adiabene*.[292]

Habor, or *Chabor*, is in *Ptolomy* the Name of a *Mountain*, and of a *River*, and of a *City*. The Mountain *Chaboras*, (called *Choatras* in the Palatine Copy,) is that which divides *Assyria* from *Media*, toward the North-West. The River *Chabor* arises out of the Mountain *Massius*, or *Mash*, in the North of *Mesopotomia*, and it is the same that in our Translation of *Ezekiel* is turned {to} *Chebar*; by the *Nubian* Geographer, *Alchabur*; by *Strabo*, Αβορρας; by *Amianus*, *Aboras*; at this Day, *Giulap*. The City *Chabura*, is by *Ptolomy* sett near the Influx of that River into *Euphrates*. *Ammianus*, an Ey-Witness, calls it, *Munimentum tutissimum et fabrè politum, cujus mœnia Abora et Euphrates ambiunt flumina, velut Spacium Insulare fingentes; Quod Dioclesianus Exiguum adhuc et suspectum, muris turribusque circumdedit Celsis*.[293] The Romans called it *Cercusium*; in the *Notices* of the Eastern Empire it is called, *Circæsium*. Tis the same with the City *Charchemish* in Scripture,[294] whither *Pharaoh-Necho*, King of *Egypt*, went up to Battel. By the *Nubian* tis called, *Cquerquisia*; and now commonly tis called *Karkasa*; and it had its Name from Setting forth *Horses* to a *Race*, as *Golius* has instructed us.[295]

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291 Lee, *Dissertation* (35), citing Alfraganus, which is the Latinized name of 9th-century Persian astronomer Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Kathīr al-Farghān, whose textbook, *Elementa Astronomica*, was published by Jacobus Golius (1669) (Lee cites p. 245); Abraham Ortelius, 16th-century Flemish cartographer and geographer, author of *Synonymia Geographica* (1578), a treatment of ancient geography; Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* (6.30): "Classitae, through whose district runs the river Lycus on its passage from Armenia."

292 Lee, *Dissertation* (33–34). Bochart, *Geographia Sacra* (on Calachitae, pars prior, lib. IV, cap. XXII, pp. 290–91; and on Lycus, cap. XIX, pp. 272–83); Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae* (18.5.1, 6.1, 7). The "Nubian Geographer" is Idrisi, or Ptolemy Hephaestion, the 12th-century Spanish Arabian historian, whose work appeared in *Geographia Nubiensis. Id Est Accuratissima Totius Orbis in Septem Climata Divisi* (1619); on Zaba, see Climatis IV, pars sexta, p. 200 (Lee cites pp. 196 and 203 of an unidentified edition). On Idrisi, *see also BA* 1:447, n. 61.

293 "A very safe and skillfully built fortress, whose walls are washed by the Abora and Euphrates rivers, which form a kind of island, and entered it at the beginning of the month of April. This place, which was formerly small and exposed to danger, Diocletian, alarmed by a recent experience, encircled with walls and lofty towers." Lee, *Dissertation* (36), citing Ptolemy, *Geographia* (6.1); Ezek. 1:1, 3 ff.; Idrisi, *Geographia Nubiensis* (Climatis IV, pars sexta, p. 198, on Chaboras in the Palatine Copy; and p. 199 on Alchabur); Strabo, *Geographica* (16.1.27, line 3); and Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae* (23.5.1, in Loeb, vol. II, 1940).

294 2 Chron. 35:20.

295 Lee, *Dissertation* (36) citing Alfraganus, *Elementa Astronomica* (258); Idrisi, *Geographia Nubiensis*, though Cquerquisia is not mentioned there; and Jacob Golius (Golal) (1596–1667), Dutch orientalist, *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum* (1653). On Golius, *see BA* 1:455, 608–09.

Hara, (which *Bochart* will have the same with *Aria*,) is the same with *Algebal*. *Har* signifies, A Mountainous Tract, as well as *Gebal*; and it lies on the North of *Assyria*, near *Media*; which is evident by some of the Cities of *Algebal*, to witt, *Hamedan*, and *Dainur*, that ly near the Places which we found in *Halah*. This is not the *Aria* of *Ptolomy*, and on the North of it runs the River *Araxes*, now called, *Aras*, rising out of the Mountain *Paryardes*, or *Ararat*, of *Armenia*; wherewith
[318v] agrees that Judicious Traveller *Olearius*. Our *Aria* is no other | than the Province of *Iran*, scituate between the Rivers of *Araxes* and *Cyrus*, (now called, *Aras*, and, *Kur*;) from which the City *Ervan* lies not far off. It extends itself, upon the North of *Assyria*, and was Part of ancient *Media*, & near the *Caspian* Sea.[296]

And then, for *Gozan*; tho' we do not readily find a River of that Name, yett we find both a City and a Region, called, *Gauzanites*. The Region of *Gauzanites*, is by *Ptolomy* placed in the North-East of *Mesopotamia*, with the City *Gizana*, near the Springs of the River *Chaboras*, at the foot of the Mountain *Masius*, & not far West from *Calacene*, in *Lat*. 37. d. 15. m. Besides that, he places another City, called, *Gauzanea*, in *Media Antropatea*, Lat. 40. d. 15 m. near the River *Cyrus*, (or, *Kir*, in the Scripture,) whither the Inhabitants of *Damascus* were carried captive. *Bochart* finds the City *Gauzania*, to ly in the Mid-way, between the Mountain *Chaboras*, and the *Caspian* Sea, and between the Two Streams of the River *Cyrus*; and he thinks, it gave the Name of *Gozan*, both to the River & the Countrey, before the Dayes of *Cyrus*. Our *Lee* takes this to be the Scripture-place; tho' there is no need of contending: For that in the North of *Mesopotamia*, may have been a Colony from this. Tis not easy to determine, what may be its Name, at this Day; unless it be the City of *Zenken*, on the River *Cyrus*, not far from the *Caspian* Sea, and not much West of *Schamaky*, a noble City of Modern *Persia*. *Strabo* seems to mention this Place, by the Name of *Gaza*, & place it in *Media Atropatia*.[297]

Our *Lee* having travelled thus far, is not willing to unharness, until he has mentioned, The *Sabbatical River*; which he saies, is *by Some too much laughed at*. Compare the *Sambathiah* in *Seder Olam*, with the River *Sabbatius* in *Ortelius*; the River *Zabatus* in *Xenephon*; *Zaba* of *Cedrenus*; which is the *Lycus* of *Ptolomy*: And the City *Zombis*, in *Ammianus*, and in *Stephanus*, probably the Same with the *Candis* in *Ptolomy*, upon the River *Cyrus*. This may insinuate, that the Story in *Ezra,* (reputed a Fable,) concerning the Travelling of the *Israelites* from their First Seats, unto some remoter Places at *Arsareth*, was nothing but a small Remove, to some more Distant Cities, North of *Armenia*, & near the *Caspian* Sea; where *Ptolomy* places the City *Arsarata*, Lat. 43. d. 3. m. on the River *Araxis*;

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296 Lee, *Dissertation* (37–38), citing Bochart, *Geographia Sacra* (pars prior, lib. III, cap. XIV, p. 220); Olearius, *The Voyages and Travels of the Ambassadors sent by Frederic* (296).

297 Lee, *Dissertation* (39–40), citing Ptolemy, *Geographia* (5.19); Bochart, *Geographia Sacra* (pars prior, lib. III, cap. XIV, p. 220); Strabo *Geographica* (11).

perhaps the same, that is now called *Arzerum*, which is mentioned by *Golius* out of *Abulfeda*.[298]

The true Place is now discovered, where the *Ten Tribes* of the Captivity were first seated, and from whence they did further colonize, and spread and scatter about, in Various Dispersions, by the *Caspian* Sea, and at Length grew so numerous, that Part of the Regions of *Media*, received the Denomination of *Syro-Media*; partly from the Tribes of *Israel*, and partly from the *Syrians* of *Damascus* who were captivated into the Countrey of *Kir*, [Amos. 1.5.] by the Banks of the River *Cyrus*. To confirm this Assertion, *Ptolomy* (that great Astronomer and Geographer of *Pelusium* in *Egypt*) saies, That *Syro-Media* did extend itself, προς ολην Την Περσιδα. on the South of *Media*, all along the Borders of *Persia*. Nay, *Ammianus* determines *Ecbatana* (the true *Achmetha*, Ezr. 6.2.) in the very Countrey of the *Syro-Medians*.[299]

Briefly, We find the *Ten Tribes*, at first placed, on the Northern Frontiers of the *Assyrian* Empire; towards part of *Armenia*, and *Media*, which were then under the Kings of the *Medes*, ever since the Starting up of that Kingdome, at the Fall of *Sardanapalus*, and the Rise of *Arbaces*.[300]

But lett us now proceed unto that Quæstion; *Where the Ten Tribes may probably seem to reside at this Day*?

Our *Lee* Endeavours to answer that Quæstion, with a Chain of Times, from their Deportation, and a Lamp of successive Writers therein.

We find the *Ten Tribes* in the *Seats*, already described, at the Time when the Book of *Kings* was written. [2. King. 17.23, 34, 41.] Yea, and at the Time when the Book of *Chronicles* also was written. [1. Chron. 5.26.] Now, the Writer of that Book, or of the Additions to it, plainly recites the *Tenth Generation* after the Time of the Captivity of *Judah*. [Consider, 1. Chron. 3.21, 22.] If then *Zerubbabel* be placed, at the Building of the *Second Temple*, according to the learned *Usher*, A. M. 3485; And if every Generation be allow'd 30 Years apeece, tis in the whole 300, which brings us down to A. M. 3785. Wherefore, until this Time at least, by the Testimony of the Scripture, the Ten Tribes were still in a State of Captivity & Dispersion. But *Lavater* is of the Opinion, That these

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298 Lee, *Dissertation* (41–42), citing Seder Olam; Abraham Ortelius, 16th-century Flemish geographer, possibly his *Thesaurus Geographicus recognitus et auctus* (1596) (on Ortelius, see *BA* 1:718, 750, 775–76)]; Xenophon, *Anabasis* (2.5); Georgius Cedrenus, *Annales* (*Historiarum Compendium*) (1566), p. 342; Ptolemy, *Geographia*; Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae* (23.6.39); Stephanus of Byzantium, 6th-century CE grammarian at Constantinople, author of a geographical dictionary, *Ethnica*, of which only small fragments remain (epitomized by Hermolaus); and Golius, *Muhammedis Fil. Ketiri Ferganensis, qui vulgo Aftraganus dicitur, Elementa Astronomica* (1669), "In Alferganum Notae," pp. 265–66. Abu'l-Fida was a late 13th/early 14th-century Kurdish historian and geographer.

299 Lee, *Dissertation* (43), citing Ptolemy, *Geographia* (6.26, line 14): παρ᾽ ὅλην Τὴν Περσίδὰ and Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae* (23.6.22, 39).

300 Lee, *Dissertation* (43–44).

Generations contain the Progression of a Lineage, down to the very Time of our Blessed Saviours Incarnation.[301]

In the Time of *Josephus*, who wrote under the Reign of *Vespasian*, we still
[319r] read, of their being in Captivity. In {his} | Book of, *The Wars of the Jewes*, which he wrote before his *Antiquities*, we have a Speech of King *Agrippa* to the *Jewes*; wherein he exhorts them to obey the *Romans*, with such an Expostulation as this: *What! Do you stretch your hopes beyond the River* Euphrates? *Do any of you think that your Fellow-Tribes will come to your aid out of Adrabene? Besides neither will they upon so unreasonable an Account engage themselves in this so great a War; neither, if they would assent unto so Evil an Enterprise, will the* Parthian *permitt it*. Again, In his Book of *Antiquities*, which he wrote in the 13th Year of *Domitian*, and the 56th of his own Age, reciting the Return of *Esdras*, he saies, That [ομοεθνεις] *those of the same Nation in Media*, having received a Copy of the Letter of the King of *Persia*, were over-joy'd, and that many of them came to *Babylon*, with a Desire to Return unto *Jerusalem*; And then he adds, Ο δε πας λαος κατα χωραν εμεινε, *The whole Body of the People, still remained in that Countrey*, of *Media*. He affirms, the *Ten Tribes* to be still beyond *Euphrates*, many *Myriads*, more than can be Numbred. This agrees with the Prophecy of *Ezekiel*, [chap. 37.16.] That some of *Israel* mixed with *Judah*; but *all the House of Israel*, that is, far the greater Part, & so more genuinely called, *The House of Israel*, were the Companions of *Ephraim*; and both are to be united in One Body, under the *Messias*, in the Latter Dayes.[302]

The Author of the Book of *Esdras*, writes a Story of the Travel of the *Ten Tribes* into distant Regions. Lett the Merit of the Story be what it will, it serves as a Testimony, that the Jewes in those Dayes look'd on their Fellow-Tribes, as in a State of Irreduction. The Author lived and wrote, about A. C. 100, and about Thirty Years after the Ruine of *Jerusalem*.[303]

In the next place, *Origen*, speaking of *Israel* as distinct from *Judah*, saies, that he sinned against God so greatly, that he was delivered into the Hands of *Assyria*, as the Scripture saies, *To this very Day*. He seems to Continue the Scripture-Expression, to his own Time; who Dyed A. C. 254.[304]

The next shall be *Jerom*; who in his Comment, on Joel 3. 6. *The Children of Judah and Jerusalem, yee have sold to the Græcians*; ha's this Passage, *Filii* Judah, *et* Jerusalem; *nequaquam* Israel, *et decem Tribuum, quæ usque hodie in Medorum Urbibus et Montibus habitant*. It seems they were then in the Cities and Mountains

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301 Lee, *Dissertation* (45–47) citing Ussher, *Annales veteris Testamenti* (159; for English translation, see *Annals of the world* 111); Ludwig Lavater, 16th-century Swiss Reformed theologian, *In Libros Paralipomenon sive Chronicorum … Commentarius* (1573), on 1 Chron. 1:21.

302 Lee, *Dissertation* (49–51), citing Josephus, *De Bello Judaico* (1.434, line 1), and *Antiquitates Judaicae* (11.133, line 1): ὁ δὲ πᾶς λαὸς […] κατὰ χώραν ἔμεινεν.

303 Lee, *Dissertation* (52), citing 2 Esdras 13:40, 45.

304 Lee, *Dissertation* (52–53), citing Origen, "in Jerem. kom. 4," in Pierre-Daniel Huet's edition of *In Sacras Scripturas Commentaria quaecunque Graece reperiri potuerunt* (1668), p. 68.

of *Media*. And again, treating about the same Tribes, in his Notes on *Hosæa*, he ha's these Words; *Usque hodie Persarum Regibus Serviunt, et nunquam est earum soluta Captivitas*; They served the Princes of *Persia*, it seems, until that Day, & had never yett been brought out of their Captivity. Now *Jerom* died, A. C. 421.[305]

Sulpicius Severus wrote, about the year 400. His Words, concerning the *Ten Tribes*, dispersed among the *Parthians*, and *Medians*, and *Indians*, and *Ethopians*, are, *Nunquam in Solum patrium sunt regressæ, Hodiéque Barbararum Gentium imperijs continentur*.[306]

We might here insert a Story, out of *Orosius*, (L. 3. c. 7.) about the Jewes in *Hyrcania*; and out of *Eusebius*'s Chronicle; (p. 136) but we will rather hasten to *Benjamin*, the Jew of *Tudela* in *Spain*; who finished his Travels, (as L'*Empereur* notes,) A. C. 1173. He affirms, That in the City of *Samarcand*, the Seat of the great *Tamberlane*, there were near 50000 *Israelites* under the Præsidency of R. *Obadiah*; and that in the Mountains and Cities of *Nisbor*, there be resident four Tribes of *Israel*, namely *Dan*, *Zabulon*, *Asher*, and *Naphthali*; [perhaps the *Ephthalitæ* of *Theophanes*, and the *Euthalitæ* of *Procopius,* in *Photius*'s *Bibliotheca*,] which were carried captive by *Salmanasser*. Tho' many Things in *Benjamin* seem incredible, yett this Article of his History, serves to show the Opinion of the Jewes, about their Brethren, still in the North, and the North-East Parts of *Persia*.[307]

Lett *Matthew Paris* come in as a further Witness in the Case. He saies, The *Jewes* in his Time, attempted to convey Arms in Barrels to the *Tartars*, for their aid against the Christians in the East; beleeving, that the Commons of *Tartary*, were of the Race of those *Israelites*, whom *Alexander* of old had shutt within the *Caspian* Mountains. He mentions the Story, in the Year, 1241. It was then a current Opinion, That the *Tartars* and *Cumans* (near the Castle *Cumania* in the Straits of *Caucasus*, mention'd by *Pliny*,) were of the Posterity of *Israel*.[308]

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305 Lee, *Dissertation* (53), citing Jerome on Joel 3:6 (see *Commentariorum In Joelem Prophetam Liber Unus* [PL 25.947–988D], probably adapted from [PL 25.981–82]); and on Hosea (see *Commentariorum In Osee Prophetam Libri Tres* [PL. 25.815–946C]).

306 "Never returned to their native country, and are to this day held under the sway of barbarous nations." Lee, *Dissertation* (53–54), citing Sulpicius Severus, *Chronicorum* (2.11).

307 Lee, *Dissertation* (54–55), citing Paulus Orosius, late 4th/early 5th-century Christian historian and theologian, *Historiarum Adversum Paganos Libri VII* (3.7): "At that time, too, Ochus, who was also called Artaxerxes, after completing a long and severe war in Egypt, forced many of the Jews to migrate and ordered them to make their home in Hyrcania near the Caspian Sea. They have remained there even to the present day and have greatly increased their numbers. It is the common belief that some day they will be forced to leave because of the pressure caused by overpopulation." Which story out of Eusebius, *Chronicon*, Lee intends is uncertain; Artaxerxes' sending of Jews to Hircania is mentioned in "The Hebrew Chronicle" of book one. Constantijn L'Empereur's edition of Benjamin of Tudela's journal of his travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa is *Itinerarium Beniamini Tudelensis* (1633), from which Lee cites pp. 97, 184–85; Theophanes the Confessor, late 8th/early 9th-century Byzantine aristrocat, monk, and chronicler, author of *Chronographia*; Procopius, *Various Xcholia*, in Photius, *Bibliotheca* (Cod. 206).

308 Lee, *Dissertation* (55–56), citing Matthew Paris, early 13th-century English historian, Benedictine monk, and polymath, *Historia Major* (1640), p. 564; Pliny, *Geographica* (6.12).

Bradwardin must not be omitted; who treating of *Miracles*, does (perhaps from *Petrus Comestor*) countenance the Notion of the Ten Tribes, being shutt up, within the *Caspian* Mountains.[309]

[319v] | In fine, Dr. *Giles Fletcher*, who was Agent from Q. *Elizabeth* in *Muscovy*, ha's written a very ingenious Dissertation, which gives many probable Arguments, to make one think, That the *Tartarians* about *Samarcand* on the *East-Side* of the *Caspian* Sea, may be in Part, the Progeny of the *Israelites*, whom *Salmanasser* captivated. And *Olearius* reports many things of the *Circassian Tartars*, (whom *Fletcher* makes one of the *Ten Hoards*, of the *Israelitish Tribes*,) that would seem to add unto the Probability of such a Conjecture.[310]

There may now remain One Quæstion more; *Whether the Ten Tribes are ever to Return out of the Dispersion, into the Land of Israel once possessed by their Ancestors*?

Our *Lee* is fully perswaded of it.[311] For,

First, It is prophesied, That the Tribes are to Return out of their Dispersion, after the Manifestation of the *Messiah*. After the *Ascension* of our Saviour; & His *Wounding the Head* of His Enemies, then He is to *bring His People again from the Depths of the Sea*. [Psal. 68.19, 22.] After our Saviour is *come forth from the Stem of Jesse*, Then will the Lord *Sett His Hand again the Second time, to recover the Remnant of His People*; and not *Judah* only, but *Ephraim* shall be Restored, and their mutual *Envy* shall cease; and this must *be like as it was to Israel, in the Day that he came up out of the Land of Egypt*. [Isa. 11.1. 10, 11, 12, 13.]

Compare, Isa. 46.6. and, 60.21. Jer. 30.3. and 33.15. and 50.19. Ezek. 37.21. Hos. 2.19. and, 3.5. Joel. 3.1, 10. Amos. 9.11, 14. explaned by Act. 15.16. Zech. 10.10.

The Return of *Israel* after our Lords Blessed *Incarnation* is here declared. But no such thing ha's ever yett been fulfilled. Therefore it remains to be fulfilled.[312]

Secondly. The Return of the Tribes, is to be attended with a Conversion unto the *Messiah*, and unto His Law. Tis foretold, That they shall become the *Sons of the Living God*, and the Children of *Judah*, and the Children of *Israel* shall *Gather together*, and *appoint themselves One Head*, and *they shall Come up out of the Land*, where they are scattered. [Hos. 1.10, 11.] And this is to be accomplished after they have been *many Dayes*, without a *King*, or *Prince*, or *Sacrifice*, which ha's not been verified until since the Incarnation of our Lord; [Hos. 3.4.] Yea, they shall *fear the Lord and His Goodness in the Latter Dayes*. This is the Time,

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309 Lee, *Dissertation* (56), citing Thomas Bradwardine, early 14th-century theologian and archbishop of Canterbury, *De Causa Dei contra Pelagium* (1618), p. 40, who in turn cites, as Lee "supposes," Petrus Comestor, 12th-century French historian, author of *Historia Scholastica*.

310 Lee, *Dissertation* (56–60), citing Giles Fletcher's contribution to *Israel Redux* (1–28), *An Essay upon some probable Grounds, that the present Tartars near the Caspian Sea, are the Posterity of the ten Tribes of Israel*; Olearius, *The Voyages and Travels of the Ambassadors sent by Frederic* (310).

311 For Mather's deletion, *see* App. A.

312 Lee, *Dissertation* (63–65).

which the Prophet *Zephaniah* speaks of; [Ch. 3.9.] when they shall *Serve the Lord with One Consent*, even *from beyond the Rivers of Ethiopia*. This is not the *Ethiopia* South of *Egypt*, but the Eastern *Cush*, which was compassed by the River *Gihon*, or *Gyndes*, a Branch of *Euphrates*, which ran down upon the East-Side of *Arabia*, where the People of *Cush*, or *Cushim*, did anciently inhabit. It is as much as to say, The People which were scattered beyond *Euphrates*, and its Branches, in *Persia* and *Media*, shall return to their own Land, and be converted unto God. Then God will *Save her that halted,* (that is, in Point of Worship, between *God* and *Baal*:) and, *Gather her that was driven out*; (that is, by the *Assyrian*;) and gett them a *Name and a Praise among all the People of the Earth*. All this is to be performed *in that Day*, when God will *rise up to the Prey*, and *assemble the Kingdomes, to pour upon them his Indignation*; and *all the Earth shall be devoured with the Fire of His Jealousy*. Of this famous Day, we see more in the Prophecies of *Zechariah*; [Ch. 12.7.] That God will *Save the Tents of Judah first*. A Special Grace to *Judah*, before the full Return of the *Ten Tribes*. And *in that Day* there shall be *poured out on the House of David*, that is, the whole Kingdome of *David*, *the Spirit of Grace and Supplication*; and they shall be in such Bitterness for the *Messiah*, as they were for *Josiah*, at *Hadadrimmon*, [or, *Maximianopolis*, as *Jerom* tells us,] near *Megiddo*, in the Valley of *Jezreel*. There are two Passages in *Isaiah*s Prophecies. One is, [Isa. 27.10, 12.] That *When the Iniquity of Jacob is purged*, then *in that Day*, God will gather the *Children of Israel, One by One*, that is to say, every one to a Man. Then *the Great Trumpett shall be blown*, (which we may take to be, the *Seventh Trumpett* in the *Apocalypse*:)[313] and they shall *Come out of their Captivity* in the Land of *Assyria, & Worship the Lord in the Holy Mountain at Jerusalem*. The Other is, [Isa. 59.20.] That *the Redeemer shall Come to Zion, & to them that turn from Transgression in Jacob*. Now the Apostle *Paul*, in the *Eleventh* Chapter to the *Romans*, ha's taught us the right Application of these Prophecies; He saies, They will not be accomplished until *the Fulness of the Gentiles be Come in*; that is, till their *Full Time* shall be accomplished. [Compare, John 11.52.] Then God will shine out of the Second *Paran*, and ride upon the Horses and Chariots of Salvation. For our Lee takes the whole Third Chapter of Habakkuk in the future Tense, to be not yett Accomplished.[314]

| Thirdly. The Tribes of *Israel*, are to Return into their own Land, about the [320r]
Time of the Destruction of the *Gog* and *Magog* foretold by the Prophet *Ezekiel*. [ch. 38. and, 39.] But the Destruction of the Nations meant by that *Gog* and *Magog*, was never yett accomplished. Those People, who shall come *like Storms on the Mountains of Israel*, are generally taken to be the *Turks*, who came originally, from between the *Euxine* and *Caspian* Sea's, conjoined with *Mesech*, who

313 Jerome, *Divina Bibliotheca 58. Beati Joannis Apocalypsis* [PL 29.859–60]. On the seventh trumpet, *see* Rev. 11:15.

314 Lee, *Dissertation* (65–70).

were planted at first by the *Montes Moschici* in *Cappadocia*, and with *Tubal*, or the *Tubareni* in the Coasts adjacent. Some think the κυρτιοι[315] in *Strabo*, placed in the North of *Media*, to be these People. They had their Name from *Terk* and *Tork*, that signifies, a *Shepherd*; those Countreyes being used unto a Pasturage, like that of the *Nomades*. Tis likely, they are the *Turcæ*, in *Pliny* and *Mela*; and they have left a notable Remain of their Name, in the City *Terki*, so called at this Day, on the West Side of the *Caspian*. Tis observable, That *Balaams* Prophecy,[316] speaking about the Latter Times of the World, what is in our Text, *Israels King shall be higher than Agag*, is in the *Samaritan*, (and so the LXX reads it,) *He shall be exalted above Gog*. Now of this *Gog,* we read, [Ezek. 38.17.] The Lord had *Spoken of old* concerning him, *& by His Prophets in the former times*.[317]

Fourthly. The Tribes of *Israel*, when Returned, are to Rule over their *Babylonian* Enemies, and their Ancient Oppressors. But after their coming out of *Babylon,* they never yett had a Kingdome *Sui juris*; they were alwayes a Province inserted into another Empire. *Judah* and *Ephraim*, and *Zion*, are to be Raised up against the Sons of *Javan*, or of *Greece*. [Zech. 9.13.] Who are the Sons of *Javan*, but the People that live under *Gog*, and *Magog*? And who is the present Possessor of *Greece*, but the *Turkish Gog*? Who is the *Assyrian* in the Land of *Judah*, but the *Ottoman* family, who holds Part of the ancient *Assyria*, and all the Land of *Canaan*, under his *Damascen Scepter* at this Day? But *Israel* is *in the Latter Day*, to *Captivate* those that led them *Captives* in former times. [Consider, Isa. 14.2. and Isa. 60.12, 14. and, Joel. 3.8. and, Zech. 14.17, 18.][318]

Fifthly, The Tribes of *Israel*, being thus Returned, are to possess a far larger Countrey, than ever they did since they were a People. [Consider, Isa. 17.12. and, Zech. 9.10. and, Psal. 72.8. and, Psal. 89.25.] *Israel* must enjoy all that was contained in the ancient Charter, given unto *Abraham*; even from *Euphrates*, to *Sihor*, the little Stream, at the Entrance into *Egypt*. But they never yet enjoy'd it. The Lord also tells them, that after He had appointed them *Three Cities of Refuge* on the *East* of *Jordan*, and again, *Three Cities* more on the *West* of *Jordan*, when the Lord should *Enlarge their Coast, to give them all the Land, whereof He had sworn to their Fathers*, [Deut. 19.8, 9.] they should add *Three Cities* more, Nine in all, because of the Amplitude of their Territory. The Lord never *Swears* any thing but it is accomplished. Whereas this thing, was never yett accomplished. *They of the South*, must possess *Edom*; *they of the Plain, the Fields of Ephraim; and Benjamin, the Countrey of Gilead*. [Obad. 19.] The Tribe of *Judahs* Countrey, (you must know,) was divided into *Three Parts*; *Negeb*, or the South, toward *Arad* and *Amalek*: *Sephela*, or the Plain, toward the *Philistines*: And the Mountains,

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315 κύρτιοι, Kurtioi; Strabo, *Geographica* (11.13.3, line 15, and 15.3.1, line 24).

316 Num. 24:7.

317 Lee, *Dissertation* (70–72), citing Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* (6.7); Pomponius Mela, *De situ Orbis* (1.20); LXX, in Walton, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (1:652): *Et exaltabitur Gog regnum.*

318 Lee, *Dissertation* (72–75).

from *Jerusalem* to *Hebron*. This clears a Difficult Scripture; [Gen. 13.1.] where *Abraham* ascends from *Egypt,* into the *South*: whereas all the Land of *Canaan*, lay North-East from *Egypt*. He went into the Countrey called, *Negeb*, or the South Land. Thus we read of the Churches *Captivity returned, as the Streams in the South*. [Psal. 126.4.] That is to say, As *David*s Family, was returned unto him, by the *Streams* of *Bezor* in *Negeb*, the Southern barren Desert of *Judah*, toward *Edom*. [See, 1. Sam. 30.9.][319]

Sixthly. They are to Return unto such a prosperous and magnificent State, that the Nations and their Kings, must come with Presents to *Jerusalem*, and admire their incomparable Beauty and Brightness. [See, Isa. 60.3, 16. and, 19.22, 23. and, 66.18, 20.] And they are to Return *as at the First*, when *Israel* came out of *Egypt*; all the Twelve Tribes fetched out of their various Dispersions. [Mic. 7.14, 15. and, Jer. 33.7, 11, 17.] And not meerly *Israel* mixed with *Judah*; but the *Two Sticks* distinguished: [Ezek. 37.16.] Then also *Jerusalem* shall be built *on her own Heap*; [Jer. 30.18.] which at this Day is Removed Westward, so as to Wall in *Golgotha*, and leave out *Zion*.[320]

These things, when had they their Accomplishment?

Seventhly; If the Ten Tribes, are to receive no Deliverance, but that which a few of them had, being mixed with *Judah,* under the Indulgence of the *Persian* Emperours, what shall we do with the Promises, that after they are brought back into their own Land, they *never shall remove any* | *more*? [See, Isa. 64.4. and, [320v]
Jer. 31.12, 40. and, 30.8. and, Ezek. 34.28, 29, and, 36.12, 14, 15. and, 37.25, 28. and, 39.28. and, Joel. 3.20. and, Amos. 9.14, 15. and, Zeph. 3.15. and Nah. 1.15. and, Zech. 14.12, 21.][321]

The Promises about the Restoration of *Israel*, tis most evident, they cannot be interpreted of a Spiritual *Israel* among the Nations. For there is a manifest Distinction between *Israel* and the *Nations*, in many of them. And they are given to comfort *Israel*, under the Miseries that were coming upon them. And they engage unto *Israel*, a transcendent Fælicity, above the rest of the Nations. And they are particularly applied unto that Nation, which *pierced* our Saviour.[322]

But this matter must elsewhere be further considered.[323]

The Ten Tribes being thus carried into Captivity, tis not long after this, that the Story of *Tobit* would challenge a Place, if we could be satisfied in the Truth of it. Be sure, The Jews have looked on it as a True Story. It is likely, that it was written in the *Chaldaic* Tongue; from whence *Jerom* translated it. The Original is now lost, and the Greek a little varies from it.

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319 Lee, *Dissertation* (75–78).
320 Lee, *Dissertation* (79–81).
321 Lee, *Dissertation* (81–83).
322 Lee, *Dissertation* (101).
323 See "Triparadisus," ch. 11 (*Threefold Paradise* 295–318). Mather leaves about twelve blank lines before writing a conclusion.

797.

Q. Did *Hezekiah*s Reign commence before, or after, his Fathers Death? v. 1.
A. Before. *Hoshæa*, King of *Israel*, began to Reign, in the Twelfth Year of *Ahaz*, King of *Judah*. [2. King. 17.1.] And *Hezekiah* began to Reign in the Third Year, of *Hoshæa*, King of *Israel*. [2. King. 18.1.] So then, *Hezekiah*, inevitably begins his Reign, in the Fourteenth Year of his Father *Ahaz*; who yett Reigned Sixteen Years in all. [2. King. 16.2.]

The Occasion hereof was this. When *Shalmanezer* made his first Expedition against *Samaria*, hee made an Expedition also against *Jerusalem*, wherein hee Subdued & Deposed *Ahaz*, and making him to become as a Private Man, hee sett up *Hezekiah* in his Room.

Now, behold, with mee, some wonderful Revolutions! *Ahaz* had Sacrificed One Son to *Moloch*, & the *Assyrians* had sacrificed more of them, to their own Rage. *Hezekiah* is præserved; and his Father lives to see the Son depose the Idolatry which himself had erected; and the *Assyrian* undergoes the Mortification of seeing this Prince Rebel against him.

Nevertheless, I am scandalized at one Thing here; *Ahaz* was 20 Years old, when hee began to Reign; & in the 15{th} Year of his Reign, *Hezekiah* begins, who was then 25 Years old, current; & so, hee was born when his Father was not much more than 10 Years old. There is hardly a parallel to this, in all the Scripture, except the Age of *Judah*, at the Beginning of *Er*. But *Bochart* ha's given us a vast Number of Instances, of Persons that procreated Children at that Age. *Ripeness for Procreation*, is not to be precisely determined, by *Physicians*, *Philosophers* or *Lawyers*; who have been pleased to fix the Time for it. But Consideration is to be had, of the *Climate* wherein Men live; their *Temper*, their *Diet*; and many other things. These things he observes more at large, in his Epistle to *Nicol. Carbonellus*.[324]

Q. *He removed the High Places*. None of his Predecessors had the Courage to attempt it? v. 4.
A. Dr. *Patrick* thinks, That the Carrying of the Ten Tribes captive, mightily awakened both him, and all the People, for the present, while it was fresh before their Eyes, to observe the Law of God very strictly.[325]

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324 Bochart, *Opera Omnia* (1707), Ep. XX, "Amplissimo Viro N. Carbonello, … *Utrion quis anno aetatis 10. liberos valeat procreare*?" pp. 920–27.
325 Patrick, *A Commentary* (525).

Q. *Hezekiah*'s breaking to Peeces the *Brasen Serpent*? v. 4.
A. The *Talmudists* explain it, That he ground it to Powder, and then scattered it into the Air, that nothing of it might remain to be worshipped as a Relique, by superstitious People. And yett there is a Fable, that some Reliques of it, remained until *Josiah*s Time. Yea, *Sigonius* tells us, That at this Day, they show this *Brasen Serpent* entire, at the Church of St. *Ambrose* in *Milan*. But the wiser Papists are ashamed of it.

We know not, when the Superstition of *Burning Incense* to the *Brasen Serpent* began. It had been kept from the Dayes of *Moses*, in Memory of the *Miracle*; as the Pott of *Manna* also was. *Asa* and *Jehoshaphat* left it unconsidered, when they extirpated *Idolatry*; because in their Time, they did not observe that People worshipped it. *Hezekiah* took it quite away; because in his Fathers Time, it was become an *Adored Idol*.

He call'd it, *Nehushtan*, by way of Contempt. The Jews tell us, That *Nun* is added, at the End of a Word, by way of Diminution.[326]

[▽Insert from 321r–v] [▽321r–v][327]

Q. *Nehushtan*?[328] v. 4.
A. *Nechosheth* signifies, Brass or Coper. *Nehushtan*, is as much as to say, *This is no more*; There is no Divinity in it. *Kimchi* saies, This Denomination was, as much as if *Hezekiah* had said; *How could it come into the Heart of any Man, to think, that this Brass can do any thing for him? Tis a meer Peece of Brass. Ralbag* expounds it; *This Brass ha's no more Vertue in it, than the common Brass in their Houses*. He takes, *an*, at the End of the Word, for the same with, *am*, which is, *Ipsorum*.[329]

Dr. *Jackson* ha's another Thought. The Destruction of the *Old Serpent*, The *Divel*, was fore-shadowed, by lifting up the *Brasen Serpent* in the Wilderness. He concludes, *Hezekiah* was moved with the greater Indignation against the Worship of it, because in Truth, it was a Type of our Saviour, & Redeemer: as a Figure of His Grand Enemy.[330] This made him express the Detestation of it, imported in the Word, *Nehushtan*. The Signification of it, found in our *Lexicons*.[331] For tho' *Nechosheth* signifies no more than *Brass*; yett *Nehushtan* imports no less than our English Words, *The Foul Fiend, the Old Dragon*, or *Satan*.[332]

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326 Patrick, *A Commentary* (525–27), citing Carolus Sigonius, 16th-century Italian humanist, author of *De Republica Ebraeorum Libri VII* (1585).
327 A small slip originally attached with sealing wax to edge of next leaf, now loose.
328 נְחֻשְׁתָּן [nechushtan], "a thing of brass."
329 David Kimhi and Levi ben Gerson, or Ralbag (*see II Kings: A New Translation* 374).
330 Thomas Jackson, *The Knowledge of Christ Jesus* (1634), p. 54.
331 See, for example, Johannes Buxtorf the Elder, *Lexicon Hebraicum et Chaldaicum complectens omnes voces* (1646).
332 Patrick, *A Commentary* (527), citing Thomas Jackson, *Humiliation of the Son of God* (ch. XXXI, § 6).

In the Wilderness, the *Serpent* exhibited on the *Pole*, was Exhibited as a slain *Serpent*. It was, q.d. "Behold, him that ha's *the Power* of Death, even the
[321v] *Divel*. Expect a Time wherein the Messiah will slay that | *Serpent*, and extinguish his Power to Plague and Kill a miserable World." This Faith healed the *Israelites*. But then, is it not said; Joh. III.14. *So must the Son of Man be lifted up*? This looks, as if the *Serpent* was to be a Type of Him? No; Tis an astonishing Intimation, of the Method, wherein our Great Redeemer is to slay the *Serpent*. He must undergo a Punishment, like that which He is one Day to inflict upon the *Serpent*. *A Generation of Vipers* were to treat Him, as if He had been *the Serpent*. They were to lift Him up on a *Pole*, as a *Serpent* which they had conquered, & from which they were delivered. O Astonishing *Humiliation*!

See further our Illustrations on Joh. III.14.[333]

If this Illustration be entertained, it must produce a Correction of some things, in our Essay to settle the *Type*, where it occurrs in the Book of *Numbers*.[334]

[△] [△Insert ends]

~~1091~~{?}.

Q. *Hezekiah* began to Reign, in the *Third* Year of *Hoshæa*, King of *Israel*: By Consequence then, the *Seventh* Year of *Hoshæa*, should have been the *Fifth* Year of *Hezekiah*: And yett, it is here called, but his *Fourth*? v. 9.

A. This Beginning of *Hezekiah*s Reign, is of a Double Date. Hee began to bee Viceroy, in the *Third* Year of *Hoshæa*, which was the *Fourteenth* Year of his Father *Ahaz*; but his Time of Royalty was but short that Year, & hee did little, or nothing of Note in it. Whereas the *Next* Year, which was the *Fourth* of *Hoshæa*, & the *Fifteenth* of *Ahaz*, on the very first Day of the Year, hee began the Reformation, & bestirr'd himself notably towards the Restoring of Religion: [2. Chron. 29.3.] and This therefore is by the Holy Spirit owned, as the Beginning of His Dominion.

Q. But what the Occasion of mentioning here over again, *Salmanassars* besieging of *Samaria*? v. 9.

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333 See the *BA* entry on John 3:14, in which Mather argues against seeing the description of the serpent being "lifted up" not as a "figure" of Christ but as an "Analogy," writing, in part, that "When our Lord was exposed unto the *Faith* of the Church, on the erected Wood of His Cross, the *Divel* himself, the old Serpent, was also *Crucifyed*." Reiner Smolinski kindly provided the edited text of this entry.

334 In the first *BA* entry on Num. 21:9, on the "Gospel of the *Brasen Serpent*," Mather provides several comparisons of the brazen serpent/Devil, and Christ while incarnate, such as their "*Sinful Flesh*"; their both being "lifted up, upon a Pole"; and the healing that came to those who looked upon the serpent. In a second entry, Mather makes note of how the Messiah is made the antitype of the brazen serpent in "Jewish Writings." Reiner Smolinski kindly provided the edited text of this entry.

A. *Abarbanel* thinks, the Intention of the Holy Writer, was to connect those two Histories together; the taking of *Samaria*, and the Ascent of *Sennacherib* against *Jerusalem*. The Deliverance of the latter Eight Years after the Destruction of the Former, has in it very Remarkable Things, if Seriously thought upon.[335]

Q. The Sum which *Hezekiah* paid unto *Sennacherib*? v. 14.
A. The 300 Talents of Silver made 135 thousand Pounds of our Money; and the 30 Talents of Gold, made 216 Thousand Pound. The Whole Sum amounted unto Three hundred fifty one Thousand Pounds of our Money.

| [322v]

Q. *Hezekiah*s cutting of the *Gold* from the *Doors* of the Temple, for a Present unto the *Assyrian*? v. 16.
A. It is very probable, That when *Ahaz* defaced the *Temple*, and shutt up the Doors of it, he cutt off this *Gold*; which *Hezekiah* restored and repaired. But he was constrained now to cutt it off himself.

Procopius Gazæus observes, That *Hezekiah* not having a Treasure of his own, took this Course to præserve the *Temple* & *City,* from Utter Desolation. But what was thus employed, was by Pious Kings Restored, as soon as they were able; out of the Spoiles of the War, when the War was ended.

It is probable, that this Monster, having received the Money he demanded, he made his Expedition into *Egypt*, of which *Herodotus*, & others, have written; And some think, *Isaiah*. [ch. X.26, 28.] But as he was the First King that Invaded *Egypt*, so he went no further than the Entrance of it, *Pelusium*. This he could not conquer, and so at his Return, broke his Faith with *Hezekiah*; and notwithstanding his Present, with which he had pretended to be satisfied, he laid Siege to *Jerusalem*.[336] The Sum he received was one hundred thirty five thousand Pounds, in Gold, one hundred twelve thousand & five hundred Pounds, in Silver.

~~4356.~~

Q. Some Illustrations, upon the History of *Sennacherib* invading *Jerusalem*? {v. 17.}
A. The Slaughter of *Sennacherib*s Army is elegantly described by *Georgius Fabricius*; A few of his lines are these.

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335 Patrick, *A Commentary* (529), citing Abravanel (*see II Kings: A New English Translation* 376).

336 Patrick, *A Commentary* (531–32), citing Procopius Gazaeus, *In Libros Regum, et Paralipomenon Scholia* (320); Herodotus, *Historiae* (2.141).

Amosiden proceres mittuntur poscere Vatem,
Auxilium et tumidi dicta referre Viri.
Rex pro Sindonio Velamine, Vilia Sumens,
Templum adit, et mœsto flagitat ore Deum.
Nec non et populus supplex advolvitur aris,
Et genetrix natis Vota ferenda præit.
Stat positis Armis, Palmas ad Sydera tendens
Miles, et œtheream Cœlitus orat opem.
Ponite Corde metum, Vates ait, hæc mihi dicit
Dicta Deus, Vobis hæc ego dicta fero:
Non ullo vester cingetur ab aggere murus,
Non cadet in Solymas missa Sagitta Domos.
Non Clypeus circum fulgebit splendidus Arcem,
Hostilis Salvam nec pes adibit humum.
Me propter Solymam defendam fortiter urbem,
Nominis ut magni notificetur honor.
Utque meo Isaidæ constent promissa ministro,
Cujus sæpe fuit vera probata Fides.
Jam nova suspensas tenet expectatio mentes;
Voce Deus Vatis quam meditetur opem.
Exerit ille suas tum demum Numine Vires,
Quando hominum in duris Cura laborat inops.
Nox tenebrosa polo terræque induxerat Umbram,
Corpora deposuit functa labore Quies.
Angelus Assyrio madefecit Sanguine Campos,
Vix adeò numerum Turba necata Capit.
Sic Torrens fusi manat Tellure Cruoris
Ut præceps Subitis improbus umbra Cadit.
Obstupuere Oculi miracula tanta Videntum,
Cum factam Cœdem prodidit orta Dies.
Abide natus agit grates, Dominumque celebrat,
Cui Cadit aute Aras, multa hecatomba Sacras.
Culmina prosiliunt lætantis Celsa Sionis,
Et Solyma festus personat urbe Dies.[337]

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337 "The noblemen are sent out to demand/ the help of the prophet and to report the words of the puffed up man./ Instead of a Sidonian robe he puts on a simple dress,/ goes to the temple and entreats God in a sorrowful voice./ And also the people sink humbly to the altars,/ and the mother walks in front of her children, to bring forth dedications./ A soldier is standing there, having laid down his armor./ He stretches out his hands to the stars and asks for help from heaven above./ Banish fear from your hearts, the prophet says,/ God speaks these words to me and I deliver these words to you:/ Your wall shall not be surrounded by a single rampart,/ nor shall an arrow be cast into the homes of Jerusalem./ Nor shall a shield glitter and shine around your citadel,/ and no hostile foot shall tread on your safe ground./ I will defend myself bravely

~~4358.~~

Q. But ha's not the Fate of *Sennacherib*, had a Report among the Nations? {v. 17.}

A. Yes. *Herodotus* mentions it;[338] tho' with Depravations.

The other Nations had the Report of a wonderful Deliverance granted unto Besieged *Jerusalem*. But because that *Sennacherib*, had Wars with *Egypt*, at the same time that he had his Wars with *Judæa*, the Pagan Traditions and Histories Confound them. For *Judæa*, they say *Egypt*; for *Hezekiah* they say *Setho*; for *Isaiah* they say, the Priest of *Vulcan*. It is odd, that they Carry the Story, as if *Sennacheribs* Army, were putt to flight, thro' the Influence which an Army of *Mice* had upon their Bow-Strings, & their other Warly Instruments, that had Leather in them. What these ascribed unto the *Mice*, is by *Berosus* ascribed unto the *Plague*.[339] A Statue was erected for *Sennacherib*, on this Occasion, with that Inscription, εις Εμε εισοραων τις ευσεβης εστω. IN ME INTΥENΣ ΘΥIΣ ΠIΥΣ ΕΣΤΟ.[340]

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on behalf of the city of Jerusalem,/ so that the honor of its great name will be made known./ And so that my promises will be known to my servant Jesse,/ whose faith has always been proved true./ A new expectation already holds the minds in suspense,/ as to which help God designs in the voice of the prophet./ Then indeed He reveals His divine powers,/ when the people are helpless and troubled with concern in their hardships./ Dark night had cast a shadow upon heaven and earth,/ and sleep laid down the bodies exhausted from toil./ The angel drenched the fields with Assyrian blood,/ the multitude put to death can hardly be grasped./ A torrent of spilled blood runs across the earth,/ like a stream rushes headlong from above in a sudden rain./ The eyes of those seeing such wonders were astonished,/ when the new day disclosed the massacre committed./ The son of Abidan gives thanks and praises the Lord,/ for whom many sacrifices are offered upon the sacred altars./ The high peaks of rejoicing Zion are visible from afar,/ and a holiday resounds through the city of Jerusalem." Mather cites lines from the German poet and archaeologist, Georgius [Georg] Fabricius (1516–1571), *Poematum Sacrorum Libri XXV* (1567), "Victoriarum caelestium Liber primus. Triumphi angelici," "Triumphus III. Angelus interficiens Assyrios gladio" (pp. 99–101). Mather may have found this excerpted in Johann Conrad Dieterich (1575–1639), Lutheran professor of ethics at Giessen, *Antiquitates Biblicae* (379), who cites "Tom. III. poet. Germ. p. 521." The Phoenician city of Sidon was known for its wealth. For Mather's *aggere,* "rampart," the above-cited Fabricius source has *agmine,* "army." Both Mather's text and the Fabricius source have *Isaidae,* which is here translated with the proper name "Jesse," the father of David. Although at Is. 20:3 God refers to Isaiah as "my servant," the Latin spelling of Isaiah is *Isaias (*or, *Esaias), -ae*. Johann Gerhard also refers to the *filia Eliabi Isaidae* (*Loci theologici, tom. sept.*, "De Conjugio", nr. 246), and to 2 Chron. 11:18: "Abihail the daughter of Eliab the son of Jesse" (KJV); *Abiail quoque filiam Heliab filii Isai* (VUL). Where Mather has *Ut præceps Subitis improbus umbra cadit*, the translation above is based upon the Fabricius source, which reads: *Ut praeceps subitis imbribus unda cadit.* The reference to Abidan may be Num. 7:65. *Solyma* is an ancient name of the city of Jerusalem.

338 Herodotus, *Historiae* (2.141).

339 Berossus, *Babyloniaca* (extant in Eusebius's *Chronicon*), bks. 2–3, fragm. F5 and F8a, b, mentions Sennacherib (whom he calls Senakheirimos) and his campaign, but not the plague that is to have routed his army.

340 "In looking at me, learn to be pious."

Q. *Hezekiah* sends Three Messengers? v. 18.
A. Since the King of *Assyria* sent Three, he thought fitt to send as many. *Eliakim*, was his *Major Domo*, as we now speak. *Shebna*, was the *Secretary*. *Joah*, was the *Master of Requests*.

Isaiah mentions only *Rabshakeh* sent by the *Assyrian. Seder Olam Rabba*, thinks that was meant only of the First Legation. But in the Second, when he besieged *Libnah*, he joined unto him, *Tartan*, and *Rabsaris*.

Tis uncertain what Officer *Shebna* was. We find him, [Isa. XXII.15.] *over the House*. The LXX make him sometimes *Scribe*, and sometimes *Treasurer*. Our *Selden* thinks, he might be *Præfectus Prætorio*.[341]

Q. Why *Rabshakeh* the Speaker? v. 19.
A. He was an eloquent Man. The Hebrew Doctors, who are followed by *Procopius*, will have him to be an Apostate Jew. This is not altogether improbable; Because he could speak so readily in the Hebrew Tongue; and when he Blasphemed the Divine Majesty, the King & his Nobles rent their Cloathes; which was not usual, unless he that uttered the Blasphemous Words were an *Israelite*.

Some think, his Name imports, that he was the principal *Cup-bearer*, to the King of *Assyria*.[342]

[323r][343] |

Q. A *Bruised Reed, So is the King of Egypt*? What the Allusion? v. 21.
A. He represents the Power of *Egypt*, to be as brittle as the *Cane*; the *Reed* that growes on the Banks of *Nile*. To this he alludes. If a Man lean'd on one of them, it broke, and the Splinters ran into his hand.[344]

Q. The Meaning of that, *I will deliver thee two thousand Horses, if thou be able on thy Part, to sett Riders on them*? v. 23.
A. Dr. *Patrick* thinks, the Meaning may be, He would lay a Wager with him, he could not find Men to sitt upon so many Horses. For few were good Horsemen in *Judæa*; where Horses were scarce.[345]

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341 Patrick, *A Commentary* (532–33), citing Selden, *De Successionibus ad leges Ebraeorum in bona defunctorum* (cap. XXII, p. 142, apparently in the 1636 edition); *Seder Olam Rabbah,* a work of rabbinical literature treating religious chronology; LXX, in Walton, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (2:594).
342 Patrick, *A Commentary* (533), citing Procopius Gazaeus, *In Libros Regum, et Paralipomenon Scholia* (320).
343 A small scrap.
344 Patrick, *A Commentary* (534).
345 Patrick, *A Commentary* (535).

Q. *The LORD said unto me, Go up against this Land*. What made him say so? v. 25.

A. If he had not been a *Jew*, yett, you see, he had learnt the Name of *their God*.

Perhaps, he concluded from what the *Assyrian* King had done, to *Samaria*, God intended he should do the same to *Jerusalem*.

Dr. *Patrick* observes, That *Rabshakeh* was an excellent *Orator*, as well as a *Souldier*; Not inferiour in Eloquence to *Julius Cæsar*.[346]

| [blank] [323v]

346 Patrick, *A Commentary* (535, 538).

Q. The Intention of that; *The Children are come to the Birth, and there is not Strength to bring forth*? v. 3.

A. They were in present Danger of perishing.

But, *Procopius Gazæus* expounds it; *We are in Pain to hear such Blasphemous Words, and have no Power to punish those Wicked Wretches as they deserve*.[348]

Q. *Gozan*, and *Haran*, and *Rezeph*, and *Eden*, and *Thelasar*; where? v. 12.

A. They were Places well-known in those Dayes. *Bochart* observes, There was a *Gozan*, and an *Hara*, in *Media*. *Rezeph*, tis uncertain, where it was; *Ptolomy* mentions a City of that Name in *Syria*. *Jerom* here places *Thelasar*. And there were more Cities than one, in those Countreyes, called, *Adana*, which is the same with *Eden*.[349]

Q. *The Daughter of Zion hath despised thee, the Daughter of Jerusalem hath shaken her Head at thee*. The Import of those Words? v. 21.

A. These Words comprehend, the whole City. By *the Daughter of Zion* is meant, the People that inhabited the upper Part of the City, where stood the Kings Palace. By *the Daughter of Jerusalem*, the People of the lower Part of the City.

Shaking the Head is the Posture of those that Mock at others. [Psal. XXII.7. Matth. XXVII.39.]

Zion is called a *Virgin*; because ever since *David* conquered it, it had remained Inviolable, and never been taken by any Enemy.

Joash indeed, the King of *Israel*, took *Jerusalem*, & broke down the Wall of it. The Fort of *Zion* was never taken.[350]

[324v] |

Q. What is the Meaning of that; *With the Soles of my Feet, have I dried up all the Rivers of besieged Places*? v. 24.

A. It is commonly taken, that he had gone Dry-shod, with his whole Army, over great Rivers; the Streams whereof he turned another Way; and so he had made himself Master of the strong Places that had been thereby surrounded.

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347 A quarto-sized leaf.

348 Patrick, *A Commentary* (540), citing Procopius Gazaeus, *In Libros Regum, et Paralipomenon Scholia* (323).

349 Patrick, *A Commentary* (534), citing Bochart, *Geographia Sacra* (pars prior, lib. III, cap. XIV, pp. 219–25).

350 Patrick, *A Commentary* (545).

Bochart ha's made a plainer Paraphrase. He thus Translates it; "*I have dried up the River of Egypt*; q.d. I will enter as easily into *Egypt*, in which you confide, as if, when I come thither, all the Rivers wherewith it is invironed, should be dried up."

The *Hebrew* Word, *Mazor*,[351] which we translate every where, *Besieged Places*, or *Defences*, or *Fortresses*, ought rather to be taken for the Singular Number, of *Mazoraim*, which by Contraction is called, *Mitzraim*, that is, *Egypt*. If this be allowed, the Sense then here is: *I have dried up all the Rivers of Egypt*. The Highest Vaunt, he could make of his Power, and his Numerous Forces.

Thus Isa. XIX.6. *The Brooks of Defences shall be dried up*; Tis by *Kimchi* interpreted, *The Rivers of Egypt shall be dried up*.

And thus, Mic. VI.12. *From the Fortress to the River*; is obscure, & hard to be understood. But, *From Egypt to Euphrates*, is clear Sense. Those were the ancient Bounds of the Promised Land.[352]

Q. *This shall be a Sign to thee; Yee shall eat this Year, such things as grow of themselves*. – A Sign of what? v. 29.

A. Not a *Sign* of the Truth of this Prophecy. For that was to come to pass, after that was fulfilled.

But a Token of Gods extraordinary Favour to them, when *Sennacherib* was gone, and they were in fear of another Enemy, namely a grievous Famine. Tho' he had trodden down or eaten up, all the Corn, with his Army, yett they should find sufficient left, for to maintain them this Year; which was the Fourteenth of *Hezekiah*. And tho' the next were the *Sabbatical Year*, in which they were to lett the Land Rest, yett he promises, enough should grow up of itself, to sustain them, without any Culture, out of the Corn scattered in the former Year. And then in the Sixteenth Year, God assures them of Liberty to Till their Land, as they had used to do; when there was no Enemy to be apprehensive of. But until the Corn was Ripe that Year, they lived on what grew of itself in the *Sabbatical Year*. The wonderful Providence of God![353]

Q. The Meaning of, *Out of Jerusalem shall go forth a Remnant, and they that escape, out of Mount Zion*? v. 31.

A. They who were now shutt up in *Jerusalem*, should be at Liberty; And they who escaped the Enemy's Fury in the Countrey, & fled thereto for Refuge, should go out of Mount Sion, to their own Possessions.[354]

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351 מָצוֹר [matsowr], "siege, entrenchment, Egypt."

352 Patrick, *A Commentary* (547), citing Bochart, *Hierozoicon* (pars posterior, lib. V, cap. XV, cols. 753–69); and David Kimhi (*see II Kings: A New English Translation* 390–91).

353 Patrick, *A Commentary* (549–50).

354 Patrick, *A Commentary* (550).

[325r][355] |

Q. Which way was there made the Slaughter of the *Assyrian* Army? v. 35.

A. *Josephus* will have it be, by a λοιμκος νοσος, *A Pestilential Disease*.[356]

It has been a Quæstion made by some, Whether this Destruction was made in the Army that besieged *Libnah*, or in the Army that *Rabshakeh* brought up against *Jerusalem*. *Josephus* is for the Latter. For it is probable, *Rabshakeh* was come with his whole Army against *Jerusalem*; which was before straitned by *Rabsaris*: and κατα την πρωτην της πολιορκιας νυκτα, *The very first Night after the Jews had begirt the City*, the Angel of the Lord made this great Slaughter among them.[357]

I rather conclude it was done by *Thunder* and *Lightning*. *Isaiah* foretold, It should be by, *The Voice of the Lord*.[358] The *Babylonish Talmud* sais the Destruction was executed by Lightning. Dr. *Prideaux* thinks rather, it was by bringing on them the *Hot Pestilential Wind* (as the *Arabic* reads, Isa. LI.1.) which is frequent in those Parts; and at this day often destroys huge Caravans of *Mahometans.* [Compare Isa. 37.7.][359]

~~4359.~~

Q. *Sennacherib*s Death, by the Hands of his own Sons, what was there in it Remarkable? v. 37.

A. The Prophet *Nahum* had foretold, [Ch. 1.14.] That he should find *his Grave, in the House of his Moulten Image*: And, behold, it comes to pass in wonderful Circumstances! I never mett with this Observation any where, till I found an Hint of it, in *Dietericus*'s *Antiquitates Biblicæ*.

The Occasion of *Sennacherib*s Death by the Hand of his own Sons, is thus related, in an Hebrew Book of *Tobit*, which *Castalio* has Interpreted.

Sennacherib enquired of his Counsellours, what might be the Reason, why the Great GOD, so espoused the Cause of the *Israelites*, & inflicted such terrible Judgments on *Pharaoh* & his *Egyptians*, on their behalf? His Counsellors answered, That *Abraham*, the Father of the *Israelites*, had offered his own Son, as a Sacrifice unto God, & for this Cause God had such a Respect unto all his Posterity. The King Replied, He had then *Two Sons*, and would sacrifice both

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355 A quarto-sized leaf.

356 λοιμώδης νόσος. Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* (15.243, line 1).

357 Patrick, *A Commentary* (552), citing Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* (10.21, line 4): κατὰ τὴν πρώτην νύκτα τῆς πολιορκίας.

358 Is. 30:31. For Mather's deletion, *see* App. A.

359 Humphrey Prideaux (1648–1724), English churchman and orientalist, *The Old and New Testament connected in the History of the Jews and neighbouring Nations,* 3 vols. (1716–18), 2:19–20 and n. *q*, citing the Babylonian Targum (probably Sanhedrin 95b).

of them unto *Jehovah*, to obtain His Favour. The young Gentlemen understood his Purpose, and were aforehand with him.[360]

The Family hereupon fell into the Contempt foretold by *Nahum*: [Ch. 1.14.]

| [325v]

~~3361.~~

Q. Who, or what was *Nisroch*, the God of *Sennacherib*? v. 37.

A. *Selden* saies, He cannot remember, that ever he Read or Knew any thing, of *Nisroch*, but only what is mentioned in the Text now before us; and in the Parallel Text of *Isaias*; or, of *Rimmon*, but what is in 2. King. 5.18.[361]

Nisroch, is by the LXX, in one Place called Μεσορὰχ, in another, Ασαρὰχ. *Kircher* in his *Pantheon* takes *Nisroch*, to have been the Image of a Ship, representing the *Ark* of *Noah*; the Story whereof was well-known among the *Orientals*. The *Orientals* turn'd the Reliques of the *Ark*, into *Amulets* and *Medicines*; and at Length worshipped them. Accordingly among them, /נסרוך/ *Nisroch*, was as much as to say /נסרא נוחא/ *Tabula Noachi*, or an Image of *Noah*s Ark.[362]

But others, not improbably, make it, /נסרא נזה/ *The Bird of Noah*. *Hottinger* cites from the Talmudic *Abhoda Zara*, a Text, that mentions, *An Arabian Eagle*; for, as *Baal Aruch* Expounds it; *In Arabia fuit Ædes Idololatrica, in quâ figura Aquilæ lapidi fuit insculpta, quam adorabant*.[363]

And since the most learned Mr. *Selden*, hath joined *Rimmon*, with *Nisroch*, in the Confession of his Ignorance about them, we will even do so too; And only add, from him, and *Fuller*; That *Serarius* will have the Name to signify, *A Pomegranate*; & so he concludes, this Idol was *Venus*, because those Apples were Dedicated unto that Goddess, & her Image was commonly made with such a Fruit in her Hand. But why might not this God have his Name from /רומ/ *Rum*, that is to say, *High*, or, *Exalted*; much the same with *Elioun*, the Phœnician Deity: A Title frequently ascribed unto the True God. Accordingly, in *Stephanus*

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360 Dieterich, *Antiquitates Biblicae* (380), citing Tobit 1:21–22, as interpreted by Castellio, *Biblia Sacra* (1554); Dieterich cites p. 616.

361 Selden, *De Diis Syris* (Syn. II, cap. VIII, p. 238).

362 Athanasius Kircher, *Oedipus Aegyptiacus*, Tomus I. Syntagma IV of this work is *Pantheon Hebraeorum*; on Nisroch, *see* pp. 377–84, and for Nisroch as an image of Noah's ark, p. 379. LXX, in Walton, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (2:602).

363 "In the houses of Arabia was idolatry, in which they worshipped the figure of an eagle carved in stone." Mather mentions Johann Heinrich Hottinger (probably in *Historia orientalis quæ ex variis orientalium monumentis collecta*) citing Nathan ben Jehiel (1035–c. 1110), Italian lexicographer of Rome, whose *Baal Aruch* explains the meaning and etymology of words in the Talmud (*EJ, CBTEL*). First published in Rome (1469–c. 1472), it was reprinted many times. Mather's second-hand quote originates in Johannes Buxtorf the Elder's *Lexicon Chaldaicum, Talmudicum, et Rabbinicum* (p. 1406), where Buxtorf explains the idolatrous nature of this Arabian eagle. On Jehiel, see *BA* 1:791, n. 258.

we read, ʿρὰμαν, is as much as Τὸ υψος, and in *Hesychius*, ʾΡὰμὰ is ʿυψηλὴ, and ʾΡὰμὰς is ὁ ὕιστος δεὸς.[364]

Others[365] conjecture, (and that is all they can do,) this word is derived, from, *Nes*, which in *Chaldee* signifies, *A Province*, and, *Rac*, which signifies, A *King*; That is, *Jupiter* the King and Conservator of that Province.[366]

Q. *Esarhaddon*? v. 37.

A. This is the Gentleman that sent a Colony to people *Samaria*. See Ezr. IV.2. And this the rather; Because he feared *Hezekiah* might take Possession of it, after such a Defeat as had been given to his Father *Sennacherib*.[367]

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364 Selden, *De Diis Syris* (Syn. II, cap. VIII, p. 238), citing Nicholas Serarius, 16th-century French Jesuit and scripture commentator; Stephanus of Byzantium, *Ethnica* (411, line 10, in Meineke ed. [1849]): ʿρὰμαν γὰρ τὸ ὕψος; Hesychius of Alexandria, 5th-century CE compiler of a Greek *Lexicon* (alpha letter rho, entry 44, line 1 [ῥαμὰ, ὑψηλὴ], and alpha letter rho, entry 96, line 1 [ῥὰμὰς, ὁ ψιστος θεὸς], *Hesychii Alexandrini lexicon*, ed. Schmidt [1861–62]); Fuller, *A Pisgah-Site of Palestine* (136).

365 This paragraph is a later addition.

366 This paragraph is taken from Patrick, *A Commentary* (553).

367 Patrick, *A Commentary* (553), citing Ussher, *Annales Veteris Testamenti* (100–01). For an English translation, *see Annals of the world* (70).

Q. *In those Dayes*; when? v. 1.
A. It relates, not, as Dr. *Usher* observes, to what went just before. The Promise now given to *Hezekiah*, was, to add *Fifteen Years* to his life, and also to deliver him from *Assyria*. The Deliverance from the *Assyrian* should therefore be after that Sickness; which was in the latter End of his Fourteenth Year; to which if we add Fifteen, they make up the whole Twenty-Nine Years of his Reign.[368]

Q. Why does he *turn his Face to the Wall*? v. 2.
A. The *Targum* expounds it, The *Wall* of the *Sanctuary*.[369]

~~**4945.**~~

Q. What may be meant by the Proposal of, *The Shadowes going Forward Ten Degrees*? v. 9.
A. *Munster* takes it so, That the Sun dispatch *Twenty Degrees*, in the Time, wherein, according to his *Natural* Motion, he would have dispatched, no more than *Ten*.[370]

| [326v]

3345.

Q. Had the Pagans any Traditions and Remembrances, of the *Sun*s going back *Ten Degrees*, in the Dayes of *Hezekiah*? v. 9.
A. *Dionysius*, in Epist. VII. ad *Polycarpuris*, hath a strange Passage; about[371] the Priests of *Persia*, in their Μνημοσυνα, (so they called their Rites,) of Mithras τριπλασιους.[372] His Words are these, τοῦτο ταῖς Περσῶν ιερατικαῖς ἐμφέρεται φήμαις, καὶ εἰσέτι Μάγοι τὰ Μνημόσυνα τοῦ Τριπλάσιου Μιθρου τελοῦριν.[373] On which the Note of G. *Pachymer* is, That the *Persians* intend the Extension of the same Day mention'd in the Sacred Scriptures, by, *The Memorial of the Treble Mithras*.[374]

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368 Patrick, *A Commentary* (554).
369 Patrick, *A Commentary* (554), citing Henry Hammond, 17th-century Church of England clergyman and theologian, *A Paraphrase and Annotations upon all the Books of the New Testament* (1659), p. 367, n. *c*; and Targum Jonathan (Chaldee Paraphrast) on 2 Kings 20:2 (*see* Walton, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* 2:602): *Et vertit facie sua ad parietem domum sanctuarii*.
370 Münster, *Hebraica Biblia*, in loc. (360).
371 MS: "That."
372 τριπλασίου.
373 τοῦτο ταῖς Περσῶν ἱερατικαῖς ἐμφέρεται φήμαις, καὶ εἰσέτι μάγοι τὰ μνημόσυνα τοῦ τριπλασίου Μίθρου τελοῦριν.
374 Georgius Pachymeres, late 13th/early 14th-century Byzantine Greek historian, who produced several volumes containing the writings of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, including

Unto the like Purpose, *Maximus* the *Scholiast*: There were *Twelve Hours* in an *Artificial Day*; tho' *Unæqual* ones. It was now supposed, That the *Sun*, having passed thro' *Ten* of them, returned back unto the *Horizon*, where he Rose;[375] And accordingly, *Thirty two Hours* passed between *Sun-rise* and *Sun-sett*; which by an easy *Synecdoche* might go for *Three Dayes*, or a *Day Trebled*; whence the *Treble Mithras* (for *Mithras* was the *Sun*,) had a famous Commemoration.

I rather think, The Mysteries of *Mithras* τριπλασιους, to bee of an higher Original. However I thought, this Curiosity not unworthy to be mentioned; at least, because of its Antiquity.

[327r][376] |

Q. The Thoughts we have hitherto had upon the Degrees in *Ahaz* his *Dial*, do not yett satisfy? v. 9.

A. Then perhaps the very learned *Basnage*, in his, *History of the Jewes*, ha's entertained us, with some that will.[377]

The Division of the Night and Day into *Æqual Hours*, is a thing, whereof the politest Nations, a long time were Ignorant. The ancient *Greeks*, divided the Day only into Three Parts, the *Morning*, the *Noon*, and the *Twilight of the Evening*. The *Romans* had only the *Mornings*, & the *Evening*; the Noon only Divided the two Extremes. They measured the *Time*, by their own *Feet*, from the *Shadow* of their *Bodies*. The Difference of Great or Small *Bodies*, made none in the Hours; because the *Feet* are proportion'd unto the Stature: So *Pythagoras* measured the Heighth of *Hercules*. They reckoned up to *Twenty Feet* of *Shadow*; & indicated their Appointments & Meal-times by such a *Foot*. Hereby we are to understand the Raillery of a comical Poet, upon a Man, who had been invited to Dinner, at the Shadow of *Twelve Feet*, & who, for fear of being disappointed, Rose before Day, & took the Shadow of the *Moon*, for that of the *Sun*. This was a very stupid Custome. Nevertheless, the *Romans* knew nothing of *Hours* and of *Dials*, till the First Punic War; and it was *Messala*, who returning from *Sicily*, after the taking of *Catana*, brought one of them with him, and erected it in a public Place. The *Hours* whereof we read in *Homer*, means no more than

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Paraphrasis in 10. epistolas B. Dionysii Areopagitae (1538) and *Sancti Dionysii Areopagitae Opera Omnia quae extant* (1562); the reference here is to *Epistulae*, Epistle to Polycarp 7.2, line 36 (*Pseudo-Dionysius. Corpus Dionysiacum ii: Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita*, ed. Heil and Ritter [1991]): Μνημόσυνα.

375 Maximus the Scholiast (Maximus Planudes of Constantinople) (1260–c. 1360), Greek Orthodox theologian and anthologist, *Dialogus De Verborum Constructione* (p. 120, line 35), in *Anecdota Graeca 2*, ed. L. Bachmann (1828).

376 A quarto-sized leaf.

377 Jacques Basnage (1653–1723), French Protestant divine and linguist, *The History of the Jews* (1708). In this entry, Mather excerpts from pp. 427–30.

Seasons. And *Philo* uses the Term in the same Sense, long after that *Hours* were invented.[378]

Indeed, *Hours* and *Dials*, were much earlier known among the *Greeks*, than was beleeved by *Salmasius*.[379]

Pliny relates that *Anaximenes* was the First, who sett up a *Sun-Dial* at *Lacedemon*. He should rather have ascribed it unto *Anaximander*, the Master of *Anaximenes*. This was Two Hundred Years before *Alexander* the Great. *Salmasius* would confute this, by the Silence of all Authors, who lived before *Alexander*. This is his Mistake; For *Anacreon* lived at the same Time with *Anaximander*; and in him we read of Μεσονυκτιοις ωραις. *The Hours of the Night*. *Aristophanes*, who liv'd a little after *Anaximander*, brings in a Player, asking, *What Hour the Needle of the Dial pointed to*. *Herodotus*, who lived in the Reign of *Xerxes*, will make a Third Evidence. He positively saies, That the *Greeks* took the Use of *Dials* from the *Babylonians*; and, That | they divided the Day into *Twelve Parts*. Probably he [327v]
was in the Right; and *Anixamander*, who travelled into *Chaldæa*, brought from thence, that which the Greeks took to be his own Invention.[380]

We shall have a Fourth Testimony, in *Xenephon*, who waited on *Cyrus* the Younger. He makes *Euthidemus* to say, *The Sun which is luminous, discovers the Hours of the Day to us*.[381]

But, whatever were the Antiquity of *Hours* and of *Dials* among the *Greeks*, the *Jewes* enjoy'd that Advantage long before. The *Jewes* had a great Correspondence with the *Chaldæans*, who were the First Astronomers. King *Ahaz*, not only made a League with *Tiglath-Pilneser*, the King of *Assyria*, but he also espoused the superstitious Rites of that Foreigner, with whom he had a long Interview at *Damascus*. He was the First who brought into *Judæa*, the Division of the Day into *Twelve Hours*, and the Use of *Sun-dials*; and the Dial of the Court, was therefore called, *Ahaz his Dial*.

However, tis to be observed, that in these First Ages of *Dials*, the *Hours* were not equal. They still reckon'd *Twelve Hours* to the Day; & by Consequence, the *Hours* were considerably *Shorter* in the *Winter*, than in the *Summer*. This created a Difficulty in the Making of *Dials*; For they must make them so, as

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378 Basnage, *The History of the Jews* (427–28), citing Homer, *Odyssey* (11.293, 24.141); and Philo, *De Mundi opificio* (*On the Creation of the World*).

379 Basnage, *The History of the Jews* (428), citing Claudius Salmasius, *Plinianae Exercitationes in Caii Julii Solini Polyhistorem* (lib. I, p. 446).

380 Basnage, *The History of the Jews* (428–29), citing Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* (2.78); Salmasius, *Plinianae Exercitationes in Caii Julii Solini Polyhistorem* (lib. I, p. 447); Anacreon (582–485 BCE), Greek lyric poet, *Anacreontea* (fragm. 3, line 1), in Anacreon, *Carmina Anacreontea* (ed. West [1984]): Μεσονυκτίοις ποτ' ὥραις; Aristophanes, *Aves* (179, 180), and Fragmenta (163); and Herodotus, *Historiae* (2.109).

381 Basnage, *The History of the Jews* (429), citing Xenephon, *Memorabilia* (4.3), where the speaker is not Euthydemus but Socrates.

to Note, with various Lines, the *Changes* that happened in the *Hours* of every Month.

This Observation removes the Difficulty of the *Suns going back Ten Degrees on the Dial of Ahaz*. There is no Necessity of the Dayes being *Two and Twenty Hours* long; or that the other Nations of the World, should be sensible of any very great Change on this Occasion.[382]

Those Lines that shew'd the Inæquality of *Hours* on the *Dials*, these are the Things which the Sacred Historian calls, *Degrees*. These *Degrees* could not be entire *Hours*. *Hezekiah* could not have the Choice, of the *Sun*s going Forward or Backward, no less than *Ten Hours*. The *Degrees* were *Lines*, which noted the Inæquality of the *Hours* in every Month. There were many of these *Lines*, betwixt every *Hour* noted on the *Dial*. And so, the *Sun*, or the *Shadow* of it, might go *Ten Degrees* backward, without prolonging the *Day* above an Hour or Two, at the farthest.[383]

[▽326r] [▽Insert from 326r]

Q. Was the *Sun* itself miraculously hurled back? v. 11.

A. Dr. *Usher* in his *Annals*, followes the Opinion of the ancient *Jews* and *Christians*; That the *Sun* itself, & not the Heavenly Bodies, *went back*.

Probably it lasted not long, before God restored all to their usual Place. But a Change was observed not only in the *Northern* Parts of the World [see 2. Chron. XXXII.31.] but also in the *Southern*; particularly in *Egypt*. *Herodotus* ha's a Remarkable Passage, in his *Euterpe*, Cap. CXLII. that the *Egyptians* had observed Strange Alterations in the Motion of the *Sun*, so that it {had} Risen Four Times, εζ ηθεων; *Twice its usual Course*; Rising Twice where it now Setts, and Setting Twice where it now Rises; And yett no Change made among the *Egyptians*, by those things, neither in the Earth; nor in the River, nor any thing else. It seems, to the Two mentioned in that Scripture, *Joshua*s and *Hezekiah*s, the *Egyptians* added two more Alterations of the Courses of the Sun.[384]

~~1312.~~

Q. What Sort of a *Dial* was that of *Ahaz*, whereon the *Sun* went back *Ten Degrees*? v. 11.

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382 Basnage, *The History of the Jews* (429).

383 Basnage, *The History of the Jews* (430).

384 Patrick, *A Commentary* (558–59), citing Ussher, *Annales Veteris Testamenti* (102; for an English translation, *see Annals of the world* 71): "But as concerning the retrogradation of the Sun, mentioned in, [*Esay 38.8. and Ecclesiastic.* 48.8.] as when the Sun stood still at the prayer of Joshua, the Moon also stood still at the same time, [*Josh.* 10.12, 13.] so here also, it is manifest, that with the Sun, the Moon also, and all the frame of heaven was retrograde and went backward"; and Herodotus, *Historiae* (2.142.4): εζ ἡθέων. Patrick, and Mather following him, therefore seems to be wrong about Ussher's opinion on whether just the sun, or all the heavenly bodies, retrograded.

A. *Eliahon Chomer*, saies, That it consisted of a *Semicircle*, in whose Hollow, there was a *Globe*, whereupon the Shadow of that *Semicircle* falling answered unto Knotches, Cutts or Holes made in the *Semicircle*, to the Number of *Twenty Eight*. These *Knotches* are here called /מעלות/ *Degrees*. The Shadow of the *Sun*, went back thro' *Ten* of these. And that *Shadow* is called the *Sun* [Isa. 38.8.] because it was made by the *Sun*; as a *Window* is therefore elsewhere [Jer. 15.9.] call'd by the Name of the *Sun*.[385]
[△Insert ends] [△]

[▽Insert from 326v] [▽326v]
~~1747~~.

Q. What Space of Time, was comprehended, in the *Ten Degrees* upon the *Dial* of *Ahaz*? v. 11.
A. The most Received Opinion, is, That the *Degrees* were *Hours*:

If it were so, the Time of this *Miracle*, must bee very late in the Afternoon. But this could not bee; for the King was ask'd also, whether hee would have the *Sun* go *Ten Degrees* Forward; whereas the *Sun* then could not have *Ten Hours* to go.

Mr. *Gregory* therefore, will have the *Ten Degrees*, to bee those of *Heaven*, even *Ten Degrees* of the *Æquator*, which make Two Thirds of an Hour. And in this Case, hee notes, That the Retrocession of the *Shadow*, was much more visible, than that of the *Sun*; Two Thirds of an Hour, are better noted on the *Dial*, than in the *Heaven*.[386]
[△Insert ends] [△]

Q. *Berodach Baladan*; who? v. 12.
A. In Isa. XXXIX.1. he is call'd, *Merodach Baladan*.

Merodach was the Name of an Idol among the *Babylonians*; as *Baal*, or *Bel*, was of another; together with *Adan*, or *Adonis*. As tis observed by Sir *John Marsham*. He is called, Βαλαδας, both by *Josephus*, and by *Berosus*. He was but a Tributary to the King of *Assyria*, till his Son *Nebuchadnezzar* came to Reign, who subdued the Assyrian Monarchy.[387]

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385 Elias Chomer, as quoted in Grotius, *Annotata ad Vetus Testamentum, ad librum IV. Regum* (cap. XX, v. 11, p. 172). Patrick, *A Commentary* (557–58); Gerardus Vossius, *De theologia Gentili et physiologia Christiana* (lib. II, cap. IX, p. 351).
386 John Gregory, early 17th-century English orientalist, *Notes and Observations upon some Passages of scripture* (1646), "To the Reader," pp. [i–ii].
387 Patrick, *A Commentary* (559), citing John Marsham, *Chronicus canon ægyptiacus, ebraicus, græcus, & disquisitiones* (495), who in turn refers to Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* (10.2 in Whiston's ed.); and Berossus, *Babyloniaca* (bk. 3, fragm. F8b and F8c), who in his tables identifies King Baladas as Mardukaplaiddim (*Berossos and Manetho*, pp. 54, 78).

Q. *Menasseh*'s being so easily drawn to sett up the Gentile-Worship again? v. 2.
A. Dr. *Patrick* observes, That being young, he was easily drawn aside by the Princes and Nobles, who never heartily joined in *Hezekiah*s Reformation; but were, in all Probability, displeased at it; and so Resolved as soon as he was Dead.

One cannot conceive, how such a sudden Change could be made in Religion, and such gross Idolatry Restored; but from the General Corruption of the Great Men, who had the young King under their Management.[388]

Q. In what Instances did *Menasseh seduce them to do more Evil than did the Nations*? v. 9.
A. He not only broke all the Lawes of *Moses*, but also worshipped more Idols than they did.

Particularly, Never do we read of *Horses consecrated unto the Sun*, till his Time. [See, 2. King. XXIII.11.] In all Probability, *He* brought in that Idolatry.[389]

Q. What is meant, by *Stretching over Jerusalem, the Line of Samaria, & the Plummet of the House of Ahab*? v. 13.
A. That of the *Line*, is a Metaphor from those who sett out Mens Lotts and Portions, by drawing a *Line* to divide them. It is as much as to say, He would give to *Jerusalem*, such a Portion as He had given to *Samaria*; Demolish it; Consume some with the Famine, others with the Sword; & Carry the rest into Captivity, as *Procopius* glosses upon it.

That of the *Plummet*, is a Metaphor from Builders, who measure with a *Plummet*, what Part of a Building shall stand, and what be pull'd down. They had imitated the Sin of *Ahab*; and so they should have his Punishment, which was to be utterly destroy'd.[390]

Q. The Metaphor of a *Wiped Dish*? v. 13.
A. The Intention is obvious; Nothing left.

But the Hebrew Word, which we translate, *A Dish*,[391] the LXX render, ο αλαβλαστρος, An *Alablaster-Box* of precious Ointment; As the *Chaldee* renders it, *Selucta*, in which the Greek Word, ληκυθος (as is observed by *Spanhemius*,) It intimates, That *Jerusalem* was once in high Esteem with God, like a precious

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388 Patrick, *A Commentary* (564).
389 Patrick, *A Commentary* (564).
390 Patrick, *A Commentary* (567), citing Procopius Gazaeus, *In Libros Regum, et Paralipomenon Scholia* (327).
391 הַצַּלָּחַת

Ointment; But having lost the Savour, He would Reject it, as a Man does a Box of Ointment, when tis become Nothing worth.[392]

| [328v]

Q. *Menasseh shed Innocent Blood very much*. What Blood? v. 16.

A. Upon these Words, *Procopius Gazæus* thus glosses; *He chiefly destroyed those, who opposed themselves to his Impiety; and denounced the Divine Anger against him*; That is, the Prophets. *They say, He caused the Prophet* Isaiah *to be sawn asunder*. Thus the Jews tell[393] in the *Babylonian Talmud*; in the Treatise, *Jebamoth*.[394] And so *Justin Martyr*, in his Dialogue with *Trypho*. And *Jerom* on Isa. XX.27.[395]

Usher observes, the Word of the Apostle, Heb. 11.37. επρισθησαν· is commonly thought, to refer to this.[396]

Q. The Custome of *Sepulchres* in *Gardens*? v. 26.

A. Honest Mr. *Terry*, in his *Voyages to East-India*, gives us this Account of the modern Practice in the Orient.

"Many, of the greatest Quality, in their Life-time provide fair Sepulchres for themselves, & nearest Friends, compassing with a firm Wall, a good Circuit of Ground, near some *Tank*, [or, Well of Water,] about which they Delight to bury their Dead; or else they close in a Place for this Use, near Springs of Water, that may make pleasant Fountains; near which they erect little *Misquits* or Churches; & near them, *Tombs* built Round, or Four-Square, or in Six or Eight Squares, with round Vaults, or Canopies of Stone over head; all which are excellently well-wrought, & erected upon Pillars, or else made close, to be entred by Doors every way; under which the Bodies of their Dead ly interr'd; the rest of that Ground thus circled in, they plant with Fruit-trees; & further sett therein all their choicest Flowers, as if they would make *Elysian Fields* (such as the Poets dream'd of) wherein their Souls might take repose."

My Traveller proceeds.

"Thus to bury (as it should seem) was an Ancient Custome; For it is written of *Menasseh*, King of *Judah*, That he was *buried in the Garden of his own*

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392 Patrick, *A Commentary* (568), citing Chaldee Paraphrase and LXX (*see* Walton, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* 2:608), and *Septuaginta, Regnorum iv*, on 2 Kings (21:13, line 3). Mather renders αλαβαστρος with an additional but erroneous lamba. Patrick also cites Ezechiel Spanheim, *in Callimachi Hymnos Observationes*, "Observationes in Hymnum in Lavacrum Palladis," on v. 13 (pp. 540–41): λήκυθος.

393 MS: "tells."

394 Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Yevamoth (49b).

395 Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho* (18.3); Jerome on Is. 20.27, in *Commentariorum In Isaiam Prophetam Libri Duodeviginti* [PL 24.188–89].

396 "They are sawn." Patrick, *A Commentary* (568–69), citing Ussher, *Annales Veteris Testamenti* (A. M. 3306, p. 106; *see also Annals of the World* 74). ἐπρίσθησαν: "they were tried" (Heb. 11:37).

House. So of his Son *Amon*. Thus *Joseph* of *Arimathæa*, had his Sepulchre in his Garden."[397]

[329r] |

Q. Remarks on the *Graves of the Kings* in the *Garden of Uzzah*?[398] v. 26.

A. There are famous Grotts at *Jerusalem*, in our days called, *The Sepulchres of the Kings*. But being at a considerable Distance from the *City of David*, they seem not the Place where *David* and his Royal Successors were buried.

However, Mr. *Maundrel* sais, The Place does discover so great an Expence both of Labour & of Treasure, that we may well suppose it the Work of *Kings*. You approach it at the East-side, thro' an Entrance cutt out of the Natural Rock, which admitts you into an open Court, of about Forty Paces square, cutt down into the Rock, with which it is encompassed, instead of Walls. On the South side of the Court, is a Portico, nine Paces long, and four broad, hewn likewise out of the Natural Rock. This has a Kind of Architrave, running along its Front, adorned with Sculptures of Fruits and Flowres, that are still discernible. At the End of the Portico on the left Hand, you descend unto the Passage into the Sepulchres. The Door is now so obstructed with Stones and Rubbish, that it is a Thing of some Difficulty to creep through it. But within, you arrive in a fair large Room, about five or six Yards square, cutt out of the Natural Rock. The Sides and Sieling of {it} are so exactly square, and its Angles are so just, that no Architect with Levels and Plummets could have given any thing more of Regularity. The whole is so firm and entire, that it may be called, A Chamber hollowed out of one Peece of Marble. From this Room you pass into Six more, One within another, all of the same Fabrick with the First. Of these, the Two Innermost are deeper than the rest, having a Second Descent of about Six or Seven Steps into them.

In every one of these Rooms, except the First, are Coffins of Stone, placed in Niches, in the Sides of the Chambers. The Sides & Cieling of the Room, are alwayes Dropping, with the Damps condensing upon them; for the Remedy whereof, there is in each Room a Channel cutt in the Floor, which drains the Drops that fall constantly into it.

The most surprising Thing belonging to these subterraneous Chambers, is their *Doors*. The Door does consist of a Plank of Stone, about six Inches thick, and in its other Dimensions near the Sieze[399] of an ordinary Door. It is carved in such a Manner as to resemble a Piece of Wainscot. The Stone of which it is made, is visibly of the same kind with the whole Rock, and it turns upon Two Hinges in the Nature of Axles. These Hinges are of the same entire Piece of

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397 Edward Terry, A *Voyage to East-India* (308).

398 For Mather's emendation of this question, *see* App. A.

399 MS sic; "size."

Stone, with the Door, and are contained in Two Holes of the Immoveable Rock: one at the Top, the other at the Bottom. How were they made? Cutt out of the Rock, in the Place and Manner as they now hang? Or, brought and fix'd in their Station like other Doors? This is a Point in much Dispute among the Pilgrims.[400]

Le-Bruyn observes, That these Sepulchres, are about an *Italian* Mile,[401] to the North of *Jerusalem*: And that he | found in them as many Places for Corps, [329v] as amounted in all to about Fifty. He is of the Opinion, That here were the Sepulchres of *Menasseh*, and *Amnon*, and *Josiah*; of whom we read, They were *buried in the Garden of Uzzah*. *Le Bruyn* found Three Coffins there; which were probably the Coffins of these Three Kings aforesaid.[402]

400 Maundrell, *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem* (75–77).

401 By the Italian mile may be meant the Roman mile, which measures 1,479 meters (1,617 yards).

402 Cornelis de Bruyn, *A Voyage to the Levant* (190).

Q. *Josiah*s finding the Book of the Law? v. 8.

A. Mr. *Robert Jenkins* makes a Just Remark. This must be the Book of *Moses*'s own Hand-writing: For it is evident, a Book of the Law, could be no such Rare Thing at that time, in *Jerusalem*, as to be taken so much Notice of, unless it had been that *Book, which was laid up in the Side of the Ark*, and was to be Transcribed by every King.[404] It seems *that Book of the Law*, had been purposely hid, to præserve it from the Attempts of Idolaters, who it was feared, might have a Design to destroy it. For, if it had only lain by neglected, the finding of it, would have been no such surprizing thing; because the Place in the Temple was well-known, where it was wont to be in the side of the Ark, and where they might have sought for it; but it was probably at that time supposed to have been utterly lost; and its being found in the Ruines of the Temple, which was built for the Observation of it, & where it ought to have been kept with the greatest Care, as a most inæstimable Treasure; the Veneration that *Josiah* had for so Sacred a Writing, and the happy & unexpected Recovery of it, when it had been disregarded & almost lost, thro' the Iniquity of his Predecessors: these Considerations could not but exceedingly move a Mind so tender, & affectionately pious, as that Kings when he received the Law under *Moses*'s own hand, sent him, as he beleeved, by God Himself, & delivered to him, as it were, anew from Heaven.

~~3146.~~

Q. How came the King to bee so Terrified, when the Words of the Αυτόγραφον[405] of the *Law* now found, were by one Read unto him? v. 11.

A. The Jewes have a Tradition, that *Shaphan*, the Reader, by a special Disposal of a Divine Providence, in his Reading litt upon that Passage, in Deut. 28.36. *The Lord shall bring thee, and thy King which thou shalt sett over thee, unto a Nation, which neither thou, nor thy Fathers, have known. And thou shalt become an* [330v] *Astonishment*. | It seems the Book opened at *Deuteronomy*, either by the Special Providence of God, or by the Design of *Shaphan*, who had read the Book, before he brought it unto the King. The *Jerusalem-Talmud*, and from thence *Abarbanel*, saies, That *Josiah* happened to Read the Place, where the Punishment of their King is denounced; Deut. XXVIII.30. Or, he observed the Time drew near, when the Punishments of God threatened, would be inflicted.[406]

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403 A quarto-sized leaf tipped in with sealing wax.

404 Robert Jenkin, *The Reasonableness and Certainty of the Christian Religion* (1:168).

405 "Autograph."

406 *Jerusalem Talmud*, Tractate Sheqalin (ch. 6, sec. IV:1D); Abravanel (*see II Kings: A New English Translation* 410).

It is plain, The King had not written a *Copy of the Law*, with his own Hand, according to the Command, Deut. XVII.18.[407] It is too probable, they a long Time neglected also to Read the Law publickly every Seventh Year. [Deut. XXXIV.9, 10.][408] How the most Excellent Laws are cancelled by Disuse!

Q. Where were *Jeremiah* and *Zephaniah*, when the King sent unto *Huldah*? v. 14.

A. *Abarbanel* gives this Account. *Jeremiah* was at this Time Absent from *Jerusalem*; & was gone either to convert the Ten Tribes, or to his own House at *Anathoth*. *Zephaniah* also was not at hand.

Kimchi saies here; Our Doctors write, That Three prophecied in the Dayes of *Josiah*, *Jeremiah* in the Streets or Villages, *Zephaniah* in the Synagogues, and *Huldah* among the Women.[409]

Q. *She dwelt in the Colledge*. Where was that? v. 14.

A. The Hebrew Word, *Mishneh,*[410] which we translate *Colledge*, and which the *Targum* takes to signify, *A School*, is in the Margin of our Bibles translated, *The Second Part*.[411] There were Three Walls about *Jerusalem*, as *Abarbanel* observes. Within the *First*, lived the Artificers & common People. Within the *Second*, lived the better Sort; the Wise Men, the Prophets, and Prophetesses. Within the *Third* was the Mountain of the Lord. Some think, *Huldah* lived in that Middle Part of *Jerusalem*.[412]

Q. A Remark upon the Prophecy of *Huldah*? v. 14.

A. That ignorant and Malignant Sott, *Spinosa*, [a Fellow unworthy to be *so much* mentioned, or *so much as once* mentiond, in the Writings of learned Men,] has a Whimsey that if the *Prophets* were Men of a *Merry Temper*, their Prophecies ran most on such things as would bespeak *Mirth* among the People; But if they were of a Deiected[413] & Sorrowful Temper, their Prophecies ran most upon Punishments. *Josiah* therefore, he sais, would not consult *Jeremiah*; but *Huldah*, a Woman from whose Constitution more of Mercy was to be expected.[414] But

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407 MS: "8."

408 Patrick, *A Commentary* (574–75).

409 Patrick, *A Commentary* (575–76), citing Abarbanel and Kimhi (*see II Kings: A New English Translation* 411–12).

410 בַּמִּשְׁנֶה

411 See marginalia of KJV.

412 Patrick, *A Commentary* (576), citing Abravanel (*see II Kings: A New English Translation* 412).

413 Archaic spelling of "dejected."

414 Baruch Spinoza, *A Treatise partly theological, and partly political* (ch. II, "Of Prophets," p. 33).

in this, as well as in other Instances, the Wretch writes as if he had not read the Bible. How direful are the Events foretold in Huldah's Prophecies!

Q. How could it be said unto *Josiah*, *That he shall Dy in Peace*, when hee was, wee know, *Slain in Battel*? v. 20.

A. Examine the Words; Tis not said, Hee *shall Dy in Peace*; but Hee shall be *Gathered unto his Grave in Peace*. Tho' hee was wounded in Battel, in his Adventure against *Pharaoh Necho*, yett *Pharaoh* marching on speedily towards *Carchemish*, left him to a peaceable Burial, after his Mortal Wounds received at *Megiddo*, Called *Magdolon* by *Herodotus*.[415] Hee died at *Salem*, even at *Jerusalem*, & had a Solemn and Mournful Funeral in the Sepulchres of his Fathers. Besides, the *Peace* here spoken of, may be as much as to say, before the horrid, utter Final Destruction, of the City, foretold after his Decease to hasten upon it.

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415 Herodotus, *Historiae* (2.159): "Necos, when he gave up the construction of the canal, turned all his thoughts to war, and set to work to build a fleet of triremes … These fleets he employed wherever he had occasion, while he also made war by land upon the Syrians and defeated them in a pitched battle at Magdolus, after which he made himself master of Cadytis, a large city of Syria."

Q. *The King stood by a Pillar*. What Pillar? v. 3.
A. That whereto his Throne was join'd, in which he was placed, when he came into the Temple, as the Hebrew Doctors will have it.

Jacob Judah Leo saies, The Kings Seat was in the Court of the *Israelites*, at the Entrance into the Court of the Priests, by a Marble Pillar. There he satt when he came into the Temple, to worship God. There *Joash* was made King by *Jehoiadan*. There *Hezekiah* Read before the Lord, the *Assyrian*s Blasphemous Letter. There *Josiah* now made a Covenant with God.[416]

Q. *The Idolatrous Priests*; An Illustration upon those *Black* Wretches? v. 5.
A. They are called, *Chemarim*; on the Score, that they were *Cloathed* in Black. This Reason is given by *Kimchi*, here and elsewhere. The Priests of the Most High were *Clothed in White*; especially they whose *Genealogies* were unquæstionable. Indeed, they who could not make out their Descent, or had any Blemish on them, were clothed in *Black*: As appears from the *Talmud*, in *Middoth*.[417]

It is certain; Among the Heathen, they who sacrificed unto the Infernal Gods, wore a *Black Habit*; as appears by *Canidia* in *Horace*, and by *Medæa*, in *Apollonius Rhodius*. From hence, tis thought by some, they had the Name of Μηλανηφοροι,[418] which we find in some Ancient Inscriptions. Thus the *Egyptians* bewayled *Osiris*, or the Absence of the Sun. A *Black Ox* represents *Osiris* among the *Egyptians*; which was covered, Ιματιω μελανι βυσσινω,[419] with a *Black Silk Garment*. From hence in Likelihood, the Priests came to be so clothed.[420] Behold, the Original of the *Chemarim*.

Q. The *Hosts of Heaven*? v. 5.

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416 Patrick, *A Commentary* (579), citing Compegius Vitringa, *De Synagoga Vetere*, Prolegomena (ch. IV, pp. 27–44). Jacob Judah Aryeh Leon Templo (1602–75) was the chief rabbi of Hamburg and translator of the Psalms (*see Jewish Encyclopedia* [1906]).

417 Patrick, *A Commentary* (582), citing Kimhi on 2 Kings 23:5 and Zeph. 1:4 (*see II Kings: A New English Translation* [415] and *The Book of the Twelve Prophets* [2:283–84]). The reference to the black clothing of the Chemarim is actually not in the Talmud but in the Mishna, Tractate Middoth (ch. 5, § 4).

418 Μελανηφόροι: "Melanephoroi." *Scholia in Lycophronem*, Scholion (857, line 5); see *Lycophronis Alexandra*, ed. Scheer (1958).

419 ἱματίῳ μέλανι βυσσίνῳ: "garment of black linen." Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride* (366, E, line 2); see *Plutarchi Moralia*, ed. Sieveking (1935).

420 Patrick, *A Commentary* (582), citing Horace, *Satyrarum* (8); and Appollonius Rhodius, early 3rd/late 2nd-century BCE Greek poet and librarian, *Argonautica* (3.861).

A. *Procopius Gazæus* takes it for, a Star; most likely, the *Evening Star*. Others call this *Mazaloth*, a Constellation. Or, All the Twelve Signs. The Jewish Astronomers Call the *Zodiack*, *Ophan Hamazaloth*, or the *Circle of Signs*.[421]

Q. *The Grove*? v. 6.
A. The Image of the Grove, or *Ashtaroth*. *Procopius Gazæus* tells us, *They had sett up the Statue of Venus in the Temple of God.*[422] The Sodomites, or the *Kedeschim*, our *Selden* thinks, were the Priests of *Astarte*, or *Venus*, whom *Jerom* calls, *Exsectos*,[423] on the Pretence of greater purity, it seems!

The Image had *Hangings*, you see, or Curtains, which made a Kind of an House for it; as the Hebrew Word imports.[424] The Greeks called these, Ναισηους, and, Ναιδια, *Little Temples*. Into those Tents, the Worshippers went, and there committed all Manner of Lewdness. They had not yett arrived unto so much Impudence; but that they sought a Privacy for their Filthiness.

Q. The *Gate of Joshua, the Governor of the City*? v. 8.
A. It seems the High Places were Erected there, to offer Incense unto those Tutelar Gods, unto whom their Idolatrous Kings had committed the Protection of the City. *Kimchi* thinks, The Governour of the City, had his private Houshold God, and a *Portable Altar*, whereon he offered unto his *Domestic Idol*. *Josiah* did not spare this; but lett the greatest Men see his Impartial Zeal against all *Idolatry*.[425]

4846.

Q. Why is the famous and horrid *Valley*, called, *The Valley of the Children of Hinnom*? v. 10.
A. The Jewes tell us, It had its Name from the *Roaring* or *Howling* of the Children *Sacrificed* there. They derive the Name from /נהם/ *Rugivit, Seu, Ejulavit*.[426]

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421 Patrick, *A Commentary* (583), citing Procopius Gazaeus, *In Libros Regum, et Paralipomenon Scholia* (327–28).
422 Patrick, *A Commentary* (583), citing Selden, *De Diis Syris* (Syn. II, cap. II, pp. 147–48 on the Kedeschim, and pp. 155–56 on Astarte). Procopius Gazaeus, *In Libros Regum, et Paralipomenon Scholia* (328).
423 "Cut out." Jerome, *Translatio Homiliarum Origenis In Ezechielem, Homilia IV*, in *Homiliae XIV In Ezechielem* [PL 25.691–786D].
424 בַּיִת [bayith], "house, dwelling."
425 Patrick, *A Commentary* (585), citing Kimhi (*see II Kings: A New English Translation* 416).
426 "Lamenting." Patrick, p. 586, citing Selden, *De Diis Syris* (Syn. I, cap. VI; see p. 81 on the valley of Hinnom).

~~165~~{?}.

Q. It is reported of *Josiah*, That *hee took away the Horses which the Kings of Judah, had given to the Sun, & hee burnt the Chariots of the Sun with Fire*; Those *Horses*, Were these Horses, *Artificial*, or were they *Natural* ones? v. 11.

A. The sinful Jewes borrowed their *Sun-Worship* of the *Persians*, who offered *Horses* unto the *Sun*; because, as *Heliodorus* expresses it, they would offer τω ταχυτάτω Οεῶν, τὸ τάχιστον, "the *Swiftest*" of Creatures to the *Swiftest* of their Gods;[427] Or, as *Ovid* ha's it;

Placat equjo Persis Radijs Hyperiona cinctum
Ne detur celeri victima Tarda Deo.

An *Horse* is to the *Sun*, the *Persian*s Gift. *Slow* Offerings will not suit a God so *Swift*.[428]

Now, for the Quæstion, whether these *Horses* at *Jerusalem*, were *Artificial* ones, or *Natural*? The learned *Selden* thinks the Former; but the Jewish Rabbins, and *Lyra* and *Vatablus*, and *Sanctius*, rather judge the Latter.[429] And there is this Reason for their Opinion; The *Chariots* of the Sun were *Burned* by the Great Reformer of *Jerusalem*; whereas the *Horses* were only *Taken away*. Why were not the *Horses* also *Burned,* as well as the *Chariots*? Why, Because they were *Living ones*, yett fitt for other Uses; & the *Burning* of them, would have look'd as if they had been still made a *Sacrifice*.

Procopius tells us, It was Customary at the Court of *Persia*, every Day to salute the *Sun*; & some say, that these *Horses* were to bee mounted, by the Persons that were to Perform the Salutations. Tis likely, These *Horses* were such as those that *Justin* mentions as used in the Election of *Darius*.[430] And *Herodotus* affirms, That the Dedication of *Images* was counted unlawful in the Temples of the *Persians*.[431]

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427 τῷ ταχυτάτῳ θεῶν, τὸ τάχιστον. Heliodorus, *Aethiopica* (10.6.5, line 7).

428 Patrick, *A Commentary* (587); Ovid, *Fasti* (1:385–86).

429 Patrick, *A Commentary* (588), citing Selden, *De diis Syris* (Syn. II, cap. VIII, pp. 236–37); and Vossius, *De Theologia Gentili* (lib. II, cap. IV, pp. 322–27); Rashi, Kimhi, et al. (*see II Kings: A New English Translation* 417–18); Lyra, *Postilla super totam Bibliam*, vol. 2, in loc.; Franciscus Vatablus (François Vatable), 16th-century French Hellenist and Hebraist scholar, *Biblia. Hebraea, Chaldaea, Graeca & Latina nomina* (1538–40), in loc.; Sanctius (Gaspar Sánchez), late 16th/early 17th-century Spanish Jesuit and biblical commentator, *In quatuor Libros Regum & duos Paralipomenon, Commentarii* (1623), cols. 1627–28. See also Poole, *Synopsis Criticorum* (2:702–03).

430 Procopius Gazaeus, *In Libros Regum, et Paralipomenon Scholia* (328); and Marcus Junianus Justinus, *Epitome Historarum Philippicarum Trogi Pompeii* (1.10).

431 Herodotus, *Historiae* (lib. I). "The customs which I know the Persians to observe are the following: they have no images of the gods, no temples nor altars, and consider the use of them a sign of folly."

It[432] is uncertain, whether these *Horses* were kept for to be sacrificed unto the *Sun*, as they were among the *Massagetae*, the *Armenians*, the *Persians*, & other People mentioned by *Bochart*;[433] or only to be led forth every Morning, to meet the *Rising Sun*, as the Jews express it; or, as others take it, The Worshippers of the Sun, gott upon these Horses, & Rode out to adore the *Sun*, at his Rising.

[331v] |

Q. The Chamber of *Nathan-Melech*, the *Chamberlain, which was in the Suburbs*? v. 11.

A. Tho' *Parvarim*,[434] is by the *Targum* here translated *Suburbs*: yett most of the Translations retain it as the Name of a Place, unto which the Street in which these Horses were kept, extended, from the Chariots of *Nathan-Melech*. Perhaps, he was the principal Officer that look'd after them; and had the oversight of all the Stables, that were built from the Gate of the Temple to *Parvarim*. And perhaps he Rode out himself every Morning upon one of them, to Salute the Rising Sun, in the Kings Name.[435]

Q. *The Chariot of the Sun burnt with Fire*? v. 11.

A. The Ancients fancied (as *Bochart* observes,) that the *Sun* was carried about in a *Chariot*; and therefore, *Chariots* as well as *Horses*, were Dedicated unto it. *Bochart* makes this an Argument, That they were not meer Brasen, Silver, or Golden Statues of *Horses*; but Real and Living *Horses*, to draw these *Chariots*.

Some who think they were only, as our *Selden* expresses it, *Imagines Equorum et Quadrigarum*,[436] imagine them to be Represented in the Shape of *Griffins*. Thus Mr. *Spoon*. See *Hyde, de Relig. Vet. Pers.*[437]

Q. Had not *Menasseh* in his Repentance *taken away all the Altars he had made in the Mountain of the House of the Lord*? How could *Josiah* now take them away? v. 12.

A. *Amon* had sett them up again, in the very Place, where *Menasseh* had erected them; and so they are here called, *His Altars*.[438]

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432 Ink changes from brown to black, and the following paragraph is squeezed in at the bottom of the page, indicating a later addition.

433 Bochart, *Hierozoicon* (pars prior, lib. II, cap. X, cols. 175–77).

434 פַּרְוָר [parvar], "open apartment."

435 Patrick, *A Commentary* (587–88), citing the Targum. *Targum Jonathan* has "in suburbanis" ("in the suburbs"), while *Targum Syriaca* and *Targum Arabica* have "in Peruda." *See* Walton, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (2:614–15).

436 "Images of horses and chariots."

437 Patrick, *A Commentary* (588), citing Bochart, *Hierozoicon* (pars prior, lib. II, cap. X, cols. 175–77); "the famous M. Spoon," possibly Jacob Spon, author of *Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grece, et du Levant, fait aux Années 1675 & 1676* (1678, subsequently transl. into English); Hyde, *Historia Religionis Veterum Persarum eorumque Magorum* (117).

438 Patrick, *A Commentary* (589).

[▽Insert from 332r][439] [▽332r]

Q. Remarks on, The *Mount of Corruption*? v. 13.

A. By others called, *The Mountain of Offence*.

The Text assigns the Cause, why it is called so. Such as follow *Idols*, are said in the Scriptures, to *Corrupt* themselves; And be sure, the Glorious GOD is *Offended* at them.

Many of the Learned, have thought it the same with Mount *Olivet*;[440] But others take it for a different Mount, lying on the South, or South-west of *Jerusalem*, near Mount *Zion*; being separated from this, by the *Valley of Hinnom*.

Our *Sandys* tells us, That this Mount is nowadays called, *The Mountain of Ill Counsel*: As being the Place where the Pharisees *Consulted*, how to destroy our Saviour.[441]

[△Insert ends]

| [blank] [332v]

Q. Who were the *Priests of the High-Places*, whom *Josiah* slew? v. 20.

A. There were some *Priests of the High-Places,* whom he did not kill. They were those who sacrificed only unto the True God in the High Place. Those whom he slew were either the Priests of *Jeroboam*, who worshipped the *Calves*, and had no Right unto the Priesthood, but had invaded it by the Favour of the King; or such Priests of the Order of *Aaron*, as sacrificed unto *Baal*, or other false Gods.[442]

Q. *All the Abominations that were spied in the Land*: what were they? v. 24.

A. What these *Abominations* were, is not certain; but as Dr. *Patrick* notes, tis likely they were such as *Ezekiel* saw, & afterwards described. See Ezek. VIII.6, 9, 10, 13, 15.[443]

Q. *Like unto him, no King before him*. How is this intended? v. 25.

A. *Procopius Gazæus* notes, That he[444] is not compared with *David*, and *Hezekiah*, but with other pious Kings, as *Asa* and *Jehoshaphat*, and *Jotham*, that were inferior to him in Piety; yea, *Ezekiel* himself, was not so Exact, & made not such a thorough Search, as he did after Idolatrious Practices. The Nation also was extremely corrupted under the long Reign of *Menasseh*; which made the Work of *Reformation* yett more difficult.

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439 A small slip once attached to the edge of the preceding page with sealing wax, now loose, and whose verso is blank.

440 Including Patrick, *A Commentary* (589).

441 George Sandys, *A Relation of a Iourney* (186).

442 Patrick, *A Commentary* (592).

443 Patrick, *A Commentary* (594).

444 I.e., Josiah.

In some Regard, especially that of *Trusting God* under Extreme Distress; *Hezekiah* excelled *Josiah*. Therefore the same Character is given of him. [2. King. 18.5.] But as to *Repentance*, it may be said, That *Josiah* was a None-such; He was here the most exemplary.[445]

Q. *Pharaoh Necho*, why would *Josiah* Engage him? v. 29.
A. *Herodotus* Calls him Νεκῶς, and mentions the Fight which he had with the *Syrians*, εν Μαγδολω.[446]

Josiah was afraid, that he intended to Invade his Countrey in his Passage; or to Divert him from his Expedition against the *Babylonians*, with whom he was in League. It is likely, the Latter was the Reason; For the King of *Egypt* assured him, he had no Quarrel with him; & yett he would fight him.[447]

Q. How come the People to *Take Jehoahaz, & Anoint him, & make him King*? v. 30.
A. He is called, *Shallum*, Jer. XXII.11. It is evident, He was younger than *Jehoiakim*; for he was Twenty three Years old, & reigned but Three Months; And then *Jehoiakim* was Twenty five Years old. The People might prefer *Jehoahaz*, because he was a more warlike Person. They *Anointed* him, as *Abarbanel* thinks, because his Title was Quæstionable. *Ralbag* is of the Opinion, that the People forced him to be made King against his Will; which is the Import of, *They took him*.

Indeed, from 2. Chron. III.15. it appears, That *Jehoahaz* was the youngest of *Josiah*'s Four Sons.

The Name *Shallum*, our *Usher* thinks, might seem to be of but an Ill Omen; for *Shallum* the King of *Israel* reigned but One Month; which made them change it into *Jehoahaz*; and yett this proves not much more lucky; for he reigned but Three Months.[448]

Q. On *Pharaoh*s taxing the Land? v. 35.
A. It is very probable, that the Prophet had regard unto this Taxation, in the first Verse of his *Lamentations. She that was great among the Nations, and Princess among the Provinces, how is she become Tributary*!

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445 Patrick, *A Commentary* (594–95), citing Procopius Gazaeus, *In Libros Regum, et Paralipomenon Scholia* (331).
446 εν Μαγδώλῳ, "in Magdolo." Herodotus, *Historiae* (2.159, line 6).
447 Patrick, *A Commentary* (596, 597).
448 Patrick, *A Commentary* (598–99), citing Abravanel and Ralbag (*see II Kings: A New English Translation* 424); Ussher, *Annales Veteris Testamenti* (A.M. 3371, p. 113; *see also Annals of the World* 78–79).

Q. The *Bands* of the *Chaldees*, & of the *Syrians*, & of the *Moabites*, & of the *Ammonites*, which the Lord *Sent against Judah, to destroy it*? v. 2.
A. These were all Subject unto *Nebuchadnezzar*, and sent by him, to chastise *Jehoiachim*, before he came himself, & besieged *Jerusalem*, and carried away Part of the Vessels of the House of the Lord. For this was the Third Year, mentioned by *Daniel*,[450] after he was Restored unto his Kingdome.[451]

Q. The Servants of *Nebuchadnezzar* besieging *Jerusalem*, Three Months after *Jehoiachim* was placed on the Throne? v. 10.
A. It is likely, that *Nebuchadnezzar* heard, he was entred into a Confæderacy with the King of *Egypt*.

Some of the Jews tell us, the Counsellours of *Nebuchadnezzar* repræsented unto him, How unadvisedly he had acted, in making him a King, whose Father had been in Rebellion against him; using this Proverb, *From an Ill Dog, never comes a Good Whelp*: whereupon he Resolved upon Deposing of him.[452]

Q. How were *All of the Vessels of Gold cutt in Peeces*? v. 13.
A. *All* in a Manner, but not Absolutely. For some Remained; or were else Renewed, which is not likely. [See, 2. King. XXV.14, 15.]

By *Cutting in Peeces*, must be meant no more, than their being *Cutt off* from the *Temple*. The *Temple* was deprived of this principal Part of its *Treasure*. But the Vessels were preserved entire; they were not *Cutt in Peeces*. [See, Dan. V.2.]

This was, *As the Lord had said*, By *Isaiah* to *Hezekiah*. [2. King. XX.17.] As for the *Pillars*, and the *Sea*, and the *Bases*, & the Residue of the Vessels, that were not now taken away, they were only Reserved until the Next Reign; when *Jeremiah* prophecied, That they also should be carried away. [Jer. XXVII.19, 20, 21, 22.][453]

| [333v]

Q. How came the Name of *Mattaniah*, to be changed into that of *Zedekiah*? v. 17.
A. It signifies, *The Justice of God*. It seems to have been given him, to putt him in Mind of the Just Judgment of God, which would fall upon him, if he broke

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449 A quarto-sized leaf.
450 Dan. 1:1–2.
451 Patrick, *A Commentary* (602).
452 Patrick, *A Commentary* (604–05).
453 Patrick, *A Commentary* (606).

the Oath of Fidelity, which he took to the King of *Babylon*. [See, 2. Chron. XXVI.13. and, Ezek. XVII.13, 14, 18.][454]

Q. How came *Zedekiah*, to break his Faith with the King of *Babylon*? v. 20.
A. It is probable, he was perswaded by the Embassadors, which the Kings of *Edom*, and *Moab*, and *Ammon*, and *Tyre*, and *Zidon*, sent unto him, to sollicit him. [Jer. XXVII.2, 3, 4.] The King of *Egypt*, also, tis likely, promised him, his Help in the Cause. And *Hananiah*, a False Prophet, assured him, God would within Two Years break the Yoke of the King of *Babylon*, and bring back, all the Vessels of the House of God, with *Jehoiachin*, & the Captives. *Jeremiah* indeed, proved, that he made him Trust in a Lye, by prædicting his Death in that very Year; which fell out accordingly. But they still persisted in their vain Hopes; there being other Deceivers, that prophesied Falsely in the Name of God. [Jer. XXIX.8, 9.] They most of all Deceived themselves with proud Conceits, that they were the True Seed of *Abraham*, who had a Right unto the Land. [Ezek. XXXIII.24.][455]

454 Patrick, *A Commentary* (608).
455 Patrick, *A Commentary* (609).

~~808.~~

Q. It is here said, concerning the Two *Pillars* in the Temple, *The Heighth of one Pillar was Eighteen Cubits*; [thus, 1. King. 7.15. and Jer. 52.21.] But in 2. Chron. 3.15. it is said, Hee made the *Two Pillars Thirty five Cubits High*. And it is there Said, *The Chapiter that was on the Top of each of them, was Five Cubits*; [and so, 1. King. 7.16. and Jer. 52.22.][456] But it is here said, *The Heighth of the Chapiter was Three Cubits*. Reconcile them? v. 17.

A. Tis easily done. The Book of *Kings*, does reckon the Heighth of each Pillar distinct, & say, They were *Eighteen Cubits* high apeece. But the Book of *Chronicles* does reckon the Measure of both jointly together, & say they were Both together, *Five and Thirty* Cubits long; namely, Seventeen Cubits & an half apeece. Now, the Half Cubit, that is reckoned above, when tis said, They were *Eighteen Cubits* High, was taken up, within the *Chapiter*; for the *Chapiter*, being a long Massey Piece of Brass, upon the Head of the Pillar, the Pillar | must needs [334v] bee lett something into it, as a Tenon, into a Mortise, to make it fast. So that the Pillar was Eighteen Cubits High, but only Seventeen and an Half appearing.

But, for the *Chapiters* themselves, They were *Five Cubits* High apeece; but there was a *New-Work* about them, at their Bottom, which stood, as a *Crown*, about them, on the Top of the Pillars, that only *Three Cubits* of the plain Chapiter could bee seen. This does adjust the Difference, in the Account of *Three* and *Five*.

Q. The Civility shown to *Jehoiachin*, on the *Twenty Seventh Day* of the *Twelfth Month*? v. 27.

A. It was Resolved on the *Twenty fifth* Day of the Month, and Executed Two dayes after. So this Place is easily Reconciled with Jer. LII.35.

Evil-Merodach had with him in *Babylon*, the Kings of Several Countreys, whom his Father had made Prisoners; unto these, he not only left the Name, & Titles of Kings, but now gave them some Liberty, & bestowed a Royal Seat upon them. Above all these, he preferred *Jehoiachin*, either because of the Great Fame of his Ancestors, *David* and *Solomon*, from whom he was descended; or, as the Jews tell us, because he had made a Friendship in Prison, with *Evil-Merodach*, who was thrown into it, by his Father *Nebuchadnezzar*, for his Male-Administration of the Government, in the Seven Years of his Madness.

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456 *See* Patrick, *A Commentary* (614), for the phrasing of the question, and compare the response here to the entry on 1 Kings 7:15, above, p. 437.

Jehoiachin was frequently invited by *Evil-Merodach* to his Table, as *Crœsus* was to that of *Cyrus*. *Victorinus Strigelius* thinks it not unlikely, that he had learnt the Doctrine of the True God from the Prophet *Daniel*, as *Nebuchadnezzar* had done, who in a public Edict acknowledged it. Upon this Account, he show'd such great Kindness to *Jechoniah*.[457] And for that Cause he gott the Name of *Evil-Merodach*, among the Impious Princes; that is, *Foolish Merodach*.

When he did not eat with the King, he lived upon a Pension that was duly paid him every day, for Meat, Drink, Clothing, Lodging, & other Expences.[458]

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457 An alternative form of Jehoiachin.

458 Patrick, *A Commentary* (618, 619), citing Victorinus Strigelius, *Libri Samuelis, Regum, & Paralipoménon* (412).

4850.

Q. What shall be thought of the apparent *Inconsistencies*, in the Historical Books of the Old Testament written after the Captivity, with several Things in the Books written before? v. 1.

A. Suppose we should grant, That there are some circumstantial *Mistakes* in our *Present Copies*. This would not at all affect, the Truth of our *Holy Religion*. For, first, the Mistakes lie in *Little things*, wherein the Articles of our Holy Religion are not at all involved. And, Secondly, in *Other Parts* of the Sacred Volumns, we are furnished with sufficient Instructions and Remedies, to rectify these Mistakes. It is Rationally impossible, That the Great *Matters of Fact*, relating to *Moses*, and to JESUS, and the *Mysteries*, and *Commandments*, of Christianity, should be mis-recited. The Points, which concern what is necessary to be *Beleeved* and *Practised*, in order to our Everlasting Happiness, are so inwrought into the Bible all along, that it were impossible for them to be Falsified by Transcribers. None but a Madman can imagine, that we can have the *necessary Points of our Salvation* any otherwise delivered unto us *now*, than they were in the first *Original*. The *Errors* that have generally gott into our Copies, are both so *Discoverable*, and of so little *Consequence*, (not at all any *Disturbance*) to the *Faith of Christianity*, that there seems no Danger at all in allowing of them. We may without any Manner of Hazard make the most ingenious Dr. *Grew*'s Allowance: *God may as well permitt* Errata *in the* Bible, *as in* Nature. *He is as much the Author of the One, as of the Other. Is it then impossible to Distinguish the Divineness of this Book, from that which is Humane? Is the Design or Model of a good Peece of Architecture, to be undervalued, because in the Work there is a Brick or two broken, by the Workmen, or misplaced? If God for sundry Reasons had made Nature capable of producing now and then a Monster, or of making some other Default, shall we disown the Divine Strokes apparent in every Beauty, yea, in every well-shaped Animal?*[1]

If we proceed now, to take Notice of a peculiar Number of Mistakes, in our Copies of the Books of the *Chronicles*, and of *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*, while the Books written before the Captivity are clear of such things, Mr. *Whiston* will furnish us with some Reasons of the Matter.[2] All the former Sacred Books, were not only written, but also Transcribed and Published and Dispersed, while there was a Succession of Prophets among the Jewes, who had all along Authority to

1 Grew, *Cosmologia Sacra* (143).
2 William Whiston, *An Essay towards restoring the true Text of the Old Testament* (1702).

Review them, and Correct the Mistakes of the Transcribers. But who must correct the *Last* of the Sacred Writers? If an *Ezra* might sett all Right, in the Holy Books that went before him, Who should correct what was mistaken by them who copied out the Writings of *Ezra*? The *Autographs* of the *Last Prophets* were exact. But they were no more than *Single Copies*; And all the following ones must come from them, with the Mistakes of every Transcriber afterwards. No body durst pretend to correct a Mistake, for fear of the *Curse* to those, who did either *Add to*, or *Take from* the *Word of God*.

Mr. *Whiston* ha's been at the Pains, to collect several Passages in the Books aforesaid, which are the plain Errors of the Transcribers, and are immediately and infallibly corrected from the other Sacred Writings.

Error		Corrected
1. Chron. 1.		Gen. 10
17. *Meshech* – – – – – – –		28. *Mash*.
30. *Hadad*– – – –	Gen. 25.	15. *Hadar*.
36. *Zephi* – – – –	Gen. 36.	11. *Zepho*.
39. *Homam* – – – – – – – –		22. *Heman*.
40. *Alian* – – – – – – – – –		23. *Alvan*.
Shephi– – – – – – – –		*Shepho*.
41. *Amram* – – – – – – – –		26. *Hemdan*.
42. *Jakan* – – – – – – – –		27. *Akan*.
50. *Hadad*– – – – – – – –		39. *Hadar*.
— *Pai* – – – – – – – – –		*Pan*.

1 Chron. 1.17. The Sons of *Arom*, are mention'd, as if they were the Sons of *Shem*.

1 Chron. 3.22. One of the Sons of *Shemajah* is omitted; there are but Five named, and yett they are *Six* in the Summ at the Bottom.

1 Chron. 6.54–60. There are but *Eleven* Cities reckon'd up, and yett the Summ is *Thirteen*. Two of the Names, *Gideon* and *Juttah*, are omitted by the Transcriber; who ha's indeed perplexed the whole Place, as you may learn from Josh. 21.9–19. from whence it was taken.

1. Chron. 6.61. Here are *Ten Cities* given, out of the Half-Tribe of *Menasseh*; whereas in truth, *Four* were given out of *Ephraim*, *Four* out of *Dan*, and only *Two*, out of the *Half-Tribe* of *Menasseh*, *Ten* in all. See Josh. 21.20–26.

1. Chron. 7.3. One of the Sons of *Izrahiah* is lost. The particulars are but *Four*; the general Summ is *Five*.

[335v] | In the Two Next Chapters, we have the very same Genealogy of King *Saul*s Family, Twice over. Only in the Latter, the Name of *Ahaz* is omitted; [1. Chron. 9.41.] where our Translators themselves make so bold, as to supply it.

In 1. Chron. 23.19. we read, *Of the Sons of Hebron, Jeriah the first, Amariah the Second, Jehaziel the Third, and Jekameam the Fourth*.

But, in 1. Chron. 24.23. we have the Repetition of the same Catalogue. But it runs, *Of the Sons, Jeriah, Amariah the Second, Jehaziel the third, Jekameam the fourth*. The Fathers Name, *Hebron*, is omitted. And the Title of, *The First*, belonging to *Jeriah*.

The Verses before and after, will be found Repetitions, and full of Confusion.

In, 1. Chron. 25.3. The Summ contains one more than the Particulars. The Name, *Shimei*, is omitted. Compare, v. 17.

That Remarkable Passage,
1. Chron. 22.14.

Behold, In my Trouble, [or, Of my Poverty] *I have prepared for the House of the Lord, an Hundred Thousand Talents of Gold, and a Thousand Thousand Talents of Silver*.

Hear *Whiston*s Remark upon it. "A strange Summ! And this, not all that was provided for the *Temple*, by *David* and *Solomon* both, but by the former only. Nay, and this in his Difficulties of affayrs, or, *Of his Poverty*; as being but a small Matter of what he intended, in Case his affairs had been more prosperous, and himself in better Circumstances. The Summ, in our *English* Money, amounts to above Seven hundred Millions of Pounds *Sterling*; that is, to near as much as the solid Content of the whole *Temple* and *Porch* withal, had it been all *Silver*; nay, to more Gold and Silver than the whole Earth had upon it, until the late Discovery of the Mines of *America*. Tis in *Josephus*, but the Tenth Part of this Sum; and in the *Syriac* no more than a *Thousand Talents* of each Kind. I need say no more, to shew the Grossness of the Transcribers Mistake in the Place."[3]

Compare the Second Chapter of *Ezra*, and the Seventh Chapter of *Nehemiah*, and you'l now and then find a very Different Computation. As,

In *Ezra*		In *Nehemiah*	
Of *Arah*,	775.	Of *Arah*,	652.
Of *Pahath Moab*.	2812.	Of *Pahath Moab*.	2818.
Of *Zattu*.	945.	Of *Zattu*.	845.
Of *Bani*.	642.	Of *Binnui*.	648.

3 Whiston, *An essay towards restoring the true text of the Old Testament* (35–38), citing Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* (7.14.2). Mather skips the equivalent of about eight lines before resuming at the top of the second column on 336v.

Of *Behai*.	623.	Of *Bebai*.	628.
Of *Azgad*.	1222.	Of *Azgad*.	2322.
Of *Adonikam*.	666.	Of *Adonikam*.	667.
Of *Bigvai*.	2056.	Of *Bigvai*.	2060.
Of *Adin*.	454.	Of *Adin*.	655.
Of *Bezai*.	323.	Of *Bezai*.	324.
Of *Hashum*.	223.	Of *Hashum*.	328.
Jorah	----	called – *Hariph*.	
Gibbar	----	called – *Gibeon*.	
Of *Bethlehem*	123.	Of *Bethlehem*,	188.
Of *Netophah*,	56.	Of *Netophah*,	
Of *Bethel*.	223.	Of *Bethel*,	123.
Magbish			omitted.
Of *Lod* &c.	725.	Of *Lod*,	721.
Of *Senaah*,	3630.	Of *Senaah*,	3930.
Children of *Asaph*,	128.	Of *Asaph*.	148.
Of *Shallum*.	139.	Of *Shallum*.	138.
Uncertain Multitude.	652.	Unc{ertain} Multitude	642.

The whole Congregation in both, amounts to 42360.

Ezra's Particulars amount to no more than, 29818.	*Nehemiah*s Particulars amount to no more than, 31089.
Deficient in Particulars 12542.	Deficient in Particulars 11271.[4]

Mr. *Whiston* makes a Corollary. Since there are so many Mistakes in the Numbers of these Books, no wonder that some of them have caused Difficulties in Chronology. Thus [1. Chron. 16.1.] *Baasha* King of *Israel, comes up against Judah in the Thirty sixth Year of the Reign of Asa*; whereas, [1. King. 15.33.] tis certain that *Baasha* died in the *Twenty Sixth* Year of *Asa*, Ten Years before.

Thus, [2. Chron. 22.2.] *Ahaziah* was *Forty two Years old, when he began his Reign*: whereas, [2. Chron. 21.ult.] tis evident, His Father was no more than
[336r] *Forty Years old*, when he Dyed. And the Book of *Kings* | and the *Syriac* Version of this Book from the *Hebrew*, conspire to assure us, That *Ahaziah* was but *Twenty two Years old* at his Fathers Death.

4 Whiston, *An Essay towards restoring the true Text of the Old Testament* (38–40).

Thus, [2. Chron. 36.9.] *Jehojachin* is but *Eight Years old*, when he began to Reign. Whereas [2. King. 24.8.] he was *Eighteen*; and at that time, had more Wives than one.[5]

I do not know, but that several of these *Difficulties*, are capable of more *Charitable Solutions*, than our Author ha's here ordered for them. And accordingly, when the Places occur, we may make our Experiments.

However, I see no Danger in conceding *Such Errors* in *our Copies*, as those that have been mention'd.

Is is an unshaken Principle of our *Faith*, and *Reason* itself teaches us to *Beleeve* it; That the Great GOD hath somewhere committed unto *Writing*, His Mind and Will, concerning our Salvation, & our Duty in order to our Salvation. And that no Writing but our *Bible*, can pretend unto that Character, or have any Pretence to be esteemed, the Word of God.

But certainly, Tis not a Principle of æqual Assurance; That the Providence of God hath so watched over the Scriptures, as that the *Copies* are præserved, from lesser *Errors* of the Transcribers in Points which do not affect our Salvation, or the Great Articles of Religion; especially, if the Errors are such, as we have Means left us to correct, from other Scriptures, that are incontestable. I suspect, That the Setting of this latter Principle on the same Level with the former, would be to do more than a little Disservice unto our Holy Religion.

This Matter may be more agreeably expressed in the Words of Mr. *Robert Jenkyns*. "No man can prove, that God might not suffer a Book written by His own Appointment and Authority, to be encumbred thro' Length of Time, & the Frailty & Negligence of Men, with insuperable Difficulties, if it be supposed still to retain the visible Marks and Characters of a Divine Original, in all the *Evidence* necessary to prove it, from *Matter of Fact*, and in the *Doctrines* delivered by it. For as long as these two are secured, all the rest, tho' it be of never so great Use and Excellency, yett cannot be necessary in order to the Ends of a *Divine Revelation*. A Book of *Divine Revelation* might be permitted by God, for the Sins, and by the Fault and Ignorance of Men, to become perplext, with *Diverse Readings*, and even with *Contradictions* in the Chronological and less material Points of it. So long as it cannot be proved Defective, as to the Ends and Purposes of a *Divine Revelation*, either for Want of *Evidence* to make it appear to be such, or thro' Defect of the Matter and Doctrine contained in it, all other Difficulties will never prove it, not to be of Divine Authority."[6]

Tho' I have, in composing this Collection, all along studiously avoided, ever to look into our *Polan*s Annotations; nor can I call to Mind, that I have above once look'd into them, for an Illustration; (except when we come to

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5 Whiston, *An Essay towards restoring the true Text of the Old Testament* (43).

6 Jenkin, *The Reasonableness and Certainty of the Christian Religion* (2:183). On Mather's view of the integrity of the biblical histories, see *BA* 1:113–74.

*Ezekiel*s Prophecies.) Because I would not have this at all to Interfere with that noble Work, or give the least Prejudice unto it: Yett I am willing in this one Place, to transcribe a few Lines of our *Pool*, on a Subject we have now before us. [On, 1. Chron. 22.14.][7]

"Some Learned Men make these Talents, far less, than those in *Moses*'s time. The Hebrew Word, *Kikkar*, which is rendred, *A Talent*, properly signifies only a *Mass*, or a *Peece*.[8] [Exod. XXIX.23. 1. Sam. II.36. Zech. V.7.] So it may indifferently note, either a greater or a lesser Piece. And this is certain, and observed by two Ancient and most learned Writers, *Varro*, and *Pollux*, and by others, that a *Talent* among the *Greeks* and *Romans* sometimes notes but a small Quantity; and that a *Talent of Gold*, contains only Six Drachms. And *Homer* in his *Iliads*, among other things of no great Value, which are propounded as Rewards to the Conqueror, as a solemn and public Exercise, a *Bond-Woman*, an *Horse*, and a *Pott*, mentions *Two Talents of Gold*; which plainly shewes, that in his Time, (which was after the Building of this Temple) *Talents of Gold* were very far inferiour in Quantity and Price, to what they had been in former Ages. And *Josephus*, a Jew, and therefore the more competent Judge of these things, speaking of this very thing, for 100000 Talents of *Gold* here mentioned, he putts 10000, and for 1000000 Talents of *Silver*, he putts 100000; either because the Talents in *Moses*'s time were of *Ten times* more Bulk and Price, than they were in *David*s & *Solomon*s time; and therefore these *Talents* reduced to them, amounted to no greater Summ; or, because he read so, in his Copy of the Hebrew Bible. [Mr. *Pool* goes on,] And certainly, tis infinitely more tolerable and reasonable to Suppose, that there is a Mistake here, in the generality of the present Copies, of the Hebrew Bible, thro' the Error of the Scribe, (which being only in a Numeral and Historical Passage, might happen, without Impeachment to the Care of Gods Providence, which hath so miraculously præserved all the most Important and Substantial Parts of Scripture,) than upon such Pretences, to deny the Truth, & divine Original and Authority of the Holy Scriptures."[9]

There[10] is one *Calmet*, a Benedictine Monk, who has lately [1711.] published at *Paris*, a, *Commentaire Literal Sur tous Les Livres de L'Ancien et du nouveau Testament*. This Writer ha's a Dissertation on the Riches left by *David*

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7 See below, p. 695. I.e., Matthew Poole, *Annotations upon the Holy Bible* (1683). See William Tooman, "Of Puritans and Prophets: Cotton Mather's Interpretation of Ezekiel in the Biblia Americana" (203–227).

8 וְרָקִיק (Ex. 29:33), וְכִכַּר (1 Sam. 2:36), כִּכַּר (Zech. 5:7) [kikkar], "loaf of bread, gold or silver as unit of weight or measure, talent."

9 Poole, *Annotations upon the Holy Bible*, in loc. His references are given in *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:780–81), citing Varro, *De Lingua Latina Libri XXV,* lib. IV; Julius Pollux, lib. IX of his *Onomasticon*, now lost, but referred to in the Suda; Homer, *Illiad* (23.262); and Josephus, *Antiquities* (7.14.2).

10 The ink does not change, but wider spacing of lines in the remainder of the entry suggests a different sitting.

unto *Solomon*: and attempts | to shew that it is needless to Suppose any Fault in [336v]
the Text, or to have recourse unto Ingenious Explanations, for the Lessening of so prodigious a Sum. *David* had a very long Reign, & was constantly increasing his Riches all the Time. He vanquished wealthy Nations, & made himself Owner of their Treasures. *Arabia* and *Idumæa*, which had rich Mines in them, were Part of his Conquests, & paid him Tribute. His Empire extended as far as to *Euphrates*. According to *Eupolemus*, quoted by *Eusebius*, he sent Fleets unto *Ophir*, which made more Substantial Returns unto him, than afterwards unto *Solomon*. Father *Calmet* then produces Exemples of Treasures, as large, he thinks, as those in quæstion. I will only mention the first of his Exemples. *Ctesias* relates, That *Sardanapalus* King of *Assyria*, being besieg'd in his Capital, raised a great Wood-pile in the Court of his Palace, into which he putt his Treasure to hide it from the Enemy, & burn himself with it, which indeed was as dear to him as his Life. In this Pile, he placed One hundred & fifty Beds of Gold, and as many Tables of the same Metal. A Million of Talents in Gold; and no less than Ten times as much in Silver; with costly Habits, of Purple. He gave besides, Three thousand Talents of Gold unto his Children, & sent them out of *Ninive*, at the Beginning of the Siege. And yett, our *David*s Territories were as large, better cultivated, & more populous, than *Sardanapalus*'s.[11]

Reader, exercise thy Judgment.

I[12] will add this Remark.

Some have too rashly spoken, as if the Summ here supposed and assigned for the *Temple*, would have almost filled the whole Space, which the *Temple* itself did occupy. On this Occasion, I made my Calculation.

The *Sanctum Sanctorum*, was a Room of Thirty foot Square. The *Gold* wherewith *Solomon* overlaid it, amounted unto *Six hundred Talents*, which is æqual to Four Millions, three hundred & twenty thousand Pounds Sterling. I pray, How far would such a Mass of *Gold*, fill the Room of the *Sanctum Sanctorum*?

In the *Holy of Holies*, there were 27000 Solid Feet.

A Mass of Gold amounting to 4320000.00.00 Lb. would occupy the Room of little more than 62 Solid Feet.

There then remain 26938 Solid Feet unoccupied.

| [338r][13]

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11 Antoine Augustin Calmet (1672–1757), French Benedictine monk, *Commentaire littéral sur tous les Livres de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament,* 8 vols. (1707–16), vol. 5 of which, *Les trois premiers Livres des Rois*, was published in 1711; in the Paris, 1724–26 reprint (5 vols.), the dissertation on the wealth given by David to Solomon appears in 2:615–20. Calmet refers to Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica* (9.34) and to a "fragment" by Ctesias, a 5th-century BCE Greek physician and historian, probably from his *Persica*, a 23-book history of Assyria and Persia.

12 The rest of the entry, written in a darker brown ink than the foregoing, is a later addition.

13 L. 337 contain computations not in Mather's hand (*see* App. B).

Q. The Writer of the Books of, The *Chronicles*?
A. The Common Conjecture, for *Ezra*, is well known.

But when Men have said all, the most that can be said, is by *Procopius Gazæus*, expressed in one Word; It was One, who, *Hæc ex multis Prophetarum Scriptis Collegit*.[14]

That Passage, 2. Chron. V.9. which Speaks of the *Ark* & *Staves* brought into the Temple, and saies, *There they are to this Day*: As *Huetius* observes, It proves not, that these Books must be written before the Captivity; after which, the Ark was no more heard of. But the Writer took this Passage, (and that in 1. King. VIII.8.) out of some Ancient Book, and sett it down Word for Word, as he found it.[15]

Q. Among the Sons of *Shem*, we have *Uz*, and *Hul*, and *Gether*, and *Meshech*; These were his Grandsons, by *Aram*, his youngest Son? v. 17.
A. Nothing is more usual in Scripture, than to call *Grandsons*, by the Name of *Sons*. *Laban* is called, Gen. 29.5. the *Son* of *Nahor*. *Mephibosheth* is called, 2. Sam. 19.24. the *Son* of *Saul*.[16]

[338v] |
829.

Q. What *General Curiosities* do you observe, in the *Scriptural Genealogies*? v. 34.
A. One is This. There is a notable Conformitie, of the Remarkable *Generations* mentioned in the Bible, unto the Number *Twenty Two*.

The Patriarchs, from *Adam*, to *Jacob*, do prove, if you count them, 22.
The *High-Priests* of *Israel*, successively Reckoned in the *Chronicles*, prove 22.
The *Judges* of *Israel*, from *Joshua*, to *Samuel*, if you take in the Tyrants of the Six Oppressions, do prove, 22.
The Kings of *Judah*, from *Saul* to *Zedekiah*, do Likewise prove, 22.
And in *Luke*s Genealogies, from the *Babylonian Captivity*, to our *Saviour*s Nativitie, the Generations arise unto 22.
In the Twenty second Generation from the Beginning of the World, was the Promise of *Shiloh* wxhibited; and in the Twenty Second Generation from the Ruine that Seem'd utterly to have defeated that Promise, it was accomplished.

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14 "Collects these things from many writings of the prophets."
15 Simon Patrick, *A Commentary upon the two Books of Chronicles: Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther* (1706), pp. 1–2, citing Procopius Gazaeus, *In Libros Regum, et Paralipomenon Scholia* (335)**;** and Pierre-Daniel Huetius, *Demonstratio Evangelica* (1680), pp. 206–08.
16 Patrick, *A Commentary* (7).

Q. The Daughter of *Mezahab*? v. 50.
A. The Jews fancy this *Mezahab*, to have been a very ingenious Woman; being the First that found Out the Art of Drawing *Gold* out into *Wires* or *Threeds*. And we know, *Zahab* signifies *Gold*, in the Hebrew.[17]

Q. The *Dukes* of *Edom*? v. 54.
A. After the Death of *Hadad*, it seems the Form of their Government altered again; There were no more Kings for a long Time; They returned unto the first Constitution, which they found, when they first conquered the Countrey.

Thus the *Israelites*, after they came into *Canaan*. They were first governed by *Judges*, who had not kingly Power. After which they were governed by *Kings* till their Captivity. After that, they had not *Kings*, but another sort of *Governours*.

The Difference between the Kings & the *Dukes* of *Edom*, according to *Estius*, was this. The *Kings* ruled Absolutely, & according to their pleasure. The Power of the *Dukes* was limited by certain præscribed Lawes.[18]

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17 זָהָב [zahab], "(shekels of) gold." Patrick, *A Commentary* (13).
18 Patrick, *A Commentary* (13–14), citing Guilielmus Estius (1542–1613), Roman Catholic professor of theology at Douai, author of *Biblia magna Commentariorum literalium*.

696{?}.

Q. The Sons of *Jesse*, are here enumerated but *Seven*; whereas in 1. Sam. 16.8. wee find *Eight* of them. How do these things agree? v. 13.

A. *Jesse* had not only *Eight*, but in all *Eleven* Sons, when *Samuel* came to view them; for, hee made *Eliab*, *Abinadab* and *Shamma* to pass first before him; and again, hee made *Seven more* of them to pass before him; and after all, *David*, the Youngest, was fetched from the Field, who made up the Number. But if hee had never so many Sons, no doubt *Some* of them Dy'd before their Father; wherefore, *Four* of them Dying, and probably without Issue too, only the other surviving Seven, are enrolled in the *Chronicles*, & their Names transmitted unto Posterity.

[339v] |

1315.

Q. *Jether*, the Brother-in-Law of *David*, is in the Book of *Chronicles* called, *An Ishmaelite*; in the Book of *Samuel*, [2. Sam. 17.25.] hee is called, an *Israelite*? v. 17.

A. I'l tell you what *Grotius* ventures to say of it; *Videtur hinc corrigi debere Scriptura*, 2 Sam. 17.25.[19] But I leave it unto further Consideration.

Only[20] I'l sett before you a Jewish Conciliation for it. In *Midrasch Tillim*, on Ps. 9. 9. there is this Passage;

R. *Samuel*, the Son of *Nachman*, said, Hee was an *Ishmaelite*. But, *quâdam die ingressus Domum Studij audivit vocem Isai* (patris David) *qui dicebat*. convertimini ad meo, et Salvi eritis omnes Fines Terræ. *Protinus Conversus est, et dedit ei Isai Filiam Suam*.[21]

Q. That Passage; *Calebs begetting Children* of *Azubah* his Wife, & of *Jerioth*? v. 18.

A. It is an ungrounded Fancy of the Talmudists, in *Sota*; That she was called, *Azubah*, (which signifies, *Forsaken*,) because *Caleb* married her for the Love of God, when no body else would have her.[22]

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19 "It seems from this that scripture ought to be corrected." Grotius, *Opera Omnia* (1:176).

20 Ink changes from brown to black.

21 "On a certain day, entering the house of study, he heard the voice of Jesse (the father of David), who said, Return to me and you will be safe with respect to all the boundaries of the land. He immediately returned and Jesse gave to him his son." *Midrasch Tillim*, on Ps. 9:9.

22 From Patrick, *A Commentary* (18), Mather makes mention of the Babylonian Talmud (Seder Nashim, Sotah 11b–12a). Cf. *The Babylonian Talmud*, ed. I. Epstein, *Seder Nashim,*

But then, this Clause, *And of Jerioth*, is by *Con. Pellican* understood, as if it had been said, *That of his Wife Azubah, he begat Jerioth*. For there is nothing in the Hebrew, that answers to the Word, *Children*.[23]

Q. *Jairs three and twenty Cities in the Land of Gilead*? v. 22.
A. He is called *Manasseh*, Num. XXXII.41. because his Grandmother, was the Daughter of *Machir*, the Son of *Menasseh*.

The common Opinion of the Jewish Doctors is, That he had those *Three & twenty Cities*, by the Right of his Wife. There are, according to their Observation, Two Instances of Husbands, who inherited the Estate of their Wives, tho' in another Tribe. The first is, Josh. XXIV.33. The Second is in this Place. *Kimchi* notes, That *Jair the Son of Segub took a Wife in the Land of Gilead*; *unto whom he succeeded as her Heir, in her Possessions, when she was Dead*.

See *Selden*, De Successionibus.[24]

Q. *Abiah, Hezrons Wife, bare Him Ashur*? v. 24.
A. He married her, when he was very old; (for it looks as if he was Threescore, when he took his former wife:) and he died before the Child was born, which he Begat of her. The Jewes look upon his marrying at such an Age, to proceed from a great Desire of Posterity in the family of *Pharez*, from whom the *Messiah* was to descend. The same we see in *Boaz*, who married *Ruth*, when he was old.[25]

[▽Insert from 340r][26] [▽340r]
This Matter; The Marriage of *Hezron* the Son of *P{h}arez*, I find somewhat more largely handled, in a Sermon of my Grandfather *Cotton*, at the Marriage of old Governour *Dudley*, which I have now before me.[27] He takes Notice; It was a Second Marriage, and made when he was Threescore Years old; and made with a Daughter of *Machir*, & so with a Great Grandchild of *Joseph*, for *Machir* was the Son of *Menasseh*, who was the Son of *Joseph*: And by this Marriage he had a Son, *Segub*, who proved a very Notable Man.

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vol. 6: Nazir, Soṭah (1936), p. 40; *see also Mishnayoth, vol. 3: Order Nashim*, ed. Philip Blackman (1953).

23 Patrick, *A Commentary* (18), citing Conrad Pellican, *Commentaria Bibliorum et illa brevia quidem ac Catholica* (207).

24 Patrick, *A Commentary* (18–19), citing Selden, *De Successionibus ad leges Ebraeorum in bona defunctorum* (ch. XVIII, pp. 118–28); and David Kimhi (*see The Commentary of Rabbi David Kimhi to Chronicles* [2007] 43–44).

25 See the story of Boaz and Ruth, beginning Ruth 2:1.

26 This slip, containing a continuation of the entry on v. 24, was once glued beneath the entry with sealing wax, but is now loose.

27 Apparently a manuscript sermon by John Cotton, no longer extant. Thomas Dudley (1576–1653) was the governor of Massachusetts Bay in 1634–35, 1640–41, 1645–46, and 1650–51; his second marriage was to Katherine Hackburne in 1644.

Hezron was one who came into *Egypt*, with *Jacob* and *Judah*, & their whole Family.

Joseph was Thirty Years old, when he stood before *Pharaoh*.

Two Sons of *Menasseh* & *Ephraim* were born, during the Seven Years of Plenty, which went before those of the Famine.

Jacob & his Family, & *Hezron* with them, came into *Egypt*, in the Second Year of the Famine, when five Years more of it, were still to come.

So that *Menasseh* was about Seven or Eight Years old, When *Hezron* came into *Egypt*. *Machir*, the Father of this young Woman, was not yett born. *Hezron* might have been her Grandfather. For he was coætaneous with her Great Grandfather. At most, her Grandfather could not be more than Five Years older than *Hezron*. For if *Menasseh* were about Seven Years old, when *Hezron* came into *Egypt*, *Hezron* having then a younger Brother, who was called, *Hamul*, *Hezron* could not be less than Two Years old, at *Menasseh*'s being Seven.

It is not unlikely, that this Marriage was made with *Joseph*s Consent. For the Children of *Machir*, (whereof this young Woman was one) were brought
[340v] up on *Joseph*s Knees. And *Joseph* dying when he was one hundred & ten Years | old; And *Hezron* coming into *Egypt*, when he was Two Years old; at which time *Joseph* was Thirty nine, *Hezron* must be Sixty Years old, when *Joseph* was Ninety Seven: And so this Marriage must be Thirteen Years before *Joseph*s Death. Now *Joseph*s Wisdom continued with him, till his End; and he was the Chief Ruler as Father, of all his Children. So that it is not credible, that *Machir* his Grandchild would bestow his Daughter in Marriage without his Consent.

The old Gentlemans *Doctrine* upon it was: *An Ancient Man, that hath had several Children by a former Wife, may yett, when he is now about Threescore Years of Age, enter upon a Second Marriage, and marry a young Woman too, with a Blessing of God upon the Marriage*.

[△] [△Insert ends]

Q. *Bethlehem, and the House of Joab*, who? v. 54.

A. *Salma*, the Son of *Caleb* the Younger, *had a Numerous Posterity*. From him, descended the Inhabitants of *Bethlehem*, (so we are to understand this Word; For *Bethlehem* was the Name of a *Place*, not of a Man;) the *Netophathites*, and those of *Ataroth*, and *Beth-Jaob*; (so the Words we translate, *The House of Joab*,[28] should be rendred; for he is not speaking of *Joab*s Family, but of *Caleb*s:) and half of the *Manahethites*; and the *Zorites*, who were a People possessed of a Town called *Zorah*, where the other Half dwelt.[29]

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28 אֲבִיו בֵּית עטְרוֹת [atroth beith yo'av], "Atroth-beth-joab."

29 Patrick, *A Commentary* (25).

Q. *Daniel* the Son of *David*, is elsewhere called, *Chileab*? v. 1.
A. This gives Occasion to mention the Custome among the Jews, for a Man to have *Two Names*. It was thus especially, when the Men lived, sometimes in One Countrey, sometimes in Another. This appears from a famous Case, in the *Gemara* of *Codex Gittim*, in which tis Resolved, That if a Man have Two Wives, One in *Judæa*, and another in *Galilee*; and he give a Bill of Divorce to her in *Judæa*, subscribing to it his Name, whereby he is known in *Galilee*, the Bill is void. And in like Manner, if he write his Name, whereby he goes in *Judæa*, unto a Bill of Divorce to his Wife in *Galilee*, it is of no Effect.[30]

Q. About *Johanan*, the *First*-born Son of *Josiah*? v. 15.
A. Many think him, the same with *Jehoahaz*. But *Jehoahaz* was not the *First-born* of *Josiah*.

Dr. *Patrick* takes the Truth to be, that *Johanan* was the eldest Son of *Josiah*; And he died before his Father. For which Cause he is not mentioned in the Book of *Kings*. As *Jehoahaz* is not mentioned here; who was in a Tumultuary Way made King by the People of the Land, & presently dethroned.[31]

Q. How could *Zedekiah* be called, The *Son* of *Jeconiah*? v. 16.
A. By *Son*, we must understand, *Successor* to him in the Kingdome.

Seneca makes *Atreus* and *Tantalus* to be Descendents of *Inachus*; because they succeeded him, in the Kingdome of *Argos*.[32]

Jacobus Capellus here observes; *Multi Filij dicuntur, qui legaliter tantum erant Filij; id est, Hæredes*.[33]

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Q. *Assir* among the Sons of *Jechoniah*? v. 17.
A. Some think, *Assir*, is not the Name of a *Son*, but signifies *Captive*; To denote, that his Son *Salathiel* was born, when he was a Captive in *Babylon*. [See

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30 From Patrick (*A Commentary* 26), Mather makes mention of the Babylonian Talmud (Seder Nashim, Gittin 34b); cf. *The Babylonian Talmud*, ed. Epstein, *Seder Nashim, vol. 7: Giṭṭin* [1936], 351. See also *Mishnayoth, vol. 3: Order Nashim*, ed. Blackman.
31 Patrick, *A Commentary* (28–29).
32 From Patrick, *A Commentary* (29), Mather makes mention of Seneca, *Thyestes*, 336; cf. *Seneca's Tragedies*, with an English translation by Frank Justus Miller, *2: Agamemnon. Thyestes. Hercules Oetaeus. Phoenissae. Octavia* (1987; Loeb 78), Thyestes 336; p. 121.
33 "Many are called sons who were only sons legally, that is, heirs." Patrick, *A Commentary* (29–30), citing Jacobus Capellus (Jacques Cappel), *Historia sacra et exotica ab Adamo usque ad Augusti ortum* (1613), "ad A. M. 3424" (p. 240).

Matth. I.12.] This does not Contradict the Prophecy of *Jeremiah*, Jer. 22.30. Of his *dying Childless*. His Meaning may be no more, but that he should have no Child setting on the Throne after him.

However, *Jacobus Capellus* makes our *Salathiel* another Instance of an *Heir* called a *Son*. He thinks, that *Salathiel* succeeded *Jeconiah*, in the Dignity, to which he was Restored by *Evil Merodach*; but that he was truly the Son of *Neri*, who sprung from *Nathan*.[34]

Q. Upon *Anani*? v. 24.

A. The *Targum* here, ha's a very Surprising Observation. After the Word, *Anani*, it adds; *He is the King MESSIAH, who is to be Revealed*. *Beckius* notes, That the Reason of this is given, in the famous Book, *Tanchuma*; Because it is said, Dan. VII.13. He *Saw in a Vision, & behold, one Like the Son of Man*, [Im Anani,[35] or, *In the Clouds*.] This is a Vision of the *Messiah*, as tis acknowledged by *Saadis Gaon*. Dr. *Patrick* note; This Use is to be made of this Passage; That their Minds were alwayes full of Thoughts of the *Messiah*; and that they expected, He should be Revealed, so many Generations after *Zerubbabel*. Which is an Argument, that He is come long ago.[36]

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34 Patrick, *A Commentary upon the two Books of Chronicles* (30), citing Capellus, *Historia sacra et exotica ab Adamo usque ad Augusti ortum* (240).

35 עִם-עֲנָנֵי [im-ananei (Aramaic)], "with the clouds."

36 Patrick, *A Commentary* (32), citing Matthias Fridericus Beckius, *Paraphrasis Chaldaica* (1680), pp. 53–54. *Tanchuma* is a 9th-century midrash on the Pentateuch; on Dan. 7:13, see ch. 6, § 14 in *Midrash Tanhuma-Yelammedenu: An English translation of Genesis and Exodus*, transl. Samuel A. Berman (1996), pp. 182–83. Saʿadiah ben Yosef Gaon was an Egyptian-born 10th-century rabbi, philosopher and exegete who spent much of his career in Babylon.

Q. On what Account, *Jabez more honourable than his Brethren*? v. 9.
A. The *Targum* expounds it; *Wiser in the Law*.[38] It ha's Respect unto the Piety and Devotion express'd in the Next Verse.

Others apply it unto his Courage; & fancy him, as the Jews do, to be the same with *Othniel*. [See Buxtorf Lex. Talm. Col. 965. & 966.][39]

He prayes, That God would *Enlarge his Coast*; that is, Help him to drive out the *Canaanites*, and make Room for his Family.

Then, That God *would keep him from Evil, that it might not grieve him*. His Mother having a very *hard Travail* with him, called his Name *Jabez*. His Request now is, that he might not live in a Misery like that wherewith his Mother brought him forth; & be alwayes in a Sort of *Travail*, with Afflictive Enterprizes and Expectations. In the Word, *Grieve*, it is thought, he alludes to the *Pains* of his Mother in her *Travail*.

And how did *God grant him that which he requested*? He had greater Liesure for the Study of the Law, and the Instructing of others in Piety; So many understand it. The Jews think, this *Jabez* was an eminent *Doctor of the Law*; and that he left many Disciples behind him, who are mentioned, as they suppose, in the last Verse of the Second Chapter of this Book; where we read of, *The Family of the Scribes which dwelt at Jabez*.[40]

Q. That Passage, *They were Craftsmen*? v. 14.
A. The *Smiths*, which dwelt and wrought at *Charashim*, gave it that Name. A Name, whereby some understand, *Carpenters*.

In this Catalogue, several *Artificers*, and those we call *Mechanicks*, are mentioned; such as *Potters*, and *Weavers*, and *Gardeners*. (v. 21, 23.) Societies must be composed of Men of Different and Various Employments. Tis observed by *Strigelius*, out of *Aristotle*; *A City is not composed of Physicians, and Physicians, but of Physicians & Ploughmen*. The Son of *Syrach* saies, Tho' such Men are not made *Counsellours*, yett, Eccles. XXXVIII.34. *They maintain the State of the*

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37 A quarto-sized leaf.
38 From Patrick, *A Commentary* (34), Mather makes mention of the *Targum of Chronicles,* a late, perhaps medieval, Aramaic translation; cf. *The Targum of Ruth; The Targum of Chronicles*, transl., with introd., apparatus and notes by D. R. G. Beattie (1994; The Aramaic Bible 19). The Targum was first published by Matthias F. Beck in 1680. *See also* the various commentaries in the *Mikraot Gedolot*, *Chronicles: A New English Translation,* vol. 1 and 2, transl. A. J. Rosenberg and Avroham Yoseif (1992).
39 Johannes Buxtorf (the Younger), *Lexicon Chaldaicum, Talmudicum, et Rabbinicum* (1639), cols. 965–66, citing *Tractatu Temurah* (fol. 16.1).
40 Patrick, *A Commentary* (34–35).

[342v] *World*. | When *Solomon* began to Reign, there were not many *Craftsmen* in *Israel*; But afterwards they increased. And such Honour was paid unto Arts, that they were careful to preserve the Memory of such Persons and Families, as applied themselves unto them. This appears from diverse Passages in this Chapter. The Prophet *Isaiah* foretells this, as a Judgment God would send upon them; To take away their *Artificers*. [Isa. III.5.] And when *Jerusalem* was taken, these were carried away. [2. King. XXIV.14.][41]

Q. When was it, that they *had the Dominion in Moab*? v. 22.
A. They conquered several Places there, in the time of *David*. Or, had the Government thereof, by him given to them.

The *Targum*, takes the Hebrew Word, *Baalu*,[42] as if it signified, That they married Wives in the Countrey of *Moab*.

What followes, may be read, *These are now Potters*. – They were fallen from their ancient Glory and Splendor, & lived now in mean Employments.[43]

Q. *They Smote their Tents, and the Habitations that were found there*. If they smote their *Tents*, tis evident enough, that they smote their *Habitations*? v. 41.
A. Dr. *Patrick* observes, That the Word, *Meunim*,[44] [see Judg. X.12.] doth not signify, *Habitations*, but a People of *Arabia*, which dwelt in Tents. These were smitten by the *Simeonites*, who settled themselves in their Place.[45]

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41 Patrick, *A Commentary* (36–37), citing Victorinus Strigelius, *Libri Samuelis, Regum, & Paralipoménon* (424).

42 בָּעֲלוּ

43 From Patrick (*A Commentary* 39), Mather makes mention of the *Targum of Chronicles,* cf. *The Targum of Ruth; The Targum of Chronicles*, transl. Beattie; so also the Rabbinic Bible, the *Mikraot Gedolot*, *Chronicles: A New English Translation,* vol. 1.

44 מְעוּנִים [me'umim], "Meunites"; KJV: "habitations"; Mather refers to מָעוֹן [ma'on], "Maon" (cf. Μααν, Μαων).

45 Patrick, *A Commentary* (43).

1. Chronicles. Chap. 5. [343r][46]

Q. Why is it said, of *Judah*, *Hee prevailed above his Brethren, & of him came the Chief Ruler*? v. 2.

A. I read it, *Because of him, was to bee the Prince*.[47] It means, The *Messiah*. The Name, /נָגִיד/ *Nagid*, used here, is the Name of the *Messiah*.

It refers to the Prophecy, in Gen. 49.10.

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Q. *He brought them unto Hara*. In, 2. King. XVII.6. and, XVIII.11. it is, *Into the Cities of the Medes*? v. 26.

A. Tis all one. For *Media* is the same with *Hara*: and is by *Jerom* called, *Ara*. The Greeks commonly call it, *Aria*, and the People of it, *Arij*; as we read in *Herodotus*, and *Pausanias*, and others. *Bochart* thinks, not without Reason, that the mountainous Part of the Country of *Media* towards the North, was properly called by this Name of *Hara*; from the Word *Hor*, which signifies, *A Mountain*. Here *Strabo* saies, many Foreigners inhabited; For it is likely, this Hilly Countrey had been most empty of People.[48]

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46 A quarto-sized leaf.

47 וּלְנָגִיד מִמֶּנּוּ [ulenagid mimmennu], "and from him *came* the leader" (NAU); "and of him *came* the chief ruler" (KJV).

48 Patrick, *A Commentary* (53–54), citing Jerome, *Libro Paralipomenon de Graeco emendato*, in loc.; Herodotus, *Historiae* (3.93); Pausanius, *Graeciae descriptio* (2.3); Bochart, *Geographia Sacra* (pars prior, Praefatio, p. [4]); and Strabo, *Geographia* (lib. XI, possibly cap. XII, describing Media).

Q. Who is hee, that is called, *Johanan*, here, or, *John*? v. 9.
A. *Jehojadah*. Of whom Read, 2. King. 11.4.

Q. Why is it emphatically said of *Azariah*, *This is hee that executed the Priests Office, in the Temple that Solomon built in Jerusalem*? v. 10.
A. Because, t'was hee who chas'd and shutt, the leprous King *Uzziah*, out of the *Temple*. 2. Chron. 26.16. 17. Tho' *Solomon* the King, built the Temple, yett *Uzziah* the King, descended from *Solomon*, was, by this faithful Priest, expell'd out of this Temple.

Q. *Serajah*? v. 14.
A. He was carried unto *Nebuchadnezzar* at *Riblah*, where he commanded him to be putt to Death. In him ended the Succession of *High-Priests* under the First Temple; which from *Zadok* to him were Twelve.

It is observed by *Kimchi*, That the Line of the High Priests is drawn from *Aaron*, down to the Captivity, thro' the Family of *Eleazar*, his eldest Son; none of *Ithamar*s being mentioned: Because the perpetual Priesthood was promised only to *Phinehas* the Son of *Eleazar*.[49]

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Q. *Shemuel*? v. 33.
A. This is the great Prophet *Samuel*.

It is here evident, that he was only a *Levite* of the Family of the *Kohathites*, not a Priest, of the Family of *Aaron*. This is also suggested; Psal. XCIX.6. Therefore, as *Estius* observes, when *Samuel* is said, to have offered Sacrifice, (as he did often in *Gilgal*, and other Places,) it must be understood, That he did it by the Ministry of the *Priests*, & not by himself. Thus *David* and *Solomon* sacrified; but not by their own Hands, but by those to whose Office it properly belonged.[50]

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49 Patrick, *A Commentary* (57), citing David Kimhi (*see I Chronicles: A New English Translation* 40).
50 Patrick, *A Commentary* (60–61), citing Guilielmus Estius, author of *Biblia magna Commentariorum literalium* [1643]).

1. Chronicles. Chap. 7. [345r][51]

Q. *They had many Wives and Sons*. What was the true Cause of their *Polygamy*? v. 4.

A. Dr. *Patrick* observes, The Cause of it was, the Desire of a Numerous Offspring, whereby the Promise of God unto *Abraham*, to make them as the *Stars of Heaven for Multitude*, might be fulfilled; and of an Holy Race of People, to propagate Piety, when the Nations of the World were generally corrupted.[52]

Q. *Hushim, the Sons of Aher*; who was *Aher*? v. 12.

A. If he still speak of the Sons of *Benjamin*, this Person was called, *Ahiram*.

But there is no mention of the Tribe of *Dan*, in this Genealogy, except it be here. Wherefore many take *Aher*, to be not a proper Name; but a common Word, signifying, *Another*.[53] And so they translate the Words thus; *Another Son*. That is, the Son of *Another* Tribe, or Family, namely, of *Dan*. For *Hushim* was his only Son; Gen. XLVI.23. where the Word *Sons*,[54] in the Plural Number, is used; as it is in this Place; tho' one Man only be spoken of.[55]

| [blank] [345v]

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51 A quarto-sized leaf.

52 Patrick, *A Commentary* (69).

53 אַחֵר

54 בְּנֵי

55 Patrick, *A Commentary* (71).

[346r][56] 1. Chronicles. Chap. 8.

Q. *Ono* and *Lod*, what were they? v. 12.
A. They were Neighbouring Cities; and therefore they are joined, in other Scriptures. [Ezr. II.33. Neh. VII.37.[57] XI.35.] They were but Three Miles distant from one another, as Dr. *Lightfoot* computes. The Talmuds tell us; *Ono* was a walled City from the Dayes of *Joshua*; but in the War against *Gibeah*, it was burnt to the Ground; & it was Rebuilt by *Elpa'al*. The same Gentleman re-edified *Lod*, which is the same with *Lydda*, in the New Testament. It is a mistake, in the Maps, to make *Lod* and *Lydda*, two Places. It was called also, *Laodicea*. They that are called, *The Martyrs in Lod*, are in other places called, *The Martyrs in Laodicea*.[58]

Q. *The Fathers of the Inhabitants of Ajalon,* who *drove away the inhabitants of Gath*? v. 13.
A. It must be of the *Fields that lay about Ajalon*. For the Town itself belonged unto the Tribe of *Dan*. Josh. XIX.42. *Pellican* thinks, Their *driving away the Inhabitants of Gath*, was in Revenge of the Slaughter, they made long ago, of their Brethren, the *Ephraimites*. I Chron. VII.21.[59]

Q. *Gibeon*, (called also *Jehiel*) why the *Father of Gibeon*? v. 29.
A. Because the Chief Ruler, or Governour of the *Benjamites*, who inhabited that Place.[60]

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Q. How is it said, *That Ner begat Kish*; when *Kish* was the Son of *Abiel*? v. 33.
A. *Ner* brought him up. Tho' the *Targum* saies, *Ner* and *Abiel* were the same.[61] He was called, *Ner*, which signifies, *A Light*, because he was *Illustrious* on some Accounts, which the Jews have mentioned.

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56 A quarto-sized leaf.
57 Patrick, *A Commentary* (78), mistakenly cites ch. VI, as does Mather.
58 Patrick, *A Commentary* (78), citing Lightfoot, *Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae, Hebrew and Talmudic Exercitations I. Upon the Chorography of the Land of Israel* … (1658); *see Works of the Reverend and learned John Lightfoot*, 2 vols. (1684), 2:16, 325.
59 Patrick, *A Commentary* (78–79), citing Conrad Pellican, *Commentaria Bibliorum et illa brevia quidem ac Catholica* (214).
60 Patrick, *A Commentary* 80.
61 From Patrick, *A Commentary* (81), Mather makes mention of the *Targum of Chronicles*. Cf. *The Targum of Ruth; The Targum of Chronicles*, transl. Beattie; and the Rabbinic Bible, the *Mikraot Gedolot*, *Chronicles: A New English Translation,* vol. 1.

Pellican here makes this Reflection; *It is an unnecessary Labour, to enquire after those things, from which we can reap no Fruit, & of which we may be ignorant without any danger. Especially in the Matter of these Genealogies, the Reason of which is long ago expired; together with the Tribes to which they belong. The Certainty of our Faith, which depends on the Authority of the Holy Scriptures, that stands firm & constant, tho' some things by Length of Time are so obscure, that they are not now exactly understood.*[62]

Q. *Archers*; How did they Manage the *Bow*? v. 40.
A. The Hebrew Word here, is, *Those who Tread the Bow*.[63] Their *Steel Bowes*, which were in much use among them, were so strong, that they could not Bend them with their Arms; but Satt down, & Pressing them with their Feet, Pull'd the Arrow with both Hands, that it might fly with the greater Force.[64]

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62 Patrick, *A Commentary* (80–81), citing Conrad Pellican on 1 Sam. 9:1, *Commentaria Bibliorum et illa brevia quidem ac Catholica* (91).
63 דֹּרְכֵי קֶשֶׁת [dorekhei qesheth], "treading bow"; KJV: "archers."
64 Patrick, *A Commentary* (82).

Q. On what Account, is *Azariah* called, *The Ruler of the House of God*? v. 11.
A. Tis a Mistake of *Pellican*, That he was the *High-Priest*. Both *Ezra*, and *Haggai* tell us, That *Jeshua* (or *Joshua*) was now in that Office.[65] It should not then be rendred, *The Ruler*, but, *A Ruler*; Not the principal Ruler, but one in great Authority under him. Shall we say, The *Sagan*, who was Vicar to the High-Priest, & performed his Office, when he was hindred by Sickness, or otherwise; or shall we Say; The Head of one of the Courses of the Priests, that attended in their Turns, at the House of God?

By *The House of God*, in this Place, we are to understand that which is called, in v. 23. *The House of the Tabernacle*. For, as before the *First Temple* was built, there was a *Tabernacle* for Divine Service; thus, after the Second Temple was founded, they erected a *Tabernacle*, till the *Temple* could be finished. Without such an one, they could not have performed the several Parts of the Worship of God, which were annexed unto the several Parts of the Holy Places, according to the Law.[66]

The Place of it, we read, v. 18. was, where the *Kings Gate* formerly stood. Therefore it was not on Mount *Moriah*, but in, *Zion*.[67]

Q. *Very Able Men for the Service of the House of God*. On what Account were they called so? v. 13.
A. In the Hebrew, they are called, *Mighty Men of Valour*.[68] The *Service of the House of God* required, not only great Strength of *Body*, but great Courage and Resolution of *Mind*. Especially, at that time, when they were newly come out of Captivity.

There was, as Dr. *Patrick* notes, a famous Instance of this Courage, before the Captivity, in *Azariah*, who resisted the King himself, when he would have profaned the Holy Place.[69]

Q. *Phinehas the Ruler over them in time past*. Who was this *Phinehas*? v. 20.
A. *Phinehas*, who was the Son of the High-Priest, and afterwards High Priest himself, seems to have been one above so low an Employment, as the Command of this Sort of Offices. It is evident, the Historian Speaks here, of the *Levites*, not

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65 *See*, for example, Ezra 3:2 and Hag. 1:1.
66 Patrick, *A Commentary* (86–87), citing Conrad Pellican, *Commentaria Bibliorum et illa brevia quidem ac Catholica* (215).
67 Patrick, *A Commentary* (88).
68 גִּבּוֹרֵי חֵיל [gibborei cheil], "the great/mighty in valor," or "very able men" (KJV).
69 Patrick, *A Commentary* (87).

of the *Priests*. Therefore, as *Patrick* observes, out of *Selden*, it is probable, this *Phinehas* was only a *Levite*, & the Son of a Levite, called by the Ancient Name of an High-Priest.[70]

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Q. The Things ordained by *David*, and *Samuel the Seer*? v. 22.

A. Doubtless there had been very great Confusion in the Service of God, in the Dayes of the *Judges*, as there had been in all other things. But when *Samuel* came to govern, his Design was to putt things in Good Order; And especially to make the Attendence of the Minister of God in His House, to have more of Regularity in it. For this End, probably, he proposed that Method of the *Priests* and *Levites* waiting in their Courses; which he imparted unto *David*, whom he, by the Appointment of God Anointed King over *Israel*. *David* accordingly, at the latter End of his Reign, disposed their Services at the Tabernacle.[71]

Q. The Posterity of *Azel*, you'l find Reckoned up, in 1. Chron. 8.38. Why is it here then, Reckoned up over again? v. 35.[72]

A. The Jewish Rabbins are so perplexed at this Repetition, that they use to say upon it, *Opus est Quadringentis Camelis Onustis Commentarijs, Rationem Reddere*.[73]

But, without staying for so many Commentaries, might there not bee something notable, either in the Quality of the Family, or, in the Signification of the Names worn by the Family, to make the Matter worthy of a Repetition.[74]

Dr. *Patrick* saies, "Of this I can give no Account, but that this Narrative of the Descent and Family of *Saul*, is respected, the better to join the following History to it, concerning the Death of that King."

But, if we could give no Account of it, *Conradicus Pelicanus* thinks, it is not Irreligious, to acknowledge, that in these Jewish Genealogies, which are very long, & useless unto us, some Errors may have crept in, by the Negligence of Transcribers; who in copying thereof, might be sometimes too inattentive, in which if there be any Errour, the Church suffers no Damage. But, as Dr. *Patrick* saies, *There is no need of this*.[75]

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70 Patrick, *A Commentary* (89), citing Selden, *De Successionibus ad leges Ebraeorum in bona defunctorum* (lib. I, cap. II, pp. 117, 119).

71 Patrick, *A Commentary* (90).

72 MS: "44"[?].

73 "There is need for four hundred camels laden with commentaries, to return reason."

74 The first two paragraphs of the entry are from an unidentified source. At the end of this line, Mather wrote and then deleted "~~66~~," possibly an entry number.

75 The last two paragraphs are from Patrick, *A Commentary* (94–95), citing Pellican, *Commentaria Bibliorum et illa brevia quidem ac Catholica* (216).

[348r][76] 1. Chronicles. Chap. 10.

Q. What is meant by, *The Valley*? v. 7.
A. The Towns in the open Countrey, which were not fortified.[77]

Q. *Saul*s Head? v. 10.
A. They scalp'd it. For the Hebrew Word signifies, *A Skull*.[78]

Q. The Action of the Men of *Jabesh-Gilead*? v. 12?
A. If we may beleeve *Josephus*, there was a Law among the *Jews*, that they who kill'd themselves should be denied Burial. For this was all the Punishment that could be inflicted on them, after they were dead, for so great a Sin. However, *David* highly applauded this Act of the Men of *Jabesh-Gilead*.[79]

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76 A quarto-sized leaf.
77 Patrick, *A Commentary* (96).
78 גֻּלְגָּלְתּוֹ. Patrick, *A Commentary* (96).
79 Patrick, *A Commentary* (97), citing Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* (7.1.2).

Q. *David*s wish to drink, of the *Water* of the *Well of Bethlehem*? v. 17.
A. Dr. *Patrick* saies upon it; He Desired not, that any one should venture to fetch him some of this *Water*, but in a very Hott Day, said, as we sometimes do, *What would not I give for a draught of that refreshing Water*! He remembred, that in his Youth, he had often & freely drunk of it.[81]

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~~3244~~{?}.

Q. *David*s refusing to Drink the Water of *Bethlehem*, which they brought him in his Thirsty Distress, but choosing to *Pour out it unto the Lord*; ha's there been any Imitation of it, in *Pagan Antiquity*? v. 17, 18.
A. *Frontinus* will tell you; And he will particularly sett before you, the Action of *Alexander*, who being, with his Army, grievously distress'd by Thirst, in the Desarts of *Africa*, one of the Souldiers brought him some Water in his Helmet; but he, Refusing to Drink it, Poured it out before them all upon the Ground. *Factum Nobile*, is it called by *Frontinus*; but, as Dr. *Grew* notes, beneath *David*s, as upon other Accounts, thus upon This, that what *Alexander* did, was but a Copy of *David*s Original.[82]

And now, when ones Hand is in, one might mention many Exemples, wherein the *Policies*, & *Strategems*, as well as the other *Military Actions*, mention'd in the Sacred Scriptures, were imitated in Pagan, & Later Antiquity. *Frontinus*, a Roman Senator, in his Book, *De Stratagematis*, and in the Chapters, *De Insidijs*, gives us frequent Imitations, of *Abraham*s and *Joshua*'s Methods, to conquer their Enemies.[83]

Moreover, The *Gileadites* requiring those that escaped the *Battel*, to say, *Shiboleth*,[84] ha's taught the Generals of Armies, to Give and Demand *The Word*, all over the World.

Of *Joseph* we read [Gen. 47.21.] He removed the People, in the several Cities by Exchange, from one End of *Egypt*, unto the other. Behold, how t'was Imitated! *Philip* of *Macedon,* was wont, as *Trogus Pompeius* tells us, *Ità Populos, et Urbes, ut Illi vel replenda, vel derelinquenda quæque loca videbantur, ad libidinem*

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80 A quarto-sized leaf.
81 Patrick, *A Commentary* (102).
82 "A noble deed." Grew, *Cosmologia Sacra* (157).
83 Grew, *Cosmologia Sacra* (156), citing Frontinus*, De Strategemata* (lib. IV).
84 Judg. 12:6.

suam transfert.[85] *Alexander* intended the like, between the Cities of *Europe* and *Asia*. And the *Athenians* were actually transplanted into *Thracia,* by *Antipater*; as by *Charles the Great*, the *Saxons* were into *Belgium*.

The Real Assurances of the Victories, which God from old sometimes gave to His People before their Encounters, was apishly imitated, by *Archidamus* the *Spartan*, when he fought with the *Arcadians*; by *A*{*ulus*} *Posthumius*, when he fought with the *Latines*; by L{ucius} *Scylla*, & by C{aius} *Marius*; and other Generals, who before Battels, assured their Souldiers of being victorious by the Presence, or Promise of the Gods.[86]

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85 "He transplanted people and cities hither and thither, according to his caprice, as places appeared to him proper to be peopled or left desolate."

86 Grew, *Cosmologia Sacra* (156), citing Gnaeus Pompeius Trogus, 1st-century BCE Roman historian, *Historiae Philippicae* (8.5.7).

Q. Their *Faces like Faces of Lions*? v. 8.
A. Their Enemies durst not look them in the Face.

Bochart observes, out of *Aristotle*, that *Lions* have *Faces*, more like *Men*, than any other Creatures; but very stern and terrible.[87]

Q. The Exploit of those brave Men, the *Sons of God*, who went over *Jordan*, *when it had overflow'd all its Banks, & putt to Flight all them of the Valley, both toward the East, & toward the West*? v. 15.
A. Probably they swam over, when the Stream was most rapid and violent, that they might help their Brethren.

When *Saul* was engaged to attend the Motions of the *Philistines*, it is likely that certain People, both of the Eastern & Western Countreys, which bordered upon *Jordan*, laid Hold on this Opportunity to Invade and Spoil the Land thereabouts. This moved these Men, to go unto their Succour; and God gave them a great Victory.[88]

Q. *Jehoiadah*, the Leader of the *Aaronites*? v. 27.
A. He was not the High-Priest; for *Abiathar* held that Place. But he was the Chief, as *Jarchi* thinks, of one of the Courses of the Priests, and now the Chief Commander of the Family of *Aaron*, who came to invite *David*, to take the Government upon him. He was also a Souldier; & brought his *Priests Armed* with him. For it is said, Of all that came unto *David*, at *Hebron*, (v. 23.) That they were *Ready Armed for the War*; in Case any should oppose their Design.[89]

Q. What was the *Understanding* of the *Children of Issachar*? v. 32.
A. *Solomon Jarchi* tells us, "They knew how to advise, & give Counsel, according to the Nature and Circumstances of all Cases; which Sort of Men *David* stood in great Need of at this time, to consult the best Means to confirm him in his Kingdome."[90]

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87 Patrick, *A Commentary* (107), citing Bochart, *Hierozoicon* (pars prior, lib. I, cap. II, col. 8, and lib. II, cap. III, col. 726), referring to Aristotle, *Physiognomics*.
88 Patrick, *A Commentary* (107–08).
89 Patrick, *A Commentary* (112), citing Solomon Jarchi, or Rashi (*see I Chronicles: A New English Translation* 88); Selden, *De Successionibus ad leges Ebraeorum in bona defunctorum* (lib. I, cap. III (pp. 17–34).
90 Patrick, *A Commentary* (114), citing Solomon Jarchi, or Rashi, whose commentary was taken into the Rabbinic Bible (*see I Chronicles: A New English Translation* 89).

{....}

Q. We will Review the Enquiry: What was that, *Understanding of the Times*, whereby the Children of *Issachar*, did *know what Israel ought to do*? v. 32.
A. This *Understanding*, ha's been as variously understood, as Humane *Understanding* itself can bee extended.

Ask for those *Issacharians*, as many Accomplishments of *Understanding*, as you please, to have allow'd unto them, and I am willing also to allow them.

Nevertheless, I am willing to assert for my *Issacharians*, one particular Point of *Understanding in the Times*, which carries a peculiar Aspect with it.

The great Thing that was now adoing was, the Advancing of *David* unto his Kingdome; in which our *Issacharians* were forward and happy Instruments. Now one thing that occasion'd their being so, was their *Understanding in the Times*. They *Understood* by the Prophecies of their Father *Jacob*, that there would a *Time* come, when the *Scepter* of *Israel*, should bee sway'd by the *Tribe of Judah*; and they *Understood* by the Prophecies of *Samuel*, that the *Time* for it, was now arrived, in the wonderful Things which *David* had passed thorough. This caused them, to fall in with the Design, that was now afoot, unto the utmost of their Power; They *knew, what Israel ought now to do*.

And on this Occasion, I will give myself the Pleasure to Remark, That near the great Accomplishments of Divine and Famous Prophecies, there have still been some Good Men, that have had, *Understanding in the Times,* to *know* whereabouts they were, & accordingly to take their Measures.

God had given an Oracle,[91] unto *Abraham*, That his Posterity, *Four Hundred Years* from the Time of that Oracle, should bee delivered from their Oppressions in *Egypt*, with many Plagues upon their Oppressors. According to This, *Moses* then *Supposed that his Brethren would have understood, how that by his Hand, God would Deliver them*. It grew so Near the *Time*, that had been præfixed, and *Moses* himself had been signalized so many Wayes, as mark'd out for some extraordinary Honour, that the *Supposal* was very Reasonable.

When the *Seventy Years*, for the Churches Confinement in *Babylon*, were almost out, Good Men might have *understood*, that they were so. Holy *Daniel*, did *Understand* it: Hee *Understood by Books*, what was then a doing by God, & what was to be done by Men.

When the *Four hundred & Ninety Years*, for the Coming of the *Messiah*, according to *Daniel*, were almost expired, Good Men might have *Understood* it; & very many did *Understand* it, *Waiting for the Consolation of Israel*;[92] Yea, the Pharisees themselves, the High Church-Men of those Dayes, also did *Know* thus much; and our Lord call'd 'em, *Hypocrites*, for their not conforming themselves accordingly.

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91 MS: "Oracles."
92 Luke 2:25.

When *Julian* was upon the Imperial Throne, an eminent Person could foretel, T'was *Nubecula citò transitura*.[93] No doubt hee had this *Understanding in the Times,* from the Prophecy, That when *Satan* was cast down by, the *Change* of the *Pagan* Empire, into *Christian*, by *Constantine*, there could bee, in the *Roman Empire*, no Place found for him any more, of any Continuance in his Heaven, of a *Pagan Supremacy*.

When *Antichrist* was *Rising*, you remember, what a Cry there was, among the observing People of God, that *Now* was the *Time*, for the Rise of *Antichrist*.[94]

Q. Why is it said of the Men of *Zebulun*, *They were not of Double Heart*? v. 33.
A. They were all sincerely affected unto *David*, tho' there were so many of them. Others think, it relates rather to the Foregoing Words; That they had not a *Counterfeit Courage*; but would stand to it, with a firm Resolution, to Dy, rather than Stagger in their Undertaking.[95]

Q. The Men that came to *David*, *All Men of War, that could keep Rank, & came with a perfect Heart*? v. 38.
A. The like is not to be found in any History. *Herodotus* tells us, in his *Polyhymnia*, In the Army of *Xerxes*, there were, πολλοι μεν ανθρωποι ολιγοι δε ανδρες. *A World of People but few Men*; that is, Men {of} Courage & Conduct. Every one in *David*s vast Army, seems fitt to have commanded an Army.[96]

Q. They were *with David three Dayes, Eating and Drinking*? v. 39.
A. Tis here observed by *Victorinus Strigelius*, that the famous Historian *Dion*, saies, he never saw a more Pompous and Splendid Show; than that was, when the Emperour *Severus* entred *Rome*. But here was a far more Noble Feast, which lasted Three Dayes, for Three hundred & forty Eight thousand & Eight hundred brave Men.[97]

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93 "It is a little cloud that quickly passes by." The "Eminent person" is Athanasius, 4th-century CE archbishop of Alexander.
94 Possibly a reference to 1 John 4:3.
95 Patrick, *A Commentary* (115).
96 Patrick, *A Commentary* (116) citing Herodotus, *Historiae* (lib. VII, Polymnia, 210).
97 Patrick, *A Commentary* (116), citing Strigelius, *Libri Samuelis, Regum, & Paralipoménon* (on 1 Cor. 14, p. 447), from Cassius Dio, author of *Historia Romano*, where Septimius Severus's triumphal entry into Rome, though not the details of the feast Strigelius describes, is related in 74.1.

Q. *Lett us bring again the Ark of our God to us*. In the Book of *Samuel*, this is said to have been done after that which here followes in the next Chapter, concerning *Hiram*, and the Wars of *David* with the *Philistines*?[99] v. 3.
A. And so it was. Only *David* (as became a Good King, whose first Care is about Religion; which is Dr. *Patrick*s Observation:) took Advice with the Elders of the People, as soon as he came to the Crown, about bringing up the Ark of God. This was putt in Execution afterward, when they had gone to their several Countreyes, & spoken with the People about it; And a Time was appointed for their Meeting to do it. In the mean time, *Hiram* sent his Ambassadors to him, and the *Philistines* came twice to disturb him, and were beaten by him. And *then* all the People mett in a vast Number, (probably at some solemn Festival,) to bring the Ark unto its Place.[100]

Q. In what Sense is it said, *We Enquired not at it, in the Dayes of Saul*? v. 3.
A. They were not sollicitous then to find a fitt Place for the Residence of the *Ark*, where they might conveniently attend upon the Worship & Service of God. They were hindred by perpetual Wars, and contented themselves with going to *Gibeon*, where the Tabernacle was, tho' without the Presence of God in it. But it is probable, that *Saul*, after *David* fled from him, and he was haunted with that *Evil Spirit* that often came upon him, grew so profane, that he was not concerned about Religion. The Words in the Hebrew are, *We enquired not of it*, or, *about it*.[101]

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98 A quarto-sized leaf.
99 2 Sam. 6.
100 Patrick, *A Commentary* (118–19).
101 כילא דרשנהו [ki-lo derashnuhu], "for we did not seek it" (NAU); "for we enquired not at it" (KJV). Patrick, *A Commentary* (119).

1. Chronicles. Chap. 14. [352r][102]

Q. *David*s Children. In, 2. Sam. V.14, 15, 16. there are but *Eleven* mentioned; whereas here are *Thirteen*? v. 7.

A. Some of them died in their Childhood, which are in this Reckoning, but not in *That*.

Here are two *Eliphalets*, the first of which Dying Young, the last was so called, to præserve his Memory. So *Kimchi* writes. Perhaps, neither the first *Eliphalet*, nor *Nogah*, are mentioned in the Book of *Samuel*, because they were not then living. But we find them Recorded here, because the Author of this Book proposed an Account of all the Sons born to *David* at *Jerusalem*.

As for the Difference between *Elpalet*, and *Eliphalet*, it is by *Simeon de Muis*, compared with the Name of the King of *France*, commonly called, *Clodovæus*; by *Cassiodore* called, *Ludvinus*, and *Ludovicus*; by *Hincmarus* called, *Hludovicus*.[103]

| [blank] [352v]

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102 A quarto-sized leaf.

103 Patrick, *A Commentary* (122), citing David Kimhi, whose gloss is taken into the *Mikraot Gedolot* with the Hebrew Bible, Targum Onkelos, Rashi, Abraham Ibn Ezra, Nachmanides, Levi ben Gerson (Gersonides) and other commentaries (*see Chronicles: A New English Translation*, vol. 1 and 2, ed. Rosenberg; Siméon de Muis (1584–1644), French Catholic churchman, Hebraist, and biblical commentator, whose *Opera Omnia* was published in Paris, 1650; Aurelius Cassiodore (*Variae Epistolae*, Ep. IV and XLI); and Rhemensis Hincmarus, 9th-century archbishop of Reims, whose collected works were published by Jacques Simond in Paris, 1645.

Q. *We Sought Him not after the due Order*. What were the Faults committed in the Matter? v. 13.

A. The good King does not wholly excuse himself; he putts himself into the Number of the Faulty: It was his Duty as well as theirs, to look into the Law, and pray unto God for His Direction. But, as Dr. *Patrick* notes; There were *Four Faults* committed. First, The *Ark* was putt into a *Cart*, that should have been carried on the Shoulders of the *Levites*. Secondly, The *Levites* were not permitted for to Touch the *Ark*; and yett *Uzzah* did it. Thirdly, *Uzzah* was not so much as a *Levite*; & therefore he yett more grievously offended. Fourthly. He wanted the Faith of the Care, which he might Beleeve God Himself would please to take of His *Ark*. *David* could not help this last Miscarriage; He might have prevented the other Three.[105]

Q. *David*s Appointing *Singers*? v. 16.

A. Dr. *Patrick* observes, Tho' *David* might not build the *Temple*, yett he directed, how the Service of God should be performed there, with more Solemnity than ever, and with Singing and Musical Instruments. This now Began, when the *Ark* was brought into the Place præpared for it; And it was ordered afterwards, to be constantly performed every Day. Indeed *Ezekiel Spanheim* ha's observed, out of *Strabo*, that there was hardly any Religious Service performed in any of the Nations, without both Vocal and Instrumental *Music*. And he observes out of *Plutarch*, that their *Musical Instruments*, were *Three*. And so they are here. Yea, they counted *Music* a thing so Heavenly, that they supposed their *Gods* were the Inventors of the principal Instruments. Tis very sure; The *Greeks* were not the Inventors of them; They had them out of the East. This appears from the Names of some of them; which as *Bochart* ha's noted, are plainly extant in the Bible.[106]

Q. We find a, *Ben*, among the Singers? v. 18.

A. The LXX take it for an *Appellative*, and read it, *Zechariah the Son of Jaaziel*. But the Jews take it for a proper Name, of one of the Singers, (as we do:) And *David Kimchi* thinks, This is the Person to whom *David* ha's directed the *Ninth*

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104 A quarto-sized leaf.

105 Patrick, *A Commentary* (126).

106 Patrick, *A Commentary* (127–28), citing Ezechiel Spanheim, *Callimachi Hymnos Observationes* (1697), who in turn refers, in comments on "Hymn to Diana," verse 245 (pp. 295–98), to Strabo, *Geographica* (10.3.9); and Pseudo-Plutarch, *De Musica*. Bochart, *Hierozoicon* (pars posterior, lib. VI, cap. VII, cols. 828–29).

Psalm, to be sung by him, on the Occasion of the Death of *Saul*. *Laben*, is as much as to say, *To Ben*, the Singer.[107]

| [353v]

Q. *Alamoth*? v. 20.

A. Being joined with *Psalteries*, tis thought by some, to be a musical Instrument. But, *Strigelius*, from the Derivation of the Word, thinks, that *Alamoth* signifies, That these Men sung the *Base*.

And then, in the Next Verse, *To Excell*; Or, *To Conquer*; This is thought by *Strigelius*, to signify a Voice higher than all the rest. The *Treble*.[108]

Q. *Chenaniah was for Song*? v. 22.

A. It is translated in the Margin,[109] *For Carriage*; That is, For Managing of the Voice.

He is called, v. 27. *Master of the Song*. *Lud. Capellus* thinks, it signifies, That he guided them to keep Time, with the Elevation of His Hands, or of a Wand. He was the *Præcentor*. The like among the Ancient *Salii*, was called, *Vates*.[110]

Q. What was Gods *Helping the Levites*? v. 26.

A. Some understand it, of the Strength which God gave them, to carry the *Ark* without fainting, tho' they went up a Steep Hill, to settle it in the Place, where it was to rest.

Dr. *Patrick* rather thinks the Meaning to be, That God præserved them from committing any Error; so that they carried the *Ark* without Offence. But *Junius* takes it, That God gave them Ease; would have them Releeved; ordered others to take their Place, and go on. For they had proceeded with much Trembling, lest they should incur the Displeasure of God, as *Uzzah* did. Then *They*, that is, the *Levites*, offered upon their own Account the Sacrifices here mentioned.

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107 Patrick, *A Commentary* (128), citing LXX (*see* Walton, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* 2:675); and David Kimhi, who, following his father Joseph, states that Ps. 9 was composed by David, not on the death of Saul but on the death of Goliath and the defeat of the Philistines (*see The Commentary of David Kimhi to Chronicles* 129).

108 Patrick, *A Commentary* (129), citing Victorinus Strigelius, *Libri Samuelis, Regum, & Paralipoménon*, who numbers this chapter as 1 Chron. 16 (452).

109 I.e., the margin of the KJV.

110 From Patrick, *A Commentary* (129), Mather cites the "Margin," i.e., the Masora, the editorial remarks in the Hebrew Bible, as carried, for example, in the *Mikraot Gedolot*; Claudius Capellus' Latin translation of the *Mikraot Gedolot* in 1667, older editions of printed Hebrew rabbinic collections going back to the 1517–1518 Hebrew edition of Felix Pratensis, from the publishing house of Daniel Bomberg in Venice; and Tobias Gutberleth, 17th-century Dutch schoolmaster, *De Saliis Martis sacerdotibus apud Romanos* (1704), cap. XI (i.e., ch. VIII, p. 41).

Seven Bullocks and *Seven Rams* being offered, some think, That every Time the *Ark* rested, for the *Levites* to rest themselves, a *Bullock* was offered with a *Ram*; which was *Seven Times* between the House of *Obed-Edom*, and the City of *David*.[111] I do myself incline to this Opinion.

Q. *David*s Robe of *Fine Linen*? v. 27.
A. *Kimchi* thinks, That the *Levites* and the *Singers*, being thus clothed on this Solemn Occasion, *David* bearing his Part among them, chose to appear in the very same Habit.

By this perhaps, (as Dr. *Patrick* saies,) may be understood, what *Michal* meant, when she found Fault with *David*, for *Uncovering himself*. It signifies not, that he appeared *Naked*; but he putt off, his Royal Robes; & putt on those which did not belong unto him.[112]

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111 Patrick, *A Commentary* (130–31), citing Franciscus Junius (and Immanuel Tremellius), *Testamenti Veteris Biblia sacra* (198): *quum jussu Cenanja consisteret arca, Levitae interquiescerent, et alli aliis succederent*.

112 Patrick, *A Commentary* (131), citing Kimhi (*see The Commentary of David Kimhi to Chronicles* 132).

1. Chronicles. Chap. 16. [354r][113]

Q. The Hymn here composed by *David*, for the Service of the Sanctuary? v. 8.
A. Out of the XCVI, and CV Psalms, which it is probable *David* had made before this time, he now composed one Hymn, to be daily used in the Divine Service, wherein the Divine Perfections are admirably sett forth, & the People excited unto his Fear, Love, and Obedience.[114]

It is reported by *Seder Olam Rabba*, that in the Morning they sang as far as, *Touch not mine Anointed, & do my Prophets no Harm*.[115]

The two Last Verses, are Psal. CVI.47, 48. Some Imagine, that *Ezra* added these Words, after they came out of Captivity. But as Dr. *Patrick* saies, Rather *David* by the Spirit of Prophecy uttered them, concerning the Happy Union of Jews and Gentiles.[116]

Q. Why are they called, *Mine Anointed*? v. 22.
A. *Kimchi* translates the Word, *My Great Men*, or *Princes*. For *Abraham*, and *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, were honoured by Kings, *Abimelek* and *Pharaoh*, as if they had been Kings.

Jerom thinks, That all the *Israelites*, when they came out of *Egypt*, were called, *Gods Anointed*, because they were under His Special Protection, or the Cloud that covered them. So *Cyrus* was called, *His Anointed*,[117] because He was chosen by Him, to a Special Office to be the Deliverer of His People.[118]

| [354v]

Q. What is meant by, *The Fulness of the Sea*? v. 32.
A. *Bochart* saies, It means the Swelling thereof to the very Top of its Banks.[119]

Q. The People saying *Amen*, at the End of the Hymn? v. 36.

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113 A quarto-sized leaf.
114 Patrick, *A Commentary* (134).
115 A version of the *Seder Olam Rabbah* that Mather may have used is Gilbert Genebrard, *Chronologia Hebraeorum quae Seder Olam Rabba inscribitur* (1578). Mather leaves the equivalent of about three blank lines before resuming, probably indicating that the remainder of the entry may have done at a different sitting.
116 Patrick, *A Commentary* (140).
117 Is. 45:1.
118 Patrick, *A Commentary* (137), citing David Kimhi (*see The Commentary of David Kimhi to Chronicles* 138); and Jerome, *Commentarii in Isaiam* (12.45) [PL 24; Adriaen {1963} CCL 73].
119 Patrick, *A Commentary* (139), citing Bochart, *Hierozoicon* (pars posterior, lib. I, cap. II, col. 11): *ad riparum altitudinem propè accedunt*.

A. *Vitringa* hence observes the great Antiquity of this Rite, of Saying, AMEN, at the Conclusion of all our Prayers and Benedictions. We find (Neh. 8.6.) it was continued after the Captivity.

He notes Three Rules, which the Jewish Doctors give concerning the Pronunciation of this Word by the People. First, That it be not pronounced too Hastily, but with a Grave, Slow, Distract Voice: And, Secondly, not Louder than the Tone of him that blessed. And, Lastly, That it be express'd *in Faith*; with a certain Perswasion, that God would Bless them, and Hear their Prayers.[120]

Q. The Different Stations of *Zadok* and *Abiathar*? v. 39.

A. As *Asaph* and his Brethren ministred at *Jerusalem*; so others were appointed to minister at *Gibeon*; where the *Tabernacle* of *Moses* was, and the *Altar* of *Burnt-offering*, ever since the Slaughter of the Priests by *Saul*. Here the Ordinary Worship of God was performed, and therefore the *Priests* attended at this Place, to offer Sacrifice; which could not be done by the *Levites*. But the Extraordinary Worship of God was where the *Ark* was placed, at *Jerusalem*; where *Abiathar* the High-Priest attended upon *David*; That if he had any Occasion to consult the Divine Majesty (which could be done only before the *Ark*) he might be ready to do it for him. But *Zadok*, the Chief of the Secondary *Priests*, alwayes attended at *Gibeon*. As *Asaph* and his Brethren took care of the Music at *Jerusalem*, where no *Sacrifices* were offered, but only *Hymns* were sung, & Prayers were made; so did *Heman* and *Jeduthun*, which were with *Zadok* at *Gibeon*, where they sung, & plaid with Instruments, when the Morning and Evening Sacrifices were offered.[121]

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120 Patrick, *A Commentary* (140), citing Compegius Vitringa, *De synagoga vetere libri tres* (lib. III, pars II, cap. XVIII, pp. 1090–99).

121 Patrick, *A Commentary* (141, 142).

1. Chronicles. Chap. 17. [355r][122]

Q. The Meaning of that Passage; *I have gone from Tent to Tent*? v. 5.
A. The Words may be translated, *I went out of the Tent into the Tent*.[123] That is, when they marched in the Wilderness, the *Ark* was taken out of the *Tent*, and when they rested, it was putt into the *Tent* again; but not into an House built of *Cedar*. Or, it may refer, to the Translation of the *Ark*, from the Tabernacle made by *Moses*; unto the Tent made for it by *David*.[124]

Q. The Meaning of those Words, *Thou hast regarded me, according to the Estate of a Man of High Degree*? v. 17.
A. *Victorinus Strigelius*, thinks that the Words will bear this Translation; which he præfers to ours: *Thou hast looked upon me in the Form of a Man, who art in the Highest, the LORD GOD*. He looks on it, as a Prophecy of the *Messiah*; who was really the LORD God, but appeared in the *Form of a Man*. The LXX come near this Sense, in the former Part of the Words; επειδες με ως ορασις ανθρωπου. *Thou hast look'd upon me, as the Aspect of a Man*.[125]

Thus *Christopher Helvicus* interprets it, in his *Elenchus Judæorum*.[126]

| [blank] [355v]

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122 Quarto leaf.
123 וָאֶהְיֶה מֵאֹהֶל אֶל־אֹהֶל [wa'ehyeh me'ohel el-ohel], "but I have gone from tent to tent" (KJV).
124 Patrick, *A Commentary* (143).
125 Victorinus Strigelius, *Libri Samuelis, Regum, & Paralipoménon* (462); LXX (*see* Walton, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* 2:681).
126 Patrick, *A Commentary* (145–46), citing Christopherus Helvicus (1581–1617), Lutheran professor of Hebrew at Giessen, *Elenchus Judaeorum* (1612).

[356r][127] 1. Chronicles. Chap. 18.

Q. What is called, *Metheg-ammah*, in *Samuel*,[128] is here called, *Gath and her Towns*? v. 1.

A. In *Abarbanel*s Account, they are all one. He takes *Metheg-ammah* for a Region, or Province, which comprehends, *Gath and her Towns*.

This Chapter affords to us, the same that we have in 2. Sam. VIII.

Only Dr. *Patrick* here makes this Remark further: We may observe the great Piety of *David*, who had in his Heart, to build a splendid House for the Habitation of God. And when He was by God prohibited from doing it, yett he could not satisfy himself without the doing of Something towards it; præparing Materials & offering a mighty Treasure for it.[129]

[356v] | [blank]

127 A short quarto leaf.

128 2 Sam. 8:1.

129 Patrick, *A Commentary* (148), citing Yitshak Abravanel. Although Abravanel did not complete a full commentary on Chronicles (as he did on many other books, not least the Torah), he provided many glosses on Chronicles; these were reproduced in Johannes Meyer, *Sēder ʾôlām rabbâ we-sēder ʾôlām zûṭâ sive Chronicon Hebraeorum majus et minus* (1699); cf., Thomas Willi, *Die Chronik als Auslegung: Untersuchungen zur literarischen Gestaltung der historischen Überlieferung Israels* (1972), 22 f.; S. A. Horodezky, "Abrabanel", EJ (1928) 1.593.

1. Chronicles. Chap. 19. [357r][130]

Q. The Chapter has been considered in 2. Sam. X.[131] But, what is there called *Maacah*, is here called, *Aram-Maacah*? v. 6.

A. Some therefore think, this was in *Syria*.

But it is plain, The Scripture makes *Maacah*, a City of *Canaan*. [Deut. III.14. Josh. XII.4, 5.] But it lying beyond *Jordan*, in the Borders of *Syria*, it had the Name of *Aram* added unto it; Because, as *Bochart* conjectures, the People were more *Syrians* than *Canaanites*, in their Manners.

In like Manner, he thinks, *Aram Beth-rehob* did belong unto *Canaan*, in the North Part of it, not far from *Emath*, that is, *Epiphanes*, [Num. XIII. 41.][132] *Maacah*, was in the Tribe of *Menasseh*; and *Rehob* in the Tribe of *Asher*. [Josh. XIII.11. and, XIX.28.][133]

Q. The Hiring of *Thirty two thousand Chariots*? v. 7.

A. Dr. *Patrick* observes, It must mean so many Men, who fought in the *Chariots*, when they saw Cause. In the Book of *Samuel*, it is expressly said, They hired Twenty thousand Footmen from *Zobah*, and Twelve thousand Men of *Ashtob*;[134] This makes up the Thirty two Thousand here mentioned. If it should be understood of such a Number of *Chariots*, there would have been no Footmen in the whole Army; which is as incredible, as that they should have so many Chariots.[135]

| [blank] [357v]

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130 A quarto-sized leaf.

131 See above, p. 360.

132 This verse does not fit the reference, since Num. 13 has only 33 verses. Perhaps Patrick intended Num. 23:7.

133 Patrick, *A Commentary* (149), citing Bochart, *Geographia Sacra* (pars prior, lib. II, cap. VII, pp. 89–90).

134 2 Sam. 10:6.

135 Patrick, *A Commentary* (149).

Q. Wherein lay the Sin of *David*s Numbring the People? v. 1.

A. Wee know very well, what Charges of an elated Mind, have been made upon *David*, for this Action. But, besides the political Reasons, which *David* might have to take an Account of what Subjects hee had, it may bee added, That *Pride* might as well have been fed, by a conjectural or superficial Computation, of the commanded Multitude. Briefly, The Sin of *David*, here must bee one, wherein the People might bee partaking with him; This was considered by *Satan*, who, tis said, *Stood up against Israel*, in this Business; and this was considered by *Joab*, who said, *Why will my Lord bee a Cause of Trespass in Israel*?

Wee may now make a very likely Guess at the Sin, from Exod. 30.12. *When thou takest the Summ of the Children of Israel, after their Number, then shall they give, every Man, a Ransome for his Soul, unto the Lord; when thou Numbrest them; that there bee no Plague among them, when thou Numbrest them*. Here, wee See, That if the Children of *Israel* were *Numbred*, without paying this *Ransome*, a *Plague* would follow. Wee are now told, that they were *Numbred*, and that a *Plague* did follow; wherefore, wee may suspect, it was for the Want of this *Ransome*; which *David* would not require, either because hee thought the *Priests* Rich enough, or, because the *Temple* was not yett built, or, because the *Hast* of the Work would not permitt the doing of it. It seems to have been a Sudden Motion thrown into the Mind of *David*, by the *Divel*; and Suddenly Imparted unto *Joab*, who was commanded, with the *Rulers* of the People, to Number *Israel*, while there was no mention of the *High-Priest*, who was present, when they were first Numbred by *Moses*, in the Wilderness.

But Monsieur *Saurin* is of the Opinion, that the Crime of *David* in this fatal Muster, was not in his neglecting to raise this Tax, but in his extending the Muster beyond the Bounds which God had allow'd. God had expressly forbidden to Number those who were under the Age of Twenty Years. It was His Pleasure, that His People should hereby show their Faith, in His Promise unto their Patriarch, about the Multiplication of his Posterity. It is therefore said, in another Numeration made by *David*, they did not comprize the *Israelites*, from the Age of Twenty Years and under; [1. Chron. XXVII.23.] *Because the Lord had said, He would Increase Israel, like the Stars of Heaven*. It is indeed said, That *Joab* did begin that Muster, but he did not Finish it (that is, of those That were under Twenty,) *Because there fell Wrath for it upon Israel.*[137]

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136 Mather made no entries on 1 Chron. 20.

137 Saurin, *Dissertations, historical, critical, theological and moral* (1:492).

Q. Why is it said, *Satan Stood up*? v. 1.
A. This was the Posture of those, who Charged and Accused any Person, of a Crime, in a *Court of Justice*. [see, 1. King. XXII.21.] So *Satan* is in the Book of the *Revelation*, represented as the *Accuser of the Brethren*. Here, he laid some Sin unto the Charge of the *Israelites*, which he repræsented unto God, as a Reason to punish them.[138]

Q. How will you Reconcile the Different Accounts, of the People *Numbred*, by the Order of *David*? v. 5.

The Account, in *Samuel*,[139] is,

Of Israel,	800000
Of Judah,	500000
In all	1300000.

The Account in *Chronicles*, is,

Of Israel,	1100000
Of Judah,	470000
In all	1570000.

A. Several Reasons may bee given for these Differing Accounts. And This one, among the rest.

Joab had not finished his Numbring, but ceased upon the Anger of Heaven discovered at it; wherefore, hee brought unto *David*, only the Number that is mentioned in *Samuel*. Hee left out (as *Josephus* particularly confirms the Account)[140] the Tribe of *Benjamin* and of *Levi*, which two, hee | had not then [358v]
reckoned; for *David* repenting of the Action, recall'd him, some While before hee had finished: But the Captains, who were sett about this Work in the Remoter Parts, Numbred *Three hundred Thousand* besides, which, being added unto the *Eight hundred Thousand*, in *Israel*, make up the Number in *Chronicles*; and the same is to bee said of *Judah*.

~~{150.}~~

Q. Is there any Curious Observation to bee Remarked, & Confirmed, from the Numbers found in *Israel*, at this Time? v. 5.[141]
A. There is one, which Mr. *Whiston*,[142] in his *New Theory of the Earth*, has given us:

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138 Patrick, *A Commentary* (151–52).
139 2 Sam. 24:9.
140 Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* (7.13.1).
141 "V. 5" is written in a different (black) ink.
142 Originally, Mather wrote "the Ingenious M^r^ Whiston," but he later deleted "the Ingenious," after Mather learnt that his friend and correspondent turned out to be an Arian.

Tis an Observation, That Mankind, as far as wee have Means of Enquiry, have generally speaking, increased in one & the same given Proportion, and so *Doubled* themselves, in 360 Years, in all the Past Ages of the World, since the Fixing of the present Period of Humane Life.[143]

Now, to prove this Observation;

Tis evident, that the most Ancient Age of the World, capable of being compared with the Present, was that of *Moses* when the Lives of Men, were brought unto the present Standard; and that therefore, the succeeding Period of *Four-hundred & seventy Nine Years*, from the *Exodus* out of *Egypt*, until the Building of *Solomon*s Temple, was the first, that is considerable enough, to serve the present Purpose. Tis also evident, that the Sacred History of the *Jewes*, is the only one, Ancient enough, and *Certain* enough, to bee Depended on, in the Case now before us; Nay, tis evident, that the Jewes, in regard of their *Union* among themselves, & their *Distinction* from the Neighbour-Nations, & the Accuracy of their *Genealogies*, are alone capable of being an Incontestable Instance in the Case: Tis evident, lastly, that the Numbers of the *Israelites* were taken, both at the Beginning, & near the Conclusion of the Period which wee have mentioned.

About a Year, after the *Israelites* came out of *Egypt*, the Numbers of Men able to go forth unto War, was 603550. From this Time, til towards the End of *David*s Reign, was about 472 or 473 Years. By the *Golden Rule* then say; If 360 Years *double* the People, or produced 1200000, how many, by a proportionable Increase, will 473. Years produce? The Product will bee 1576666. This then, by the forementioned Rate, should bee the Number of the Fighting *Israelites*, when *David* Numbred them. Now the Number of them, taken by *Joab*, was 800000 *Valiant Men, which drew the Sword*. Besides which, there were Twelve Companies of 24000 Men a peece already Numbred, and Listed, for to wait by Turns on the King, in the Twelve Months of the Year: which are 288000. So that the Total of the Men of All *Israel* was 1088000 or, in a round Number, 1100000 *Men*, as tis express'd in the Book of *Chronicles*. To these, add the Men of *Judah*, 470000, or, including, as usual, the Small Tribe of *Benjamin*, (which, besides *Levi*, came not into the former Sum;) 500000, according to the Book of *Samuel*. So at Last, the Total Summ is, 1600000, or, more nicely, 1588000; which is wonderfully near the former Summ, of 1576666, produced by our first Arithmetical Calculation. Behold, a thing worthy of our Wonder!

Tis true, the *Israelites* Decreased in the Wilderness, during the first Thirty Eight Years. But this will bee an *Excepted Case*; and the remaining 434 Years, will, within a small Matter, still answer the assigned Proportion; and this Destruction was no greater than must bee supposed sometimes to happen in the World.

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143 William Whiston, *A new Theory of the earth* (1725), p. 254.

But[144] I doubt, the ingenious Mr. *Durham*, in his, *Physico-Theology*, has confuted this Observation.[145]

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Q. We read here, *David gave to Ornan Six hundred Shekels of Gold by Weight*. But in 2. Sam. 24.24. tis said, *David bought the Threshing-floor, and the Oxen, for fifty Shekels of Silver*. Interpreters are grievously Tortured for the Reconciliation? v. 25.

A. After all (and the most of their Glosses are not worth mentioning,) I subscribe to the Opinion of that learned Man, who saies, That *fifty Shekels in Gold*, amount unto *Six hundred Shekels in Silver*.[146] This *Twelve-fold Proportion of Gold* unto *Silver*, is particularly intimated by *Plato*, in his *Hipparchus*.[147]

Bochart therefore so renders the Text in *Samuel*; *David bought the Threshing floor, & the Oxen, for Money, namely, for fifty Shekels*.[148]

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144 Ink changes from greyish brown to black.

145 William Derham, *Physico-Theology* (1716), pp. 171–80. Derham discounts the consistent doubling of human population, pointing, among other factors, to alternating times of "Recruits and Decays of Mankind" (p. 171), and to discrepancies between rural and urban population growth. He utilizes marriage-to-birth and birth-to-burial ratios in England to show the rough parity of males and females, which keeps the earth from being overpopulated in the time since the Flood (contrary to the way that it was "overstocked" in the shorter period from Creation to the Flood), due in part to the decrease in human longevity, and ultimately attributing "this Harmony in the Generations of Men" to the guiding hand of "infinite Providence" (pp. 178–79).

146 The "Learned man" is not further identified. Mather drew a small heart in the right margin beside this statement.

147 The dialogue with Hipparchus (Loeb collection, vol. XII), attributed to Plato but probably spurious, has Socrates asking, "Tell me, if one spends half a pound of gold and gets double that weight in silver, has one got gain or loss?" To which the "Friend" responds, "Loss, I presume, Socrates, for one's gold is reduced to twice, instead of twelve times, the value of silver."

148 2 Sam. 24:24. See Patrick, *Commentary upon the two books of Samuel* (614–15), citing Bochart, *Hierozoicon* (pars prior, lib. II, cap. XXXVIII, cols. 379–80).

Q. What was the Intention of *David*, in saying, *This is the House of the Lord God*? v. 1.

A. He concluded, that this was the Place, where God would have His *Temple* to be built. He concluded it, because the *Angel* directed him to build here an *Altar*, which must be for *Sacrifice*; And God also testified His *Presence* here, as He did at the Erection of the First Altar. [See Lev. IX.24.] He seems to have Respect unto the Words of *Jacob*. Gen. XXVIII.16, 17.[150]

Q. Why, the *Strangers*? v. 2.

A. The *Proselytes*. These perhaps were better skill'd in the Works that follow, than the Children of *Israel*. But *Solomon Jarchi* thinks, These, being servile Works, he would not employ the Free People of Israel therein. *Solomon* afterwards followed his Exemple. [1 King. V.15. and IX.22.] Tho' we must not imagine, that the *Proselytes* did settle among the *Israelites*, on the Condition of being under any Servitude.[151]

Q. The Reason why *David* must not build the Temple; *Because he had shed Blood abundantly, & made great Wars*? v. 8.

A. Tho' *David*s Wars, were warranted & succeeded by God, in an extraordinary Manner, yett it suited not so well with the Divine Majesty, to have {an} House built by one who had shed so much Blood, as by one that Reigned in Peace and Quietness. The Builder should in that be an Emblem of the King of Peace, the Lord and Head of the Church, who was præfigured in such great Transactions.

But here may be Respect also unto the Blood of *Urijah*, and those worthy Men that were slain together with him, by the Contrivance of *David*; which made him unworthy to be honoured with carrying on such an Undertaking. *David* himself takes notice of this his *Blood-guiltiness*, as a thing which the Great God had his Eye upon. It is remarkable, that the same Expression which is used here, *Thou hast shed Blood in my Sight*, is used in Psal. LI.4. *I have done this Evil in thy Sight*.[152]

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149 A quarto-sized leaf.

150 Patrick, *A Commentary on the two Books of Chronicles* (159).

151 Patrick, *A Commentary* (159), citing R. Solomon Jarchi, or Rashi (*see I Chronicles: A New English Translation* 138–39).

152 Patrick, *A Commentary* (161).

| [359v]

Q. The vast Summ advanced by *David*? v. 14.

A. I have more than once, elsewhere spoken to it.[153] I will here only take Notice of something observed by Dr. *Patrick* upon it.

If we take this to be meant of the Greater Talent, it makes a Summ exceeding the Riches of any *Roman* Emperours, or any former Monarchs. In the Time of *Trajan*, when the Empire was in its greatest Extent, the Money in the Treasury did not exceed Seventy three thousand Talents. Thus *Bodinus* will tell you.

Our *Brierwood* has found so many Millions in these *Talents*, that he thinks, the Word, *Kikkar*,[154] should not be translated, *A Talent*, here; but only a *Mass*, or *Cake*, of Silver or Gold. *Budæus* observes, in his Book, *De Asse*, that there was in *Homer*s time, a thing of little Value, called, *A Talent*, & given as a Reward of a Victory in some Exercises. Now *David* reigned near the Time of *Homer*. Of the same Opinion, is *Jacobus Capellus*, and *Junius* and *Tremelius*; who make these Talents amount unto Five Hundred Thousand Dollars of Gold, and as much of Silver.[155]

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153 See above, pp. 708–10.

154 כִּכָּר [kikkar], "disk-shaped, round, thin, disk of gold or silver as unit of weight or value, talent."

155 Patrick, *A Commentary* (163), citing Joannes Bodinus (Jean Bodin), *Andegavensis De Republica* (1601), lib. VI, cap. II; Edward Brerewood, *De Ponderibus, et pretiis veterum Nummorum* (1614), pp. 2–3, 12, 18; Gulielmus Budaeus (Guillame Budé), *De Asse et Partibus* (1514); Jacobus Capellus, *Historia sacra et exotica ab Adamo usque ad Augusti ortum* (142–43), on Homer's chronological relation to the kings of Israel, particularly Solomon; and Franciscus Junius and Immanuel Tremellius, *Testamenti Veteris Biblia sacra* (203): *quinquies centies mille daleros in auro, & totidem in argento*.

Q. The *Levites* were *Thirty Eight Thousand*? v. 3.
A. Here *Abarbanel* cries out; "See, whether in all the Countreys there were so many Singers and Musicians, & other Officers, employed in their Temples, as there was in the House of the Sanctuary! Who ever saw the like! Who ever beheld such Sanctity, such Ornaments, & such Praising of God!"[157]

Q. What was the *Work of the House of the Lord*, which the *twenty four thousand Levites* were to *Sett forward*? v. 4.
A. These were employ'd about the *Offerings* and *Sacrifices*, which they kill'd, and flay'd, and wash'd; And they serv'd the Priests in all other Parts of their Ministry about them. These being very Numerous, there were the greater Number of *Levites* to attend this Work; namely, a Thousand every Week. They took their Courses, which being Twenty Four, they came about in so many Weeks. About their Business, consult v. 28, 29, of this Chapter, and you will be more fully informed.[158]

Q. The Care of the *Porters*? v. 5.
A. Their Care was to be, That no Unclean Person entred into the Temple, nor any thing brought into it, that might not be there; nor any thing taken out of it, that belong'd unto it; And that nothing might be done about the Door of the Court, which might disturb the People at their Prayers.[159]

Q. The Lords *giving Rest unto His People*, what is it brought as a Reason for? v. 25.
A. Tis the Reason for this New Order, that the *Levites* should begin their Ministry at Twenty Years of Age. Because *Israel* having Rest, was very much multiplied; and there being a greater Resort unto *Jerusalem*, the *Levites* had more Work to do at the Temple.[160]

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156 A quarto-sized leaf.
157 Patrick, *A Commentary* (166), quoting Yitzhak Abravanel. Patrick does not cite his source, but some of Abravanel's glosses on Chronicles are found in Meyer, *Sēder ʿôlām rabbâ we-sēder ʿôlām zûṭâ sive Chronicon Hebraeorum majus et minus.*
158 Patrick, *A Commentary* (166).
159 Patrick, *A Commentary* (167).
160 Patrick, *A Commentary* (171).

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Q. One Part of the Work of the *Levites*, was, *For all Manner of Measure & Cise*? v. 29.

A. They were to see, That the just *Measure* for Things liquid, and the just *Cise* for Things Dry, were kept exactly, and not altered. All *Measures* and *Weights*, by which all that were used in the Countrey were to be adjusted, were kept in the Sanctuary, under the Custody of the *Levites*. Hence it is, that we often Read of, *The Shekel of the Sanctuary*. Not, that there were Two Sorts of *Shekels*; one *Sacred*, and another *Civil*; but Measures and Weights were reckoned, *Inter Sacra*, and all kept in the Sanctuary. They were so in the *Temples* of the *Pagans*. Afterwards they were so in the *Christian Churches*. This appears by *Justinians Novels*. CXXVIII. C. 15. It is observed by *Villalpandus*. *Constantine* the Great, had gone before him in this; He commanded the *Cubit*, whereby the *Egyptians* measured the Increase of *Nilus*, & which was kept in the Temple of *Serapis*, to be translated into one of the Christian Churches, that there it might be præserved the safer, by true Religion. This is testified both by *Socrates* and by *Sozomen*. *Julian* indeed restored it unto *Serapis*. But that Temple being burnt, *Ruffinus* tells us, the Church had it again in its Possession.[161]

Q. How could it be said, The *Levites* were to *offer all Burnt-Sacrifices unto the Lord*? It was no Part of their Business; It belonged unto the *Priests* only? v. 31.

A. There, as Dr. *Patrick* observes, The Meaning is, They were to *Praise*, and *Give Thanks* unto God, at the Offering of the *Sacrifices* here mentioned; as well as every Morning and Evening; and to see that there were a just *Number* of Sacrifices then offered, as the Law præscribed.[162]

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161 Patrick, *A Commentary upon the two Books of Chronicles* (173), citing Socrates of Constantinople (c. 380–340 CE) and Salaminius Hermias Sozomen (c. 400–450 CE), *Ecclesiastical Histories* (lib. I, cap. XVIII, and lib. V, cap. III). Justinian, *Novellae Constitutiones* (Novel CXXVIII, cap. XV), mandates that measures and weights be stored "in a holy church of each city, so that the payments of the tribute and the military and other burdens may, without difficulty, be made according to them." Juan Bautista Villalpando and Hieronymo Prado, late 16th-century Spanish Jesuit scholars, *In Ezechielem explanationes et apparatus Urbis ac Templi Hierosolymitani Commentariis et imaginibus Illustratus*, Tomi tres (1596–1605). Sozomen, *Ecclesiastical History* (lib. V, cap. III), describes how Julian, upon becoming Holy Roman Emperor in the late fourth century CE, re-established paganism, including depositing "the admeasurements of the Nile and the symbols" in the temple of Serapis and not, as Constantine had established, in the church. Aquileiensis Rufinus, late 4th-century CE Roman Christian monk, historian, and translator, author of *Historia ecclesiastica* (1500).

162 Patrick, *A Commentary* (174).

[361r][163] 1. Chronicles. Chap. 24.

Q. The Meaning of those Words, which are somewhat obscure; *One Principal Houshold being taken for Eleazar, and One taken for Ithamar*? v. 6.

A. In drawing the Lotts out of the Urn, with the Solemnity here mentioned, One of the principal Families of *Eleazar* was first taken, and then One of *Ithamar*s. And after that, One of *Eleazar*s again; and so by Turns, till there were Eight of each. And then those of *Eleazar* alone, (which were more numerous than those of *Ithamar*,) were distributed under their several Heads.[164]

[361v] | [blank]

163 A quarto-sized leaf.

164 Patrick, *A Commentary* (177).

Q. The *Captains of the Host*! What had those Military Men, to meddle in ordering the Tribe of *Levi*, and the Service of the *Temple*? v. 1.

A. *Thorndike* observes truly, That by *The Host*, we are to understand, the Companies of Priests, that waited on the Service of God at the Temple. The *Captains* {of} these, that is to say, their Chief Leaders, were with *David* in this Action, of Dividing the Singers.[166]

Dr. *Lightfoot* observes, That the other *Israelites*, if allied unto the Priests by Marriage, might, if they had skill, join in the *Instrumental* Music; but none besides the *Levites* in the *Vocal*.[167]

Q. The *Prophecy* of the *Musicians*? v. 2.

A. They sung Hymns that had been Divinely Inspired.

Indeed *Music* and *Singing* were of old had in such Esteem, that they who excelled therein, were look'd on as Persons divinely moved. *Quintilian* observes it, as a known Truth; *Quis ignorat, Musicen tantum jam illis antiquis temporibus, non studij modò, verum etiam venerationis habuisse, ut ijdem Musici et Vates judicarentur*?[168]

Q. Here are but *Five* Named. But anon, when the *Lots* are Cast, v. 17, you find *Six*? v. 3.

A. It appears afterwards, there was another, whose Name was *Shimei*. But he now being very young, & not yett able to sing or play, is not named in this Verse. However (as Dr. *Patrick* notes,) that he might be instructed & learn both, he is chosen to be Head of a Course, when he should be fitt for it. Thus *Kimchi* explains the Matter.[169]

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165 A quarto-sized leaf.

166 Patrick, *A Commentary* (180), citing Herbert Thorndike (1597?–1672), Church of England theologian and biblical scholar, *A Discourse of the Right of the Church in a Christian State* (1649), p. 230.

167 Patrick, *A Commentary* (181), citing John Lightfoot, *The Temple Service as it stood in the Dayes of our Saviour* (1649), ch. VII, § 2, pp. 51–62.

168 "Who is ignorant of the fact that music […] was in ancient times the object not merely of intense study but of veneration?" Patrick, *A Commentary* (182), citing Marcus Fabius Quintilianus, 1st-century CE Spanish Roman rhetorician, *Institutio Oratoria* (1.10.ll.10–13).

169 Patrick, *A Commentary* (182), citing Kimhi (*see The Commentary of David Kimhi to Chronicles* 166–67).

~~1629.~~

Q. *Heman* is called, *A Seer in the Words of God, to lift up the Horn*. What is meant, by, *The Horn*? v. 5.

A. I Deny not, that *Music*, of an *Exalted Note*, in that Instrument, of the *Cornet* may bee intended.

But I will offer you an Illustration of a more *Exalted Note*.

Our Glorious *Messiah*, is called, in Luk. 1.69. *An Horn of Salvation, Raised for us, in the House of David*: Which Expression, may possibly bee taken from that Prophecy of the *Messiah*, in Psal. 132.17. *There, Will I make the Horn of David to Bud: I have ordained a Lamp for mine Anointed*.

As *Antichrist*, that Great Enemy of our Lord Jesus Christ, is called, in Dan. 7.8. *A Little Horn*; so, our Lord Jesus Christ, Himself, is fitly compared unto an *Horn*; which all over the Scripture, and the Orient, hath been still a Symbol, of, *Regal Majesty*.

Well; wee will now consider the *Words to lift up the Horn*, wherein *Heman* was concerned, for to bee *Psalms* particularly designed, for the *Exaltation* of the *Messiah*. There are Illustrious Prædictions, & Celebrations & Adorations of the Messiah, in the *Psalms*, which have the Name of *Heman*, in the Title.

Behold, what a Key I have given you, not only for some of the *Psalms*, but also for many Passages of the Divine Oracles, wherein an *Horn* is mentioned. Enquire, I beseech you, whether the *Messiah* bee not therein referr'd unto!

[362v] |

Q. The Distribution of the *Singers*? v. 7.

A. They were distributed into Courses, as the *Priests* had been; with whom they were to attend in their Order. Twelve of the *Singers*, with their Governour, came and waited every Week; at the End of which, they were succeeded by other Twelve, till the Course was finished. And then it began again. Twelve times twenty four, amount unto 288.

No Wonder, so many were skilful this Way. The Exemple of their King had an Influence upon them.[170]

Q. *His Brethren & Sons were Twelve*? v. 9.

A. *Rasi* observes, These Words are to be referr'd unto *Joseph*, as well as *Gedaliah*; both being mentioned in the same Verse.

By *Brethren*, is meant, their *Kindred*.[171]

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170 Patrick, *A Commentary* (184).

171 Patrick, *A Commentary* (185), citing Solomon Jarchi, or Rashi (*see I Chronicles: A New English Translation* 155).

Q. *Mighty Men of Valour*. What Occasion for their being so? v. 6.
A. They were to watch and Guard the House of God, night and day; and not only to open and shutt the Doors of the Mountain of the House, & of the Court of the Women, (for the Priests open'd & shutt the Gates of the other Courts,) but they were to attend there, to prevent any thing, that might be done to the Prejudice of the Peace, and Safety, & Purity of the Place. They had likewise the Guard of some Treasures, which required Courage to defend them.[173]

Q. And why must they be *Strong Men*? v. 7.
A. Strength of Body was a requisite in their Service; For the Doors of the Temple were so massy and weighty, that the Hands of many Men, (as *Josephus* notes,) were needful to open and shutt them.[174]

Q. The *Porters*, to *Minister in* the *House of the Lord*? v. 12.
A. This (as Dr. *Patrick* notes) was no vile Ministry; as the term of *Porters* may sound among us. But they were as the Standing Guard of a King in his Palace. Dr. *Patrick* saies, The Word had better be rendred so.[175]

They kept the Treasures of the Temple. And Judges and other Officers were chosen out of them. Some of them also were very wise and learned Men. There is enough said of them, in this Chapter, to shew, that they were Persons of Eminency.[176]

Q. The House of *Asuppim*? v. 15.
A. Many learned Men take *Asuppim* to signify, The *Treasury* of the *Temple*, or the Place where Dedicated Things were laid up.[177] The Word signifies, *Collections*. And *Obed-Edom*, whose Sons are here placed at *Asuppim*, is said, [2. Chron. XXV.] to have the Custody of the *Treasures*.

After a Long Discussion, Dr. *Lightfoot* concludes, That *Asuppim* were Two Gates of the Western Wall, which stood most South or nearest unto *Jerusalem*; and that the *House of Asuppim*, was a large Building which run between them,

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172 A quarto-sized leaf.
173 Patrick, *A Commentary* (188).
174 Patrick, *A Commentary* (189), citing Josephus, *Contra Apionem* (2.10).
175 הַשֹּׁעֲרִים
176 Patrick, *A Commentary* (190).
177 הָאֲסַפִּים

and was a Treasury of diverse Rooms for laying up things, that served the Use of the Temple.[178]

[363v] |

Q. What are, the *Treasuries of the House of GOD*; and, the *Treasuries of the Dedicate Things*? v. 20.

A. By the *Former* are meant such Things as were in ordinary Use; as Vessels, & Vestments, & the Tithes, & things necessarily or voluntarily offered, as the Half-shekel, & the like.

By the *Latter* are meant, such things as the Kings or Great Men, Dedicated, which lay as a Stock of the Temple, & as the Monuments of their Devotion.[179]

Q. What was the *Outward Business*? v. 29.

A. The Business *Without* the City of *Jerusalem*; which neither belonged unto the Singers, nor unto the Porters, whose Business was *Within* the City.

Kimchi and other Hebrew Doctors, think it was, To cutt down Trees in the Woods & to hew Stones, and to see the Fields Ploughed, & the Vineyards and Gardens Planted & Dressed, which by devout Persons had been Dedicated unto the Service of God. But, as Dr. *Patrick* notes, there seems to be no such Matter in the Words. Tho' the *Shoterim*, or Officers, might have something to do, in such a *Business*, yett this was no *Business* for the *Judges*, on whom they attended. It is here said, They were *over Israel*; They had some Authority over the *Israelites* themselves: And the next Verse will intimate unto you, in what it was. The Opinion of *Bertram*, is approved by *Conringius*; which is, That they were Assessors with the ordinary *Judges*.[180]

Q. The *Business of the Lord*, and the *Service of the King*? v. 30.

A. The *Business of the Lord*, was to take care of all things belonging to Religion. One thing was, To Judge the People according to the *Law of God*, and see their Sentence putt in Execution. We read of the Judges: 2. Chron. XIX.6. *They Judged for the Lord*. It is hard, to find One Word, comprehending the whole Work of these Officers; who as our *Nic. Fuller* observes, were Employ'd both in *Peace* and in *War*.

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178 Patrick, *A Commentary* (190–91), citing Lightfoot, *Temple Service* (cap. V, § III, pp. 37–38).

179 Patrick, *A Commentary* (193).

180 Patrick, *A Commentary* (195–96), citing Kimhi (*see The Commentary of David Kimhi to Chronicles* 173–74); Cornelius Bertram, *De republica Hebraeorum* (1641), p. 126; and Hermannus Conringius, *De Politia sive Republica Hebraeorum Exercitatio* (1674).

The *Business of the King*, some think, was, the Gathering his Tribute, or perhaps, the Publishing his Commands and Orders. See *Grotius de Jure Sum. Pot. Circà Sacra*.[181]

J. *Vorstius* thinks no Interpretation so good as this: The *Things of God* were such things as might be judged by the Divine Law. The *Things of the King*, were such as were undetermined in the Law, & were left unto the Judgment of the *King*.[182]

Q. Why so great a Number of Officers, employ'd in so small a Countrey? v. 32.
A. They lived a great Way from *Jerusalem*; and therefore they needed more to Inspect them, & admonish them of their Duty; lest they should forgett the Relation they bore to the *Temple*; or grow sluggish in the Worship of God; or, embrace the Religion of their Neighbours. This is what *Pellicanus* observes.[183] To which we may add, Their Distance made them to be in more Danger of deserting their Sovereign.

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181 Patrick, *A Commentary* (196–97), citing Nicholas Fuller, *Miscellaneorum theologicorum quibus non modo Scripturae Divinae* (1616), lib. II, cap. XX (pp. 321–23); and Hugo Grotius, *Institutiones Juris Imperii circa sacra … De imperio summarum Potestatum circa sacra desumptae*, first published in Paris, 1647, with several subsequent editions in other countries (Patrick cites p. 390 of the English translation, *Of the Authority of the highest Powers about sacred Things. Or, The Right of the State in the Church* [1651]).

182 Guilielmus Vorstius, late 16th/early 17th-century Dutch Hebraist and author of, among other works, *Constitutiones de fundamentis legis Rabbi Mosis f. Maiiemon* (1638).

183 Patrick, *A Commentary* (197–98), citing Conrad Pellican, *Commentaria Bibliorum et illa brevia quidem ac Catholica* (228).

[365r] 1. Chronicles. Chap. 27.

Q. *They came in, & went out, Month by Month*? v. 1.
A. We here find the *Militia* of the Kingdome settled. They were distributed into XII. Legions; each Consisting of XXIV Thousand Men. And there were XXIV Colonels under One General in every Legion. Their Course of attending was for one Month in the Year; which made it no considerable Burden to them. Tis thought by *Pellican*, that this Order was instituted in the Beginning of *David*s Reign, but it was interrupted by many Wars he had abroad, & not Renewed until his last Years. Then he established it again, and left his Kingdome so governed, unto *Solomon*. *Bertram* observes, That we never after this read of *Cherethites*, and *Pelethites*.[184]

[365v] |

Q. *Shitrai* over the Herds, that were in *Sharon*? v. 29.
A. *Sharon* was a Place noted for its Fruitfulness. [Isa. XXXIII.9. XXXV.2.] *Jerom* testifies, All the Region of *Sharon*, about *Lydda, Joppa*, and *Jamnia*, was apt for the Feeding of Flocks. [Isa. LXV.10.] There was another *Sharon* besides this; and that was in the East beyond *Jordan*. [1. Chron. V.16.] Here dwelt the *Gadites*, who abounded in Cattel. Tis likely, *David* bred a great many Cattle here; both in the Mountains & in the Valleyes. *Maimonides* tells us, great Numbers of Calves were bred here, which Women had the Care of, & they were brought from hence to be sold in other Places.[185]

Q. *Obil the Ishmaelite*, over the *Camels*? v. 30.
A. An *Ishmaelite* was the fittest Person, to look after a Breed of Camels; His Countrey abounded with them, and there they best understood the Nature of them.

This Person seems to have had his Name from his Office. *Ibil* in Arabic signifies, *A Camel*; *Abal*, and *Abil*, a Keeper of *Camels*; which is noted by *Bochart* in his *Hierozoicon*.[186]

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184 Patrick, *A Commentary* (199–200), citing Pellican, *Commentaria Bibliorum* (228); Bertram, *De Republica Hebraeorum* (133).
185 Patrick, *A Commentary* (206), citing Jerome, *Commentarii in Isaiam* (10.33–35) [PL 24; Adriaen {1963} CCL 73]; and Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah, Sefer Avodah, Issurei Mizbeiach,* ch. 7, and ibid., *Sefer Nezikim, Genevah*, ch. 6.
186 Patrick, *A Commentary* (206–07), citing Bochart, *Hierozoicon* (pars prior, lib. II, cap. II, cols. 4–13).

Q. Where's the *Swine*? v. 31.
A. We read of None, as *Bochart* observes; Neither had the Patriarchs any that we read of, when mention is made of their Possessions. Nor had *Job* any in *Arabia*, tho' he had a vast Number of other Cattle. Nor did the *Israelites* ever take these, as a Spoil from their Enemies. Therefore *Gadara*, where Swine were kept in *Judæa*, was a *Greek* City, not a *Jewish*, as *Josephus* tells us.[187]

Q. *Achitophel* and *Hushai*? v. 33.
A. *Achitophel* seems to have been Præsident of the Council: but *Hushai* was *David*s Favourite; in whose Company he most of all delighted, and communicated most Secrets to him.[188]

187 Patrick, *A Commentary* (207), citing Bochart, *Hierozoicon* (pars prior, lib. I [sic; lib. II], cap. LI, cols. 619–31); Josephus, *De Bello Judaico* (6.3).
188 Patrick, *A Commentary* (208).

Q. *David* must not *Build the House of God*, because he had *shed Blood*? v. 3. See, Chap. XXII.8.[190]

A. *Bloodshed* was of old, accounted a thing so heinous, that tho' one had kill'd another, but accidentally, yett he must flee to a City of *Refuge*, or be killed himself. *Petitus* showes in his Book of the *Attick Lawes*, That among the Ancient Greeks, he who killed another, involuntarily was for a Year banished from his Countrey. *David* is here forbidden, to build a Temple to God, because he had been engaged in War and Bloodshed, tho' on a Pious Account. And thus, as *Grotius* observes, Among the Ancient *Græcians*, they who had without any Blame defiled their Hands in Blood, needed an Expiation. And among the *Greek* Christians, there was a Canon long observed in their Church, which kept from Holy Communion for a Time, a Man who had killed an Enemy in War. But *Osiander*, considering that Passage of *Grotius*, thinks, That here Davids War and Bloodshed, is not alledged, *Ratione alicujus Vitii*;[191] upon the account of any Blemish, hindring him to Build the House of God; but meerly on the Account of the *Vast Business* wherein he was engaged. For, being employ'd continually in the Designs and Actions of War, he was not at Liesure for such a Building, which was to be the Work of Peace & Quietness. It is expressly said of *David*, That he managed the *Wars of the Lord*; he was but an Instrument of the Lord, for to Punish the Enemies of His People. He also Triumphed Gloriously, on the Victories he gott in these Wars; and being Victorious, he sang the Praises of God. [Psalm LX.] Add unto all this: The Account *Solomon* gives to *Hiram*, why his Father did not build the Temple, was, because he was otherwise employ'd. [1. King. V.3.][192]

Q. The *Pattern of the Porch*? v. 11.

A. *Abarbanel* is very confident, that the Word *Ulam*, which we translate, *Porch*, is a general Word, used in this Place for the whole House.[193] The Description thereof *David* gave *Solomon*, & of all the Apartments belonging to it. Especially, of the *Houses* thereof; which were Two; The Outward, called, *The Holy Place*; and the Inward, called, *The Holy of Holies*. These were Distinct Houses, being separated by a Partition. And accordingly, the former is called,

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189 A quarto-sized leaf.

190 See above, p. 694.

191 "By reason of another sin."

192 Patrick, *A Commentary* (211–12), citing Samuel Petit (1594–1643), *Leges Attica* (1635), lib. VII, p. 512; Hugo Grotius, *De Jure Belli et Pacis* (lib. II, cap. XXV, sec. IX.

193 אוּלָם [ulam], "vestibule of a palace or temple" (technical term from architecture).

The Greater House, [2. Chron. III.5.] being much larger in its Dimensions than the other. At the Entrance of these, there was a *Porch*; the Model whereof *David* gave him, as well as of the Houses.[194]

| [366v]

Q. The *Treasures of the Dedicate things*? v. 12.

A. It may be concluded, That in these Places were laid up, all the Utensels belonging to the *Tabernacle* of *Moses*, and the *Tabernacle* itself, which was no longer used after the Building of the Temple. *Constantine L'Empereur* conjectures, It was hereby signified, that all the Ceremonies of *Moses* one day should be decently laid aside, & something better come in their Stead.[195]

Q. *Candlesticks of Silver*? v. 15.

A. There were Ten *Golden Candlesticks*; which were fixed in the Sanctuary. But then, it seems, there were *Silver Candlesticks*, which were lesser ones, and carried in hands, from Place to Place, as there was Occasion.[196]

Q. The *Chariot of the Cherubim*? v. 18.

A. *David* contrived these; besides those which were made by *Moses*. They are called, *The Chariot*. God is said, Psal. XVIII.10. To *Ride upon the Cherubims*, as the Lord of Hosts. Therefore they are described in *Ezekiel*, as having *Wheels*, on which they ran. The other made by *Moses*, were the Seat of the Lord; these represented Him, as filling the whole House.[197]

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194 Patrick, *A Commentary* (215), citing Yitzhak Abravanel. Patrick does not cite his source, but some of Abravanel's glosses on Chronicles are found in Meyer, *Sēder ʿôlām rabbâ we-sēder ʿôlām zûṭâ sive Chronicon Hebraeorum majus et minus.*

195 Patrick, *A Commentary* (216), citing Constantijn L'Empereur, *Hoc est Talmudis Babylonici Codex Middoth* (87).

196 Patrick, *A Commentary* (217).

197 Patrick, *A Commentary* (218).

[▽364r] [▽Insert from 364r]

2473.

Q. David saies, *I have prepared with all my Might, for the House of my God*. Wee Beleeve it. But our Beleef of it, will be the more Distinct, if you will Distinctly cast up the Summs that hee prepared? v. 2.

	£ s d
A. King *David,* paid first for the Threshing Floor of *Araunah*, 50 *Shekels* of *Silver*, which according to 2s 5d the *Shekel*, was	6 – 0 – 2
Afterwards hee paid 600 Shekels of *Gold* for the whole Mountain of *Moriah*; which according to the Twelvefold Proportion of *Gold* unto *Silver*, was	870 – 0 – 0
Hee then furnished his Son, with costly Materials; Whereof the First that occur to be observed, were One hundred thousand *Talents* of *Gold*; which in English Sterling, was,	435000000 – 0 – 0
Hee also sett apart a Million *Talents* of *Silver*, which was,	362500000 – 0 – 0
Besides this, Hee provided Brass in abundance, without Weight. And he dedicated Vessels of Gold, Silver, & Brass, which were sent him from the King of *Hamath*, & those Treasures which he brought from *Edom*, *Moab*, *Ammon*, the *Philistines*, & the Land of *Amalek*.	
Iron also, and Precious Stones, & Cedar Trees, & Instruments of *Musick*, the Value whereof wee know not, went into his *Præparation*.	
Besides all this, out of his *Affection to the House of his God*, he gave, even of his own proper Goods, Three Thousand Talents of the *Gold* of *Ophir*; which results to	13050000 – 0 -0
And Seven Thousand Talents of *Silver*, which was	2537500 – 0 – 0
The Summ Total, of what was cast up in *David*s Offering then was	813088367 – 0- 2
Hee then called upon the Princes and Nobles of *Israel*; who offered willingly, First, Five Thousand Talents of *Gold*; which was	21750000 – 0 – 0

They offered then, Ten Thousand Drams of *Gold*. Now each *Dram*, was the Hundreth Part of a *Maneh*. So then the Summ was, 13986 -13 – 0

After that, wee read of an Addition, of Ten Thousand *Talents* of *Silver*. That is, 3625000 – 0 – 0

And then, of *Brass*, Eighteen thousand Talents; of *Iron*, One Hundred thousand Talents; and precious Stones, not a few. The Value of these wee will not stand now to cast up. The Summ of what we have cast up is, 25388986 – 13 – 4

In fine, *David* and his Princes together, gave to the Service of the Temple, in *Gold*, 108000 Talents.
600 Shekels.
10000 Drams.

in *Silver*, 1017000 Talents.
50 Shekels.

The Whole Summ, in English Money, amounts unto Eight Hundred and Thirty Eight Millions, Four hundred Seventy Seven Thousand, three hundred Sixty two Pounds, Thirteen Shillings and Six Pence. All deposited in the Hands of *Shelomith*, a famous Lord-Treasurer, the Sixth in a Direct Line from *Moses*. $838477362^{£} – 13^{s} – 6^{d}$

| Dr. *Donne*, once the Dean of *Pauls*, conjectures, That if all the Christian Kings in the World, would send in all they have at once, to any one Service, it would not æqual this Royal Summ of *David* and his Princes.[198] [364v]

Mr. *Brerewood*, thinks wee have here a *Bag*, big enough, to build the Temple Walls of Massy-*Silver*, & make all the Vessels of Massy-*Gold*. And therefore he suspects, the Talent of *Gold*, was not of such a Quantity as is usually stated.[199]

{~~41.~~}

Q. What shall we think about the Immense Wealth of *David*, and in what Wayes, by what Means, did he become so wealthy? {v. 2.}
A. The *Husbandry* and *Shepherds* of the Orient, brought in vast Revenues; and our *David* carried on a mighty Stroke at them all his Dayes.

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198 John Donne, *Encaenia* (1614), p. 21. For Mather's deletion, *see* App. A.
199 Brerewood, *De ponderibus, et pretiis veterum nummorum* (cap. VI, pp. 16–18), considers the amounts of money David and Solomon accrued for the construction of the Temple.

He had vast Revenues, from the Tributes of the Nations, which he subdued; the *Moabites*, the *Syrians*, the *Damascenes*, the *Ædomites*, the *Amalekites*, the *Ammonites*, and the *Philistines*. [1. Chron. 18.19.]

The Spoils of his Enemies, yeelded him vast Revenues; for he fought frequently & successfully; & his Forces were neither pressed nor hired, but very *Volunteers*; and he obtained no less than Twenty several Victories, over *Barbarians* that rolled in Riches. And the Towns that he sack'd, were sometimes, very rich, and abounded with boundless Treasures. God thus opened for him the Mines of *Asia*.

We will add, with *Witsius*, That *Pusilli animi est ex nostra paupertate priscas opes æstimare*.[200] They who judge of the ancient Wealth, by the modern, will find a great many things to scare them, in all the *Assyrian*, *Persian*, and *Roman* History. *Lipsius* will certainly fright them, in his *Admiranda*; from whence we will only single out this One Instance.

Basilius the Emperour, (About A. C. 800. when the Empire was miserably torn and small, and wretchedly diminished,) is by *Zonaras* affirmed, *Implesse totum ærarium, et ipsos aditus viasque, pecuniis confertim stipatis. Habuit* (he saies) *in Thesauris Ducenta Millia Talento*rum *Auri. Nam alterius pecuniæ Nec Numerus iniri poterat: adeò ut Terræ eam infoderet, ærariis aut repositoriis ubique repletis. Quin et Arculas habuit Lapillis gemmisque, pretiosis plenas, quum aliis, tum illis quæ candent, et quas margaritas propriè appellamus*.[201] *Lipsius* renders these, *Two Hundred Thousand Talents* of Gold, no less than, *A Thousand and two hundred Millions* of Money. What then was the *Silver* which this Emperour had? *Lipsius* thinks, more than his *Gold*. And he thinks, the Value of his *Jewels* to be as much as either of them.[202]

But we have Elsewhere more fully & freely declar'd ourselves about this Matter.[203]

[△] [△Insert ends]

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200 "He is of small mind who estimates ancient wealth from our poverty."

201 "To have filled the entire treasury and the very entrances and ways with money closely pressed together. He had in the storeroom two hundred thousand talents of gold. For the amount of his other money was not able to be undertaken: to such a degree that if one buried it in the earth, the treasury or repository would be everywhere filled. In fact, he also had chests filled with costly jewels and gems, not only with others, but also with these which are of brilliant whiteness, and we call rightly diamonds."

202 Hermann Witsius, *Miscellaneorum sacrorum*, vol. II (1712), Exercitatio X, § XX, p. 260, citing Joannes Zonaras, 12th-century Byzantine chronicler and theologian, author of *Epitome Historiarum*; and Justus Lipsius, *Vincentij Contareni De frumentaria Romanorum largitione liber* (1609), lib. II, cap. VII.

203 Possibly meaning the preceding entry on 1 Chron. 29:2. For Mather's deletion, *see* App. A.

[367r][204]

Q. What was that *Perfect Heart*, with which they offered willingly? v. 9.
A. It is the Vertue which our Apostle *Paul* calls, Απλοτης, Or, *Singleness of Heart*. 2. Cor. VIII.2. 9.11, 13. which has Respect purely unto the Service of God, the Honour of Religion; and the Good of His Church.[205]

Q. That Clause, *Of thine own have we given thee*? v. 14.
A. The *Targum* expresses it so; we only Return to thee, what thine own Hand has bless'd us withal.[206] Thus the Ancient Christians were wont to say, at their Offertory: Τα σα απο των σων. *Thine from Thine*; That is, Thy own Goods from thy own People. I am glad to find Dr. *Patrick* adding here; "In like Manner we ought to acknowledge God in all Spiritual Things; referring every Good Thought, Good Purpose, Good Work, to His Divine Grace, from whom we receive it; Beseeching Him, as *David* here does, To præserve it in us."[207]

Q. The Intent of that Passage; *For we are Strangers before thee, and Sojourners, as were all our Fathers; our Dayes on the Earth, are as a Shadow, & there is none abiding*? v. 15.
A. They were only Tenants to God in the Good Land, wherein they dwelt, and held all they had of Him; and this but a very short Term; after which, they must leave all, as their Fathers had done before them.

Dr. *Patrick* thus paraphrases the Words; *We have but the Use of these things, but a very little While, & so have parted with no great Matter unto thee*.

That Word, *As a Shadow*, the *Targum* thus paraphrases: *As the Shadow of a Bird, which flies thro' the Air, so are our Dayes upon the Earth*.[208]

Q. On that Prayer of *David* for *Solomon*, *Give to my Son Solomon a Perfect Heart*? v. 19.
A. I take Notice of an Hebrew Elegancy in the Original. The Name of *Solomon*, is derived from that Word, /שלם/ that signifies, *To be perfect*:[209] and the same Word is used here. It is then, q. d. "Lord, give to my *Solomon*, the *Heart* of a *Solomon*. Lett the *Heart*, as well as the *Name*, of my Son, have that *Perfection*, that shall be a *Root* of *Peace*, all *Peaceable Fruits* unto him."

There are thousands of such elegant Allusions, in the Language of the Bible; which I cannot propose to Collect and Insert in our *Biblia Americana*.

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204 A quarto-sized leaf, inserted here according to Mather's direction (*see* App. B).
205 Patrick, *A Commentary* (223).
206 From Patrick, *A Commentary* (225), Mather refers to the *Targum of Chronicles,* cf. *The Targum of Ruth; The Targum of Chronicles* (*see* transl. Beattie).
207 Patrick, *A Commentary* (225).
208 Patrick, *A Commentary* (225), citing the Aramaic paraphrase: *Targum of Chronicles,* cf. *The Targum of Ruth; The Targum of Chronicles* (*see* transl. Beattie).
209 שָׁלֵם [shalem], "uninjured, safe, complete, peaceable, in relation of peace."

Lett a Minister going to study a Sermon, first consult the Original of His Text, & such things will often occur to him.

[367v] |

Q. Their making *Solomon King, the Second time*? v. 22.

A. After the Death of *David*, they say, *Solomon* was Anointed for himself, as now Reigning *Pleno Jure*.[210] But there are great Men of the Opinion, That he was *Twice Anointed*, while *David* lived. First, in the Presence of a few; upon the Aspiring of *Adonijah*; the first Time *David* shew'd, who should succeed him. [see, 1. King. I.21, 27. 1. Chron. XXIII.1.] And *now*, a *Second time*, in the Presence of all the Great Men of *Israel*, the Princes, and the Captains, of the Nation. *Abarbanel* is of this Opinion.[211]

Q.[212] What is become of the Book of *Nathan*; and the Book of *Gad*? v. 29.

A. *Samuel*, we are sure, compiled but a Part of the History that goes under his Name. *Nathan*, and *Gad*, compiled the rest; And therefore, it goes under the Name of *all Three*.

Theodoret, in his Præface to the Book of *Kings*, chuses to say, That the Prophets, besides the Edition of their Prophecies, published very frequently the History of their own Times. And *Samuel* began to write the Life of *David*, which *Nathan* and *Gad* finished.[213]

[368r] **4190.**

Q. We read of, *Samuel the SEER, and Nathan the PROPHET, and Gad the DISCERNER*. What may be the Difference of these Three Denominations? ROEH, and NABI, and CHOSEH?[214] v. 29.

A. My Incomparable *Witsius* answers, *Fateor me Ignorare*. But he offers the Conjecture of *Cocceius*; That the *Roeh* was one, who had the *Voice* of God speaking His Mind unto him with something of a Vision accompanying it.[215] The *Nabi* was one who publickly declared the Mind of God unto others. The *Choseh*, was one who had any Revelations of the Divine Will, whether in the Way of

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210 "In full right."

211 Patrick, *A Commentary* (228), citing, regarding David's first anointing, Bertram, *De republica Hebraeorum* (130–31); and Yitzhak Abravanel. Patrick does not cite his source, but some of Abrabanel's glosses on Chronicles are found in Meyer, *Sēder ʿôlām rabbâ we-sēder ʿôlām zûṭâ sive Chronicon Hebraeorum majus et minus.*

212 On L. 365v, Mather began to write this entry and deleted it, including a direction to its location on L. 368v. The original entry has the number "1540."

213 Patrick, *A Commentary* (231), citing Theodoret, *Quaestiones in Reges et Paralipomena*, in loc.

214 הָרֹאֶה (the seer), הַנָּבִיא (the prophet), הַחוֹזֶה (the discerner).

215 "I must confess not to know." Witsius, *Miscellaneorum Sacrorum*, vol. 1 (1712), lib. I, cap. II, p. 10, quoting Johannes Cocceius, *Lexicon et commentarius sermonis hebraici et chaldaici* (1714), col. 222.

Ordinary Contemplation, or Extraordinary Inspiration. But the learned Man showes not how this Distinction was applicable to the Three Persons in the Texts now before us. *Witsius* concludes, *Confitendum homini ingenuo, quantacunque, se fatiget diligentia, multa tamen superesse quæ ignorare cogatur: Atque huic Sanè hominum generi meum adcenseri Nomen cupio*.[216]

But we are upon this Occasion, led into the Consideration, of a very Noble Subject; namely, that of Prophecy. By having the Nature, & Intent, and several Wayes of PROPHECY, by which the Truths of God, & of His Holy Religion, have been brought unto us, placed in a True Light, we shall at once produce very many *Illustrations* upon the Divine Oracles, which will be *Worthy of much Acceptation*. Our excellent *Witsius* in his *Miscellanea Sacra*, ha's entertained us with many Good Thoughts on this Noble Subject; unto whom chiefly, we will now be beholden, for the *Illustrations*, to which we are proceeding.

And first of all, we take Notice of the Name /נביא/ *Nabi*, putt upon, *A Prophet*: [Gen. 20.7.] A Name that intimated his *Friendship*, his *Fellowship*, his *Familiarity*, with the Blessed God. *Abraham* was the First, that we find honoured with such a Name. And the Name notes first, (of, /בוא/ *Venire, Accedere, Ingredi*,) the Lords *Coming* unto the Prophet, with Discoveries of His Mind, & Will unto him. The /סוד יהוה/ *Familiare Dei Commercium*, which we render, Psal. 25.14. *The Secret of the Lord*, was his Peculiar Priviledge. [Compare, Jer. 22.18, 22. and Job. 29.4.]

The Name notes further, the Conversation with God, which the Prophet maintain'd in his *Prayers* unto Him. *He shall pray for thee*, was said of the Prophet. *Moses* and *Elias* are marvellous *Exemples*. Prophets were called /כהני יהוה/ Psal. 99.6. which need not be rendred, *The Priest of the Lord*.[217] A *Cohen* signifies a *Councellor* and *Minister* of a Prince, and one that is *Near* unto him. The, *Cohane Jehovah*, are those, *Qui Jus habent accedendi ad ipsum*.[218] Compare, 2. King. 5.11.[219]

The Name ha's been particularly extended unto those, who recited *Sacred Songs* unto the Praise of God. Consider what *Samuel* spoke to *Saul*. 1. Sam. 10.5. On which *Kimchi* observes; *Prophetia eorum erant Cantica, et Celebrationes Divini Numinis Spiritu Sancto Prolatæ*.[220] Indeed not all *Singers*, but they that

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216 "The noble man must acknowledge that however hard he tires himself in diligence, there is still a great deal left which he is forced to have no knowledge of. And to this group of people I indeed wish my name to be added." Witsius, *Miscellaneorum Sacrorum* (lib. I, cap. I, p. 11); Mather has *accenseri.*

217 יְהוָה כֹּהֲנֵי [kohanei yhwh], "priests of the Lord."

218 "Who have the right to approach."

219 The last two paragraphs are from Witsius, *Miscellaneorum Sacrorum* (lib. I, cap. I, p. 4).

220 "Their prophecies were songs and celebrations of the divine will brought forth by the Holy Spirit." From Witsius, *Miscellaneorum Sacrorum* (lib. I, cap. I, par. IV, p. 5), Mather cites

Sang under a singular *Afflatus*, were said therein, to *Prophesy*. [See, 1. Chron. 25.1, 2, 3.][221]

The Christian Church of the Primitive Times, had this Gift continued in it. Yea, as late as the Times of *Tertullian*; we read, *Post Aquam Manualem, et Lumina, ut quisque de Scripturis Sanctis, vel de proprio Ingenio potest, provocatur in medium Deo canere*.[222] In Imitation hereof, the Pagans worshipped their Gods with *Hymns*, which the old Romans called, *Assamenta*. The Greeks had their *Hymns* with which they worshipped their *Propitious Deities*, called, κλητους υμνους by them,[223] and by the *Latines*, *Indigitamenta*, or, *Carmina Calatoria*;[224] and their *Hymns* with which they worshipped the more *Noxious* ones; called by them, υμνους αποτροπαιους, or, *Carmina Averruncalia*.[225] Besides peculiar *Hymns* designed for peculiar *Gods*: as Υπιγγος for *Diana*, Παιαν for *Apollo*, Ιουλος for *Ceres*, Διθυραμβος for *Bacchus*,[226] whereof *Proclus* will give you an Account in his *Chrestomathia*. The Priests, as he, and *Strabo* tells us, were first siezed with *Enthusiasm*, and then sang these Hymns unto their Gods.[227]

But unto the *Prophet*, there belonged this one thing more: To *Speak* the Things of God unto others, and carry the Divine Messages. [Consider, Exod. 7.1.] On which the Annotation of R. *Salomon* is; *Prophetæ nomine passim talis*

David Kimhi, who was taken into the great collection of rabbinic commentary, the *Mikraot Gedolot*; *see Samuel: A New English translation*, vol. 2, at 1 Sam. 10:5.

221 Witsus, *Miscellaneorum Sacrorum* (lib. I, cap. I, p. 5), citing Kimhi on 1 Sam. 10:5.

222 "After manual ablution, and the bringing in of lights, each is asked to stand forth and sing, as he can, a hymn to God, either one from the holy Scriptures or one of his own composing, [- a proof of the measure of our drinking.]" From Witsius, *Miscellaneorum Sacrorum* (lib. I, cap. I, par. VIII, p. 6), Mather cites Tertullian, *Apologeticus adversus gentes* 39 [*ANF* 3.47; E. Dekkers (1954) *CCL* 3.39; PL 1.478].

223 κλητοὺς ὕμνους [kletous hymnous], "invocation hymns." Cf., Witsius, *Miscellaneorum Sacrorum* (lib. I, cap. I, par. VIII, p. 6).

224 *Indigitamenta*, "a collections of invocations or litanies." *Carmina calatoria,* "songs or incantations from the servant of a priest." Cf., Witsius, *Miscellaneorum Sacrorum* (lib. I, cap. I, par. VIII, p. 6).

225 ὕμνους αποτροπαίους [hymnous apotropaious], "songs used to avert evil"; *Carmina Averruncalia*, "songs used to avert evil." Cf. Witsius, *Miscellaneorum Sacrorum* (lib. I, cap. I, par. VIII, p. 6).

226 Witsius does not offer an explanation or source to Ὕπιγγος [Hypingo], possibly related to Ὕπινος [Hypnos], "sleep, hypnosis," perhaps in reference to the calming effect of music for Diana, who counterpart in Greek mythology is Artemis (cf., Witsius, *Miscellaneorum Sacrorum*, lib. I, cap. I, p. 6).

Παιάν [Paian], "a solemn chant or song of triumph."

Ἰούλος [Ioulos], "downy beard" (Menge–Güthling, Langenscheidt, 34, 506); "the young hair at the side of the face" (LS); perhaps related to οὖλος [oulos], "full, thick," also used metaphorically for "confused, mazy"; it may also be a proper name, or a misspelled reference to Ἰούλιος, "Julius." Mather has the same spelling as Witsius here.

Διθύραμβος [dithurambos], "dithyramb; a kind of lyric poetry." Its proper subject was the birth of Bacchus (LS).

227 Witsius, *Miscellaneorum Sacrorum* (lib. I, cap. I, p. 6), citing Proclus, 5th-century CE Greek Neoplatonist philosopher, *Chrestomathia*; and Strabo, *Geographica* (10.3.13).

Recto page [368r] of the holograph manuscript.

homo designatur, qui prædicat et promulgat populo, verba increpationum, ad eruditionem facientia. Estque deflexa hæc vox a Radice /נוב/ *quæ occurrit* Isa. 57.19. /שפתים ניב/ *Fructus Labiorum*.[228] Yea, to be esteemed a *Prophet*, is not only he, who by *Extraordinary Revelation* utters the Mysteries of God, but also he, that by *Ordinary Revelation* utters Divine Things, with the Approbation of the Holy Spirit, and a Good Conscience. And this was the Gift of *Prophecy*, so much commended by the Apostle. [1. Cor. 14.5, 9.][229] | [368v]

But, by the way; How shall we Reconcile those two Passages? In one Place, [1. Cor. 11.5.] the Apostle seems to allow, That a *Woman* may *Prophesy*, with her *Head Covered*. In another Place, [1. Cor. 14.34.] he demands, *Lett your Women keep silence in the Churches, for it is not permitted unto them to speak*. [See 1. Tim. 2.12.] My *Witsius* thinks, That the *Prophecy* allow'd unto the *Woman*, is her joining with her Voice, in the *Psalms* publickly *Sung* in the Church, under the Influences of the Holy Spirit of God.[230]

But after all, the most Special Signification of the Name, /נביא/ *Nabi*, is, *One endued with a Knowledge of Secret Things, to which Knowledge no mortal could arrive, without a Special Revelation from the Spirit of God*. [Consider, 1. Sam. 3.19, 20, 21.] It should seem, That the Name did not come to wear this more *Special Signification*, until about the Time of the Prophet *Samuel*. [Consider, 1. Sam. 9.9.] The *High-Priest* among the *Egyptians*, was called, A *Prophet*, as you will find in *Epiphanius*, and *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and others; and this was the Reason they assigned for it; *Quod Arcana quædam et Mysteria ab iis tradi crederent*.[231]

PROPHECY may be defined, *The Knowing and Opening of Secret Matters, which one discovers not, either by his own Sagacity, or by the Relation of others, but by an Extraordinary Revelation from Heaven*.

Sometimes the *Prophetic Revelation* is more *Immediate*. And the *Immediate Revelation* sometimes, is, made by a bare pure inward Instinct from the Holy

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228 "By the name of prophet everywhere a kind of man is denoted who proclaims and makes known to the people words of reproof. And the expression is derived from the root of 'fruit' which occurs at Isa. 57:19. The fruit of the lips." From Witsius, *Miscellaneorum Sacrorum* (lib. I, cap. II, p. 6), Mather cites Rashi, who was taken into the great collection of rabbinic commentary, the *Mikraot Gedolot*, *Biblia Rabbinica* (1525); *see Chronicles: A New English Translation*, in loc. Cf. Is. 57:19: "creating the fruit of the lips. Peace, peace, to the far and to the near, says the LORD, and I will heal him" (*ESV*).

229 Witsius, *Miscellaneorum Sacrorum* (lib. I, cap. I, p. 7), citing Salomon Jarchi, or Rashi, on Ex. 7:1.

230 Witsius, *Miscellaneorum Sacrorum* (lib. I, cap. I, pp. 7–9).

231 "Because they thought that arcane and mysterious things were delivered through them." Witsius, *Miscellaneorum Sacrorum* (Praefatio, p. 2), citing Epiphanius, *Adversus Haereses*, lib. III [PG 41. 156–1200; PG 42. 9–832]; and Clemens Alexandrinus, lib. VI (probably intending *Stromata*, lib. VI, cap. XV, "Different Degrees of Knowledge"). It was a widely held belief among the apologists that the mysteries and wisdom of the Greeks were first learned by the Hebrews, the prophets, or readings of the Law of Moses itself.

Spirit; The Efficacious Will of God, which gives a Being to all Creatures, causing in his Prophets the Knowledge of what He would have them acquainted withal. So may we take the last Words of *David*; 2. Sam. 23.2. *The Spirit of the Lord Spake IN me*. Thus the Apostles had the *Mysteries* of the *Gospel* Reveled unto them; and thus they knew *Tongues*, which they had never learnt before. But sometimes the *Immediate Revelation* was more *Symbolical*; there were certain *Symbols* and *Species* exhibited unto the *Senses*, or the *Fancies* of the *Prophets*. The Instances are Numberless.

There ha's been much Discourse about the /בת־קול/ *Bath-Kol*, in the Talmudic Writings: Or, *A Voice from Heaven*, sometimes heard in the Dayes of the *Second Temple*. *Schotanus* tells us, That *Kol* signifies, The Sound of the *Voice* that strikes the Air; and, *Bath-Kol*, signifies the *Words* expressed in that Sound. [Which by the way reconciles, Act. 9.7. with Act. 22.9.] For an Exemple of such an Oracle as the *Bath-kol*, they use to bring the *Voice from Heaven* to our Saviour, Joh. 12.28. *I have glorified it, and I will glorify it again*; About which the People were Divided in their Apprehensions. [Add, Mat. 3.17. & 17.5.][232]

There is a pretty little Passage in the Talmuds, mentioned by *Buxtorf* in his *Lexicon*. R. *Simeon ben Jochai*, sitting at the Mouth of a Cave, and seeing a Fowler spreading his Netts, he heard the *Bath-Kol* cry, /דימוס/ *Dimus*, which the Gloss explains, /הנצל/ *Deliver thyself*; and then the Bird escaped. But when the *Bath-Kol* Said /פסיקולא/ *Pesicola*, then the Bird was taken.[233] Upon which the Oracle said, *Avicula sine cœlo non perit, quanto minus Homo*![234] Compare Mat. 10.29.[235]

The many Superstitious, and indeed Ridiculous things told by the Rabbins, about the *Bath-Kol*, have rendred the whole Credit of it very feeble, with learned Men. *Molinæus* takes it for meerly a *Jewish Fiction*. *Lightfoot* thinks, there was in it something of the *Fable*, and something of the *Divel*. *Witsius* is not unwilling to grant, That in the Dayes of the *Second Temple*, after the Ceasing of Prophecy, there might be sometimes heard, *A Voice from Heaven*. And we know, That tho' the Jewes tell us, The *Spirit* failed under the Second Temple, yett there was not an *Utter Failure* of it. [See Luk. 2.26, 36.][236]

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232 בת קול[bat kol], "daughter of a voice," a term used in Rabbinic literature to describe the "heavenly or divine voice which proclaims God's will or judgment" (JE 2:588). Witsius, *Miscellaneorum Sacrorum* (lib. I, cap. III, pp. 17–18), citing Christian Schotanus, 17th-century Reformed professor at Franeker, "*Triumpho Script.* lib. II, cap. VII."

233 יִמּוֹסְךָ [dymos], "acquittal, amnesty, Deimos." הִנָּצֵל [hinnatsel], "be delivered" or "deliver theyself" (Prov. 6:5). פסיקולא [pesykol'], "Pesicola."

234 "The bird without heaven perishes, how much less man."

235 Witsius, *Miscellaneorum Sacrorum* (lib. I, cap. III, p. 18), citing Buxtorf, *Lexico Talmudico* (553).

236 Witsius, *Miscellaneorum Sacrorum* (lib. I, cap. III, p. 19), citing Molinaeus, "*in Vate"* (The Poet), lib. I, cap. VII; and John Lightfoot, *In Evangelium Sancti Matthaei Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae* (1658), on Matt. 8:17, p. 63.

Ecstasy was one way, wherein *Prophecy* was communicated. The *Spirit* of God therein so Siez'd and Fill'd the Mind of the Prophet, that it was abstracted for a time from its usual Communion with the Body, and wholly occupied in the Contemplation of Sacred & of Secret Matters. It was instanced, in *Daniel*, in *Peter*, and, in *Paul*. *Paul* in his *Ecstasie* heard Words which it is *not lawful for a Man to utter*.[237] *Cocceius*, understands it concerning the *Person* who *uttered* the Words.[238] There are *Words*, which it may be *Lawful* for a *Prophet*, or an *Angel*, to *utter* in the Name of God. But there are some *Words*, which are so proper unto the infinite God, that it cannot be *Lawful* for any one else to *Utter* them. And such were the *Words* now heard by our Apostle; even Such as could proceed from none but the *Son of God* Himself.[239]

[369r] | Not only Persons *Awake*, but also Persons *Asleep*, were made Partakers of *Prophecy*, by *Dreams* instructing of them. [Job. 4.12–16.] There were *Diabolical Dreams*; [Deut. 13.1. Jer. 23.27. & 29.8.] like those in the Temple of *Amphiaraus, Amphilochus, Trophonius*, and *Æsculapius*, where after Lustrations performed, the *Dæmon* show'd unto the *Sleeping* Gentlemen, the *Remedies* by which they should heal their Sick, and gave *Responses* also about other Matters. But there were also *Divine Dreams*; wherein sometimes the *Sleep* itself, as well as the *Dream*, was from God; as in *Abraham*s. But sometimes the *Sleep* was Natural; and yett the other Circumstances Various; as in *Pharaoh*s, and *Jacob*s, & *Paul*s.[240] *Nebuchadnezzar* must forgett his Dream,[241] (tho' *L'Empereur*, *De Dieu*, and *Cocceius*, think otherwise,) that so the Interpretation of it, may at Length arrive with the more Authority. It is hard for us to say, How *Divine Dreams* were discerned so to be; But on this Occasion *Witsius* quotes the Words of *Augustin* concerning his Mother *Monica*, *Dicebat discernere se, nescio quo Sapore, quem Verbis explicare non poterat, quid interesset inter Revelantem te, et Animam suam Somniantem*.[242]

Sometimes again, the *Prophetic Revelation* was more *Mediate*. The *Angels* of God, were therein His Ministers & Messengers. Among these we find *Gabriel* sometimes mentioned; which Name our *Witsius* would have to signify, *Fortitudo mea Deus est*; or, *God is my Strength*:[243] A Confession of a most Momentous

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237 2 Cor. 12:4.

238 Johannes Cocceius, possibly his *Lexicon et Commentarius Sermonis Hebraici et Chaldaici* (1669).

239 Witsius, *Miscellaneorum Sacrorum* (lib. I, cap. IV, pp. 19–26, "De Ecstasi").

240 Gen. 41, Gen. 28, Acts 9.

241 Dan. 2:1–5.

242 "She said that she discerned, with some sense that she could not put in words, what the difference was between you in your revelation and his dreaming soul." Witsius, *Miscellaneorum Sacrorum* (lib. I, cap. V, pp. 26–33), "De Somniis," citing, on Dan. 2:5, regarding Nebuchadnezzar's dream, Constantijn L'Empereur, *Paraphrasis Iosephi Iachiadae in Danielem* (1633), p. 35; Ludovicus De Dieu, *Lexicon et Commentarius Sermonis Hebraici et Chaldaici* (629); Johannes Cocceius (Witsius cites "p. 30" of an unidentified work); and quoting Augustine, *Confessions* (6.13) [PL 32. 731; cf. Verheijen {1981} CCL 27].

243 Witsius, *Miscellaneorum Sacrorum* (lib. I, cap. VI, p. 34).

and Glorious Truth; namely, That all the *Strength* of the Strongest Creatures in the World, is wholly from God, the whole Dependence of it was upon God: A Truth, which when some of the *Angels* renounced, they were turn'd into *Divels*. The *Babylonian* saies, [Hab. 1.11.] *His Power is his God*; But the *Archangel* saies, *His God is his Power*.

Among all the *Prophets* of the Old Testament, there was none æqual unto *Moses*. [Num. 12.6, 7, 8.] A most gross Instance of Ignorance and Arrogance is therefore given by *Le Clerc*, who pretends from diverse Passages in the *Pentateuch*, to demonstrate, That *Moses*, tho' he were an honest Man, & one that loved his Countreymen, yett was a Person of little Ingenuity or Capacity for the Management of Great Affayrs. The Gentleman[244] is angry at *Josephus*, & at all Christian Writers, who perpetually celebrate *Moses* as a very Great Person, & in a Scoffing Irony, putts the Title of, *Summus Legislator* upon him.[245] Into what Folly, will the Pride of a *Critic* transport him!

In the ancient Records, we find, *Schools of the Prophets*. We read of one, 1. Sam. 10.5. On an *Hill of God, where was a Garrison of the Philistines*. Why it was called, *The Hill of God*, it is not yet agreed among the Learned. But the *Israelites* having their Sacred Exercises in the Midst of the *Philistines*, (by the late Articles of Peace, allow'd a *Garrison* here,) was for the Commendation of both; Of the *Israelites* who were not ashamed of their Devotions; of the *Philistines*, who would give them no Disturbance in their Devotions. We read of another, 1. Sam. 19.19. At *Najoth in Ramah*. This *Ramah* (the Town of *Samuel*,) is elsewhere called, *Ramathaim Zophim*.[246] Some take, *Zophim*, to be the Name of the *Prophets*; [Compare, Ezek. 3.17.] or *Men of Speculation*, (as the Name signifies,) who searched into Mysteries. And *Heinsius* will have the Σοφοι[247] of the Græcians, to derive their Name from hence. The Services attended by the Prophets, in these their Schools, was to *Celebrate and Glorify the Great God with Sacred Songs*. *Music* both Vocal and Instrumental was professed among them. The Attributes of God, shining forth in the Works of Creation & of Providence, & particularly in the *Israelitish History*, were the Matter of their Sacred Hymns. Piety & Charity, in the Highest Flights of it was also maintained among them, & their bravest Men issued forth from these happy Seminaries of Religion.[248]

Such *Colledges*, as, Λειψανον χρυσειου γενους,[249] were præserved, even in the Times of the greatest Corruption, and among the *Ten Tribes*, as well as the

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244 Mather originally wrote "Wretch," but deleted it in favor of this word.

245 Witsius, *Miscellaneorum Sacrorum* (lib. I, cap. VII, p. 44), citing Jean Le Clerc, *Bibliothèque universelle et historique* (1686). Witsius has Le Clerc dubbing Moses "*consummati Legislatoris.*"

246 1 Sam. 1:1.

247 Σοφοί [Sophoi], "(The} Wise."

248 Witsius, *Miscellaneorum Sacrorum* (lib. I, cap. X, pp. 76–77), citing Daniel Heinsius, *Exercitationes sacrae in Novum Testatmentum* (1639–40), lib. I, cap. II (pp. 7–18).

249 Leipsianon chryseiou genus.

Two. [See 2. King. 2.3, 5. and 4.38. and, 1. King. 18.4.] The Instructors in these *Colledges*, did not only bestow their daily Instructions, on the Younger Prophets, but on *Holidayes* they had likewise their Lectures to all the People. [See 2. King. 4.22, 23.][250]

Probably the *Music* used in these Colledges, especially as accompanied with the *Praises* of God, which Raised the Minds of the Prophets, to an admirable Temper, might have some Influence upon them, to dispose them the more for *Prophetical Influences*. [see 1. Sam. 10.10. & 19.20, 25. & 2 King 3.15.] And it is probable, That from these Colledges, the Lord singled out the most of those Illustrious Prophets, to whom & by whom He communicated Himself after an Extraordinary Manner. Wherefore *Amos* mentions it as an unusual thing, that *he* should be sent on the Divine Messages, who was *neither a Prophet, nor the Son of a Prophet*: neither a Master nor so much as a Scholar in any of the Colledges.[251]

[369v] | When after this *Præparation*, the *Prophets* came to be under their *Agitation*, to their Work, they had partly an *Express Command*, and partly an *Inward Impulse*. [Ezek. 3.2. and Jer. 20.7, 8.] And now, as the Apostle *Peter* speaks,[252] Their *Prophesy* was *not of private Interpretations*. Ιδια επιλυσις, *est Interpretatio nostræ mentis*; Their *Words* did not *Interpret* the Thoughts of none but their *own Minds*; They were Interpreters of the Mind of God unto the People. But this is not all the Sense of that Passage. Επιλυσις του στοματος. *The Opening of the Mouth*, intends an *Instigation* to speak. The *Prophets* had their *Mouth* shutt, until an *Afflatus* from Heaven instigated them. [Compare, Psal. 51.17. and Eph. 6.19. and Luk. 21.15.] Nor is this All; But *Cameron* ha's observed, That Επιλυσις may signify, *A Mission*; T'was used for the Removal of Restraints, whereupon the *Racers* broke forth to *Run the Race sett before them*. The *Prophets* were a Sort of *Runners*. [Consider, Jer. 23.21. and Ezek. 13.6, 7.] We may add, That this Hint may be usefully accommodated and inculcated, for the *Interpretation*, or Exposition of *Prophecy* already extant. The Scripture must not be *Interpreted* by the Rules of our own Opinions, or Præjudices, or Appetites, or Interests; This would indeed make them *of Private Interpretation*. But we must attend unto the *Mind of God* in the Scripture, and *Compare* one Scripture with another, that we may come at the true *Interpretation* of it.[253]

Very different was the *Style* of the *Prophets*; For the Holy Spirit managed them in a Rational Way, & directed them in the Use of their own several Qualities and Faculties. The Eloquence of *Isaiah* is particularly Distinguishable. *Theodorus Bibliander* ha's not uttered one Syllable too much in his Admiration of it.

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250 Witsius, *Miscellaneorum Sacrorum* (lib. I, cap. X, p. 77).

251 Witsius, *Miscellaneorum Sacrorum* (lib. I, cap. X, pp. 78).

252 2 Pet. 1:20.

253 Witsius, *Miscellaneorum Sacrorum* (lib. I, cap. XI, pp. 80–84), citing probably John Cameron (c. 1579–1625), professor of Greek, philosophy, and theology, author of, among other works, *Myrothecium evangelicum* (1677).

He particularizes; *Jesaiæ voces bellæ, compostæ, et emblemata tessellate.* Cap. XXV *posita, Sic meas aures demulcent, ut non putem Isocratis tinnulam Compositionem majori Suavitate blanditam, vel delicatissimis Græcis*.[254]

But it seems, that the Prophets did not alwayes keep to the very *Words* and Syllables, which they heard proceeding from the Mouth of God unto them. We see this in the *Varieties* used by *Moses*, by the *Evangelists*, by the *Apostles*. *Witsius* makes a sufficient Conclusion; *Id modò teneatur, Prophetas, quandò ut prophetæ loquebantur, instigante Spiritu, semper ità fuisse Locutos ut Spiritus eos volebat Loqui, semperque mentem Spiritus suo Sermone expressisse*.[255]

As there were *Words* given to the *Prophets*, thus there were *Signs* also sometimes given them. There were *Symbolical Actions* done by several of them; whereof we may consider some few, as we go along.

Some have not known, what to think, about the Honesty of that Action, enjoined upon the Prophet *Isaiah*; Chap. 20.2. *Loose the Sackcloth from off thy Loins, & putt off thy Shoe from thy Foot; And he did so, walking Naked & Barefoot*. *Maimonides* and *Kimchi* will have this no more than a Visionary Transaction; & some Christians follow them in that Opinion. But *Abarbanel* confutes them. Indeed, the Prophets going *Barefoot*, had nothing scandalous in it. It was frequent in the Orient, for the Persons of the best Fashion to go so. Yea, and in *Italy* itself. *Suetonius* mentions it, as the common Usage of the Emperour *Nero*. And the Prophets making himself *Naked*, must not be understood *Absolutely*; but concerning his Laying aside his *Upper Garment*, and perhaps the *Sackcloth* which he had assumed upon the Hieroglyphical Intention. In *Virgil* we have, *Nudus ara, sere Nudus*.[256] *Mela* saies of the Germans, *Plerumque Nudos egisse*; which is by *Tacitus* interpreted, *Rejectâ Veste Superiore*.[257] [Here we have a Key,

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254 "Isaiah's beautiful, well-arranged expressions and Mosaic emblem placed in ch. 25 soothe my ears in such a way that I hold neither the ringing composition of Isocrates nor that of the most exquisite Greeks to be more flattering in their charm." Witsius, *Miscellaneorum Sacrorum* (lib. I, cap. XI, p. 85), citing Theodorus Bibliander, early 16th-century Swiss Reformed orientalist and linguist, "*Tractatu de Ratione discendi Hebraica*" ("Tractate on the reason for learning Hebrew"). See also Bibliander, *Oratorio ad enarrationem Esaiae* (1532).

255 "It should only be grasped that the prophets, when they spoke as prophets, by the urging of the Spirit, were thus always speaking how the Spirit wanted them to speak and that they always expressed the mind of the Spirit in their speech." Witsius, *Miscellaneorum Sacrorum* (lib. I, cap. XI, p. 87).

256 "To plough strip, strip to sow."

257 "They usually go naked." … "They reject the outer garment." Witsius, *Miscellaneorum Sacrorum* (lib. I, cap. XII, pp. 88–89), citing Maimonides, David Kimhi and Yitzhak Abravanel on Is. 20:2 (see *Biblia Rabbinica* [1525], ed. Jacob ben Hayim Ibn Adoniya, intro. Moshe Goshen-Gottstein, a reprint of the 1525 Venice ed. [1972], vols. 1–4; and *Isaiah*, transl. Rosenberg, 2 vols. [1989, 1992]); Suetonius, *Lives of the Twelve Caesars* (6.48); Virgil, *Georgicon* (1.287); Pomponius Mela, *De situ orbis* (3.6); and Tacitus, *De origine et situ Germanorum*, probably cap. VI: "being naked or lightly clad with a little cloak."

to the *Nakedness* of *Saul* Prophesying, of *David* Dancing, & of *Peter* Fishing;[258] And we may compare, Job. 22.6.]

But there ha's appeared a greater Difficulty, in the Matter of *Hosæa*; Chap. 1.2, 3. *Go, take unto thee a Wife of Whoredomes, & Children of Whoredomes. So he went and took Gomer the Daughter of Diblaim*. Interpreters are extremely divided upon the Matter. Our *Witsius*, as he will by no means allow, That the Prophet committed Fornication, with a Strumpet, (tho' *Thomas* defend such a thing,) so he will not allow the Prophets Lawful Marriage, with one that had once been a Strumpet, but was now brought unto Repentance; for the Children of such an one, would not have been *Children of Whoredomes*. No, Nor will he allow, that it was a *Visionary* Matter. But he conceives, That it was all over a Parable. As if the Lord had said; These People boast of being *Espoused* unto me, & of having my *Children* among them. Do thou, O my Prophet, repræsent me unto them; and lett them know, that they are my *Espoused* and my *Children*, in the Same Sort, as thine would be, if thou shouldest fetch a Strumpet with her Bastards out of the Stewes & call them Thy Own; or if a *Wife* married unto thee, should play the *Whore*, & bring thee an Offspring by another Man. The Prophets *Doing so*, was but his Propounding himself unto the People in a *Parable*, as *doing so*. It is common in the Prophetical Style; The Prophets are said to *Do*, what they only *Declare*. [See Isa. 6.10. See I. King. 13.3, 5, 7.][259]

[370r] | There ha's been also a Difficulty in that affayr of *Ezekiel*. Ch. 4.5, 6, 12. His lying on his *Left Side Three hundred and Ninety Dayes*, and on his *Right Side*, *Forty Dayes*; and his *baking* his *Barley-Cakes*, with *Dung that cometh out of Man*. It seems, in the Sequel of the Story, that the Prophet comes out of his Decumbiture, when he had lain but *Four hundred and Six* Dayes; whereas *Four hundred & Thirty* are appointed him. He enters his Condition of Decumbiture, at least *Seven* Dayes, after the *Fifth Day* of the *Fourth Month* of the *Fifth Year* of the Captivity. [Ch. 1.1, 2.] And we find him sitting in his House, on the *Fifth Day* of the *Sixth Month* of the *Sixth Year* of the Captivity. [Ch. 8.1.] But *Witsius*, is for the *Reality* of the Action. And having first, brought the Opinion of *Cocceius* and others, That the Prophets Decumbiture was in all but *Three Hundred & Ninety Dayes*, out of which were to be taken the *Forty Dayes*, that were to exhibit the Fate of *Judah*, he finds, that if we will have the full Summ of *Four hundred and Thirty Dayes*, yett they will all fall within the Terms assigned; if we remember, That every Second or Third Year among the Jewes, had an Intercalation of a *Month* more or less. Tis true, so long a Decumbiture must be very uneasy to the Prophet; but *Witsius* mentions a Noble Person, who with Wondrous Patience lay upon his Back, for *Sixteen* long Years together; and another Person, who under Madness, lay on one side Naked, on a Chair, for more than *Fifteen* Years.

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258 1 Sam. 19:24, 2 Sam. 6:14–20, John 21:7.

259 Witsius, *Miscellaneorum Sacrorum* (lib. I, cap. XII, pp. 91–92).

Admirable was the *Obedience* of the Prophet in this his Decumbiture; most Admirable, and Exemplary! Doubtless the Lord in this while supported the Mind of His Holy Servant, with Heavenly Consolations. And for Humane *Dung*, to be made the Fuel, in Dressing the Diet of the Prophet, that was indeed an Addition to his Troubles; but a most prophetical Emblem of the greater Troubles to come upon the People.[260]

The Lord commanded His Prophets many times to committ their Prophecies unto *Writing*, that so they might be effectually Recorded, & eternally Remembred, among His People. Such a Command was given to *Isaiah*. Ch. 8.1. *Take thee a great Roll, and write in it with a Mans Pen, Concerning Maher-shalal-hash-baz*. By the way, what an odd Gloss is that of *Huetius* in his *Demonstratio Evangelica*, upon this Text: *Uxorem Librum Grandem appellat, Stylum hominis nominat eam partem quæ honestè nominare non potest. Iubet in eo Scribere, Velociter Spolia detralio, Citò prædare; hoc est, Filium cum ea gignere, cui id nominis futurum erat*. Upon this Gloss, our *Witsius* adds; *If any of us Protestants had lett fall such an Interpretation of a Scripture, what a Noise would the Roman-Catholicks have made about it; roaring against the Novelty and Immodesty of it*! Compare Hab. 2.2. and Jer. 51.60. Sometimes the Prophecies were to be written on *Large Tables*, & hung up in a conspicuous Place, for all to Read them; and then they were inserted in *fit Volumns*, to be forever præserved there. Of both we read, Isa. 30.8. About the *Collection* of *Prophecies* which we now enjoy, tis the Opinion of *Calvin*; That when the *Prophets* had uttered their *Sermons*, they exposed the chief Heads or Summs of them, on the Posts of the Temple, in Writing, for all Persons to examine them & consider them; and when they had been there some Dayes Exposed, the Ministers of the Temple took them down, & laid them up in the Treasury, for Everlasting Monuments.[261]

It is of late become a Quæstion among the Criticks, whether *Moses* were the Writer of the *Pentateuch*? And one of them ha's proceeded unto such a Degree of learned Nonsense, as to make the Writer thereof to be one of the little *Samaritan Priests*, which came to teach the New Inhabitants of *Palæstine*, the Rites of worshipping the God of the Land, after the *Ten Tribes* were carried into Captivity.[262] But it is most certain, first, That the *Mosaic Lawes* were by *Moses* himself left behind him in Writing. [Josh. 1.7, 8.] Now those *Lawes* make no little Part of the *Pentateuch*; especially, the *Ceremonials*. It is most Certain also, That there are several Chapters of *Prophecy* in the *Pentateuch*, whereof, *Moses* was the Writer. [Deut. 28. & 29. & 30. & 31.] And some of *History*. [Exod. 17.14. with Psal.

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260 Witsius, *Miscellaneorum Sacrorum* (lib. I, cap. XII, pp. 94–96), citing an unspecified work by Johannes Cocceius.

261 Witsius, *Miscellaneorum Sacrorum* (lib. I, cap. XIII, pp. 98–101), citing Pierre-Daniel Huet, *Demonstratio Evangelica* (prop. VII, para. XV, upon Is. 8:1); and John Calvin.

262 Jean LeClerc, *Sentimens de Quelques Theologiens de Hollande* (1685), lettre 6, pp. 129 ff. See *BA* 1:133 ff.

78.5, 6. 7. And Num. 33.2.] It is likewise very certain, That these Matters were so founded in the *Covenant* which the Lord made with the *Israelites*, & with their Ancestors that the Relation thereof would be very lame, if that also were not Related. And a Good part of the Book of *Genesis* must therefore then be written. Yea, our Lord JESUS CHRIST Himself, expressly ascribes these Writings unto *Moses*. [Joh. 5.46, 47.] And the very *Sadducees* themselves did so, in their Address unto our Lord. [Mar. 12.26. compared with Exod. 3.6.] And as our Saviour there recognized the Book of *Exodus* to be written by *Moses*; thus the Apostle does for the Book of *Leviticus*. [Rom. 10.5. compared with Levit. 18.5.] Yea, both *James* and *Paul*, declare *Moses* to be the Writer of the whole *Pentateuch*. [Act. 15.21. and 2. Cor. 3.14.]

[370v] | We will therefore conclude with our *Witsius*; *Malè sit audaci illi et temerariæ Criticæ, cui Religio non est suas Conjecturas, Apostolorum Christique adeò ipsius Auctoritati anteponere*.[263]

It is true, there may be certain lesser Passages, or Sentences, added in later Ages to the *Pentateuch*, by some Inspired Hand. The last Chapter of *Deuteronomy* was Evidently so. But of all the Instances, which *LeClerc*, and other bold Criticks have collected, there will be found but *Four* in the whole *Pentateuch*, about which there is any need of acknowledging a *Later Interpolation*; and this too so very small, but on such manifest Occasion, that there is no Manner of Reason from thence, to Deny, that the Books were first Written by *Moses*, to whom our Lord Himself, & His Apostles, have ascribed them. Yea, *LeClerc* himself at Length comes to write a Dissertation, *De Scriptore Pentateuchi Mose*.[264]

It ha's been a great Quæstion, *How the Prophets, came to be satisfied, in the Revelations made unto them, that they were indeed from God, and that they were not meer Delusions imposed upon them*? It is not easy for us to describe in any Words of ours, what it was that gave unto the Prophets, their Satisfaction. Certainly, there was an inexpressible Evidence and Majesty, and Glorious Light, Irradiating the Minds of the *Prophets*, to assure them, that the Heavenly World was now conversing with them.

It is a very Dark Passage: Ezek. 14.7, 9, 10. *Every one which separateth himself from me, & setteth up his Idols in his Heart, & putteth a Stumbling-block of Iniquity before his Face, & cometh to a Prophet to enquire of him concerning me, I the Lord will answer him by myself. And if the Prophet be Deceived, when he hath*

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263 "Damned be that bold and reckless critic, who irreverently sets his conjectures before the authority of the Apostles and indeed of Christ himself." Witsius, *Miscellaneorum Sacrorum* (lib. I, cap. XIV, pp. 102–15).

264 Witsius, *Miscellaneorum Sacrorum* (lib. I, cap. XIV, pp. 115, 117), citing LeClerc, though Mather provided the title, "De Scriptore Pentateuchi Mose," for Diss. III in *Genesis sive Mosis prophetae* (1693), published in English as *Twelve Dissertations Out of Monsieur Le Clerk's Genesis* (1696).

spoken a thing, I the Lord have Deceived that Prophet, & will destroy him; and they shall bear the Punishment of their Iniquity. But there is nothing in all this, upon which the Veracity and Benignity of God may be impeached. It is Just, that they who consult a Prophet, not with a sincere Desire to know the Will of God, but that they may find a Prætext for their Errors, & wicked Inclinations, should be given up to *Strong Delusions*. Especially, after the Lord ha's thus fairly warned them of it. And in this Case, the Prophet is also supposed as wicked as they that consult him. He shall therefore be *Deceived by the Lord Himself*; not with the Inspiration of any Falshood into his Mind, but by laying many *Occasions of Error* before the Man, in His Holy Providence, which the Man may & will maliciously Abuse, to the Ruining of himself, and of those concerned with him. There is no Manner of Injustice, in the Lords proceeding thus, with such as *Love Darkness rather than Light*.[265]

But then there arises another Quæstion; *How the Prophets did perswade & convince their Hearers, that they were indeed sent of God*? We know, The Usage of the *Prophets*, was with the greatest Confidence and Constancy, to assert their own being *Sent of God*. [Jer. 26.12, 16.] The *Holy Lives* of the *Prophets*, added some Force to their Assertion; God so sanctified them, that He exhibited & repræsented them unto the People, as men fitt for His *Peculiar Friendship*. [Mar. 6.20.] Add hereto; That sometimes the *Fulfilment* of their *Former Prophecies*, was a Testimony from God, unto the Divine Character of their *Latter* Ones. [1. Sam. 3.19, 20.][266]

By the way, What was that *Prophet* of *Bethel*, who pretended, *The Word of Jehovah*, spoken by an *Angel* unto him? whereas it followed, 1. King. 13.18. *He Lied*. The Jewes have many Foolish Fictions about him; *Kimchi* saies, The Masters affirm him to be *Micha*. Others do say, – tis not worth our while, to tell *Who*. The *Targum*, will have his Name to be, חד, or, ONE; because it is Said, /נביא אחד/ *One Prophet*.[267] And indeed, a great many *Lies* have proceeded from an Author of *that Name*. As these Fictions are of little Use to us, thus *Witsius* will hardly allow, with *Lyra* and others, who follow *Josephus*, That he was a *False Prophet*. He rather inclines, to the Opinion of *Theodoret*, That he was a *True Prophet*; because he Beleeved the Prophecies about *Josiah*; and he is called no other than a *Prophet*; and the Lord employ'd him truly to prædict the Fate of his ensnared Brother. It should seem, That nevertheless he was guilty of telling a *Lye*, when he saw his affectionate Offers & Requests of Civility, unto the Man of God, would not otherwise than by adding an *officious Ly* prevail upon him. *Witsius* in the mean time, expresses his Holy Astonishment, at the Judgments of God, (which are *Miranda magis quam Rimanda*)[268] That when the Crime of

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265 Witsius, *Miscellaneorum Sacrorum* (lib. I, cap. XV, pp. 134–35).

266 Witsius, *Miscellaneorum Sacrorum* (lib. I, cap. XV, pp. 141–42).

267 חַד [chad], "one, each other" (Aramaic); אֲחַד נְבִיא [navi echad], "a certain/ one/ a prophet."

268 "Admired more than believed."

the *Bethelite Prophet*, was far greater than the simple Credulity of his ensnared Brother, the one should be so severely punished, and the other have no Punishment at all inflicted on him.[269]

[371v] | I will make so bold, as to interpose my own Conjecture, That the *Bethelitic* Prophet might be himself imposed on. An *Angel* might indeed appear unto him, which was a *Dæmon*; a *Divel transformed into an Angel of Light*: and the Prophet might indeed think him to *be* what he *was not*. Oh! the unsearcheable Judgments of God! However, the whole Matter issued in a wondrous Confirmation of the Truth. Here was an astonishing Exemple given, & an Evidence, that the Word of God shall most certainly be accomplished. And it is *Theodoret*s Observation, That it might strike Terror into the Idolatrous *Jeroboam*, to see a Prophet of God cutt off by a Terrible and a Tragical Death, for one Inconsiderate Act of Disobedience.[270] The old Prophet also took now the Opportunity given him, to Repeat the Prophecy of him that had lost his Life. And the Concurrence of so many amazing things, caused the People mightily to take Notice of the whole Matter; & alwayes to Remember it.

We will Resume what we were upon. The *Miracles* which accompanied the *Prophets*, were sometimes a *Demonstration with Power*, that the *Prophecies* were of a Divine Original. [Exod. 4.1, 2, 5, 8, 9.] These *Miracles* were chiefly dispensed of God, when some great *Reformation of Religion* was to be carried on. Sometimes also, a signal Vengeance from God, upon those that opposed or abused the *Prophets*, were a Token from God, that He had employ'd them. [2. King. 1.9.] The *Virga Apostolica*, was of this Importance.[271]

But what shall be said of those Prophets, who were not yett accommodated with such *Testimonials* from Heaven? Must we be content with saying, That the *Prophets* were Men so known to the People, for their good Qualities, that no Fraud could be suspected in them? Or, That there was a Majesty and Energy in their Ministry, which cannot be well imagined by us at this Distance from it? or, That inasmuch as they gave no *Directions* but such as were evidently according to the Will of God, it was most for the Safety of the People to hearken unto their *Prophecies*, till it should appear that they were not of God? *Witsius* thinks, These things have their Weight. But he concludes, with his usual Modesty; *Usu comperio, remansurum semper aliquid, in quo mihi ipsi haut satisfaciam, nedum ut alijs satisfacere postulem*.[272]

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269 Witsius, *Miscellaneorum Sacrorum* (lib. I, cap. XV, pp. 142–44), citing David Kimhi on 1 Kings 13:18 (*see Kings: A New English Translation*, transl. Hochberg, 2 vols. [1993], in loc.); Lyra, *Postilla super totam Bibliam*, vol. 2, in loc.; Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* (8.9.1); and Theodoret, *Quaestiones in Libros Reges et Paralipomena*, on 1 Kgs. 13.

270 Witsius, *Miscellaneorum Sacrorum* (lib. I, cap. XV, p. 144), quoting Theodoret (see previous note). Mather translates out of the Greek.

271 "The apostolic staff." Witsius, *Miscellaneorum Sacrorum* (lib. I, cap. XV, p. 145–52).

272 "By experience I discover that something will always remain in which I myself am not

We might proceed now, to bring a Catalogue of PROPHETS, with Remarks upon them.

Should we do so, our *First Father*, must appear shining as the *First Prophet*, in that bright Constellation. But all that I shall mention of him, shall be only a Tradition of the Hebrew Masters; That a *Book* full of Heavenly Wisdome was delivered unto *Adam*; which he endeavouring to carry out of *Paradise*, it was immediately snatch'd from him, & fetch'd back to Heaven; but afterwards, at his humble & fervent Supplication, it was Restored unto him, upon Condition, that he should communicate unto his Posterity, the Wisdome contained in it. In this *Parable* there was, *Catechesis Veterum*.[273] It is to Declare, First, That *Adam*, in his Integrity, had the Knowledge of Divine Things, communicated unto him. Secondly; That this Knowledge was lost, by the Sin and Fall of *Adam*. Thirdly; That when Repenting *Adam* was Received into Favour with God, this Knowledge was, with the Gospel, Restored unto him. Fourthly; That it was the Duty of *Adam*, to instruct his Posterity, in the Knowledge and Worship of God.[274]

After him, there comes *Enoch* as a *Prophet*. [See, Jude. 14.] The Hebrew Masters, will needs place him, in *a more Excellent Degree than Moses and Elias*. *Mahomet* in his *Alcoran* calls him, *Edris the Prophet*; *Edris* is a Name that signifies, *A Learned Man*, and a Sagacious Disputer, and Enquirer. *Beidavi* the *Arabian*, in his Commentary on the *Alcoran*, saies, *Enoch* was called *Edris*, *propter multiplex studium*;[275] and the Most High sent him down *Thirty Volumns*; and he was the first that wrote with a *Pen*, and the first *Astronomer*. Several of the Christian Ancients, as *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and *Origen*, and *Tertullian*, and *Irenæus*, and *Cyprian*, and *Lactantius*, and others, assign to *Enoch*, a Volumn of written Prophecies, in their Time extant. *Origen* and *Procopius*, often quote, a Book entituled, *The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs*; in which are many pretended Prophecies of *Enoch*. The Jewes have in mighty Esteem, a Book, which is called, *The Book of Enoch*. *Scaliger* saies of that, whereof he had gotten a Greek Edition; That he knew not which was the greater of the Two; Either the *Liesure* of the Jewes to *make* such Fables, or his own *Patience* to *read* them. And yett he will have the Prophecy of *Enoch* cited by the Apostle,[276] to be fetched out of this foolish, trifling, Apocryphal composure. This is not at all probable; and indeed *Heidegger* ha's demonstrated, That this Peece of *Apocrypha*, was invented & composed, by some little Cabbalist, after the Dayes of the Apostle. But in the Apostles Time, there was a known and a True Tradition of | that *Henochian* [372v]

satisfied." Witsius, *Miscellaneorum Sacrorum* (lib. I, cap. XV, pp. 154–55). Mather leaves several blank lines in the MS before resuming.

273 "The old instruction."

274 Witsius, *Miscellaneorum Sacrorum* (lib. I, cap. XVI, pp. 161–62).

275 "Because of manifold study."

276 Jude 1:14.

Prophecy, which in his Epistle he has Left unto us: And this is perhaps all that can be said of it.[277]

Of all the *Prophets* in the Old Testament, indeed there was none comparable to the admirable Moses.

It is a little surprizing, that the *Angel*, which appeared in the *Bush* unto *Moses*, (the First Apparition to that great Prophet, that we read of,) is by the *Jewish* Doctores often called, Metatron; Which doubtless is a Corruption of the Latin word, Mediator.[278]

The *Euthanasiæ* of this Prophet, is one singular Matter of Contemplation. For doubtless, he *Died*; tho' we find him afterwards Risen from the Dead. But why would the Lord, by the Hands of His Holy Angels, choose to bury in some unknown Place, this His Faithful Servant? R. *Levi Ben Gerson* speaks well of it; *Fortasse si innotuisset locus, errando erravissent Generationes Sequentes, et fecissent ex eo Deum, propter claritudinem miraculorum quibus excelluit. Nonne vides quod in Serpente aneo, quem fecerat Moses, erraverint quidam Israelitarum*?[279] *Epiphanius* tells us, The *Melchisedechians* in *Arabia* worshipped the *Image* of *Moses*, as of a *God*, for the *Miracles* wrought by him.[280] What would they have done, if the Reliques of his *Body* had been come-at-able?

There was a *Mystery*, & a *Prophecy*, in the very Death of *Moses*. Neither *Aaron* the High-Priest, nor *Moses* the Lawgiver, must carry the People of God into the Promised Land; They are to *Dy*; and *Joshua* (or *Jesus*) must accomplish that Work. The Death of *Moses*, before the Entrance of *Joshua* upon his Work; foretold the antiquation and abrogation of the *Mosaic* Dispensation; at the Arrival of *Jesus*, for the Work of the New Testament. Moses being laid in his *Grave*, was to foretel, the Total Abolition of the *Mosaic Rites*, on this Grand Occasion. The Expiration of *Moses*, *Ad Os Domini*, According to *the Word of the Lord*, was to foretel, that the *Mosaic Rites* were to be abolished, according both to the *Commandments* and the *Prædictions* of the Lord. The Contention between *Michael*

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277 Witsius, *Miscellaneorum Sacrorum* (lib. I, cap. XVI, pp. 162–63), citing *The Quran* (19.56, 96.4); Abdallah Ben Abulkasin Beidavi, 13th-century Arabian historian; Clemens Alexandrinus, *Comments on the First Epistle of Peter*; Origen, *De Principiis* (3.3); Tertullian, *Elucidationes* (cap. III); Irenaeus, *Adversus Haereses* (16.2); Cyprian (d. 258 CE), bishop of Carthage; Lactantius (c. 240–320 CE), advisor to Emperor Constantine; Origen, perhaps his *Hexapla*; Procopius Gazaeus on Chronicles; Joseph Juste Scaliger, *Animadversiones ad Eusebiam Chronicon* (1606), p. 404; and Johann Heinrich Heidegger, *De historia sacra patriarcharum* (1667), cap. X, "De Prophetia Enochi," pp. 264–78.

278 Witsius, *Miscellaneorum Sacrorum* (lib. I, cap. XVII, pp. 186–87), citing R. Salomo and Bechai (*see Biblia Rabbinica* [1525] and *Chronicles: A New English Translation* [1992], in loc.).

279 "Perhaps if the place had become known, the following generations would have wandered into error so that they would have made a god out of him because of the renown of the wonders by which he excelled. Do you not see that some of the Israelites had gone astray by the brazen serpent, which Moses had made?" Levi Ben Gerson's commentary was taken into the *Biblia Rabbinica* (1525, repr. 1972).

280 Witsius, *Miscellaneorum Sacrorum*, lib. I, cap. XVII, pp. 191–92, citing R. Levi ben Gerson (see *Biblia Rabbinica* (1525, repr. 1972); and Epiphanius of Salamis, *Panarion*.

& the *Divel*, about the *Body of Moses*, was a Figure of the bitter Controversy, which the Apostles and Assertors of the *Christian Liberty*, had with such as were Tenacious of the *Mosaic* Ceremonies. What were these, but of too *Satanic* a Character? [see, 2. Cor. 11.13. Rev. 2.9.][281]

And why may not the *Seventy Elders of Israel*, be admitted into our List of *Prophets*? We read, Exod. 24.30. *They saw the God of Israel*. This is no Contradiction, to what we read elsewhere; Deut. 4.15. *Yee saw no Manner of Similitude, on the Day that the Lord spake to you in Horeb*. For that refers, both to another Time, and unto other Persons; not unto the *Elders*, but unto the *People*. Tis a notable Passage of *Racnatensis*, which we find cited by *Alting*, hereupon; *Deus Benedictus Magnus, jussit ut adscenderet ad Jehovam; hoc est, Metatron, qui quandoque Dei Nomine appellatur, significatque /שכינה/ Eo Nomine dictam. Quasi dixisset, Adscende in Locum Gloriæ, ubi est Angelus Redemtor*.[282] Here was indeed a Præludium to the *Incarnation* of our *Lord-Messiah*. Tis added, *They Saw God & did Eat and Drink*. Some take it for a Reproach upon them, That after they had been admitted unto such a Communion with Heaven, they forgott the Heavenly Favour, & returned unto Earthly Delights. Others take it only for an Intimation, That they *Outlived* such a Wonderful Enjoyment, whereas it was a received Opinion among them, that after a *Sight* of this Importance Men were to *Dy* immediately. The *Kabbalists* have a fine Speculation, That the *Glory* of the *Shechinah*, was their *Meat* and their *Drink*. But *Witsius* thinks, That a *Covenant* was here proposed. God præpared *Meat* & *Drink* for them; either the Relique of their *Sacrifices*, or some other Entertainments provided by God for them; they were directed now to *Eat* and to *Drink*, in token of the Lords Receiving them into Covenant with Himself. Consult the Paraphrase of *Onkelos* upon it, which favours this Notion.[283]

Among the *Prophets* in the Land of *Canaan*, we read of some in the Book of *Proverbs*, called, *Agur* the Son of *Jakeh*; And the *Man Leithiel*, and *Uchal*.[284] Learned Men have nothing but Conjectures upon them; and perhaps what *Cocceius* ha's conjectured, may be as worthy to be mentioned, as any of the rest. He thinks, That *Agur* might be *Solomon*, and *Jakeh* might be *David*. *Agur* signifies,

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281 Witsius, *Miscellaneorum Sacrorum* (lib. I, cap. XVII, pp. 194–95).

282 שכינה [shkynh], "Shechinah." "The great blessed God commanded that he ascend unto Jehovah, that is, METATRON, who is sometimes called by the Name of God, which refers to *Shechinah*, called by this name. As if He [sc. God] had said, you shall ascend to the place of glory, where the Angel Redeemer is." Drawing upon Witsius, *Miscellaneorum Sacrorum*, lib. I, cap. XVII, p. 197, Mather cites the Reformed theologian and orientalist Jakob Alting (1618–1679), his collected works: *Opera omnia theologica*, 5 vols. (Amsterdam 1685–1687). "Metatron" (מטטרון, Μητάτωρ), archangel mentioned in rabbinic Judaism (cf. EJ 14.132–134).

283 Witsius, *Miscellaneorum Sacrorum* (lib. I, cap. XVII, pp. 196–99), citing Raknatensis and the Kabbalists, most likely out of Jacob Alting (cf. his *Hebraeorum Republica scholastica* [1652], p. 65, for the reference to "Methatron" and to Raknatensis); and the Targum Onkelos.

284 Prov. 30:1.

Recollectus, and *Jakeh* signifies, *Obediens*. *David* had been more Constant in his *Obedience* unto God; *Solomon* had much wandred from God, but was *fetch'd back again. Solomon* brought back unto Repentance, introduces the Man, the Heroic Man; *Leithiel*, (for /ל/ may belong to the Radix, and /לאיתי/ *Laboravi*, and /אל/ *Deus*, may make it of this Importance, *Laboravi*, or, *Lassatus Sum, Dei Causâ*,)[285] and, *Uchal*, (which imports, *One that ha's prevailed*).[286]

And these Names may ænigmatically denote a Person endued with a great Witt and Strength of Mind, who hath with great Labour applyed himself unto
[372r] the Knowing & Loving of | God, and prevailed & prospered in the Point for which he ha's laboured. For such an one, whether he were *Solomon*, or any other Person, to confess himself, greatly Defective in the Knowledge of God, was not at all improper. For, *Quo quis est sapientior, eo clarius suam cernit Hebetudinem, ubi se rebus Divinis Contemplandis applicat*.[287]

One may enquire, whether those two may come into the Catalogue of *Prophets*, who are mentioned in those Words of *Isaiah*; Ch. 8.2. *I took to me faithful Witnesses to record, Uriah the Priest, and Zechariah the Son of Jeberechiah*? *Abarbanel*, who affirms that the ancient Masters taught him so, observes, That these are not the Words of *Isaiah*, but of the Lord. The Letter /ו/ has not that Vowel under it, that should make it a *Vau Conversivum*.[288] Saies the Lord, *I will produce for me faithful Witnesses*. *Isaiah* foretels, the Coming of the *Messiah*, the Time and Way of his Coming; and he foretels the Calamities, which would before that, overtake the *Israelitish* Nation, for their Iniquities; he foretels likewise the Restitution of the Land unto an Incomparable Fertility, and the Grazing of Beeves and Sheep on those Mountains, which had before been inaccessible. Now, to confirm what *Isaiah* had foretold of these Matters, the Lord here Declares, He would Raise up *Two* more, that should prophesy the same Things with him. The one was to be, *Uriah, the Priest*; who with great Constancy foretold, [Jer. 26.20.] the Destruction to come upon the *City*, and upon the *Land*, and was for it murdered by *Jehojakim*. The other was to be *Zechariah the Son of Jeberechiah*, whose Book we now have in our Hands, wherein he foretold the Recovery of the Land out of its Destruction, with the Coming of the Lord. These Two Prophets, by Name thus foretold so long before they were born, did

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285 "I am wearied in the cause of God."

286 "The wiser a man is, the more he discerns clearly therefore his dullness, when he applies himself to the contemplation of divine things." Mather cites Witsius, *Miscellaneorum Sacrorum* (lib. I, cap. XVII, p. 221), citing Cocceius.

287 Witsius, *Miscellaneorum Sacrorum*, lib. I, cap. XVII, p. 222.

288 "Vav-conversive," the term used in early Hebrew grammars to describe a variation of the vav-consecutive prefix (such as ן or ו) which modifies (converts, *conversivum*) the verb's tense, as usually used in narrative text. In this case, Mather is subtly taking issue with the KJV transl. of Is. 8:2: "And I took unto me faithful witnesses to record," which modern English translations change to: "And I will get reliable witnesses" (*ESV*); "and I will take to Myself faithful witnesses for testimony" (*NAU*). Abravanel on Isa. 8:2.

in their Time, admirably confirm, what had been foretold in the Prophecies of *Isaiah*. Accordingly in the *Talmuds* we have such a Passage as this: *Quænam est ratio cur Uria conjungatur cum Zechariâ? Uria enim fuit sub Templo primo, Zecharia Sub Secundo. At appendit Scriptura prophetiam Zechariæ ad prophetiam Uriæ. Ab Uria dictum est*, Vestri ergo Zion arabitur ut ager; *A Zecharia Scribitur*, Adhuc Sedebunt Senes et Grandævæ in plateis Hierosolymæ. *Quum adimpleatur prophetia Uriæ, adimplebitur quoque prophetiæ Zechariæ*.[289] When R. *Aquiba* brought this Exposition, the Rabbies cried out, /נחמתנו נחמתנו/ *Aquiba, Thou has comforted us, Thou hast comforted us*. We have *Jonathan* the Paraphrast also Confirming this Exposition.[290]

We will here make no Remarks any further, on any of the *Prophets* whom we find mentioned in the Oracles of the *Old Testament*; only, That the Lord singled out His *Israelites*, wherever He pleased, without any Distinction of *Tribes*, to bestow this Grace upon them. Indeed, the *Chief Priests* and *Pharisees*, of old said, Joh. 7.5. *Search & Look; for out of Galilee ariseth no Prophet*. But we have *Search'd* and *Look'd*; and we find that their Doctorships were mistaken: For, both *Nahum* and *Jonah*, arose out of *Galilee*.

In the *New Testament*, we have *Prophets* multiplying upon us. But because we give our Accounts of them in other Places, we will here omitt what we might have offered.

Witsius by the way enquires, where may ly the Force of our Lords Argument, when he saies; Luk. 11.47, 48. *Wo unto you, for yee build the Sepulchres of the Prophets, and your Fathers killed them; Truly, yee bear Witness that yee allow the Deeds of your Fathers; for they indeed killed them, & yee build their Sepulchres*. How did their *building of the Sepulchres of the Prophets*, testify that they *Allow'd* the *Deeds* of those who *murdered* them? *Grotius* observes, That God sometimes Interprets the Deeds and Words of Men, unto another Sense than they themselves intend them, yett unto such an one as upon some other Score may most Justly be charged upon them. The Jewes owned and called themselves, *The Children of those who killed the Prophets*. Yea, saies our Lord, You are indeed *their Children*, & no better than they. And whereas, we are willing to build *Sepulchres* of those, whom we would not willingly see surviving; our Saviour seeing the Jewes ready to kill those, who came unto them with the same Spirit and Message that the Prophets did, He carries the Matter so; You Build the *Sepulchres* of the

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289 "What is the reason why Uriah is adjoined to Zechariah? Uriah was under the First Temple, Zechariah was under the Second. But Scripture appends the prophecy of Zechariah to the prophecy of Uriah. It was said by Uriah, *Your Zion will be plowed as a field*; it is written by Zechariah, *There shall yet old men and old women dwell in the streets of Jerusalem.* At the same time the prophecy of Uriah is fulfilled, likewise the prophecy of Zechariah is fulfilled." Witsius, *Miscellaneorum Sacrorum*, lib. I, cap. XX, p. 266; cf. Is. 8:2; Jer. 26:18; Mic. 3:12, 4:10; Zech. 8:4.

290 Witsius, *Miscellaneorum Sacrorum* (lib. I, cap. XX, p. 266), citing Abravanel and Jonathan the Paraphrast.

Prophets, and indeed, I see, you would gladly have such Men to be no where else but in their *Sepulchres*. *Witsius* upon this Illustration saies, *Docta et diqna Auctore suo Annotatio*![291] Yett he suspects there may be too much of *Subtilty* in it; And this carries him on to a Suspicion, that the Words of our Lord, may
[372v] have another *Hypothesis* at the Bottom | of them, which it may be, is not so well understood by the present Age. To him none appears more probable, than what *Lightfoot* quotes from the *Gemara Hierosolymitana*, on the Talmudic Treatise, *De Siclis; Monumenta Sepulchralia Justis non faciunt; nam Dicta eorum sunt memoria eorum*.[292] Fine *Sepulchres* were called /נפשות/ because the *Life* and *Soul* of the Memory of them that lodged there, was thereby preserved; and it was thought an Injury unto Men that had been famous for the Oracles uttered by them, to build fine *Sepulchres* for them. According to the Talmudists, it was, as if they had proclaimed, that they had left no Sayings worthy to be Remembred. Suppose then our Lord should say: By building the *Sepulchres* of the *Prophets*, you declare that you forgett, you despise, the *Oracles* of the *Prophets*; you declare, that you reckon they left nothing worthy of a Memory with you. *Witsius* adds with his usual Modesty; *Fortassis et alia Subsunt, nobis nunc incognita*.[293]

But before we break off, we may observe a few Things concerning the PROPHETESSES, of both Testaments.

Miriam deserves to stand the first of these; who is called, *The Sister of Aaron*, (and not, of *Moses*,) because *Aaron* was born the next to her, & liv'd the longest with her; & it is possible, *Moses* might be born of another Mother. The *Papists* from this Expression conclude her never married; but the *Hebrewes* beleeve otherwise, and *Josephus* will have *Hur* to be her Husband. She was called, *A Prophetess*, not on the same Account, that *Isaiah* the Prophets Wife was called so; and in the Primitive Times, A *Bishop*s Wife was called, *Episcopa*, an Elders, *Presbytera*. An extraordinary Influence of the Holy Spirit, enabled her, to declare Excellent Things to the *Israelitish* Nation.[294]

Deborah was another famous *Prophetess*. We find other Ladies of her Name, among the Ancients; There was *Melissa* the Nymph, the Nurse of *Jupiter*; *Melissa*

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291 "The annotation is learned and worthy of its author!" Witsius, *Miscellaneorum Sacrorum*, lib. I, cap. XXI, p. 319; cf. Lk. 11:47.

292 "They do not make grave monuments unto the just, for their sayings are the memories of them." From Witsius, *Miscellaneorum Sacrorum*, lib. I, cap. XXI, p. 319 f., Mather cites and modifies John Lightfoot's Latin translation of a passage from *Jerusalem Talmud, Moed, Schekalim* (*Sheqalim*), not included in Babylonian Talmud.

293 "It may well be, and these things are submitted to others, but they are unknown to us." Witsius, *Miscellaneorum Sacrorum* (lib. I, cap. XXI, pp. 318–20), citing Hugo Grotius on Matt. 23:29, in *Opera Omnia* (2:218); and John Lightfoot on Matt. 23:29, in *Works* (236), quoting from *Gemara Hierosolymitana*, *ad Tractatum Talmudicum de Siclis* (cap. II, sec. V).

294 Witsius, *Miscellaneorum Sacrorum* (lib. I, cap. XXII, pp. 346–50), citing Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* (3.2.4).

the Daughter of *Epidamnus*; *Melissa* the Wife of *Periander*; and a later *Melissa*, one of whose Composures is præserved in *Aldus*'s Volumn of Greek Epistles. From her Character there seems derived the Fable of the *Theban Sphinx*; a Lady of a Royal Family; having the Body of a *Lion*, & the Face of a *Man*; The *Bœotians* called her φιζ, & placed her on the *Phician* Mountain, where she uttered Riddles. And being appointed the Judge of *Controversies* about *Successions*, they against whom a Cause was given, she putt to Death. *Socrates* calls her χρησμολογον δυσγνωστα μαντευομενη, *Vatem obscura oracula Edentem*.[295] Doubtless *Phix*, is originally the *Phœnician* word, /פִּקֵּחַ/ *Oculatus, Sapiens, Vates*.[296] [Exod. 4.11. & 23.8.] It belonged unto *Deborah* for her *Sagacity*. She also dwelt in a *Mountain*. And she was a *Judge of Controversies*. And for her *Wisdome* and *Courage*, the face both of a *Man*, & of a *Lion*, belonged unto her. *Clemens Alexandrinus* makes the *Sphinx* an Emblem of *Witt* joined with *Strength*. And she procured the *Death* of *Invaders*; the *Phœnicians* beheld this in the Fate of the *Canaanites*.[297]

We will pass by the rest, and only take Notice of One Thing, related of *Anna*, the *Prophetess*; Luk. 2.37. *She departed not from the Temple*. *Witsius* would have this Illustrated, from another Passage; Exod. 38.8. *The Women assembled at the Door of the Tabernacle of the Congregation*. Where the Hebrew Word /צבא/ for, *Assembling*, may signify, *To observe Stated Times*; or, *To observe Stations for Ministry*. What the Women did, was at certain *Times* to Repair thither, and *Fast* and *Pray* there. *Widowes* like *Anna*, had Opportunity to do more this way than others. Tis possible, She might have the Liberty of a *Chamber* near the *Temple*. [Compare, 2. Chron. 22.11, 12.][298]

Lett us at Last, a little consider, How long after the Death of the Apostles, the *Spirit of Prophecy* continued His extraordinary Influences, in the Church of God?

Justin Martyr, in his Dialogue with his Jew, without any Hæsitation saies, παρα ημιν και μεχρι νυν προφητικα χαρισματα εστιν. *Apud nos huc usque etiam prophetica extant Dona*.[299] And *Eusebius* takes notice of this Passage in *Justin*.[300] And the same *Eusebius* gives us a Letter from the Churches in *France*, to those of

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295 "Socrates calls her 'a prophet predicting obscure oracles.'" Witsius, *Miscellaneorum Sacrorum* (lib. I, cap. XXIII, pp. 353), citing Aldus Manutius (1449–1515), *Purae Elegantes, Et Copiosae Latinae Linguae Phrases* (1574).

296 ַהפִּקֵּח [piqqeach], "clear-sighted (person)." *Oculatus, Sapiens, Vates*: "Eye, Sage, Seer."

297 Witsius, *Miscellaneorum Sacrorum* (lib. I, cap. XXIII, pp. 350–53), citing Clemens Alexandrinus.

298 Witsius, *Miscellaneorum Sacrorum* (lib. I, cap. XXIII, pp. 354–55).

299 "For the prophetical gifts remain with us, even to the present time." Mather draws upon Justin Martyr, *Dialogus cum Tryphone Judæo* [PG 6. 471–800; cf. also Marcovich {1997} and the Fr. edition by Bobichon {1999}]. Mather skips a line before resuming.

300 Witsius, *Miscellaneorum Sacrorum* (lib. I, cap. XXIII, p. 364), citing Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* (4.18).

Asia and *Phrygia*, concerning their Martyrs under *Antoninus Verus*. In that Letter, we read of one *Alcibiades*, a Martyr, who had chose to live only upon *Bread* and *Water*; but *Attalus*, who had το πνευμα το αγιον συμβουλον, *The Holy Spirit*
[373r] *for his Counsellour*, caused him | to leave off that Abstinence, and Thankfully to enjoy all the good Creatures of God; his *Abstinence* having been a Scandal to Religion, rather than otherwise. *Miltiades* enumerating the *Prophets* of the New Testament; *Agabus*, and *Silas*, and the Daughters of *Philip*, adds, *Ammias* of *Philadelphia*, and *Quadratus*, and many more. *Origen* asserts the *Extraordinary Influences* of the Holy Spirit among the Christians, in his Dayes; & reports, besides other Miracles, the miraculous Conversion of some to Christianity, & that by such Visions as made them Impatiently Desirous of Martyrdome itself. He does, with solemn Appeals to God, for the Truth of what he writes, affirm himself to have been an Ey-Witness unto such Operations of the Holy Spirit, as would have appeared Fictions unto the Pagans, if he had Related them. *Cyprian*, who lived in the same Age with *Origen*, had Visions, that seem to have been of an Heavenly Character. And in one of his Epistles, he ha's this wonderful Passage; *Præter Nocturnas Visiones, per Dies quoque impletur, apud nos Spiritu Sancto, innocens puerorum ætas, quæ in Extasi videt oculis, et audit et loquitur ea quibus nos Dominus monere et instruere dignatur*.[301] Among the Auditors of *Origen*, was that *Gregorius*, who for the extraordinary Things enjoy'd and perform'd by him, was called, *Thaumaturgus*; He of whom *Gregorius Nyssenus* writes, ω Θεοθεν εξ αγιου πνευματος προγνωστικη τις δυναμις ην, *Cui divinitus à Spiritu Sancto præscia futurorum vis quædam inerat*.[302] *Basil* reckons him with the very *Prophets* and *Apostles*. Yea, and *Theodoret*, in his Commentaries on the Second of *Joel*, has these Words, Αχρις γας ημων τουτο διεφυλαχθη το δωρον κλ. *This Gift ha's remained even to our Time; and there are some among the Saints of a Sharp & a Pure Mind, who foreknow and foretel many Things to come*.[303]

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301 "For this reason the divine rebuke does not cease to chastise us night nor day. For besides the visions of the night, by day also, the innocent age of boys is among us filled with the Holy Spirit, seeing in an ecstasy with their eyes, and hearing and speaking those things whereby the Lord condescends to warn and instruct us." From Witsius, *Miscellaneorum Sacrorum*, lib. I, cap. XXIV, p. 367, Mather cites Cyprian of Carthage (ep. 16.4, "To the Clergy, Concerning Certain Presbyters Who Had Rashly Granted Peace to the Lapsed"), transl. by Donaldson and Roberts [*ANF* 5.39; cf. *CCL* 3; PL 3.80].

302 "Who possessed, by divine inspiration and from the Holy Spirit, a power of predicting the future."

303 Witsius, *Miscellaneorum Sacrorum* (lib. I, cap. XXIV, pp. 364–70), citing Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho*, cap. LXXXII (Witsius cites "p. 308. nuperae editionis Coloniensis," possibly *Sancti Patris nostri Justini philosophi et martyris opera* [1686]); Eusebius, *Demonstratio Evangelica* (5.3 on Alcibiades, and 5.17 on Miltiades); Origen, *Adversus Celsum* (lib. I, pp. 34–35); Cyprian, "Epistola XI, *secundem ordinem Editionis Oxoniensis, ad* Pamelii *numeros VII. ad* Erasmi Lib. *IV.* Epist. *IV,*" and "Epist. *XVI quae est ad* Pamelii *numeros X. ad* Erasm. Lib. *III*. Epist. *XIV*"; Gregory of Nyssa (331/340–c. 395 CE) on Gregory Thaumaturg (see *The Life of Gregory Thaumaturgus* [*De vita Gregorii Thaumaturgi*] [PG 46.909])*;* Basil, *De Spiritu Sancto* (cap. XXIX); and Theodoret, *Commentariis ad Joel* II.

It is plain, That *Prophetical Gifts* were continued in the Church, until the Third or Fourth Century; tho' some things related in the Writings of the Fathers concerning it, may, as *Voetius*, and *Spanhemius* well observe, betray too much credulity. But the Church of God, now being furnished with so Compleat a *Rule* of *Beleef* and *practice*, as the Holy Scriptures, we must not wonder, if those *Gifts* are not now granted, as they were in the former Ages. And it becomes us all, to keep to *Luther*s Resolution, [See Gen. XXXVII.] *Contentus Sum hoc Dono, quod habeo Scripturam Sanctam, quæ abundè docet, et Suppeditat Omnia quæ sunt necessaria, cum ad hanc tum ad futuram vitam. Huic Credo, et acquiesco, ac certus Sum, me non posse falli*.[304]

| [blank] [373v]

304 "For I am content with this gift which I have, holy Scripture, which abundantly teaches and supplies all things necessary both for this life and also for the life to come. This I believe, and I give it my assent, and I am certain that I cannot be deceived." Witsius, *Miscellaneorum Sacrorum* (lib. I, cap. XXIV, pp. 372–73, 379), citing Gisbertus Voetius, *Selectarum disputationum theologicarum* (1648–69), pt. II, pp. 1059 ff.; Friederich Spanheim the Younger, *Introductio ad Historiam sacram utriusque Testamenti* (1698), Secul. III, pp. 71 ff. (Witsius cites p. 332, which apparently is to the 1694 edition); and Martin Luther, *Commentarius in Genesin (Genesisvorlesung*, cap. 31–50; 1543/45; WA 44.246, *D. Martin Luthers Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe, Weimar,* 1915); transl.: *Luther's Works, vol. 6, Lectures on Genesis, chapters 31–37*, ed. by Jaroslav Pelikan [1970], 329).

Q. Wherein may wee reckon *Solomon,* a *Type* of our Lord Jesus Christ? v. 1.
A. *A Greater than Solomon is Hee*! But,

Solomon was the Son of *David*. And so was our Lord Jesus Christ: the Apostle to the *Hebrewes* proves it; and the Afflicted Suppliants that addressed Him sometimes, did own it.[1]

But more than so. The Almighty God said concerning *Solomon*, *I will bee his Father, and hee shall bee my Son*. Whereas, if *Solomon* were a *Son*, of God by *Adoption*, so was our Lord by *Generation*; what *Solomon* was by *Favour*, our Lord was by *Nature*.

[Consider Psal. 89.26, 27.]

Solomon, was a *Preacher in Jerusalem*. From whence, wee need not quæstion, Whether hee Repented of his former Apostacies & Miscarriages. Indeed, a King may without any Degradation, become an *Ambassadour*, for the *King of Kings*. *Joseph* of *Arimathæa*, was a Counsellour of State. *Ambrose* was a Consul of *Millain*. *Chrysostom*, was a Nobleman of *Antioch*. *John a Lasco* was a Nobleman of *Poland*. *George*, the Prince of *Anhalt* is well-known.[2] Yea, And our Lord Jesus Christ also, was a *Preacher in Jerusalem*: a Preacher that *Sought out acceptable Words*, that *Spoke so as never Man Spake*. I have heard it so expressed, *The God of Heaven had but one Son, & Hee made a Minister of Him*.

Solomon signifies, *The Peaceable*, or, *The Peace-maker*. [See 1. Chron. 22.9.] Tis our Lord Jesus Christ, that is the great *Giver of Peace*, to all under His Blessed *Government*. [Consider, Isa. 9.6. and Eph. 2.14. and Mic. 5.5. and Luc. 2.14.]

The *Wisdome* of *Solomon*, was Incomparable. [1. King. 4.29, 30.] Hee had a most comprehensive Intellect, fraught with Rare Notions, beyond all Number. But, hee is infinitely exceeded by our Lord Jesus Christ. [Col. 2.3.] I Beleeve, all the *Works* of God, yea, all His *Decrees*, are known to that *Man*, who is God as well as Man.

*Pharaoh*s Daughter became *Solomon*s Wife; and shee seems a *Proselyte*, whom hee might lawfully espouse. Hee sinned, in his other outlandish Marriages; but I suppose, not in *This*. And hence, I conceive, this *Match*, never became a *Snare* unto him; I find no *Egyptian* Idols, in all the False-Worship,

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1 Possibly Heb. 11, which is a review of the "elders" of the Jewish faith down through Jesus; Matt. 9:27, 15:22, 20:30, and parallels.

2 The figures in this list include Joseph of Arimathea, who, according to the Gospels, donated his tomb to bury the body of Jesus; Aurelius Ambrosius (c. 338–397 CE), bishop of Milan; John Chrysostom (c. 349–407 CE), archbishop of Constantinople; Jan Laski (1499–1560), a Polish Protestant evangelical reformer; and John George I, Prince of Anhalt-Dessau (1567–1618), who established Protestantism in his state.

that hee tolerated. This was *Typical*; as the forty fifth Psalm does intimate. Well; *Egyptians*, or, Forreigners; namely, wee poor Gentiles, are married unto our Lord Jesus Christ; our Lord ha's betrothed unto Himself, *Aliens from the Commonwealth of Israel*.

Finally, The Throne of *Solomon*, admirably represents unto us, the *Throne* of the Lord Jesus Christ. [It is described, in 1. King. 10.18. –]

This *Throne*, is made of *Ivory*; there is not one *Black Spot* of Injustice on it; it is called, *A Great White Throne*.

This *Throne*, tis many Stairs *High*; our Lord that sitts upon it, is *Ascended* and *Exalted*, above all Creatures whatsoever.

This *Throne*, ha's Two *Pillars* to bear it up; the Two *Pillars* of Recompence for the Good, & Punishment for the Wicked.

This *Throne*, ha's *Lions* that stand about it; & those no *Painted* ones: the *Angels* are like so many Rampant *Lions*, to execute the Orders of the Lord.

What shall I say more? *This Throne has None like unto it*.

Q. The *Ark* was in the *City of David*, while the *Tabernacle* was at *Gibeon*? v. 3.
A. How these came to bee separated, so that the *Ark* was without the *Tabernacle*, and its Vessels; and the Vessels and the *Altar*, with the *Tabernacle*, without the Seat of the *Glory of God*, is, as Dr. *Patrick* notes, not easy to be resolved. *Conradus Pellicanus* thinks, that even then, in those Dayes, God would have them to know, hee did not regard the Ceremonial Worship, when the People were under the Government and Instruction of a *Samuel* and a *David*, & were free from Idolatry. The Lord then did not exact then so strictly, the Legal Sacrifices, as He did in Times of Peace & Tranquillity; when they were more necessary for the People; lest, after their Custome, when they had lived in Ease, and Prosperity, they should fall into Idolary, and admire the Rites of the Gentiles. He thinks, the *Jewes* may be strongly urged with such Quæstions as these. How it came to pass, that in the Dayes of *Samuel* and *David*, the Legal Worship was not observed more precisely? How came the *Ark* to be separated from the *Altars*, which were made for the *Ark*? Who dispensed with *David*, to build another *Tabernacle* for the *Ark*, & neglect that built by *Moses*? And how came *Solomon* to Sacrifice in another place, than that which the Lord had Chosen?[3]

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Q. A Thousand *Burnt-Offerings*? v. 6.
A. *Pellicanus* with great Reason thinks, the Sacrifice of *Peace-Offerings*, to be included in this general Term. It is not Reasonable to think, a Thousand Offerings were *wholly Burnt* upon the *Altar*; But in all Probability, *Solomon* made a

3 Patrick, *A Commentary* (234–35), citing Conrad Pellican, *Commentaria Bibliorum et illa brevia quidem ac Catholica* (231).

Feast, for all that were there present; as had been done, when that great Assembly offered so freely at his Inauguration. [1. Chron. XXIX.22.][4]

Q. What *Promise*? v. 9.
A. That *Promise*, That God would be a *Father* to him, & make him His Son. 2. Sam. 3.14.[5]

Q. Why does not the Lord putt this among his Promises to *Solomon*: That He would give him the *Life of his Enemies*? v. 12.
A. Because he was to be a *Peaceable* King.[6]

Q. What were the *Chariot-Cities*? v. 14.
A. They were such wherein there was good Pasturage for *Horses*.[7]

Q. Wee read, *Solomon had Horses brought out of Egypt; – And they fetcht up, and brought forth, out of Egypt, a Chariot for Six hundred Shekels of Silver, and an Horse for an hundred & fifty; And so brought they out Horses for all the Kings of the Hittites, & for the Kings of Syria, by their Means*. Help us, to a clear Understanding of these Proceedings? v. 16, 17. Compare 1. King. 10.29.
A. You must understand, That inasmuch as few Good *Horses* were in those Dayes bred any where but in *Egypt*, (tho' after *Egypt* came to have so many Artificial Channels and Branches of *Nilus*, as in after-times, the Use and Breed{ing} of *Horses* was much laid aside among them) *Pharaoh* would lett no *Horses* be carried out of *Egypt*, without a *Tribute* or *Custome* laid upon their Heads. The *Tribute* was, an 150 Shekels for an *Horse*; which came to 600 Shekels, for a Sett of *Horses* for a *Chariot*; which we now see, was usually *Four* (a *Coach* and *Four*) in the Age of *Solomon*. This was not the *Price* of the *Horses*, as Interpreters commonly carry it; but the Tax for them; for it is not likely, that the *Price* of every *Horse* was æqual. *Solomon* furnishing himself with vast Numbers of *Horses*, was willing to buy off this grievous *Tax*, and compound with his Father-in-Law, for a certain *Price*. While *Solomon* was the only Prince, that could have his *Horses* thus in a Manner *Tax*-free, all the Neighbouring Kings, whether *Canaanites* (here Synecdochically called *Hittites*,) or *Syrians*, paid still that heavy *Tax*. For they were very covetous of the *Egyptian* Horses, and could gett them no otherwise, than by the Merchants of *Solomon*, to whom the King of *Egypt*, upon the Price agreed between them, had made over his Right.

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4 Patrick, *A Commentary* (235–36), citing Conrad Pellican, *Commentaria Bibliorum et illa brevia quidem ac Catholica* (231).
5 Patrick, *A Commentary* (236).
6 Patrick, *A Commentary* (237).
7 Patrick, *A Commentary* (237).

The rare *Bochart* therefore thus reads the Text, – *There were brought Horses by Solomon, out of Egypt.*[8] *And as for the Tax, the Merchants of the King (Solomon) received that Tax*, having *for a Price* (redeemed) of the King of Egypt. *And a Chariot ascending out of Egypt, went forth at Six hundred Shekels of Silver, and an Horse for an hundred & fifty. And so, –*

There ha's been a World of Puzzle, among Interpreters, about the Word /מִקְוֵה/[9] And many have taken it for the Proper Name of a Place; about which I might have offered you many Geographical Curiosities; whereof some, reading it, *A Line*, have carried it as far as the *Equinoctial Line*. Our Notion of *Yarn*, we took from *Kimchi*, & some in him. Whereas *Bochart* hath at Length determined it; It was an *Horse-Tax*, an Egyptian *Horse-Tax*.[10]

8 Mather drew a small heart in the right margin beside this paragraph.

9 מִקְוֵה [miqweh], "accumulation, of water."

10 Patrick, *A Commentary* (238), citing Bochart, *Hierozoicon* (pars prior, lib. II, cap. IX). On *miqveh*, David Kimhi refers to his father Joseph's commentary on 1 Kings 10:28, compared with this text, to interpret the word as "collection" (*see The Commentary of David Kimhi to Chronicles* 190–91).

Q. The *Algum Trees*? v. 8.
A. See 1. King. X.11.

Beckius[11] hath lately conjectured, this was a Tree originally brought out of *Arabia*. The Præfix, *Al*, argues thus much. And then it was brought out of that *Ophir*, which was in *Arabia*, and planted in *Lebanon*.[12]

2467.

Q. Wee find of the Workmen employ'd by *Solomon*, a Number amounting to 183601; *Eupolemus* in *Eusebius* also tells us, of a Vast Number sent him from his Father-in-Law *Vafres*, the King of *Egypt*. But the Scripture also here tells us, that King *Hiram* supplied him with *Tyrians*; Only it gives us not the Number of those *Tyrians*: How shall we come at the Number? v. 8.
A. As Mr. *Lee* does, Lett us Poll the Men by their Bellies.[13]

The Quantity of Provision allow'd was, Twenty thousand Measures of Wheat, and as much of Barly; Twenty thousand Baths of Wine, & as much of Oyl. Indeed, in one Place, (1. King. 5.11.) this Provision seems only an annual Pension, alow'd for King *Hirams House*. But the parallel Place, interprets it, as if it were dispensed unto these his Servants.

The Word here for *Measures*, is *Corim*;[14] Now a *Core* is æqual to an *Homer*, and usually, as an *Homer* contains Ten *Ephah*s in Dry, so doth a *Core*. The *Bath*, and the *Ephah* which answers it, contains 52 Pounds or Pints, & an half; or, Six Gallons, One Pottle, & half a Pint. Now because of the hard Work in the Mountains, wee will allow these proportions to the Men, in Wine. There being spent, 616 Tuns & 16 Gallons, of *Wine* upon them, and as much of *Oyl*, and double as much of *Wheat* and *Barley* in a Year, we cannot allow, less than a Pint of *Wine* in a Day for a poor labouring Man; which being of the *Red Wine* of *Palæstine*; mixt with *Water*, would be a good Refreshment. There being then 1241984 *Pints* of *Wine* in twenty thousand *Baths*, they will serve 3402 Men fully, throughout the *Julian* Year, of 365 Dayes; and somewhat more than a Tun of *Wine* over, to wit, 254 *Pints*, for the Cheef Officer. But if you make Enquiry, by the *Quantity*; allowing a Pound of *Wheat*, and a Pound of *Barley*, to each man, generally drinking Water, but sometimes encouraged with *Wine* and *Oyl*,

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11 MS: "Bochart," whereas Patrick cites "*Beckius*"; *see* next note.
12 Patrick, *A Commentary* (240), citing Matthias Beckius, *II. Libri Chronicorum* (1683), in loc.
13 Samuel Lee, *Orbis miraculum* (1659).
14 כֹּר [kor] (1 Kings 2:10), "kor; measure of capacity, 350–400 liters, about 100 gallons; dry measure; liquid measure." Mather adds a plural ending in his transliteration.

which is more probable: Then the Number, by this Computation, will prove Ten Times as many; to Witt, 34022. A Company, not much above the Number of *Solomon*s own Servants, which was, Thirty Thousand. Wee read in *Herodotus*, a Chœnix of Corn, allow'd unto each Person in *Xerxe*'s Army for a day; which as the learned *Agricola* in his Second Book, *De Mensuris Græcis*, rates it, is, Two Pound & a Quarter. And *Moses* allow'd a Pottle of *Manna*, in a day, to each Man in the Wilderness.[15]

Now, tho' wee read in *Diodorus Siculus*, that *Semiramis* drew together 200 Myriads, or 20 hundred thousand Men, to build the City of *Babylon*, a Number almost 14 times as many as the Builders of *Solomon*, both of his own Subjects, and *Hiram*s together, which were but 217623 Persons: Yett wee must consider, shee built a City of most vast Extent & Compass; namely, 365 *Stadia*, that is, 45 Miles, and 5/8 of a Mile; whereas, this Temple was but about Half a Mile in Circuit. Wee must also remember the Vastness of the Walls, & the 250 Towers upon them. The City likewise was finished in a Year; whereas the Temple was Seven Years & an half, before it came to its Perfection.[16]

After all, one may suspect the Relation of the Author, as being of a thing far distant from his Age, & much relying upon *Ctesias* in that Matter, a Writer, to whom *Aristotle* himself [De Animal. L. 2. c. 17.] in plain Terms gives the Lye. *Solomon*s Builders are numbred in Pages, that know not what a *Lye* means; & far exceed the Number of those that *Chœops* employ'd in building the portentous *Pyramid*, which was, of Ten Myriads, or, One hundred thousand Men.[17]

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Q. *Beaten Wheat*; what? v. 10.

A. Wheat ground, or Fine Flour; as R. *Jonas*, a Famous Grammarian expounds it.[18]

Q. What might *Hiram*s Religion be? v. 12.

A. *Victorinus Strigelius* concludes him a Proselyte of the true Religion. For, first, he seems to own the God of *Israel*, to be Jehovah, the Maker of Heaven & Earth. Secondly, He congratulates the Happiness enjoy'd by the *Israelites*, under such a King; which looks like a Love to God & His Church. Lastly, He declared his Love to the Church, not only in Embassies, & Letters, but in real Acts of Kindness; affording Materials and Artificers, the best in the *World*, for building

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15 Ex. 16:13; Lee, *Orbis miraculum* (7–8), citing Herodotus, *Halicarnassei Historiarum*, the edition published by Oliva Pauli Stephani (1618), lib. VII (Polymnia), p. 446; and Georgius Agricola, early 15th-century German scholar and scientist, *De Mensuris et Ponderibus* (1532), lib. II, *De Mensuris Graecis*, lib. II, p. 120.

16 Lee, *Orbis miraculum* (8), citing Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca Historica* (2.7).

17 Lee, *Orbis miraculum* (8–9), citing Aristotle, *Historia Animalium* (2.17).

18 Patrick, *A Commentary* (241), citing R. Jonas.

the House of God. The first of these Reasons, is indeed somewhat enfeebled by this; That the Name of Jehovah was known to the *Tyrians* from the Time of *Gideon*, as we learn by the Words of *Sanchoniathon*.[19]

Q. *A Cunning Man, of Huram my Fathers*? v. 13.
A. *Beckius* thinks it most probable, That *Abi* was his Syrname, *Huram Abi*. It was very common among the Eastern People, to call Men by the Name of *Ab*, and *Abi*, or *Aba*, and *Abu*; Thus *Luther* translates the Words, *Huram Abi*; and so *Emanuel Sa*, a Person very skilful in the Hebrew Language.[20]

Q. Tis said about *Hiram* in 1. King. 7.14. *He was a Widowes Son, of the Tribe of Naphtali*; but it is here said, *Hee was the Son of a Woman of the Daughters of Dan*: How do you Reconcile them? v. 14.
A. The Solution of the Difficulty depends on an Observation in Chorography. *Dan* had a Parcel of his Portion Acquired by Conquest, near the fountains of *Jordan*; where *Leshem*, *Laish*, or *Dan* was placed. That small Territory lay above an hundred Miles from the Main Body of the Tribe; surrounded with the Tribe of *Naphtali*. *Hyram* was then a *Danite*, by his Mother; but called also a *Naphtalite*, because of her Habitation lying in the Land allotted unto *Naphtali*.

~~1419~~{?}.

Q. But how comes an *Israelitess* and a *Danitess* to bee married unto a Man of *Tyre*?
A. Tho' the Law forbad the Men of *Israel*, yett it forbad not the *Women* to marry with Strangers. It seems, as *Grotius* notes, *Lex putavit Viros facilius posse a fœminis depravari, quam feminas à Viris*.[21]

Thus[22] *Grotius*. But how far will this agree with Deut. 7.3. and, Ezr. 9.12.

Q. The *Flotes*, brought by *Sea*, to *Joppa*? v. 16.
A. A learned Jew notes, That *Rapsodoth* is of the same Signification with *Daberoth*. 1. King. 5.9.[23]

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19 Patrick, *A Commentary* (242), citing Victorinus Strigelius, *Libri Samuelis, Regum, & Paralipoménon* (494); and Sanchoniathon, in Eusebius Pamphilius's *Praeparatio Evangelica* (1.9–10).
20 Patrick, *A Commentary* (242), citing Matthias Beckius, *II. Libri Chronicorum cum Versione et Nott* (1683), in loc.; Martin Luther (1483–1546), preeminent German reformer, professor of theology, and biblical translator; and Emanuel Sa (1530–96), Portuguese Jesuit teacher, preacher, and interpreter who worked on an edition of the Vulgate Bible, published in Antwerp in 1624.
21 "He also thought that the men were more easily mislead by the women than the women by the men." Grotius, on I Cor. 2:14, in *Opera Omnia* (181): *Lex facilius putavit viros posse à feminis depravari*.
22 The remainder of entry is in a different ink than the foregoing part.
23 דִּבְרוֹת (1 Kings 5:9, "things"), רַפְסֹדוֹת (Heb., *BHS*: 2 Chron. 2:15; *KJV*: 2 Chron. 2:16, "rafts").

Beckius notes out of an Hebrew Author, That such *Flotes* were much used on the River *Tigris*; which was of so swift a Stream, that Vessels were often overturned with it. They employ'd these Flotes alone, made of Reeds tied close together, upon which both Men and Burdens went down the Stream.[24]

Q. The 153600 Strangers left in the Land of *Israel*? v. 17.
A. *Kimchi* thinks, These were the Reliques of the *Amorites, Hittites, Perizites, Hivites*, and *Jebusites*; mentioned, 2. Chron. VIII.7. But they were not *Idolaters*, for if they had been so, *David* would not have suffered them to dwell in the Land. They worshipped God alone, tho' they did not embrace the Jewish Religion wholly by being circumcised. These *David* numbred, not from any Vanity; but that he might know their Strength and Condition, & that they might be distinguished from the Jewes, and be employed in such Work, as he did not think fitt to putt upon the *Israelites*. See 1. Chron. 22.2.[25]

790.

Q. It is here said, *Solomon* Sett 3600 *Overseers, to sett the People awork*: But in another Place, [1. King. 5.16.] the Account is, *There were* 3300, *which Ruled over the People, that wrought in the Work*. How do you Reconcile them? v. 18.
A. There were 3300 Overseers of the 150000 Workmen; and 300 Overseers of Them, & all.

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24 Patrick, *A Commentary* (243–44), citing Beckius, *II. Libri Chronicorum*, in loc.
25 Patrick, *A Commentary* (244), citing Kimhi (*see The Commentary of David Kimhi to Chronicles* 193–94).

Q. Why must not the Building of the Temple begin, till the *Second Day of the Second Month*? v. 2.

A. It was not fitt to begin the work in the *Winter*. And, as *Jarchi* notes, in the First Month the *Paschal Feast* hindred.

It is conceived by Dr. *Alix*, That this was a *Sabbatic Year*, in which the People were free from the Tillage of the Ground.[27]

468{?}.

Q. The Temple was built, as we read, by *Cubits after the first Measure*: What *Cubits* were they? v. 3.

A. Not larger *Cubits* than the common ones: but such as were parallel unto the *First*: And it seems to refer unto the *Tabernacle-measures of Moses*.[28]

Usually in erecting a New Model of Government, Princes of old stated & cized all Manner of Measures: And their Measures of Longitude, they usually took from the Proportions of their own Bodies. The *Græcians* had their *Foot*, from *Hercules*: And our King *Henry* I. made the English Yards, according to the Length of his own Arm. And so (as Mr. *Lee* thinks) might *Moses* give the Hebrewes their *Cubit*, from his own Elbow. Now as a Mans Foot, is usually the *Sixth* Part of his Heighth, so the *Cubit* is the Fourth Part, according to the Observation of *Vitruvius*. And it is not probable, that the Stature of Man, was decreased by Half, in the Space, betwixt the Dayes of *Moses*, & of *Solomon*.[29]

Thus also, the *Shekels*, are not said to be, *According to the Sanctuary*, because *Double* to the Common; but because *Equal* to the *Standard-shekel* of the *Sanctuary*; which was the Place for all Measures and Cizes, to be laid up, as in a most Sacred Repository: [1. Chron. 23.29.] Whereby wee may learn, saith Mr. *Lee*, That commutative Justice was neer in as high Reputation with God, as His own Divine Sacrifices.[30]

Q. What were the *Upper Chambers*, overlaid with *Gold*? v. 9.

A. See 1. Chron. XXVIII.11.

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26 A quarto-sized leaf, stitched in.

27 Patrick, *A Commentary* (246), citing Solomon Jarchi, or Rashi (*see II Chronicles: A New English Translation* 198); and Pierre Allix, *Reflexions upon the Books of the Holy Scriptures* (vol. II, pt. I, ch. 1, pp. 7–8).

28 Patrick, *A Commentary* (247).

29 Lee, *Orbis Miraculum* (17), citing Vitruvius, *De Architectura* (1.7).

30 Lee, *Orbis Miraculum* (18).

Dr. *Lightfoot* thinks, In the Temple there were no Chambers at all over the Holy Place. Indeed over the *Most Holy Place* there was an Upper Room of Ten Cubits high. But why should this be called *Chambers*? And why should it be *overlaid with Gold*, since there was none came into it, nor any way to come at it? As for the *Side-Chambers*, that were on the Outside of the House, there was no Reason why they should be overlaid with Gold; since they were Places, wherein their Corn, & Wine, & Tythes, & First-fruits, & such like things were laid up. Therefore by the Hebrew Word, *Eljoth*,[31] we are not to understand, *Upper Chambers*, but the *Upper Floor*, or the *Roof* of the Holy, & the *Most Holy Place*. These were overlaid with *Gold* every where; the *Floor* on which they trod, & the *Walk* round about, and the *Roof* over head.[32]

| [376v]

Q. *Image-work*? v. 10.

A. Dr. *Patrick* saies, He knowes not, why we thus translate the last Words: For the Hebrew,[33] which we translate *Image*, hath nothing of that Signification in it: unless we take the Word *Zaazum*, to be the same with *Zeeazim*, which signifies, as we are told by some of the Jews, that their Faces were like to *Boyes*. Accordingly, many thus understand those Words, They had the Figure of *Youths*, or *Boyes*.

But *Beckius*, upon the *Targum* here, seems to give the most Rational Account of the Word. He derives it from the Root *Zaa*, and he translates it, *The Work of Motions*, or Moveable Work. For they stood upon their Feet, as ready to *Move*. In this he followes both *Forsterus* and *Buxtorfius*.[34]

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31 עֲלִיָּה [aliyyah] sg.; עֲלִיּוֹת pl. [aliyyoth], "upper rooms, roof-chambers."

32 Patrick, *A Commentary upon the two Books of Chronicles* (249), citing Lightfoot, *Temple Service* (cap. XV, § III).

33 מַעֲשֵׂה צַעֲצָעִים[ma'aseh tsa'atsu'im], "image work, sculpture."

34 Patrick, *A Commentary* (249–50), citing Beckius, *II. Libri Chronicorum*, in loc.; probably Johann Förster (1496–1558), German Lutheran theologian and professor of Hebrew at Wittenberg, author of *Dictionarium Hebraicum novum* (1557); and Buxtorf, *Lexicon Chaldaicum, Talmudicum, et Rabbinicum*, on the root זז.

Q. Of the *Molten Sea*, made by *Solomon*, tis said, *It was Ten Cubits from Brim to Brim*, and, *A Line of Thirty Cubits did compass it round about*. Now, you know, the *Diameter* of a thing to the *Circumference*, is, to speak roundly, as the Proportion of *Seven* to *Twenty two*. Which, not being observed here, the *Geometrie* of the *Scripture* becomes liable to Exceptions? v. 2.

A. And so is *Your Geometrie* too; for the *Diameter* of a Circle, bears not exactly that Proportion, to the *Circumference*, which you mention. But I'l allow you, an Abatement of the *Fractions*, that you may *Speak Roundly*; and then, if you'l *deal Squarely,* you must make the like Allowances, unto the *Scriptures*, which, as one saies, were not calculated for Them only that *Can Square a Circle*, or, *Understand all the Mysteries of Algebra*. Besides this, The Circumference of the *Brazen Sea* perhaps was not exactly Round; it might bee towards an *Oval Figure*. If it had been quite *Orbicular*, the Circumference, must have been *One and Thirty* Cubits; but being somewhat *Oval*, that might bee abated. Or, what if wee should say, That a *Round Number* is here expressed, with an Omission of the Remainder, because of its being so inconsiderable?

And now my Hand is in this *Laver*, I'l wash away another Imputation, which has been laid upon the Divine Oracles, on the Occasion of it.

It is said, in 1. King. 7.26. It contained *Two Thousand Baths*; but here, it contains, *Three Thousand*:

"A Prospect of the Portugese [sic] and High German Jews' Church at Amsterdam" (today the Joods Historisch Museum).

Now these two, are very consistent. It *Could* Hold the *Three* Thousand; but it generally *Did* Hold no more than *Two*. In the Synagogue of the Jewes at *Amsterdam*, there is at this Day, a Laver that will solve the Difficultie. They fill it no higher than the *Neck*; but from thence to the *Brim*, it would receive a Third Part more, and it is of another Figure.

Q. *The Similitude of Oxen*? v. 3.
A. These *Oxen* are called, *Knops*. [1. King. VII.4.] They were little Protuberances, or Bunches round about the Lips of the Laver, in the Figure of *Oxen*. There were Ten of them, in every Cubit; and the Circumference being Thirty Cubits, there were Three Hundred of them in One Row; and they being cast in Two Rows, one under another, they were Six hundred in all.

They were cast together with the Vessel itself.[35]

Q. The Way of *Washing* for the Priests, at the *Laver*, as we find it in the Second Temple, described by the Jewish Writers? v. 5.
A. The Size of this *Laver* under the *Second Temple*, none have described unto us.

The *Laver* had first had no more than *Two* Spouts; but One *Ben Kaltin*, a Priest, increased them to *Twelve*, resembling the Paps of a Woman. There were *Twelve Priests* always employ'd at offering up the Daily Sacrifices; about which there were a Variety of Services; and thus they had the Conveniency of Washing all together, before they entred upon their Services. The *Laver* was filled with Water forced into it by the Wheel in the Well-Room, thro' some Singular Conveyance. If the Water had stood all Night, it was useless & unlawful, and therefore it was either evacuated at Night, when the Service of the Day was over; or it was lett out in the Morning by the Priest that was to do the First Work of the Day; who went into the Well-Room, & wrought at the Wheel, which forced the Water thro' pipes into the Vessel, till it was full. However, it was a Rule, that there should always be Water enough to wash Four Priests of a Row. Their Manner of washing was thus: The Priest Laid his Right Hand on his Right Foot, and his Left on his Left; and as the Cock ran upon him, he stood so Stouping, and washed his Hands and Feet, both together; He that went about the Services with unwashen Hands & Feet in the Morning, was liable to Death by the Hand of Heaven. And, if a Priest were clean before, yett he durst not officiate before he had bathed. In the Service, he was to stand on the bare Pavement; so that the Duty was exceeding sharp in the Winter: His Body must be bathed in cold Water before he entred; Then he was to wash his Hands & his Feet, and stand in thin Linen, and on the cold Stones, all the time of his Ministration.
| [blank] [377v]

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35 Patrick, *A Commentary* (252).

[378r][36] 2. Chronicles. Chap. 5.

Q. The Things that *Solomon* putt among the *Treasures of the House of God*? v. 1.
A. *David*, we read, 1. Chron. XXII.14. made such vast Preparations for Building of this House, that there was more than could be spent in the Work. What remained therefore, *Solomon* would not employ to his own Use, but laid it up in the *Treasures of the House of God*.[37]

[378v] |

Q. The *Cloud*, that *filled the House*? v. 13.
A. In the Hebrew, there is nothing that answers to the Word, *Even*. But the whole may be thus plainly rendred; *The House was filled, with the Cloud of the House of the Lord*.[38] That is, with the *Cloud*, that was wont to be in the most Holy Place, & was the Token of the Gracious Presence and Favour of the Divine Majesty among them.[39]

Q. The *Priests could not stand to Minister, by reason of the Cloud*? v. 14.
A. *Victorinus Strigelius* makes a notable Reflection upon it. The *Levitical Priests* being unable to discharge their Office, after the Majesty of the LORD filled the House, it was a plain Signification, that their Ministry & Way of Worship should cease, at the Coming of the *Messiah*, in whom dwells the *Fulness of the Godhead Bodily*.[40]

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36 A quarto-sized leaf, stitched in.
37 Patrick, *A Commentary* (256).
38 יְהוָה בֵּית עָנָן מָלֵא וְהַבַּיִת "then the house, the house of the LORD, was filled with a cloud" (*NAU*); "then the house was filled with a cloud, even the house of the LORD" (*KJV*).
39 Patrick, *A Commentary* (259).
40 Patrick, *A Commentary* (259), citing Strigelius, *Samuelis, Regum, & Paralipoménon* (506).

2. Chronicles. Chap. 7. [379r][41]

Q. Was the *Glory of the Lord* ever seen in the *Second Temple*? v. 2.
A. Dr. *Alix* thinks it pertinent to observe, That there was no such thing in the *Second Temple*. But our Saviour was to appear there, & make the *Glory of the Latter House* greater than that of the *Former*. The Appearance of the *Flames of Fire* on the Day of *Pentecost*, was not in the *Temple*, but in the *City*; when the *Messiah* was exalted unto His Heavenly Sanctuary, & the Temple devoted unto Destruction by the Romans.[42]

Q. Their falling on the *Pavement*? v. 3.
A. Dr. *Hyde* notes out of *Maimonides*, that the Pavement was kept very clean; It being unlawful for any one to come into the Court, with their Shoes on their Feet, or so much as to Spitt there.[43]

Q. How did *David praise by their Ministry*? v. 6.
A. They sang the Psalm of Praise; which *David composed*. In the Hebrew the Words are of this Import; *With the Hands which David had putt into their Hands*.[44]
| [blank] [379v]

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41 A quarto-sized leaf, stitched in. Mather made no entries on 1 Chron. 6.
42 Patrick, *A Commentary* (269), citing Allix, *Reflexions upon the Books of the Holy Scriptures* (bk. II).
43 Patrick, *A Commentary* (270), citing Hyde, *Historia Religionis veterum Persarum* (cap. I, p. 8), who quotes Maimonides.
44 Patrick, *A Commentary* (271); the Hebrew reads [בְּהַלֵּל דָּוִיד בְּיָדָם], which Patrick transliterates, *behallel Dabid bejatham*.

[380r][45] 2. Chronicles. Chap. 8.

Q. The *House of David* must not be the Queens Residence, because *the Places were Holy, wherein the Ark of the Lord had come*? v. 11.

A. Not all the Places; For then, the House of *Obed-Edom* would have been so. But where it had been settled so long, as it had in *David*s House; where a *Tabernacle* had been made for it; a special Regard was due to such a Place. And *Solomon* would not suffer a Strumpet (for so his Wife was, tho' a Proselytess,) to keep her Court there. For, it is not likely that she, and all her Servants, had embraced the Law of *Moses*, tho' they had Renounced Idolatry; and so they might many Wayes defile a Place which had been made Sacred; by a Divine Presence in it.

Abarbanel thinks it enough to say; It would have sounded very Ill, to hear the People say, That *Pharaoh*s Daughter dwelt, where the *Ark* of God had inhabited. And he looks upon this, as an Argument, that the Heart of *Solomon* continued hitherto Right with God, and had no Intentions to committ the Sins he afterwards fell into. And therefore, God at this time vouchsafed him the Gift of Prophecy.[46]

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[381r][47] |

Q. It seems affirmed, That the *Fleets* of King *Solomon*, and King *Hiram*, joined; and that they sailed from *Eziongeber*, a Port of the *Red-Sea*, on the Coast of *Idumæa*; & that they went to seek for Gold, & other Merchandise, in *Ophir*. It is[48] demanded, which way those Fleets could join, and how those of *Hiram* could pass from the Ports of *Phœnicia* into the *Red-Sea*? v. 18.

A. It may be, Interpreters too suddenly confound several Matters, which are with Brevity only touched upon in the Book of the *Chronicles*. The Ships, that *Hiram* sent unto *Solomon*, may be only those that joined his Fleets which went unto *Tarshish*, whereof you read in the Book of the *Kings.* [1. King. 10.22] And those that *Hiram* here sends unto *Solomon*, for his Fleets trading to *Ophir*, may be only the *Servants that had Knowledge of the Sea*; Men that were skilful in the *Art of Navigation*.

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45 A quarto-sized leaf, stitched in.

46 Patrick, *A Commentary* 275–76, citing Abravanel (cf. *II Chronicles: A New English Translation* 232).

47 A quarto-sized leaf, tipped in with sealing wax.

48 In the MS, "It is" is deleted.

But one *Du Hamel*, who has lately published the Bible in the *Vulgar Latin*, with Annotations, & *Prolegomena*, discourses further on this Quæstion.[49] He borrowes from *Huet*, who wrote upon *Solomon*s Navigation; that he may solve the Difficulties.[50]

He propounds, whether they might not unrig the Vessels of *Hiram*, as soon as they arrived on the Coast of *Egypt*, & carry them by Peeces to the *Red-Sea*, & there putt them together again. Or, they might carry them by Engines over Land, from the one Sea, to the other. The Passage is not long. The former has been sometimes done by the Sultans of *Egypt*; The latter was done by *Cleopatra*, after the Battel of *Actium*. But then, our Author inclines rather to think, that the Ships of *Hiram*, entred the *Red-Sea*, by a Channel Cutt out from the *Nile*. *Strabo* speaks of this Channel, and saies, That *Sesostrys* King of *Egypt* | caused the [381v]
making of it.[51] *Sesostrys* is the *Shishak* mentioned in the Scriptures, who lived in the Time of *Rehoboam*, the Son of *Solomon*. *Strabo* is therefore mistaken. It was not *Sesostris* who made this Channel; He only clear'd it, & made it larger. The Merchants of *Alexandria*, pass'd into the *Red-Sea*, by this Channel, in *Strabo*'s Time. *Trajan* sett Men to work upon it; & the *Califs* of *Egypt*, have been at great Expence about it. He conceives, That this is the way, by which the Fleet of *Hiram* joined that of *Solomon*, at *Ezion-geber*. *Pharaoh* was the only Man, that could Stop the *Phœnician* Ships, & hinder them from coming into the *Nile*; But he lived in too good Correspondence, with *Solomon* his Son-in-Law, to give any Disturbance, unto one of the best of his Allies.

Du-Hamel thinks; That the Scripture calls *Ophir*, all the East Coast of *Africa*; and particularly, the Countrey of *Sophola*; where we find at this Day, very ancient Edifices, built of great Stones, like those of *Solomon*s House. The Inhabitants of *Sophola*, adore only One God, and hate Idols. All the East Coast of *Africa* abounds in *Gold*; but there is much more brought from *Sophola*, than from other Places. The *Indians, Persians, Arabians*, and *Portuguese*, who Trade there, alwayes Return laden with this precious Metal. We may add, That the LXX and *Josephus*, instead of *Ophir*, say, *Sophir*, and, *Sophirah*; Names which do not much differ from that of *Sophola*.[52] And in ancient times, they undertook no Voyages, that obliged them to lose the Sight of the Land.

The *Tharsis*, visited in the Voyages of *Solomon*, is, according {to} our Author, the West Coast of *Africa* and *Spain*, towards the Streights of *Gibraltar*. *Herodotus* relates, That the *Phœnicians* went round *Africa*, by the Order of

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49 Jean-Baptiste Du Hamel (1624–1706), French Catholic cleric and philosopher, *Biblia sacra, vulgatae editionis* (1705).

50 Pierre-Daniel Huet, *Histoire du Commerce et de la Navigation des Anciens,* the earliest English edition of which that could be located is from Paris, 1716: *The History of the Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients* (1717). "Solomon's Navigation" is treated in ch. VIII.

51 Du Hamel, *Biblia Sacra, vulgatae Editionis*, on 2 Kings 9:26 (p. 394n), citing Strabo, *Geographica* (1.17).

52 LXX, in Walton, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (2:735); Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* (8.6.4).

the King of *Egypt*; and having entred the Ocean by way of the *Red-Sea*, they returned at the End of *Three Years*, by *Hercules*'s Pillars; This Navigation, saies *Du-Hamel*, is altogether like that of *Solomon*.[53]

I only add, That among the Merchandise of these Voyages, the Word, which we render, *Peacocks*, is to be rendred, *Parrots*.[54]

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53 Du Hamel, *Biblia sacra, vulgatae editionis*, on 2 Kings 9:26 (p. 395n, citing Herodotus, *Historiae* (4.41).

54 תֻּכִּיִּים [tukkiyyim], "sugg. poultry, but prob. baboons" (*HOL*); "peacocks" (*BDB*), cf. 1 Kings 10:22, 1 Chron. 9:21 (1 Kings 10:22).

Q. The *Quæstions*, which the *Queen of Sheba* brought unto *Solomon*: We may make it *our Quæstion*, of what Sort they were? v. 2.
A. Dr. *Patrick* beleeves, The *Hard Quæstions* which the Princess brought unto *Solomon*, were not curious Enquiries into the Secrets of Natural or Political Matters; but about things pertaining to *Piety*, and the Service of God. For our Saviour saies, she came to hear the *Wisdome of Solomon*, and therefore should *Rise up in Judgment against that Generation*. And, in 1. King. X.1. It is said, The Fame she heard of *Solomon*, was, *Concerning the Name of the Lord*; which moved her to this Journey.[55]

Q. A Remark upon the *Throne of Solomon*? v. 17.
A. The Throne was ascended by *Six Steps*; The Seventh was the *Seat* and *Throne of Peace*: And *Solomon* in his Glory was there.

The excellent *John Arndt*, in his *Verus Christianismus*, has a Peece of *Mystical Divinity* upon it, which for the Savoury & Precious Piety thereof, I shall count worth Transcribing. And the rather, because the Holy Spirit which exceedingly breathes in the writings of that Man, may have more of a reference to such Matters, in many Passages of our Bible, than we may be well aware of.

"There are *Six Degrees* of *Humility*, in the Ascent whereof, we arrive anon to the Heavenly *Solomon*, the True *King of Peace*, and come to enjoy a wonderful Tranquillity.

"The first is; In ones heart to prefer others before ones self, and be willing that no Account should be made of us.

"The Second is; To forbear Despising & Censuring other People, & look to ones self. *Quicquid agunt alli sis memor ipse Tui*.[56]

"The Third is; To avoid & refuse offered *Honours*, or to entertain them with Grief, if they be putt upon us.

"The Fourth is; To endure *Contempt*: Yea, to Rejoice in it.

"The Fifth is; To converse willingly with *Vulgar* and *Meaner* People; & count ones self to be viler than they.

"The Sixth is; Readily to obey, not only ones *Superiours*, but also ones *Inferiours*."

Atque per hos Gradus ad Supremum usque ascendimus, ubi est Sedes Solomonus, *et verae Pacis*.[57]

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55 Patrick, *A Commentary* (279).
56 "Whatever others do, you should be mindful of your very self."
57 "And we will always ascend through these steps to the highest, where is the seat of Solomon and truly of peace." Johann Arndt, *De Vero Christianismo Libri quatuor,* 2 vols. (1708), 2:243.

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Q. *Solomons Horses*? v. 25.

A. It is evident, that in *David*s time, they had no *Horses*. Of *Mules* we diverse times read in his Time. Indeed the Countrey did not produce *Horses*. But *Solomon* was able to be at great Expences; and so he brought out of *Egypt*, such a Number of *Horses*, as could supply his great Number of *Chariots*. The *Chariots* resembled those of the *Græcians*; They were small; with Two Wheels a Peece; carrying a Man or two standing, or leaning forward. The Kings that succeeded, could not be at their Charge; but on this Occasion they sent for Succour from *Egypt*; And then their *Horses* are alwayes mentioned.[58]

~~609.~~

Q. It is said in the *Chronicles*, That *Solomon* had *Four Thousand Stalls for Horses*. But wee are told in the *Kings* [1. King. 4.26.] Hee had *Forty Thousand*. How will you Reconcile these two Accounts? v. 25.

A. If you distinguish between *Stalls* and *Stables*, the Difficultie ceaseth: and wee have Reason so to do, because there is a Difference in the Hebrew Words, [*Uraoth* and *Urajoth*][59] used in these Places. The Latter signifies, Distinct *Stalls* for Horses, where they stood asunder by themselves: But the *Former* signifies either *Stables* or Stalls, wherein *Ten* Horses were placed: Wherefore there is a *Jod*, which is a Note of the Number *Ten*, inserted into the Word, for the differencing of it, from the other. Half a Score *Stalls* in each of the Four Thousand *Stables*, would thus amount unto just *Forty thousand*. The Hebrew Doctors thus determine it, That there were *Fourty Thousand Horses* in *Four Thousand Stables*. Or, if the Hebrew Word were exactly the same, yett it might signify *Stalls* in one Place, and *Stables* in another; – and so the Controversy is ended.

1541.

Q. For the History of *Solomons Acts*, there is the Book of *Nathan*, and the Prophecy of *Abijah*, and the *Visions* of *Iddo*, referr'd unto; (which last in Chap. 13.22. are called *Midrash*, the *Story*, or *Commentary,* of the Prophet *Iddo*:) And in 2. Chron. 12.15. wee read of, *The Book of Iddo the Seer*, and of *Shemajah the Prophet*. What is become of these Books? v. 29.

A. It may be Few, if Any, of them, are Different, from the *Books*, which now wear the Title of, *Samuel*, and, *The Kings*. This Historical Part of the Old Testament was the Work of several Persons: It was a Collection made by sundry such Men of God, as, *Samuel, Nathan, Gad, Ahijah, Iddo, Shemajah*: And when those Parts of them, which were particularly written, by any one of these are quoted, they are mentioned, as Distinct Books, of these Writers.

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58 Patrick, *A Commentary* (282–83).

59 אֲרֻוֹת (1 Kgs. 4:26), אֲרִיוֹת (2 Chron. 9:25).

This Notion is grounded, on 1. Chron. 29.29. (see our *Illustrations* upon that Place).[60]

And yett after all; suppose, that some Things Written by those Men of God bee lost; I know not, why wee must reckon every thing written by them, to bee of such Divine Inspiration, that in the Loss thereof, Part of the Rule of our Beleef & Practice, is taken away from us. *Austin* saies well, [De Civ. l. 25. c. 38.] They wrote, *Alia sicut Homines, Historicâ Diligentiâ, alia sicut Prophetæ Inspiratione Divinâ*.[61]

Moreover, A Needless Complaint over the Loss of Part of the Bible, sometimes is made from a Mistake of the Word *Sepher*.[62] Wee translate it, *A Book*; or among the Hebrews tis oftentimes no more than, *A Rehearsal*, A *Commemoration*, An *Enumeration*; any brief *Memoir*, or *Narrative*.

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60 *BA* entry on 1 Chron. 29:29, above, p. 712.

61 "Those men […] might write some things as men by historical diligence, and others as prophets by divine inspiration." Augustine, *Civitate Dei* (18.38).

62 סֵפֶר [sepher], "inscription; writing, document, scroll; 'book.'"

[383r][63] 2. Chronicles. Chap. 11.

Q. *Maachah*, the Daughter of *Absalom*? v. 20.
A. This Wife was *Rehoboam*s first Cousin, if this were *Absalom* the Son of *David*. But it is plain, it was another Person, of the same Name, of *Gibeah*, which was in the Tribe of *Benjamin*; [2. Chron. XIII.2.] whereas *Absalom* the Son of *David*, was of *Judah*.[64]

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Q. *Rehoboam*s dealing wisely, in dispersing of his Children? v. 23.
A. *Kimchi* glosses very well upon the Words. Hee thought seriously of this thing; and fearing a Rebellion, broke all his Sons (that is, did not suffer them to live together;) and dispersed them into all Parts of the Countrey under his Government; that he might confirm the Kingdome in the Hand of his Son *Abijah*. Thus, *Abraham* antiently sent his Sons, which he had by *Keturah*, into other Countreyes, that they might not be Troublesome to *Isaac*, whom he intended for his Heir.[65] And thus did *Jehoshaphat*, in following Times. [2. Chron. XXI.3.][66]

Q. The Meaning of that; *He desired many Wives*? v. 23.
A. This, as Dr. *Patrick* notes, might possibly be for his Children, that they might live pleasantly in their several Governments.[67]

But considering his Temper, tis generally thought it was for himself.

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63 A quarto-sized leaf, stitched in; Mather made no entries on 1 Chron. 10.
64 Patrick, *A Commentary* (290).
65 *See The Commentary of Rabbi David Kimhi to Chronicles* (225); on Abraham distributing his sons, *see* Gen. 25:6.
66 Patrick, *A Commentary* (291).
67 Patrick, *A Commentary* (291).

2. Chronicles. Chap. 12. [384r][68]

Q. The *Lubims*, and the *Sukkims*, & the *Ethiopians*; who were they? v. 3.
A. There is no room to doubt; the *Lubims*, were the People of *Libya*, a famous Countrey in *Africa*, adjoining to *Egypt*.

The *Sukkim* are the People known by the Name of *Troglydites*, who lived near the *Red Sea*. They had the Name of *Troglydites*, because they dwelt εν τρωγλαις, In *Caves* and *Dens* of the Earth, which is the very Signification of the Hebrew Word, *Succha*;[69] a Word that imports not only *Tabernacles*, but also *Caves* or *Dens*. [Psal. X.9. Job. XXXVIII.40] From this People, there was a Town upon the Coast of the *Red-Sea*, Called *Succhæ*; and at this Day, with a little Alteration, *Suachen*.

As for the People called *Cush*, which we translate *Ethiopians*; they were either those to the South of *Egypt*, or the *Scenitæ* in *Arabia*. It was a Name common to both.[70]

Q. *Jerusalem*, how yeelded unto *Shishak*? v. 9.
A. Basely, and Αμαχητι, without Striking a Stroke.

Learned Men think, *Dionysius Halicarnassæus* ha's Respect unto this very Matter; when he saies, That *Sesostrys* made an Expedition into *Palestine*, λαβων αμαχητι τους ανθρωπους εν αυτη. *Taking all the Men there, without Fighting*.[71]

It was to be ascribed only unto a Good and Strange Providence of God, that *Shishak* did not absolutely possess himself of the whole Countrey; and make an *Egyptian* Province of it. He might have done what he pleased; It was in his Power to have extirpated the Jewish Nation.[72]

| [blank] [384v]

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68 A quarto-sized leaf, stitched in.
69 סֻכָּה
70 Patrick, *A Commentary* (293), citing Bochart, *Geographia Sacra* (pars prior, lib. IV, caps. XXIX, XXXIII, pp. 316–21, 333–39).
71 λαβὼν αμαχητι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ποὺς ἐν αὐτῇ. Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* (8.260.4–5), attributes this to Dionysius Halicarnassaeus.
72 Patrick, *A Commentary* (294–95).

1653.

Q. It is said of *Abijah*s Mother, in 2. Chron. 11.20. Shee was *Maachah, the Daughter of Absalom*: whereas, tis here said, shee was *Michajah the Daughter of Uriel*. How will you Reconcile them? v. 2.

A. Some think, shee was the Daughter of *Tamar*, which might bee married unto this *Uriel*; and Adopted by *Absalom*: who seems to have left no Issue.

Jarchi[73] and *Kimchi* give this Account; That this Ladies entire Name was *Michajah Maachah*; And her Fathers entire Name was *Uriel Absalom*.[74]

{....}

Q. Such Vast Armies as were brought into the Field of old; as here, *Jeroboam*s Army, of 800000, is mett by *Abijah*'s Army, of 400000: Their Numbers do seem hardly credible? v. 3.

A. Yes; All the Men, above Twenty Years old [Num. 1.45.] were Trained up, in *Military Discipline*.

And Pagan Writers tell us of as numerous Armies. *Ninus* raised an Army of Seventeen hundred thousand Foot & Two Hundred thousand Horse, & Ten Thousand Six Hundred Chariots of War; and with these Forces, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, hee Invaded *Bactria*. And *Zoroaster*, the King of *Bactria*, mett him with Four hundred thousand fighting Men. *Diodorus* also tells us, that *Semiramis*, the celebrated Queen of *Assyria*, carried an Army of Three Millions of Men into *India*; and *Staurobates*, the King of *India*, encountred & vanquished her with more Numerous Forces. And it is universally acknowledged, That *Xerxes* entred *Greece*, with an Army of above a Million Fighting Men.[75]

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Q. What the Import of that Phrase, *A Covenant of Salt*? v. 5.

A. See Num. XVIII.19.

The *Targum* thus Expounds it; *As the Waters of the Sea*; which never alter their *Saltiness*.

But as Dr. *Patrick* notes; It rather signifies a Solemn Covenant, made by *Sacrifice*, which was ever *Salted*. [Lev. II.13.][76]

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73 Ink changes from black to brown.

74 Patrick, *A Commentary* (297), citing Solomon Jarchi, or Rashi, and Kimhi (*see The Commentary of Rabbi David Kimhi to Chronicles* 226).

75 Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca Historica* (2.11.5), on Xerxes.

76 Patrick, *A Commentary* (298).

Q. What meant *Abijah*, when he said, That his Father was *Tender-hearted*? v. 7.
A. If he meant, that his Father wanted Courage, he over shott himself; as Dr. *Patrick* observes, *Rehoboam* gathered a Great Army, & would have gladly fought, if God by His Prophet had not forbidden him.

If his Meaning were, That he had a *Tender Regard* unto the Government of God, and yeelded Immediately thereunto, he spoke the Truth. He was fearful then to offend God, and so he *could not withstand*.[77]

Q. *The Candlestick*; In the Singular Number. *Solomon* made no less than *Ten*? v. 11.
A. Some think, *Shishak* had carried away the rest.

Others, That *Solomon* made the Ten only for Ornament. They had not Lamps in them every Night. These burnt only in the Great Candlestick made by *Moses*.[78]

Q. *Ephraim*? v. 19.
A. There was a *Town*, as well as a *Tribe*, called *Ephraim* [Joh. XI.54.] Some think it the same with *Ophra*.[79]

Q. *The Lord Struck him*. Whom did He Strike? v. 20.
A. In *Seder Olam Rabba*, the Jews will have it, *Abijah*. For *Jeroboam* reigned a long Time. *Abijah* only Three Years. God would not grant him a longer Life, because of his Ingratitude for his Victory; or, as others will have it, because, when he took *Bethel*, he did neither Destroy nor Transport the *Golden Calf*, but lett it remain, tho' he had Reproached the *Israelites* with it. But as Dr. *Patrick* saies, Tis uncertain whether it were there, when the City was taken. And it was *Jeroboam*, who was struck, & who died a Year or two after the Blow he had received by the hand of *Abijah*. Yea, as long as he lived after this Defeat, some think, he was full of Anguish, and such Pain in his Bowels, as *Jehoram* was afterwards noted for. Thus *Abarbanel*, & many others.[80]

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77 Patrick, *A Commentary* (299).
78 Patrick, *A Commentary* (301).
79 Patrick, *A Commentary* (304).
80 Patrick, *A Commentary* (304–05), citing Seder Olam and Abarbanel (see *II Chronicles: A New English Translation* 258).

[386r][81] 2. Chronicles. Chap. 14.

Q. The *Images* destroy'd by *Asa*? v. 5.

A. The Hebrew seems to signify, *Sun-Images*. It is very sure, the Word, *Hammanim*,[82] signifies something that belongs to the *Sun*. By *Buxtorf*, tis rendred, *Solares Statuæ*. *Jarchi* saies, They were sett on the Tops of the Houses, & so exposed unto the *Sun*. *Junius* and *Tremelius* therefore calls them, *Subdiales Statuas*.[83] But *Abarbanel* thinks, They were in the Form of the Sun; made after the Similitude of that Globe, & worshipped by those who took the *Sun* for their God. Others think, they were *Temples* built for the Worship of the *Sun*. The *Vulgar Latin* followes these.[84]

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Q. The *Abundance of Camels*, in the Spoils? v. 15.

A. It showes, as Dr. *Patrick* notes, That they were *Arabians*.

Bochart observes, The *Scenitæ* and the *Nomades*, did not live all the Year in the open Air; but they had *Tents*, both for themselves, and their Cattel, in Winter-time. Of these *Tents*, we read here.

They who *dwelt in Tents*, are opposed unto them, who lived in the open Field; which are said, Αγραυλειν.[85] Thus *Esau*, and *Jacob*, are distinguished. Gen. 25.27.[86]

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81 A quarto-sized leaf, stitched in.

82 חַמָּן [chamman] sing.; חַמָּנִים [chammanim], "(portable) incense-altar" (HOL); "sun-pillar, used in idolatrous worship" (BDB).

83 "Solar statues" (Buxtorf), "sun statue" (Junius and Tremellius, *Testamenti Veteris Biblia sacra* 84); Solomon Jarchi, or Rashi (*see* his translation, "sun images," *Divrei Hayamim II*, in loc.).

84 Patrick, *A Commentary* (306), citing Abravanel (though he did not compose a commentary on the Hagiographa); and the Vulgate (*statuas*), in Walton, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (2:748).

85 From ἀγραυλέω [agrauleo], "live outdoors, stay in the open air; of shepherds stay in the fields," cf. Luke 2:8.

86 Patrick, *A Commentary* (309).

Q. On that, *The Lord is with you, while ye be with Him*? v. 2.
A. It may be rendred, *The Lord is with you in your being with Him*. This affords a Good Hint; If we are *with God*, we have therein the greatest Evidence & Assurance of His being *with us*.

Q. When were the *Israelites, without a Teaching Priest, & without Law*? v. 3.
A. The *Priests* were gone into the Land of *Judah*; and (as the *Targum* explains the last Words,) the *Israelites* neglected the Study of the Law.

There is a great Number of learned Men, who (as Dr. *Patrick* observes,) will have these Words, & those that follow, relate unto the Times of the *Judges*. *Vitringa* has learnedly asserted this Opinion, in his Book, *De Synagoga Veteri*.[88]

Q. When were *those Times*, when there *was no Peace*? v. 5.
A. Dr. *Patrick* saies, We do not read of such Troubles hitherto in the Kingdome of *Israel*. Therefore he would have the Words translated; *In those Times* (if they continue to displease God,) *there shall be no Peace*;[89] No Quiet, no Safety; But they shall be infested with External Wars, and Intestine Discords. [which was fulfilled anon; 1. King. XV, XVI, &c.] *Nation shall be destroy'd of Nation*; that is, Tribe of Tribe; when there would be no certain & settled Succession in the Kingdome; but whoever kill'd their King, hoped with a Party to gett himself into the Throne. *For God did vex them with all Adversity*; all the Evils that Civil Wars are accompanied withal.[90]

Q. *Oded the Prophet*? v. 8.
A. A short Expression: as much as to say, *The Son of Oded the Prophet*. Tho' some think, the Father prophesied as well as the Son, & foretold the same Calamities; the more to awaken them, and confirm them in the Beleef of what *Azariah* had spoken.[91]

Q. *Out of Simeon*? v. 9.

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87 A quarto-sized leaf, stitched in.
88 Patrick, *A Commentary* (310–11), citing the Targum; Campegius Vitringa, *De Synagoga Veteri* (pars II, lib. I, cap. VI).
89 וּבְעִתִּים הָהֵם אֵין שָׁלוֹם [uva'ittim hahem ein shalom], "In those times there was no peace" (*NAU/KJV*).
90 Patrick, *A Commentary* (311).
91 Patrick, *A Commentary* (312).

A. Tho' the *Simeonites* had their Portion out of the Tribe of *Judah*, when the Land was Divided by *Joshua*; yet, (as Dr. *Patrick* observes,) it appears from hence, as well as from other Places, that they joined themselves unto the rest of the *Israelites*, when the Kingdome was rent by *Jeroboam*. Great Numbers of them now came over to *Asa*; which it was easy for them to do. For one side of their Tribe, adjoined to *Judah*, as the other to *Dan*.[92]

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~~3354~~.

Q. We read concerning *Maacha*, the Queen, *She made an Idol in a Grove*. How do you understand it? v. 16.

A. Word for Word, it should rather be, *She made an Image for a Grove*.[93] But then, the Word, *Ashera*, which we render, *A Grove*, the learned *Selden* proves, That it is the very Name of *Astarte*, which *Maacha* had chosen for her *Goddess*. And the LXX confirm this Interpretation. Tho' *Jerom* will have *Priapus*, to have been her *Idol*.[94]

Q. *The High-Places were not taken away out of Israel*. Twice in the foregoing Chapter, we read, He *did take away the High Places*? v. 17.

A. That was, of *Judah*. But out of the Territories he had conquered in the Land of *Israel*, he was not able to Remove them.

Others think, He took away the *High Places*, that were for the Service of other Gods; but lett those alone, where the true God alone was worshipped.[95]

Q. *There was no more War, unto the five & thirtieth year of the Reign of Asa*? v. 19.

A. With *Baasha* he had perpetual War.

Jacobus Capellus would have the Words thus translated; *There was no War in the Kingdome of Asa, till the thirty fifth Year*;[96] that is to say, of the Kingdome of *Israel*; not of *Asa*'s. For this was the *Thirty fifth Year* after *Jeroboam* rent the Kingdome from the House of *David*. In this he followes *Torniellus*, as *Torniellus* does *Beroaldus*, and *Junius*.[97]

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92 Patrick, *A Commentary* (312).

93 עָשְׂתָה לַאֲשֵׁרָה מִפְלָצֶת [asthah la'asherah miphlatseth], "(she) made an obscenity for Asherah" (*NJB*); "she had made an idol in a grove" (KJV).

94 Patrick, *A Commentary* (315), citing Selden, *De Diis Syris* (Syn. II, cap. II, p. 146); LXX: *Et Maacha matrem suam removit, ut non esset ministrans ipsi Astartae, et concîdit idolum* (*see* Walton, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* 2:761); Jerome, *Divina Bibliotheca 22. Liber Dabre Jamin Qui Dicitur Paralipomenion*, col. 1445: *eo quod fecisset in luco simulacrum Priapi.*

95 Patrick, *A Commentary* (315).

96 Capellus, *Historia sacra et exotica ab Adamo usque ad Augusti ortum* (149–50).

97 Patrick, *A Commentary* (316), citing, from Capellus, Augustus Torniellus, *Annales sacri, et ex profanis praecipui, ab Orbe condito ad eumdem* (1620), p. 754; possibly Matthieu Béroalde,

Q. How can it bee said, *In the Six and Thirtieth Year of the Reign of Asa, Baasha King of Israel came up against Judah*? For *Baasha* began to Reign in the *Third* Year of *Asa*, and Reigned but *Four & Twenty Years*: [1. King. 15.33.] by which Computation, *Asa* must have the Satisfaction to hear of *Baasha*'s Death, Nine full Years before the Thirty Sixth Year of his own Reign arrived. How could *Baasha* come up against *Judah*, after Nine Years Rotting in his Grave? v. 1.

A. This Passage is to bee thus Translated, & thus understood. *In the Six and Thirtieth Year of Asa*s and *Baasha's Kingdome*; that is, of the Kingdome of *Judah*, since the Revolt of the Ten Tribes. This /מלכות/[98] here, is not to bee taken for *Asa*'s Reign, but for the *Kingdome* of *Asa*, distinct from that of *Israel*.

Baasha now came up to fight against a *Kingdome*, which God would not have to bee fought against. As *Jeroboam* had made the Division, which had now continued *Six & thirty* Years, namely, Seventeen of *Rehoboam*, Three of *Abijah*, and Sixteen of *Asa*, so *Baasha* goes to confirm it, by the Garrison at *Ramah*; For which Cause, the Holy Ghost reckons the Time of *Baasha*'s Act, by a Computation from the first Division. And the Kingdome is called *Asa*'s, the rather, because hee had lately confirmed it unto himself, by a Covenant, & a Reformation.

Josephus here Supposes a Mistake of the Transcriber, from the Original Copy; in which it was, *The Six and Twentieth*; which was the last Year of the Reign of *Baasha*; who died, he thinks, immediately after *Benhadad* had defeated his Intentions of Building *Ramah*.

Dr. *Patrick* inclines to that Way of Reconciliation, which makes the Kingdome of *Judah* and of *Asa*, all one; and the *Thirty Sixth Year* here to be, since the Division, at the Death of *Solomon*. Many, both *Jewes*, and *Christians*, go this Way. And indeed, this is the most ancient way of solving the Difficulty. [Compare, 2. Sam. XV.7.][99]

Q. The *Lubims*? v. 8.

A. These were the *Libyians*, or the *Africans* beyond *Egypt*. They are sometimes in the Scripture called, *Phut*. The Name *Lubim*, is from the Arabic Word, *Lub*,[100] which signifies *Dry*, or *Thirsty*, as *Bochart* observes. The Countrey inhabited by

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Chronicum, Scripturae sacrae autoritate constitutum (1575); and Franciscus Junius (and Immanuel Tremellius), *Testamenti Veteris Biblia sacra* (220).

98 מַלכוּת [malkhuth], "royal power, dominion; royal dignity, kingship; kingdom, realm."

99 These last two paragraphs are from Patrick, *A Commentary* (316–17), citing Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaciae* (8.6).

100 For the Arabic rendering, *see* Walton, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (2:753).

this People, was, *Terra Sitiens*, a Thirsty Land; so *Lucan* called it. They are noted by Authors, to have had abundance of Horsemen, & Chariots in which they fought. So *Xenophon* tells us. *Herodotus* informs us, that from them the *Greeks* did learn, Τεσσερας ιππους ζευγνυναι. *To yoke four Horses, for the drawing of a Chariot*.[101]

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~~1492~~{?}.

Q. What might bee the Reason of it, that King *Asa*, in *his Disease, sought not to the Lord, but to the Physicians*? v. 12.

A. You will presently reflect upon the *Original Sin*, in the Hearts of all Men; the Tendencies whereof this Prince was now left unto: And this may bee a sufficient Account of this Matter.

But some do make a more particular Conjecture. It may bee, some of his Ancestors had been *Medically* Disposed, and were Students in the *Art of Healing*. From hence they might have their Name; for *Asa*, is the *Chaldee* Word for a *Physician*.[102] For this Cause perhaps, this King had the greater Esteem, for those who were skill'd in *Medicine*, & putt such Confidence in them, as to neglect God, the Sovereign Author and Giver of *Health*.

{1…}

Q. What might bee the Design of the Great *Burning* used for *Asa*, at his *Funeral*? {v. 14.}

A. Wee find [1. Sam. 31.12. and Amos 6.9, 10.] That *Sometimes*, tho' but *Seldome*, they did among the Jewes, Burn the Corpse of the Dead.

But the Corpse of *Asa*, was not *Burned*; for tis said, *They Buried him in his own Sepulchre*. It seems then, a Peece of State, used at the Funerals of Great Personages; not only to embalm the Bodies of such Eminent Men, but also to sett up a great Heap or Pile of Aromaticks, & make a Bonefire thereof, as a Triumphal Valediction to the Departed. Some add, That it was the Custome, to burn the Cloathes, Chariot, Armour, & other Things, belonging to the Dead, in Honour to their Memory. K. *Zedekiah*, tho' a Captive, had not this Obsequy denied unto him. (Jer. 34.5.)

Nevertheless, Tis a further Observation of some, that tho' the Jewes did not usually Burn the Dead Bodies, yett they extracted the *Entrails* (in their *Embalming*,) & consumed them in the Fire, with Perfumes. The *Serephah*, or Burning then might bee, not only a Peece of *Royal State*, but also a Way and

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101 Patrick, *A Commentary* (319), citing Bochart, *Geographia Sacra* (pars prior, lib. IV, cap. XXXIII, p. 336); Lucan, *Pharsalia* (1.296); Xenophon, possibly *Cyropedia*; and Herodotus, *Historiae* (4.189).

102 Mather connects Asa's name with the root אסא, which means to heal.

Rite of *Pollincture*.[103] To Countenance this Opinion, consider that Passage in 2. Chron. 21.18, 19. K. *Jehoram* was *Smote in the Bowels, with an Incurable Disease, & his Bowels fell out, by reason of his Sickness*: – and *his People made no Burning for him, like the Burning of his Fathers*. It seems, that his *Bowels* being Rotted, & thereby Loosened, fell out, so that by reason of their Intolerable Stench, they were immediately disposed of; and (by Consequence) there could bee no *Funeral Burning* for him.

As for the *Burning of Dead Bodies*, *Pliny* acknowledges, That *Burying in the Ground*, was among the Romans and others, a more ancient Custome. The Custome of *Burning*, hee saies, had its Rise from the Barbarous and Inhumane Digging up of Carcases, by Enemies; to prevent which, they consumed a great Part of them in *Funeral Pyres*; and what remained was præserved in *Urns*, interr'd so deep, that they were mostly out of the reach of Adversaries.[104] *Tacitus*, reports this to have been the Custome of the *Old Germans*;[105] and from other Authors it appears, that the ancient *Galls*, and *Spaniards*, and others, were no Strangers to it. *Polydore* mentioning the Blazing obsequies of King *Belinus*, finds it among the *Britains* also.[106] This Pagan Usage, was first left off among the *Romans*, in the Reigns of the *Antonines*; and when Christianitie gott a firmer footing in the World, it was quite laid aside.

Pellicanus[107] thinks, That *Asa*, to all his other Offences, added this Vanity, That he ordered his Body to be burned after the Manner of the *Gentiles* rather than like the People of God. The *Greeks* and *Romans* burnt the Dead Bones; throwing Fragrant Things into the Fire; in such Quantity, that *Pliny* reproves their Profaneness in it. The *Israelites* did not so; But from the *Egyptians* perhaps, they learnt the Custome of burning many Spices at Funerals. *Kimchi* saies, They burnt the Bed, & other Houshold-Stuff, that none might have the Honour to use them when they were gone. The best of the Jews beleeve, Spices were burnt first, only to prevent the Scent of the Dead Bodies. But it grew into Vanity.[108]

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103 Preparation of a body for funeral.

104 Patrick, *A Commentary* (323), citing Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* (12.18), which seems to be a mistake on Patrick's part, since that chapter discusses "Trees of Abiana, Gedrosia, and Hyrcania."

105 Tacitus, *De origine et situ Germanorum* (27).

106 Polydore Vergil, 15th-century Italian historian, author of *Anglica Historia* (1534–55).

107 Ink changes from black to brown.

108 This last paragraph is taken from Patrick, *A Commentary* (322–23), citing Kimhi (see *The Commentary of Rabbi David Kimhi to Chronicles* 235); and Conrad Pellican, *Commentaria bibliorum et illa brevia quidem ac catholica* (239).

Q. We read not of any Cities taken by *Asa* from *Israel*? v. 2.
A. His Father *Abijah* took them, and he kept them; and *Jehoshaphat* now putt such Forces in them, as might secure them to himself.[110]

Q. *The First Wayes of his Father David*? v. 3.
A. Some read it, *Of his Father, and of David*.[111] *Asa* in the Beginning of his Reign, expressed much Piety. Here is then a Reflection upon *Asa*, for his Offences in the latter End of his Life.[112]

Q. The *Princes* are sent to *Teach* in the Cities of *Judah*? v. 7.
A. *Jehoshaphat* sent them, to see the People taught; and make them come and hear the *Priests* and *Levites*. It were to little Purpose to take away their Idols, if they had not been therewithal better Instructed. And the *Priests* and *Levites* would have had Little Authority, if the *Princes* had not backed them.

Grotius will have it, that these Great Men did themselves instruct the People. For, as the Jewes observe, it was not proper to the *Priests* and *Levites*; but any learned Men might be Instructors of the People.[113]

Vitringa thinks, we have here a good Proof, that there were no Synagogues in the Countrey in those Dayes, as there were in after-times, wherein the People were instructed in the Sense of the Divine Law.[114]

The Scarcity of *Copies of the Law*, intimated in our Context here, is a further Confirmation of it.

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Q. The vast Numbers of the valiant Men, under the Government of *Jehoshaphat*? v. 18.
A. It is Wonderful! *Jehoshaphat* had little more than the Third Part of the Kingdome which *David* had. Nevertheless, *David* could make but Thirteen

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109 A quarto-sized leaf, stitched in.
110 Patrick, *A Commentary* (324).
111 הָלַךְ בְּדַרְכֵי דָוִיד אָבִיו הָרִאשֹׁנִים "he followed the example of his father David's earlier days" (*NAU*); "he walked in the first ways of his father David" (*KJV*).
112 Patrick, *A Commentary* (324).
113 *Docere & explicare Legem non tantum Sacerdotum erat & Levitarum, quorum sequetur mentio, sed omnium eruditorum: quod & nunc observatur apud Judaeos. Peritissimi autem legum esse debebant qui Regi à comsiliis errant*. Grotius, in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (2:2719).
114 Patrick, *A Commentary* (326–27), citing Campegius Vitringa, *Dissertatio theologica de officiis veterum apud Hebraeos Synagogae ministrorum tertia* (1684), pars II, lib. I, cap. IX.

hundred Thousand Men. *Jehoshaphat*s Troops amount unto Eleven hundred & Sixty Thousand; without Reckoning the Garisons.

Tacitus in his *Annals*, relates, That *Thebes* furnished Seven hundred thousand Souldiers, of its own Inhabitants alone.[115]

But then, others understand these Numbers, as being only of the same, under so many successive Leaders. While one Man was Commander, they were 180 Thousand. While another, they were 200 Thousand. While another, they were 280 Thousand; When the Fourth Commander took the Battoon[116] the Number was increased into 300 Thousand.

I incline to this Interpretation.

115 Patrick, *A Commentary* (330), citing Tacitus, *Historiae* (lib. II).
116 I.e., baton, wielded by military commanders.

[390r][117] 2. Chronicles. Chap. 18.

Q. The Temptations of *Jehoshaphat*, for joining in Affinity with *Ahab*? v. 1.
A. His Son married *Athaliah*, the Daughter of *Ahab*. He had some Conceit perhaps, that he might again unite by this Marriage, the Two Kingdomes of *Judah* and *Israel*.[118]

117 A quarto-sized leaf, stitched in.
118 Patrick, *A Commentary* (331).

2. Chronicles. Chap. 19.

Q. The Expostulation, *Shouldest thou love them that hate the Lord?* v. 2.
A. A Thing, as Dr. *Patrick* notes, contrary to Common Reason, which taught the *Gentiles* themselves to make no Friendship with the Enemies of God. Thus *Callimachus*, in his Hymn to *Ceres*.

Δαμητηρ, μη τηνως ημιν φιλος, ος τοι απεχθης
Εση, μνδ' ομοτοιχος, εμοι κακογείτονες εχθροι.

O Ceres, *He shall be none of my Friend, who is hated by thee: Nor shall he Live under my Roof; Such Neighbours are odious to me*. *Spanheim*, hath observed many the like Sayings among the Heathen. And he showes, how the Greeks abhorred to lodge in the same House with a Murderer, or other grievous Criminals; With whom they would not eat; much less be with them in Sacred Assemblies; Looking upon them as Impure Creatures.[119]

Q. How was that Word fulfilled; *Therefore is Wrath upon thee, from before the Lord?* v. 2.
A. Some think, it was fulfilled in the raising such Numerous Enemies against him, as in the next Chapter we find Invading of him. But it was most of all fulfilled, when all his Sons were murdered by their elder Brother; And his Grandchildren by *Jehu*.[120]

Q. *He brought them back unto the Lord?* v. 4.
A. Since the last Reformation, it seems that some had Revolted unto their former Idolatry. These did *Jehoshaphat* now reduce; especially the Cities taken by his Father, in Mount *Ephraim*; who being *Israelites*, might be the more easily drawn in again to worship the Calves.[121]

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Q. *For the Judgment of the Lord, & for Controversies*. How expounded? v. 8.
A. Variously. By the, *Judgment of the Lord*, some understand Sacred Matters; Others, Pecuniary Matters. By *Controversies*, some understand Civil Causes, others, Criminal and Capital.

It is Plain, they tried all Sorts of Causes.[122]

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119 Patrick, *A Commentary* (335), citing Ezechiel Spanheim, *In Callimachi Hymnos Observationes* ("Observationes in Hymnum in Cererem," pp. 719–20). The Greek in the original reads: Δάματερ, μὴ Τῆνος ἐμὶν φίλος, ὅς τοι ἀπεχθὴς εἴη μηδ' ὁρότοιχος, ἐμοὶ κακογείτονες ἐχθροί. Callimachus, *In Cererem* (hymnus 6, line 117).
120 Patrick, *A Commentary* (336).
121 Patrick, *A Commentary* (337).
122 Patrick, *A Commentary* (338).

Q. *Jehoshaphat*s Charge to his Judges? v. 9.
A. Dr. *Patrick* on this Occasion, mentions a most memorable Saying of *Cicero*; That *Judges* being Sworn to do Justice, ought to Remember, when they come to pass their Sentence: *Deum se habere Testim; id est, ut Ego arbitror, mentem suam, quâ nihil Homino dedit ipse Deus Divinius*.[123] [Lib. III de Officiis. Cap. 10.] And he ha's left this Instruction also, That *a Man must lay aside the Person of a Friend, when he putts on the Person of a Judge*.[124]

Q. *Between Blood and Blood*. The Meaning of that? v. 10.
A. When the Quæstion was, who was next of Kin unto an Estate, & should succeed him that was Deceased; *Blood* may signify *Kindred*.

But *Jarchi* understands it, of a Quæstion, whether a *Murder* was voluntary, or a Man was killed by Chance.[125]

Q. *Matters of the Lord*, and the *Kings Matters*? v. 11.
A. *Grotius* ha's observed, That it is most agreeable unto the Scripture, to understand by the *Matters of the Lord*, those which were defined by the Law of God; & were to be judged by that Law. And by the *Kings Matters*, those which not being defined by the Law, were left unto the Judgment of the King.

The same Court here takes Cognisance of both; only the Court had Different Præsidents according to the Nature of the Causes. In the *Matters of the Lord*, *Amariah* the High-Priest satt as the First Judge. In the *Kings Matters*, *Zebadiah*, a principal Person about the King, had the Chair, & was the Moderator.[126]

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123 "They have God as a witness; that is, as I judge, their reason."
124 Patrick, *A Commentary* (339), quoting Cicero, *De Officiis* (3.10).
125 Patrick, *A Commentary* (340), citing Salomon Jarchi, or Rashi (*see II Chronicles: A New English Translation* 284).
126 Patrick, *A Commentary* (341), citing Hugo Grotius, *De Imperio Summarum Potestatum Circa Sacra* (1661), cap. XI, § XX (pp. 404–05).

Q. *From beyond the Sea*. What Sea? v. 2.
A. The *Dead Sea*. *On this side Syria*; The *Targum* translates, From the Western Part of *Syria*. For the *Dead Sea*, was the Western Bounds of that Countrey. It is likely the *Syrians* joined in this Expedition against *Jehoshaphat*, that they might Revenge the Assistence he had given to *Ahab*.

It seems he had but slender Intelligence; For he heard not of their Motion, before they were on the very Borders of his Countrey.[127]

Q. *Jehoshaphat feared*. The Main Cause of his Fear? v. 3.
A. He had been lately told by the Prophet, that he might expect a *Wrath from the Lord*.[128]

Q. What is meant by, *The New Court*? v. 5.
A. The most Learned in these Matters confess, they do not know.

Some think it probable, That it was only some Enlargement, that *Jehoshaphat* had made, of, the *Court of the People*, to render it more capacious. But others are of Opinion, that it signifies the *Court of the Women*, which was now made a Distinct one from the *Court of the Men*. [See II. Chron. XV.3.] *Constantine L'Empereur* thinks, That the *Court of the Women*, was not built by *Solomon*, but added in after-times; And according to the *Misnach*, this Court surrounded not the Court of *Israel*, but the Breadth of them was æqual.[129]

Q. The *Sword, Judgment*. What may be meant by, *Judgment*? v. 9.
A. Some translate it, *The Sword of Judgment*;[130] that is, The Punishing Sword. But, if *Judgment* signify any particular Punishment distinct from the *Sword*, it must be *Wild-beasts*, or, *Captivity*: For, *Pestilence* and *Famine*, are particularly mentioned in the following Words. The *Targum* translates it, *Slaughter of the Sword*.[131]

Q. How could *Jehoshaphat* say, *We have no Might*; when he had so many hundred Thousand Men at Command? v. 12.

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127 Patrick, *A Commentary* (344), citing the Targum (on Chronicles; *see* Matthias Beck, *Targûm šel divrê hay-yāmîm, Paraphrasis Chaldaica II. Libri Chronicorum* [1683]).
128 Patrick, *A Commentary* (344).
129 Patrick, *A Commentary* (345), citing Constantijn L'Empereur's annotations in *Hoc est Talmudis Babylonici Codex Middoth* (cap. II, § 5, p. 62).
130 חֶרֶב שְׁפוֹט [cherev shephot], "war" (*NJB*); "the sword, judgment" (*KJV*).
131 Patrick, *A Commentary* (346), citing the Targum (on Chronicles; *see* Matthias Beck, *Targûm šel divrê hay-yāmîm, Paraphrasis Chaldaica II. Libri Chronicorum*).

A. The Invasion was so sudden, that he had no Time to gather a considerable Body to oppose them. Or, tis better to say, He acknowledged the greatest Army, to have no Force except God were with them.

Victorinus Strigelius here makes a Devout Reflection.

In this Weak and Declining Condition, wherein the Church now is, when the Divel is very outrageous, because he knowes his Time to be short, lett us daily say with Jehoshaphat, *We know not what to do, but our Eyes are unto thee. Thine is the Kingdome, & the Power, and the Glory. Thou art our King and our Shepherd; we are thy People, and the Sheep of thy Pasture. Thou only are powerful, we are weak; But thy Power will be perfected in our Weakness. Do not Remember our Iniquities, but save us for thy Mercy sake: for we are brought very low. Help us, O God of our Salvation, for the Glory of thy Name. Save us, O Lord our God, that we may give Thanks unto thy Holy Name, & Triumph in thy Praise*. He concludes, That such Addresses to God, will Illustrate this Prayer of *Jehoshaphat*, better than the largest Commentaries.[132]

Q. To *Praise the Beauty of Holiness*? v. 21.

A. Dr. *Patrick* observes, The Translation should be, *To Praise His most Sacred Majesty*.[133]

[391v] |

~~1170.~~

Q. What were the *Ambushments*, that the *Lord Sett* against, the *Edonites*, the *Ammonites*, & the *Moabites*, when they were combined against *Judah*? v. 22.

A. There was the Ministry of the *Holy Angels* wondrously employ'd in this Matter. Doubtless, the *Angels*, in the Shape of *Moabites* and of *Ammonites*, fell upon them of Mount *Seir*, and then they all fell upon one another, till the whole Army was Destroy'd.

I take the more Liberty for this Conjecture, because, here in my own Countrey of *New-England*, a few Months ago, when the Troubles from the *Invisible World* were upon us,[134] there did a Number of *Spirits* Visibly appear, at the Town of *Glocester*, in Arms like *Frenchmen*, making an Assault upon the Inhabitants, by Times for diverse whole Weeks together, insomuch that a Regiment was Raised in the Neighbouring Towns, to Releeve them. The *Spirits* fired many Smart Guns upon the Inhabitants, & some of the Bullets, which they shott, are still reserved in our Hands, to bee seen. However, None of the Inhabitants were hurt by these wonderful Assailants; but our People often saw

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132 Patrick, *A Commentary* (348), citing Victorinus Strigelius, *Libri Samuelis, Regum, & Paralipoménon* (538).

133 וּמְהַלְלִים לַהֲדֶרַת־קֹדֶשׁ [umehallim lehadrath-qodesh], "those who praised [Him] in holy attire" (*NAU*); Patrick, *A Commentary* (351).

134 The incidents described below occurred in late July 1692.

the *Spectres* fall upon our letting fly at them; nevertheless, when they ran upon the Place to sieze them, the Fallen *Spectres*, would in a Moment bee seen upon their Legs, a considerable Distance from them. This Disturbance continued many Dayes, while it was impossible to imagine that a Little Handful of any Real *Frenchmen*, should bee there to make it; Nor does any considerate Person to this Hour, quæstion but in the Shape of *Frenchmen*, certain *Dæmons* did all that was done.[135]

The[136] *Paraphrast*, by the *Ambushments*, here understands, The *Angelical Ministers* which attended the Lord.[137]

Dr. *Patrick* takes the Meaning to be, That the *Ambushments*, which the Enemies had laid against the Jews, by a Confusion among themselves, made by a Divine Hand, fell upon a Part of their own Army, mistaking them for their Enemies. They of Mount *Seir* were ordered to fall upon *Judah*, out of an Ambushment; but by some Mistake, they fell upon the *Ammonites*, their own Confæderates; and they and the *Moabites* fell upon them, until they had entirely destroy'd those of *Seir*. When that was done, they continued in such Confusion, that they fell one upon another, still imagining they were destroying the *Jews*; who came upon them very early in the Morning, according to the Direction of the Prophet.[138]

| [392r][139]

Q. Here is a fair Opportunity, to bring in some Account of the Trade, which the Jews carried on at Sea, in the Days of old? v. 37.

A. Dr. *Prideaux*, will for this Matter give some Assistence unto us.

The Ancient Jews carried on a Trade, thro' the *Red-Sea*, and the Streight of *Babelmandel*, not only to the Coasts of *Africa* on the West, but also to those of *Arabia*, *Persia*, and *India*, on the East, & reaped a Prodigious Profit from it. King *David* was the first who began it, when he conquered *Edom*, and became a Master of Two Sea-Ports on the Red-Sea; *Elath* and *Eziongeber*. There are Two Places mention'd in the Scripture, to which the Traffic was now carried on; that

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135 Mather included a fuller, first-hand version (by Rev. John Emerson of Gloucester) of this episode entitled, "A Faithful Account of many Wonderful and Surprising Things, which happened in the Town of Glocester, in the Year, 1692," in *Decennium Luctuosum* (1699), pp. 104–13. In his afterword to the "Faithful Account," Mather referred to 2 Chron. 20:22 and the likelihood of angelic ministry (see content parallels in the first paragraph of this entry and in *Decennium Luctuosum* 112). *See also* "Niles's History of the Indian and French Wars," *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*, 3rd series, 6 (1837), 231–32; Marshall W. S. Swan, "The Bedevilment of Cape Ann," *Essex Institute Historical Collections* 117 (1981), pp. 160–65; Mary Beth Norton, *In The Devil's Snare* (2002), pp. 231–32.

136 Ink changes from blackish grey to brown.

137 *See* Matthias Beck, *Targûm šel divrê hay-yāmîm, Paraphrasis Chaldaica II. Libri Chronicorum*, in loc.

138 The last two paragraphs are taken from Patrick, *A Commentary* (351–52).

139 A folio leaf tipped in with sealing wax.

is, *Ophir* and *Tarshish*; The *Gold* of *Ophir* which *David* contributed unto the Building of the *Temple*, out of his own Private Estate, seems to be from the great Returns which this Traffic brought in unto him. *Solomon* after him carried on the same Traffic unto *Ophir*; from whence in One Voyage, he had Four hundred & fifty *Talents of Gold*; which, if they were the same with the *Mosaic Talents*, amount unto Twenty One Million and Six hundred Thousand Pounds, of our Sterling. And *Solomon* indeed, not being perplexed & encumbred with such Wars, as his Father *David* was, did prosecute this Traffic with a greater Application. For the better Settling of it, he went in Person to *Elath*, and *Ezion-geber*; and used his own Inspection for the Building of Ships, & fortifying of the Ports, and settling every thing else, for a successful Trade, not only unto *Ophir*, but also to other Ports, whereunto the Sea there opened a Passage. But a Special Article of his Care, was to plant those Two Cities with Proper Inhabitants. For which purpose he brought hither from the Sea-Coast of *Palæstine*, as many as he could gett of those who had been used unto the Sea; especially of the *Tyrians*, with Numbers of whom his Friend *Hiram* furnished him. Indeed, the Use of the *Compass* not being then known, the way of Navigation was in those Times only by Coasting; which often made a Voyage to hold for Three Years, which now may be dispatched in little more than Three Months. But yett this Trade under the Wise Management of *Solomon* succeeded so far, that he drew to these Two Ports, all the Trade of *Africa*, of *Arabia*, of *Persia*, and of *India*. And here was the Fountain of the Immense Riches which he arriv'd unto. After the Division of the Kingdome, *Edom* was of that Part which belonged unto the House of *David*; and so the Trade was carried on still, especially from *Ezion-geber*, until the Time of *Jehoshaphat*. But he losing his Fleet, which he had prepared for to sail from thence in Partnership with *Ahaziah*, King of *Israel*, it spoiled the Credit of the Harbour. For, there being nigh the Mouth of it, a Ridge of Rocks, resembling the *Back-bone* of a Man, which the Name *Ezion-geber* signifies, as this Fleet was passing out of the Port, they were by a sudden Gust of Wind, which God sent for the Punishment of this Confæderacy, driven upon those Rocks, & all broken to Peeces. And therefore, for the avoiding of the like Mischiefs for the future, the Station of the Kings Ships was removed unto *Elath*; from whence *Jehoshaphat* the next Year sent out another Fleet, without such a Partnership. Until the Death of *Jehoshaphat*, the Land of *Edom*, was possessed by the Kings of *Judah*, and governed by a Vice-roy. But *Jehoram* succeeding, the Wickedness of that King was punished in a Withdraw of the Divine Protection; and *Esau* now, according to the Prophecy of *Isaac*, shook off the Yoke of *Jacob*. *Jehoram* having Revolted from God, the *Edomites* Revolted from him; and having expelled his Vice-Roy, Sett up a King of their own, & were never more Subject unto the Kings of *Judah*. The Jewish Traffic thro' the Red-Sea, was now interrupted; until the Reign of *Uzziah*; who recovered *Elath*, and fortified it anew; and planted it, with his own People: and the Trade went on, until the Reign of *Ahaz*. But then

Rezin the King of *Damascus*, took his advantage to Sieze upon *Elath*, and plant it with *Syrians*, purposing to draw unto himself the whole Profit of the Traffic | [392v] to the Southern Seas. However *Tiglath-Pileser*, having subdued the Kingdome of *Damascus*, he made *Elath* a Part of his New Conquest; without any Regard unto his Friend *Ahaz*; and the Jews were ever after this, wholly excluded from it.[140]

At Length we find the whole of this Trade engrossed by the *Tyrians*, who managing it at that Port, made it by the Way of *Rhinocorura* (a Sea-port lying between the Confines of *Egypt* and *Palæstine*) center all in *Tyre*; and from thence they furnished all the Western Parts of the World, with the Wares of *Persia*, of *India*, of *Africa*, and of *Arabia*, to which they thus traded by the Way of the Red-Sea, under the favour of the *Persian* Emperours. But when the *Ptolemies* prevailed in *Egypt*, they built *Berenice*, and *Myos-Hormos*, and other Ports on the Western Side of the *Red-Sea*, and sending forth Fleets from thence, to all those Countreys, to which the *Tyrians* traded from *Elath*, which was on the Eastern-Side, they soon drew all this Trade into that Kingdome, and fixed the chief Mart of it at *Alexandria*, which was thereby made the greatest Mart in the World; and there it continued for many Ages; until a Way was found, a little above Two Hundred Years ago, of Sailing to those Parts, by the Way of the *Cape of Good Hope*. After this, the *Portuguese* for a while managed this Trade: But now tis in a Manner wholly gott into the Hands of the *English* & the *Dutch*. This is an Account of the *East-India Trade*, from the Days of *David*, unto the Present Age.[141]

But Concerning *Ophir*, and *Tarshish*, the Trade whereof is now in the hands of our *East-India* Merchants; there are many Disputes among the Learned, where they lay. Some will have *Ophir*, to have been the Island of *Zocatora*, which lies on the Eastern Coasts of *Africa*, a little without the Streights of *Babel-Mandel*. Others will have it the Island called anciently *Taprobana*, now, *Ceylon*; For *Eupolemus*, (quoted by *Eusebius*) reports of *David*, *He built Ships* at Elath, a *City of Arabia, and from thence he sent Metal-Men to the Island of* Urphe, *scituated in the Red-Sea*. But, as Dr. *Prideaux* observes, The Scriptures are to decide the Quæstion. There we find, that from *Elath* to *Tarshish*, was a Voyage of Three Years going and coming. But it is no where said, in what Compass of Time the Voyage to *Ophir* was compleated. We find also, that the Commodities brought from *Tarshish*, were *Gold, and Silver, & Ivory, & Apes, & Peacocks*; and those of *Ophir*, were *Gold, and Almug-trees, & Precious Stones*. And therefore any Place in the Great Indian Sea, (which is the *Red-Sea*, mentioned by *Eupolemus*) at the Distance of a then Three Years Voyage from *Elath*, which can best furnish the Merchants, with the *Tarshishan* Commodities, may be guess'd the *Tarshish* of the Scriptures; and any Place within the Compass of the Said Southern Sea,

140 Prideaux, *The Old and New Testament connected* (1:5–8).
141 Prideaux, *The Old and New Testament connected* (1:8–9).

that can best furnish them with the *Ophirian* Commodities, may be guess'd the *Ophir*. But more than Conjectures, no one can have in the Matter.[142]

142 Prideaux, *The Old and New Testament connected* (1:9–10), citing Eupolemus, "an ancient Author quoted by Eusebius," in *Praeparatio Evangelica* (lib. IX).

2. Chronicles. Chap. 21. [393r]

1320.

Q. *Jehoram slew all his Brethren with the Sword*. What Footsteps of such an Action in Antiquity? v. 4.

A. It was a Custome with the Oriental Kings, mention'd by *Plutarch* [in *Demetrio*] το μεν γαρ αδελφους αναιρειν, ωσπερ οι γεωμετραι τα αιτηματα λαμβανουσιν, ουτω συνεχωρειτο, κοινον τι νομιζομενον αιτημα, και βασιλικον υπερ ασφαλειας. *Fratres occidere, pro concesso habebatur quasi commune Regibus pro securitate sua postulatum, sicut geometræ sua quædam habent postulata*.[143]

And it is a Passage of *Tacitus* about the later Kings of the Jewes, *Fugas Civium urbium Eversiones, Fratrum, Conjugum, Parentum Neces, aliaque solita Regibus, ausi*.[144]

*Jehoram*s Intention was, That none of his Brethren, or any of their Posterity, might pretend unto the Crown.

Dr. *Patrick* adds; perhaps, they were inclined unto the true Religion, and therefore he made them away, lest they should oppose him, when he went about to alter it, & bring in the old Idolatry.[145]

| [393v]

{....}

Q. There seems here to come a Writing from *Elijah* to *Jehoram* at least Seven Years, after *Elijah* was gone to Heaven. How will you accommodate the *Chronology* of this business? v. 12.

A. It seems not Reasonable to suppose with the Papists, that *Elijah* wrote this *Letter* after his *Rapture*.

Wherefore, tis commonly supposed, that this Letter was written by *Elijah*, as a Prophesy, before his Assumption into Heaven; as *Isaiah* wrote, long before, concerning the Kingdome of *Cyrus*, and *Ahijah*, concerning the Kingdome of

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143 "As for men killing their brothers, like as geometricians assume their postulates, so this crime came to be a common and recognized postulate in the plans of princes to secure their own safety." Plutarch, *Demetrius* (3.5, line 3, transl. Perrin, 1920).

144 "They ventured on … the destruction of cities, on the murder of brothers, wives, and parents, and the other usual atrocities of despots." Tacitus, *Historiae* (5.8).

145 The last two paragraphs, written in a different ink than the previous part of the entry, are taken from Patrick, *A Commentary* (358). In the entry for v. 3, Patrick refers to Selden, *De Successionibus ad Leges Ebraeorum … in Pontificatum* (lib. II, cap. I, p. 202), which Mather apparently consulted for the quote from Tacitus in the paragraph above (see preceding note). Patrick used the 1636 ed.; in the 1638 ed., cap. I of lib. II begins on p. 207, and the quote from Tacitus appears on p. 386.

Josiah; so t'was meet that an Impious King who would not Endure the *Present*, should bee Reproved by the *Absent*. But there is yett a more easy Resolution of this Difficulty. *Elijah* seems to bee fetch'd into Glory, in the first Year of *Jehoram* the Son of *Ahab*, King of *Israel*. *Jehoram*, the Son of *Ahab*, did begin to Reign in the Eighteenth Year of *Jehoshaphat*, King of *Judah*; *Jehoshaphat* reigning twenty five Years in all. This first Year of *Jehoram* the Son of *Ahab*, was yett parallel to the Second Year of *Jehoram* the Son of *Jehoshaphat*; for this *Jehoram* was *Pro-rex*, or *Vice-roy*, twice in his Fathers time; namely in the *Seventeenth*, & in the *Twenty Second* Year of his Reign. This now, was a Year or two before *Elijah*s Translation; and the Matter might bee thus adjusted. *Jehoram*, in the Dayes of *Elijah*, being made *Vice-roy*, probably on some Expedition of *Jehoshaphat* abroad, hee took the advantage of his Fathers Absence, to kill all his Brethren, that hee might secure the Crown unto himself. [2. Chron. 21.4.] Hereupon, *Elijah* might send him the terrible Admonitions of this *Letter*, which none durst face to face deliver unto him.

Lett mee add; In the Ἐπιτομὴ Χρόνων, a Greek Tract, which was written by *Eusebius*, as *Jerom* asserts, in his *Script. Eccles.* and which is called, the *Chronicon Alexandrinum*, by *Raderus*, I find, pag. 235.[146] these words:

B. [i.e. in the Second Year of *Joram*]
Ἰωρὰμ υἱὸς Ἰωσαφὰτ ἐιδώλοις δουλεύσας, οἰκοδόμησε τὰ ὑψηλὰ κλ
Γ. Δ. E.. T.
Ἠλίας ἐζ ἀνθρώπων ἀπῆλθεν.
Z. H.
Ἰωρὰμ βασιλεὺς Ιούδα ἐνόσησε δεινῶς, ὥστε τὰ ἔντερα αὐτοῦ φανῆναι.[147]

Now I Leave the Consequence to *You*.

Kimchi seems unto our Dr. *Patrick* to have given the most natural Sense of the Words; *Elijah* foreseeing, before he went up to Heaven, the Wickedness of *Jehoram*, spoke these Words to one of the Prophets, and charged him to putt

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146 Matthaeus Raderus, *Chronicon Alexandrinum idemque astronomicum et ecclesiasticum* (1615), p. 235, citing Eusebius, *Epitome Chronon* (Chronicon Alexandrinum); and Jerome, *De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis Prolegomena*.

147 "When Joram son of Jehoshaphat was worshipping idols, he built the high places. Elijah departed from men. Joram, King of Judah, became gravely ill, so that his bowels appeared." The Greek in the original (as found in *Chronicon Paschale*, vol. 1) reads:

β′.
Ἰωρὰμ υἱὸς Ἰωσαφὰτ εἰξδώλοις δουλεύσας, οἰκοδόμησεν τὰ ὑψηλὰ ...
γ′, δ′, ε′, ς′.
Ἠλίας ἐζ ἀνθρώπων ἀπῆλθεν.
ζ′, η′.
Ἰωρὰμ βασιλεὺς Ιούδα ἐνόσησεν δεινῶς, ὥστε τὰ ἔντερα αὐτοῦ φανῆναι.

κλ, i.e., καὶ τὰ λοιπά, "and the remaining/rest, etc." Here Σ. T. represents the capital stigma (ς), as found in Mather's text and the critical edition. Note that Mather has ἐνὸσησε, whereas Dindorf has ἐνόσησεν. Cf. L. Dindorf, *Chronicon paschale*, vol. 1, *Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae* [1832], 3–737, quote on pp. 179 f. Cf. *Chronicon Paschale 284–624 AD*, transl. Michael Whitby and Mary Whitby (1989).

them down in Writing, and send them in a Letter to *Jehoram*, when he grew so Impious, as is here described; and lett him know that *Elijah* commanded the Writing to be delivered unto him. Take the Words, *From Elijah*, not to relate unto the Word, *There Came*, but unto the Words, *A Letter*.[148]

Q. A *Great Plague*? v. 14.
A. *Strigelius* observes, There was no Calamity to be thought of, which did not befal this Wicked Prince. His Kingdome was destroy'd by the fiercest Nations; His Treasures ransacked; His Wives carried into Captivity; His Children butchered; And he Himself labouring under a sore Disease for Two Years together; Finally, Dying without the Honour of a Royal Sepulture. All these Calamities were threatned, in the Writing sent him in the Name of *Elijah*.

The *People* suffer in this *Great Plague*, because their Base Fear made them comply with him in his Idolatry. He was also punished in the Loss of them.[149]

Q. The Meaning of that, *He departed without being desired*? v. 20.
A. Some take the Meaning to be; He was weary of his Life; such was his Pain, that he Desired rather to Dy, than to Live.

But, as Dr. *Patrick* observes, The most natural Sense is, That his People did not wish, he should Reign any longer; but were glad, his Reign was so short. This appear'd by their Contempt of him; They made no Burning for him, nor buried him in the Royal Sepulchre.[150]

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148 This last paragraph is taken from Patrick, *A Commentary* (360), citing Kimhi (*see The Commentary of Rabbi David Kimhi to Chronicles* 241).
149 Patrick, *A Commentary* (361), citing Victorinus Strigelius, *Libri Samuelis, Regum, & Paralipoménon* (542).
150 Patrick, *A Commentary* (363).

Q. It is said of *Jehoram*, the Son of *Jehoshaphat*, 2. Chron. 21.20. *Thirty and Two Years old was hee, when hee began to Reign; & hee Reigned in Jerusalem Eight Years*. And yett his Son *Ahaziah*, who succeeded him, as you Read, was *Forty Two Years* old, when hee began to Reign, & hee *Reigned One Year*. By this Reckoning, *Ahaziah* should bee a Year or two older than his Father. What can you make of it? v. 2.

A. *Deodati* saies, The Difficulty cannot be Resolved.[151] As for any Suspicion of any Corruption in the Text; it is pleaded,

– *Morbo Medicina nocentior ipso*.[152]

Nor can I think, that in the first Copies of the Bible, there were none but the Numeral Letters here, כב, which the Translators, mistaking for מב, did in Words at length, insert *Forty two*.

And I can as little satisfy myself, with the Opinion of some other Expositors, produced by *Jerom*, That *Jehoram* Reigned no less than Twenty Eight Years; but only Eight Years are computed in the Number, because thus long hee *Reigned Well*: the rest being omitted, because in them hee gave himself over to Idolatry and all Iniquity. In that Sense, they say, that *Saul* is said, to *Reign Two Years*. And those twenty Years of *Jehoram*s wicked Reign, they say, are here added as in the Life of his Son, lest there should bee a Breech in the Chronology; which Twenty Years redundant, make the Years of the Son arise to *Forty two*. But I can tell of yett a better Way than this. Know then, That this *Forty Two* Years, refer not unto the *Life* of *Ahaziah*, but unto the Reign of the House of *Omri*. The Mother of *Ahaziah* was *Ahaliah* the Daughter of *Omri*; and from the Beginning of Omri's Reign, to the Beginning of *Ahaziah*'s, was just Forty Two Years. If you consult 2. King. 8.26. You'l see that *Ahaziah* was *Twenty two*, not *Forty two*, Years old, When hee began to Reign; but his Mother's House, in whose *Vices*, & *Ruines* hee was involved, had now stood *Forty two* Years, in respect of the Kingdome. To make all plainer yett, I'l quote you the Words of *Hugh Broughton*; who sais, *Ahaziah a Son of Twenty two Years of his own Age, is a Son of Forty two Years of Omri's House*.[153] Seder Olam, *and other Learned among the Hebrewes, have thus Reconciled those Texts long ago*.[154] Moreover, *Francis Junius* observes, that there is a more obscure Trajection, or Transposition of the Phrases in this Text, which causes him thus to read it, *So* Ahaziah *Son of* Jehoram, *King*

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151 Giovanni Diodati, *Pious and learned Annotations* (1643), p. 46.

152 "The medicine is more harmful than the very disease."

153 Hugh Broughton, *The general View of the Holy Scriptures* (1640), p. 262.

154 For *Seder Olam* and other rabbinic commentaries including the Tosefta of Sotah and Rashi's on the length of Ahaziah's reign, *see II Chronicles: A New English Translation* (298).

of Judah, *Reigned; whose Mothers Name was* Athaliah, *Daughter of* Omri, *being Forty Two Years old when* Ahaziah *reigned, who Reigned one Year at Jerusalem*.[155]

After[156] all, Dr. *Patrick* is of the Mind, The plainest and shortest Way, is to acknowledge an Error in the Transcriber. For some *Greek* Copies here, have 22 Years old. And so it is in the *Syriac* and *Arabic* Translations. Our Dr. *Usher* found it so likewise, in a Copy, which he procured at Great Charge, from that of the Patriarch of *Antioch*. *Piscator* also acknowledges, There is no other way that he knew, to solve the Difficulty.[157]

| [blank] [394v]

155 Franciscus Junius (and Immanuel Tremellius), *Testamenti Veteris Biblia sacra* (2:87), marginal note on v. 2.

156 This last paragraph may be a later addition.

157 This last paragraph taken from Patrick, *A Commentary* (364), citing James Ussher, *Chronologia sacra* (1660), pp. 9–10; and Johann Piscator (1546–1625), Reformed professor of theology at Strassburg and Herborn, *Commentarii in omnes Libros Veteris Testamenti* (1646), pp. 479–80.

[395r][158] 2. Chronicles. Chap. 24.

Q. *Jehojadah took for him two Wives*. For whom? v. 3.
A. Not for the King, but for himself. But some say, He took not the *Second*, until the First was dead. The *Talmudists*, (as Mr. *Selden* observes,) after he Divorced one, he married another.

Indeed, the Jews have a Tradition, the *High-Priest* was to be so pure, as to have but *One Wife* at a time. They prove it from, Lev. XXI.13, 14. The *Gemara Babylonica* reports it, and *Maimonides* asserts it.

But after all, Tis not certain, That *Jehojadah* was *High-Priest*; For he is every where called, *Jehojadah the Priest*. And but once only, [v. 6.] *The Chief*. Which does not necessarily imply, that he was the *High-Priest*; but only a Great Man because of his Relation to the Royal Family, or, because he was the *Chief Head*, of One of the XXIV Families of the Priests. But he seems to be distinguish'd from the *High-Priests*, [2. King. XII.9. 10.] And is not mention'd for such an one either in the VII of *Ezra*, or in, 1. Chron. VI.[159]

Q. *The Sons of Athaliah, that wicked Woman*? v. 7.
A. *Abarbanel* expounds it, she being a *Wicked Woman*, plaid the Whore with another Man, by whom she had several Bastards, who committed this Impiety. They are called, *The Sons of Athaliah*, because their Father was unknown.[160]

~~1082~~{?}.

Q. Wee have here the Age of *Jehojadah*, namely 130 Years. What Observation is to bee made upon it? v. 15.
A. The Jewes observe, That the great *Repairer* of the Temple, was born the same Year, that the *Builder* Dyed.

[395v] |
Q. The Words of *Zechariah*? v. 20.
A. It is very Remarkable, That tho' he spake by the Spirit of Prophecy, yett he only applied the General Prediction of *Moses*, [Deut. XXXI.16.] unto the present Time. This might be, that they might all from hence learn, to have a greater Regard unto *Moses*, and continually meditate in his Law; unto which, if they

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158 Mather made no entries on 1 Chron. 23.
159 Patrick, *A Commentary* (372–73), citing (on *Gemara Babylonica* and Maimonides) Johannes Braunius, *Selecta Sacra* (1700), lib. III, cap. II; and (on the Talmudists) Selden, *Uxor Hebraica* (lib. III, cap. XIX, pp. 313–29, in 1673 ed.).
160 Patrick, *A Commentary* (374).

had attended, they would easily have discerned who were True Prophets, and who were False.[161]

Q. The Ingratitude of *Joash*? v. 22.

A. *Zachariah* assisted his Father, in the Unction of *Joash*. See. 2. Chron. 23.11.

Ludovicus Capellus, running upon the Notion, that *Jehojadah* was High-Priest, & not finding *Zachariah* in the Catalogue of the Successors of *Aaron*, concludes, he was a Younger Brother. And, that his Elder Brother, the *High Priest*, conniving at *Joash*'s Apostasy, this Younger Brother was Inspired of God; to Reprove it. This Boldness, *Joash* and his Courtiers, thought they might punish with some Colour, by alledging, that he was not moved by God unto it, but by his Juvenile Heat and Rashness, which they stirred up the People to chastise.[162]

And, as *Bochart* observes, *Plebeius Furor, nullos habet limites; maximè cum Religionis velum illi obtenditur*.[163]

505.

Q. The Words of the Murdered Prophet, were, *The Lord Look upon it, & Require it*! How did the Lord *Look upon it,* & *Require it*? v. 22.

A. All the World knowes, *How*; the Story is plain enough. But perhaps you have not yett mett with a notable Passage in the *Talmud*. In *Taanith*. Fol. 69. Col. 2.

Nebuzaradan being in the Temple of *Jerusalem*, saw Blood upon a Pavement, not washed off: Hee asked, *What that Blood was?* They said, *It was the Blood of a Prophet, who foretold all those things that are come upon us; & wee killed him*. Said *Nebuzaradan*, *Is it so? I will pay you for it*. And hee caused, I know not how many Thousands of the Young Priests, to bee slain immediately.[164]

Q. The *Syrians* coming up to *destroy the Princes of the People*? v. 23.

A. These were they, who had advised King *Joash*, to Restore the worship of *Baal*.

This was a Distinct War, from that mentioned, 2. King. XII.18, 19.

We are thus to understand the Whole. When they did Evil in the Sight of the Lord, He sent *Hazael*, to afflict them; who took Gath, and seem'd as if he intended for *Jerusalem*. *Joash* made a Present of the Hallowed Things, and pro-

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161 Patrick, *A Commentary* (378).

162 Patrick, *A Commentary* (379), citing Ludovicus Capellus, *Chronologia Sacra* (1655), p. 285.

163 "Popular fury has no limits, especially when the covering of religion is thrown on it." Bochart, *Hierozoicon* (pars prior, lib. II, cap. L, col. 569).

164 *Ta'anit* is a tractate found in the Mishnah, Tosefta, and Jerusalem and Babylonian Talmuds containing dictates relating to fasts. Patrick, *A Commentary* (379–80), relates the same story about Nebuzaradan, citing *Gemara Sanhedrin*, cap. XI, so Mather apparently drew from a different source.

cured his Departure. In the End of the Year, and after the Murder of *Zechariah*, this other War came on, which is now related.[165]

Q. *They left him in great Diseases*? v. 25.
A. Many think, he received sore Wounds in the Battel, which brought him into *Great Diseases*. They increased, it is likely, (as Dr. *Patrick* notes,) by the Grief and Anguish of his Mind, when he saw his Countrey ruined; and the Hatred & Contempt, in which he himself was fallen; which encouraged his own Servants to conspire against him.[166]

Q. The *Burdens laid upon him*? v. 27.
A. Some understand, the sore Punishments, which God inflicted on him; called in Scripture, *The Burdens of the Lord*. Others, the Heavy Tribute which the *Syrians* exacted from him.[167]

165 Patrick, *A Commentary* (380).
166 Patrick, *A Commentary* (381).
167 Patrick, *A Commentary* (382).

2. Chronicles. Chap. 25. [396r][168]

Q. Why did the Lord permitt the Hired Souldiers of *Amaziah*, to do so much Mischief unto him, after he had yeelded such Obedience to the Command and Reproof of the Prophet? v. 13.

A. *Amaziah* was thus punished for having entred into a Covenant with Idolaters. And as Dr. *Patrick* observes, It is not unlikely, that God suffered this Calamity to fall upon him, as a Chastisement upon him, for his using his Victory over the *Edomites* with too much of Cruelty.[169]

| [396v]

Q. What were the *Hostages*? v. 24.

A. The *Targum* takes these *Hostages*, for the Sons of the Principal Men of the City. The Generality of the *Hebrew* Interpreters, agree to this. *Jarchi* saies, The Children of *Israel* did not Restore to *Amaziah*, the Kingdome of *Judah*; but upon the Condition, that he should give the Children of their Great Men, for a Security of his Fidelity, that he should not Rebel any more.[170]

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168 A quarto-sized leaf, stitched in.

169 Patrick, *A Commentary* (386).

170 Patrick, *A Commentary* (389).

[397r] {2. Chronicles. Chap. 26.}

~~1678~~.

Q. Wee read, *God helped Uzziah, against the Arabians that dwelt in Gur-baal, and the Mehunims*; It followes in the Next Verse; *And the Ammonites gave Gifts to Uzziah*: who were those *Ammonites*? v. 8.

A. A learned Man suspects these *Ammonites*, to bee no other than the *Mehunims*, mentioned in the Clause immediately præceding. Hee thinks, that by an easy Error of the Scribes, /צמונים/ is here putt for /מצונים/[171]

Muna is the Name of a Valley, near *Mecca*, where the Mahometan Pilgrims travelling to that City, use to throw Stones at the *Divel*. *Pinedo*, in his Notes on *Stephanus*, tells us out of *Strabo*, *Minæi Sunt in parte ad Erythræum Mare, quorum maxima urbs*, Κἀρνα, seu κἀρανα: *hisque finitimos esse Sabaos*.[172] Here were the *Meonites*, that made their Presents to K. *Uzziah*: and what need wee look for any further *Ammonites*?

[397v] |

~~3145~~.

Q. We read of *Uzziah*, That he *made in Jerusalem, Engines invented by Cunning Men, to be upon the Towers and upon the Bulwarks, to shoot Arrowes & Great Stones withal*. What were those *Engines*? v. 15.

A. Doubtless they were no other than those Machins, which were by the Greeks called, *Catapults* and *Balists*.

For the Description of these Engines, I may refer you to *Steuechius*; and yett if I do so, he will tell you, that so much difficulty and obscurity there is in the Explanations of them, he must refer you to *Vitruvius*.[173] Or, if these do not satisfy your Curiosity, *Justus Lipsius* in his *Poliorcetikon* will fully do it.[174]

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171 צַמּוֹנִים [ammonim], "Amonites"; מְצוּנִים [me'unim], "Meunites." Patrick, *A Commentary upon the Books of Joshua, Judges and Ruth* 482–83.

172 "The Minaeans on the side towards the Red Sea, whose largest city is Carna or Carnana; next to these, by the Sabaeans." Thomas de Pinedo, *Stephanus de urbibus* (1678), p. 468 (*Minaei quidem in parte ad Erythraum mare, quorum maxima urbs Carna, [vel Carana] his vero finitimi sunt Sabaei*), citing Strabo, *Geographica* (16.4.2, lines 26–28 [Loeb 241]).

173 Mather drew most of the references (especially the ones to Vegetius, Vitruvius, and Ammianus Marcellus) in this entry from Godescalcus Stewechius (Godescalc Steewech), *Commentarius ad Flavi Vegeti Renati Libros de re Militari* (1670), lib. IV, cap. XXII, pp. 442–51, which has a commentary (pp. 442–43) on Vitruvius, *De Architectura*, citing lib. X, caps. XVI–XVII, regarding catapults and ballistae.

174 Justus Lipsius (Juste Lipse) (1547–1606), Belgian philologist and humanist, in his *Poliorceticoon sive de Machinis, Tormentis, Telis*, describes ancient siege weapons; see Lipsius, *Politica: Six Books of Politics or political Instruction*, transl. Waszink (2004), p. 31.

Something of them, you will also find in Dr. *Wilkins*'s *Mechanic Powers*, and in Sir James *Turner*'s *Pallas Armata*.[175] The *Balist* was a great Machin, out of which were shott, as some say, Darts, Lances, yea, Spears Thirty foot long; but others say, it threw only great Weights and Stones. *Vegetius* gives it Power only to throw Darts;[176] nor doth he at all mention the *Catapult*, which some Authors affirm, shott very great Stones, and all other ancient Writers take notice of it, clearly distinguishing them one from another. *Polybius* often mentions them: Sometimes Confounding them, and yett sometimes Distinguishing.[177] Tho' *Vegetius* reports, that the *Balist* threw only Darts and Lances, *Ammianus* who was *Vegetius*'s Contemporary, and both a great Souldier and a great Engineer, speaks only of Stones for that Engine.[178] *Valerius Maximus* and *Vitruvius* (both of them great Architects) affirm, That Stones were the proper Missiles of *Balists*, and that *Catapults* threw Darts, Lances, and Spears.[179] *Julius Cæsar*, who was an excellent Engineer, yett mentions the *Catapults* as throwing of Stones.[180] In the diversity of Opinions, *Achilles Terduzzi*, another Engineer, proposes this Expedient for Agreement, That the Names were become indifferently applied unto either Engine, or that the Invention was improved so far as to make either Engine applicable to both Uses.[181] *Athenæus* mentions a *Balist*, that would sling a Stone of three hundred & sixty pounds Weight.[182] But *Plutarch* saies, *Archimedes* cast into one of *Marcellus*'s Ships, a Stone that weigh'd twelve hundred Pounds.[183] The

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175 John Wilkins, 17th-century English theologian and natural philosopher, *Mathematicall magick* (1648); and Sir James Turner, 17th-century English army officer, *Pallas Armata, Military Essayes of the ancient Grecian, Roman, and modern Art of War* (1683).

176 Stewechius, *Commentarius ad Flavi Vegeti Renati Libros de re Militari* (446), citing Publius Flavius Vegetius Renatus, *De re Militari* (4.22), discussing these and other weapons. In 2.25 and 3.24, Vegetius states that "Onagri" (catapults) threw stones, and ballistae darts (*Military institutions of Vegetius*, transl. John Clarke [1767], pp. 84, 157).

177 Polybius, *The Histories*, lib. I, mentions "catapults, missiles and all requirements for a siege," and "catapults and mangonels."

178 Stewechius, *Commentarius ad Flavi Vegeti Renati Libros de re Militari* (447), citing Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae a Fine Corneli Taciti (Roman History)*. This description is not entirely accurate, since Ammianus, in 15.12.1, compares the kicks of a Gaulic female warrior to "missiles sent from the string of a catapult"; and lib. 19.1.1 speaks of a ballista striking down the son of the king of the Chionitae, "piercing through his breastplate, breast and all."

179 Stewechius, *Commentarius ad Flavi Vegeti Renati Libros de re Militari* (446), citing Valerius Maximus, *Factorum et Dictorum Memorabilium*; and Vitruvius, *De Architectura* (10.10–11).

180 Stewechius, *Commentarius ad Flavi Vegeti Renati Libros de re militari* (446), citing Julius Cæsar, *Commentarii de Bello Civili* (2.9), speaks of the precautions taken in the building of works during siege of Massilia, lest "stones from catapults should batter the brickwork."

181 Not further identified; apparently an Italian writer on military matters.

182 Athenæus, *The Deipnosophists, or, Banquet of the Learned* (5.43). Describing Hiero of Syracuse's ship, Athanaeus quotes Moschion: "And a wall, having buttresses and decks, ran all through the ship, supported on trestles; and on these decks was placed a catapult, which hurled a stone weighing three talents, and an arrow twelve cubits long. And this engine was devised and made by Archimedes …"

183 Plutarch, *Marcellus* (15.4). In Bernadotte Perrin's edition, the stone was "of ten talents'

Ancients tell us, that the *Balists* ordinarily cast a Stone of an hundred Weight, a Quarter of an English Mile. Herewith also they Cast into the Besieged Towns, Burning Iron, Vessels with Molten Lead, Dead Horses, & Tubs and Barrels full of Excrements, or any thing else that might infest the Besieged. The *Catapults* would sometimes Strike away Spears twelve Cubits long: which they discharged with such Force, that *Ammianus* tells us, they were sett on fire sometimes by the Swiftness of their Motion. And some write of a *Catapult*, that shott a Lance from One Bank of the *Danube* to the other, where it is broadest; which may be more than two *Italian* Miles;[184] and it may be no Peece of Ordnance will shoot a Bullet point blank so far, especially over a River.

Vegetius mentions the *Carrobalist*; which was a *Balist* mounted on a Carriage; having Eleven Souldiers (which *Vegetius* allowes to One Tent, or *Contuberurum*, intimating also that a *File* was *Eleven* Deep among the *Romans*,) to manage it.[185]

He tells us likewise of the *Onager*, that shott Stones like Thunderbolts greater or {....}.[186] It was a Kind of *Balist*, or *Catapult*. And, *Steuechius* tells us, it had its Name from the Greek Word, which signifies *A Wild Ass*; because those Animals, when hunted, fling Stones with their Heels, at those who pursue them.[187] *Vegetius* adds the *Scorpion*, that shott small Darts, and Poison'd ones too; which immediately kill'd those whom they struck. But *Ammianus* makes the *Onager*, & the *Scorpion* to be the same.[188]

However, I think, we have now staied long enough among these dangerous *Engines*; Lett us begone.

709.

Q. What might bee King *Uzziah*s Temptation, when hee would needs Rashly præsume, to *Burn Incense in the Temple*? v. 16.

A. Hee had married *Jerusha*, the Daughter of the *High-Priest*.

Some say, He had a vain Ambition to Imitate the Heathen *Princes*, who in many Places executed the *Priesthood* also.

J. *Capellus* thinks, That which raised his Pride, was, That he had now not only a Son, but also a Grandson, born unto him.[189]

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weight," with a talent being "something over fifty pounds," for a total weight of more than five thousand pounds.

184 The Italian mile, or lega, is equivalent to about three standard miles.

185 Vegetius, *De re Militari* (2.25).

186 A line of text at the bottom of the page is worn away. In 4.22, Vegetius writes that the largest onagri "impel the most ponderous bodies with a velocity like that of lightning."

187 Stewechius, *Commentarius ad Flavi Vegeti Renati Libros de re Militari* (448).

188 Stewechius, *Commentarius ad Flavi Vegeti Renati Libros de re Militari* (448), citing Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae a Fine Corneli Taciti*, lib. XIX.

189 Patrick, *A Commentary* (394), citing Jacobus Capellus, author, with Ludovicus Capellus, of *Observationes in Vetus Testamentum* (1689).

899.

Q. Why must a *Leprosy*, and this arising & appearing, first in the *Forehead*, bee the Punishment of *Uzziah*s Præsumption? v. 19.

A. The Office of *High-Priest* was by *Uzziah* præsumpteously pretended unto. Now the Office of the *High-Priest*, was to bee the Judge of a *Leprosy*; and because of this his Office, hee was never known to bee smitten with a *Leprosy*. Wherefore, at once to Chastise, & Convince the fault of *Uzziah*, how proper was it, for a *Leprosy* to bee inflicted upon him! And whereas, the *High-Priest*, was to wear a Plate of *Gold*, on his *Forehead*, with, *Holiness to the Lord*, inscribed thereupon, behold, on the *Forehead* of *Uzziah* there is now Risen the contrary *Uncleanness* of a *Leprosy*.

The Punishment for *Uzziah*s crime is Capital. Lev. X.1, 2. Num. III.10. XVIII.7. The *Leprosy* was a Sort of *Death*; it separated Men from the Society of the Living, as if they were no Part of the World.

His House here, is called, *An House of Freedom*. In such an House, they were *Free*, or Exempt from the common affairs of the World; but, as tis expressed, Ps. LXXXV.5. *Free among the Dead*.[190]

1539.

Q. It is said, *The Rest of the Acts of Uzziah, first & last, did Isaiah the Prophet the Son of Amoz, write*. Pray, what is become of the Book? v. 22.

A. Wee have it. The First Six Chapters in the Prophecy of *Isaiah*, have in them, an History of what was done in the Dayes of *Uzziah*. Several Passages, which belong to Church and State, in that Kings Reign, are mentioned in those Chapters.

And it may truly bee said, *Isaiah wrote his Acts First & Last*, because you will find that the Prophecy of *Isaiah*, begins, *At the Dayes of Uzziah*; (Isa. 1.1.) And afterwards, hee Relates, what happened, *In the Year that King Uzziah died*. (Isa. 6.1.) So that something, that was *First* and *Last* in his Time, is Recorded here.

190 Mather takes the last two paragraphs from Patrick, *A Commentary* (395–96).

Q. *On the Wall Ophel*. What was *Ophel*? v. 3.
A. The *Targum* translates it, *A Palace*. Others understand, an High Place, or Cliff, where there was a Tower. But *Pellicanus* thinks the Meaning to be, That he much beautified, as well as Repaired, the Porch of the House of the Lord; which was an hundred & twenty Cubits High.[192]

[398v] |

Q. A Remark upon *Jotham*? v. 6.
A. *Solomon Jarchi* remarks, That all the Kings of *Judah*, had some Ill Thing laid unto their Charge, but only *Jotham* {did not}. *David* himself sinned grievously in the Matter of *Urijah*. *Solomon* was drawn away by his Wives, to countenance Idolatry. *Rehoboam* forsook the Law of the Lord. *Abijah* walked in his Steps. *Asa* sent the Treasure in the House of the Lord, unto the King of *Syria*; & putt the Prophet in the Stocks. *Jehoshaphat* entred into Society with the Wicked. – And so he goes on with the rest. But in *Jotham* (saies he) there is no Fault found; which is a wonder, when there were so few Good People among them. Tho' his Integrity were so great, as great was the Corruption of the People: who immediately after his Death, joined with *Ahab* in his abominable Idolatries.[193]

Q. The *Book of the Kings of Israel & Judah*. Why that of *Israel*? v. 7.
A. The Affairs of the Kings of *Judah*, are commonly said to be Recorded in the Chronicles of the Kings of *Judah*. But this Kings Actions, it seems, were so eminent, that the *Israelites* also in their Books recorded some of them.[194]

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191 A quarto-sized leaf, stitched in.
192 Patrick, *A Commentary* (397), citing the Targum; and Conrad Pellican, *In Libros historicos, puta Iosue, Iudicum, Ruth, Samuelis, Regum, … Commentarii* (1580), in loc.
193 Patrick, *A Commentary* (398), citing Solomon Jarchi, or Rashi (*see II Chronicles: A New English Translation* 328).
194 Patrick, *A Commentary* (399).

Q. The Great Men, slain by *Pekah*, and the *Israelites*? v. 7.
A. They seem to have taken *Jerusalem*, tho' they did not keep it.

But how shall we Reconcile these things? Here, *Ahaz* is delivered into the Hand of the King of *Syria*, who smote him, and carried away a great Multitude of Prisoners to *Damascus*: And he was delivered also into the hand of *Pekah*, King of *Israel*, who slew in one Day, Six Score thousand Men of *Judah*, and carried no less than Two Hundred Thousand Women & Children, with much Spoil, to *Samaria*. But in 2. King. XVI.5. we read, That *Rezin* King of *Syria*, and *Pekah* King of *Israel*, came up to *Jerusalem*, and besieged *Ahaz*, but could not overcome him. And in the Book of *Isaiah* [Ch. VII.] we find the same.

To accommodate this, it may be considered, That the Account given in the Book of the *Kings*, & of *Isaiah*, relates not unto the same time with what we have in the *Chronicles*. Or Else, That the Two Kings of *Syria* & of *Israel*, after they were forced from the Siege of *Jerusalem*, committed those Hostilities, which kill'd so many People & took so many Captives, in other Parts of the Kingdome.

| [399v]

Q. *The Lord brought Judah low, because of Ahaz*? v. 19.
A. It was purely on his Account, that God gave them up into the Hand of the *Philistines*. For that very Year, in which *Ahaz* died, the Prophet *Isaiah* foretold, his Son should afflict them. [Isa. XIV.27, 28, 29.] And accordingly *Hezekiah* smote them, as far as *Gaza*. [2. King. XVIII.8.][195]

~~1490~~{?}.

Q. Why is *Ahaz*, the King of *Judah*, called, the King of *Israel*? v. 19.
A. Wee read of *Hoshea*, the Son of *Elah*, that hee slew his Predecessor, *Pekah*, in the *Fourth* Year of *Ahaz* (or, the Twentieth of *Jotham*:) and yett hee did not begin to Reign, until the *Twelfth* Year of *Ahaz*. It seems, hee could not obtain the Crown, immediately upon the Death of his Predecessor; it cost him Seven or Eight Years, to settle it quietly upon his Head. It is likely that *Ahaz*, upon the Death of his Potent Enemy *Pekah*, distressed *Israel*, in Revenge of the horrible Slaughter, that hee had made on *Judah*; & that hee kept *Hoshæa* out of the Throne. For this Reason, in part, may hee bee called, *The King of Israel*; as well as for his walking also in the Idolatrous Wayes of those *Kings of Israel*.

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195 Patrick, *A Commentary* (405).

Q. We read concerning the King of *Assyria* here; *He distressed Ahaz, but strengthened him not*. In 1. King. XVI.9. it is said, That *he did help him*? v. 20.
A. Both are True. As he came to his Assistence against the King of *Syria*, so he took *Damascus*, carried the People captive, and delivered *Ahaz* from the Power of the *Syrians*. This did *Ahaz* little Good; for he helped him not to recover the Cities the *Syrians* had taken from him; nor did he lend him any Forces, nor enable him to recruit his own. But it rather weakened him; It exhausted his Treasures; and by the Destruction of *Samaria*, there was a Way opened, more more easily to Invade his Countrey, in the next Reign.[196]

Q. The Stupidity of King *Ahaz*, To sacrifice unto the *Gods of Damascus, which smote him*? v. 23.
A. A most monstrous one! To imagine, they had any Power over him, who could not defend themselves from *Tiglath-Pileser*. But being of the Opinion, that they were Gods, he sacrificed unto them, to appease them, that they might do him no further Hurt. This was like the ancient *Romans*, who wo{o}ed by larger Sacrifices the Gods of their Enemies, to come over unto their Side, & be their Friend.[197]

Q. Why did *Ahaz cutt in Peeces the Vessels of the House of God*? v. 24.
A. That the Priests might not be able to minister before God, for the want of them. [2. Chron. XXIX.19.] And that he might employ the Money he made of them, in building *Altars* (as it followes) in every Corner of *Jerusalem*.[198]

[400r][199] |

Q. A Recapitulation of Occurrences, in the Reign of *Ahaz*, will Illustrate the Sacred History? v. 27.
A. The Two Kings, that of *Syria*, and that of *Israel*, according to the Prædiction of *Isaiah*, foiled of their Enterprize against the Kingdome of *Judah*, and returned home.

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196 Patrick, *A Commentary* (406).
197 Patrick, *A Commentary* (407), citing Thomas Jackson, *A treatise containing the originall of unbeliefe* (1625), cap. XVII, § 5. Discussing the Athenians' altar to the unknown god, Jackson writes, "With like gratifications did the *Romanes* strive to winne the gods of al the nations they had conquered, to favour their conquests… Nor is it strange the ignorant Heathen should be overtaken with this humor, wherewith an untoward branch of *Davids* stocke was desperately tainted. *In the time of his tribulation did he yet trespasse more against the Lord. (This is King Ahaz*, so unwilling is the spirit his name should be conceiled:) *For he sacrificed unto the gods of Damascus, which plagued him, and he sayd; Because the gods of the King of Aram helped him, I will sacrifice unto them, and they will helpe me"* (p. 141).
198 Patrick, *A Commentary* (407).
199 A folio-sized leaf, tipped in with sealing wax.

Ahaz growing still more wicked after such a Deliverance, God brought upon him again, the Two confæderated Kings, who came with Forces better appointed, & Counsels better concerted, than before; dividing themselves into Three Armies; One commanded by *Rezin* King of *Syria*; Another commanded by *Pekah* King of *Israel*; A Third under *Zichri*, a mighty Man of *Ephraim*: And the more to distract him, they invaded him, in Three different Parts of his Kingdome at the same time. *Rezin*, having enriched himself with Spoils, and a vast Number of Captives, returned unto *Damascus*. *Pekah* marched against *Ahaz* directly, who had yett the main Strength of his Kingdome together to oppose him. And *Ahaz* taking Encouragement from the Departure of *Rezin*, gave battel to him; wherein he was overthrown with a terrible Destruction. *Zichri* taking advantage of the Blow, siezed upon *Jerusalem*, & slew *Maasejah* the Son of the King, & most of the Grandees whom he found in the Royal City. Both of these Armies, being on the Return with above two hundred thousand Captives, a Prophet brought a Message & Rebuke from GOD unto them; whereupon the Elders of the Land fearing the Revenges of Heaven, Restored & Releeved the Captives. But within a Year after this, the *Edomites* in the *South*, and the *Philistines* in the *West*, siezed upon those Parts of the Land which lay next unto them, & very much infested the rest, which they could reach unto.

Impænitent *Ahaz* in this Distress pillaged the Temple of the Gold & Silver found in it, and making a Present of it unto *Tiglath-Pileser*, entreated his Assistence, & promised thereupon to become his Tributary. The King of *Assyria*, seeing such an Opportunity of adding *Syria* and *Palestine* unto his Empire, marched with a great Army thither; slew *Rezin* in Battel; Took *Damascus*; putt an End unto the Kingdome of the *Syrians* there, after it had lasted for Ten Generations; that is, from the Time of *Rezon* the Son of *Eliadah*, who first founded it, while *Solomon* was King over *Israel*. He then marched against *Pekah*, and siezed all that belonged unto *Israel* beyond *Jordan*, and all the Land of *Galilee*; and then went on towards *Jerusalem*. This he did, rather to gett more Money of *Ahaz*, than to afford any Real Help unto him: For he did not help him to recover any of the Places, which the *Philistines*, or *Edomites*, or other Enemies, had in this time of War taken from him. No, but when he had gott from him all the Money he could, (for the raising whereof *Ahaz* cutt the Vessels of the Temple to Peeces, & melted them down,) he marched back to *Damascus*, and wintered there. The Land was almost as much exhausted by the *Subsidies* which this pretended Ally extorted from him, as by the *Ravages* of open Enemies; And there were Two lasting Mischiefs which also followed hereupon; For, first, instead of Two petty Princes, whom he had before for his Neighbours, with either of which he could have coped, he had now a mighty King for his Borderer, against whom it was anon found, all the Force of the Land could make no Resistence; And, Secondly, From this time the *Jews* were excluded {from} all their Traffick into the *Southern Sea*, which had hitherto

been one of the principal Foundations, which their Wealth & Strength had been built upon.

Ahaz found it necessary to overlook all Injuries from the *Assyrian*, lest he should provoke him to greater; and therefore went unto him at *Damascus* with his Complements, and there paid him the Obeysance of a Tributary.

Being in *Damascus* on this Occasion, he saw there an Idolatrous *Altar*, of a
[400v] Form that much pleased him; and | having ordered the High-Priest at *Jerusalem* to make one like it, at his Return thither, he removed the *Altar* of the LORD, and sett up this New one in its Place. He now worshipped the Gods of the *Syrians*, and the other Nations round about him, as Gods that helped their People. He filled *Judæa* with Idols & their *Altars*; and shutt up the *Temple* of the Lord, & utterly suppressed His Worship in his Kingdome. And this he did with an Air of Defiance unto the LORD, in an Anger and Revenge, for not having delivered him, from the *Syrians*, & the *Israelites*. Monster of Impiety!

Tiglath-Pileser, on his Return into *Assyria*, carried with him great Numbers of Captives. Those of *Damascus*, he planted in *Kir*; and those of *Israel* in *Halah*, and *Habor*, and *Hara*, and on the River *Gozan*, in the Land of the *Medes*. *Kir* was a City in the Hither Part of *Media*; But *Halah*, and *Habor*, and *Hara*, and the River *Gozan*, was at a greater Distance. And herein was accomplished the Prædiction of the Prophet *Amos*, wherein he foretold, in the Days of *Uzziah* the Grandfather of *Ahaz*, That GOD would cause them [Amos. V.26, 27.] to *go into Captivity beyond* Damascus, that is, into Places beyond where those of *Damascus* were to be carried. The Text cited by *Stephen* has it, *Beyond Babilon*! But the Edition of *Wicelius*, which doubtless followed Ancient Copies, has it, *Beyond Damascus*.[200]

This, by the Way, proves *Media* to have been then under the King of *Assyria*. And therefore, *Tiglath-Pileser*, and *Arbaces*, must not be Two Kings, as Dr. *Usher* supposeth.[201] *Diodorus Siculus* also tells us, That *Arbaces* had *Assyria* as well as *Media*, falling to him, in the Partition of the Empire.[202]

Pekah, was by the *Assyrian* brought lower, than he had brought *Ahaz* before. He had now scarce any thing left, but the City of *Samaria*, and the Territories of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, and the Half-Tribe of *Menasseh*. This brought him under the Contempt & Vengeance of his People; among whom one whose Name was *Hosæa* slew him, and Reigned in his room. Hereby was fully accomplished the Prophecy of *Isaiah* concerning him. [Chap. VII.16.] It looks, as if at first, the

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200 In Acts 7:43, in his speech before he is martyred, Stephen prophecies to the Jews in God's name that He will "carry you away beyond Babylon." Georgius Wicelius, 16th-century German Catholic apologist, author of *Annotationes In Sacras Literas* (1557).

201 James Ussher, *Annales Veteris Testamenti* (87–88 ff.), where he distinguishes Arbaces from Tilgath-Pileser and gives the chronology of the Assyrian domination of Israel.

202 Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca historica* (2.28).

Elders of the People, took the Government into their hands. For *Hosæa* had not the Kingdome till Nine Years after, or towards the End of the Twelfth of *Ahaz*.

In the Fourteenth of *Ahaz*, fell out the Death of *Tiglath-Pileser*, after he had Reigned Nineteen Years; and his Son *Salmanassar* succeeded him; whom is by *Hosæa* called *Shalman*; and in the Book of *Tobit* is called, *Enemessar*.[203] He was no sooner settled in his Throne, but he came into *Syria* and *Palestine*, and subjected *Samaria* to his Dominion, and made *Hosæa* become his Tributary. In this Expedition he carried away the *Golden Calf*, that *Jeroboam* had sett up in *Bethel*; The other *Golden Calf*, which had been sett up in *Dan*, having been carried away by *Tiglath-Pileser* Ten Years before. The Apostate *Israelites*, being thus deprived of their Idols, began to Return unto the Lord; and go up unto *Jerusalem* for the Worship of GOD; wherein *Hosæa* encouraged them. Formerly the Kings of *Israel*, had maintained Guards on their Frontiers, to hinder all People under their Subjection, from going up unto *Jerusalem* to worship there. But *Hosæa* took away these Guards; and when *Hezekiah* invited the Tribes of Revolted *Israel*, to come up unto his Passeover, *Hosæa* did not hinder them: Nor did he forbid them, when Returning from that Festival, {who in} their Zeal destroy'd all the Monuments of Idolatry, throughout the Kingdome of *Samaria*. For which Cause, *Hosæa* has the Best Character, of all the Kings that had Reigned over *Israel* before him.

Ahaz died in the Thirty Sixth Year of his Age; being smitten of GOD. But the People did by him, as they did by other Kings that had Reigned wickedly over them, lay a Mark of Infamy on him, in denying a Royal Burial unto him.

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203 Hos. 10:14, "Therefore shall a tumult arise among thy people, and all thy fortresses shall be spoiled, as Shalman spoiled Betharbel in the day of battle: the mother was dashed in pieces upon her children." Tobit 1:1–2, "The book of the words of Tobit, son of Tobiel, the son of Ananiel, the son of Aduel, the son of Gabael, of the seed of Asael, of the tribe of Nephthali; who in the time of Enemessar king of the Assyrians was led captive out of Thisbe …"

[401r][204] 2. Chronicles. Chap. 29.

Q. *They turned their Backs*?] v. 6.
A. It seems to signify (as Dr. *Patrick* notes) that *Ahaz* brought in a Way of Worship, directly contrary to the Law of God; which commanded them to Worship towards the *Ark*, which was placed in the West. He ordered them to *turn their Backs* upon it, and worship towards the East, where he sett up his Altar. This was a Contempt cast upon the Divine Majesty. Presently we are told, he shutt up the *Doors of the Temple*, that they might not Worship there at all.[205]

Q. The Hebrew Term for an *He-Goat*, used here? v. 21.
A. *Tsaphir*;[206] It was never used by the Hebrews until after the Captivity of *Babylon*! *Daniel*, who lived in the Captivity, has it [Dan. VIII.21.] It was a Chaldee Term. And so it helps our guess at the Writer of the Book now in our hands.[207]

Q. The *Sin-Offerings* here offered for the *Kingdome*? v. 21.
A. There are Two Laws in the Books of *Moses*, requiring a Sacrifice to be offered for the *Sin* of the *Whole Congregation*, when they were in an Error. The first is, Lev. IV.13, 14. where a *Bullock* is required to be offered, when they were seduced ignorantly to do something forbidden by the Law, tho' they did not Forsake their Religion. The other is, Num. XV.22, 23, 24. where a *Goat* is required to be offered with a *Bullock*, when they acted contrary to their Religion, and were fallen into the Practice of external Rites. The *Bullock* was offered for a *Burnt-Offering*, in token that they owned no other God but the LORD, nor any Religion but that which was præscribed by *Moses*. And the *Goat* for a *Sin-Offering*, that they might expiate the Guilt of having done contrary to that
[401v] Religion. Good King *Hezekiah*, being sensible | that they had not only acted contrary to their Religion, but in Effect abolished it, by shutting up the Doors of the Temple, and omitting the Daily Sacrifice, and every where exercising Strange Worship, appointed *Seven* to be offered instead of *One*. He thought these Numerous Sacrifices, (together with *Rams,* and *Lambs*,{)} were very proper, in Consideration of the Number, and the Continuance of the Sins, whereof they

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204 A quarto-sized leaf, stitched in.
205 Patrick, *A Commentary* (410).
206 צָפִיר [tsaphir], "he-goat."
207 Patrick, *A Commentary* (415). Patrick sees this post-exilic usage as "some Argument that *Ezra* was the Author of this Book."

now sought the Forgiveness. Thus after the Captivity, they offered no fewer than *Twelve*. [Ezr. VIII.35.][208]

Q. Why is it said, *As many as were of Free Heart, brought Burnt-Offerings*? v. 31.
A. *Kimchi* observes, These were not like the *Sacrifices of Thanksgiving*; whereof a great Part was eaten by the Offerers. The *Burnt-Offerings* were entirely consumed upon the Altar, in Honour of God; And therefore, it argued greater Piety, and a more *Free Heart* to offer them.[209]

Q. The *Priests too few*? v. 34.
A. They who had sacrified unto *Idols*, were secluded from the Ministry. They who had not, yett were not all prepared, & sanctified. There was in them a Backwardness to the work.

The *flaying* of the *Burnt-Offerings*, was the Work of the Priests. It could not be done, but by such as were skilful in the Business. *Bochart* observes out of the Heathen Poet, it was practised with great Art and Industry.

In Cases of great Necessity, they did not nicely stand on the Observation of the Ceremonial Law. Now, and in *Josiah*s Time, some things were admitted, which the Law did not allow.[210]

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208 Patrick, *A Commentary* (415–16).

209 Patrick, *A Commentary* (418), citing David Kimhi: "Since burnt offerings are not like [peace] offerings and offerings of thanksgiving, for [the latter two] are eaten by their owner while burnt offerings are burnt in their entirety, the text says concerning the bringing of burnt offerings, 'all those charitably inclined.'" *The Commentary of Rabbi David Kimhi to Chronicles* 260.

210 Patrick, *A Commentary* (419), citing Bochart, *Hierozoicon* (pars prior, lib. II, cap. XXXIII, p. 324), quoting an unidentified "heathen poet."

Q. *Hezekiah*, sending to all *Israel*, and *Writing Letters also to Ephraim & Menasseh*? v. 1.

A. These were the Tribes that were nearest unto him. And he could not *Command* them, he could only *Invite* them, to their Duty.

Indeed, great Numbers of them had settled themselves in the Land of *Judah*, in the Reign of *Asa*.

When *Hezekiah* invited the *Israelites* unto *Jerusalem*, it seems *Hoshæa* the King of *Israel*, did not forbid the Messengers, to carry their Message, nor forbid his People to comply with it; as *Jacobus Cappellus* observes upon it. And our Dr. *Patrick* looks upon it, as a Remarkable Instance of the Divine Goodness towards the Sinful People, in the Kingdome of the Ten Tribes; that God raised up, at the Last, when they were even ripe for Destruction, such a King to reign over them, who had so much Goodness in him, that he did not hinder any of his own Subjects from going to worship at *Jerusalem*; nor hindered those who came to perswade them thither. The *Israelites* could not now pretend that they were Idolaters, for fear of the Kings Displeasure.[212]

Q. *The Posts went with the Letters*.] That Passage gives us Opportunity to reflect upon the Dexterity of the former Ages, beyond ours, for the Dispatch of Intelligence; and perhaps to Illustrate something of the Sacred Scripture? v. 6.

A. In the Roman Story, the *Dispatch of Intelligence*, which often occurs, is wonderful.

Vibullius,[213] as tis reported by *Cæsar*, posted Night and Day, taking at every Stage a fresh Horse, that he might give Information to *Pompey*, of *Cæsar*s being at hand.[214]

Suetonius reports, that *Cæsar* would run an hundred Miles in a Day on a Chariot; by the Help of Blown Bladders, making his way over Rivers; and thus

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212 Patrick, *A Commentary* (420–21), citing Jacobus Capellus, possibly *Historia sacra et exotica ab Adamo usque ad Augusti ortum* (192), where Capellus discusses the restitution of the Passover: *Mittuntur etiam ad Israelitas patiente id Hosea legati, qui omnes ad Pascha immolandum inuitent*. *See also* Jacobus Capellus and Ludovicus Capellus, *Observationes in Vetus Testamentum*, in loc.

213 MS: "Vibullus."

214 For this entry, Mather culled from John Smith, *Christian Religion's Appeal from the groundless Prejudices of the Sceptick to the Bar of common Reason* (1675), ch. VIII, pp. 64–65. On p. 64, regarding Vibullius Rufus, Smith cites Julius Caesar, "*Comment.* 3.3" (i.e., *De Bello civili* [*Civil Wars*] 3.11).

he was often at his Journeyes End, before there had been the least Advice of his setting out: *Longissimas vias incredibili celeritate fecit*.[215]

Livy reports of *Sempronius Gracchus*, that in the Roman Wars against *Antiochus*, he went by Post from *Amphissa* to *Pella*, in three Dayes; *Per dispositos Equos propè incredibili celeritate*.[216]

Tiberius, as tis reported by *Valerius Maximus*, posted with such rapid Haste, to visit his Brother *Drusus*, who lay sick in *Germany*, that he hurried over the *Alps*, and the rugged Regions bounding upon them, at the rate of two hundred Miles, in twenty four Hours; *Mutato Subinde Equo*.[217]

Philo Judæus tells us, That *Petronius*, was afraid of setting up *Caligula*'s Image in the | Temple, as he ordered him; lest the Jewes from all Parts of the [402v] World should presently be about his Ears; by reason of the Incredibly quick way of Dispatch of Newes to which they had inured themselves.[218]

Indeed those Parts of the Empire, that bordered on *Judæa*, were long before putt into a Posture for the most speedy Conveyance of Advertisements, by *Cyrus*: who that he might have Newes brought him of all Emergencies, from all the Parts of his vast Empire, would have Trial made, how far an Horse could go outright at full Speed without baiting; At which distance he caused Stages to be sett, and fresh Horses to stand. *Xenephon* saies, That this kind of Posting, was affirmed by some to be æquivalent for Swiftness to the flying of Cranes.[219]

There is one *John Smith*, who in his, *Christian Religions Appeal*, ha's a Conjecture, That this *Art of Posting*, was convey'd thither out of *Judæa*, and communicated by *Daniel*, at the Time of his being sett over the Presidents of the Provinces. It was most certainly of old in Use among them; we find *Hezekiah*

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215 "He covered great distances with incredible speed"; Smith, *Christian Religion's Appeal* (64), citing Suetonius, *Diuus Julius*, lib. I of *De Vita Caesarum* (57).

216 "Through positioned horses by almost incredible speed." Smith, *Christian Religion's Appeal* (64–65), citing Livy in Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* (37). Smith does not indicate which edition of Pliny he used, but he cites "pag. 759."

217 "By the constantly changed horse." Smith, *Christian Religion's Appeal* (65), citing Valerius Maximus, *Factorum et Dictorum Memorabilium* (5.5.3).

218 Smith, *Christian Religion's Appeal* (65), citing Philo Judaeus, *De Legatione ad Gaius* (Smith cites "pag. 639," but does not cite the edition): "O my lord and master, Gaius! this temple has never, from the time of its original foundation until now, admitted any form made by hands, because it has been the abode of God. Now, pictures and images are only imitations of those gods who are perceptible to the outward senses; but it was not considered by our ancestors to be consistent with the reverence due to God to make any image or representation of the invisible God" (cap. XXXVI).

219 Smith, *Christian Religion's Appeal* (65), citing Xenophon, *Education of Cyrus* (8.43). Regarding the post-stations that Cyrus set up throughout his empire, Xenophon writes, "They say, moreover, that sometimes this express does not stop all night, but the night-messengers succeed the day-messengers in relays, and when that is the case, this express, some say, gets over the ground faster than the cranes. If their story is not literally true, it is at all events undeniable that this is the fastest overland travelling on earth; and it is a fine thing to have immediate intelligence of everything, in order to attend to it as quickly as possible" (8.6).

thus dispatching his Proclamations. *Deborah* bewayls the Dayes of *Shangar*, for that in them the Couriers were forced to take By-wayes.[220]

Palladius could Ride Post unto the furthest Bounds, of the *Roman* and *Persian* Dominions, and back again in Thirty Dayes, to *Theodosius* the Emperour, at *Constantinople*. *Cicero* reports, that *Cæsar* wrote to him out of *Britain*, the first Day of *September*, and the Letters came to his hands the twenty Eighth Day of the same Month.[221]

Our *Smith* makes this Use of these things: That for the Apostles to have gone up and down with pompous Stories of things done in *Judæa*, when they could not but know, that whoso pleased, might in a Months Time or less, have detected the Forgery, would have been such a Peece of temerarious Madness, as tis not imaginable how twelve Men should be at once intoxicated with it.[222] It confirms, the Truth of the Evangelical Promulgation.

[403r][223] |

Q. *Hezekiah*'s Declaration, of such *Exuberant Grace* (as tis justly called by *Strigelius*,)[224] which upon Repentance, not only promised the Continuance of the People in the Land, but also the Return of the Captives to their own Land? v. 9.

A. *Hezekiah* had Authority to declare it. It had been Declared by *Moses*; and *Hezekiah* applied it unto their present Circumstances.

Q. *They Laughed them to Scorn*, & *Mocked them*? v. 10.

A. For which they shortly paid very dearly. *Salmanasser* came Six Years after, and took *Samaria*, and carried the whole Nation into Captivity.[225]

Q. Not so much as One of *Ephraim* is here mentioned? v. 11.

A. Yett *Ephraim* is anon mentioned, as partaking of the *Passeover*. Some of them, tis likely, upon Consideration, followed the Exemple of their Brethren; tho' at first, they mocked at the Message, that invited them unto it.[226]

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220 Smith, *Christian Religion's Appeal* (65).

221 Smith, *Christian Religion's Appeal* (65), citing Socrates Scholasticus, *Ecclesiastical History*, in Scholasticus et al., *Ancient Ecclesiastical Histories of the first six hundred Years after Christ* (1577), bk. 7, ch. 19, on Palladius (though Scholasticus writes that it was not "Thirty Dayes" but, improbably, three days: "He was able in three dayes to ryde in such poste, as was to be wondered, unto the furthest places and boundes of the *Romaine* and *Persian* dominions, and backe agayne in so many dayes to *Constantinople*"). Smith also cites Cicero in Johannes Sleidanus (1506–66), German historian, *Clavis Historia (The Key of History)* (1627), lib. 1, pp. 98–99.

222 Smith, *Christian Religion's Appeal* (65).

223 A quarto-sized leaf, stitched in.

224 Victorinus Strigelius, *Libri Samuelis, Regum, & Paralipoménon* (366): *opulentia gratiae divinae exuberantis supra peccatum.*

225 Patrick, *A Commentary* (424).

226 Patrick, *A Commentary* (424).

[403v]

Q. Their *Eating the Passeover otherwise than it was written*? v. 18.

A. Perhaps after such a long Night of Ignorance and Superstition and Idolatry, they scarce understood the Ceremonies required for their *Cleansing*. Or we may rather say, They had not Time to use them.

Yett having an Eager and Pious Desire, to commemorate their wonderful Deliverance out of the *Egyptian* Bondage, they were permitted in their Uncleanness to eat the Passeover; lest if they were denied it, they should be discouraged in Returning to the True Religion.[227]

Q. The Lords *Healing the People*? v. 20.

A. Some imagine, That God smote them with some Disease, because of their Impurity; which on this Prayer was cured.

But the Scripture uses this Phrase, for the Granting of a Pardon, and the Freeing of Men from the Guilt of Sin. See Isa. VI.10. *Lest they should be Converted, & be Healed*; that is, Pardoned.[228]

227 Patrick, *A Commentary* (427).
228 Patrick, *A Commentary* (427).

[404r][229] 2. Chronicles. Chap. 31.

Q. *Hezekiah*s maintaining the *Sacrifices*? v. 3.

A. It seems there was a particular Sacrifice, offered for the King every day, at his own Cost & Charge. Besides which, *Hezekiah* likewise maintained the Morning and Evening Sacrifices *Every day*; & especially on the *Sabbaths*, and the *New Moons*, and the Solemn *Feasts*: The Condition of the people being so low, that they could not every one pay the Tax that must have been laid on them, for the Maintenance of the Sacrifices.

He made an Allowance out of his own Estate, for the Support of all Expences at the *Altar*.[230]

3337.

Q. What was that *Honey*, whereof the *Israelites* brought the *First-Fruits* unto the Lord? v. 5.

A. The Versions alwayes confound *Honey* with *Dates*, because the Hebrew expresses both, by the same Name.[231]

Thus here; The Jewish Doctors observe, That the Hebrew Word here, most properly signifies, *Dates*; to which the Sacred Writers give the same Name with *Honey*, because, when they are in their Maturity, they do in Effect, yeeld a Sort of *Honey*, which is not much inferior to the True *Honey*.

God required the *First-fruits*, only of the Earth, and of living Creatures.

Dates are at this Day called by the Arabians, *Dubous*, and the *Honey* of *Dates*, they call *Dibs*, or *Dibis*.

Probably our Text speaks only of *Dates*, or at most, the *Honey of Dates*.

The *Targum* here translates it, *Honey of Dates*. Thus the Jews expound, Deut. VIII.8.

Tho' *Honey* was not offered in Sacrifices to God, yett there is no Reason, why they might not bring unto the *Priests*, the *First-fruits* of it.[232]

[404v] |

Q. The Meaning of that; *In their sett Office, they Sanctified themselves in Holiness*? v. 18.

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229 A quarto-sized leaf, stitched in.

230 Patrick, *A Commentary* (431).

231 דְּבַשׁ [devash], "honey; also used for date- and grape-syrup, thickened by boiling" (*HOL*).

232 Mather takes the last two paragraphs from Patrick, *A Commentary* (432), citing the Targum.

A. In the Hebrew tis; *In Faith*, or, *With Fidelity*.[233] They *Sanctified themselves in Holiness*; that is, they attended upon their Ministry at the House of God; and they did it, without any Doubt, that they should be provided of all things necessary.

Here seems to be the Reason, why such Care was taken of their Wives & Children; because their Husbands were wholly given up to the Service of God, & could not follow any other Employment, by which they might have provided for the Welfare of their Families.[234]

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233 יִתְקַדְּשׁוּ־לֹדֶשׁ בֶּאֱמוּנָתָם כִּי [ki ev'emunatham yithqaddeshu-qodesh], "for they were faithful in keeping themselves holy" (ESV); "for they consecrated themselves faithfully in holiness" (*NAU*); "for in their set office they sanctified themselves in holiness" (*KJV*). The 1611 ed. makes reference to "trust" in the margin as an alternative to "set office."

234 Patrick, *A Commentary* (436).

Q. The Overthrow of *Sennacherib*; How was the Story disguised among the Pagans? v. 21.

A. *Herodotus* relates from the *Egyptian* Priests, a Story of this importance; making a fabulous Application of it, unto *Pelusium*, instead of *Jerusalem*; and unto *Sethon* instead of *Hezekiah*. By whose Piety, he sais, it was obtained, that, while the King of *Assyria* laid Siege unto that City, a great Number of Rats, were miraculously sent into his Army, which in one Night, so ate up their Shield-Straps & Quivers, and Bow-Strings, that on the next Morning, finding themselves destitute of Arms to carry on the War, they raised the Siege. *Herodotus* calls this King *Sennacherib*.[236]

Q. The Defeat of *Sennacherib*? v. 21.

A. The *Targum* saies, The *Word of the Lord* sent *Gabriel*, to do this Execution; who in the Passeover Night, smote the *Assyrians* with *Lightning*. *Beckius* observes, Tis related after the like Manner in the *Babylonian Talmud*.[237]

Our Dr. *Patrick* saies, one would think, that *Artabanus* had heard something of this Dreadful and Sudden Overthrow, when he disswaded *Xerxes*, from the Invasion of *Greece*, with a Swoln Confidence that nothing could withstand him. *Dost thou not observe*, (said he) *how the highest and most magnificent Buildings are wont to be struck with Thunder, when the lower Escape*: φιλει γαρ ο θεος τα υπερεχοντα παντα κολουειν. *For God Loves to depress all things that are lifted up*.[238] In the same Speech, he admonishes him, *God allowes none to think Highly of themselves, but only Himself*.

From this Time the *Assyrian* Empire began to fall. The next Year after the Death of *Sennacherib*, the *Mede* Revolted; unto which doubtless this Defeat at *Jerusalem* encouraged them. And by their Exemple, several other Nations fell off from the *Assyrians*, and asserted their Liberty; as *Hermannus Conringius* has observed, out of his *Adversaria Chronologica*.[239]

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236 See 2 Kings 18. Herodotus, *Historiae* (2.141), who actually refers to Hezekiah as Sethos, not Sethon.

237 Patrick, *A Commentary* (442), citing Matthias Beckius, *II. Libri Chronicorum*, in loc.; and the Babylonian Talmud.

238 Joannes Stobaeus Anthologus, *Anthologium* (3.22.46): φιλέει γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τὰ ὑπερέχοντα πάντα κολούειν. Cf. O. Hense and C. Wachsmuth, *Ioannis Stobaei Anthologium* (1884–1912).

239 Patrick, *A Commentary* (442–43), citing (on thunder) Herodotus, *Historiae* (7.10); and (on fall of the Assyrian empire) Hermannus Conringius, *De Asiae et Aegypti anliquissimis deprastiis Adversaria Chronologica* (1648), cap. IV.

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1660.

Q. The Story of *Sennacherib*; are there in Profane History, any Footsteps of it? v. 21.

A. The *Tirhakah*, King of *Ethiopia*, (or, *Arabia*,) who came against *Sennacherib*, on the behalf of the *Egyptians*, is by *Josephus* called, *Tharsices*, and by *Strabo*, *Tearkon*.[240]

The Slaughter of 185000 Men in his Camp, is recorded, as a Plague, by *Berosus*.[241]

The *Esarhaddon*, that succeeded *Sennacherib*, is judged the same, with *Assaradinus*, mentioned by *Ptolomy*, in his Catalogue of Kings:[242] & who subdued *Babylon*.

It is also thought, that this is hee, who, when hee brought a New Colony into *Samaria* from *Babylon*, & other Places, made, at the same Time, an Inroad, into *Judæa*, & there took *Menasseh*, the King thereof, & carried him away to *Babylon*.

Q. In *Hezekiah*'s Recovery, did not the *Cataplasm of Figs* Lessen the Wonder? v. 24.

A. It is true, *Pliny* tells us, The Application of a very Fat Fig to an hard Swelling, is a present Remedy. *Carbunculi, si sine ulcere {est}, quam pinquissimum ficum imponi, penè Singulare Remedium est*.[243] But the *Schechin* wherewith *Hezekiah* laboured, was not of that Sort. The Word signifies, the worst kind of *Ulcers*. And therefore, as Dr. *Patrick* observes, there was nothing in the Figs, to lessen the Wonder.[244]

Q. What was the Sin of *Hezekiah*, *when hee rendred not again according to the Benefit that was done to him*? v. 25.

A. The Sickness of *Hezekiah*, with his Recovery, seems to have been, in the Time of *Jerusalem*s being beseiged by *Sennacherib*. The Army of *Sennacherib* was destroyed by the Angel of the Lord, with a miraculous *Thunderstorm*. It is in our Context here said, *The Princes of Babylon sent to enquire of the Wonder that was done in the Land*; namely, of the *Wonderful* Destruction that came upon the *Sennacheribæan* Camp. And, then *Hezekiah* was guilty of this Fault whereof *Grotius* thinks, *Videtur ea maximè fuisse Culpa Hezekiæ, quòd Coram Legatis Babyloniis*

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240 Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* (10.1.4); Strabo, *Geographia* (1.3.21).

241 Berosus, *Babyloniaca*, quoted in Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* (10.1.5).

242 Claudius Ptolemy, *Canon of Kings*, gives Esarhaddon, king of Babylon (680–668 BCE), the name of Asaradinos.

243 "On the tumor, if it is without a sore, the richest fig possible is to be placed as a remedy for an unusual penis."

244 Patrick, *A Commentary* (444), citing Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* (23.7).

Honorem Deo, quem debebat non habuerit; hee did not, unto the *Babylonian Embassadors*, make such free, full, open, & ingenuous Acknowledgments, of *Jehovah*, the God of *Israel*, & of His Hand, in what had come to pass, as hee should have done.[245]

I[246] find an Hint lending to such a Thought as this, in the *Medicina Mentis,* of *Joachimus Langius*; which is, *Ex parte ad Solis cultum refer, quod Rex Babyloniæ Legatos mitteret ad Chiskiam, Sciscitaturos de miraculo Descensionis Solaris*.[247]

Q. The more particular Sin of *Hezekiah*; in the *Business of the Embassadors* of the Princes of *Babylon*? v. 31.

A. Dr. *Patrick* thinks, That the Retrograde Motion of the Sun, was observed in all Lands, as well as *Judæa*. They now send from *Babylon*, only to enquire, whether *Isaiah* had foretold it; This was the Wonder enquired after.

He adds; "I have mett with one, who thinks, that the *Babylonians*, being Worshippers of the *Sun*, it was Part of *Hezekiah*s Sin, that he did not take this Occasion to perswade the Ambassadors to worship GOD, who made and commanded the *Sun*, and could stop the Course of it, when He pleased."[248]

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245 "It seems that this was the grave sin of Hezekiah, that before the Babylonian envoys he did not have the honor for God that he owed." Hugo Grotius, *Annotationes in Vetus Testamentum*, vol. I, in loc.

246 Ink changes from brown to black.

247 "From this part it refers to the habitation of the sun, because the king of Babylon sent envoys to Chiskiam, to inquire about the miracle of the solar descent." Joachimus Langius (1670–1744), German Lutheran professor of theology at Halle, *Medicina Mentis, Qua praemissa Medica Sapientiae Historia* (1708), p. 55.

248 Patrick, *A Commentary* (446).

2. Chronicles. Chap. 33.

[▽Insert from 407r] [▽407r]

Q. The History of *Menasseh* in its true Light? v. 1.

A. *Mesessimordacus*, the King of *Babylon*, leaving no Son, an Interregnum of Anarchy and Confusion followed, (as there did in *Egypt*, about the same time, on the like Occasion,) for Eight Years together; whereof *Esarhaddon* King of *Assyria*, taking his Advantage, siezed *Babylon*, and adding it unto his former Empire, he thenceforth Reigned over both, for Thirteen Years. In the Canon of *Ptolomy*, he is called, *Assar-addinus*;[249] and in the Book of *Ezra* he is under the Name of *Asnapper*, honourably mentioned;[250] and the Scriptures mention him as King of *Babylon* and *Assyria* in Conjunction.

In the Twenty Second Year of *Menasseh*, (the wickedest King that ever *Judah* saw) *Esarhaddon* having entred on the Fourth Year of his Reign in *Babylon*, and fully settled his Authority there, began to sett his Thoughts on the Recovery of what had been lost unto the Empire of the *Assyrians* in *Syria* and in *Palæstine*, on the doleful Destruction of his Fathers Army there.

Then was accomplished the Prophecy of *Isaiah*, [chap. VII.8.] That within Three score & Five years, *Ephraim* should be so broken, as to be no more a People. For it was now just Threescore and Five Years, from the first of *Ahaz*, which was the Date of that Prophecy, that *Esarhaddon*, marched into the Land of *Israel*, and carried Captive the Remains of the former Captivity, into *Babylon*, and *Assyria*, and that the Land might not ly desolate, he brought other People to succeed them.

Esar-haddon then sent some of his Princes, with Part of his Army, to reduce *Judæa*; who having vanquished *Menasseh* in Battel, & surprized him in a Thicket of Thorns, brought him to *Esarhaddon*, by whom he was carried in Fetters unto *Babylon*. In his Confinement he was brought unto a great Repentance; which the Gracious GOD so accepted, that He mollified the Heart of the Babylonian Emperour, towards him; who on a Treaty restored him unto his Liberty and his Kingdome. Returning to *Jerusalem*, he abolished the Idolatrous Profanations, both of the Temple, & throughout the Land, which he had formerly established, & Restored all things according to the Reformation of his Father *Hezekiah*; and all *Judah* with him conformed unto the True Worship of GOD all the rest of his Days. He continued in Prosperity after this, to the End of his Reign; which extended unto full Fifty-five Years. And these being all reckoned unto his Reign

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249 Claudius Ptolemy, *Canon of Kings,* lists Mesesimordakos (Mushezib-Marduk) as reigning from 692–688 BCE.

250 Ezra 4:10.

without any Chasm, it is argued from hence, (as Dr. *Prideaux* observes,) that his Captivity in *Babylon* could not be long, but he was quickly released from it.[251]

Unto this Time we may refer, the Fulfillment of *Isaiah*s Prophecy, concerning the Removal of *Shebna*, the Chief Minister of State, & the Advancement of *Eliakim* in his room. They both had been Ministers of State under *Hezekiah*. *Shebna* had been a very wicked Man, and a fitt Instrument for the Service of *Menasseh*, in the former & evil Part of his Reign; and therefore was made his First Minister. *Eliakim*, who was of a quite contrary Character was laid aside. *Shebna* was taken Prisoner, with his Master, & was detain'd in his Captivity unto his Death. Repenting *Menasseh* on his Return to *Jerusalem*, called for *Eliakim*, and putt the Management of all his Affairs into his hands; who being a Person of great Wisdome & Justice & Piety, soon re-established Religion, & preserved all in Peace & Prosperity all his Days. This *Eliakim*, tis thought, was of the Pontifical Family, & bore the Office of High-Priest, in the Days of *Menasseh*; the same, whom the Book of *Judith* calls, *Joakim*,[252] which is of the same Signification with *Eliakim*; and accordingly, the *Syriac* Version of that Book, and *Jerom*s Latin Version, use both Names promiscuously.[253]

[△] [△Insert ends]

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Q. The *Image* which *Menasseh sett*, in the *House of God*? v. 7.

A. Dr. *Patrick* observes, It seems to be an *Image*, which he *Sett up* with a great Deal of Ceremony. For, among the Heathens, whom he imitated, *Images* did not become *Gods*; that is, were not made Objects of Worship, till being placed in the most Holy Part of their Temples, there they were consecrated, by being Anointed, and Crowned with Sacrifices, and Supplications, and Adorations; and then the Setting up of Lighted Candles before them. All which was concluded with a Festival, which they sometimes made also Anniversary.[255] Compare, v. 15.

Q. The Prodigious and Horrible Change, from the Heighth of Piety in the Fathers Reign, to the Lowest Impiety in the Sons? v. 9.

A. *Victorinus Strigelius* notes, That such a Vicissitude admonishes us, not to be secure.

He, being Professor of *Theology* at *Heidelberg*, near an Hundred & Fifty Years ago, left this Remark hereupon.

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251 Prideaux, *The Old and New Testament connected* (1:31–32).

252 Judith 4:6, 8, 14, and 15:8.

253 Prideaux, *The Old and New Testament connected* (1:32), citing the Syriac version of Judith, and Jerome's Latin version, *Hieronymi in Librum Judith*.

254 A quarto-sized leaf, stitched in.

255 Patrick, *A Commentary* (449).

We have now the Word of God abundantly in all Wisdome, and Pious Princes patronize both those that Preach, & those that Learn the Gospel. But this Plenty of the Word we now enjoy, (I tremble to speak it, but I must speak it, because it will come to pass,{)} will be taken away; And that sad mournful Time will come, when the Public Assemblies of the Church shall be scattered, and a few Pious Souls shall meet with Fear in a Corner, to communicate among themselves the Fragments of the Heavenly Doctrine & give Thanks to God for these Remainders.

Dr. *Patrick* sees Cause here, to quote this Passage; and adds, This we have seen fulfilled in that Countrey, and in *France*, & in other Places.[256]

Q. The King of *Assyria*, carrying *Menasseh* to *Babylon*? v. 11.

A. Dr. *Usher* observes in his *Annals*, That the Royal Family failing in *Babylon*, *Esarhaddon* the King of *Assyria*, brought that Kingdome under his Yoke again, and held it for Thirteen Years. He hearing from the Ambassadors of *Merodach Baladan*, what inviting Treasures there were in *Jerusalem*, and that *Hezekiah* was Dead, and *Menasseh* had forsaken that God who did such great Things for his Father, he sent an Army against him, which he could not withstand.

The King of *Assyria* now had seated himself in *Babylon*, to secure his late Conquests.

His making a Captive of *Menasseh* was, as the Jews compute, in *Seder Olam Rabba*, in the Twenty Second Year of his Reign.

It is plain, The *Assyrian* Monarchy, notwithstanding the Desertion of the *Medes* and other Nations, did again recover itself, by subduing of those Nations, to such a Degree, that it had *Babylon* for the Palace of its Empire.[257]

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Q. Menasseh's Repentance? v. 13.

A. Tho' R. *Johadan* was so charitable, as to think, that *Menasseh* had his Part in the other World, yett the Doctors in the Title of *Sanhedrin*, exclude him from any Portion in it, and say, he was only Restored unto his Kingdome, not unto Everlasting Life. They lay down this Doctrine: There were Three Kings & Four Private Men, who had no Portion in Life Eternal. The Kings, *Jeroboam*, and *Ahab*, and *Menasseh*. The Four Private Men, *Balaam*, *Doeg*, *Achitophel, Gehazi*. Their Foolish Censure upon *Menasseh* is grounded on the Wickedness of his Son. Therefore, forsooth, his Repentance was not sincere! But, I pray, what was the Piety of *Menasseh*'s Father?[258]

Q. *He commanded Judah to serve the Lord*? v. 16.

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256 Patrick, *A Commentary* (450), citing Strigelius, *Libri Samuelis, Regum, & Paralipoménon* (575).

257 Patrick, *A Commentary* (451), citing Ussher, *Annals of the World* (A. M. 3323, p. 75).

258 Patrick, *A Commentary* (452), citing *Sanhedrin* (11.1).

A. But, as *Kimchi* notes, he was not able to do so much Good as he had done Mischief. The People continued their Inclination to *Idolatry*, & neglected the Study of the Law.[259]

Q. *The Seers*? v. 19.
A. Or, *Hosai*; who tis likely, was a Prophet in those Times. Many memorable Things in the Reign of *Menasseh*, were by him Recorded; particularly, say some, his *Prayer*, as his Fathers was by *Isaiah*.[260]

Q. What might bee the Intention and Occasion of that Circumstance, in the Burial of *Menasseh, They Buried him in his own House*? v. 20.
A. *Menasseh*, who had been so exorbitant an Offendor, voluntarily chose an Obscure and Humble Grave, in *the Garden of his own House*; as reckoning himself unworthy of the Royal Sepulchre of his Fathers, which was *in the City of David*.[261]

Q. The Sin & Fate of *Amon*? v. 24.
A. In that Rapsody, which goes under the Title of, *The Apostolical Constitutions*, there is an odd Mixture of *Later* with *Elder* Things; & enough to detect the Forgery. But yett there are in that Composure some things worth minding. And among the rest, I take Notice of something like an Illustration, on the Sin and Fate of *Amon*. This is the Quotation.

"The Scripture saies, [where, I beseech you!][262] *And* Amon *Reasoned an Evil Reasoning of Transgression, and said, my Father from his Childhood was a Great Transgressor, & Repented in his Old Age: And now I will walk as my Soul lusteth, and afterwards I will Return unto the Lord. And he did Evil in the Sight of the Lord, above all that were before him. And the Lord God soon destroy'd him, utterly from His good Land. And his Servants conspired against him, & slew him in his own house, & he reigned only Two Years also*.[263]

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259 Patrick, *A Commentary* (453), citing David Kimhi (*see The Commentary of Rabbi David Kimhi to Chronicles* 272).
260 Patrick, *A Commentary* (454).
261 Cf. Patrick, *A Commentary* (455).
262 This is Mather's interjected plea; the passage that follows seems to be an elaboration upon 2 Chron. 33:22–23.
263 William Whiston, *Primitive Christianity reviv'd: in four Volumes… . Vol. II. The Apostolical Constitutions …* (1711), lib. II, § XIII, § XXIII.

2. Chronicles. Chap. 34. [408r][264]

Q. The Early Piety of *Josiah*, and his Forward Zeal of Reformation? v. 3.
A. As Dr. *Patrick* observes, Tis the more Remarkable, because he began the Reformation here described, before *Jeremiah* began to Prophesy. [see Jer. 1.2.][265]

Q. The *Bones of the Priests*? v. 5.
A. It is likely, These were not *Levitical Priests*, but *Priests* made by the Idolatrous Kings; after the Manner of *Jeroboam*.[266]

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Q. *He Read in their Ears, all the Words of the Book of the Covenant*? v. 30.
A. Dr. *Patrick* observes, It is not to be supposed, that the Whole Book was all Read at one Time. It might be Read by Parcels, at several Times, that they might consider of it. Especially that Passage, in Deut. XXVIII.38. where *Moses* foretold the Captivity of *Samaria*, and afterwards of *Judah*, and their King. This *Kimchi* thinks *Hilkiah* bid *Shaphan* take special Notice of, and Read it unto the King. If this be true, no doubt, he Remark'd the same unto the People, that, if it were possible, they might be brought unto Repentance, & prevent the Threatened Calamities.[267]

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264 A quarto-sized leaf, tipped in with sealing wax.
265 Patrick, *A Commentary* (456).
266 Patrick, *A Commentary* (457).
267 Patrick, *A Commentary* (463), citing David Kimhi (*see The Commentary of Rabbi David Kimhi to the Chronicles* 275).

Q. The *putting* of the *Holy Ark*, in the House. Had it been removed? v. 3.
A. *Jarchi* thinks, that *Amon* had removed it. If it were so, we have some Illustration of that Passage; *Amon trespassed more and more*: And we need not go to the Fables of the Jews for it.

But our *Patrick* thinks, that nothing is more Natural, than to think, that *Hilkiah* himself, had removed the *Ark*, while the Temple was in Repairing; For there were Defects in the *Most Holy Place*; and it was not fitt that the Workmen should have the *Ark* exposed unto them.

Yett, *Jacobus Capellus* thinks it better to say, the Word, *Tenu*, should not be translated, *Putt*, but, *Keep*, or *Look after*, the *Ark in the House that Solomon built*. For now they were eased of Carrying it on their Shoulders, they ought to employ themselves the more carefully in their other Offices about it.[268]

Q. The Meaning of the Command unto the *Levites*? v. 6.
A. He seems to require, That as the rest of the *Tribes*, came according to the *Families*, into which they were Divided, so the *Levites* would give them a Good Exemple, and come according to *Their Families*.[269]

Q. Wherein did *Josiah's Passeover*, exceed all that had been kept by any of the *Kings* of *Israel*? v. 18.
A. *David* and *Solomon* were greater Kings than he, and in several Respects kept greater Festivals. The Number of People, while the *Twelve Tribes* were united, was greater; and greater the Multitude of the Sacrifices. But in this thing, *Josiah* excelled them all; That falling far short in Riches, he was notwithstanding so liberal, as to provide all the *Sacrifices*, for the *Priests*, the *Levites*, and the People at this Feast.[270]

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Q. *Josiah*s going out against *Pharaoh*? v. 20.
A. It seems probable, That *Josiah* was in Friendship with the King of *Babylon*, to whose Assistence he seems to have gone voluntarily with his Forces, by giving a Diversion to the *Egyptians*.

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268 Patrick, *A Commentary* (465–66), citing (on the Jews' misinterpretation) Constantijn L'Empereur, *Hoc est Talmudis Babylonici Codex Middoth* (97), and John Lightfoot, *The Temple Service as it stood in the Dayes of our Saviour* (1649), p. 91; and (on the translation of *tenu*) Jacobus Capellus, *Historia Sacra et Exotica ab Adamo usque ad Augusti ortum* (216).
269 Patrick, *A Commentary* (466).
270 Patrick, *A Commentary* (470).

I don't say, The King of *Assyria*. For tho' *Niniveh*, was not yett taken by the *Babylonians*, (but it is by *Zephaniah* in *Josiah*s time foretold that it shall be,)[271] yett the Empire of *Niniveh*, (or the *Assyrian*) was destroy'd in the Eighteenth Year of *Josiah*, as Dr. *Patrick* brings his Friend Dr. *Alix* to assure us. From which some Governour gott a little Part, and kept *Niniveh*, till it was Destroy'd by *Nabopolassar*, in the First Year of his Reign.[272]

Q. *Pharaoh*s Pretence, That *God commanded* him? v. 21.

A. Some think, He only pretended this, because he knew, *Josiah* had a great Reverence to God, and might in Obedience to Him, desist from his Purpose. The *Targum*, with some of the Jews, think, he calls his own Idol by the Name of *God*. But *Kimchi* thinks, he speaks of the True God; who perhaps Admonished him in a Dream, as He did *Abimelek*; or sent him such a Message by the Prophet *Jeremiah* (as *Grotius* apprehends) many of whose Prophecies are directed unto foreign Nations.

Or, perhaps, (as Dr. *Patrick* saies,) He felt a Strong Impulse unto this Undertaking; which he took to be from God.[273]

The Sin of *Josiah* was, That he engaged, without enquiring the Mind of God.

Q. The Battel in the *Valley of Megiddo*? v. 22.

A. A Place in the Tribe of *Menasseh*. [Josh. XVII.11.]

Herodotus tells the same Story; but he mistakes the Name of *Megiddo*, and calls it *Magdolim*; which was a great City of *Egypt*, better known to him, than the Cities of *Syria* or *Phœnicia*. He adds, That after this Battel, the King of *Egypt* took the great City in *Syria*, called *Cadytus*; which *Herm. Conringius* thinks, was the Name of *Jerusalem*, among the old *Egyptians*.

It is well observed by *Jacobus Capellus*, That the *Egyptians* being a vain People, concealed from *Herodotus*, when he came to consult the affairs of their Countrey, many things that were True, and imposed upon his Beleef many things that were false. For Exemple, They told him not a Word of the Victory

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271 Patrick, *A Commentary* (471), citing Zeph. 2:13 ff.

272 Patrick, *A Commentary* (471–72), though Patrick does not explicitly name Pierre Allix, so either Mather knew of Patrick's reliance on Allix, or he may have consulted Allix separately, probably his *Reflexions upon the Books of the Holy Scripture to establish the Truth of the Christian Religion*.

273 Patrick, *A Commentary* (472), citing Kimhi (*see The Commentary of Rabbi David Kimhi to Chronicles* (277): "In the rabbinic literature there is a debate; some say (Tractate *Soferim* 4.9) that both [references to the Divine] are to the Holy One–and it indeed appears so when the texts says: 'and he did not listen to the words of Neco from the mouth of *Elohim*' (v. 22)." Patrick also cites Grotius on II Cor. 35:21 (see Pearson, *Critici Sacri* 2:2746).

that *Nebuchadnezzar* gott over *Pharaoh-Necho* at *Euphrates*; but gloried in this Victory over the *Syrians*.[274]

Q. If you Look into 2. King. 23.20. you find *Josiah* slain at *Megiddo*; but wee now find him Dying at *Jerusalem*; How Reconcile you this? v. 24.
A. Certainly, Hee who deserved rather *Two Lives*, did not meet with *Two Deaths*; But wee must suppose, Death Arrested him with a Mortal Wound at *Megiddo*, & Imprison'd him not until hee came to *Jerusalem*, where hee expired.
This is Dr. *Fuller*s Thought.[275]

Q. The *Lamentations*? v. 25.
A. *Josephus* imagines, the Book of *The Lamentations of Jeremiah*, which now remains in the Bible, contains the mournful Ditties, that were sung at *Josiah*'s Funeral, and in aftertimes. And *Jerom* followes this Opinion. At least in those Words, Lam. IV.20. R. *Solomon* thinks, *Josiah* was Bewayl'd. But as Dr. *Patrick* observes, All this is {a} Mistake. That Book was written after the Destruction of *Jerusalem*; which is, lamented in it. The *Lamentations* here mentioned, are lost.[276]

Q. *The Book of the Kings of Israel & Judah*? v. 27.
A. It seems, the *Israelites*, who, were left in the Land of *Samaria*, continued still to keep Records of what was done in the Land of *Judah*, as well as *Judah* itself.[277]

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Q. Some Remarks upon *Josiah*s appearing against *Pharaoh-Necho*? v. 27.
A. When *Esar-haddon* restored *Menasseh*, the better to support him in his Fidelity unto the *Assyrian* Empire, against the *Egyptian*, it seems, he putt under his Command, all that had been formerly possessed by the Kings of *Samaria*, as well as what the Kings of *Judæa* had under their Government. We actually find *Josiah*, the Grandson of *Menasseh* in the Possession of it all; of which the most probable Account that can be given, is, That *Menasseh* held it in Homage of the *Assyrian* Emperours.

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274 Patrick, *A Commentary* (473), citing Hermannus Conringius, *De Asiae et Aegypti anliquissimis deprastiis Adversaria Chronologica*, cap. XV; and Jacobus Capellus, *Historia sacra et exotica ab Adamo usque ad Augusti ortum*. Specifically, Patrick cites Cappel on "*ad A. Mundi*, 3425," on p. 241, but the reference to Herodotus and the Egyptians is in A. M. 3421, on p. 237.
275 This last sentence is in a different ink from the preceding part of the entry. Fuller, *A Pisgah-Sight of Palestine* (cap. VII, § 28, p. 165).
276 Patrick, *A Commentary* (474), citing Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* (10.6); Jerome's Vulgate translation of Lam. 4:20 (Walton, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* 5:388); and Solomon Jarchi, or Rashi (*see II Chronicles: A New English Translation* 387).
277 Patrick, *A Commentary* (475).

On the Destruction of *Ninive*, the *Babylonians*, with the *Medes*, became so formidable, that *Pharaoh-Necho* to check their Greatness, marched with a Great Army towards *Euphrates*, against them. *Josiah*, posted himself with an Army in the Valley of *Megiddo*, to stop his Passage; and not hearkening to *Necho*'s Remonstrances, a Battel ensued, which cost *Josiah* his Life.

Josiah is commonly charged, with a *Rash Action*, in this Enterprize. But the Charge is *rashly* made upon him. The Kings of *Judæa*, were now Homagers to the Kings of *Babylon*; and bound by Oath to adhere unto them against their Enemies; and especially against the *Egyptians*, & to defend that Border of their Empire against them. *Josiah*, by this Tenure held all that once belonged unto *David* and *Solomon*; And accordingly in his Reformation he exerted the same Sovereign Authority in every Part of the Land, that he did in *Judæa* itself. Yea, his fatal Battel was fought, in a Town that belonged unto the Tribe of *Menasseh*. Doubtless *Josiah* had particularly taken such an Oath to *Nabopollasar*, as *Jehojakim* & *Zedekiah* afterwards did unto *Nebuchadnezzar*, the Son that succeeded him. And if he had permitted an Enemy unto the King of *Babylon*, to have pass'd unmolested thro' his Countrey to make War upon him, he had violated the Fidelity, which he had sworn unto him. Had he died in an Act of Disobedience unto GOD, a Prophet of the Lord, and all His People, would not have celebrated him, with such unparallel'd Lamentations.

Indeed, *Necho* pretends to be *Sent of God*, and, we read, *Josiah hearkened not unto the Word of Necho from the Mouth of God*. But this must not be understood of the True GOD, the Lord JEHOVAH; no, but of the *Egyptian* Gods, whose Oracles *Josiah* had no reason to have any Regard unto. *Necho* knew none but his *Egyptian* Gods. And the Word, *Elohim*, which is used on this Occasion, was applicable unto such as those. Dr. *Prideaux* observes, That the Phrase which we render, *From the Mouth of God*, is, in the Hebrew, *From the Mouth of Elohim*. Now wherever else thro' the whole Hebrew Text of the Holy Scriptures, there is mention made of any Word Coming *from the Mouth* of the True GOD, He is there mentioned by the Name of JEHOVAH: And this is the only Place, in the whole Hebrew Bible, where in the Use of this Phrase, the Term is changed, & the Name is that of *Elohim*. It was well done of *Josiah*, to cast a Contempt on the Oracles, that came from the False Gods of *Egypt*. And yett; suppose, *Necho* had pretended the Oracles of the True GOD, why had *Josiah* been any more to blame, than his Great Grandfather, who sleighted *Sennacherib*, when He made the like Pretences!

I have already mentioned, the Story of *Herodotus*, That *Necho* in this Expedition took the great City *Cadytus*: Which doubtless means *Jerusalem*.[278] For *Necho* must certainly be there, when he made *Jehojakim* King. There is indeed no mention of this Name, either in the Scriptures, or in *Josephus*. But that in

278 See *BA* entry on 2 Chron. 35:22, above, p. 813.

[410v] the Time of *Herodotus* | the *Syrians* and *Arabians* called it so, appears from this, that it is Called by them and all the Orientals, by a Name of the same Original and Signification. They all call it by the Name of *Al-kuds*, which signifies the same that *Cadytus* does; that is, *The Holy*. Since the Temple was built there by *Solomon*, the Title of *the Holy*, was given to it. The Sacred Writings call it, *Gair Hakkodesh*, or, *The Holy City*. And in their Coins, this is the Title of it; it is called, *Jerusalem Kedushah*, or, *Jerusalem the Holy*, there. The *Syrians* turning the Hebrew *Sh* into *th*, they pronounced it *Kedutha*. And the *Syriac* being the Language of *Palæstine*, in the Days of *Herodotus*, who wrote his History about the Time of *Nehemiah*s Government, he gives it a Greek Termination, Καδυτις. And so the *Arabians* called it, *Bait Almokdes*, or, *The Holy Buildings*: And at last, simply, *Al-kuds*, or, *The Holy*; by which Name all the Mahometans call it at this day.[279]

279 This entire entry is drawn from Prideaux, *The Old and New Testament connected* (1:51–57), citing Herodotus, *Historiae* (2.159): "Necos … turned all his thoughts to war, and set to work to build a fleet of triremes … These fleets he employed wherever he had occasion, while he also made war by land upon the Syrians and defeated them in a pitched battle at Magdolus, after which he made himself master of Cadytis, a large city of Syria."

Q. Why did the King of *Egypt* so quickly Depose *Jehoahaz*? v. 3.
A. It is possible, he heard, that he meditated Revenge, for the Death of his Father.[281]

Q. What was, *That which was found in him*? v. 8.
A. We have elsewhere noted, what some have applied it unto; namely, *Marks* made on his Body, in Honour of Idols.[282] But Dr. *Patrick* thinks, the plainest Meaning is, That he was found Guilty of Disloyall Intentions against the King of *Babylon*; which he conceled a great while; but anon they were Discovered.[283]

Q. It is here said, Jehojachin *was Eight years Old when hee began to Reign*: But it is elsewhere said, [2. King. 24.8.] *Jehojachin was Eighteen Years old when hee began to Reign, & hee Reigned in Jerusalem three Months*. Here's Ten Years Difference. How may these bee Reconciled? v. 9.
A. Many will not allow *Diodati*s dangerous Concession, That the Numbers do seem to have suffered an *Alteration*, by some unknown Accident.[284] But rather say with honest *Wolphius, Mihi quoque ut fatear quod Sentio, non arrident quæ Sacri Codicis Emendatione fiunt Solutiones*.[285] Wherefore there are some, who seek thus to Reconcile these two Places; *Jehojachin was Eight Years old, when Hee* [that is, his Father *Jehojiakim*] *began to Reign, and Hee* [that is, *Jehojachin* the Son] *reigned three Months in Jerusalem*. Consult a Parallel, in 2. King. 16.2. But others go this Way to Work. Its probable, that *Jehojiakim*, who Reigned Eleven Years, did in the beginning of his Reign, about the Second Year, join his Son *Jehojachin*, at Eight Years of Age, in the Government of the Kingdome, with himself, by reason of the many Changes which were then befalling of the Kingdome. *Jehojakim* the Father, being afterwards carried Captive to *Babylon*, *Jehojachin* the Son, plenarily possessed the Kingdome in his Room, so that hee was Eight Years old, when hee began to Reign Jointly with his Father accord-

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280 A folio-sized leaf, tipped in with sealing wax.
281 Patrick, *A Commentary* (475).
282 See *BA* entry on Lev. 19:28; Patrick, *A Commentary* (477), citing John Spencer, *De Legibus Hebraeorum ritualibus et earum rationibus, Libri tres* (1685), lib. II, cap. XIV, § 2.
283 Patrick, *A Commentary* (477).
284 Diodati, *Pious and learned Annotations upon the Holy Bible* (51). For Mather's deletion, *see* App. A.
285 "I too have to admit that I feel that the solutions are not pleasing which are determined by emendation to the Holy Book." The quote is probably from Joannes Wolphius, author, with Peter Martyr Vermilgi, of a commentary on the books of Kings entitled *Melachim id est, Regum Libri duo posteriores cum Commentariis* (1566). For Mather's emendation, *see* App. A.

ing to the *Chronicles*; but Eighteen Years old when hee began to Reign alone; which is intended in the History of the *Kings*. And *Glassius*, out of R. *David Kimchi*, adds this Reason, why *Jehojakim* joined *Jehojachin* with himself in the Government; *Perhaps*, Jehojakim *had other Sons; & therefore, because hee saw the Kingdome suspended in the Hands of others*, [vizt. *Egyptians,* 2. Chron. 36.3, 4.] *hee knew not whether hee might bee disturbed from his Kingdome, as it fell out unto his Brother*. [vizt. *Jehoahaz*. 2. Chron. 36.2, 3, 4.] *So hee made his Son Jehojachin Reign with himself, who was to Reign after him, & in his stead*.[286]

Or,[287] if you please, you may take Dr. *Lightfoot*s Exposition of this Matter.

Jehojachin, was *Eighteen Years old* properly, when hee began to Reign; but hee was also the *Son of the Eighth Year*, or, fell in the Lot of the *Eighth Year*, after any Captivitie of *Judah* had begun: For the Beginning of his Reign, was in the *Eighth Year* of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and in the *Eighth Year* of the *Seventy* of the Captivitie.[288] The Expression here, is like that about *Ahaziah*. 2. King. 6.26. and 2. Chron. 22.2.

Q. The speedy Deposition of *Jehojachin*? v. 10.

A. *Nebuchadnezzar*, it seems, quickly Repented of making him King; being afraid, as *Kimchi* thinks, that by the evil Counsil of his Courtiers, he would be perswaded to Rebel, after the Exemple of *Jehojakim*.

God had threatened, That none of the Seed of *Jehojakim*, should *Sitt upon the Throne of David*. They might be *Sett* upon the Throne, as *Capellus* thinks *Jehojachin* was by the People, (and for that Cause removed by *Nebuchadnezzar*,) but none should continue possessed of it. *Sedere enim dicuntur non Transitoria, Sed quæ aliquamdiu pedem figunt*.[289]

Memorandum.[290] The Gentlemen who would fain find a True Story in the *Apocryphal* Book of Judith, (which the Ancients, both *Jews* and *Christians* did) whereof we have now lost the Chaldaic Original, try to introduce it at This Point of the Sacred History. They say, It must be written before the Burning of the City & the Temple; and after the Captivity in the Days of *Jehojakim*; for

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286 Salomon Glassius, *Philologiae Sacrae, Qua Totius Sacrosanctae, Veteris et Novi Testamenti Scripturae, tum stylus et literature … Scripturae libris quinque* (1713), pp. 74–75; Patrick, *A Commentary* (477), cites Johann Buxtorf the Younger, *Anticritica: seu vindiciae Veritatis Hebraicae* (1653), pars II, cap. II, p. 408.

287 Mather skips a line before resuming, at which point the ink changes from brown to black. He also placed a four-digit entry number in the right margin beside the concluding part of the entry, which he later deleted to the point that it is obliterated.

288 Lightfoot, *The Harmony, Chronicle and Order of the Old Testament* (156–57).

289 "For they were not passing things said about sitting, but the things established the markers for a long time." Patrick, *A Commentary* (478), citing Jacobus Capellus, *Historia sacra et exotica* ("ad A. M. 3399," p. 227).

290 Ink changes from brown to black.

it speaks of their being *newly returned from the Captivity*; which could not be *Zedekiah*s, but *Jehojakim*s Captivity; Before which, *Nebuchadnezzar* of *Babylon* had subdued *Arphaxad* King of the *Medes*, & demolished *Ecbatane*. This *Arphaxed*, in Likelihood, was *Phartes*, or *Aphraartes*, who, as *Herodotus* tells us, was defeated by the *Assyrians*, that were then Subject unto the King of *Babylon*) & perished with his Army.[291] This, they say, agrees with the First Chapter of *Judith*, But more precisely; | In the Second Chapter of *Judith*, we find *Holofernes* [411v] his General, on his Expedition in the First Month of the Eighteenth Year of his Reign, which was the Ninth Year of *Zedekiah* King of *Judah*. The Defeat of *Holofernes*, & the Siege of *Jerusalem*, then happened in the same Year. The Expedition against *Bethulia* was then in the Beginning of the Year, and the Siege at the End of it. It must be in this Interval, that that *Joakim* the Priest, with the Elders, came from *Jerusalem*, to salute *Judith*, and she returned with them to give Thanks at *Jerusalem*. As for the *Bethulians* enjoying Peace during the Life of *Judith*, it may be supposed, that *Nebuchadnezzar*, being employ'd no less than Two Years in the Siege of *Jerusalem*, he might spend some Years in reducing other Parts of the Countrey; and *Bethulia* being a Strong & Mountainous Place, might be the Last that was conquered. But, I pray, Dr. *Prideaux*; will this Account be to your Satisfaction? I leave unto *you*, and your Friend *Howel*,[292] to compound the Matter as well as you can.

Q. The Propension of the *Jews* unto *Idolatry*, was wonderful! And the more wonderful, to consider that they were so propense to it, when they had such a Succession of *Prophets* to Reclaim them from it; And yett they were not at all Inclin'd to it, when they had no more any *Prophets* to instruct them, nor any *Miracles* wrought among them; That is to say, After the Return from the Captivity in *Babylon*. *Prophecy* then ceased in a little Time; And yett they continued stedfast in the Service of God, according to the Law of *Moses*? v. 15.

A. Dr. *Patrick* saies, The best Account he is able to give of it, is this. Before the Captivity, there was not sufficient Care taken, to build *Synagogues*, for the Teaching of the Law; if there were any at all. For in those Books we find no mention of them. Whereas they abounded in every Place, after the Captivity; insomuch that the Jews tell us, there were Several Hundreds in the One City of *Jerusalem*; wherein the Law was Read and Taught unto the People. This was a most powerful Means, to keep them constant unto the Religion, whereof they made Profession. *Josephus* reports, That by this Means, the People came to be so acquainted with their Lawes, that if any Person asked any of them concerning

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291 Herodotus, who renders the name "Phraortes," in *Historiae* (1.102).

292 Prideaux, *The Old and New Testament connected* (37–42), where he answers four arguments that Judith is "a true History"; and Howel, *A compleat History of the Holy Bible* (2:174–79), which relates the story of Judith, and on p. 174, n. c, defends it as having "nothing of the Air of a Fiction or Parable."

them, ραον αν ειποι παντα, η τουνομα εαυτου. *He would more Readily tell every thing, than tell his very Name*.[293]

Q. *The Land kept Sabbath*? v. 21.
A. Because the Jews, among other Præcepts, had violated that of letting their Land Rest, from their Ploughing & Sowing every *Seventh Year*, God gave their Land a long *Sabbath*, of no less than *Ten* times *Seven* Years. [see Jer. XXV.9, 12. XXIX.10.]

If it be true, that they neglected this Law, for *Four Hundred and Thirty* Years; but had plough'd & sow'd their Land, every *Seventh*, as well as in the other Years, Then the Judgment of God was very Remarkable, in making their Ground Rest from Tillage, just as long as it would have done, if they had observed the Law. For in the Time of *Four hundred and Thirty* Years, there ought to have been *Sixty and Five* Years of Rest and Intermission.[294]

The seventy Years, began a Year and Two months, before the Death of *Nabopolassar*. After this, the Reign of *Nebuchadnezzar* was Forty three Years; of *Evil-Merodach* Ten Years; of *Neriglassar* Four Years; of *Belshazzar* Seventeen Years, and of *Darius* the *Midian* Two Years. All these together make just 69 Years, and Two Months. Add now Ten Months, and it brings you to that very Month, in the first Year of *Cyrus*, which make 70 Years from the Month of *November*, in which *Nebuchadnezzar* first of all took *Jerusalem*. The first time the Returned Jews are found at *Jerusalem*, was in their *Nisan*, or our *April*. Allow them Four Months for their March from *Babylon*, and you have the Month of the preceding *December*. Allow a Months time of Preparation for their Journey after the Decree of the Release, & behold, in the Month of *November* you have the Period of their Captivity.

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293 In context, the citation reads: "but for our people, if anybody do but ask any one of them about our laws, he will more readily tell them all than he will tell his own name; and this in consequence of our having learned them immediately as soon as ever we became sensible of anything, and of our having them as it were engraven on our souls." ῥᾷον ἂν εἴποι πάντα, ἢ τοὔνομα ἑαυτοῦ. Patrick, *A Commentary* (480), citing Josephus, *Contra Apionem* (2.178).
294 Patrick, *A Commentary* (482–83), citing Guilielmus Vorstius, *Chronologia sacra-profana* (1644), p. 212.

Appendix A

As discussed above in Editorial Principles (pp. 61–80), the holograph MS reveals literally thousands of cancellations and emendations of one sort or another. This appendix only records those cancellations and excisions that substantively impact Mather's commentary. The vast majority of Mather's textual emendations in the holograph MS consists of false starts or light stylistic revisions of phrases. For a complete record, readers should consult the microfilm copies or the holograph MS itself at the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Josh. 6.122v

95.19. Mather originally began a new entry at "I will give you the Sense of Antiquity of it." He wrote and then deleted an entry number in left margin, "3244{?}," followed by the beginning of the new entry: "Q. Give us the Sense of Antiquity upon it? v. 20."

Josh. 10.127v

111.3. After "The Admirers of that Incomparable *Hugo Grotius*," Mather later deleted the phrase, "among whom I willingly profess myself." Also, Mather had written "prodigious," but deleted it in favor of "abominable."

Josh. 11.129r–129v

115.1. Mather later deleted the entire entry on Josh. 11:6.

Josh. 13.130v–131v

119.11. At the end of the previous entry (on Josh. 13:15, which closes, "only became Tributaries, in the Dayes of *David* and *Solomon*"), Mather deletes: "I

do not as yett know, whom I shall detach for the Service, but use them as I see occasion. Only I do aforehand positively Resolve upon making much use of the Incomparable *Dietericus*, whose *Antiquitates Biblicæ* are now Lying open before me."

121.24. Mather altered the beginning of the previous sentence: "But ~~it shall~~ <they have had it in Some degree;> ~~one day come into their possession. Yea, they have already seen some harvest of it~~."

Josh. 21.140r

137.7. Mather originally had the remainder of the entry on Josh. 21:4, beginning at "But lett us have a Remark," set up as a separate entry, later deleting the customary "Q." at the beginning of the question, "v. 4" at the end of it, and "A." at the beginning of the next paragraph.

Judg. 15.168v

218.21. After "Remarkable; – in," Mather deletes: "our *Philosophers* [*illeg*.] which is intended for an *Appendix* to our Illustrations on the Book of *Job."*

1 Sam. 1.178v

246.25. At the end of the entry on 1 Sam. 1:28, Mather deletes: "you must now therefore ask mee for no more personal Types of our Lord, Except among [*illeg*.] the Kings of Israel."

2 Sam. 12.230r

365.21. In the right margin beside the first paragraph of the answer to the entry on 2 Sam. 12:8, Mather wrote and then deleted the following references: "V[id]. Selden Uxore Hebr. L. 1. c. 10. Schickard de Jure Reg. c. 10. th. 19," which come from Patrick, *A commentary* (441), though Patrick cites "*Carpzovius* upon *Sckickard*'s [sic] *Jus Regium*, p. 441." *See* John Selden, *Uxor Ebraica* (1646), pp. 74–75, which closely parallels Mather's entry; Schickard, *Ius regium Hebraeorum* (1625); and Johannes Benedictus Carpzovius, *Mišpat ham-melek=Jus Regium Hebræorum* (1674).

2 Sam. 21.242r

385.7. Following the phrase, "thus the *Gibeonites* must bee murdered: and," Mather deletes: "the Jewes have a Tradition."

1 Kings 12.278r

486.6. After the sentence ending, "there shall a final Desolation come upon the *People*," Mather wrote and then deleted: This period fell about the Middle of the Reign of *Menasseh*."

1 Kings 12.278r

493.13. Following the beginning of the sentence, "Nevertheless, as it was foretold," Mather wrote and then deleted "Isay. 9. Thou hast multiplied the Nation, and not."

1 Kings 19.288v

525.5. Following the first paragraph of the answer on v. 12, Mather writes and then deletes three lines of text, largely obliterated by his thick wavy lines:

Irenaeus expresses it, { … … . .}
{ … . .} as describing ye manner of our
Lords First coming into the world.

1 Kings 20.289v

531.11. At the end of the entry on 1 Kings 20:35, drawing on Patrick (*A commentary on the two books of Kings* 300), Mather deletes the following: "In short, The Prophet, who gave the Command, was one evidently under the Inspiration of God. The Man when he commanded, was not an ordinary Man; but *Jerom* observes, it should not be translated, *His Neighbour*, but, *His Companion*. The *Targum* and other ancient Interpreters countenance this Translation. He was a Prophet bred in the same School with himself. He knew his Duty. The Jews tell us, they who Cavilled or Rejected a Prophet, had their Death by the Hand of God."

2 Kings 3.299v

557.10. In the left margin beside the quote from Ambrose, Mather wrote perpendicularly and then deleted: "So venture some, as to understand it."

2 Kings 17.319v

612.14. Mather originally wrote, "Our *Lee* is upon good Grounds fully perswaded of it," but later deleted "upon good Grounds."

2 Kings 19.325r

626.13. The conclusion of this entry is written around a deleted entry on v. 37, re-written on the next page.

2 Kings 21.329r

636.2. Mather revises the Question of the next entry: "Remarks on the *Graves of the Kings* in ~~y^e^ City of David? v. 23.~~ the *Garden of Uzzah*? v. 26."

1 Chron. 29.364v

709.31. At the conclusion of the entry, Mather wrote and then deleted: "But the general Agreement is otherwise."

1 Chron. 29.364v

710.27. Mather here deletes an entire entry, but reuses it in 368v, as indicated in his direction at the head of the entry:

"[must be inserted after the next Leaf]
Q. Tis said, *The Acts of David the King first and last. Behold, they are written in the Book of Samuel the Seer, and in the Book of Nathan the Prophet, and in the Book of Gad, the Seer.* What is become of the Book of *Nathan* and of *Gad*? v. 29.
A. *Samuel*, we are sure, compiled but a Part of the History that goes under his Name. *Nathan* and *Gad* compiled the rest; and therefore it goes under the Name of all Three."

2 Chron. 36.411r

817.14. "Many will not allow *Diodati*s dangerous Concession …": Mather originally began the sentence with "Not by," but at a later time deleted it and interlineated "many will not allow."

2 Chron. 36.411r

817.16. "But rather say with honest *Wolphius …"*: Mather originally began the sentence with "I," but at a later time deleted it and interlineated "But."

Appendix B: Silent MS Deletions

Josh. 11.129r–129v

117.17. In a blank space between this and the preceding paragraph appear the lines of a poem, written in a different hand:

"On *this* Illustration, wth y^{os} on Josh: 1 Deut: 3. 1. Ps. 135. 1, 3, 11
That *Day* when Secrets shall Discerned be,
By th' Sight of [**illeg.*] Holy Writ's Discovery, Rom. 2.
With *Knowledg's Progress*, in the Future State,
These *Four* Rich Illustrations Antedate.
R. H."

Judg. 11.161r

188.26. Mather's instructions following the first entry on Judg. 11:1 read: "Here insert the Two first Illustrations, on the Next Leaf," i.e., 161r.

1 Sam. 2.180r

249.23. Following the entry on 1 Sam. 2:19[a] is a deleted entry in another hand, which reads:

"In amorem Illustrationis [I Sam. 2. 25.]
How oft my Hands I'v washt, from Intrest in,
Who Martyred here [this INNOCENT] their Sin!
You've Raisd y^{e} Dead! How sweet's A Lab'ring TEXT
When thus, from Heaps of Non-sense, unperplext!
What Stuff to tell us, have some Thousands brought,
God's mind in's Word, w^{ch} ne're come into's Thoughts!
And here, no mor'l, their Brains a Wooling ran,
Who never yet Discerned God from Man!
R. H."

1 Sam. 2.181r

249.24. At this point in the MS (the end of the entry on 1 Sam. 2:19[a]) there is a dislocation in the order of leaves because Mather tipped in a quarto-sized sheet, containing a second entry on 1 Sam. 2:19, which was once attached to the right edge of L. 180r with sealing wax, now loose; the small sheet in turn (L. 181) has an even smaller scrap attached to its right edge.

1 Sam. 7.187r

265.30. By Mather's directions, "Here insert y^{e} Next sheet," L. 188, is inserted here, where entries on ch. 7 appear after entries on ch. 8, on L. 188.

1 Sam. 16.199r–200r

323.2. LL. 199–200 contain entries on chs. 26–27, the contents of which are moved according to Mather's note in the margin of L. 199r: "(These two leaves are dislocated)."

1 Sam. 28.215r

332.3. Following the entry on 1 Sam. 28:25, after the "Quære," appears a comment written in a different hand: "Whether too those Passages may not be here considered: Job. V. 6 & 8. Affliction cometh not from the Dust, neither doth Trouble spring from the Ground —— I would seek unto God, and unto God would I commit my Cause."

2 Sam. 5.223r

348.35. In the right margin beside the penultimate paragraph of the entry on 2 Sam. 5:8 ("We will add, …") appears an obliterated four-digit entry number, because Mather had originally formatted the following as a separate entry.

2 Sam. 6.224r

351.14. Per Mather's cue marks, the order of the next two entries, on 2 Sam. 6:11 and 13, is reversed.

2 Sam. 19.240v

381.24. At this point in the MS, Mather left approximately six blank lines before resuming. In this space, a later owner inserted a verse of poetry, which reads:
"To this Division, S^{r}, so well you'v Sped,
As supersedes All *Searchings* more of *Head*,
As late you did y^{e} Stakes at *Jordan*, part,
And foold, for *Reuben*, All their *Quests of Heart*,
Yet whence, S^{r}, sit you *Umpire* thus, in *Grudge*,
Where, Christ once shun'd to be or Lord or Judge."

1 Kings 4.254r

412.17. Inserted here per Mather's cue marks, L. 254 is a small duodecimo-sized scrap once glued to edge of preceding leaf with sealing wax, now loose.

1 Chron. 1.337r–v

657.35. L. 337 is a quarto-sized leaf, with computations (on the recto only), not in Mather's hand, for the items on 336v:

Or

9,962625 Troy, of Standard Gold is Equal
to a Cubick or Solid Inch, Then
9,962625 Cubick Inch
£ 4 an Ounce
———————

39,850500
20
———————

17,010000
12
———————

020000

10000

1,20000
4

80000

Cu:In
£ 39 : 17 : 01 : 1 : : 4320000
20 20

797 86400000
12 12

1595 172800000
797 8640000 1728 /Cube Inches
108395
9565 62 1259/1728

1036800000 10368 4715
9565 3456
80300
76520 1259
30 feet
30 37800
28695
900
30 91050

86085 Solid feet 62 1259/1728

27000 Solid feet in
y^e^ Holy of Holies 49650
47825 Stand^d^ Gold £ 4320000;00:00

1825

27000
62

26938 Differ

1 Chron. 26.367r–v

711.1. L. 367, containing entries on ch. 29, is relocated after the entries on 1 Chron. 26, in accord with Mather's directions at the top of the leaf: "(Insert in its right place.)."

Bibliography

● Works in the Mather Family Library (as listed in Julius H. Tuttle, "Libraries"), "Catalogue of Dr. Cotton Mather's Library Purchased by Isaiah Thomas," and "Remains of the Mathers' [*sic*] Library Folio & 4to. Purchased by I. Thomas" (both AAS copies).

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