



BIBLIA AMERICANA

Cotton Mather

Volume 4: EZRA – PSALMS

Edited, with an Introduction and Annotations, by Harry Clark Maddux

Cotton Mather.

BIBLIA AMERICANA

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Volume 4



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Cotton Mather

BIBLIA AMERICANA

America's First Bible Commentary

A Synoptic Commentary on the
Old and New Testaments

Volume 4
EZRA – PSALMS

Edited, with an Introduction and Annotations,

by

Harry Clark Maddux

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*To Connie,
Who makes scholarship an act of love.*

Laelius Mancinus has an unhappy Passage, which I hope will not carry the Fate of our Illustrations in it.

Dum Scribo, præ oculis Araneola est, quæ totam se eviscerat, neque aliud meditatur, quam telam illam suam, unde Muscas capiat. Adest ancilla, quæ scopis subito et telam et Muscam, et Doctum animal in humum detrahit, conterit eos pede. Apte MOSES Anni nostri sicut Aranea Meditabuntur, h.e. reputabuntur, et inter meditandum satagendumque abrumpentur. Muscas aucupamur cuncti: sic Ego, qui texo Libros: sic Alii: scopas quotidie cernimus nec credimus.

“Biblia Americana” Psalms 90:9

“As I write, there is a small spider before my eyes that is disemboweling itself entirely, and it considers nothing other than its own web, from which it may seize flies. A maidservant is at hand who, suddenly with a broom, sweeps both web and fly and the skilled animal onto the ground, and grinds them with her foot. Rightly Moses says, our years will be considered, i. e. will be reckoned, as a spider’s web, and amidst the thinking and the doing they will be torn apart. We all lie in wait for flies: so I who weave books, so others – every day we see the broom but do not take it into account.”

Laelius Mancinus (Lelio Mancini Poliziano)

Acknowledgments

Unlike Mather and many other polymaths of the early modern period, I could not have completed this work without a great deal of assistance, support, and encouragement. My primary professional debt belongs to the man who has been my mentor in this work and throughout my academic career: the general editor of the *Biblia Americana*, Reiner Smolinski. Reiner's encyclopedic knowledge of Mather and his times, fierce dedication to this project, and unflagging belief in my own ability sustained me when I doubted that this volume would be completed.

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find a reference that had long eluded me deserve much more recognition than I can here give them.

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Numerous classicists and other colleagues have aided me with translations and supplementary materials. Mark Miner, Tema Gochberg, and Quenton Brooks provided crucial understanding at key points of Mather's use of Hebrew scripture and cabbala. One of our professors of Latin, Mary Winters, and a remarkably adept undergraduate student named Caitlin Hall, also helped render Mather's frequent Latin into readable English. Our professor of Greek, Tim Winters, and Rick Kennedy from Point Loma Nazarene University, assisted in the translation of the Greek. Paul Peterson meticulously reviewed all the transcriptions and translations, and significantly improved the annotations thereby. This work would not have been completed without his assistance, and he deserves more recognition than I can give him.

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If, given such a wealth of friendship and collegiality, I have sometimes nevertheless despaired, the fault is entirely my own. Even when no other advice and visible support was around me, there was always present the person who is my partner in life and who somehow manages to love me in spite of myself. Connie Maddux has been an amanuensis, indispensable critic, and bulwark for me throughout. I have leaned upon her shamelessly and am likely to continue to do so. When she could have been sightseeing in California, or Boston, or Germany, she was working with me in libraries, assisting me with finding sources, checking my transcription of the manuscript, measuring pages and gutters, and locating watermarks and countersigns. Beyond any doubt, she should be credited with this work as much as I.

Indeed, all of those that I have identified, and others, deserve a credit that is beyond my ability to give. If there is any good herein, it belongs to them. Any errors, omissions, or flaws are mine alone.

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List of Abbreviations

<i>AC</i>	Alumni Cantabrigienses
<i>ADB</i>	Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie
<i>ANF</i>	Ante-Nicene Fathers
<i>AO</i>	Alumni Oxonienses
<i>BBK</i>	Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon
<i>BDB</i>	Brown, Driver, and Briggs Hebrew Lexicon
<i>BU</i>	Biographie Universelle, Ancienne et Moderne
<i>CB</i>	Chalmer's Biography
<i>CBL</i>	Cyclopaedia of Biblical Literature
<i>CE</i>	Catholic Encyclopedia
<i>CHEAL</i>	Cambridge History of English and American Literature
<i>DALA</i>	Oxford Dictionary of Architecture and Landscape Architecture
<i>DB</i>	Dictionnaire Bouillet
<i>DBH</i>	Oxford Dictionary of British History
<i>DNB</i>	Oxford Dictionary of National Biography
<i>EAH</i>	Encyclopedia of African History
<i>EB</i>	Encyclopedia Britannica
<i>EE</i>	Encyclopedia of the Enlightenment
<i>EJ</i>	Encyclopaedia Judaica
<i>EMA</i>	Encyclopedia of the Middle Ages
<i>JE</i>	Jewish Encyclopedia
<i>OCAL</i>	Oxford Companion to American Literature
<i>OCB</i>	Oxford Companion to the Bible
<i>OSCC</i>	Oxford Companion to Classical Civilization
<i>OCCL</i>	Oxford Companion to Classical Literature
<i> OCD</i>	Oxford Classical Dictionary
<i>OCG</i>	Oxford Companion to the Garden
<i> OCHMS</i>	Oxford Companion to the History of Modern Science
<i>OCIH</i>	Oxford Companion to Irish History
<i>ODB</i>	Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium
<i>ODCC</i>	Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church
<i>ODCW</i>	Oxford Dictionary of the Classical World
<i>ODP</i>	Oxford Dictionary of Philosophy
<i>ODR</i>	Oxford Dictionary of the Renaissance

<i>ODS</i>	Oxford Dictionary of Scientists
<i>ODWR</i>	Oxford Dictionary of World Religions
<i>OEBL</i>	Oxford Encyclopedia of British Literature
<i>OED</i>	Oxford English Dictionary
<i>OER</i>	Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation
<i>PG</i>	Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Graeca
<i>PL</i>	Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Latina
<i>SH</i>	Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge
<i>SHG</i>	Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University (Sibley's Harvard Graduates)
<i>TWOT</i>	Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament

PART 1

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

Section 1

“Biblia Americana” Ezra through Psalms: Aims and Contexts¹

On the most general level of abstraction, we might say that Cotton Mather’s “Biblia Americana,” like much biblical criticism of the period, was guided by two very basic principles. First, Mather assumed that academic learning and experiential religion need to be mutually supportive endeavors. Just as interpreting the Bible must not be made a matter of pious intuition but requires extensive preparation, proper guidance, caution, as well as great skills and knowledge, so learning unsupported by faith and devotion becomes vain pretension. Secondly, Mather and his peers understood biblical criticism as a collaborative and cumulative project, in which scholars freely drew on tradition and the works of colleagues, while also serving as counterbalances or correctives to each other’s interpretations on disputed issues. From this principle grew Mather’s synoptic method of composition as well as his willingness to let conflicting readings stand next to each other in the “Biblia” where a matter was not to be resolved with any certainty. A striking example for how these two principles play out in practice can be found in Mather’s annotations on Esther 3:2, in which he confronts the question of why Mordecai should have refused to bow to Haman in spite of the emperor’s decree.

As he often does in “Biblia Americana” when some matter is particularly complex, Mather considers various possible explanations, of which the first one is offered in an entry directly on that particular verse while the other appears in his summary comments at the end of his annotations on Esther. Mather’s first answer implies that Mordecai’s refusal was an act of conscience in response to Haman’s scheming: “the Minion of the *Persian* Court, had by his Brigues, obtained from the Emperour a Commission & Priviledge, to require a more than common Reverence, from the Courtiers, then about the Palace; but *Mordecai* found it against his Conscience to take such a Notice of such a Miscreant.”² More specifically, Mather here suggests, Mordecai’s decision was informed by cultic and historical animosities. After all, Haman’s entrance into the story told

¹ A portion of this work appeared as “Euhemerism and Ancient Theology in Cotton Mather’s ‘Biblia Americana,’” in *Cotton Mather and Biblia Americana: America’s First Bible Commentary*, eds. Reiner Smolinski and Jan Stievermann (337–59).

² Esth. 3:2; Esther, 7r. “Brigue” signifies “strife, quarrel, or contention” (*OED*).

by the book of Esther is as the son of Hammedatha the Agagite (Esth. 3:1). Agag, of course, was the King of the Amalekites, who had been ordered destroyed along with his people in 1 Samuel 15 for their attack upon Israel (Exod. 17), but who was perversely saved by Saul. This act of apparent mercy, for which Saul is ultimately cursed and denied the monarchical succession (which will pass to David), also has crucial political as well as theological overtones. When Samuel rebukes Saul, he tells him that "rebellion [is as] the sin of witchcraft, and stubbornness [is as] iniquity and idolatry. Because thou hast rejected the word of the LORD, he hath also rejected thee from [being] king" (1 Sam. 15:23).³

Thus, Mordecai's reason to scorn Haman might have been simply because he was of that people "whom *Samuel* slew; & so of a Generation, both *Accursed* of God, & no less Justly than Greatly *Abhorred* by the Israel of God."⁴ Even as he proposes this possibility, though, Mather rejects it, perhaps because he remembers the lesson of 1 Samuel 15:23:

Had it been a meer *Civil* Respect, which was here demanded, it would have been very *Superfluous*, & well-nigh *Ridiculous*, to have given Express Command unto all the *King's Servants that were in the Court*, concerning it; Good Manners were Doubtless enough used there. ... It seems not a Reason weighty enough, that because the *Jews* were to cultivate no Friendship with the *Amalekites*, therefore *Mordecai* should not pay *Haman* the Civil Respect which was given to all Men in great Place; especially since by denying it, he might expose the whole Nation to Danger.⁵

Instead of following standard interpretations, Mather calls on the Targumim, the 1st-century CE Aramaic paraphrases of Hebrew Scripture, and the apocryphal additions to Esther (Esth. 13:12–14) to suggest that the decree entailed something other than courtly manners:

Accordingly the Author of the *Apocryphal* Additions to this Book understood it. He represents *Mordecai*, as praying after this Manner. *Thou knowest, O Lord, that it is not Contumacy or Pride, nor Desire of Vainglory, that makes me not to worship Haman; for I would willingly kiss his Feet for the Safety of Israel; but I do it, that I may not prefer the Glory of a Man to the Glory of God: nor adore any one, but thee, my Lord, alone.*⁶

The "*Former Targum*" supports this interpretation when it asserts that the Persians "*in the King's Gate bowed down to his Image, which he had sett up, & worshipped Haman,*" and prostrated themselves before him as to a god. The "*Latter Targum*" likewise

Explains it. When they asked him, why he did not obey the King? He answered, *What is the Son of Man, that he should exalt himself? What is he that is born of Woman,*

³ Throughout, in quoting from the Bible, I have relied upon the Authorized Version based on the 1611 King James.

⁴ Esth. 3:2; Esther, 7r.

⁵ Esth. 3:2; Esther, 7r.

⁶ Esth. 3:2; Esther, 7r.

who comes lamenting into the World, & is of few Dayes, and then returns to his Earth, that I should worship him? No; I worship God, the living God, who endures forever! So he goes on, describing very well, the Majesty of God, the Lord of Heaven & Earth; & thus concludes; *He is to be praised by us, & before Him, we ought to bow down ourselves.*

The fact that the largest portion of this note relies directly on Simon Patrick's much-admired and much-copied *Commentary upon the Historical Books of the Old Testament* gives us occasion to reflect for a moment on some of Mather's main sources and his use of them.⁷

Simon, or Symon, Patrick (1626–1707), was Bishop of Ely and well-known for his latitudinarian views. He held many opinions that were consonant with the Cambridge Platonists, but he was best known for his numerous devotional and exegetical works (*DNB*), several of which were held by the Harvard Library. Despite his broad-church outlook, he was evidently and expressly admired not only by Mather, but also by Pierre-Daniel Huet (1630–1721), French churchman and Bishop of Soissons (*EB*), and the even more famous Presbyterian clergyman, Matthew Henry (1662–1714), whose own *Exposition of All the Books of the Old and New Testament* (originally published between 1707 and 1714) is still in print (*DNB*). In keeping with the scholarly methods of the period, Henry, like Mather, reproduces much of Patrick's own commentary in large part because both esteem Patrick's voluminous learning and his profound seriousness toward matters of religion.⁸ The fact that both Henry and Mather directly copy Patrick, and that Huet closely paraphrases him in several of his works, shows how early modern exegesis was practiced as a collaborative enterprise.

The other primary source for this entry is *Synopsis Criticorum Aliorumque Sacrae Scripturae Interpretum* (1669–76), by the biblical commentator Matthew Poole (1624–79). Much like Mather's own "Biblia Americana," it is a critical digest of biblical interpretation. *Synopsis* was tremendously popular from the date of its publication, so much so that toward the end of his life Poole undertook to digest his great Latin work and provide an English translation for lay readers. Although he died before this work could be completed, it was finished by his friends and published in two volumes as *Annotations upon the Holy Bible* (1683–85), a work which Mather studied closely. John Pearson's *Critici Sacri Sive Doctissimorum Virorum in SS. Biblia Annotationes & Tractatus*, first published in London in nine volumes in 1660, is another of the monuments of early modern biblical studies that makes a frequent appearance in the "Biblia." It collected large portions of the commentaries of Hugo Grotius, Sebastian Münster, Francis Vatablus, Isidore Clarius, Johannes Drusius and dozens of others and presented their interpretations in a chapter-by-chapter study. The *Critici Sacri*

⁷ Simon Patrick, *A Commentary upon the Historical Books of the Old Testament* (2:715).

⁸ Matthew Henry, *An Exposition of All the Books of the Old and New Testament* (2:650).

was so popular that it was twice published in a reprinted and expanded edition on the continent.

When Mather returns to the issue of Mordecai's refusal to bow to Haman, however, he does not draw on Poole, Patrick, or Pearson for the alternative explanation that he offers the reader. He notes that the Greeks, like Mordecai, "would not pay this Respect unto the Kings of *Persia*; but it was out of Pride."⁹ The direct source for this extended annotation that follows is Humphrey Prideaux (1648–1724). Dean of Norwich and a staunch Whig, Prideaux was best known for his work that linked the history of the Jews with that of the Christians, *The Old and New Testament Connected in the History of the Jews and Neighbouring Nations, From the Declension of the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah to the Time of Christ*, originally published between 1716 and 1718.

Prideaux, like Mather, was a master at digesting gargantuan quantities of information, a primary technique of learned discourse at the time that gave the works of many contemporary writers their characteristically massive style, including those of Thomas Browne (1605–82) and of Robert Burton (1577–1640), not to mention Poole and Pearson. In contrast to Patrick, Prideaux believed that Mordecai's rebellion *must* have had its roots in the antipathy of the ancient Hebrews toward the Amalekites. Prideaux's own primary source for many materials related to ancient Persia, acknowledged in his Preface, was the *De Religione Veterum Persarum* of Thomas Hyde (1636–1703), although Prideaux appears not to depend upon Hyde for this information.¹⁰ Still, Prideaux would have learned from Hyde and other Orientalists that what Haman expected was nothing more than

the same Adoration, that was paid unto the Kings of *Persia*, a Bowing of the Knee, & a Prostration of the Body to the Ground; and that *Mordecai* declined it as Idolatrous. But this being the common Complement, which was constantly paid unto the Kings of *Persia*, by all that were admitted into their Presence, it was, no doubt, paid unto this very King, by *Ezra* and by *Nehemiah*, when they had Access unto him, and afterwards by *Mordecai* himself. And if this Homage might be paid unto the King, there was no Idolatry in paying of it unto *Haman* too.¹¹

Thus, Mordecai had a deeper reason for his refusal: "Probably, it was because *Haman* was of the race of the *Amalekites*, and under the Curse denounced by GOD upon that Nation; and therefore, he thought it not proper to give that Honour unto him. And if all the rest of the Jews thought the same, we may see, why he would also Revenge himself upon all the Nation."¹² Prideaux's explanation not only preserves Mordecai's piety, but also accounts for Haman's

⁹ Esth. 10:3; Esther 22v.

¹⁰ This is the title given by Prideaux. It was a popular shorthand reference to the actual work, *Historia Religionis Veterum Persarum Eorumque Magorum* (1700).

¹¹ Esth. 10:3; Esther 22v; Prideaux, pt. 1, bk. 5, p. 246.

¹² Esth. 10:3; Esther 22v.

bloodlust both toward Mordecai and the entire nation of the Jews. Thus, the reader is left to weigh two possible explanations for Mordecai's rebellion, both of them equally supported by learned arguments. Neither one of these explanations points to contumacy or pride as the reason for Mordecai's action. Whether the refusal was rooted in respect of God's injunction against idolatry or reflected His condemnation of the Amalekites, Mordecai's purpose was pious and his action therefore irreproachable. Mather thus allowed for different readings to stand as they are, obviously wishing us to mine them for the single truth that each contains.

This is a recurring pattern in the annotations on Ezra through the Psalms and indeed throughout the "Biblia Americana." Further examples would be the differing accounts of those who returned from exile in Ezra and Nehemiah, the differing opinions presented on the lawfulness of usury or the identities of Leviathan and Behemoth in Job, and the diverging contradictory readings of the Psalms. The method per se has been amply investigated by Reiner Smolinski in his essays and in his general introduction to the *Biblia* series, particularly as they relate to Mather's commentaries on the Pentateuch.¹³ I want to emphasize here what seems to me the rationale behind it: for Mather understanding the Bible was a continuing and endlessly complex process that required the use of the best learning and all available sources of knowledge, even where this meant that sometimes one had to accept, at least for the time being, the possibility of conflicting interpretations.

In following this rationale, Mather is also operating well within the cultural presumptions of Puritan ministry as they are ably outlined by Lisa Gordis. Puritan clerics, like other reformers, did expect their congregants to read the scripture for themselves. The difficulty lay in skilled interpretation: Trained ministers were needed to navigate the rocky shoals of scripture and it was for this reason that Harvard itself was founded. As the cases of Anne Hutchinson and Roger Williams made plain, even the most sincere "attempts to use the biblical text as a guide were ... complicated" and tendentious.¹⁴ William Perkins, the exemplary Puritan minister, found many "dark" places in scripture that could only be illuminated by those with adequate training in language and learning.¹⁵ In like manner, Mather admits in his commentary on Ezra that "Our *Bible*, is a Book of *Mysteries*; it is very much a *Seal'd Book* unto us, until wee come at those *Mysteries*."¹⁶ Approaching those mysteries evidently requires the guidance of one provided with learning that others often do not have.

Mather does appear to depart from his ministerial (and familial) forebears in one important regard. While the first generation of colonial clerics operated

¹³ For more detail, see Smolinski's introduction to the first volume (*BA* 1:113–74).

¹⁴ Gordis, *Opening Scripture* 178.

¹⁵ Gordis 19.

¹⁶ Ezra 5r.

under the assumption that the art of their learning should not be visible as art, and that therefore their sermons should seem “plain” even when they were not,¹⁷ Cotton Mather was famous for the ostentatious erudition of his sermons and his writing. He always intimates, even when he does not expressly indicate, the formidable training required to adequately interpret scripture.¹⁸ Still, the *leitmotif* of “learning” in *A New Offer to the Lovers of Religion and Learning* (c. 1714) announces that Mather is doing more in his vast work than defending the faith against those who would destroy it: he is also buttressing it against those who, with the best intentions, might harm it.

Puritans were not alone in their belief that untutored biblical interpretation was fraught with peril. Kevin Killeen, in his recent monograph on Thomas Browne, points out how many contemporaries and near contemporaries of Mather expressed similar anxieties about lax approaches to scripture. John Selden (1584–1654), in his much admired *Table Talk*, lamented how “*Scrutaminis Scripturas* – These two words have undone the world.”¹⁹ Later in this same work, Selden avers that the problem often has to do with a cavalier treatment of context: “we pick out a Text here and there to make it serve our turn; whereas if we take it altogether, and consider’d what went before, and what followed after, we should find it meant no such thing.”²⁰ The Anglican minister and anti-Puritan controversialist, Richard Hooker (1554–1600), wary of radical agitation, would also in his *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Politie* (London, 1611) censure the belief that “access to the Bible is open to every vulgar intellect: ‘When they and their Bibles were alone together, what strange fantastical opinion soever at any time entered into their heads, their use was to think the Spirit taught it them.’”²¹ Likewise, Edward Stillingfleet (1635–99), another fierce defender of Anglicanism and episcopacy, in *A Discourse Concerning the Idolatry Practised in the Church of Rome* (London, 1671), opined that the Bible “in the hands of an arrogant and presumptuous Spirit, that hath no Guide to interpret it, but its own fancy or passion, it is a dangerous Weapon, with which he will wound both himself and others.”²²

Many of the writers who gave voice to such fears were, of course, Anglican and staunch proponents of episcopacy. Nonetheless, they expressed an attitude held in common with Puritans that examining the Bible was no easy task. Recognizing this shared stance allows Kevin Killeen to go to the core of Thomas Browne’s otherwise almost impenetrably dense works, especially *Pseudodoxia*

17 See Gordis 34.

18 For more on this issue, see Mather’s discussion of style and displays of erudition in his *Manuductio ad Ministerium* (1726), pp. 44–47.

19 Qtd. in Killeen, *Biblical Scholarship, Science, and Politics in Early Modern England*, 16; Selden, *Table Talk*, p. 7.

20 Selden, p. 9.

21 Killeen 16.

22 Qtd. in Killeen 16; Stillingfleet, *Discourse*, p. 30.

Epidemica, first published in London in 1646, and revised and appended through several later editions. The *Pseudodoxia*, Killeen asserts, "engages in a historicism that is at once consummately trivial, in its exploration of scriptural minutiae, and highly political." Browne and, it should be said, many of the same authorities that Mather also employs "are exercised with reclaiming interpretative authority in the face of a perceived hermeneutic anarchy."²³ Mather is clearly not modeling his work on the *Pseudodoxia*, but the two works are similar in that they "exemplify an important innovation in exegetical method, an approach to reading the Bible that focused on the culture of biblical objects and customs." Much biblical scholarship of the period, including the *Synopsis Criticorum* and the *Critici Sacri*, display what might be seen as an inordinate interest in minor matters, but if this is pedantry, it is a "purposeful pedantry, [designed] to pre-empt the appropriation and misuse of the text." Those who would misuse holy writ with their dilettantish readings are countered with an "insistence on a cultural, historical, and linguistic expertise that serves as a prerequisite to exegetical competence."²⁴

It is in this context that we should see Mather's copious method so often remarked upon. Most famously observed in his history of New England, *Magnalia Christi Americana* (London, 1702), the same peripatetic mind obviously informs most of Mather's writings. Jan Stievermann has analyzed Mather's ambitions in the *Magnalia* and rightly recognizes that Mather through this technique hoped to unite all branches of knowledge.²⁵ Such breadth of vision was in no way unusual in the early modern period: it was, as Walter Ong noted, inherent in the Ramistic schemes of thought that would come to dominate early New English culture and learning.²⁶ From a post-Romantic viewpoint, the copious writing at which Mather excelled might seem to evince a lack of originality. However, we should remember the standard of learned discourse in the Baroque period was not originality but breadth. The form of much early modern writing, from *Anatomy of Melancholy* (Oxford, 1621) to *Pseudodoxia Epidemica* to *Synopsis Criticorum* and Samuel Bochart's (1599–1667) oft-cited *Geographia Sacra seu*

²³ Killeen 46.

²⁴ Killeen 47.

²⁵ See Jan Stievermann, "Writing 'to Conquer All Things': Cotton Mather's *Magnalia Christi Americana* and the Quandary of *Copia*," 264. Also helpful in understanding Mather's rhetorical method is Winton Solberg's introduction to his edition of *The Christian Philosopher* (see especially xix–xxii), Kenneth Murdock's introductory essay to books I and II of *Magnalia Christi Americana*, particularly 34–42, and Rick Kennedy's "Historians as Flower Pickers and Honey Bees: Cotton Mather and the Commonplace-Book Tradition of History," in *Cotton Mather and Biblia Americana* (261–76). Gustaaf Van Cromphout, in "*Manuductio Ad Ministerium*: Cotton Mather as Neoclassicist," examines Mather's shift toward a more identifiable "Cartesian" style of rhetoric in his later work but as Cromphout himself recognizes appropriation of other stylistic techniques does not mean that Mather gave up entirely on the approaches that had served him so well for so long, and which made him famous as a minister and a writer (363).

²⁶ See Ong, *Ramus, Method, and the Decay of Dialogue* (208).

Phaleg et Canaan (Caen, 1646) and its companion, *Hieroicoicon* (London, 1663) grows from this assumption. To combine such breadth of learning with depth of experiential piety was what Mather ultimately aimed for, and it is this aim by which we should measure his success.

Ezra and Nehemiah

Mather, operating in an ancient tradition of hermeneutics, considers the books of Ezra and Nehemiah as a continuation of Chronicles. The rabbis believed that Ezra wrote not only the eponymous book in scripture but the Chronicles as well, and that Nehemiah finished this work.²⁷ While Mather, like most early modern commentators, did not challenge this opinion, he found no shortage of other interpretive problems to occupy him.

Foremost among these are the differing accounts of those who returned from exile contained in Ezra 2 and Nehemiah 8, respectively. Mather confronts this discrepancy with characteristic forthrightness. He does not mention the problem in his annotations on Ezra 2, perhaps because he knows that the incongruity will not become apparent until one reads Nehemiah carefully. There, however, the issue cannot be ignored and so he candidly summarizes the case in his query:

Q. *Nehemiah* gives an Account of the Number & Kindred, by whom *Judea* was planted, after the Captivity; But you will find a wonderful Difference from the Catalogue in the Second of *Ezra*: Tho' the Text here seems to affirm, that it is the very same, *I found a Book of the Genealogy of them, that came up at the first, & found written therein.* v. 5. How is this Matter to be apprehended?²⁸

Initially, Mather offers the supposition of his trusted Patrick that Nehemiah must have found the original census of Ezra and compared it with his own enumeration of the people in order "to observe, by comparing the List, what Progress the Plantation had made."²⁹ In keeping with the shared nature of the exegetical enterprise of the period, Patrick at this point is quoting from the work of the renowned harmonist, John Lightfoot (1602–75), in his work *Chronicle of the Times and Order of the Texts of the Old Testament*, originally published in 1647.³⁰

It is characteristic of Mather, however, that despite his obvious respect for Patrick, he does not hesitate to question him when his conclusions appear open to interrogation. Mather ultimately decides in favor of the perhaps more creative but certainly more systematic analysis of James (Jacob) Alting (1618–79).

²⁷ Baba Bathra, 15a.

²⁸ Neh. 7:1; Nehemiah, 13r.

²⁹ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:688).

³⁰ See Lightfoot, *Works*, vol. 1, pp. 145–46.

Alting was the son of one of the major representatives at the Synod of Dort (1618–19), Johann Heinrich Alting (1583–1644) (*SH*). Although he is not as famous as his father, the younger Alting wrote prolifically and exercised a wide influence on later writers. He was also cited by several nineteenth-century commentators, including Adam Clarke (1760–1832) (*OCIH*), who like Mather sought to reconcile the discrepancies of Ezra and Nehemiah. Both Mather and Clarke include in their commentaries similar tables that show how, by adding the numbers tabulated by one author to those of the other, the accounts balance exactly.³¹ While Mather and Clarke might have cited Alting at second hand, the ultimate origin of both references is contained in a letter (*Epistola* 69) to Francisco Burmanno, which Alting's literary executor, Balthasar Bekker (1634–98), reproduced in the collected works of Alting. Mather and Clarke only take the sum of the families named by Ezra and Nehemiah; Alting assiduously counts each family as they are listed in the respective books and compares where they differ.³² In the end, however, all three show how the sums of Ezra and Nehemiah can be made to correspond.

The purpose of this detailed exercise in bookkeeping is not merely academic. It serves to buttress Mather's larger project of demonstrating that apparently intractable difficulties in scripture are amenable to the careful application of reason. Moreover, the concern of Nehemiah for the health of his plantation reflects the tenuous nature of religious reformation and its constant peril from those who fail to understand the lessons of history. As the *Magnalia Christi Americana* reminds us, this question was not without import for Mather. In the "Biblia Americana," though, he treats the matter in a different context: here he is concerned with examining the connection of sacred to secular history and exploring just how fraught with uncertainty the act of restoring purity can be.

In his readings of the Pentateuch, Mather had already established the interpretative framework that allowed him to argue for the divine inspiration of the scriptural histories despite apparent later emendations and insertions. There, Mather had confronted the skepticism of radicals such as Thomas Hobbes and Benedict Baruch Spinoza by posing the argument that scribes might have added to the histories of Moses, and that among these additions must have been the last chapter of Deuteronomy. Mather thought he could make this argument without damaging the inspiration of the whole. Indeed, those ancillary writers must have been as inspired as the primary figures after whom the books were named.³³ This is the main point behind Mather's first annotation in Ezra: the "Difference of

31 For Mather's table, see Nehemiah, 14v. For Clarke's, see his *Commentary*, vol. 2, pp. 617–18.

32 See Alting, *Opera Omnia*, tom. 5, p. 388. I am grateful to Connie Maddux for identifying the source of this tabulation in Alting's letter.

33 See Smolinski, Editor's Introduction (*Biblia Americana* 1:131–38) and "Authority and Interpretation" (198).

the Sacred History, from those of other Nations" is its unity. The Bible, unlike the histories of the great pagan empires, is "all along one Body of History; connected by several prophetic Scribes that wrote it; with such proper Additions, for Explanation, as could not be originally in the Ancient Books themselves."³⁴ Mather's previous studies into the authenticity of the Mosaic books are here supplemented by insights drawn from Robert Jenkin (1656–1727) in his popular *The Reasonableness and Certainty of the Christian Religion* (1698). Jenkin, one of the nonjurors during the Revolution of 1688 who believed that his oath to James II prevented allegiance to William and Mary, remarked in *Reasonableness and Certainty* how many of the canonical books "begin with a Direct Note of Connexion, AND: which our Translators conceal from the English Reader, under the Word, NOW."³⁵ Jenkin's opinion was supported by the ancient assertion of Flavius Josephus who, in his polemic against Apion, had held "That *Moses* and a constant Succession of Prophets, wrote all along, the Jewish History of the Bible, till the Days of *Artaxerxes*."³⁶

Crucial to this act in the scriptural drama of God's chosen people is the character of Cyrus, the pagan but pious emperor who abets the return of the Jews from exile. So central is he to the activity of God that Simon Patrick believes that Cyrus was predicted by name in Isaiah, "an hundred and forty Years before the Temple was destroy'd, and two hundred Years before he was born." Cyrus is apparently motivated by Daniel to restore the Jews to their homeland, who must have "show'd this Prophecy to *Cyrus*; which disposed him to sett forth the following Edict."³⁷ Although the rebuilding of Jerusalem would be delayed by the presence of the Samaritans during the long reign of Cyrus, or so Mather thought, God would yet arrange for their protection when Darius Hydaspes (Hystapsis) seized the throne of Cambyses, Cyrus's son, and "married *Artessa* the Daughter of *Cyrus*; and loving her very much, confirmed the Decree of *Cyrus*, & followed his Steps, that he might stand the safer himself."³⁸

If the Persian rulers, guided by pious Jewish stewards, are the protagonists in Mather's interpretation of the story, then the Samaritans and the colonists settled in Israel by the Assyrians are its villains. Initially, the Samaritans, the remnants of the Northern Kingdom who according to Judeo-Christian tradition had intermarried with the Assyrian colonizers, offer themselves as allies to the returned Jews.³⁹ Unlike the Persian monarchs, however, the motivation of the Samaritans is entirely suspect. According to Patrick, "This People, doubtless,

³⁴ Ezra 1:1; Ezra, 1r.

³⁵ Robert Jenkin, *The Reasonableness and Certainty of the Christian Religion*, vol. 1, pt. 2, ch. 9, p. 203.

³⁶ Ezra 1:1; Ezra, 1r; Josephus, *Against Apion* (1.1.8).

³⁷ Ezra 1:1; Ezra, 3r; Patrick, *Commentary* (2:646).

³⁸ Ezra 4:5; Ezra, 15r; Patrick, *Commentary* (2:655). Although this genealogy of the Achaemenid is now considered inaccurate, it was widely accepted in the 17th century.

³⁹ See Josephus, *Antiquities* (9.14.3) and 2 Kings 17:28–34.

were desirous to partake of the Priviledges which were granted unto the *Jews* by the King of *Persia*. They were not of the same Religion with the *Jews*, as they pretended; For tho' they worshipped God, yett they joined other Gods with Him; And therefore they could not be Admitted unto Communion with them at the Temple."⁴⁰

Failing in this ruse, the Samaritans "bribed some of the Council of the King of *Persia*, to obstruct the Work. A Frequent Mischief in Courts, as tis noted by *Grotius*.⁴¹ Or, perhaps, they were some of the Officers of the King of *Persia*, in *Samaria*, and *Syria*, and *Judæa*, whom they corrupted, that they might cross the Design which was now carrying on."⁴² The Samaritans wrote to the Emperor and accused the Jews of rebuilding the walls and defenses of Jerusalem. This charge would delay the building of the Second Temple for decades, but it is telling that Mather chooses to reproduce the aside of Grotius on the corrupt nature of courts. More than one attempt at reformation, the implication seems to be, had been hampered by false report. Even decades after the initial return, when Nehemiah enters the drama, the court at Persia remained "full of such as would oppose" the reestablishment of the Jewish homeland.⁴³

Nonetheless, the supreme ruler of Persia exercises a fairness that is remarkable enough among absolute monarchs that Mather is compelled to comment on it. Darius is supposed to have found a scroll at the palace of Ecbatana, which detailed the grant of Cyrus. This assiduous search for evidence "was a fair proceeding in *Darius*; That he did not presently Decree against them; when there could not any thing that they alledged, be found in *Babylon*; but caused a Search to be made in another Place, where, he knew, Records were preserved."⁴⁴ The returned Jews, according to the Talmud, displayed their gratitude by affixing a brass picture of the Persian palace at the Eastern gate of the city, which faced in the direction from whence they had come.⁴⁵

In Mather's view, the poignancy of the Jews' situation upon their return is that they were not as careful with their God or with one another. They instituted worship that was formal, without being purposeful. They showed themselves to be fearful rather than resolute, slow to reform and only reluctantly obedient to their covenant. In many ways, they proved that they bore their old sins with them upon their return and that the ways that had caused God to punish them with exile had never ceased. For one, many of the original exiles had settled comfortably into the homes and the ways of their pagan masters. Some, like the children who had taken the foreign name of a Gentile wife, had lost their

⁴⁰ Ezra 4:2; Ezra, 15r; Patrick, *Commentary* (2:654).

⁴¹ Grotius, *Opera*, tom. 1, p. 191.

⁴² Ezra 4:5; Ezra, 15r; Patrick, *Commentary* (2: 655).

⁴³ Nehemiah, 3r; Patrick, *Commentary* (2:676).

⁴⁴ Ezra 6:2; Ezra, 19r; Patrick, *Commentary* (2:659).

⁴⁵ Ezra 7:6; Ezra, 21r; Patrick, *Commentary* (2:662); Mishna Middoth, 1.3.

honor along with their names.⁴⁶ Others, “being well-settled in *Babylon*” chose to finance the venture of resettlement while they waited to see whether or not those who actually risked the return would succeed.⁴⁷ The Jews themselves “have a common Saying, That it was only the Dregs of the People, who returned out of *Babylon*.” During the entire period of the Second Temple, “the Number of the Jews in *Chaldaea*, and *Assyria*, and *Persia*, was all along thought superiour, to the Number of the Jews in *Palestine*.”⁴⁸ The sorry truth of the return from exile, for Mather and his sources, is that it was half-hearted from the very beginning and continued so all through the period of the Persian Empire.

God seems Himself to have already begun withdrawing His favor from the chosen ones. The forms and accoutrements of worship that had once tokened the presence of God, now were vacuous symbols, signs without their proper signified. The Jews made a copy of the Ark of the Covenant for their new temple, but

it enjoy'd none of the Honours that belonged unto the First. There were no Tables of the Law; no *Aaron's Rod*; no Pott of *Manna*, near it; no Appearance of the Divine *Glory* over it; no *Oracles* given from it. The *First Ark* was made and consecrated by Divine Appointment, and was possessed of these Distinguishing Privileges & Prærogatives; But the Second being made & substituted by Man only, had none of them. The only Use of it, was to represent the former, on the Great Day of Expiation; and be a Repository of the Holy Scriptures, that is, of the original Copy of that Collection made by *Ezra*, & the Men of the Great Synagogue, after the Captivity.

All of the things that made the original Ark, like the original Tabernacle and Temple, a dwelling place of the Holy, were absent from what was now simply a piece of furniture: a copy of the seat of the divine, containing only a duplicate of the scriptures that recorded the distant inscription of God's own hand on tablets of stone. Thus, when the later Jews made “in Imitation of it, a *Coffer* in all their Synagogues,” this act of devotion was even more pathetic, a representation of a longing never to be fulfilled, and of the Jews' own inability to see that God had finally passed them over in favor of other peoples and other nations.⁴⁹

Although Mather does not make it explicit, his return to this matter twice in one of the briefest sets of notes in his massive “*Biblia*” implies that he is mak-

⁴⁶ Ezra 2:61; Ezra, 8v; see also Pierre Allix (Alix), *Reflexions upon the Books of the Holy Scripture*. Allix notes that “after the *Babylonian* Captivity, some particular persons were excluded from the Priestly order, to which they pretended, because they could not make out their Pedigree” (vol. 1, pt. 2, pp. 221–22). The note itself is taken from Patrick, *Commentary*, 2:650.

⁴⁷ Ezra 1:4; Ezra, 4v; Patrick, *Commentary* (2:647).

⁴⁸ Ezra, 8v; Prideaux, *Old and New Testament Connected* pt. 1, bk. 3, pp. 136–37. The “common saying of the Jews” that it was the “bran” or dregs of the people of the people who returned, while the “flour” remained behind can be found in the *Babylonian Talmud*, Tractate Kiddushin 69b.

⁴⁹ Ezra 1:11; Ezra, 6v; Lewis, *Origines Hebraeae*, vol. 2, bk. 3, ch. 18, pp. 335–36.

ing here a point about the perils of incomplete reformation. His many other writings, not least the *Magnalia Christi Americana*, provide full evidence of his anxiety that the Puritan errand into the wilderness was taking a wandering path at very best. We cannot, Mather seems to say, ignore the lessons of the past: we must learn how vapid forms of worship can be when they are missing the spirit that invigorates them. Thus, his transcription of Simon Patrick's conclusion evinces a certain regret and a worrisome fear, even as it anticipates the triumph of another covenant: by the absence of the signs of God's favor, including the Ark, "God would signify, He was withdrawing His Presence from the House of Stone, to dwell in the *Temple* of the *Body* of our JESUS; who offered Himself to GOD, & putt an End unto the Figurative Sacrifices."⁵⁰

The Jews also appeared to have returned to the social injustices that the prophets had decried before the exile. The returned poor were so oppressed by the wealthy who came back to the homeland that the impoverished people raised a "great cry" to Nehemiah (Neh. 5:1). This privileged class, "tho' they were cured of their Idolatry by their Captivity, yett they were not cured of their other Sins. ... They were so *Covetous*, that they oppressed the Poor; And this, at a time, when their Enemies threatened the Destruction of them all." Mather, through his sources Patrick and Allix here, condemns not only the extortion, but the shortsightedness of it. The "Crime" was made even more objectionable because "the Twentieth of *Artaxerxes*, (the Year of this Oppression,) began about the End of the *Sabbatic Year*," when all debts should have been forgiven.⁵¹

Nehemiah's decree that the money extorted should be returned was not only worthy of a Winthrop, who of course is praised as the American Nehemiah in Mather's biography in the *Magnalia Christi Americana*. It also reveals how severely the needy had been taken advantage of. In verse 11, Nehemiah commands that the rich "Restore unto their poor Brethren, *the Hundredth Part of the Money*, &c., that they Exacted of them." Through a triangulation of Patrick, Prideaux, and the famous French classicist, Claude Saumaise (1588–1653), Mather determines that this was "the *Interest*, which the poor People paid unto the *Usurers*. And this is called, the *Hundredth Part*, because the Proportion of it was this; the *Interest*, in One *Hundred Months* amounted unto as much as the Principal." Mather cannot forebear exclaiming that this was "A cruel Interest; as much again as is allowed by the Lawes of *England*! It was 12 P. Cent."⁵²

⁵⁰ Ezra 1:7; Ezra, 4v; Patrick, *Commentary* (2:647–48).

⁵¹ Neh. 5:1; Nehemiah, 9r; Patrick, *Commentary* (2:683); Allix, *Reflexions*, vol. 2, pt. 1, p. 97. Pierre Allix (Alix) (1641–1717) was a French Huguenot pastor who immigrated to England at the urging of Bishop Gilbert Burnet. Many of Allix's most important works, including the *Reflexions*, were published first in French (as *Reflexions sur les livres de l'écriture sainte*, in 1687) and later translated into English.

⁵² Neh. 5:11; Nehemiah, 9r; Prideaux, *The Old and New Testament Connected*, pt. 1, bk. 4, p. 290. It may be noteworthy that Mather diverges from his reliable guide, Patrick, at this point. This is, perhaps, because Patrick appears less willing to severely judge the wealthy Israel-

The people do take one significant step, but the dramatic nature of this action, in Mather's view, displays the terrible costs of lives lived in separation from the will of God. In a passage often ignored by modern commentators, but charged with significance in the early modern period and especially during colonization, Mather confronts the separation of the Jews from their "strange wives." This moment, when the Jews began consciously to make themselves a people apart from other nations and become a byword for stubborn independence in the classical world, was obviously one of great typological import. It is pivotal in both Ezra and Nehemiah, and emblemizes the dedication, albeit tardy, of the returned Jews.⁵³ Mather, though, appears more interested in the way in which it epitomizes all of Jewish history. The unfaithfulness of the pre-exilic kingdoms, the panting after other gods and obsessions with foreign ways, the sexually charged tension of the histories of the reign of monarchs from Solomon on, all of them seem to coalesce in these interlinked scenes when the Jews renounce their sins that stretch back over hundreds of years and renew their covenant.

As ever in Jewish history intermarriage is represented as one of the greatest dangers to religious purity. In chapter 10 Ezra commands the people to "separate yourselves from the ... strange wives" (Ezra 10:11). Ezra is abetted by Shechaniah, whose zeal is more observable according to Mather "in that several of his own Family; even his own Father, and several of his Uncles, the Sons of his Grandfather *Elam*, were in the Trespass, against which he appears. [Neh. VI.18.]"⁵⁴ Opposing them is a small minority whose contesting of the decree raises another question of translation. In his annotation on verse 15 of chapter 10 Mather asks, "it is said, *Only Jonathan, and Jahaziah were employ'd about this Matter; and Meshullam & Shabbethai helped them*. How were they *employ'd about this Matter*?" Mather's response is that they were "Truly, but *Ill-Employ'd*, if I been't mistaken What you read, *They were employ'd about this Matter*, I read, *They stood up against this Matter*."⁵⁵ The assiduous compiler of the *Biblia* is likely correct, and his counter translation to the Authorized Version not only accurate but literal: עמד [amad] means "to stand or hold one's ground."⁵⁶ The detail epitomizes the difficulty of interpretation when the reader's only guide is a translation. The difference between being employed (in the ambiguous sense

ites. While Prideaux, like Mather, concludes that the interest charged is exceedingly heavy, Patrick believes that "we cannot certainly tell whether this was heavy or light Usury" (*Commentary* 2:684). Patrick, however, does reference both major works of Salmasius, or Claude de Saumaise on the subject: the 1640 *Dissertatio de Fœnore Trapezitico* and the 1639 *De modo usurarum*, while Prideaux only alludes to the *Dissertatio de Fœnore Trapezitico*. See Saumaise's *Dissertatio*, bk. 2, pp. 557–74 and *De Modo Usurarum*, cap. 1, pp. 30–35, and cap. 6, pp. 224–90. Mather also condemns usury in his *Magnalia Christi Americani* (1702), bk. 5, pp. 51–52.

⁵³ See Ezra 10 and Nehemiah 9.

⁵⁴ Ezra 10:2; Ezra, 27r; Patrick, *Commentary* (2:670).

⁵⁵ Ezra 10:15; Ezra, 28v.

⁵⁶ Strong's #5975.

either of being exercised about or of working upon) and flatly opposing is evident and important, especially in a culture that invested even minor occurrences in the Bible with great spiritual significance.

No more complete example of the dangers of desultory reformation, however, could be found than in the Samaritans who daily obstructed the Jews in their work. As he does elsewhere, Mather returns here to the Samaritans as typological prefigurations of Christian history. Initially, almost in passing, Mather remarks that "the Deliverance out of *Babylon*, was a Type of our Deliverance from spiritual Bondage, by our Lord Jesus Christ. And hence the Prophets do seem to make a Transition from This to That, in their Mention of it."⁵⁷ This is no minor hermeneutical point: it serves to explain how Isaiah and Jeremiah might be understood to have been inspired to write with a dual aim, to promise both the return of the Jews to their homeland, and to foretell a greater redemption from a longer-lasting captivity.

Mather, however, is after another, more elusive quarry, and so he continues: Babylon must also have been a "Type of *Rome*; The *Deliverance* thence, was therefore a Type of the Churches Deliverance from the Yoke of Antichrist. That was a *gradual Work*; and so is This: The First Reformers were not Infallible; and they could not Reform all at once." As the repatriation was sporadic and extended, reformation does not happen all at once, in a stroke. Both are "mett with Oppositions, and ... carried on thro' grievous Difficulties." Both must deal with "a Mongrel-Generation, who yett beleevved in the *Messiah*, clogg'd it wonderfully."⁵⁸ Mather's reading of the "mongrel" Samaritans here is inspired by the work of his uncle, and namesake to his own son, Samuel Mather (1626–71). Samuel, who was deprived of his living in Dublin for preaching a series of sermons that advised the restored monarch, Charles II, to assume the role of Hezekiah and purify the Church of England, was certainly qualified to speak on the unfinished work of reformation. If this work, though, lays the foundation for Cotton's conclusions concerning the Samaritans, it is a much more radical thinker who allows him to finish this thought.

Johann Heinrich Reitz (1655–1720) was a German Lutheran Pietist who later in his life experienced a mystical conversion that would ultimately propel him toward separatism and toward preparing his own idiosyncratic translation of the Bible. A highly syncretic thinker, Reitz was a proponent of an inner light, much like the Quakers and Anabaptists. He would come to argue vehemently against the Heidelberg Catechism, but under the influence of Johannes Cocceius (1603–69) would also maintain an elaborate typology of the Old Testament (*SH*).⁵⁹ This typology is most in evidence in the numerous Latin editions

⁵⁷ Ezra 1:8; Ezra, 5r.

⁵⁸ Ezra 1:8; Ezra, 5r; Samuel Mather, *The Figures or Types of the Old Testament* (pp. 202–03).

⁵⁹ Johannes Cocceius is important to the *Biblia* and its cultural contexts in other ways. One of his teachers was Sixtinus Amama (1593–1609), who figures prominently in the annotations

of Thomas Goodwin's (or Godwin's) *Moses and Aaron: Civil and Ecclesiastical Rites Used by the Ancient Hebrews* that Reitz prepared and heavily annotated with his own footnotes. Goodwin's work was a standard historical reference in English, but Reitz's editions proved equally durable on the continent. The first edition appeared in 1684 and it continued to be republished for decades after Reitz's death.

Mather's duplication of one of Reitz's lengthy footnotes on the Samaritans is interesting both for the rich imagination of the interpretation itself and for the qualification Mather feels compelled to offer on Reitz's annotation. Reitz, like Samuel Mather, initially considers the Samaritans as types of the Roman church. In support of this contention, Reitz provides an etymology for the Samaritans that has nothing to do with Samaria as the capital of the Northern Kingdom. Instead, he postulates that the name "Samaritan" derives from the verb שָׁמַר [shamar], "to keep or guard or observe." Thus, as the Samaritans falsely claimed to guard the word of God at Mount Gerizim, the Catholics have a "Keeper" in Rome. As the Samaritans during the time of Christ would claim a grant for their temple from Alexander, the Catholics claim Rome from Constantine the Great. As the Samaritans adjoined the worship of the one God to other gods, the Catholics "permitt their pagan Converts, to do so too." Finally, "The Samaritans worshipped, they *knew not what*. And so do the *Papists* in their *Transubstantiation*."⁶⁰

Reitz is not content to let the matter rest there. As the Roman church is corrupted, so is the Lutheran. The Samaritans, like the Lutherans, underwent captivity, but this was different both in kind and duration from that experienced by God's true chosen people. The Samaritans, like their spiritual descendants, attempted to impede a full reformation. On some points of worship, the Samaritans and the Lutherans agreed with the Jews and other more ambitious reformers; on others they continued to follow the practice of Babylon or Rome.

There were other parallels to the Lutherans, earlier in Israelite history, which Reitz had no difficulty finding. Jehu, who was once a servant to Jezebel, was a type to Luther, who was once a servant to Rome, but neither intended to pursue reformation to the extent that they did. Both Jehu and Luther persecuted the false prophets and priests with an unprecedented zeal, yet in the end as Jehu left the calves of Bethel and Dan standing, Luther left images and saints in his church.⁶¹

In transcribing the opinions of Reitz, Mather is again making an oblique point concerning the pitfalls of biblical interpretation. Mather respects Reitz's

on Psalms. Cocceius was also one of the leading proponents of federal theology, which did so much to shape New English orthodoxy.

⁶⁰ Ezra 4:1; Ezra, 13r.

⁶¹ Ezra, 13r–14v; *Moses & Aaron, seu Civiles & Ecclesiastici Ritus Antiquorum Hebraeorum* (1710), lib. 1, cap. 11, pp. 118–19 (note 11).

position, but he does not embrace it: in fact, he brackets this, one of the longest entries in Ezra, with two cautionary statements. Typology can teach us something, Mather thinks, but the lesson that it holds can have more to do with our own fancies than it does with biblical inspiration. "We must not," Mather warns, "*superfine* upon such a Matter."⁶² Because the "speculations" of Reitz are curious and "a little singular, (& indeed some of them are more singular than considerable,) I thought it not altogether amiss, a little to consider them."⁶³ Still, Mather kept his caution: there are types in the Bible, but wielding the instrument that reveals them requires caution. Lest the hasty interpreter be carried away on "*Cocceian Flights*" of whimsy, an allusion to the elaborate typologies of Reitz's model, Johannes Cocceius, it is better to anchor oneself to the maxim that such readings are "*Nec nihil, nec omnia*."⁶⁴ In the end, Reitz's reading is represented as exemplary, but not in the way that he himself had intended.

Mather did value Reitz, and all the Pietists, for the manner in which they sought to unite great learning with experiential religion. As Reitz would seek to provide a literal translation of the New Testament, Mather in his *Psalterium Americanum* (1718), where he wedded his "Biblia Americana" annotations to a new translation of the Psalms, would endeavor to provide a new psalter for the New Englanders. Both Reitz and Mather, and their respective translations, were sometimes faithful to the letter of the original languages at the expense of felicitous expression, but both were convinced that more literal translations would be brighter lights to truth. If neither translation was welcomed as their authors had hoped, they both nevertheless operated in a long tradition of reformation scholarship that sought to produce common-language translations that accurately reflected the divinely inspired tongues. Indeed, both Reitz and Mather advocated the approach that Robert Gell (1595–1665) had put forth in his influential 1659 *Essay toward the Amendment of the Last English-Translation of the Bible*. Translators ought to "preserve the *Letter of the Scripture intire* ... how absurd soever it seem to our carnal reason."⁶⁵ Mather's annotations on Ezra and Nehemiah, just as the ones on Esther, Job, and the Psalms, prove how closely he hewed to this principle.

⁶² To "superfine" (*infinitive*) is to polish an idea too thoroughly, to refine it too keenly (*OED*).

⁶³ Ezra 4:1; Ezra, 13r.

⁶⁴ Ezra 4:1; Ezra, 14v.

⁶⁵ Gell, *An Essay toward the Amendment of the Last English-Translation of the Bible* (1659), p. a2. On Reitz, the aims of translation in the early eighteenth century, and the union of devotion and scholarship in German pietism, see Jonathan Sheehan's *The Enlightenment Bible: Translation, Scholarship, Culture*, 59–67.

Esther

One of the most remarkable aspects about Mather's annotations on Esther is that the eponymous heroine of the work is almost entirely absent. In one sense, of course, this is also true of the canonical text itself, in which Esther is the motivating factor and the convenient prop for the conclusion of the drama, but Mather's notes on this book have the effect of removing her even farther from the center of attention. In fact, Mather's commentary, at first glance, seems to be more about Persian custom, ritual, and law than about the narrative that accounts for the origins of the rite of Purim. As usual, though, these observations serve an oblique purpose. They have the effect of relating Purim, called by Protestant reformers the "*The Bacchanals of the Jews*," to the "luxurious" and even "effeminate" habits of the Persians.⁶⁶ Both of these are in turn contrasted to the uprightness of Mordecai and the justice of the dissolute, but fair-minded, Ahasuerus.

Although Mather remains occupied in Esther with specific questions of translation, these matters are subordinated to the illumination of how custom and law dictate behavior, and how all should be responsive to the will of God. One of the first lengthy annotations, then, focuses on the manner of Persian eating and how that fashion epitomizes a devolution from the ancient ways of the patriarchs. Prompted by Esther 1:6, Mather devotes more than two pages to the question, "Of what use, were the gaudy *Beds*, at the great Feast of *Ahasuerus*?"⁶⁷ For his response Mather relies on one of his favorite sources of information about the ancient world, John Edwards's three volume work *A Discourse on the Authority, Stile, and Perfection of the Books of the Old and New Testaments*.⁶⁸ Edwards (1637–1716) was a highly respected Calvinist clergyman and fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, whose work was primarily intended to prove the preeminence of scripture over other ancient cultures. The usual method he employed, and which Mather embraced as indicated by his frequent reliance on Edwards, was to argue that the traditions, mythologies, and fables that paralleled biblical sources were derived from the stories that the Noachic ancients had passed onto their children and that later had been recorded by Moses and other Jewish writers.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ See Esth., 2v, 18v, and 22v.

⁶⁷ Esth. 1:6; Esther, 1r–2v.

⁶⁸ See Edwards, *Discourse*, vol. 3, ch. 3, pp. 129–143.

⁶⁹ On this hermeneutical premise and its application, see Daniel P. Walker, *The Ancient Theology: Studies in Christian Platonism from the Fifteenth Century to the Eighteenth Century* (1972), Jean Seznec, *The Survival of the Pagan Gods: The Mythological Tradition and Its Place in Renaissance Humanism and Art* (1972), and Frank Manuel, *The Eighteenth Century Confronts the Gods* (1967). On the way these are applied by Mather, see Harry Clark Maddux, "Euhemerism and Ancient Theology in Cotton Mather's 'Biblia Americana'" in *Cotton Mather and Biblia Americana – America's First Bible Commentary* (337–59).

In Mather's annotations on Esther, Edwards goes to show that the same degeneration that occurred in religion when the descendants of Noah's sons were dispersed throughout the earth also occurred in manners and behavior, though less evenly. The Greeks and Romans, it seemed, like the children of Adam, Noah, and Abraham, did not at first recline as they ate. It was only "when Men gave themselves up to *Delicacy*, that they *Lay Down* on their *Beds*, at their *Meals*, & from hence the *Eating-Bed*, was called, *Lectus Discubitorius*." Mather even specifies that this manner of dining was done "Lying on their left Sides," and that "they rested the upper Part of their Bodies, with the left Elbowes, on a Cushion. When they drank more freely, they satt up a little; but for the most Part they were in this lolling Posture." Most tellingly, "This became a general Custome, among the *Græcians* and the *Romans*; but the First Rise of it, was among the *Oriental*s. The First Mention of it is, at the Feast of *Abashuerus*, where wee find gaudy *Beds*, for the Banquets." For Mather and his peers the Bible was not only a chronicle of religious history. It precisely recorded when and where customs arose or, as the case may be, declined.

The beds are just one token of Persian luxury. Mather turns to Samuel Bochart (1599–1667) in order to argue that the writer of the book of Esther is not being hyperbolic when he claims that "the *Pavement* of the *Persian Palace* ... consisted of *Porphyrie*, and *Marble*, and *Pearl*, and *Onyx*."⁷⁰ Bochart adduces the witnesses of Aristotle, Polybius, and Pliny to prove that the avarice of monarchs can know no bounds: if temples in India are "laid with *Pearl*," and Pompey might construct "*Musæum ex Margaritis*" (a museum made out of pearls), and the Emperor Elagabalus strew his floor with gold and silver, then it is no stretch of the imagination to believe Esther when it records that the floor of the palace at Susa should have been inlaid with precious stones and gems.⁷¹ It is difficult, if not impossible, to exaggerate the influence of Bochart on early modern biblical scholarship or his importance in the "Biblia Americana." Teacher to another of Mather's dependable authorities, Pierre-Daniel Huet, Bochart's study of the Holy Land in *Geographia Sacra seu Phaleg et Canaan* (Caen, 1646) and his treatise on biblical zoology, divided into clean and unclean animals, *Hierozoicon sive bipartitum opus de animalibus Sacrae Scriptura* (London, 1663), were the most complete compendia of the late Renaissance. As Jonathan Sheehan points out, Bochart and his contemporaries such as Edward Pocock (1604–91) displayed a marked preference for textual as opposed to physical evidence in their voluminous studies of biblical matters, but they made available to a wider audience, which included Cotton Mather, Arabian sources whose absence from the field of consideration would have impoverished early modern scholarship.⁷² Reliant as

⁷⁰ Esth. 1:6; Esther, 2v.

⁷¹ Esth. 1:6; Esther, 2v; Bochart, *Hierozoicon*, pars. 2, lib. 5, cap. 6, cols. 681–82.

⁷² See "From Philology to Fossils: The Biblical Encyclopedia in Early Modern Europe" in *Journal of the History of Ideas* 64.1 (2003): 46–50.

he was on testimonial authority, Bochart could create many fanciful etymologies and so demonstrate a linguistic (and religious) link between peoples as diverse as the Celts and the Phoenicians, but his learning also continues to epitomize the polymathic abilities of scholars in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and his work remains an essential starting point for subsequent explorations.

The wealth of Haman, which went toward his attempt to destroy the Jews, likewise seems to beggar the imagination. In Esther 3:9, Haman promises to pay 10,000 talents from his own treasury to the emperor in order to defray the costs of the genocide. In his summary remarks at the end of the commentary on Esther, Mather, through Humphrey Prideaux, evaluates this offer: "The sum, if computed by *Babylonish* Talents, amounts to Two Millions One Hundred & Nineteen Thousand Pounds of our Sterling Money; but if by *Jewish* Talents, tis as much again." Indeed, "How prodigious the Wealth of the Wretch! His Desire of Revenge, how Implacable! How Insatiable!" Lest the skeptic accuse the Bible of exaggeration Prideaux and Mather adduce the example of "*Pythius* the *Lydian*, [who] was possessed of Two Thousand Talents in Silver, and Four Millions of Darics in Gold; which together amounted unto near Five Millions & an Half of our Sterling Money." To this instance is added Marcus Crassus, who, "after he had consecrated the Tenth of all he had unto *Hercules*, feasted all the People of *Rome* at Ten Thousand Tables, and gave them in a Donative of Corn unto every Citizen, as much as would last him Three Months, and yett found the Remainder of his Estate, Seven Thousand One Hundred Roman Talents, which amounts to above a Million & an half of our Money." Even Seneca, "who instructs us to moderate Ambition & Avarice, and shews us that Nature will be contented with a very little; yett besides the Moveables and Gardens which this Hypocrite possessed, he had near Seven Millions & an Half of Crowns lying by him."⁷³

As usual, Mather anticipates the possible objection that the Bible is inconsistent with observed fact. He therefore posits that "*Gold* and *Silver* were then more plentiful than they are at present." It is no conceptual reach to suppose that the mines that had furnished the wealth of the ancient world became exhausted, or to conclude that the "Burning of Cities, & the Fearful Devastation of Countreys, which followed from the Eruptions of the *Goths*, the *Vandals*, the *Huns*, & other Barbarous Nations in the West, & of the *Saracens*, the *Turks*, & the *Tartars* in the East, buried a great Part of the Gold & Silver that was then circulating in the World." In this way, a "Scarcity ensued, which the opened Mines of *Mexico* and *Peru* and *Brasil* have not been able fully to repair unto this day."⁷⁴

All of these examples of immoderation allow Mather to emphasize, as he does in his annotations on Ezra and Nehemiah, exactly how far the Jews

73 Esth. 10:3; Esther, 22v; Prideaux, *Old and New Testament*, pt. 1, bk. 5, pp. 245–46.

74 Esther, 22v; Prideaux, *Old and New Testament*, pt. 1, bk. 5, p. 246.

had strayed from their original purity. Instead of memorializing the occasion of their salvation with an appropriate thanksgiving, as the examples of both Esther and Mordecai would seem to direct them to, the unexpected reversal of fortune becomes an opportunity for the Jews to practice a dissolution rivaling the Persians. The Feast of Purim consists in "Three Things; in *Reading*, & in *Resting*, & in *Feasting*." Unfortunately, the religious observances are merely made a prelude to the gluttony and drunkenness that follow. It is true, according to Patrick and his source Guillaume (Wilhelm) Schickard (1592–1635), that the Jews begin their two day observance with three prayers, but tellingly these prayers focus on themselves and not on the author and finisher of their redemption. Afterward, "they go to Supper upon Spoon-meats," and although "the next Morning, they go to the *Synagogue*, where the History is read over again with the same Ceremonies[,] ... After this, they have done with Religion, and all Piety; they spend the Two Dayes in Idleness, & in Eating & Drinking." Then, they "*Feast* ... at such a rate, that our *Usher* well calls this, *The Bacchanals of the Jews*. They indulge themselves, till they are dozed unto such a Degree, that as they themselves express it, they can't well distinguish between the *Cursing of Haman*, and the *Blessing of Mordecai*!"⁷⁵

As he does throughout his massive work, Mather in this brief note (that is copied from Patrick) provides a dense network of references. Such intertextuality is telling because it not only epitomizes how something like a republic of letters was responsible for advancing biblical scholarship in the period, but how these sources could be deployed to differing ends. In this particular annotation, Wilhelm Schickard is the most obvious authority, but he is by no means the only one called to witness concerning Purim. Known today for his development of a calculating machine that anticipates the later work of the German philosopher and polymath Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716), Schickard was famous in the seventeenth century as a professor of Hebrew at the University of Tübingen. His work, originally published in 1634 and entitled "Purim, sive Bachanalia Judaeorum," was included in the first of two volumes of essays, the *Tractatum Biblicorum*, which would supplement the second, continental, edition of Pearson's *Critici Sacri* (Frankfurt, 1695–96).⁷⁶ These tractates were a treasure trove of information, and Mather and other exegetes of the period depended on them frequently. The entire collection reproduced texts or extracts of works from diverse sources, including Petrus Cunaeus's tome on Hebrew government, Gaspar Wasserus's examinations of Hebrew numismatics, Ludovicus Cappellus's study of the Temple at Jerusalem, and Nicholas Fuller's sacred miscellanies to name just a few. Schickard provides Patrick with

75 Esth. 9:26; Esther, 18v; Patrick, *Commentary* (2:729).

76 Two further volumes would be published in Amsterdam in 1701 under the title, *Thesaurus Theologico-Philologicus*. See *Tractatum Biblicorum*, tom. 1, cols. 483–85.

much of his information on Purim, but Patrick also mentions in passing the conclusion of a Hebraist of the following generation, Willem Surenhuysius or Surenhuis (c. 1664–1729), who published some of the first Latin translations of the Mishnah from 1698–1703. Surenhuis was a highly respected student of Judaism who decried the practice of many of his peers who would draw from the well of Jews and then poison it after their use, so his employment by Patrick at this point is a canny rhetorical strategy. James Ussher in his *Annales Veteris Testamenti, a Prima Mundi Origine Deducti* (London, 1650) is also solicited for his summary judgment, probably deriving from Schickard, that the celebration of Purim was indeed a “Bacchanalia.”⁷⁷ Patrick and therefore Mather assiduously cite all these sources and in the process again show the collaborative nature of early-modern biblical scholarship.

The process by which this happens is shown in Mather's own digest of commentaries. Surenhuis maintained a high regard for rabbinic learning and while he was himself Christian, held that the fruits of Judaism, especially the Mishnah, contained core truths of a divine nature. Therefore, zealous reformers who reviled Judaism and the Hebrew learning a deep knowledge of that belief entailed, failed to attend to the harmonies of divine revelation.⁷⁸ Surenhuis, however, is here pressed into service in order to prove that the Jews, the chosen ones of God, like any humans, could be just as shamefully dissolute as their fellow creatures. This opinion is supported by Schickard and corroborated by Ussher, but in the service of Patrick and Mather, Schickard's opinion itself becomes one more strand in the grander narrative of history. The ultimate point is not just that the Jews occasionally exhibit the weakness common to all fallen beings: rather, the occasion of remembrance and thanksgiving becomes an excuse for a dissolution that they seemed to have acquired by habit from their lords in exile.

The Jews' vulgar behavior is then contrasted to the noble and sedate working of divine providence. When Haman chooses to destroy the nation, he decides on the date that would be most propitious for him and least favorable for the Jews by casting lots (pur). They fall on the last month of the Jewish year, “which as tis observed by *Schickard*, had no Festival Solemnity in it, nor was it sanctified by any Rites peculiar.” This fateful choice, however, is turned by God to the good of His chosen ones. The “whole Business was governed by the Providence of God, who ordered a whole Year to intervene between the Design, & the Execution; & so gave Time” for events to take their course.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ *Annales* (163). In the 1658 English edition of Ussher's *Annals*, Purim is called the “Jews Shrovetide” (114).

⁷⁸ See Frank Manuel, *The Broken Staff: Judaism through Christian Eyes* (1992), 95.

⁷⁹ Esth. 3:7; Esther, 8v; Patrick, *Commentary* (2:715–16). Patrick references both Hottinger's *Smegma Orientale* (p. 75) and Schickard's “Purim, sive Bachanalia Judaeorum” in *Tractatum Biblicorum*, tom. 1, cols. 483–85.

The concluding moral is also copied from Simon Patrick, who in turn derived it from Thomas Jackson's (c. 1579–1640) sermon on 2 Chronicles 6:39–40, in which Solomon prays for God's continued blessing on the Jewish people. The placement of this note in the "Biblia," however, makes an important distinction between ordinary and extraordinary providence. Jackson (through Patrick to Mather) begins by calling the deliverance of the Jews from Haman "Astonishing" because in it "there was no extraordinary Manifestation of the Power of God; nor any particular Agent in its working advanced above the ordinary Pitch of Nature." Nonetheless, the contrivance of God in preserving the Jews is "more admirable, than if the same End had been effected, by Means never so much Miraculous." Taken singly, the circumstances that result in the salvation of the Jews and the destruction of Haman are simple coincidences. Taken together, they point to a providence that works its wonders in mundane ways:

That a King should not sleep well, is no unusual Thing; nor is it, that he should solace his waking Thoughts, with having the *Journals* of his own Reign read unto him. But that he should ly Awake, at the very Time, when *Haman* was watching to destroy the *Jews*; and that in the *Annals* of the Kingdome they should light on the very Paragraph that recorded *Mordecai's* unrewarded Services; and that resolving to putt Honour upon *Mordecai*, *Haman* should come in at the very Nick of Time, & so determine the Honour, and be made the Instrument of it; This was from the *Keeper of Israel*, who *never slumbers nor sleeps!*

Miracles and wondrous signs, such as those recorded in Increase Mather's *An Essay for the Recording of Illustrious Providences* (London, 1684), are remarkable precisely because they "affect the *Sense*," but the "*secret Contrivances* of the Wisdome and Providence of God" are more consequential because they "affect the *Understanding*." The former "works *Astonishment*," the latter, "*Admiration*." It is for this reason that miraculous events were more common in the apostolic age: the indelible impressions they created "compelled Unbeleevers to give Ear unto the Words of Life, and to take into serious Consideration the Promises of God, which otherwise they would have sleighted." If miracles were as common now as then, they would by definition cease to be miracles. By contrast, "the more *secret Dispositions* of the Wisdome and Providence of God, are more apt to cherish the Seed of Life, sown in the Hearts of Beleevers." Unlike miracles, with their transient effect, "the unsearcheable Wayes in the Conduct of God, contriving extraordinary Successes by Means that are but Ordinary, will incessantly breed in us a noble Wonderment."⁸⁰

The interrelationship between history and providence that forms a motif to the commentary on Esther belies the common perception of Mather's work as simply redactive. Nonetheless, the dismissive treatments of his work that

⁸⁰ Esth. 10:3; Esther, 20v; Patrick, *Commentary* (2:723). Patrick copies portions of Thomas Jackson's sermon verbatim. The original can be found in Jackson's *Works* (vol. 2, bk. 6, pp. 309–310).

have marked critics since the mid-nineteenth century have proved astonishingly resistant to evidence that runs counter to received notions.⁸¹ Michael Winship's *Seers of God: Puritan Providentialism in the Restoration and Early Enlightenment* is only the most recent example of how spotty treatment of the "Biblia" continues to encourage flat and inaccurate portrayals of Mather, his beliefs about providence, and their relationship to experience. Although Winship cursorily considers Mather's opening annotations on Genesis, he is quick to conclude, as are most scholars, that Mather throughout his life conducted a kind of rearguard action for Puritan orthodoxy, including its belief in marvelous providence. Winship remarks of Mather's commentary on Genesis that "his proclivity to jumble together wildly different scientific hypotheses demonstrates just how unoriginal and unsynthetic a thinker he was."⁸² Not only does this opinion fail to comprehend the genre in which Mather was writing, it evaluates Mather against a post-Romantic standard of originality. The general conclusion of Winship's narrative is likewise limited by its Whiggish presumption of a history that works in broadly progressive ways. The "illuminatory providentialism" of Mather "changed very little in the eighteenth century." Although it cannot be said that Mather, under the onslaught of science and rationalism, retreated into "subjectivity and rationality," he remained bound to the faith of his fathers: "Mather was no more irrational or subjective at the end of his career than he had been at its beginning."⁸³ He was, simply, "bewildered" by the world that had changed around him – or so Winship concludes.⁸⁴

There is indubitably a certain satisfaction to be gained from such conclusions. They allow us to congratulate ourselves on the putative advances we have made and invite us to look with bemusement on the past. They also dictate that we ignore inconvenient evidence and gloss over historical complexity. Mather's frequent dependence upon the broad churchman Simon Patrick throughout the historical books of the Bible, and his specific use in Esther of the Arminian Thomas Jackson, demonstrate that Mather's own belief in providence or Puritan orthodoxy was never either simple or simplistic. Like the providence of God in protecting the Jews, Mather's own doctrine of providence is "very Visible, but we want Eyes or Hearts to contemplate" it.⁸⁵

⁸¹ On the reception of Cotton Mather, and the alterations in attitudes toward him in the nineteenth century, see E. Brooks Holifield "The Abridging of Cotton Mather" in *Cotton Mather and Biblia Americana* (83–109).

⁸² Winship 97.

⁸³ Winship 138.

⁸⁴ Winship 134.

⁸⁵ Esth. 10:3; Esther, 20v.

Job

In the annotations on Job, Mather continues in his effort to combine accurate comprehension of scripture with biblical lessons in practical piety. He is also concerned with what doctrinal Christian truths can be gleaned from this work. These efforts are undertaken against the backdrop of the drama of Job because Mather believes that Job can lay a viable claim to being the most ancient work of "true religion" and perhaps the oldest book ever written. This is no small matter, because if Job does possess a revelation from God, he received it before Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Moses. Thus, he might exemplify the tenets of pure belief and show how and to what extent the rituals and doctrines of the Jews related to the original worship of God.

As Mather's own sources make clear, the belief that the book of Job might be the oldest extant text in the world is itself a venerable idea. Patrick, relying upon Poole and John Selden in his magisterial *De Jure Naturali* (1640), as well as Johann Heinrich Hottinger (1620–67) in *Smegma Orientale* (1658), remarks that Origen held "that *Job* was Αρχαιότερος και Μωυσεως αυτου· *More Ancient even than Moses himself.*" The absence of any evidence of Mosaic Law in Job also led Eusebius to "pronounce, That he was *before Moses, Two Whole Ages.*" The "Hebrew Writers" concur. Indirectly quoting John Selden, called by Jason Rosenblatt in his recent monograph, *Renaissance England's Chief Rabbi*, Mather notes that the great rabbis "think That *Job* lived in the Dayes of *Isaac & Jacob.*" Similarly, "*Hottinger* shewes that the Eastern People are much of this Opinion."⁸⁶

Patrick's ready references of Poole, Selden, and Hottinger, and their own recourse to Eusebius, Origen, and Tertullian, indicate that the question of Job's place in history by no means came to an end with the patristic writers. Indeed, in early modern scholarship, it gained a new traction and a new urgency. Determining when Job lived provided a crucial context to other antiquarian researches. For Grotius and Selden, determining the age of Job was key to identifying the foundations of international law. For the Cambridge Platonist, Nathanael Culverwel (c. 1619–51), Job's religion was proof of natural, as opposed to divinely revealed, ethical precepts. Every Orientalist and biblical exegete who wrestled with this question also had to encounter the explosion of Hebraic studies that had begun with the Reformation.

Culverwel's position on this issue, and the dispute with Selden and other Hebraists that it implies, is epitomized in his "Spiritual Opticks," where Job's confidence that he will see God "for myself, and mine eyes shall behold" Him

⁸⁶ Job, 1r–2v; Patrick, *Job Paraphras'd*, Preface. See also Poole (*Synopsis Criticorum*, vol. 2, pars. 1, cols. 1–3), Selden (*De Jure Naturali*, lib. 7, cap. 11, pp. 834–37), and Hottinger (*Smegma Orientale*, lib. 1, cap. 8, pp. 381 and 452–53). Origen's remark is in his polemic, *Against Celsus* (6.43); that of Eusebius is in *Demonstratio Evangelica* (1.6). On the esteem in which John Selden was held during the seventeenth century, see Rosenblatt (4–13).

(Job 19:26–27) is considered a metaphor of an “Intellectual beholding of the very essence of God.”⁸⁷ Job, along with the rest of humanity, had access to the rationality that is “planted by *Nature* in the heart of both Jew and Gentile, and shines upon both with an equal and impartial beam.” This is not to deny that the Hebrews were vouchsafed a special revelation, but it is to say that no special access to divine purpose is necessary in order to comprehend the purpose of God in creation.⁸⁸ The debate into which Mather enters with his commentary on Job, pitting Selden and the Hebraists on one side against Culverwel and (largely) the Cambridge Platonists on the other, is whether Job’s insights were the result of the simple application of natural reason or of an “intellectus agens,” the intervention of God into men’s minds that permitted them to, literally, divine the truths of religious precept. According to Selden and the rabbis on whom he relied, Adam, Noah, and the other pre-Abrahamic patriarchs had been placed under an obligation to God through an agent of their intellect that had been implanted in them by God and which gave them insight into the first table of the law, the so-called “Noachide laws.”⁸⁹

Based on the prefatory comments of Patrick that Mather inserts into the “Biblia” annotations on Job, it would appear at first that Mather agrees with Culverwel. According to Mather,

Job, and the pious Persons that were of his Age, seem to be governed by, those Præcepts only, which the First Man received; even the Dictates of Natural Reason. *Tertullian*, in his Book against the Jews, contends, *That before the Law of Moses written, in Tables of Stone, there was a Law not written, which was understood naturally, and observed by the Fathers*. This he elsewhere calls, *The Common Law, which we meet withal, in Publico Mundi, in the Streets and High-Wayes of the World, in the Natural Tables*, which Mankind having broken, our Saviour came to Repair and Renew.⁹⁰

That Mather’s understanding of natural reason is more of the Seldenian than the Culverwelian variety, however, is shown by the other authorities he cites. If Job acted in accordance with the dictates of natural reason, his revelations from God far surpassed the light of nature. Not only are there “Frequent Revelations mention’d in this Book,” which “agree well to the earlier Times, of *Abraham*, and those before him,” these revelations bespeak an age “when there was a more familiar Converse between God and Men” than there was in the present of Mather’s life. Job seems to have “offered *Sacrifices* in Person, but

⁸⁷ The treatises that accompany Culverwel’s *Discourse of the Light of Nature* are paginated separately. See “Spiritual Opticks,” pp. 178–79.

⁸⁸ *Discourse*, pp. 54–55.

⁸⁹ Selden, *De Jure Naturali*, lib. 1, cap. 9, pp. 109–12. Rosenblatt provides a useful examination of the issues involved in *Renaissance England’s Chief Rabbi* (135–57, 202–25). See also Jon Parkin’s *Science, Religion, and Politics in Restoration England* (60–64).

⁹⁰ Job, 2v; Patrick, *Job Paraphras’d*, Preface; Tertullian, *An Answer to the Jews* (2) and *De Corona* (6).

[he] also was eminent for the Fear of GOD." Through the agent of a heavenly inspiration, Job had an experience of the "Grace of GOD" that would sadly be "withdrawn from the [Gentile] Nations, after the Days of Moses."⁹¹

Selden and other Hebraists also agreed with the rabbinic tradition that cast Job as a prophet to pagan nations. The Talmud mentions the legend that seven ancient men "prophesied to the heathen, namely, Balaam and his father, Job, Eliphaz the Temanite, Bildad the Shuhite, Zophar the Naamathite, and Elihu the son of Barachel the Buzite."⁹² It is noteworthy here that all the principal disputants of the dialogue are named: besides Job, his friends Eliphaz, Bildad, Zophar, and Elihu are identified as those who carried a pre-Mosaic revelation to the Gentiles. In book 7 of *De Jure Naturali*, a host of other Jewish sources are brought to bear in order to show that Job lived under a Noachic rather than a Mosaic dispensation. These include the famous medieval Jewish commentator on Job, Levi ben Gerson, as well as Rabbis Aben (Ibn) Ezra, Solomon ben Isaac Jarchi (RASHI), and, of course, Moses Maimonides (RAMBAM).⁹³ Mather does not reproduce all of these opinions, though he is indubitably aware of them. He does, however, accept their conclusion "That *Job* was a *Prophet among the Gentiles*; and one of no little Eminency." If the skeptic is to wonder why Job is not mentioned by other Hebrew writers, by "*Josephus* in his *Antiquities*" or the "Son of *Sirach*" in his "Catalogue of famous Men," the answer is not far to seek.⁹⁴ Selden himself had provided it, when he claimed that Jews as the children of Noah's son, Shem, had been particularly receptive to the divine light.⁹⁵ This might have led the Hebrew scribe in his peculiar "Humour" to magnify "only those of his own Countrey or those from whom they were directly descended," but it also proves how the Jews, as Mather had earlier said, had preserved the revelation of God when it had degenerated among other nations.⁹⁶

Job himself, though, bespeaks a doctrinal purity that makes him a prototype of the original Christian. In what seems to be a rare insertion of his

⁹¹ Job, 8v; Mather is here relying on Pierre Jurieu's *A Critical History of the Doctrines & Worship (Both Good and Evil) of the Church from Adam to our Saviour Jesus Christ* (1705), vol. 1, pt. 1, ch. 2, pp. 14, 19.

⁹² Baba Bathra, 15b.

⁹³ Selden, *De Jure Naturali*, lib. 7, cap. 11, pp. 834–837. Levi ben Gerson (1288–1343) was author of *Commentary on the Book of Job*. This was one of the standard texts for Christian Hebraists who argued for the historicity of Job. Rabbi Solomon ben Isaac Jarchi, or RASHI (1040–1105), was a highly respected French exegete whose own commentaries on the Talmud have almost become inseparable from that text. Abraham ben Meir Ibn Ezra, or Aben Ezra (c. 1068–1167) was another redoubtable rabbi, as well as poet and philosopher. Moses Maimonides or Moshe ben Maimon (c. 1135–1204), is best known for his *Guide for the Perplexed* though he was also famous for his commentary on law, *Mishneh Torah*, and for his work as a physician and philosopher.

⁹⁴ Job 42:17; Job, 107r; Patrick, *Job Paraphras'd*, p. 287.

⁹⁵ Selden, *De Jure Naturali*, lib. 1, cap. 9, pp. 116–17.

⁹⁶ Job, 107r; Patrick, *Job Paraphras'd*, p. 287.

own opinion into his commentary, after he transcribes Pierre Jurieu's opinion, Mather cannot forbear inviting us to

Behold, The Divinity known and own'd by the Patriarchs, before the Days of *Moses*! Behold, How much nearer it approach'd unto the Christian, than unto the Jewish Religion! The Articles of the Faith embraced by the Ancient Church, here appear to be such, as cannot be read without astonishment.⁹⁷

Job in this way becomes a primary piece of evidence for euhemeristic and ancient theological readings of history that were designed to protect the integrity of scriptural authority, even as they preserved a spiritual heritage that valued Jewish history without relying upon it as the sole demonstration of God's concurrence with humanity.

Euhemerism is an eponymous term that refers to the writings of an ancient Greek historian, probably from Messene (Messina) in what is now Sicily, though that place of origin is sometimes debated. The claim, for which Euhemerus would later become famous, that the gods originated in historical personages, appears in a text that most likely dates to the third century BCE, the *Hiera Anagraphē*. The entire text is lost, but the fragments that survived, in Ennius (239–169 BCE), and in the *Bibliothecae* of Diodorus Siculus (1st c. BCE), indicate that the *Hiera* of Euhemerus relates an imaginary voyage commissioned by the Macedonian King, Cassander (305–297 BCE), in which Euhemerus lands at an island called Panchaea.⁹⁸ There, he finds a remarkable monument that relates the supposed historical record of a ruler named Uranus, who gave birth to Kronos, who in turn sired Zeus and Hera and Poseidon.

As Truesdell Brown demonstrates in his foundational essay, "Euhemerus and the Historians," the type of imaginary history composed by Euhemerus already had a long history in the ancient near east before the *Hiera* was conceived. In one sense, Euhemerus merely recast existing traditions. Two particular themes in these traditions about how myths were literally brought down to earth were, first, that the gods and heroes of fable were either "poetic exaggeration or allegory."⁹⁹ The second theme was that the misdeeds of the gods reported by Homer and others constituted corruptions of original, real, divine interventions. Both of these interpretations of what would become pagan mythology filter into the "Biblia Americana" and the sources from which it was composed.

For many years, however, Euhemerus was available to the Western world only through the writings of such early Church Fathers as Eusebius of Caesarea (c. 264–c. 340 CE). His *Preparatio Evangelica*, a work written sometime after

⁹⁷ Job, 8v.

⁹⁸ The most recent scholarly edition of the surviving fragments (entitled *Euhemeri Messenii reliquiae*) was undertaken by Marek Winiarczyk, whose study *Euhemerios von Messene: Leben, Werk und Nachwirkung* also offers the best current discussion of Euhemerus, the ancient concept of Euhemerism, and its early modern applications.

⁹⁹ Truesdell Brown 263.

313 CE, contains sizable portions of the *Bibliothecae* of Diodorus Siculus. During his lifetime, Diodorus had compiled a catalog of summarized books that was intended to link mythic history with the more recent chronicles of Alexander and Julius Caesar's campaigns. This text itself survives only in fragments, and often what Diodorus wrote is only preserved by others. It is from Diodorus in Eusebius that we learn that Euhemerus was probably a historian who observed on his travels in Arabia the stele whose inscription related that Uranus had once been an early ruler in that country. This earthly Uranus was

a gentle and benevolent man, and learned in the motion of the stars, who also was the first to honour the celestial deities with sacrifices, on which account he was called Uranus. By his wife Ilestia he had sons Pan and Kronos, and daughters Rhea and Demeter: and after Uranus, Kronos became king and, having married Rhea, begat Zeus and Hera and Poseidon. And Zeus, having succeeded to the kingdom of Kronos, married Hera and Demeter and Themis, of whom he begat children, of the first the Curetes, of the second Persephone, and of the third Athena.¹⁰⁰

The writings of Euhemerus therefore epitomize a whole complex of similar explanations about the gods that locates their origins in history. Throughout the period of the Roman Empire such "Euhemeristic" narratives had been a favorite instrument of skeptics. Cicero (106–43 BCE), for example, was among those who held that the gods must have been born of man. In his highly influential *De Natura Deorum* (44 BCE), Cicero claimed that the gods were entirely explicable in one of three ways: they had their beginning in fabulous, pre-historical times (Euhemerus), they were allegories and symbols of elementary and cosmic conflict, or they were personifications of some moral precept in fables.¹⁰¹

These main lines were adopted by Eusebius in his *Preparatio*, but because the Early Church father from Caesarea wanted to demonstrate the absurdity of pagan belief, he viewed Euhemerism as indicative of the muddle-headedness of pagans. In book one, for instance, he notes that "it is reported . . . that Phoenicians and Egyptians were the first of all mankind to declare the sun and moon and stars to be gods."¹⁰² His point here is not to condone the pagans' piety, but to mock their confusion. Another origin of pagan mythology is seen in those "tyrants, or even sorcerers and quacks, who after some falling off from holier ways had devised their evil arts" and duped the multitude who sensed, if they did not know, how far they had fallen from Eden.¹⁰³ This idea, that the pagan pantheon might have had its beginnings in deception, remained viable throughout the seventeenth century. One of Mather's favorite targets, Jean LeClerc

¹⁰⁰ Diodorus, according to Eusebius, elsewhere claims that Uranus was an earthly ruler, who married Ilestia (later deified as Ge) and had many children, some of whom also inspired the stories of the gods. See *Preparatio* (2.2).

¹⁰¹ Seznec 4. See also Manuel 85–125.

¹⁰² *Preparatio*, 1.6.

¹⁰³ *Preparatio*, 2.5.

(1657–1736), even held that Moses offered to the Jews in the desert a theology appropriate to their barbarism.¹⁰⁴ Mather himself appropriates this notion when he confronts the ancient religious beliefs of New England's indigenous tribes. Just as ancient magicians “in and for their Designs of Incantation, did use to call forth, *Leviathans* out of their Holes, and concern themselves with Terrible *Snakes*,” so “our Indian *Powawes*, frequently sending a *Divel* in a *Snake*, to kill their Neighbor, give us a Notable illustration” of how nature can be controlled and used to incite fear in the superstitious.¹⁰⁵

As it was applied by most seventeenth- and eighteenth-century writers, Euhemerism became one way out of several to link pagan mythology to scripture. Though they sometimes adopted the Eusebian application of the old Democritan idea that the gods are born in fear inspired by a ruling class, as the extract of Mather above demonstrates, Reformed writers of the period were more likely to consider the pagan pantheon simply as degeneration from the true religion given to Adam. Seen from this perspective, pagan mythologies were little more than corrupted traditions of a true history that began with Adam, and that continued through Noah and his sons after the flood. This intellectual genealogy was offered to explain why virtually all peoples, even Native Americans, seemed to have concepts and stories similar to those of the Old Testament. After the confusion of the tongues, the various peoples descended from Shem, Ham, and Japheth, took confused versions of the true religion (and accurate history) with them and added their own admixture of interpretations over long periods of time. Thus, each nation had a residue of an ancient theology, which (in the case of Moses) might even have been extracted from the Egyptians and purified through the Mosaic laws.¹⁰⁶ Daniel Walker astutely defines this concept of ancient theology or *prisca theologia* as the belief in an aboriginal and pure doctrinal creed that could be traced back through the ages ultimately to Adam.¹⁰⁷ At every turn, early modern reformers tried to show how the many pagan parallels to the Bible in fact proved that the pagans owed their religion to the patriarchs and how pagan religious belief preserved a dim memorial of a pristine monotheism.

One likely person in the Bible who might have spawned the errors that led to the great declension was a character whose name only occurs four times in Hebrew scripture. Nimrod, the son of Cush, the son of Ham, the son of Noah, is nevertheless often associated with two seminal scriptural events: the building of the tower of Babel and the founding of the Babylonian state. In one form or another, these identifications are as old as the Midrash. They are repeated

¹⁰⁴ Manuel 29.

¹⁰⁵ Job, 15r.

¹⁰⁶ On this, see Smolinski, “‘Eager Imitators of the Egyptian Inventions’: Cotton Mather’s Engagement with John Spencer and the Debate about the Pagan Origin of the Mosaic Laws, Rites, and Customs,” in *Cotton Mather and Biblia Americana* (295–335).

¹⁰⁷ Walker 1.

by Josephus in his *Antiquities*, and disseminated far and wide by numerous euhemeristically minded theologians in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, including Samuel Bochart, Gerhard Voss (1577–1649), Edmund Dickinson (1624–1707), and the Cambridge Platonist, Edward Stillingfleet (1635–99).¹⁰⁸ Mather's several entries on Nimrod, that "mighty hunter before the Lord" (Gen. 10:9), show just how pervasive, and how inventive, this method was. In Genesis, Nimrod's strength initially makes him one of the "giants in the earth" (Gen. 6:4) in those days. His strength, however, is also a metaphor of his pride. The phrase, "mighty hunter before the Lord" could be and sometimes was rendered "Warrior against the Lord."¹⁰⁹ From this vantage point, Nimrod is easily identified with those builders of Babel who sought to ascend to Heaven on their own power, motivated by their hubris. Ovid, of course, records a similar attack on Mt. Olympus and so those giants who assaulted the seat of the gods in Ovid were seen as a dim memory of Nimrod's architectural attempt to take his place beside the one, true God.¹¹⁰

Nimrod, however, is rich with interpretive possibility, and thus he ranges widely over the "Biblia." He appears again toward the end of Genesis as the inspiration of the Phoenician Bel, Belus, or Baal. Mather here turns back to Edwards and asserts that "Dr. Edwards thinks it probable, That *Idolatry* began first, with the Worshipping of *Bel*, or *Belus*, whom the Scripture calls *Nimrod*, the first King of *Assyria* after the Flood."¹¹¹ Identifying Nimrod as the original idolater was an important matter because another contender for that disgrace was Cain, who might have been the first to worship the sun as a substitute for his banishment from the presence of God. In his commentary on Gen. 4:3, Mather, cribbing again from Patrick, remarks that if, after the murder of Abel and subsequent punishment from God, Cain turned "*Idolater*, it is likely, he introduced the Worship of the *Sun*, (which was the most ancient *Idolatry*) and of the *Fire*; the best Resemblance he could find of the *Shechinah*, or, *The Glory of the Lord*."¹¹²

Nimrod rises yet once more as the fabulous Greek hero Orion in the gloss on Job 38:31. Mather here reiterates the common antiquarian thesis that many Greek words are derived from Hebrew originals. The Septuagint by a kind of backward transliteration substitutes the Greek constellation Orion for the Hebrew word כְּסִיל [kesil].¹¹³ The chain of Euhemeristic reasoning that links Nimrod to Orion is evident in the *Biblia* entry:

108 See *Bereshith Rabba*. xxiii:7, the Midrash on Genesis, and *Antiquities* 1.4.

109 *BA* (1:727), on Gen. 10.

110 *Metamorphoses* 1.151–62. All of these associations are proposed by Bochart, in *Geographia Sacra*, pars 1, lib. 1, cap. 13, cols. 45–47.

111 *BA* (1:1058), Genesis (413r); Edwards, *A Discourse*, vol. 1, ch. 6, p. 203.

112 *BA* (1:511), Genesis (151r); Patrick, *Commentary* (1:23, 26).

113 The *Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament* notes through *BDB* that the Arabic cognate suggests "large, fat, or burly," thus possibly leading to the idea of Orion as a giant; in this He-

Q. What Constellation is that which the Lord mentions unto *Job*, under the Name of *Cesil*, by us translated, *Orion*? v. 31.

A. The same, as you find in our Translation.

You must know, that *Nimrod*, the *Mighty Hunter*, whom the Seventy Interpreters also call, *A Giant*, . . . was in After Ages, Deified, or at least, advanced as High as the Starry Sphere; for hee was Eternized by the Designation of that Constellation, which wee now call by the Name of *Orion*.

Because the Greeks “confess this *Orion* to have been a *mighty Hunter*; and the Astronomers of *Arabia* call him, *Algebar*, that is, *A Giant*,” both names must record a distant recollection of the original Nimrod. The direct source of the Greek name, however, can arguably be found in the Targum Jonathan which

renders *Cesil*, by / נַכְלָה / *A Giant*; which confirms the common Opinion of Interpreters, for *Orion*; or, *Nimrod*, who was called *Orion*, because that is the Chaldee plural, / אֹרִין / *Orin*, of / אֹר / *Or*, Light; for this Constellation ha's the most conspicuous *Lights* of Heaven in it.¹¹⁴

An early Christian identification of Nimrod with Orion is also made in the *Chronicon Paschale* of the seventh century CE. Mather's immediate inspiration for this identification, however, appears to come from two sources closer at hand. The first portion of the note seems to depend upon several portions of *De Theologia Gentili* (1641) of Gerhard Voss. The concluding paragraphs of the annotation are extracted from the comments of Ludovicus Cappellus (Louis Cappel, 1585–1658) in his *Notae Criticae* (1689) on the book of Job.¹¹⁵

With this conclusion, Mather departs from his usual authority on euhemerist links between pagan mythology and scripture, Samuel Bochart. Bochart connects Nimrod not with Orion, but with Bacchus.¹¹⁶ Probably, Mather refuses this explanation because the association of Nimrod with Orion is of longer standing and therefore has the greater weight of both Jewish and Christian authority behind it. As in Esther, though, such disagreements can mask the larger point Mather is making. Whether he is the first idolater, as Edwards thinks, or the inspiration of Bacchus, as Bochart believes, or the fabulous Orion, Nimrod reminds us of how far we have fallen from the Adamic relationship we once had with our creator. If Job cannot loose the bands that hold him in the

brew form, however, the greater implication (based on the root, נָכַל) is one of overconfidence, foolishness, or impiety [*TWOT* 1011e].

114 Job 38:31; Job, 90v.

115 See *Chronicon Paschale* [PG 92.145–49]. See also *De Theologia Gentili*, tom. 1, lib. 1, cap. 16, p. 65 and cap. 24, p. 93, as well as lib. 2, cap. 35, pp. 248–49. In the *Notae Criticae*, see pp. 460–62. Thomas Browne, it should be noted, also identifies Nimrod with Orion in passing (*Hydriotaphia*, ch. 5, p. 28). For the linguistic underpinnings of this information, Mather also could have depended upon Brian Walton's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* (2:77), held in the Harvard Library during Mather's lifetime.

116 See *Geographia Sacra*, pars. 1, lib. 4, cap. 12, pp. 256–60.

sky, it is almost as incredible that we should have hung our ancestors there and worshipped them.

Not every trace of the *prisca theologia* was irredeemably corrupted. Even in diluted form, the attenuated wisdom of the ancients could at times usefully parallel the truths of divine writ. Although most Dissenters were not willing to agree with Culverwel that reason could always reveal divine purpose, many such as Mather did conclude that at least some of the insights of Noah and his forebears had filtered down to other cultures. When Job in chapter 7, verse 1, complains that there is an "appointed time" for man on earth, Mather, through John Edwards, has the opportunity to observe that the Hebrew צָבָא [tsaba'] should more accurately be translated "warfare." The same truth of existence can be found "frequently inculcated, in the Writings of the more Illuminated Pagans also."¹¹⁷ These "pagans" are, of course, "illuminated" because they have been vouchsafed the revelation of God, either through history or more directly through the application of their God-given reason. Consequently, with Marcus Aurelius,

you'll see ο βίος πολέμος and with *Arrianus* upon that Aphorism, Στρατεία τις ἐστὶν ο βίος ἑκάστου. Another famous Moralist, adorns this Matter with Noble Reflections. *Reckon upon this* (saith *Maximus Tyrius*) *That God is our Commander & Chief Captain, that this Life is a Military Expedition, that every Man, is an Armed Souldier.* And *Seneca* tells us, *Vivere, Militare est.*¹¹⁸

These and other figures prove to the ancient theologian that God, "by Works of His on the *Consciences* of the poor *Gentiles*," has led other cultures to bear "Witness, to many Things, which His *Written Word*, ha's more fully testified, & explained unto His People." That Edwards and Mather are here swimming in the current of Cambridge Platonism is conclusively demonstrated by the continuing remark, that these parallels reveal how the dim "Light of *Nature*" owns the "better Light of *Scripture*." Neither Edwards nor Mather will aver that the light of nature will substitute for scripture, but both confidently assert that natural reason can darkly reflect the truths of holy writ. Thus, "The Annotations of *Grotius*, and *Priceus*, and so *Bogan* in his *Homerus* Ἑβραϊζων and *Gataker* in his *Antoninus*, have by vast Collections exhibited unto us from the Ancient Profane

¹¹⁷ Job, 23r–24v. See Edwards's *A Discourse*, vol. 2, ch. 2, pp. 64–89.

¹¹⁸ The reference to Antoninus is to the *Meditations* of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (2.17): "Life is warfare." The reference to Arrian is from his *Discourses on Epictetus* (3.24): "Every man's life is a kind of warfare" (literally, a military campaign or expedition). Maximus Tyrius is Cassius Maximus of Tyre, a 2nd-century neoplatonic rhetorician (*OCD*). His remark occurs in his third dissertation. The quotation from Seneca is from the younger Seneca's letters to Lucilius (*Epistulae morales ad Lucilium*, 16.96): "Do you not know that life, Lucilius, is really a battle?" Edwards's predecessor, Grotius, chooses another example from the *Epistulae* to make the same point about this verse in Job: "sine missione nascimur," or, "there is no discharge from the moment of our birth" (4.37).

Writers those very Schemes of Speech which there are in the Sacred Pages, of the Book of Life."¹¹⁹ It is no surprise, then, that "Paul mentions *The Outward and Inward Man*; and Plautus also mentions the, *Salus Interioris Hominis*," or that "The Phrase of ἀνὴρ τέλειος, a *Perfect Man*, opposed unto μεῖρακιον, a *Youth*, or one of Maturity in Moralitie, unto a meer Beginner; tis in *Epictetus*."¹²⁰ The examples proliferate, once one is alert to them: the anatomy of man into spirit, soul, and body, is reproduced in Marcus Aurelius and hinted at in Plato and Plotinus.¹²¹ The brief pleasures of life figured as the crackling of thorns under a pot in Ecclesiastes also occurs in Virgil's *Aeneid*.¹²² Poetry is "sweeter than honey" in Homer and the original poet, David.¹²³

All of these and the many other similar concatenations reproduced in the "Biblia" serve to prove that the Bible is both the original fount from which other cultures draw their collective wisdom and an inexhaustible wellspring of practical precepts of piety that validate the natural light of reason. It is this latter aspect of biblical study that most attracts Mather, after questions of comprehension and issues surrounding the authority of the text are sorted out. Thus, he extracts nine folio pages at the end of the manuscript on Job from George Hutcheson (c. 1615–74), a Presbyterian minister from Scotland who published in 1669 *An Exposition on the Book of Job*.

Hutcheson's professional life exemplifies the complicated policies and attitudes of many churchmen during the period after the Civil Wars. Throughout, Hutcheson's loyalties wavered between king and kirk. After the Peace of Breda was signed in 1650, Hutcheson was appointed chaplain to Charles II. However, Hutcheson associated himself with the western remonstrants following the King's return to Scotland. Later, he would return to the royalist "resolutioners," but after the Restoration was an accomplished fact, Hutcheson refused to conform to episcopacy and was deprived of his parish. In 1669 he accepted

119 John Pricaeus (1600–76) was a well-known classicist (*DNB*). Zachary Bogan (1625–59) published *Homerus Hebraizon* (1658), a work which sought to establish parallels between Homer and Hebrew scripture (*DNB*). Thomas Gataker (1574–1654) in 1652 published one of the first editions of the works of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (*EB*).

120 The biblical reference in this paragraph is to 2 Cor. 4:16: "though our outward man perish, the inward man is renewed day by day." The reference to Plautus is to act 3, scene 3 of the *Asinaria* (The Comedy of Asses), in which Argyrippus praises his slave, Leonida, as a "savior of the inner man and general of love." The remark of Epictetus occurs in the *Enchiridion* (51): "you are no longer a youth, but already a full-grown man."

121 This triune division of a human occurs in 1 Thess. 5:23: "I pray God your whole spirit and soul and body be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ." The anatomy of Marcus Aurelius occurs in the *Meditations* (3.15). Similar but not identical divisions occur throughout Plato's *Phaedo* and in the *Enneads* (5.3.9) of Plotinus.

122 Eccl. 7:6: "For as the crackling of thorns under a pot, so is the laughter of the fool." Virgil, *Aeneid* (7.462–63). Dryden's famous translation renders these lines about the anger of Turnus, "So, when with crackling flames a caldron fries, / The bubbling waters from the bottom rise."

123 *Iliad* 1.249. Ps. 19:10 and 119:3.

an indulgence and was admitted to the parish of Irvine, Ayrshire. It was at this time, toward the end of his life, that he published his commentary on the book of Job. Mather sees this text as a storehouse of pious precepts and draws on it accordingly. Thus, for example, when Job is accounted one of the "greatest of all the men of the east (Job 1:3)," Hutcheson does not engage on an extended study of numismatics, as Bochart would, or even present a digression on the vanity of wealth, as Edwards did. Instead, Hutcheson, remarks that "It is no small Mercy, when Godly Men are not only blessed with Riches, but also advanced unto Authority."¹²⁴ When trouble came to Job despite his great devotion (Job 2:26), Hutcheson observes how "Piety is greatly advantageous, tho' it should neither prevent, nor remove, Temporal Troubles. And yett it looks very strange for very Tender Walkers with God, to meet with real Troubles. *Job* wonders at it!"¹²⁵ No doubt, Hutcheson must have felt much like Job given the vicissitudes he endured; certainly, Mather's own life was replete with trials that taxed his own piety. The sad life and mysterious end of his wayward but beloved eldest son, Cressy, the financial miscalculations that almost reduced him to penury at the end of his life, and the attacks of Robert Calef on his ministry at times must have seemed beyond bearing. Nonetheless, Hutcheson could remind Mather "That *Piety* is the *First* and *Chief* Excellency that any Man can be adorn'd withal." It was not Job's wealth or even his wisdom that the story propounds: "the Piety of *Job*, is the First Thing, that is mentioned among his Greatnesses." More hopefully, Mather might be comforted with the moral "That *Piety* and *Honesty* is no disadvantage to Thriving Prosperity. *Job* was one who *feared God*, and *shunned Evil*; and this did not hinder him, from arriving to be Richer and *Greater than all the Men in the East*."¹²⁶

It is this emphasis that leads Mather to weigh evenly lessons of piety against matters of fact in his commentary on Job. He is also beyond any doubt quick to relish the practice of pleasing verse when it does not disrupt fidelity to the literal meaning. Two of his most common sources in Job, the monumental *Exposition with Practical Observations* upon the book of Job of Joseph Caryl (1602–73), published in nine volumes from 1643–66, and the more modest but wide-ranging *Divine Philosophy: Containing the Books of Job, Proverbs, and Wisdom, with Explanatory Notes* (1706) of Zacheus Isham (1651/2–1705) are both models of practical religion. The same can be said for Simon Patrick's oft cited *The Book of Job Paraphras'd* (1679). None of these texts engage deeply in questions of learning, but they are all dependent on the researches of antiquarians and all frequently allude to these sources even though the aim is different.

¹²⁴ Job, 109r; Hutcheson, p. 5.

¹²⁵ Job, 110v; Hutcheson, p. 35.

¹²⁶ Job, 9r; Hutcheson, pp. 3, 5.

Still, Mather does not attempt to skirt the thickets of textual difficulty, even if he takes frequent occasion to rest in the groves of paraphrase. Although nine pages are dedicated to reproducing extracts of Hutcheson, eighteen manuscript pages of the total 118 in Job are consumed by examinations of the animals catalogued by God in the concluding chapters of that book. Largely, of course, Mather defers to the conclusions of Bochart, in *Hierozaicon*, on the identities of Leviathan and Behemoth. As elsewhere in the “Biblia,” Mather deploys Bochart for various purposes: scientific, linguistic, and ethnographic. All of these aims, though, continue to be guided by a desire to present the translated text as faithfully as possible, to run any ambiguities of interpretation along the rows of hermeneutical authority, and to support those readings against stakes of classical learning.

As always, Mather remains ready to take the translators of the King James and the Geneva Bibles to task for mistakes in their work. Thus, in Job 39:19, when God asks Job if he has “clothed” the neck of the horse “with thunder” (KJV), Mather initially reproduces Bochart’s application of the reasoning of Arnold de Boot (Boate), or Bootius (c. 1600–53). De Boot published, in 1644, the *Animadversiones Sacrae ad Textum Hebraicum Veteris Testamenti*, a work that disputed among others many of the textual readings of the respected French Calvinist, Louis Cappel. Cappel would engage in a fierce pamphlet exchange with de Boot as a result of the publication of the *Animadversiones*, a dispute that would eventually involve not only Cappel and de Boot but also Jean Morin (1591–1659), Cappel’s Roman Catholic collaborator, the celebrated Hebraist of Basle Johannes Buxtorf (1564–1629), and Archbishop Ussher (*DNB*). On this point, however, de Boot and Cappel are largely in agreement. So, de Boot comfortably

refutes this Translation of it. He shoves, That the Vessel emitting the Voice of the Horse, which the Interpreters would here compare to *Thunder*, is not / צוֹאֵר / the Neck, but / גֵּרוֹן / the Throat. Hee adds, That *Cloathing* of one with a *Voice*, would be a very harsh *Catechesis*. Bochart thinks, both of *Boots* Exceptions may be answered; but he thinks, there is a Third, which appears more unanswerable; Namely, That the *Neighing* of an *Horse*, was never compared unto *Thunder*, nor would there be any Likelihood in the Comparison. In *Virgil*, the *Hinnime*, is, *Acutus*. And *Hesiod* saies, ὄξεῖα χρέμυσαν, *Acute hinniverunt*.¹²⁷

127 Job, 95r. See Bochart’s extended examination of this matter in *Hierozaicon*, pars. 1, lib. 2, cap. 8, col. 118. The reference to Bootius is to *Animadversiones Sacrae*, bk 3, ch. 6, pp. 59–60. See also Cappel’s *Commentarii et Notae Criticae in Vetus Testamentum* (1689), p. 465. The reference to Virgil is to the *Georgics* (3.94), where Saturn, in love with Philyra, changed himself into a horse in order to elude to his wife and “with a shrill neigh filled the heights of Pelion” (trans. Fairclough). Hesiod in *The Shield of Hercules* (345), writes of the “shrill neighing” of the horses of Cynus and Ares. De Boot’s argument is that צוֹאֵר [tsavvar] or neck already carries within it the suggestion of גֵּרוֹן [garown] or throat.

The Geneva Bible does not confuse neighing with thunder, but it still fails to grasp the central image contained in the figure. The Geneva translators propose that God’s question to Job is: “hast thou . . . covered his necke with ney-ing?” (Job 39:22) The marginal note in the Geneva Bible does remark that God’s question is meant to inquire whether or not Job or any human could provide the horse with courage, as shown in his neighing and the shaking of his mane, but this gloss in itself does not correspond to the idea of clothing that is implicit in לָבַשׁ [labash], which really does denote the idea of putting on a garment or clothing. Bochart therefore

showes, That the Hebrew Word, / רַעְמָה / *Raama*, used here, is to be rendred, not, *Thunder*, but, *A Main*. *Xenophon* a Pagan, writes, That by God, there is given to the Horse, ἀγλαΐας ἔνεκεν, χαίτη, *For Ornaments Sake, A Main*. And the Phrase of *Cloathing*, is very proper here; according to that of *Ovid*;

Turpis equus, nisi colla Jube flaventia velent.
velent, i. e. *vestiant*.

Hee thinks also, that the Word φόβον, used by the LXX here, should be corrected, φόβην, which also signifies, *A Main*.¹²⁸

Mather cannot forebear the pun: “In all the Poetical Descriptions of the *Horse*, our *Bochart* showes, that his *Main*, makes a main stroke; he quotes at least a Dozen of them.” More modern translations vindicate Bochart’s reading. The New International Version, for instance, translates the question almost exactly as Bochart does: “Do you give the horse his strength or clothe his neck with a flowing mane?” Bochart even recognizes that the root word, רַעַם [ra’am], suggests a violent agitation from on high. Thus, this word is translated as thunder in 1. Sam. 2:10, where it is promised that the Lord shall “out of heaven . . . thunder upon” his adversaries. If this etymology accounts for the choice of the King James translators, however, it threatens confusion and so warrants the kind of lengthy reexamination that Mather proffers.

The same principle seems to apply to other places where Mather interrogates received translations. When Eliphaz asks Job, “To which of the saints wilt thou turn” (Job 5:1), Mather quickly dispenses with the idea that Job would worship idols by proffering the opinion of Grotius, that by *saints* angels are meant, and that “*Eliphaz* here ha’s the Vanity, to boast of the *Visions*, which hee had enjoy’d, in the *Angelical* Conversation.”¹²⁹ Mather also thinks it helpful to examine what the former part of the verse means (“Call now, if there be

¹²⁸ Job, 95r; Bochart, *Hierozoicon*, pars. 1, lib. 2, cap. 8, cols 118–19; Xenophon, in *The Art of Horsemanship* (5.8), writes that “the mane, forelock and tail have been given to the horse by the gods as an ornament.” Ovid, in the *Metamorphoses* on Acis and Galatea (13.848), remarks that “every horse, unless a mane covers (or clothes) its tawny neck” is unsightly. רַעְמָה [ra’mah] is a “trembling,” a poetic figure for the mane of a horse.

¹²⁹ Job, 19r; Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:2980); Grotius, *Opera Omnia* (1:204).

any that will answer thee”) by recapitulating the philological rules of Samuel Bohl (1611–89). According to the method established by Bohl and expanded by Jacques Gousset (1635–74), a word has a “first” or general meaning based on every instance in which the sense can be indubitably established. This meaning is independent of context and amounts to a kind of idealized meaning, something very like a dictionary definition. The secondary meaning of a word is its “material” or “particular” meaning in the specific context of its occurrence. Bohl argued that the particular (or material) signification will always entail the general (or formal) sense. Furthermore, in the interpretation of difficult passages, the translator should always hew to that general sense as far as possible. Even when context might warrant another reading, a translation should attempt to convey the sense of the general as opposed to an idiosyncratic particular reading. To these guidelines, Bohl added what he called the “*Rustick Rule*,” which is the imperative to “explain the Text in the Most Natural Sense, which appears at the First View, & is Most Simple & Obvious.” When they are applied to Job 5:1, these axioms indicate that the “Hebrew Words, which we translate, *Call*, and, *Answer*” might be better expressed by the word “name,” so that Eliphaz is asking Job if he can “*Name any one that is like unto thee.*” In other words, “Is there any Man that is Holy and Righteous, who finds himself in the State which thou art in? Canst thou Name so much as one?”¹³⁰

Bohl’s rules would not long survive the seventeenth century, but they were commonly employed until Johann David Michaelis (1717–91) conclusively demonstrated their inadequacies in *Mosaïsches Recht* (The Laws of Moses) in 1770–71. Nonetheless, Gousset’s development of Bohl’s ideas ensured that they received a wide audience. Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, for example, in his critique of John Locke, is among those who continue to adapt Bohl’s theories to his own needs. Although Leibniz will not go so far as to conclude that every word can be reduced to a single general signification, we can, he thought, reduce all words to some definite range of significations.¹³¹

Other exegetes are helpful in explicating other ambiguous passages. When Eliphaz remarks that God “put no trust in his servants; and his angels he charged with folly” (Job 4:18), Mather finds an explanation in Immanuel Tremellius (1510–80) and Franciscus Junius (1545–1602). Not only is the Hebrew language so “copious, as to afford several *Words* for one *Thing*,” so that there are “three *Words* for the *Sun*, as many for the *Earth*, six *Words* for a *Lion*, six for a *Giant*, and seven for *Gold*,” but it is also not unusual “that one *Word*, shall signify many *Things*.” Such is the case here, according to Tremellius and Junius: תְּהִלָּה [toholah] can mean folly, or it can intimate a bright demeanor, from the root

¹³⁰ Job, 19r; Bohlius, *Disputationes Pro Formali*, Diss. 4, loc. 2. קָרָא [qara'] (Strong’s # 7121) is to call out, proclaim, read, or to name.

¹³¹ Leibniz, *New Essays*, bk. 3, ch. 7, p. 366.

הלל [halal]. This root can also suggest boasting, where the figure is of one who basks in his own glory. Thus, the verse can reasonably be read, He put no trust in his servants, "Nor do's Hee putt Boasting in His Angels."¹³²

These few instances do not even give an adequate impression of the range of philological questions Mather studies in Job. They do, however, fairly represent his formidable linguistic acumen and his currency with the scholarship surrounding the study of Hebrew in early modern Europe. It is when this interest is considered in tandem with the twin emphasis on how Job instructs us in understanding our right relationship with God, however, that we are reminded that Mather saw himself not primarily as an exegete, but as a minister. The duty of a pastor, as he remarked in *Manuductio ad Ministerium* (Boston, 1726) is to embrace the "Rational Mystery of Godliness." We should remember how he himself understood these categories, that the rationality of Godliness was forever conjoined to its mystery. Thus, the "Treasures" that are opened with the "Keys" of language are meant, ultimately, to be shared, and are useful only so that the pastor "may be the better furnished for that SERVICE OF GOD" unto which he is called.¹³³ The annotations on Job exemplify Mather's own fidelity to that belief.

The Psalms

In the 360 manuscript pages of Mather's commentary on the Psalms there are three main aspects that deserve remark. Throughout the Psalms, Mather continues to wrestle with questions of translation and remains focused on the pietistic uses of the scripture, but in the Psalms annotations these abiding concerns assume a very particular cast. In part this shift is the result, first, of Mather's unusual sources. All of the "Biblia" commentaries reflect an omnivoracity that highlights the breadth of Mather's reading and its limitations imposed by his colonial situation, but the Psalms commentary in particular is made remarkable by its idiosyncratic authorities. Second, Mather's notes on the Psalms are revealing because they are largely duplicated in the only sizable portion of the "Biblia," besides *The Christian Philosopher*, to see publication: the *Psalterium Americanum*. *Psalterium*, however, is also a different work, with different aims and forms, and the discrepancies between the texts are as instructive as their pronounced similarities are revealing. Finally, the Psalms are where Mather's Christian Hebraism comes most clearly to the fore. Although he is always interested in the origins and practice of Jewish belief and how these relate to Christianity, in the Psalms these issues become especially pronounced. Not

¹³² Job, 18v. See Tremellius and Junius, *Testamenti Veteris, Biblia Sacra*, lib. 3, p. 108b.

¹³³ *Manuductio*, pp. 7, 26.

surprisingly, perhaps, all of these elements are interrelated: Understanding both the *Psalterium* and the “Biblia” entails contextualizing Mather’s authorities on the Psalms; coming to terms with these authorities reveals the extent to which Mather shared the conclusions of other Christian Hebraists of his period and exactly where he diverged from them.

Not every source employed by Mather in his Psalm commentaries, of course, is unusual. Besides the standard works of Pearson and Poole, Mather frequently turns to Simon Patrick’s *The Book of Psalms Paraphras’d*, first printed in 1680. Henry Ainsworth’s venerable *Annotations*, available to Mather in the Harvard Library in a 1626 edition is another trusted authority. David Dickson’s *A Brief Explication of the First Fifty Psalms* (1655) was also held by Harvard and employed by Mather. John Clutterbuck’s 1702 *A Brief Explanation of the Obscure Phrases in the Book of Psalms*, a compendium of extracts from Patrick, Henry Hammond (1605–1660), and other divines, provided one more source. In the later portions of the Psalms, Mather turns directly to Hammond’s *Paraphrase and Annotations upon the Psalms* available in various versions to Mather from the Harvard Library. Needless to say, there are dozens of others.

However, with the exception of Patrick, Poole, and Pearson’s *Critici Sacri*, including the extracts of Sebastian Münster’s commentary, Mather’s most frequently cited authorities in the Psalms are now mostly forgotten. One of the most heavily quoted is a work respected enough in Mather’s own day and held by Harvard: the *Decapla in Psalmos* of John Viccars (1604?–1653?). Although he is one of Mather’s most important sources for the Psalms commentary, not much is known of Viccars. He graduated from Cambridge in 1622, but was tried by Bishop Laud in 1631 for heresy and convicted of keeping conventicles. After recanting in 1635, he was restored to his office. Shortly after, he began an extended trip through France and Italy, where he examined manuscripts in Paris, Rome, and Florence. Along the way he consulted with both Christian scholars, such as Athanasius Kircher, and the learned Jewish communities in Italy. The result was his sole work, *Decapla in Psalmos* (1639), which was dedicated to Laud, though this dedication was excised from the second edition in 1650. Still, the Civil War led to charges that Viccars was a crypto-papist due to his time in Rome. He was sequestered and probably never held a benefice again. Nonetheless, Brian Walton named him in the prospectus of his *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* in 1652, although apparently Viccars died before he could contribute to the project. He was also an uncle to one of the natural philosophers relied upon by Mather, Nehemiah Grew (*DNB*).

The *Decapla*, as the title suggests, is a tenfold synopsis on the Psalms. The “decapla” are the ten types of sources employed: Hebrew lexical and rabbinic sources; Arabic, Syrian, and Chaldean versions of the Psalms; and Greek, Roman Catholic, Italian, Spanish, and French commentaries. Each Psalm, numbered according to the Hebrew scriptures, is presented in Latin and then followed by

extracts of the commentaries of Rabbi David Kimchi (Cimchi) or RADAK, Aben Ezra (Ibn Ezra), the Midrash Tehillim (Tillin), Rabbi Obadiah Gaon or Haggaon (Jacob ben Sforno, c. 1475–1550), Rabbi Solomon Jarchi (RASHI), the Chaldee paraphrast, the Masoretic marginalia, the Septuagint, Syrian, and sometimes French and Spanish commentaries. Finally, Viccars always includes a catchbag for each Psalm of "other," mostly classical, authors and patristic writers who seem to illuminate the Psalm under consideration (see figure 1).

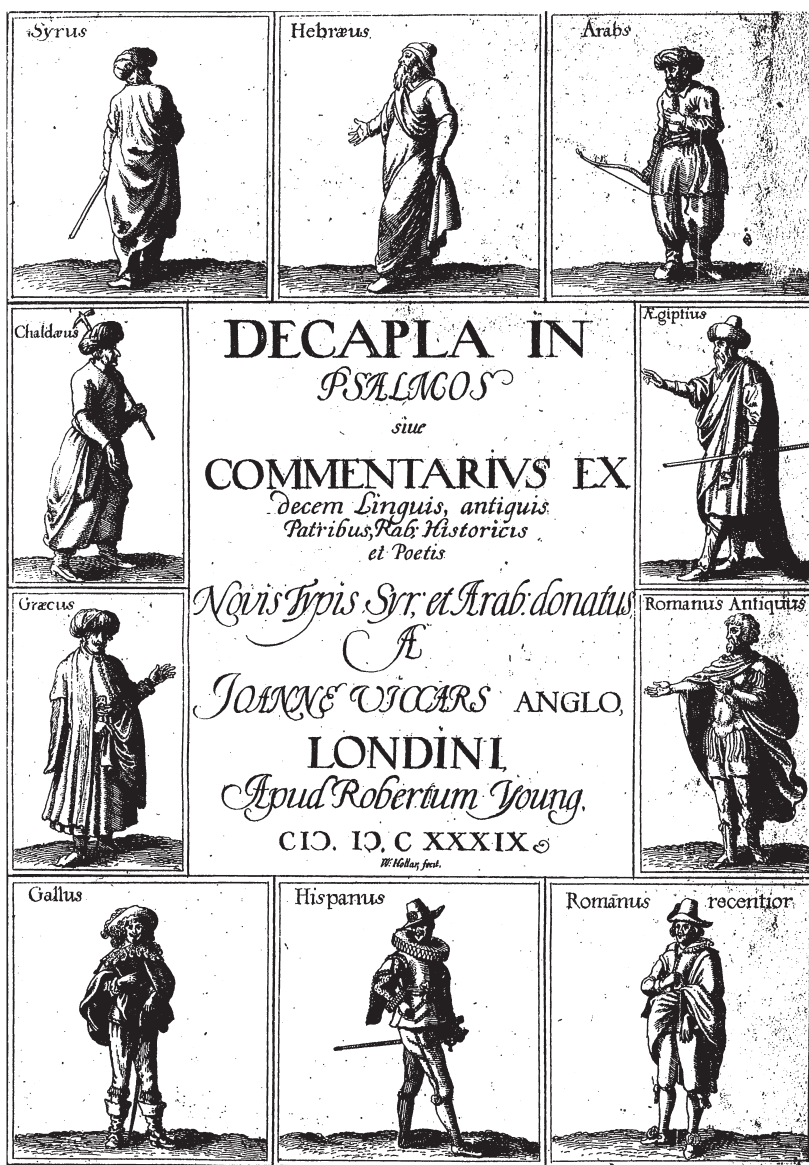
Mather almost always turns to Viccars to supply rabbinic interpretations of the Psalms. When Viccars does not suit his purpose, however, Mather resorts to the *Pugio Fidei* of Ramon Martini or Martin (called by Mather Raymund Martin). Martini, a thirteenth-century Catalan friar, was sent on mission to convert the Jews of Spain. His "dagger of the faith," then, is a highly polemical work that makes use of a wide variety of rabbinic authorities with the sole purpose of demonstrating that the Jews failed, either through ignorance or obstinacy, to recognize that Jesus was the Messiah predicted in Scripture and, specifically, the Psalms. Martini, together with another disciple of the canon lawyer Raymond of Peñaforte (c. 1180–1275), the converted Jew Pablo Christiani (or Paul the Christian), established what Deena Copeland Klepper has called the "Iberian approach" to Judaism in the Middle Ages. Rather than attempting to interdict every trace of Jewish learning, Peñaforte required that both Hebrew and Arabic be taught in the Dominican *studia linguarum*. Both Jewish converts such as Christiani and friars such as Martini were encouraged to immerse themselves in the great works of Hebrew commentary, especially the Talmud, with an eye toward turning the erudite arguments of the rabbis against themselves. Christiani, in his debate before James II of Aragon with Rabbi Moses ben Nahman, also known as Nachmanides (1194–1270), typified the tactic, with its emphasis on distinguishing between earlier and later rabbinic traditions.¹³⁴

The *Pugio* is one of two anti-Talmudic texts written by Martini. *Pugio Fidei* was composed in manuscript in 1278, but was preceded by the *Capistrum Iudaeorum* (Muzzle of the Jews) in 1267.¹³⁵ Both of these texts circulated in manuscript among scriptoria and were extensively mined for anti-Jewish writings during the later middle ages, but it was through Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540–1609) that the *Pugio* entered into the academies of the Renaissance. Joseph de Voisin (d. 1685) would publish an edition in 1651, heavily annotated with his own commentaries. This is the text that Mather depends on, indiscriminately quoting de Voisin and Martini but citing both as Martini.

Mather's direct dependence upon Martini and Viccars, as well as his frequent recourse to Sebastian Münster (1488–1552) and John Lightfoot, and more indirectly to Schickard, Surenhuis, Selden, and others, demonstrates how rich,

¹³⁴ Klepper, *The Insight of Unbelievers* 3.

¹³⁵ Klepper 108.

Figure 1: Title Page to the 1639 edition of *Decapla in Psalmos*.

and varied, were the uses of Hebraic sources in the early modern period. Often, as in Martini, the purpose was to confound Jewish interpretations of their own scriptures. Sometimes, the intent was to hold up the ancient Hebrew republic as a model of the "mixed government" promoted by Puritans before, during, and after the Civil Wars.¹³⁶ At times, as with Selden and Grotius, the motivation appears to have been a simple respect for Jewish learning that could easily lead to charges of crypto-Judaism.

In Puritan New England, studies of Hebrew were often inspired by a desire to hasten the millennium. Thus, Increase Mather, in his preface to one of the tracts written by "Rabbi" Judah Monis (1683–1764), the first teacher of Hebrew at Harvard, makes Monis's conversion to Christianity a token of the larger conversion of the Jews that both Mathers believed would herald the return of Jesus.¹³⁷ Monis's conversion is expressly compared to that of the famous Immanuel Tremellius, whose commentaries were included by John Pearson in the *Critici Sacri*, and to lesser known Jews, such as "John Alexander and Theodore John who joined themselves to the German Lutheran Congregation in the City of London" and the "Two Hundred ... lately Converted in the City of Frankford." All of these conversions, however, were thought to intimate the time "when there shall be a General Conversion of the Jewish Nation." Indeed, the "Miraculous manner of GOD's preserving the Jewish Nation," complete with their religion and customs, stood as an "invincible Proof" that despite their long Diaspora, God had "preserved them for some great Design, which what can it be but their Conversion?"¹³⁸

Of course, as has long been known, Cotton himself came to doubt his father's assurance on this matter. As we will see, this alteration in belief had no small effect on the "Biblia Americana," but what is also worth recognizing is that the subtitles of each of Monis's tracts echo Mather's strategy in the Psalms commentary of the "Biblia," *The Truth*, which Monis delivered at his own Baptism, contains "Nine Principal Arguments the Modern Jewish Rabbins do make to prove, the MESSIAH is yet to Come: With the Answers to each, not only according to the Orthodox Opinion, but even with the Authority of their own Authentick Rabbins of Old." *The Whole Truth* is advertised as "A Short ESSAY, wherein The Author discovers what may be the true Reason why the JEWISH NATION are not as yet converted to CHRISTIANITY, Besides what others

¹³⁶ See Eric Nelson, *The Hebrew Republic: Jewish Sources and the Transformation of European Political Thought* (23–56).

¹³⁷ The three tracts of Monis that aimed to refute Jewish arguments concerning the truths of Christianity, *The Truth*, *The Whole Truth*, and *Nothing but the Truth* were collected and published in Boston in 1722 along with his *Discourse had in the College-Hall at Cambridge*. The subtitles of each of the tracts show how deeply invested New England clergy were in demonstrating that the Hebrews could have recognized Jesus as the Messiah if only they had read their scriptures rightly.

¹³⁸ *The Truth* (1722), Preface, pp. ii–iii.

have said before him. AND LIKEWISE, He proves the DIVINITY of CHRIST, not only with the Authority of the *sacred Oracles*, but even by the Opinion of the *Jewish Authors* of old; and answers all the Objections that the Discourse brings forth." Finally, "*Nothing But the Truth*" is designed to prove the "Doctrine of the *Ever Blessed and Adorable TRINITY*, Both out of the *Old Testament*, and with the Authority of the *Cabalistical Rabbies*, Ancient and Modern: And that said Doctrine is not a *Novelty*, as his Country-Men do think, but as *ancient* as the Bible it self."

All of these maneuvers, citing the authority of the "ancient" rabbis, discovering the Trinitarian creed in the Old Testament, and uncovering the doctrinal truths buried in Jewish cabbala, were formulaic in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as Monis's subtitles suggest, and each of them rehearses points made by Mather in the "Biblia." It is, however, probably significant that Mather frequently identifies the Hebraists he copies while Monis, whose ideas are by no means novel, never remarks on their origins. There is good rhetorical reason for Monis to shun the suggestion that his conversion was brought on by the arguments of others: if he, as a Jew, could be said to have discovered these truths on his own study, they would bear greater scrutiny. However, as his own citation of Samuel Mather's *Upon the Types of the Old Testament* indicates, Monis does find the arguments of Christians compelling.¹³⁹ Still, at a period when ideas were indiscriminately, even profligately, spread over texts without recognition of their origins, Mather's frequent explicit reliance on Martini, Viccars, Münster, and others highlights the breadth of his own reading.

Two brief examples will suffice to epitomize the broad range of rabbinic sources offered by Viccars to Mather. First, he is adduced to provide aggadic commentaries. Aggada (אַגָּדָה) is one of the two types of midrashim used to elucidate scripture in rabbinic tradition. The aggada provides a narrative explication of a passage in scripture; as a form, aggada is genetically related to the parables so favored by the gospel. Halakha (הֲלָכָה), by contrast, is more distinctly juridical, and provides legal and ritual insights into the meaning of a text. So, when Mather turns to Viccars's extract of the Midrash Tehillim to clarify "the seat of the scornful" in Psalm 1:1, he relates a story that at first appears only tangentially related to the passage. The Jews, he reports, make this passage an allusion to "*Corah*, and his *Companions*."

Corah (or Korah) is the figure whose abortive revolt is recounted in Numbers 16, and who, along with his sons, was swallowed by the earth as a punishment. The sin of Corah, upon the midrashic reading, was as much in his words as in his actions for in Numbers 16:3, he and his co-conspirators accuse Moses and Aaron saying, "*Ye take too much upon you, seeing all the congregation are holy, every one of them, and the LORD is among them: wherefore then lift ye*

139 *A Discourse*, p. 10.

up yourselves above the congregation of the LORD?" As the aggada recounted by Viccars and Mather indicates, Corah's crime was ultimately in setting himself up as a judge when this position had not been divinely ordained. By any measure, though, the story is remarkable for the ethical stringency such a political order implies. The rabbis relate how

a Widow, & her Two Orphan Daughters, had a Field, out of which they hoped to Raise a poor Living; but Moses, by his Lawes, about *Ploughing*, and then about *Sowing*, and then about *Reaping*, and then about the Required *Oblations* creepled 'em so, that they could not subsist. They therefore sold their *Field*, and bought a Couple of young Sheep, that the *Milk* and the *Wool* thereof might afford 'em some Support. But then, Aaron demanded the *First-born* of these, and such a Moiety of their *Wool*, that they could not subsist this way neither. Hereupon, they kill'd their *Sheep*; and then Aaron came in for still such a Sacerdotal Share, that the poor Widow and her Daughters were in a Manner chous'd of all. *This*, they say, was the Language of Corah, in the *Seat of the Scornful*.¹⁴⁰

The inclusion of this anecdote is extraordinary, particularly given the numerous threats to Puritan hegemony in New England in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. What is most noteworthy about it, however, is how Mather's translation of Viccars's Latin presents the fate of the widow in such a sympathetic light. Moses and his brother, far from being presented as worthy of emulation, are cast as pious frauds who systematically strip a poor woman of all of her worldly goods.

It is, though, precisely this framing of the matter that is significant: "the seat of the scornful" is the place of both judgment and interpretation, from which values are skewed and virtue perversely arrogated unto oneself. As with the charge of Corah in Numbers 16, the problem is the allegation that places the person making the charge in the role not only of plaintiff, but of judge and jury as well. The implication is social and political because it is also rhetorical: scornful language in its character *as* language gains its force from its tone, and it is this tone that we need to be wary of, especially when the assertion runs counter to other indications.

Although Mather usually turns to Viccars for aggadic interpretations, sometimes Martini also offers him the opportunity to employ narrative toward doctrinal ends. In his commentary on Psalm 2, and the famous imperative in verse 12 to "kiss the son, lest he be angry and ye perish from the way," Mather examines how the "evangelical mystery" is foretold in the Midrash. There, this verse is likened to the story of a monarch who was

¹⁴⁰ Psalms, 10v. Mather translates the legend of the widow and her supposed oppression under Moses that appears in Latin in Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 1, p. 2. To "chouse" is to dupe, cheat, or swindle. In the *Psalterium Americanum*, Mather does not provide the Rabbinic story, but instructs his reader to "ponder the allusion to the Fate of Corah" (bk. 1, p. 3).

angry with the inhabitants of a certain province. And thus the inhabitants came and pleaded with the son of the King to himself mollify the King. The son went and won over his father. However, after the son had convinced his father, the inhabitants of that city came to give thanks to the King; the King said to them, "Don't give thanks to me. Go speak your thanks to my son; for if it had not been for him I would have already destroyed your city;" that is, "kiss the son."¹⁴¹

For Mather the prophetic allegory is clear enough: the King is God the Father, the Son is the Christ foretold throughout the Psalms, and the people are those sinners whom God the King would justly destroy. As most Protestants did, Mather ignored the more common Jewish reading of the injunction, also followed in the Vulgate, that to "kiss the son" means to embrace or adore purity. The Targum and the Septuagint both consider the son (בר [bar]) not literally, but metaphorically, as a simple figure of purity or discipline. Thus, the purpose of the midrash is to suggest that the son enjoined his father to purity (or discipline) in his actions and that the people in gratitude should embrace the same purity.

Nonetheless, Mather finds ample arguments to demonstrate that the Second Psalm concerns the Messiah. It admittedly seems a "strange passage of R. *Salomoh*" (RASHI), who recognizes that the teachers of an earlier time viewed the Psalm as treating "the King Messiah," but who concludes "in order that an answer can be made to the heretics, it is fitting to expound it of David himself."¹⁴² Counter to this, however, Martini can offer the authority of the Talmud in "*De Festo Tabernaculorum*," where the sense of verse 7 ("this day have I begotten thee") is taken to mean that "today I disclose to men that you are my son."¹⁴³ Where Martini is not specific enough, others are. Johann Frischmuth (1618–79), a professor of oriental languages and poetry at Jena, published an essay entitled "De Messia, Dei Filio, Dissertatio ad illustrandum locum Psal. 2:7," which was published in the 1701 supplement to the *Critici Sacri*, the *Thesaurus Theologico-Philologicus*. Mather turns to this work in order to cite the opinion of "*Aben Ezra*" who believed "that this Psalm was composed by one of the musicians about David / או על המשיח / or about the Messiah."¹⁴⁴

For Mather, other Psalms are no less pregnant with the promise of the Messiah. Although he, like many Protestant Hebraists, generally avoided Jewish mystical thought, he was not averse to employing it when it suited his pur-

¹⁴¹ Psalms, 12v. *Pugio Fidei*, pars. 3, dist. 3, cap. 20, p. 888. Here and in the other passages related to Psalm 2, I have provided translations of the Latin in Mather's manuscript. I am indebted to Mary Winters and Mark Miner for these translations.

¹⁴² Psalms, 11r. *Pugio Fidei*, pars. 3, dist. 1, cap. 8, p. 527.

¹⁴³ This quotation, as Mather notes, ultimately derives from the Seder Mo'ed, tractate Sukkah 52a, the tractate that concerns the Feast of the Tabernacles. The immediate source is in the comment of Joseph de Voisin Burdegal to Martini's examination of Psalm 2 in *Pugio*, pars. 3, dist. 1, cap. 8, p. 529.

¹⁴⁴ This statement is a close paraphrase of sec. 4, cap. 1 of Johann Frischmuth's essay. See *Thesaurus Theologico-Philologicus*, tom. 1, p. 572.

poses. So, when the name of God "occurs Thrice together" in verses 6 and 7 of Psalm 67, he is quick to read this as an obvious reference to the Trinity. Citing the "*Learned Orientals*" – Viccars's Arabic commentators – Mather remarks that they too believed that the triune aspects of God were intimated by the repetition of "God, *even* our own God, shall bless us. God shall bless us" (Psalm 67:6b–7a). These same authorities "have indeed observed, That *Jehovah*, / יהוה / is a Name of *Three Letters*."¹⁴⁵ At first glance, this assertion appears inaccurate, but by the seventeenth century it was widely thought that יהוה [yhw] was a form of the more primitive root, היה [hayah] meaning "to be." Johannes Buxtorf, for instance, dedicates 10 pages in his lexicon to this root of the Tetragrammaton alone. Moreover, in the Aramaic Targum, the 4-letter name is abbreviated as יי. This would enter the Peshitta as [yah], or lord, and become associated with the "master-lord" (mar-yah) of the gospels and the epistles, such as in Matthew 22:44 and 1 Corinthians 12:3.¹⁴⁶

Similarly, works that were written by converted Jews and that purported to be translations of cabbala were taken as instruments ready at hand to defend Christian dogma. One of these was a text written by Paulus (Pablo) de Heredia (c. 1405–86). Like Paul the Christian, de Heredia was a Spanish Jew who converted (a *converso*) and became as fierce an enemy of Judaism as he had once been its defender. Among his most popular works was one that presented itself as a collection of closely protected esoterica of the rabbis, the *Iggeret ha-Sodot* (Epistle of the Secrets). This incunable presents a conversation that one of the most revered rabbis of the Tannaim, Judah the Holy (ha Qadosh), supposedly held with Antoninus, a Roman consul (*JE*).

Rabbi Judah is cleverly chosen as the mouthpiece for de Heredia's work. A descendant of David, and so sometimes identified as Judah ha Nasi (the Prince), he was famous for his learning and his purity and is the only rabbi to be called "our holy teacher." He was the first to redact the oral Mishnah and his opinions are frequently included in both the Talmud and the Mishnah. The latter work does include several exchanges with a Roman, Antoninus, who is variously thought to be Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, or sometimes, Septimius Severus. In de Heredia's work, Antoninus poses eight questions to the Rabbi. The first of these is paraphrased by Viccars and transcribed by Mather. Ha Qadosh tells Antoninus that the Trinity is contained in the mystical name of twelve letters אב בן ורוח הקדש (Av, Ben, waRuach, haQodesh), or "*the Father, the Son, & the Holy Spirit*." Likewise, according to Viccars, the name of forty-two

¹⁴⁵ Psalms, 172v. Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 2, p. 188. Mather, *Psalterium Americanum*, bk. 2, p. 163.

¹⁴⁶ See *Lexicon*, (146–57).

letters can be translated in English as “*The Father is God, The Son is God, the Holy Spirit is God; Three in One, & One in Three.*”¹⁴⁷

Of course, neither of these derivations of the divine name is usually adduced by Jews. Typically, the twelve-letter name is thought to emerge from the repetition of YHWH in the priestly blessing of Numbers 6:24–26 (“The Lord bless thee, and keep thee: The Lord make his face shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee: The Lord lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace.”) The forty-two letter name is said to reside in the compound name הויה אהיה יהוה אדוני, which, when spelled out, makes forty-two letters.¹⁴⁸ But if de Heredia’s interpretations are suspect, a final witness is presented by Mather in defense of the notion that Jews hold something close to a belief in the Trinity: “*Rambam in Moreh Nebuchim*, hath Passages that favour this Point of Christianity; For which Cause, the Jewes in *France* condemned his Book to the Fire.”¹⁴⁹ In his chapter on faith in the *Guide for the Perplexed*, RAMBAM in fact says that although God is one, he has many attributes, and that this belief is not unlike the doctrine of the Christians who say that He is one and He is three, and that the three are one.¹⁵⁰ This opinion was so disturbing to Jewish leaders in France that in 1233 the community in Montpellier in southern France denounced *The Guide for the Perplexed* to Dominicans, and asked that the book be consigned to the flames, a request that the Catholics were quick to fulfill. It is, perhaps, impossible to say that this fate of Maimonides’s work directly led to the later mass burnings of the holier works of Judaism, but there can be little doubt that the burning of Maimonides’s work ironically established conditions favorable for the subsequent conflagrations of the Talmud itself in Rome and Paris (*JE*).

Martini is more helpful than Viccars when Mather wishes to turn to the Talmud and the Midrash Rabbah for support. The Dominican friar provides the Puritan minister, for instance, with plenty of evidence that Christians are not being perverse when they read Psalm 118:22 (“The stone, which the Builders refused, is become the head of the corner”) as a prophecy of the suffering Christ. “Bereschith” or B’reshith (Genesis) Rabbah promises that when the Messiah comes, he will fulfill the words of Daniel 2:35, where the “stone that smote the image became a great mountain.”¹⁵¹ Moreover, “that the *Messiah* is the *Stone* foretold in the Psalm now before us, is in effect confessed, in *Midrasch Schir Haschirim*” or the Rabbah on Shir ha Shirim, the Song of Songs. When the Psalmist says, in verse 24, “This is the day which the Lord has made; let us

147 Psalms, 172v. Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 2, p. 188. De Heredia, *Epistola de Secretis ad Haccanam Filium*, n.p.

148 אהיה (I will be); יהוה (YHWH); אדוני (Adonai or Lord); הויה (all that is, or being).

149 Psalms, 172v. Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 2, p. 188.

150 Maimonides, *Doctor Perplexorum*, pt. 1, ch. 50, p. 75.

151 As it is phrased in *Pugio* (pars. 2, cap. 5, p. 341) and in the “*Biblia Americana*” (Psalms 290v), this remark seems in fact to combine two midrashim: Genesis or Bereshith Rabba xcvi.909 and Numbers (Bamidbar Rabba) xiii:14.527.

rejoice and be glad in it [Him]," Rabbi Abbin remarks that "They did not know in which one there was to be rejoicing, whether in the day or in God, until Solomon explained, 'Let us rejoice and be glad in You.' 'In You,' that is, in the blessed God; 'In You,' that is, / בישועתך / in Your salvation." Martini is quick to identify the common noun as an object of a preposition [bet-yeshuwah] (or, "in [Your] salvation) with the proper name ישוע [Yeshua] (Jehovah is Salvation) of Joshua or Jesus, a reading that is more explicit in his Latin: "*In Tē, id est, in Deo Benedicto; In Tē, id est, / בישועתך / In Jesu, vel in Salutari Tuo.*"¹⁵² Even "that the *Messiah* shall bee, as tis here foretold, *Refused*, is after a Strange Manner owned, in *Bereschith Rabba*, on the Title of the Eighteenth Psalm." When the Lord's anointed appears, "they will not sing the Canticle quickly until the Messiah himself has been reproached, just as was said in Psalm 89.51, that they reproached the footsteps of your Messiah."¹⁵³

Given the chiliastic hopes of the Reformation, and particularly of early New English Puritanism, it is not surprising that many exegetes should have seen in the Psalms continued predictions of the future. As Increase Mather's preface to Monis's tract attests, some Puritans never relinquished the hopes engendered in them by reading the Psalms in a millennial manner. Increase, as did many reformers, believed that the millennium would be heralded by the national conversion of the Jews and their return to their homeland. Cotton, however, came to doubt this view. Reiner Smolinski has thoroughly examined these changes in Mather's eschatology in his edition of *Trip paradisus*. The Psalms commentary in the "Biblia Americana" provides the best indication of exactly when Mather's views changed and suggests at least one reason for this change.¹⁵⁴

It is obvious that for much of his life, Cotton persisted in his opinion that the Second Coming of Jesus would be preceded by the return of the Jews to Israel. A major influence on Mather in this regard was the French theologian, Pierre Allix (or Alix). Allix (1641–1717), a highly-respected Protestant cleric and Hebrew scholar in France, had to flee the country after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. Immigrating to England at the invitation of Gilbert Burnet, Allix was quickly naturalized and obtained the ministry of the French émigré congregation in London. His facility in languages is demonstrated by the fact that he learned English after coming to England and shortly after his arrival in London, he published one of his most popular works, the two-volume *Reflections upon the Books of the Holy Scripture To Establish the Truth of the Christian Religion* (1688), a text that was still being republished in the first decades of the 19th century. He obtained his Doctor of Divinity from Oxford and continued to

¹⁵² Shir ha-Shirim Rabba i:31.

¹⁵³ Martini is here again threading together several midrashim: Bereshith Rabba lxviii:14.628 and li:7, and Shir ha Shirim (ii:33).

¹⁵⁴ See Smolinski's Introduction to *The Threefold Paradise of Cotton Mather: An Edition of "Trip paradisus"* (38–78).

write works of divinity and church history until 1707. He seems to have spent much of the last decade of his life laboring over a history of the Church Councils which, unfortunately, was never published (*DNB*).

Of the numerous other texts that Allix wrote, one of the most influential was *The Books of Psalms with the Argument of Each* (1701). It is here that he most fully develops his own eschatology as it relates to the Psalms, though a separate volume published in the same year, *De Messiae Duplici Adventu* (London, 1701) attempts more precisely to fix the date of the return of Jesus at 1720 or at the latest, 1736. In many of the Psalms, Allix finds a prophecy of the Jews' persecution under the antichristian Catholic Church, and the Hebrews' eventual delivery and restoration to their homeland. Mather closely studied this work, copying a great number of passages into the annotations of the "Biblia," which he then also used for the *Psalterium*, published in 1718. However, sometimes after the publication of the *Psalterium*, he went back to the "Biblia" manuscript and patiently revised or erased all of these entries. In every case where he kept an entry from Allix that related to the return of the Jews, Mather would substitute or alter Allix's words that specified the future of the Jewish people in ways that allegorized the readings. This allowed Mather to retain the prophetic readings of the Psalms, while avoiding the idea that they addressed the future conversion of the Hebrews specifically.

Two cursory instances of Mather's use and alteration of Allix will serve as examples of the whole. In Allix's prefatory "argument" to Psalm 43, he remarks that this Psalm "expresseth a fervent Prayer of *Israel* for his restoration. ... And in truth the Prophecies note every where, that they are to be re-established in the Land of *Judea* by the Messiah, and that God will settle there again the Marks of his Presence, as in the old times."¹⁵⁵ In his manuscript of the "Biblia," Mather originally truncates Allix's opinion, but maintains its thrust: the Psalm is a "fervent Prayer of dispersed *Israel*, for a Restoration."¹⁵⁶ Later, Mather will excise this annotation entirely from the "Biblia," while he had retained it in this form in the *Psalterium Americanum*.¹⁵⁷

Elsewhere, Mather carefully revises his extracts from *The Book of Psalms* in order to permit him to construe "Israel" as a type of the Reformed Church. In Allix's note on Psalm 66, he asserts that the Psalm is a "*Canticle*," which "contains the praise of the Synagogue after God hath forgiven her sins, and hath restored her the [sic] temporal blessings which he hath promised to her."¹⁵⁸ In the manuscript of the "Biblia," Mather slightly paraphrases Allix, but his annotation is fully in keeping with the source: the Psalm expresses the "Praises which the *Israelitish* Nation give unto GOD, after He has pardoned their Sins,

¹⁵⁵ Allix, *The Book of Psalms*, bk. 2, pp. 65–66.

¹⁵⁶ *Psalms*, 119r.

¹⁵⁷ *Psalterium Americanum*, bk. 2, p. 103.

¹⁵⁸ Allix, *The Book of Psalms*, bk. 2, pp. 96–97.

and Restored Blessings to them."¹⁵⁹ The wording is barely modified in the *Psalterium*: "we have here, the Praises which the Church of *Israel* will give unto God, after He has Pardoned her Sins, and Restored Blessings to her."¹⁶⁰ Mather obviously intends the "Church of *Israel*" in a general etymological sense, as a holy congregation (ecclesia), since he preserves the idea that the "Church of *Israel*" will be pardoned of its sins and restored to its temporal blessings. As he revises the "Biblia," Mather alters the annotation so that it reads as a song of "True *Israel*" after God has brought "His Church into the Condition it shall see after the Destruction of Antichrist."¹⁶¹

Since the *Psalterium* appeared in 1718, we can assume that these excisions and revisions were made sometime after that and that Mather's eschatology changed during the last 10 years of his life. There was certainly more than one reason for this shift in opinion, but one that the "Biblia" points to, and that might have also affected texts such as the *Manuductio ad Ministerium* (if Van Cromphout is correct in identifying a Cartesian rhetoric in Mather's later works) is his reading of Blaise Pascal's *Pensées*, published in an English edition as *Thoughts on Religion and Other Subjects* by Basil Kennet. First printed in 1704, this text appeared in 3 subsequent editions (1727, 1731, and 1749). Because the volume is not listed in either the 1723 *Catalogus Librorum* of Harvard College or among the Mather libraries, Cotton might have read either the first or the second editions. The single long extract from *Thoughts* included after the annotations on the second Psalm is written on a single sheet of foolscap that is folded and affixed to the bound manuscript with red wax. The size of the sheet and the focus of the extracts, along with their identification as being related to the previous annotations on Psalm 2, all indicate that Mather sees Pascal's *Thoughts* as relevant to the idea of the Psalms as prophecy.

What is plain is that Pascal considers these prophecies as largely fulfilled. The chapter "On the Jews" in Kennet's translation also serves to explain how the Jews might have been vouchsafed the promise of the Messiah without finally understanding it. This was a question that had troubled every Christian student of Hebraism from Martini to Humphrey Prideaux: if the Jews were to be granted some authority when it came to interpreting their own scripture, then how to comprehend their failure to recognize Jesus as the Messiah? Given their own command of the language in which their sacred scriptures were written, and allowing some regard for the learning of their rabbis, then their rejection of Jesus seemed either perverse or at best delusional. Thus, as Mather's many quotations from preeminent Christian Hebraists and converted Jews make plain, one of the

¹⁵⁹ Psalms, 169r.

¹⁶⁰ *Psalterium Americanum*, bk. 2, p. 162.

¹⁶¹ Psalms, 169r.

primary tactics of Christian studies of Judaism was to show how the Jews *might* have known Jesus as the Messiah, if they had only paid attention to their oracles.

While Pascal cannot be said to be particularly original in his solution to this riddle, his hermeneutic framework does appear to support Mather in his own belief that the Psalms foretell the Messiah and that the rabbis might have, but did not, identify these prophecies with Jesus. At the same time, the *Thoughts* seems to discourage the idea, or at least give voice to Mather's growing doubt, that the Psalms promise an eventual restoration of the Jews to their homeland that would usher in the millennium. For Pascal, there seemed little doubt that the Psalms and the prophets were written with a "*Double Sense*; a Remote and Spiritual," to which the Jews were "strongly Averse," and an "Obvious and Carnal, to which they were eagerly Inclined." However, had the "*Spiritual Sense* been entirely disclosed to them," they, as any humans, would likely have rejected a Messiah. As a consequence, "they would have had very little Zeal, to præserve their Writings and Institutions." At the same time, if they *had* embraced the Messiah during his incarnation, then "their Evidence must have suffered in its Force, as being the Testimony of Friends." Paradoxically, then, the providence of God so arranged things that the prophecies of Jesus "should remain in the Custody of unsuspected Persons; such as were eminent for Diligence & Fidelity, and above all, for Zeal; and such as were remarkably known to the rest of Mankind."¹⁶²

The advent of Jesus, however, seems to have signaled a shift in the function if not the form of prophecy. The New Testament looks to Pascal to be full of allegorical rather than literal promises, and, again, there seems to be evidence for this view in the Old Testament. In some cases, the "*Spiritual Sense*" is "openly Revealed" and in those instances, the reading cannot but follow that primary sense. However, when the spiritual meaning is "suppres'd" or less obvious, the text will allow for both a literal or carnal and a spiritual reading. When Isaiah foretells that the Messiah "shall be a *Stone of Stumbling, & a Rock of Offence*" (Isa. 8:14), patently the intent of the text is to portray Christ not as a literal obstacle, but as a spiritual offence.¹⁶³ The same must be true of prophecies that seem impossible of fulfillment. When Jesus "discourses at large, to His Disciples, about His Second Coming" in Mark 13, the fact that the prediction was to have been fulfilled while some of those standing with Jesus were still living must mean that the whole chapter is intended allegorically.¹⁶⁴ The wars and calamities spoken of by Jesus must be a metaphor of the salvific process undergone by each "Regenerated Person, and the Destruction of the Old Man in him." The "Prædiction concerning the Ruine of the Temple, when forsaken by GOD" is

¹⁶² Psalms, 13r; Pascal, *Thoughts*, ch. 10, pp. 78–79.

¹⁶³ Psalms, 14v; Pascal, *Thoughts*, ch. 10, p. 79.

¹⁶⁴ See Mark 13:30 ("Verily I say unto you, that this generation shall not pass, till all these things be done"). Pascal, *Thoughts*, ch. 28, pp. 223–24.

the "Figure of the Rejected & Reprobate Body of Sin." The "Expression of, *Not Leaving one Stone upon another*" should be a lesson that "we ought to leave no Affection of the Old Man unmortified or unremoved."¹⁶⁵

More pointedly, although "We find it a very solemn Promise of God unto the Jews, that tho' they should be scattered to the Corners of the Earth, yett upon their Perseverance in His Law, He would gather them again," the prophecy had not come to pass in the eighteenth century. The Jews continue "in the highest Manner constant to their Worship, & tenacious of their Rites, and yett remain dispers'd and distress'd. It follows therefore of necessity, that the *Messias* is come, & the Old Law, which contained these Promises, ha's been disannulled, by the Establishment of the New."¹⁶⁶ Mather likely found the extremity of this view unsettling, adhering as he did to a federal theology that saw a connection between the old and new covenants, but in its outlines he appears to have thought it persuasive. It allowed him to make his hope for the imminent return of Christ independent of the restoration and conversion of the Jewish people scattered across the globe.

Along the way, Pascal also validates Mather's opinion that the Jews did not deserve vengeance for their misapprehension of Jesus. One of the less savory aspects of Christian study of Hebraic thought is the way in which it could easily lead to endorsements of violence, as the virulently anti-Semitic writings of Martin Luther evince. Mather again belies the mischaracterization of an intolerant bigot that is often placed on him when he finds no support for such an attitude in scripture. In fact, one of the ways in which the "Style of the Gospel" is "admirable" is that "we meet there with no Invectives, on the Part of the Historians against *Judas*, or *Pilate*; nor against any of the Enemies, or the very Murtherers of their Lord."¹⁶⁷ The lessons it offers are as other-wise as they are other-worldly. On the whole, then, Pascal appears to offer Mather a way to interpret some eschatological prophecies as allegorical and others as literal. If the alteration in his hermeneutical practice appears convenient, given his hopes of the Second Coming that were not to be fulfilled, we cannot adjudge Mather of a sophistry born of desperation: Rather, his dependence on Pascal and his careful revisions of Allix demonstrate that he could adjust his comprehensions of scripture when more persuasive arguments presented themselves. This is the mark not of an inflexible mind, but of a self-critical one.

Mather was not unprepared to read scripture allegorically that he had previously taken as literally. The typology in which New English Puritanism was steeped was itself a form of allegorical approach to scripture. Mather's Psalms commentary moreover evinces a long-lasting personal interest in allegorizing the

¹⁶⁵ Psalms, 14v; Pascal, *Thoughts*, ch. 28, pp. 223–24.

¹⁶⁶ Psalms, 14v; Pascal, *Thoughts*, ch. 16, p. 125.

¹⁶⁷ Psalms, 14v; Pascal, *Thoughts*, ch. 16, p. 122.

Psalms. But, as with others of his primary sources, Mather's typical authority for allegorical readings of the Psalms is an unusual choice. Sixty-nine times in the Psalms commentary, he cites by name the reputed author of the *Commentarii in Psalmos*, Arnobius the Younger (5th c. CE), a bishop of old Gaul. There is frustratingly little known of this figure and even the commentary that is traditionally ascribed to him is of uncertain authenticity. He is identified as "the younger" or Arnobius Junior in order to distinguish him from the better known Arnobius of Sicca (4th c. CE), author of *Disputationes Adversus Gentes*. The younger Arnobius appears to have defended the theology of Augustine in a debate with an Egyptian Monophysite sometime in the mid-5th century, but on the other hand numerous semi-Pelagian elements have been identified in the *Commentarii*, as in his commentary on Psalm 109:16–17, where he calls it a heresy "quae dicit Deum aliquos praedestinasse ad benedictionem, alios ad maledictionem."¹⁶⁸

Mather surely knew of such passages, since he seems to have had access to a complete edition of the commentary, but he does not include them in his own annotations on the Psalms. It is even difficult to know whether or not he was aware that he was citing the younger Arnobius. The first European edition of the *Commentarii* was prepared by Desiderius Erasmus, in 1522, and published several times thereafter. Erasmus, though, incorrectly identifies the author as Arnobius Africanus, that is, Arnobius of Sicca. It is more likely that Mather was drawing on Volume 8 of the 27-volume *Maxima Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum*, the first great collection of patristic writing, published in 1677. This work does include all of the writings usually ascribed to Arnobius the Younger, but neither this volume nor Erasmus's edition of the *Commentarii* is listed among the Harvard Library or Mather family holdings.

In any event, Mather often duplicates the allegorical interpretations of Arnobius in the "Biblia Americana" and includes them as well in the *Psalterium Americanum*. Though Mather is not always in explicit agreement with the Gallic bishop, he still frequently finds Arnobius worth citing. So, in Psalm 1, Mather does not appear to accept Arnobius's view that the "*Counsel of the Ungodly*" is a reference to the first man "hearkening to the *Counsel of the Serpent*." Nonetheless, Arnobius does inspire the thought that the righteous man being like a "tree planted by the rivers" (verse 3) appears to promise a "Salvation by the Second Adam," figured here as the "*Tree of Life*."¹⁶⁹ Elsewhere, as in Psalm 3:2, Arnobius endorses the Christological interpretations of the Psalms so favored by Mather. When the Psalmist complains that "*There is no Help for Him in God*," it seems that this is another case in which "the *History* refers to the Sufferings of *David*" but "the *Mystery* refers to the Sufferings of our *Messiah*." Both Mather

¹⁶⁸ "Which says that God has predestined some to a blessing and others to a curse." Arnobius, *Commentarii* [PL 53.495].

¹⁶⁹ Psalms, 9r; Arnobius, *Commentarii* [PL 53.328–29].

and Arnobius think that this passage "was remarkably fulfilled in the Flouts of the Jewes upon Him, while he was a dying."¹⁷⁰ At other times, Arnobius offers glimpses of eternity. When Mather wonders to whom the passage "*I will not take up their Names into my Lips*" (Psalm 16:4) should be applied, Arnobius hints that the names are those of the idolaters who will be denied by Christ in the presence of the Father.¹⁷¹

Most frequently, however, Mather turns to Arnobius simply in order to draw in detail the moral figures only sketched in the Psalms. In Psalm 59:1 ("Deliver me from mine enemies, O my God"), the main idea is not a plea for earthly deliverance, but a prayer: "*Quando Domus Corporis tui, a principe huius mundi custodiri praecipitur, ut capiaris, et interficiaris gladio cuiuscunque peccati, ex totis visceribus exclama, Eripe me.*"¹⁷² In like fashion, verse 13 ("God ruleth in Jacob, and unto the ends of the earth") is taken as a reference to the fact that "*Ibi dominatur Dominus, ubi Fines faciunt, terrena voluptates.*"¹⁷³ When the Psalmist says in Psalm 63:6, "I remember thee on my Bed, & meditate on thee, in the night watches," we are meant to understand how God is a guard against concupiscence: "*Ostendit, per eius Auxilium potuisse se castimoniam obtinuisse.*" The Psalmist indicates that the righteous man not only meditates continually on the things of God, but "he shows that through His help he was able to maintain his purity."¹⁷⁴

This wide diversity of sources, Arnobius, Viccars, Martini, the ubiquitous Simon Patrick, and literally hundreds of others, recurs in the "Biblia" annotations on the Psalms as well as the *Psalterium Americanum*. The *Psalterium* has often been criticized for the cumbersome nature of its prose and the leadenness of its poetry, but a fair estimation of the *Psalterium* and its origin must begin with Mather's models. Two texts ostensibly shape the form of the *Psalterium*, and a brief comparison of the same passage in each work will show how Mather aims in the *Psalterium* at a similar, but not identical end. One of these, of course, is Simon Patrick's *The Book of Psalms Paraphras'd*. As Figure 2 shows, Patrick begins with the "argument" of the Psalm, usually with an emphasis on historical context. He then presents in tandem the authorized translation alongside a paraphrase intended to elucidate the figures and metaphors of the Psalm. The "sons of men" in verse 2 of Psalm 4, for example, are identified as a trope for "the rulers of the people." Similarly, Allix in *The Book of Psalms with the*

¹⁷⁰ Psalms, 17r; Arnobius, *Commentarii* [PL 53.330]. See also Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 6.

¹⁷¹ Psalms, 53r; Arnobius, *Commentarii* [PL 53.342].

¹⁷² Psalms, 155r; Arnobius, *Commentarii* [PL 53.406]; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, pp. 145–46. "When the prince of this world orders your body to be held in custody so that you may be captured and killed by the sword of some sin, shout out with your whole heart: Rescue me!"

¹⁷³ Psalms, 156v; Arnobius, *Commentarii* [PL 53.406]. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 146. "There the Lord rules, where earthly pleasures find their limits."

¹⁷⁴ Psalms, 164v; Arnobius, *Commentarii* [PL 53.411]; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 154. "He shows that through His help he was able to maintain purity."

P S A L M IV.

To the chief Musician upon *Neginoth*.
A Psalm of *David*.

A R G U M E N T.

We can learn no more from this Title, but that David was

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A Paraphrase on Psalm IV.

was the Authour of this Psalm; and that he delivered it to the Master of Musick in the Tabernacle, to be sung to the stringed Instruments. But when or upon what occasion he penned it, is not certainly known; though the matter of it makes it probable, it was in the same (or the like) Distress, wherein he made the foregoing Psalm.

1. **H**ear me when I call, O God of my righteousness: thou hast enlarged me when I was in distress, have mercy upon me, and hear my prayer.

1. **O** My God, the most righteous Judge, who knowest the justice of my Cause, and art the Protector of oppressed Innocence, vouchsafe to give me a gracious answer, now that I cry unto Thee for help against my Enemies. Thou hast heretofore made an open way for my escape out of the forest straits and greatest dangers; which makes me hope Thou wilt still take pity upon me, and hear the humble petition which I put up unto Thee.

2. *O ye sons of men, how long will ye turn my glory into shame? how long will ye love vanity, and seek after leasing? Selah.*

2. I am confident my desire is granted; and therefore do you hearken also to me, O ye Rulers of the people, by whose authority such multitudes are drawn into this Conspiracy: Cease to defame my Government, (2 Sam. XV. 3, &c.) and break off your vain endeavours to dethrone me. Why do you delight to weary your selves in the pursuit of such fallacious counsels, and to imploy so much industry in inventing Calumnies, and spreading Lies, to draw the people from me?

3. *But know that the LORD hath set apart him that is godly for himself: the LORD will hear when I call unto him.*

3. Know that it is not in your power by all these arts to depose me; for I did

Argument of Each prefaces each Psalm with a brief annotation on the purpose of the Psalm and particularly its eschatological import. Allix, however, follows his epitome with only the text of the authorized translation (see Figure 3). Mather incorporates elements of each of these into the *Psalterium*. Rather than prefacing the Psalm with his annotations, Mather appends his "Illustrations" after his own translation intended to faithfully reproduce the lyrical qualities of the Hebrew language. As Figure 4 demonstrates, in this illustration, Mather proffers both Allix's reading that the dedication of the Psalm "To the Chief Musician" might also be translated as to or for "*The Time of the End*" and Patrick's paraphrase of the "sons of men" as a metaphor for the "*Rulers of the People*."¹⁷⁵ This range of remarks should not be considered indiscriminate; as he does throughout the "Biblia," Mather seeks here to demonstrate how comprehending the Bible requires careful consideration and thorough preparation.

What the *Psalterium* does not duplicate from the "Biblia," but more than anything else shapes the published work, are the many extracts of other poetic versions of the Psalms that were produced in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. As the "Biblia" Psalms inspire meditations on the Messiah, the trials and triumphs of David's life, the social mores and cultural accoutrements of ancient Israel, the peculiarities of Hebrew, and even such apparent minutiae as the lawfulness of usury, they also lead to lengthy transcriptions of poetic versions of the Psalms. Whatever our aesthetic judgment on the *Psalterium*, we cannot accuse Mather of being ignorant of the poetry of his day and age. In the Psalms commentary of the "Biblia" and in the *Psalterium*, he not only cites from Abraham Cowley's *Pindaric Odes*, first published in 1656, but also with some regularity from Alexander Pope's verse translation of the *Iliad* (1715–20). Also, Mather refers to, and often quotes at length from, numerous translations of the Psalms. Besides the much praised and frequently reprinted Latin paraphrase of George Buchanan (1506–82), entitled *Psalmorum Davidis Paraphrasis Poetica* (1566), Mather turns to the venerable "Ainsworth" Psalter of Henry Ainsworth (1571–1622), *The Book of Psalmes: Englished both in Prose and Metre with Annotations* (1612). This was the Psalter that the Pilgrims brought to Plymouth with them and that remained popular for a long period of time. Mather also quotes from Charles Darby's (d. 1709) *The Book of Psalms in English Metre* (1704). Darby sought in his version of the Psalms to replace Semitic with English turns of phrase and, in order to maintain the regularity of his meter, often collapsed several verses into one quatrain.¹⁷⁶ As he does in Job, Mather speaks approvingly of Sir Richard Blackmore's pietistic *A New Version of the Psalms* (1721). Nahum Tate (1652–1715), who was named Poet Laureate in 1692, and Nicholas Brady (1659–1726), published an identically titled work in 1696. Their work, however,

¹⁷⁵ *Psalterium Americanum*, bk. 1, p. 7.

¹⁷⁶ On Darby's method, see William Watkinson "Pre-Wesleyan Hymnology."

The Book of Psalms. 5

8 Salvation *belongeth* unto the Lord: thy blessing
is upon thy people. Selah.

Argument upon the 4th. Psalm.

The Title of this Psalm is, in finem, to or for the end; the Psalm it self expressest the minds of the faithful that expect their salvation in the Age to come, and who call upon the wicked to renounce the worship of Idols, which are called by the name of falshood and vanity, and to dedicate all their acts of piety and faith to God only, and not to any creature; taking care not to let themselves be deceived with the brightness of their present fortune; such true piety being alone able to furnish us with firm consolations.

P S A L. IV.

¶ To the chief Musician on Neginoth, A Psalm
of David.

Hear me when I call, O God of my righteousness: thou hast enlarged me *when I was* in distress; have mercy upon me, *and* hear my prayer.

2 O ye sons of men, how long *will ye turn* my glory into shame? *how long* will ye love vanity, and seek after leasing? Selah.

3 But know that the Lord hath set apart him that is godly for himself: the Lord will hear when I call unto him.

4 Stand in awe, and sin not: commune with your own heart upon your bed, and be still. Selah.

5 Offer the sacrifices of righteousness: and put your trust in the Lord.

6 *There be many that say, Who will shew us any good? Lord, lift thou up the light of thy countenance upon us.*

C 3

7 Thou

Figure 3: Pierre Allix, *The Book of Psalms with the Argument of Each* (1701, p. 5).

P S A L M IV.

7

5 Offer the Sacrifices which || belong to
righteousness: || And therewith place your
confidence || on the ETERNAL God. ||

6 Many there be that say, O who || will
show us what is good ! || O thou ETERNAL
God, do thou || signally over us, || like as
a banner, lift the light || of thy bright coun-
tenance. ||

7 Thou hast bestow'd, *in doing thus*, || a
joy upon my heart, || more than the time
wherein their Corn || and their Wine did
increase. ||

8 I will both lay me down in peace, || and
I will take my sleep ; || For, O ETERNAL,
Thou alone || dost make me dwell secure. ||

ILLUSTRATIONS on the IV. PSALM.

THE Term which we render, *To the chief Musi-*
cian, may be rendred also, *To*, or, *For the End*.
An Intimation, that these things are eminently calcu-
lated for that Period, which is called, *The Time of the*
End.

2 *Sons of Men* ; especially means the *Rulers* of the
People. [See Psal. LVIII. 1.] *The Son of Man*, (when
the word *Adam* is used,) means the *Greatest* of Men.
[See *Isai*. LI. 12.] The Hebrews call the chief of any
Kind, by the Name of the *whole Kind*. *Man* is called
Creature. *Son of Man* is the *Chief* among the Sons of
Mer. *Ezekiel* and *Daniel* were acknowledged very
Great Men, by this Appellation.

4 It may be read, *Are ye Angry ?* (That I have
the Kingdom ?) *yet do not Sin* ; have a care what you do.
Musick notes here, An Admonition to tremble at
Enmity

Figure 4: Cotton Mather, *Psalterium Americanum* (Boston, 1718, p. 7)

has had more staying power than Blackmore's: Brady's and Tate's *New Version* would go through two subsequent editions and some of their lyrics remain in use as hymns today. Finally, we find selections from Isaac Watts (1674–1748), whose work was cheerfully promoted in America by Cotton Mather and who remains a mainstay of hymnody in American Protestantism.

His references to these works, individually and collectively, belie the notion that Mather possessed a tin ear. It is more accurate, and more helpful, to understand the often maligned "Blank Verse" of the *Psalterium* within the context of devotional practice in New England in the seventeenth century. As Christopher N. Phillips reminds us, hymns were typically used by Puritans in private devotion rather than public worship. Some of the hymns of Isaac Watts, first published in America by Cotton Mather, were included as appendices to sermon pamphlets, and Mather's own diary remarks that he will use newly printed hymnbooks in his private devotionals with his family.¹⁷⁷

Mather's aim was to present the "PSALMS fitted unto the *Tunes* commonly used in the Assembles" of New England, "But so fitted that the *Christian Singer* has his Devotions ... supplied with ALL that the Holy SPIRIT of GOD has dictated," that is, with all the force and power of the original language.¹⁷⁸ That he understood better how to maintain that equilibrium than he is often credited with is shown by the role that Cotton and his father played in the emergence of hymn singing among New English congregations.

The common perception of New English hymnody is that it was guided for over a century by the original "Bay Psalm Book," *The Whole Booke of Psalms Faithfully Translated into English Metre* (1640), famous for being the first book printed in America. Although the Puritans had brought with them several Psalters from England, including the Ainsworth Psalter, these existing versions were all considered unsatisfactory either because they were too free in their translations or because they were not thought to convey accurately the substance of the messianic theology that the Puritans usually saw in the Psalms. Unfortunately, many misperceptions about the *Bay Psalm Book* still prevail. Because it is the first book printed in America, and because the Puritans were known for their singing of Psalms in church, most people conclude that *the Bay Psalm Book* was *the* hymnody used in congregational churches for well over a hundred years.

In fact, the *Bay Psalm Book* only went through one other edition (1647). In 1651, at the urging of New English clerics, the first President of Harvard, Henry Dunster (1609–59), undertook a revision of the Bay Book. This work, titled in full *The Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs, of the Old and New Testament Faithfully Translated into English Metre*, was published in 1651. It is such a different work from the original that it cannot fairly be termed a revision. Called "The

177 Phillips, "Cotton Mather Brings Isaac Watts's Hymns to America" (203–04).

178 *Psalterium*, Introduction, p. vii.

New England Psalter," this was the work that endured for so long that remained popular in New English churches for a century and a half.

The *New England Psalter* would go through at least twenty-seven other editions, in part because its versions really were fit for singing. Until 1698, however, churches held on to the tradition of "lining out" the Psalms under the guidance of a precentor, who would tonally chant a passage which would then be repeated by the congregation. Beginning with the ninth edition of the *Psalter* in 1698, congregations could render their Psalms using melodies that were printed at the end of the *Psalter*. These are crude woodcut impressions, but they do allow actual singing. It is possible that Increase and Cotton were responsible for this addition. The tunes used in the *Psalter* were common folk-tunes in England and were often employed by dancing masters of the period. They were very popular at around the same time that Increase was in London attempting to renegotiate the colony's Charter, and he could well have brought them back to Boston for inclusion in the service.¹⁷⁹ Without any doubt Cotton favored regular singing and contributed to the New England Psalter. One of the "spiritual songs" included in the same 1698 edition that appended the melodies is a metrical translation of Isaiah 26, a promise of praise and protection that is recognized as a psalm of praise. Like the tunes, this translation would be included in every subsequent edition.¹⁸⁰

Along with the *Psalterium Americanum*, the New England Psalter shows how Cotton Mather promoted the inclusion of hymn-singing in church and defended the practice when it was interrogated. This issue, in fact, occupied him a great deal during the last decade of his life. Not only does he explicitly address the controversy in print in *The Accomplished Singer* (Boston, 1721), but also in *A Pacificatory Letter About Psalmody, or Singing of Psalms* (1724). When these works are read in concert with the "Biblia Americana" Psalms, we are reminded that poetry was inextricable from exegesis in Mather's mind. For Mather, hymn singing does not occur in a vacuum: it is but one aspect of a life lived in learning and expressed in piety.

Conclusion

The greatest injustice that is done to Cotton Mather is that he is so often judged by standards that were not his. The challenge that we face as readers is to take him on his terms, which often are patently not those that we take for granted. If our examination of the "Biblia Americana" is to be meaningful, however, it has to be guided by the rules under which it was written, rather than

¹⁷⁹ See D. W. Krummel, "The Bay Psalm Book Tercentenary, 1698–1998" (281–82).

¹⁸⁰ Krummel, "The Bay Psalm Book Tercentenary, 1698–1998" (282).

by externally imposed valuations and culturally bounded dispositions. When we insist on measuring his work against our own notions of aesthetics or scholarly methodology, we will always fail to grasp what others who knew him regularly attested to: his ready wit, his voluminous learning, his vast curiosity, and his sincere piety. These qualities are not only personal characteristics; they are structural features of his work. Their interplay distinguishes the “Biblia Americana” from every other work of the period and makes this massive opus worth reading on its own. If the difficulty his work poses does not vanish when we approach it in this way, it does, at the very least, become more comprehensible.

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Section 2

Biblia Americana: Notes on Composition¹

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:

Stage I: Aug. 1693 to May 1706

Stage II: May 1706 to the end of 1711

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

Stage IV: Feb. 1713/14, 1716 to 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. Since only about a third of the entries in the “Biblia” have a number, we can state with some certainty that they were made during this stage, which ends with Mather’s first effort to have the whole published. The index numbers that accompany the annotations on Ezra through Nehemiah indicate that these commentaries were compiled sometime during the middle to later years of this first stage of composition. Readable numbers range from a low of 645 (in Esther) to a high of 5081 (in Nehemiah). Job was begun early, and continued through the middle years of this first stage: the lowest readable number in the annotations on Job is 216 and the highest is 2804. As might be expected, Psalms occupies the entire range of the first stage of composition. The lowest number is 103 (on an entry in Ps. 109) and the highest is 4502. Several of these index numbers are in sequence, indicating that large portions of a particular Psalm commentary were composed together. Psalm 1, for instance, contains numbers 2056–2061 in seriatim. Psalm 37 contains numbers 2109, followed by 1860, and then 2110–2113.

¹ This section largely reproduces Smolinski’s discussion of the stages of composition in BA 1:51–61 and appends to it findings from the books of Ezra through Psalms.

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.

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 *Tripuraditus* out of the "Biblia," as well as the preparation of *Psalterium Americanum*, which would be published in 1718.

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.

Stages III and IV were likely the periods when, especially, the Psalms commentary underwent so many obvious alterations. Psalms consists of hundreds of later insertions and revisions, with papers of various sizes affixed onto other leaves with red wax and frequent notes that are placed in the margins or written horizontally to the other entries. All of these changes suggest that Mather paid special and ongoing attention to his composition of the Psalms, probably not only because the Psalms occupy a unique and enduring place in Christian hermeneutics, but more because commentaries and paraphrases of the Psalms regularly appeared throughout Mather's life, as evidenced by his numerous extracts from Darby, Blackmore, and Brady and Tate. No matter how many entries Mather inserted into the Psalms, there were always new ones to add, which necessitated changes to earlier annotations.

Section 3:

Notes on the Text and Editorial Principles¹

The text of the entire “Biblia” and its general condition and provenance are described in *Biblia Americana* 1:191–94. The entries presented in this volume are found at the end of the second and the beginning of the third 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 453 leaves in the entire tome. Entries on Ezra begin on leaf 413. Nearly all sheets are single rather than conjugate or 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.

Volume III consists of 3 bound fascicles assembled during the period of the second binding, and comprised of smaller sets. It is impossible to determine exactly where these smaller groups begin and end, however, due to the tight stitching of this second binding. The first fascicle includes a torn page roughly centered in the binding with the words “Illustrations upon Job.” The handwriting is Mather’s. As in the other manuscript volumes, Mather folded each page of his manuscript to identify the columns. These folds are still evident throughout. If a page is bound with thread, the gutter and width in the table below are measured from the binding. If a column is blank, the respective gutter is also shown as blank. Job consists of 59 leaves. Psalms begins on leaf 60 and continues through leaf 240. Because of the heavy editing of Psalms, the pages of this commentary consist of leaves of varying sizes. Many of those that were attached with sealing wax are now loose and there are several leaves that oversized and folded to fit the volume or that were cut vertically in half.

¹ The general description of the text provided here reproduces Smolinski’s findings in *BA* 1:191–94.

Watermarks and Countersigns: Paper Use in the "Biblia" Ezra through Psalms

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

Ezra

[1r–2v]	[3r–4v]	[5r–6v]	[7r–8v]	[9r–10v]	[11r–12v]
H 156	H 205	H 186	H 302	H 163	H 190
W 95	W 152	W 142	W 187	W 90	W 148
G 15,–	G 12,15	G 10,15	G 20,25	G 15,–	G 15,20
WM: –	WM: –	WM: –	WM: –	WM: –	WM: –
CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: TM	CM: –	CM: –
[13r–14v]	[15r–16v]	[17r–20v]	[21r–26v]	[27r–28v]	
H 200	H 190	H 190	H 200	H 297	
W 140	W 148	W 148	W 147	W 180	
G 10,15	G 12,19	G 10,15	G 10,15	G 15,20	
WM: –	WM: –	WM: –	WM: (A)	WM: –	
CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	

Nehemiah

[1r–4v]	[5r–6v]	[7r–8v]	[9r–12v]	[13r–14v]	[15r–16v]
H 200	H 192	H 189	H 195	H 298	H 184
W 150	W 147	W 146	W 150	W 180	W 149
G 15,20	G 15,17	G 10,15	G 10,15	G 13,20	G 10,15
WM: (A)	WM: (A)	WM: –	WM: –	WM: (C)	WM: –
CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –
[17r–18v]	[19r–20v]	[21r–22v]	[23r–24v]	[25r–26v]	
H 190	H 197	H 193	H 190	H 303	
W 150	W 148	W 147	W 146	W 183	
G 12,16	G 10,15	G 12,17	G 10,15	G 10,17	
WM: –	WM: –	WM: (A)	WM: (A)	WM: –	
CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	

² BA 1:196–202.

Esther

[1r–2v]	[3r–4v]	[5r–6v]	[7r–8v]	[9r–14v]	[15r–16v]
H 295	H 198	H 213	H 302	H 195	H 190
W 179	W 149	W 142	W 188	W 149	W 146
G 12,17	G 12,17	G 10,15	G 15,20	G 10,15	G 10,15
WM: –	WM: –	WM: (I)	WM: –	WM: (A)	WM: –
CM: HD	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –
[17r–18v]	[19r–20v]	[21r–22v]			
H 199	H 197	H 290			
W 151	W 147	W 175			
G 10,15	G 12,17	G –,20			
WM: –	WM: (A)	WM: –			
CM: –	CM: –	CM: –			

Job

[1r–2v]	[3r–4v]	[5r–6v]	[7r–8v]	[9r–10v]	[11r–16v]
H 303	H 293	H 304	H 304	H 303	H 304
W 191	W 179	W 193	W 182	W 165	W 182
G 10,14	G 19,19	G 10,16	G 10,15	G 10,14	G 10,20
WM: –	WM: –	WM: –	WM: (Q)	WM: (L)	WM: (Q)
CM: GG	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: GG
[17r–18v]	[19r–20v]	[21r–22v]	[23r–24v]	[25r–26v]	[27r–28v]
H 300	H 308	H 211	H 306	H 210	H 189
W 178	W 190	W 154	W 186	W 152	W 140
G 5,20	G 10,–	G 10,17	G 15,22	G 10,15	G 10,15
WM: –	WM: –	WM: (DD)	WM: (CC)	WM: (DD)	WM: (C)
CM: GG	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –
[29r–30v]	[31r–32v]	[33r–34v]	[35r–36v]	[37r–38v]	[39r–40v]
H 156	H 159	H 188	H 299	H 306	H 303
W 87	W 94	W 142	W 178	W 184	W 182
G –	G –	G 10,15	G 10,20	G 10,5	G 10,20
WM: –	WM: –	WM: –	WM: (C)	WM: (I)	WM: (F)
CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –
[41r–42v]	[43r–48v]	[49r–50v]	[51r–52v]	[53r–54v]	[55r–56v]
H 212	H 210	H 306	H 301	H 187	H 306
W 150	W 151	W 190	W 175	W 142	W 191
G 10,15	G 10,17	G 10,10	G 15,17	G 10,15	G 10,10
WM: –	WM: (DD)	WM: –	WM: –	WM: –	WM: –
CM: –	CM: –	CM: ED	CM: –	CM: –	CM: ED
[57r–60v]	[61r–62v]	[63r–64v]	[65r–70v]	[71r–72v]	[73r–74v]
H 210	H 188	H 155	H 306	H 186	H 194
W 154	W 141	W 100	W 188	W 139	W 143
G 10,15	G 10,14	G 10,–	G 10,10	G 5,14	G 5,14
WM: –	WM: –	WM: –	WM: (I)	WM: –	WM: –
CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: ED	CM: –	CM: –

[75r–76v]	[77r–78v]	[79r–80v]	[81r–82v]	[83r–84v]	[85r–86v]
H 193	H 198	H 306	H 196	H 210	H 153
W 141	W 140	W 184	W 144	W 140	W 97
G 10,17	G 7,15	G 10,10	G 10,15	G 17,17	G 10,–
WM: –	WM: –	WM: (I)	WM: –	WM: –	WM: –
CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –
[87r–88v]	[89r–90v]	[91r–92v]	[93r–96v]	[97r–98v]	[99r–100v]
H 306	H 298	H 193	H 200	H 304	H 187
W 189	W 181	W 147	W 145	W 180	W 142
G 10,10	G 10,14	G 10,14	G 10,17	G 10,15	G 10,15
WM: (I)	WM: (C)	WM: –	WM: –	WM: (C)	WM: –
CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –
[101r–102v]	[103r–104v]	[105r–106v]	[107r–108v]	[109r–112v]	[113r–114v]
H 298	H 303	H 297	H 196	H 306	H 306
W 175	W 180	W 180	W 147	W 180	W 180
G 10,15	G 10,20	G 10,20	G 10,15	G 10,17	G 10,16
WM: (C)	WM: –	WM: –	WM: –	WM: (A)	WM: (AA)
CM: –	CM: –	CM: HD	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –
[115r–118v]					
H 306					
W 180					
G 10,18					
WM: (M)					
CM: H					

Psalms

[1r–4v]	[5r–6v]	[7r–8v]	[9r–12v]	[13r–14v]	[15r–16]
H 303	H 299	H 188	H 305	H 305	H 305
W 180	W 180	W 140	W 185	W 190	W 100
G 10,18	G 10,18	G 5,10	G 10,22	G 20,15	G 18,–
WM: (A)	WM: –	WM: –	WM: (F)	WM: –	WM: –
CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –
[17r–18v]	[19r–20v]	[21r–22v]	[23r–24v]	[25r–26v]	[27r–28v]
H 296	H 305	H 197	H 296	H 196	H 305
W 174	W 185	W 145	W 169	W 145	W 185
G 10,20	G 15,15	G 5,15	G 15,17	G 10,15	G 10,15
WM: (C)	WM: –	WM: –	WM: (U)	WM: –	WM: –
CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –
[29r–30v]	[31r–32v]	[33r–34v]	[35r–36v]	[37r–42v]	[43r–44v]
H 304	H 196	H 197	H 304	H 197	H 303
W 186	W 142	W 143	W 185	W 145	W 189
G 10,20	G 10,15	G 10,15	G 15,25	G 10,15	G 15,27
WM: –	WM: –	WM: –	WM: –	WM: (N)	WM: –
CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –

[45r–46v]	[47r–48v]	[49r–50v]	[51r–52v]	[53r–54v]	[55r–56v]
H 151	H 154	H 305	H 305	H 306	H 306
W 104	W 101	W 185	W 185	W 195	W 190
G –,–	G –,–	G 15,10	G 15,15	G 15,15	G 15,15
WM: –	WM: –	WM: (I)	WM: (A)	WM: –	WM: –
CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: G	CM: †
[57r–58v]	[59r–60v]	[61r–62v]	[63r–64v]	[65r–66v]	[67r–68v]
H 300	H 302	H 187	H 196	H 198	H 180
W 182	W 187	W 151	W 140	W 143	W 123
G 15,10	G 15,25	G 20,20	G 10,15	G 10,15	G 20,20
WM: –	WM: –	WM: –	WM: –	WM: –	WM: –
CM: G	CM: TM	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –
[69r–70v]	[71r–72v]	[73r–74v]	[75r–76v]	[77r–78v]	[79r–80v]
H 305	H 199	H 212	H 210	H 198	H 193
W 190	W 144	W 142	W 150	W 143	W 143
G 20,25	G 10,15	G 10,17	G 20,20	G 5,15	G 10,15
WM: –	WM: –	WM: (I)	WM: –	WM: –	WM: –
CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –
[81r–84v]	[85r–86v]	[87r–88v]	[89r–90v]	[91r–92v]	[93r–94v]
H 305	H 196	H 194	H 194	H 190	H 194
W 188	W 137	W 140	W 148	W 148	W 145
G 15,25	G 5,20	G 5,15	G 10,13	G 15,15	G 5,15
WM: –	WM: –	WM: –	WM: –	WM: (N)	WM: (A)
CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –
[95r–96v]	[97r–98v]	[99r–100v]	[101r–102v]	[103r–104v]	[105r–106v]
H 191	H 305	H 304	H 194	H 305	H 215
W 150	W 191	W 183	W 142	W 185	W 150
G 15,15	G 10,20	G 10,20	G 15,15	G 15,25	G 15,15
WM: (A)	WM: (X)	WM: –	WM: (A)	WM: –	WM: –
CM: –	CM: HG	CM: Co	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –
[107r–108v]	[109r–110v]	[111r–112v]	[113r–114v]	[115r–116v]	[117r–118v]
H 193	H 302	H 155	H 307	H 300	H 295
W 141	W 181	W 97	W 190	W 184	W 175
G 5,15	G 10,12	G 10,15	G 10,10	G 15,20	G 10,15
WM: –	WM: –	WM: (A)	WM: –	WM: –	WM: –
CM: A	CM: HD	CM: –	CM: –	CM: CC	CM: HD
[119r–122v]	[123r–124v]	[125r–126v]	[127r–128v]	[129r–130v]	[131r–132v]
H 195	H 303	H 198	H 153	H 186	H 303
W 142	W 183	W 145	W 94	W 140	W 190
G 5,15	G 10,15	G 5,15	G 10,10	G 5,15	G 15,20
WM: –	WM: –	WM: –	WM: –	WM: –	WM: –
CM: A	CM: †	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –

[133r–134v] H 306 W 180 G 10,15 WM: – CM: MC	[135r–136v] H 303 W 182 G 15,20 WM: – CM: –	[137r–138v] H 139 W 80 G –,– WM: – CM: –	[139r–140v] H 195 W 142 G 5,15 WM: – CM: –	[141r–142v] H 190 W 150 G 15,15 WM: – CM: –	[143r–144v] H 152 W 97 G –,– WM: – CM: –
[145r–146v] H 306 W 192 G 10,15 WM: – CM: FD	[147r–148v] H 210 W 142 G 10,15 WM: (I) CM: –	[149r–150v] H 308 W 185 G 10,20 WM: (B) CM: –	[151r–152v] H 303 W 185 G 20,25 WM: (Q) CM: –	[153r–154v] H 142 W 62 G –,– WM: – CM: –	[155r–156v] H 193 W 140 G 10,15 WM: – CM: –
[157r–158v] H 211 W 145 G 10,15 WM: – CM: –	[159r–160v] H 151 W 82 G 5,10 WM: – CM: –	[161r–162v] H 209 W 144 G 10,15 WM: – CM: –	[163r–164v] H 302 W 185 G 20,30 WM: (Q) CM: –	[165r–166v] H 150 W 97 G –,– WM: – CM: –	[167r–168v] H 205 W 149 G –,– WM: – CM: –
[169r–172v] H 194 W 145 G 10,15 WM: – CM: †	[173r–174v] H 304 W 185 G 15,20 WM: – CM: IV	[173ra–173rb] H 178 W 132 G –,– WM: – CM: –	[173rc–173rd] H 192 W 75 G –,– WM: – CM: –	[175r–176v] H 190 W 150 G 15,15 WM: (A) CM: –	[177r–178v] H 302 W 185 G 15,20 WM: (QA) CM: –
[179r–180v] H 165 W 100 G –,– WM: – CM: R	[181r–182v] H 152 W 94 G –,– WM: – CM: –	[183r–184v] H 305 W 210 G 15,40 WM: – CM: –	[185r–186v] H 152 W 90 G 20,– WM: – CM: –	[187r–188v] H 208 W 142 G 10,15 WM: – CM: –	[187ra–187rb] H 155 W 105 G –,– WM: – CM: –
[189r–190v] H 302 W 185 G 15,20 WM: – CM: –	[191r–192v] H 153 W 94 G 15,– WM: – CM: –	[193r–194v] H 305 W 184 G 15,24 WM: – CM: M	[195r–196v] H 303 W 189 G 15,24 WM: – CM: CC	[197r–198v] H 167 W 102 G 15,10 WM: – CM: –	[199r–200v] H 303 W 181 G 10,20 WM: – CM: GG
[201r–202v] H 308 W 198 G 10,20 WM: – CM: CB	[203r–204v] H 169 W 102 G 10,– WM: – CM: –	[205r–208v] H 195 W 145 G 10,10 WM: – CM: –	[209r–210v] H 164 W 104 G 18,– WM: – CM: –	[211r–212v] H 195 W 140 G 10,15 WM: – CM: –	[213r–214v] H 189 W 152 G 18,18 WM: – CM: –

[215r–216v]	[217r–218v]	[219r–220v]	[221r–222v]	[223r–224v]	[225r–226v]
H 167	H 307	H 307	H 191	H 294	H 156
W 110	W 188	W 188	W 140	W 174	W 91
G 15,–	G 15,20	G 10,5	G 10,13	G 10,15	G 15,–
WM: –	WM: –	WM: –	WM: –	WM: –	WM: –
CM: –	CM: GIW	CM: FD	CM: –	CM: HD	CM: –
[227r–228v]	[229r–230v]	[231r–232v]	[233r–234v]	[235r–236v]	[237r–238v]
H 304	H 305	H 305	H 194	H 189	H 192
W 179	W 184	W 185	W 133	W 150	W 144
G 15,24	G 20,25	G 10,17	G 10,12	G 15,17	G 20,17
WM: –	WM: (Q)	WM: –	WM: –	WM: –	WM: –
CM: M	CM: –	CM: †	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –
[239r–240v]	[241r–242v]	[243r–244v]	[245r–246v]	[247r–248v]	[249r–250v]
H 162	H 165	H 192	H 193	H 152	H 308
W 98	W 100	W 142	W 145	W 95	W 190
G 10,–	G 10,–	G 10,15	G 10,10	G –,–	G 15,20
WM: –	WM: –	WM: –	WM: –	WM: (K)	WM: –
CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: GIW
[251r–252v]	[253r–254v]	[255r–256v]	[257r–258v]	[259r–260v]	[261r–262v]
H 160	H 195	H 307	H 307	H 302	H 308
W 99	W 150	W 193	W 190	W 180	W 187
G –,–	G –,15	G 15,10	G 10,20	G 10,20	G 10,15
WM: (DD)	WM: –	WM: –	WM: (L)	WM: –	WM: –
CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: †
[263r–264v]	[265r–266v]	[267r–268v]	[269r–270v]	[271r–274v]	[274va–274vb]
H 304	H 302	H 304	H 193	H 300	H 187
W 187	W 191	W 189	W 143	W 190	W 74
G 10,17	G 15,20	G 10,15	G 10,15	G 20,25	G –,–
WM: –	WM: –	WM: –	WM: –	WM: –	WM: –
CM: –	CM: PCB	CM: †	CM: –	CM: M	CM: –
[275r–276v]	[277r–278v]	[279r–280v]	[281r–282v]	[283r–284v]	[285r–286v]
H 195	H 303	H 185	H 98	H 187	H 306
W 149	W 185	W 145	W 80	W 145	W 194
G 10,17	G 20,27	G 10,15	G 10,–	G 10,15	G 10,10
WM: –	WM: –	WM: –	WM: –	WM: –	WM: (I)
CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –
[287r–288v]	[289r–290v]	[291r–292v]	[293r–294v]	[295r–296v]	[297r–298v]
H 108	H 307	H 193	H 308	H 303	H 306
W 70	W 188	W 148	W 190	W 189	W 189
G 10,–	G 10,20	G 10,15	G 10,15	G 15,25	G 20,20
WM: –	WM: (L)	WM: –	WM: –	WM: –	WM: –
CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: MC	CM: M	CM: –

[297ra–297rb]	[299r–300v]	[301r–302v]	[303r–304v]	[305r–306v]	[307r–308v]
H 300	H 305	H 183	H 160	H 190	H 303
W 190	W 189	W 145	W 100	W 145	W 185
G 20,15	G 20,23	G 10,15	G 15,–	G 10,15	G 15,23
WM: –	WM: (X)	WM: –	WM: –	WM: –	WM: (L)
CM: –	CM: HG	CM: †	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –
[309r–310v]	[311r–312v]	[313r–314v]	[315r–316v]	[317r–318v]	[319r–320v]
H 194	H 301	H 190	H 193	H 191	H 150
W 145	W 183	W 77	W 155	W 149	W 100
G 10,15	G 15,20	G –,–	G 18,–	G 10,15	G –,–
WM: –	WM: (L)	WM: (A)	WM: –	WM: –	WM: –
CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –
[321r–322v]	[323r–324v]	[325r–326v]	[327r–328v]	[329r–332v]	[333r–334v]
H 305	H 151	H 300	H 306	H 197	H 303
W 187	W 94	W 182	W 190	W 152	W 195
G 15,20	G 20,–	G 15,23	G 15,10	G 15,15	G 20,20
WM: –	WM: –	WM: –	WM: (H)	WM: –	WM: (QA)
CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –
[335r–336v]	[337r–338v]	[339r–340v]	[341r–342v]	[343r–344v]	[345r–346v]
H 208	H 196	H 192	H 147	H 303	H 306
W 142	W 144	W 145	W 91	W 180	W 190
G 10,15	G 10,15	G 10,15	G –,–	G 15,20	G 10,10
WM: –	WM: (Q)	WM: –	WM: (K)	WM: (L)	WM: (I)
CM: –	CM: –	CM: †	CM: –	CM: –	CM: –
[347r–348v]	[349r–350v]	[351r–352v]	[353r–354v]	[355r–358v]	[359r–360v]
H 308	H 305	H 196	H 305	H 205	H 300
W 190	W 188	W 145	W 185	W 145	W 180
G 10,10	G 10,10	G 10,15	G 20,20	G 5,15	G 20,20
WM: –	WM: (I)	WM: –	WM: –	WM: (I)	WM: –
CM: BV	CM: –	CM: –	CM: CB	CM: –	CM: A

Watermark Notes:

(A), (AA): London Coat-of-Arms. For a description of these watermarks see *BA* 1:200

(B): Arms of England. For a description, see *BA* 1:200. This watermark in Psalms is missing the countersign.

(C), (F), (W): Lilies. This group of watermarks is described in *BA* 1:200–01.

(CC): This is an unidentifiable lily watermark. The mark is very faint, but very large.

(DD): Cross and Lions. The crown on this watermark, the three globes in the middle, and the split design of the crown itself are closest to item 65 in Churchill (p. XXXIX). Churchill can identify no date for this paper.

(H): Three Hats. This is a watermark consisting of 3 hats. The middle hat is raised above the other two and the stems from the bottom of the hats are wide.

It is closest to Churchill 486 (p. CCCLXI). This paper appears to date from between 1690 and 1700.

(I): Smolinski describes this watermark in Genesis, *BA* 1:201. He does not further identify it, but it appears closest to item 153 in Gravell's *Foreign Watermarks*.

(K): This major variant on the London Coat of Arms is described by Smolinski in *BA* 1:201.

(L): This is the horn watermark identified by Smolinski, *BA* 1:201–02. It is closest to item 315 (Churchill, p. CCXLIX).

(M): Crown AR. This watermark is an ornate, double-lined crown, topped with a small fleur-de-lis, with the capital letters AR beneath. This paper dates from the reign of Queen Anne (1702–1714). Churchill's similar mark (247, p. CCXVIII) uses a paper that dates from 1704; Gravell's copy of this mark (item 27, p. 31), dates from 1713. These two designs are distinguished by the cross-bar in the letter "A". The later design, reproduced in Gravell, has an "A" characterized by a down-ward pointing angle. This seems to be the case in the paper used by Mather.

(Q), (QA): Lilies. These are the variant lily watermarks identified by Reiner Smolinski. For the descriptions, see *BA* 1:202. The mark identified as Q is closest to item 390 (Churchill, p. CCLXXIX). In QA, the shield is narrower than in Q.

(U): This is a crown watermark with the letters GR beneath. This oft-copied design appears in numerous watermarks throughout the late 17th and early 18th centuries. It might indicate the reign of George I, although as Churchill notes (p. 47) in some cases paper makers put their own initials under the crown or those of the consignees of the product. Dating it is therefore problematic. The design in the paper used by Mather appears closest to the design reproduced by Gravell in *Foreign Watermarks*, item 292, page 95. The paper used by Gravell for his identification dates from 1706.

(X): This is the horn and shield, supplemented by the letters HG, described in *BA* 1:201–02. It is reproduced in Gravell, *Foreign Watermarks*, 338, page 106. The paper identified by Gravell dates from 1693.

Countersign Notes:

Many of the countermarks are identified by Smolinski in volume 1. Those that are not are discussed below.

BV: This countermark is a lower case "b" with a long-stemmed clover leaf and a capital V, all connected with the same central line radiating out to each letter. It is similar to the countermark for item 486 in Churchill, *Three Hats* (p. CCCLXI).

CB: This small countersign or crude watermark is a C connected to a B with a heart symbol joined at the bottom.

Co: This countersign has a capital C followed by a very small "o". The two are separated by a blank space of approximately 25 mm.

G: On page 57r of Psalm, the "G" countersign is much larger than other letters used as countersigns, and appears less sophisticated in design. It measures approximately 17mm x 14 mm.

GIW: This countersign consists of a G, I, & W all linked together.

IV: This countersign consists of an I and a V.

MC: This countersign is associated with a miscellaneous flower watermark in Churchill (see item 520, p. CCCLXXXIII). Churchill dates this paper to 1695.

PCB: This rough countersign or mark is a PC together followed by a space and then the letter B; it appears at the bottom of the manuscript page.

COMPANY: This countermark is described in *BA* 1:202. In the table above, it is indicated with the symbol †.

Editorial Principles

I have followed the editorial principles outlined in Volume 1 of the series, with one exception: in order to facilitate comparison of how Mather altered his views on the return of the Jews to their homeland, I have shown in footnotes the passages he excised or altered from Pierre Allix's *The Book of Psalms with the Argument of Each* (London, 1701).

PART 2

THE TEXT

Q. The Book of *Ezra*, begins with the Particle, *And*. A Remark upon it? v.1.
A. *Josephus* observes, “That *Moses* and a constant Succession of Prophets, wrote all along, the Jewish History of the Bible, till the Days of *Artaxerxes*.”¹

Behold, the Difference of the sacred History, from those of other Nations! Tis all along one Body of History; connected by several prophetic Scribes that wrote it; with such proper Additions, for Explanation, as could not be originally in the Ancient Books themselves. Thus at the End of the *Pentateuch*, the next Scribe, added what was needful & useful to be known; At the End of *Joshua*, the next Scribe did the Like.

Indeed many of the Books begin with a direct Note of Connection, *AND*: which our Translators conceal from the English Reader, under the Word, *NOW*. So the Books of, *Exodus*, *Leviticus*, *Numbers*, *Joshua*, *Judges*, 1. *Samuel*, 2. *Samuel*, 1. *Kings*, 2. *Kings*, 2. *Chronicles*, *Ezra*, and *Esther*, contrary to the Exemple of all profane Histories.²

| [blank]

[2v]

|

[3r]

Q. The Author of the Book of *Ezra*? v.1.
A. It was probably the same, that wrote, the Books of, *The Chronicles*. For he begins this Book, as he concluded those. And this was an Ancient Way of Writing, as *Grotius* observes out of *Polybius*, who concludes one Book, and Begins the next with the same Words.³

¹ This idea is from the work of Flavius Josephus in *Against Apion*. The thought occurs in book 1, chapter 1, paragraph 8. Hereafter, 1.1.8.

² See Robert Jenkin, *The Reasonableness and Certainty of the Christian Religion* (1721), vol. 1, pt. 2, ch. 9, pp. 203–04. Jenkin (1656–1727), was a clergyman and later Master of St. John's College, Cambridge. He was one of the nonjurors during the Revolution of 1688, who believed that their oath to James II prevented allegiance to William and Mary. As a result, Jenkin gave up his ecclesiastical positions, though he was allowed to continue to teach. He would later take the oath to Queen Anne, at which time he was elevated to Master of St. John's. *The Reasonableness and Certainty* was by far his most popular work, going through 6 English editions by 1734, with a French language edition being published in Amsterdam in 1696 (DNB).

³ The ultimate reference is to Grotius's *Annotata Ad Vetus Testamentum* (1644), which can be found in *Opera Omnia Theologica in Tres Tomos Divisa*. The remark occurs in his commentary on 2 Chron. 36:22. Grotius, however, cites Procopius (not Polybius) in the books on the Vandalic and Gothic wars (1:189). This remark is also reproduced in one of Mather's trusted reference works, John Pearson's *Critici Sacri* (2:2748). Grotius (1583–1645), one of the founders of international law, was during the seventeenth century suspected of Arminianism for his support of the Remonstrants and for advocating religious toleration during the Synod of Dort (ODCC). Despite this suspicion, he was vastly respected for his exegeses, which work their way into the *Critici Sacri* and thence into the “Biblia Americana.”

But the learned *Huetius*, is of the Opinion, That *Ezra* did not write the First Six Chapters of this Book, but some other Person. It is evident, they were written in the Time of *Darius*, when the Author speaks of himself, as then at *Jerusalem*. Chap. V. 3, 4, 5. Whereas *Ezra* went up, in the Reign of *Artaxerxes*. Chap. VII.1. And then, it is manifest that *Ezra* wrote the Four Last Chapters; as appears, Chap. VII.27, 28. IX.5. X.1. Therefore, when the Hebrew Doctors tell us, *Ezra* wrote this Book,⁴ methinks, they are to be understood concerning the latter Part of it.⁵

Q. *Cyrus?* v. 1.

A. This is that *Cyrus*, who, an hundred and forty Years before the Temple was destroy'd, and two hundred Years before he was born, was mentioned by Name, in the Prophecy of *Isaiah*; as designed by God for the Restoring of His People. 'Tis probable, *Daniel* show'd this Prophecy to *Cyrus*; which disposed him to sett forth the following Edict.⁶ Yea, there can be no doubt of it. The *First Year* here, is not the First Year of his Empire, For then the *Jewes* were not his Subjects; But the *First Year* after his Conquest of *Babylon*, where the *Jews* lived in Captivity.

Q. *The God of Heaven?* v. 1.

A. Mr. *Mede* observes, That before the Captivity, when they spoke of GOD, the usual Style was, *The Lord of Hosts*. But after the Captivity, the Style was, *The God of Heaven*.⁷

⁴ Students of the Talmud will recognize the allusion to that text. The Soncino Edition of the Talmud reads, "Ezra wrote the book that bears his name and the genealogies of the Book of Chronicles up to his own time" (Baba Bathra 15a).

⁵ The entire entry, including the mistaken reference to Polybius above, is drawn from Simon Patrick's *A Commentary upon the Historical Books of the Old Testament* (2:646). Huetius is Pierre-Daniel Huet (1630–1721), author of *Demonstratio Evangelica* (1679). As Mather does throughout the previous parts of his commentary, he here relies on Patrick's learning in order to further his own design of advancing an army of authors to prove the unique status of the Bible. Huet's examination of the authorship of Ezra appears in *Propositio* (prop.) 4, pp. 302–03. Simon, or Symon, Patrick (1626–1707) was Bishop of Ely and a well-known latitudinarian. Close to the Cambridge Platonists in outlook, he was famous for his many devotional and exegetical studies (*DNB*), and the Harvard Library owned several editions of his numerous works. Pierre-Daniel Huet was a French churchman and Bishop of Soissons (*EB*). His *Demonstratio Evangelica* forms the basis of Mather's arguments concerning the spread of religion from the sons of Noah into the ancient near-eastern world.

⁶ The explication of the verse to this point is from Patrick's *Commentary* (2:646). The exclamation that follows is Mather's aside.

⁷ The idea is from Joseph Mede's *Works*, bk. 1, discourse (disc.) 24, p. 90. It can be found in Mede's sermon on Luke 2:13, in which Mede identifies "*The God of Heaven*" or "*Deus caeli*" as a post-exilic synonym for "The Lord ... of Hosts," that is, the "King both of *Stars* and *Angels*." "*Deus Sabaoth*," he notes, occurs only before the captivity, while "*Deus caeli*" occurs only after. Mede cannot, however, account for the change except to say that it happened "for some reason." Mede (1586–1638), was a tremendously influential Hebraist particularly known for his studies

Quære, were not the Instruments which the pagan Emperours published, with this Expression then, composed, and præpared by Religious *Jews*?

Indeed (as Dr. *Patrick* notes) it is likely, that God who raised up the Spirit of *Cyrus* to be the peculiar Instrument of Restoring His People, did enlighten his Mind, to understand, that there was but *One GOD*; the same whom the *Jews* worshipped, and who spoke in the Holy Books that were shown unto him.

But *Artaxerxes* might call the Law of *Moses*, *The Law of the God of Heaven*; knowing, that the *Jews* worshipped no other God.⁸

|

[4v]

Q. *All his People?* v. 3.

A. *Josephus* tells us, That *Zorobabel* sent the Edict of *Cyrus*, into *Media*, to the rest of the Ten Tribes.⁹

Q. *Besides the Free-Will Offering for the House of God?* v. 4.

A. This be supposed, the Richer Sort of *Jews* would make, to assist their Poor Brethren; tho' they themselves, being well-settled in *Babylon*, did not think fitt to stir, till they saw, how those would succeed.¹⁰

Q. *The Vessels of the House of the Lord.* Was the *Ark* one of them? v. 7.

A. So some have thought. Because there were *Sacrifices* offered in the Second Temple; and particularly, those of the *Great Day of Expiation*, whereof the Law ordained, That the *Blood* should be sprinkled before the *Mercy-Seat*; which implied, that the *Ark* must be there.

But the *Jews* universally acknowledge; This was one of the *Five Things* wanting in the Second Temple. And unless the Divine *Glory* had been there also, the *Ark* would have signified little.

It is more likely (as Dr *Patrick* notes;) That by the Absence of these, God would signify, He was withdrawing His Presence from the House of Stone, to dwell in the *Temple* of the *Body* of our JESUS; who offered Himself to GOD, & putt an End unto the Figurative Sacrifices.¹¹

of biblical chronology and eschatology. John Milton and Henry More were among his pupils at Cambridge (*DNB*).

8 Again, the entire note is extracted from *Patrick* (2:647). In *Patrick*, though, *Cyrus* is a "Peculiar Instrument of the freeing his People from Slavery," whereas in *Mather*, *Cyrus* is an instrument of "Restoring his People." The change is slight, but significant to the degree that *Mather's* diction emphasizes the recovery of a former holy state, much as the related idea of reformation does the recovery of right church discipline.

9 This thought occurs in *Josephus's The Antiquities of the Jews* (11.4.1). See *Patrick, Commentary* (2:647). The idea is also contained in *Ussher's Annals*, p. 102.

10 *Patrick, Commentary* (2:647).

11 *Patrick, Commentary* (2:647–48).

1322.

Q. Who is meant, by, *Sheshbazzar, the Prince of Judah?* v. 8.

A. Why may it not bee, as many think, *Zorobabel*? Many chief Persons of the Jewes, had their *Nomina Chaldaea, et Aulica*, as well as their *Nomina Hebraea et Patria*, while they were in the *Babylonish* Captivity. *Zorobabel*, [i. e. A Stranger in *Babel*] was a name with much Piety and Sympathy worn, by this good Man, when yett hee was, as *Josephus* expressed, it, Σωματοφύλαξ, of the Emperors Life-Guard.¹² But hee might bee distinguished, by the other Name of *Sheshbazzar* [carrying the Omens of *Silk* and *Gold* & Riches, in the Signification of it] among the Courtiers.¹³

[5r]

Q. Finding here the Deliverance of *Israel*, from the Captivity in *Babylon*, it will bee seasonable for us, to enquire after what may bee *Typical* in this Deliverance? v. 8.

A. There were evangelical *Mysteries* figured out unto us, in the Dispensations of Heaven, towards the Church of the Old Testament. Our *Bible*, is a Book of *Mysteries*; it is very much a *seal'd Book* unto us, until wee come at those *Mysteries*.

Thus, the Deliverance out of *Babylon*, was a Type of our Deliverance from spiritual Bondage, by our Lord Jesus Christ. And hence the Prophets do seem to make a Transition from This to That, in their Mention of it.

But *Babylon* was also a Type of *Rome*; The *Deliverance* thence, was therefore a Type of the Churches Deliverance from the Yoke of Antichrist. That was a *gradual Work*; and so is This: The First Reformers were not Infallible; and they could not Reform all at once. That mett with Oppositions, and was carried on thro' grievous Difficulties. Especially a Mongrel-Generation, who yett beleev'd in the *Messiah*, clogg'd it wonderfully. All the World may see the Antitype at this day.¹⁴

[6v]

¹² Josephus, *Antiquities* (11.3.1). A literal translation of the Greek is "body-guard."

¹³ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:648).

¹⁴ Mather is closely paraphrasing the work of his uncle, Samuel Mather, *The Figures or Types of the Old Testament*, pp. 202–03. Samuel was the elder brother of Increase and Nathaniel. He immigrated to New England with the family, and graduated from Harvard with his MA in 1643. He was the first graduate of the College to be named a fellow, but he returned to England where he first served as chaplain to Thomas Andrewes, Lord Mayor of London, and later as chaplain at Magdalen College in Oxford. He became minister to St. Nicholas in Dublin, lecturer at Christ Church, and fellow at Trinity College in 1654. Although Samuel would accede to the Restoration, he was censured and deprived of his position after preaching a sequence of sermons in which he urged Charles II to assume the role of a reforming Hezekiah. His entire collection of sermons on the typology of the Old Testament was published in 1683 by his brother, Nathaniel (DNB).

Q. We read: *Thirty Chargers of Gold, a Thousand Chargers of Silver, Nine & Twenty Knives. Thirty Basons of Gold, Silver Basons of a second Sort, Four Hundred & Ten; and other Vessels a Thousand. All the Vessels of Gold and of Silver, were Five Thousand and Four Hundred.*

Now, lett us cash up:

The Parcels of	0030
	1000
	0029
	0030
	<u>0410</u>
The Summ is,	1499.

Add the other Vessels,	<u>1000</u>

The Summ is,	<u>2499.</u>

Which falls short of the Summ in the Text,	2901.

v. 10, 11.

A. It seems, that in that Clause, *And other Vessels a Thousand*: The Cardinal Number, *A Thousand*, is to be taken *Distributively*. Tis the Denomination of the *Value*, by which the other Vessels were Numbred. Q. D. The other Vessels, (which were of lesser Quality []) were reckoned by *Thousands*, & amounted to *Four Thousand*, wanting One Hundred. Here's the Account.

Summ total, of the Vessels numbred

by Name.

Summ total, of the remaining Vessels,

numbred by Thousands.

This makes up the Summ in the Text.

1499

3901.

5400.

Tremelius translates the Words; *other Vessels by Thousands*. And our *Mede* pleads for it, as a true Translation.¹⁵

¹⁵ This entry, including the reference to Tremellius, is drawn from Mede's *Three Treatises upon some Obscure Passages in Daniel* (Works, bk. 3, p. 700), though the idea also occurs in Patrick, who cites Mede (Patrick, *Commentary* 2:648). The triangulation of Mede, Patrick, and Mather exemplifies the shared nature of the expository enterprise in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Mather appears to rely more heavily on Mede at this point, however, because the 1677 edition of Mede's *Works* provides a ledger of the account very similar to Mather's, though the accounting of Mede is not so specific, since it occurs in a discussion of Hebrew numbering and its lack of the concept of mathematical distribution. Mede, like Mather, is therefore able to assert the consistency of two apparently contradictory accounts. Mede, in contrast to Mather at this point, is focused upon the meaning of the seventy-two weeks in Daniel, and uses this example to demonstrate the difficulties of translating between differing numbering systems. Immanuel Tremelius or Tremellius (1510–80) was an Italian Jew who converted to Christianity and who, along with Franciscus Junius (1545–1602), published an edition of scripture with marginal commentary that was considered definitive by exegetes well into the nineteenth cen-

Q. Was there any *Ark of the Covenant*, in the *Second Temple*? v. 11.

A. The Returned Jews, did make an *Ark* of the same Shape & Measures with the First; and putt it in the Most Holy Place. This was, that the Service might be regularly performed, on the Great Day of Expiation. Yett it enjoy'd none of the Honours that belonged unto the First. There were no Tables of the Law; no *Aarons Rod*; no Pott of *Manna*, near it; no Appearance of the Divine *Glory* over it; no *Oracles* given from it. The *First Ark* was made and consecrated by Divine Appointment, and was possessed of these Distinguishing Priviledges & Prærogatives; But the Second being made & substituted by Man only, had none of them. The only Use of it, was to represent the former, on the Great Day of Expiation; and be a Repository of the Holy Scriptures, that is, of the original Copy of that Collection made by *Ezra*, & the Men of the Great Synagogue, after the Captivity.

The Jews have in Imitation of it, a *Coffer* in all their Synagogues.¹⁶

tury (*SH*). This work, the *Biblia Sacra sive Libri Canonici Priscæ Judæorum Ecclesia a Deo Traditi* (1624), was held by the Harvard Library during Mather's lifetime. The edition available to me only numbers the recto pages. For the sake of convenience, when I reference this text I identify the recto pages as "a" and the verso pages as "b". See Tremellius and Junius, lib. 2, p. 92b.

¹⁶ Lewis, *Origines Hebrææ*, vol. 2, bk. 3, ch. 18, pp. 335–36.

Q. *Children of the Province.* What *Province*? v. 1.

A. Some understand *Babylon*. But it is more likely to be meant of *Judæa*; which was made a *Province*, when it was conquered, & *Gedaliah* constituted the Governour of it; and in this Book is called, *The Province of Judæa*. [Ezr. V.8.]¹⁷

Q. The Names of those that *came again* unto *Jerusalem* and *Judah*? v.1.

A. When their Land had been laid, & was now lying, so desolate, and such Bad Neighbours infested it, it was a great Peece of Generosity in those Men to return thither. Their Names are on that Account recorded, for the eternal Honour of them and their Posterity.

The *Nehemiah* here is not the same with him, whose Book succeeds to this. Or, if it were he, he again returned unto *Babylon*. And probably, the *Mordecai* is not the same that was *Esthers* Kinsman. There is another of that Name in the Book of the *Chronicles*.¹⁸

Q. The Children of *Arah*, seven hundred seventy & five? v. 5.

A. So many gave in their Names at *Babylon*, that they intended to return unto *Judæa*: But it seems, [Neh. VII.10.] there came no more thither, than six hundred & fifty two. It is to be supposed, that the rest altered their Minds, or died by the Way.

The Same is to be said upon several other Differences, between this Account, and that of *Nehemiah*.¹⁹

Q. The Children of *Gibbar*? v. 20.

A. In Neh. VII.25. tis *Gibeon*. They were the Citizens of that City. This is not the Name of a *Man*, but of a *Place*. And so are several that follow. For this Cause, tis thought by some, that the foregoing are not the Names of Men, but of Cities or Countreys; The People of which, are called, The *Children* of such Places. This is frequent in the Language of the Scripture. The *Children of Zion*; The *Children of Egypt*; The *Children of the East*.²⁰

Q. Of the Twenty Four Courses of the Priests, that were carried away to *Babylon*, we find only Four in the Return? v. 39.

¹⁷ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:648).

¹⁸ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:648).

¹⁹ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:648–49).

²⁰ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:649).

A. The Number, 4289 Persons. The rest either stayed behind, or were extinct. However, the old Number of Courses as established by *David*, were still kept up. For of the Four Courses that returned, each subdivided themselves into Six; and the New Courses taking the Names of those that were wanting, still kept up the old Titles. And hence it is that after this, *Mattathias* is reckoned, as of the Course of *Joarib*, and *Zacharias*, as of the Course of *Abiar*; tho' neither of these [8v] Courses were among them that returned.²¹ | The New Courses took the Names of the Old Ones, tho' they descended not from them. Only the Fifth Course, tho' of the Number of those that returned, changed its Name; and for that of *Malchijah*, under which it was established, it assumed the Name of *Pashur*; which is the Name of the Son instead of the Fathers.

The Jews have a common Saying, That it was only the Dregs of the People, who returned out of *Babylon*. And if we may guess at the Number of them who staid there, by the Family of *Aaron*, they must have been many more than those who settled again in *Judea*. Hence during all the time of the Second Temple, the Number of the Jews in *Chaldaea*, and *Assyria*, and *Persia*, was all along thought superiour, to the Number of the Jews in *Palestine*.²²

Q. *Solomons Servants*: Who? v. 55.

A. Some take them to have been originally descended from Slaves whom *Solomon* took in War & who afterwards were made Proselytes. But there was no such War in *Solomons* Dayes. Others therefore think, they were such of other Nations, as came to serve *Solomon* in servile Work, during the Building of the Temple; who being proselyted, he deputed them to the perpetual Conservation and Reparation of it; as *Joshua* had done the *Gibeonites*, to be Hewers of Wood, & Drawers of Water there. Or, they were some of the Reliques of the *Canaanites* who delivered up themselves to *Solomon*. [1. King. IX.20, 21.] Whoever they were, it appears, that they had the same Employment with the *Nethinims* about the Temple, or something like it; For they are Numbred with them.

To the Honour of these, & of the *Nethinims*, it must be observed; That tho' they were not of the Children of *Israel*, and were Despised by them, (there being Decrees made by the *Sanhedrin*, as the *Jews* tell us, That they should not marry with them,) yett they were more Forward to Return unto *Jerusalem*, and

²¹ See Neh. 12:19.

²² One possible source for this comment is Lightfoot, *Works* 2:799, but it probably depends upon Humphrey Prideaux's more thorough study of the return developed in *The Old and New Testament Connected in the History of the Jews* (1720), because Prideaux's wording is much closer to that of Mather's than is Lightfoot's. See Prideaux, pt. 1, bk. 3, pp. 136–37. The "common saying of the Jews" that it was the "bran" or dregs of the people who returned, while the "flour" remained behind can be found in the Babylonian Talmud, tractate Kiddushin (69b). Humphrey Prideaux (1648–1724) was Dean of Norwich. Like Ussher, who influenced him, Prideaux attempted to flesh out the chronology of the Hebrew people during the intertestamental period (*DNB*).

build the House of God, (where they were to serve in lower Ministries) than the *Levites* themselves. There were greater Numbers of these, than of the *Levites* and *Singers*.²³

Q. *He took a Wife of the Daughters of Barzillai, & was called after their Name?* v. 61.

A. This Person thought it so great an Honour, to be descended from such a Noble Family as that of *Barzillai*, that he chose to be called by that Name, which he preferred before his own, in the Family of the *Priests*. By this vain Ambition, he lost his Title to the Priesthood; because he could not make out his Pedigree from the *Priests*, but only from *Barzillai*.²⁴

Q. Wee read, that the Number of them which Returned from the Babylonish Captivity, were 42360: Now if any Man will please to cash up the particular Sums of the several Families of *Judah* & *Benjamin* there mentioned, hee will find them 12000 short of that Number: Where then, or How, shall wee supply the Account? v. 64.

A. Hear how the Quæstion is Resolved in the great Jewish Chronicle, sett forth not long after the Time of our Saviour. *Ubi ergò sunt Duodecim Mille? In ijs sunt qui Ascenderunt de Reliquis Tribubus*. Seder Olam, Rabba. c. 29.

Or, they might be *Levites*, or other *Israelites*, who could not make out their Descent. This, our Dr. *Patrick*, takes for a very solid Answer.²⁵

Q. A Remark on the Time of the Return? v. 70.

A. From the Death of *Gedaliah*, the Land had now lain uncultivated Fifty Two Years: According to the Number of *Sabbatical Years*, the Observation whereof they had neglected. This tells us, how long the Jews had neglected the Law of the *Sabbatical Year*. Fifty Two Sabbatical Years, or Weeks of Years, make Three Hundred Sixty Four Years. This carries up the Computation, to the Beginning of *Asas* Reign. If we reckon the whole *Seventy Years* of the Captivity into those Years of Desolation, which were to make Amends for the lost *Sabbatical Years*, this

²³ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:650).

²⁴ See Pierre Allix (Alix), *Reflexions upon the Books of the Holy Scripture*. Allix notes that “after the *Babylonian* Captivity, some particular persons were excluded from the Priestly order, to which they pretended, because they could not make out their Pedigree” (vol. 1, pt. 2, pp. 221–22). The note itself, of course, is taken from Patrick, *Commentary* (2:650). Allix (1641–1717) was a French Huguenot pastor who immigrated to England at the urging of Gilbert Burnet. Many of Allix’s most important works, including the *Reflexions*, were published first in French (as *Reflexions sur les livres de l’écriture sainte*, in 1687) and later translated into English.

²⁵ The *Seder Olam* is the first post-exilic chronicle of Jewish history. A loose translation is provided by Patrick: “But where shall we find them [the missing twelve thousand], say the *Jews* in *Seder Olam Rabba*, Cap. xxix? To which they there answer, “That they were of the rest of the Tribes of *Israel*, who came up with those of *Judah* and *Benjamin*” (2:651).

will amount unto Four Hundred & Ninety Years. But this will carry us higher than the Time of *David* & of *Samuel*: who, it may be thought would hardly have permitted such a Sin in the Land.²⁶

[9r]

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Q. A Remark on the Summ to which the *Free-Will-Offerings* amounted? v. 70.²⁷

A. Besides an hundred Vestments for the Priests, the sixty one thousand Drams of Gold, and five thousand Minas of Silver, came to about seventy five thousand & five hundred Pounds of our English Money.

A great Sum to be raised by so small a Number of People; and on their first Return from their Captivity; Especially if they were, as the Rabbins affirm, only of the poorer Sort. It must be supposed, That these Offerings were made by the whole Nation of the Jews; that is, by those who staid behind, as well as by those who returned; Else it will not be easy to solve the Matter.²⁸

As long as the Temple stood, we know, every Jew all over the World, annually paid half a Shekel to it.

[10v]

| [blank]

²⁶ Humphrey Prideaux, *Old and New Testament Connected*, pt 1, bk. 3, pp. 108–09.

²⁷ This is verse 69 in the KJV.

²⁸ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:652).

Q. Their *Setting the Altar upon its Bases*? v. 3.

A. They did it, before they began to lay the Foundation of the Temple; For, they would not want *Sacrifices*, while that was abuilding.

What they now did, *Maimonides* tells us, was done by the Authority of the Prophets, who were then among them.

It seems, until the *Temple* could be built, they erected a *Tabernacle*, wherein the Service of God might be performed, as it was before the Building of *Solomons*. It stood, not on Mount *Moriah*, but on Mount *Zion*; and therefore the *Altar* was there, & not in the Place where it anciently stood.²⁹

For Fear was upon them.] Dr. *Patrick* thinks, it had better be rendred; *Tho' Fear was upon them*. Their great Fear from their evil Neighbours, would not make them to desist from Restoring the Worship of God.

But as our Translation stands, it ha's a very good Meaning; That they were the more zealous to Restore the Worship of God, that they might on all Occasions flee to Him, for Succour against their Enemies, of whom they were *in Fear*.³⁰

This is *Munsters* Gloss upon it; *Ut scilicet cum holocaustis Deum invocantes illius auxilium sentirent contra inimicos suos*.³¹

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[11v]

Q. The loud Ejulations of the *Ancient Men*, who *had seen the First House*? v. 12.

A. Many might have seen it; For it was but about threescore Years, since the Burning of it. And some of them lived long after this, which was the First Year

²⁹ This may be a reference to a later chapter in *Doctor Perplexorum* (*The Guide for the Perplexed*), in which Maimonides accounts for the central place of Jewish worship changing from Mount Moriah to Jerusalem (pt. 3, ch. 45, pp. 474–75). Maimonides, however, does not explicitly mention the rebuilding of the altar in Ezra. Jurieu, in *A Critical History of the Doctrines and Worship*, however, does discuss the original site on Moriah and its eventual relocation to Zion (vol. 1, ch. 3, p. 297).

³⁰ The annotation to this point, including the reference to Maimonides, is from Patrick, *Commentary* (2:652–53).

³¹ Munster is Sebastian Münster (1488–1552), author of *Hebraica Biblia* (1546), a two volume translation of Hebrew scripture owned by the Mathers. Miles Coverdale made extensive use of Münster's Latin translation in the Great Bible (1539), and much of it is reproduced in Pearson's *Critic Sacri* (ODCC). See Pearson (2:2753). Mather truncates Münster's gloss, which in full reads, "Et in hoc mense extruxerunt altare propter terrorem hostium, ut scilicet cum holocaustis Deum invocantes illius auxilium sentirent contra inimicos suos." In English, "And in this month they built up the altar because of fear of their enemies in order that, of course, when calling upon God with whole-burnt-offerings they might sense His help against their enemies."

of *Cyrus*. For some, as *Huetius* observes, prolonged their Dayes, till the Second Year of *Darius Hydaspes*, which was Eighteen Years after this.³²

The Temple was intended now, to be built as large as the former, on the same Foundation: yett there were not such goodly Stones, to lay for the Foundation, as there were for *Solomons*. Nor could they hope to build it with a Magnificence comparable to his; nor was there any Appearance of the *Divine Glory*, or a Priest with *Urim* and *Thummim*; and such like Things.

All this was very sad. Yett, (as Dr. *Patrick* observes,) it ought not to have made them weep so loud, & interrupt the public Joy. Thankfulness for small Beginnings, would have better become them, than Complaints, that their Condition was no better.³³

³² Huet, *Demonstratio Evangelica*, prop. 4, p. 451.

³³ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:654).

Q. We are now troubled with the *Samaritans*. Lett us if we can gett some Good out of 'em.

I suppose, we have already elsewhere allow'd them a *Typical* Consideration. May not that be a little further prosecuted? v. 1.

A. We must not *superfine* upon such a Matter. But there is one *Reizius*, who ha's been a little curious in some Speculations, upon the *Types*, which we may behold in the *Samaritans*. And because the *Curiosities* are a little singular, (& indeed some of them are more singular than considerable,) I thought it not altogether amiss, a little to consider them.

He saies, In the *Samaritans* you may see a Notable Type of the *Papists*. For, The Head of the *Papists*, calls him / שֹׁמֵר / Their *Keeper*, (tho' he be the *Foolish Shepherd*, Zech. 11.15) which is the Name, from whence that of the *Samaritans* is derived; / שָׁמַר / *custodire*.

The *Samaritans* erected a peculiar *Temple*, with a Grant from *Alexander* the Great; The *Papists* have done like it, pretending a Grant from *Constantine* the Great.

The *Samaritans* adjoined the Worship of other Gods, to the Worship of the *True God*. The *Papists* permitt their pagan Converts, to do so too.

The *Samaritans* practised a superstitious Will-Worship in Mount *Gerizzim*. The *Papists* do the same.

The *Samaritans* worshipped, they *knew not what*. And so do the *Papists* in their *Transubstantiation*.

But *Reizius*, to spin the Matter a little finer, saies, That the Comparison may yett be more observably carried on, between the *Samaritans* and the *Lutherans*; and this Præface he makes unto it; *Quod tamen sine ullo Odio, sed solo Veritatis impulsu dictum esto; nemo non enim videbit, rem ex asse quadrare, et Ovum ovo vix similius esse.*

The *Samaritans* did go forth from Captivity under the Empire of *Babylon*; but after another Manner than the *Jewes*. The Comparison is evident.

The *Samaritans* had an implacable Hatred unto the *Jewes*. The Comparison still is evident.

The *Samaritans* erected a Temple in *Gerizzim*, and forbad any of their People to go unto the Jewish Worship & Meetings. The Comparison still evident.

The *Samaritans* did all they could, to obstruct, and to destroy the Interests of Religion among the *Jewes*. *Ità quoque Lutherani*, saies *Reizius*; and adds, *profecto pudet me talia de iis, quos Fratrum numero accipimus, dici potuisse.*

| The *Samaritans* agreed with the *Jewes*, in many important Points and Practices of Religion. Still the Comparison holds. [14v]

But in many things the *Samaritans* agreed with the *Babylonians*. This also is far from spoiling the Comparison.

Briefly the *Samaritans* had many things in common with *Hereticks*, with *Idolaters*, & with the *Orthodox*, And so truly have the *Lutherans*.

But you'll say, That *Reizius* is Resolved upon a more than Ordinary *Particularitie* indeed, when he will have, *Jehu*, the Famous King of the *Samaritans*, to be a Type of *Luther*.

Jehu was first a Servant of *Jezebel*; and so was *Luther*, of the Church of *Rome*.

Jehu was anointed and employ'd of God, to pull down the Idolatry of *Jezebel*; and so was *Luther*, for that of the Church of *Rome*.

Jehu burned with a mighty *Zeal* against the *Baalitish* Idolaters. The Flame of *Luther* was as great against the *Romish*.

And yett neither of them at first intended to carry the Matter so far, as they afterwards found it necessary to do.

Luther persecuted the *Monks*, the true Grandchildren of the *Baalites*, as much as *Jehu* did the Priests of *Baal*, themselves.

But *Jehu* took not away the *Calves* of *Dan* and *Bethel*. And *Luther* left *Images* in the Churches of his Reformation.

Some therefore, who apprehend very remote Intentions in the *Spirit of Prophecy* consider the *Reformed*, when they read of *Judah*, and the *Lutherans*, when they read of *Israel*, or *Ephraim*; in many Passages of the Prophets; and especially, the Prophet *Hosæa*.

These are *Cocceian Flights*.

And it adds a little unto the Perfection of our Amassment of *Illustrations*, that we take some notice of them.³⁴

³⁴ These remarks are from an edition of a work of Thomas Goodwin or Godwin (1586/7–1642): *Moses & Aaron, seu Civiles & Ecclesiastici Ritus Antiquorum Hebraeorum* (1710). Editions of this work published in English as *Moses and Aaron: Civil and Ecclesiastical Rites Used by the Ancient Hebrews* do not include the footnotes prepared by Johann Heinrich Reitz, a radical German Pietist. Although I have not been able to determine where Mather might have seen one of the several European editions of Goodwin's work, he is copying at this point from Reitz's notes. They can be found in the fifth edition of *Moses & Aaron* published at Bremen in 1710 in footnote 11 of lib. 1, cap. 11, pp. 118–20. The first Latin quotation is a request from Reitz for astute perception on the part of his reader: "Let it be said without any hate but only from the pressure of truth; for many a one will see that the account is exact to the penny, and that an egg is scarcely more similar to an egg [as the Lutherans are to the Catholics]." The second Latin phrase reads, "I am certainly ashamed that such things can be said of these whom we receive in the number of our brethren." Reitz (1655–1720) was at first an orthodox Lutheran who repudiated that church after a mystical conversion. Thereafter, he decried all orthodoxy, advocating instead an inner light undimmed by creeds. He published his first Latin translation of Goodwin's *Moses and Aaron* in 1684 (*SH*). For Reitz's views of translation, see Sheehan, *The Enlightenment Bible* (64–70). שָׁמְרָה [shamrah] (fem. noun) "a guard, watch;" שָׁמַר [shamar] (verb) "keep watch, stand guard." שֹׁמֵר [shomer] is a proper name (see 2 Kings 12:21).

However, about such Things, we shall do well to remember that cautious Rule;

*Nec nihil, nec omnia.*³⁵

Q. The *Samaritans* assert, That *Esarhaddon* was he who *brought them hither*? v. 2.

A. *Esarhaddon* was the Grandson of *Salmanasser*, by whom the Countrey was depopulated. Is it probable, that the Countrey lay waste & uninhabited so many Years as were between the Grandfather and the Grandson? Methinks, They who were sent by *Esarhaddon* might be a second Colony.³⁶

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[15r]

Q. Why would the *Samaritans* be so fond of *Building with the Jews*? v. 2.

A. This People, doubtless, were desirous to partake of the Priviledges which were granted unto the *Jews* by the King of *Persia*. They were not of the same Religion with the *Jews*, as they pretended; For tho' they worshipped God, yett they joined other Gods with Him; And therefore they could not be Admitted unto Communion with them at the Temple.³⁷

Q. *They hired Counsellors against them.* What Counsellors? v. 5.

A. They bribed some of the Council of the King of *Persia*, to obstruct the Work. A frequent Mischief in Courts, as tis noted by *Grotius*.³⁸ Or, perhaps, they were some of the Officers of the King of *Persia*, in *Samaria*, and *Syria*, and *Judæa*, whom they corrupted, that they might cross the Design which was now carrying on.

This Retardation of the *Temple* continued all the Dayes of *Cyrus King of Persia*; who being engaged in War, with the *Lydians* and *Scythians*, could not attend such an Affayr as this. His Son *Cambyses* would not regard it; For he was no Friend unto the *Jews*, nor their Religion.

Anon, *Darius* the Son of *Hystaspis*, killing the *Magi* (who after *Cambyses*, had possessed themselves of the Kingdome) was made King. He married *Artessa* the Daughter of *Cyrus*; and loving her very much, confirmed the Decree of *Cyrus*, & followed his Steps, that he might stand the safer himself.³⁹

Q. What may be the Interpretation of that Passage; *The Letter was written in the Syrian Tongue, & interpreted in the Syrian Tongue*? v. 7.

³⁵ "Neither nothing nor everything."

³⁶ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:655).

³⁷ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:654).

³⁸ Grotius, *Opera* (1:191).

³⁹ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:655).

A. They sent a Brief Address to the King, in the *Syrian* Tongue, and expounded the Business more largely, to some of his Counsellors, in the Same Tongue.

Or, by the first, we may understand, the *Character*. By the latter, we may understand the *Language*. They wrote, both in *Syrian* Letters, and in *Syrian* Words.

Syrian Words are sometimes written in *Hebrew* Characters, as *Hebrew* Words are in *English*.⁴⁰

[16v]

Q. The Nine Nations? v. 9.

A. These Nine Nations, came out of *Assyria*, *Persia*, *Media*, *Susana*; and other Provinces of that vast Empire; who with one Consent joined in this Petition. For, perhaps the King being loth to do any thing hastily upon the motion of the former Letter, sent to have the Opinion of all those Nations, or the principal Persons among them; and of all others, on this Side the River *Euphrates*.⁴¹

Q. *The Great and Noble Asnapper*; Who was he? v. 10.

A. Some take *Asnapper* to be another Name for *Salmanasser*; or for *Esarhad-don*, who sent those Colonies thither. But there is more cause to think, he may be some great Commander, who was entrusted by One or Both of those Kings, to conduct them, and *bring them over* (the River *Euphrates*;) and see them settled in these Colonies.⁴²

Q. *They have sett up the Walls thereof*? v. 12.

A. This was a meer Calumny. They attempted no such thing, as to build the Walls of *Jerusalem*. *Huetius* observes, They speak in Ambiguous Terms, concerning the Building of the City. They *sett up the Walls of their Houses*; but not *the Walls of the City*.⁴³ To stop the *Work of the House of God*, was what they aim'd at; and they gain'd their Aim.

Q. We have *Maintainance from the Kings Palace*? v. 14.

A. In the Hebrew tis, *We are salted with the Salt of the Palace*: That is, as *Junius* translates it, They *received their Salary* from the King. It seems, They received their stipend in *Salt*, [From whence called, *A Salary*!] which the Son of *Sirach*, mentions among the Things necessary to Humane Life. (Ecclus. XXXIX.31.)

⁴⁰ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:655).

⁴¹ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:655).

⁴² Patrick, *Commentary* (2:655).

⁴³ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:655–56). See also Huet, *Demonstratio Evangelica*, prop. 9, p. 660.

And *Homer* calls it, *A Divine Thing*; Because, as *Plutarch* expounds it, it seasons all Food, and gives a Relish to it.⁴⁴

Q. When was the Complaint, that procured this Letter? v. 23.

A. Dr. *Patrick* cites Dr. *Alix*, as proving from the Silence about the Decree of *Cyrus* on this Occasion; That this Complaint was not moved until the Beginning of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, who began to Reign LXXI Years, after the Edict of *Cyrus* was published.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ The reference to *Plutarch* (who cites *Homer*) is from *Plutarch's Quaestiones convivales* (5. 10). The entire remark, including the reference to *Ecclesiasticus*, is of course taken almost verbatim from *Patrick, Commentary* (2:656). For *Junius*, see *Testamenti Veteris, Biblia Sacra*, lib. 2, p. 93b.

⁴⁵ *Patrick, Commentary* (2:657).

Q. The Prophecies of *Haggai*, and *Zechariah*? v. 1.

A. *Zechariah* was the Grandson of *Iddo*.

What we render, *Even unto them*, should rather be rendred, *Against them*.

The *Second Year of Darius*, which is the Date of these Prophecies, was, (as Dr. *Patrick* observes from Dr. *Alix*) a *Sabbatic Year*; From which, there were *Seven Weeks*, or Forty Nine Years, as well for the Rebuilding of the Walls of *Jerusalem*, which was in the XX of *Artaxerxes*, as for settling a right Policy in Church and State, which was finished by *Nehemiah*, in the XXXII of *Artaxerxes*, which was also a *Sabbatic Year*. And from this *Second Year of Darius*, he thinks, is the True Beginning of the LXII Weeks, that were to run along, till the Appearing of the *Messiah*.⁴⁶

It may not be improper here to Remark; That the CXLVI, and, CXLVII, and, CXLVIII, Psalms were probably sung, at the *Dedication* of the *Second Temple*. For in our Greek Version, they are called, The *Psalms* of *Haggai* and *Zechariah*; as if they had been composed by them for this Occasion. In the Hebrew, the *Psalms* have no such Title præfixed unto them; neither have they any other to contradict it.⁴⁷

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⁴⁶ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:657); Alix, *Reflexions*, vol. 2, pt. 1, pp. 95–97.

⁴⁷ Humphrey Prideaux, *Old and New Testament Connected*, pt. 1, bk. 3, p. 191.

Q. *The Roll found at Achmetha?* v. 2.

A. It was afterwards called *Ecbatana*; where the Kings of *Persia* sometimes kept their Court. Here was found a Volumn concerning the Affairs of *Judea*. This was a fair proceeding in *Darius*; That he did not presently Decree against them; when there could not any thing that they alledged, be found in *Babylon*; but caused a Search to be made in another Place, where, he knew, Records were preserved.⁴⁸

Q. *Lett the Expences be given out of the Kings House?* v. 4.

A. Yett we do not find, that the Jews made use of his Bounty, as *Pellicanus* observes; Because they would not provoke too much the Envy of the *Samaritans*; who were Angry at his Kindness to them. They carried on the Work, at their own Cost, until *Darius* now commanded they should have what they Desired out of his Revenue; to finish what they had begun.⁴⁹

Q. *The King and his Sons?* v. 10.

A. *Darius* the first, had no Sons. *Darius* the second, had Sons; namely, *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, and *Cyrus* the Younger; these were great Persons, and Reigned in a Manner with him.⁵⁰

Q. The Nature of that Penalty; *The Timber being sett up, Lett him be hanged thereon?* v. 11.

A. *Lud. De Dieu* observes, That there is no Construction in those Words, which we render, *Being sett up*. He would therefore have them Translated after the LXX. *And Standing, Lett him be Beat upon it*; whipp'd at the Post, as the manner was among the *Persians*, and other Nations. Only among the *Jews*, they that were Beaten, did not stand, but lay down. [Deut. XXV.2.] But if a greater Punishment must be intended; then he makes the First Words refer to the *Wood*, and the Latter to the *Man*. *And from above Lett it fall upon him*. That is, The Stake being lifted up | shall be struck into his Body, & come out at his Funda-

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⁴⁸ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:659), claims that the action of Darius “argued a great goodness,” while Mather concentrates on the fairness of the Persian monarch. Mather, in other words, is more concerned with Darius as a political ruler; Patrick underscores the moral quality of Darius’s character.

⁴⁹ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:659). Pellicanus is Conrad Pellicanus or Conrad Kürsner (1478–1556), who wrote a seven volume commentary on the Bible (1532–39) from which Patrick is here drawing (BBK).

⁵⁰ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:660).

ment. This was a cruel Punishment among the Eastern People, and still is continued there.

The Rebuilding of the Demolished House, is here also Forbidden. Thus the *Romans* pull'd down the Houses of very wicked Men; for instance, of *Sp. Cassius*, and of *Ovidius Pollio*.⁵¹

⁵¹ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:660). Lud. de Dieu is Ludovicus de Dieu, the elder (1590–1642), author of *Animadversiones in Veteris Testamenti Libros Omnes* (1648), pp. 237–39. Sp. Cassius is Spurius Cassius, who was executed for treason in Rome in 485 B. C. E. A temple was afterward erected on the ruins of his house. Patrick's source for this information is probably Titus Livy, *Ad urbe condita libri* (2.41). Ovidius Pollio is likely Vedius Pollio, whose house, Cassius Dio reports in *Historia Romanae* (54.23), was razed by Augustus in 15 B. C. E.

Q. *Ezra the Son of Serajah?* v. 1.

A. He was not the Immediate Son of *Serajah*. *Serajah* perished, when *Jerusalem* was taken by the Chaldæans [2. King. XXV.18, 21]; which was doubtless before *Ezra* was born. He was then his Grandson, or Great Grandson. His Descent from him is mentioned, because he was an eminent Person, who flourished before the Destruction of the Temple; whereas his Father or Grandfather lived obscurely in their Captivity.⁵²

Had *Ezra* been but one Year old, when *Serajah* was kill'd by *Nebuchadnezzar*, he must now have been one hundred & thirty two. And yett we find him alive in the Time of *Nehemiah*, fifteen Years after, & then able to undergo great Fatigues. Wherefore the Text here is to be understood, as where any Descendent is called the *Son* of the Ancestor. Thus in this very Place, *Azariah* is called, The Son of *Meraioth*; altho' there were six between them.

Q. *A Ready Scribe?* v. 6.

A. A *Scribe*, as *Buxtorf* notes, not from Transcribing, or Describing, but from Declaring and Explaining the Things that are contained in the Scripture. *Sepher* signifies, *A Book*; and, *Sopher*, one learned and skilful in that Book. And there not being any Book that was comparable to the Law of God, this Name was one of an Uncommon Dignity. Thus the Γραμματεῖς, in the New Testament, were those that Instructed the People.⁵³

A *Ready Scribe*; Inasmuch as he was Expert in the Law, & understood it thoroughly; in all things relating both to the Priesthood, and the Civil Power.⁵⁴

Q. *The Kings Grant?* v. 6.

A. The Jews, in grateful Remembrance of the Favour, the Kings of *Persia* shew'd them, in Permitting and Assisting them to Rebuild the Temple, caused a Figure of the City and Palace of *Shushan* (which was the Residence of those Kings,) to be made in Brass, in the East-Gate of the Temple, which looked towards *Persia*. So we read in the *Talmud*, in the Treatise *Middoth*.⁵⁵

⁵² Patrick, *Commentary* (2:662). Patrick appears to rely here on Matthias Prideaux's *An Easy and Compendious Introduction* (ch. 5, sect. 2, p. 35). Patrick is alluding to a work begun by the elder Johannes Buxtorf (1564–1629) and completed by his son, also named Johannes (1599–1664), *Tiberias sive Commentarius Masoreticus* (1618), cap. 10, p. 93.

⁵³ Grammateus, a writer or secretary.

⁵⁴ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:662). Patrick references Buxtorf's *Tiberias*.

⁵⁵ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:662). The Mishnah tractate Middoth 1.3 identifies the eastern gate as having over it a representation of the palace of Susa. The Menachoth of *Seder Kodoshim* notes, "We have learnt elsewhere: The eastern gate on which was portrayed the palace of Shushan.

Q. The Tenour of this large Commission? v. 14.

A. By this Commission, there was granted unto the Jewish Nation, an *Αυτονομία*, A Liberty to live by their own Lawes, and to judge all Causes according to them. And in the Conclusion there is granted them also an *Αυτοδικία*, a Power to sentence Men according to their own Lawes.⁵⁶

[22v]

Q. *Artaxerxes* paies a very pious Regard unto the God of *Israel*? v. 23.

A. Here *Jacobus Capellus*, in a Kind of Rapture cries out: *O Verba, aureis Regum Palatiis inscribenda; atque adeò stylo Adamantino fidelium omnium animis insculpanda!*⁵⁷

This *Persian* King, is Evidently possessed with a greater Dread of the Displeasure of God, than the Kings of *Judah* themselves generally were, before the Captivity.⁵⁸

[**]⁵⁹

Q. *Sett Magistrates & Judges*? v. 25.

A. Such as *Moses* ordered; Deut. XVI.18. Here seems to be the Original of the *Sanhedrin*; which continued but weakly, till the Time of the *Maccabees*.⁶⁰

What was the reason for this? – R. Hisda and R. Isaac b. Abdimi [offered different opinions]. One said, So that they be ever mindful whence they came; the other said, So that the fear of the dominant power be ever before them” (Menachoth 98a).

⁵⁶ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:663).

⁵⁷ “O words to be inscribed on golden palaces of kings and to be engraved with so sturdy a stylus upon the souls of all the faithful!” The words are from a work of Jacobus Capellus (1570–1624), or Jacques Capell (Cappel), *Historia Sacra et Exotica* (1613), lib. 2, p. 294. Capell was also known for a commentary he wrote with his brother, Louis (Ludovicus Capellus, 1585–1658), entitled *Commentarii et notae criticae in Vetus Testamentum* (1689) (*SH*).

⁵⁸ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:664).

⁵⁹ See Appendix A. The excised entry also derives from Patrick. Mather appears to have removed this note because he was unconvinced by it. In his annotations on Esther, Mather wrestles mightily with the identity of Esther’s husband.

⁶⁰ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:664).

Q. The *Nethinims*, at the *Place Casiphia*? v. 17.

A. 'Tis very unlikely, what *Stephanus Morinus* lately advances; That this Place, was in the Countrey of the *Caspii*; a People that gave Denomination unto the *Caspian* Sea. This was too far off. They went unto a Place in the Province of *Babylon*, where they did a great deal of Business, & returned in the Space of Twelve Dayes. The Truth is, (as Dr. *Alix* observes) the *Levites* were not among the *Ten Tribes*, but in *Chaldaea*.⁶¹ And it may be, some of them were transported, into *Parthia*, where was a City called *Caspi*, known to the old Geographers.

As to the *Nethinims* in this Place, R. *Solomon* and others, thus translate the Words. *He told them, what they should say to Iddo, and his Brethren*, (or, to *Achio*,) *who were constituted in the Place Casiphia*. It is plain, they were not *Nethinims*. *Iddo*, was called *Harosh*, a Prince or Chief, among the *Levites*. By his Authority, *Ezra* expected, some *Levites*, whom he wanted, to accompany him unto *Jerusalem*, should be sent unto him; as they were. Now none of the *Nethinims* were Chiefs, or Præsidents of the *Levites*; but their Servants, Ministers, Attendants. The Word *Nethinim*, therefore signifies, Men *Appointed*, to live among the Jews of that Place.⁶²

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[24v]

Q. The Value of the Treasure, which *Ezra* was afraid of being waylaid for? v. 26.

A. The Value of the *Silver Talents*, was two hundred fourty three Thousand seven hundred & fifty Pounds.

The Value of the *Silver Vessels* was thirty seven thousand and five hundred Pounds.

The *Gold* in *Coin* was in Value four hundred & fifty thousand Pounds.

⁶¹ Pierre Allix implies this thought in several places, though I cannot find it so directly stated. The closest approximation is an aside of Allix in his discussion of Judah's prominence in Hebrew history. There, Allix remarks that Judah "almost swallowed up *Benjamin* and *Levi*, who settled in their Country; and indeed *Josephus* assures us, That there were but few of the Ten Tribes who came back again into *Judea* under *Ezra*, for the greatest part of them stayed beyond *Euphrates*" (vol. 2, pt. 1, p. 66).

⁶² The whole annotation, including the citation of *Stephanus Morinus*, Allix and Rabbi *Solomon*, is from Patrick's *Commentary* (2:666). *Stephanus Morinus* is Etienne Morin, author of *Exercitationes de Lingua Primæva* (1694). Rabbi *Solomon* (1040–1105) is Solomon ben Isaac (known too by the acronym of his name, "RASHI"), a medieval commentator of scripture and the Talmud (*EB*). The translation quoted by Patrick and reproduced by Mather remains standard in English versions of the Tanakh, or Jewish scripture.

Besides which, those twenty Basins of *Gold*, of a thousand Drams; and two Vessels of fine *Copper*, as Valuable as *Gold*.

Q. *Doing according to their Abominations?* v. 1.

A. *Doing*, is not in the Hebrew. There it runs thus; *They have not separated themselves from the People of the Land, according to their Abominations*. Which Mr. Mede rightly interprets, *According to the several kinds of Idolators, in the Land round about them*.⁶³

Q. The Import of that Phrase; *Our Iniquities are increased over our head?* v. 6.

A. It is a Metaphor taken from Deep Waters wherein Men are Drowned, and Ready to Perish.⁶⁴

Q. That Expression, *Our Trespass is grown up unto the Heavens?* v. 6.

A. *Quære*, whether there may not be something of this Importance in it; “The Number of our *Sins* is grown as great as that of the *Stars* in the Heavens.”⁶⁵

Q. What means, *A Nail in His Holy Place?* v. 8.

A. *Tents* were fastned by *Nails* or *Pins*, unto the Ground. It signifies, A *settled Abode* after long Banishment.⁶⁶

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[26v]

Q. *A Wall in Judah & Jerusalem*. Was the *Wall* of the City built, before *Nehe-miah* came? v. 9.

A. The Hebrew Word *Gedar*, does not properly signify, *A Wall*, but an *Hedge*, or *Fence*; namely such as were made for the Folds of Sheep. *Huetius* notes, That *Ezra* expresses the singular Care of God over them; who being the *Shepherd of Israel*, had gathered the scattered Sheep, & brought them back into their Ancient Folds; wherein He preserved them safe, even when they had no Wall to defend them, under the powerful Protection of the King of *Persia*.⁶⁷

⁶³ The argument occurs in Mede’s treatise on Daniel’s weeks (*Works*, bk. 3, pp. 707–08), where it used to interpret the “Wing of Abominations” (Dan. 9:27). In both instances, Mede argues that “abominations” is synonymous with “idolatry.” Mede can therefore identify the “Wing of Abominations” as an army of Gentiles, i.e., those who worship idols. Likewise, Mather can put to rest any question of what abomination might have been committed by the returned Jews. Characteristically, Mather is eliding a longer comment of Patrick’s *Commentary* (2:668).

⁶⁴ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:669).

⁶⁵ Mather here capitalizes on Patrick’s illustration of the metaphor in this verse. Mather concludes that if iniquities can drown a person, they can also reproduce and overwhelm one.

⁶⁶ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:669).

⁶⁷ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:669). See Huet, *Demonstratio Evangelica*, prop. 9, p. 663.

Q. The Zeal of *Shechaniah*? v. 2.

A. It is the more notable, in that several of his own Family; Even his own Father, and several of his Uncles, the Sons of his Grandfather *Elam*, were in the Trespass, against which he appears now so zealously.⁶⁸ [Neh. VI.18.]

Q. *Separate yourselves from the Strange Wives*. No mention made of their *Children*? v. 11.

A. This hath made some think, that they kept their Children, and by Circumcision Dedicated them unto God, & instructed them to Renounce the Idolatry of their Mothers. Tho' *Shechaniah* propounded the putting away of the *Children* also, yett it may be thought, that *Ezra*, to whom the Matter was referr'd, mitigated the Severity of the Proposal. We do not read any thing of *Them*; we read only of the *Wives*, when he came to order what should be done.⁶⁹

Q. How do *Elders* and *Judges* differ? v. 14.

A. There is a Dispute about it, among Learned Men. Sometimes they may signify the same. But when they are together mentioned, it is Reasonable to think, their Powers were Distinct. *Vitringa* seems to have given a good Account of them; That by *Elders* are meant the supreme Senate in every City, who judged in all civil Causes; and by *Judges* are meant the Judges of an inferior Bench, by whom all Mondy-Matters were tried. For tho' the Senate might judge in all Causes; yett it is Reasonable to think, they referr'd small Matters to a Lower Court. This he gathers out of the Scriptures, and it is conformable to the Traditions of the Talmudists.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:670).

⁶⁹ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:671).

⁷⁰ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:672). Patrick identifies Vitringa as Campegius Vitringa (1659–1722), author of the 1685 *De Synagoga Vetere Libri Tres*. See Vitringa, lib. 2, cap. 9, pp. 551–52. Mather, however, excises the important verb “shews,” which changes Patrick’s point. The distinction drawn by Vitringa between elders and judges, Patrick concludes, is also argued for by Vitringa as one that is “conformable” to Talmudic interpretation. Mather’s change in emphasis broadens the gloss so that practices of church discipline and political order appear in fact to be prefigured in the Talmud. Vitringa, like Joseph Mede, practiced a prophetic theology that scoured the scriptures for evidences of when and how the millennium would begin. He was a follower of Jan Koch and markedly influenced by Mede’s writing, but Vitringa’s vast knowledge of Hebrew also ensured that his interpretations of Jewish writ remained definitive long after his death (*SH*).

[*812.*]

Q. About the Reformation among the Jewes, *putting away their Strange Wives*, it is said, *Only Jonathan, and Jahaziah were employ'd about this Matter; and Meshullam & Shabbethai helped them*. How were they *employ'd about this Matter?* v. 15.

A. Truly, but *Ill-Employ'd*, if I been't mistaken. There were only *Four Men*, whereof Two were *Levites*, who opposed that general Reformation. What you read, *They were employ'd about this Matter*, I read, *They stood up against this Matter*. This is the true Sense of the Original; and the Consideration of the following Verse enforces it.

And then, Dr. *Patrick* need not find it so hard, what it was, that they were *sett apart to examine*, whom we there find so employed.⁷¹

Q. It may not be amiss in this Place, to seek some Answer to that Enquiry; when did the old *Hebrew Tongue*, cease to be understood by the Jewish commonalty? v. 44.

A. There are many Circumstances, to prove, That it was not for some Years after the Return from the Captivity. For, if the *Hebrew* had not been understood by the *Jews* after the Return, why should *Ezra*, *Daniel*, *Nehemiah*, *Haggai*, *Zechariah*, and *Malachi*, have written in *Hebrew* Things which they designed should be understood by the *common People*; especially since those Writers were not Ignorant of the *Chaldee*, but actually used it in Things relating to the *Assyrians*.

That the *Chaldee* Tongue was the only Language in use among the *Jews* immediately after the Captivity, is indeed so far from True, that on the Contrary, it is observed by *Nehemiah* as an extraordinary Thing, that the Children of the *Jews* who had married Strangers, did speak the Language of *Ashdod*, as well as the Language of the *Jews*. But nothing more Invincibly proves the *Hebrew* to be still understood by the common People after the Captivity than what we find in the VIII Chapter of *Nehemiah*, concerning the Law Read in *Hebrew* before all the People. Would *Ezra* Read unto the People for many Hours, in a Language they did not understand; or would the People for so considerable a time Listen to it attentively, and melt into Tears at the Reading of it, if they did not understand it? If it be said, That *Ezra* translated it into *Chaldee*; and that this is the Meaning of the *Levites* proceeding, to *give the Sense, & cause the People to understand the Reading*: It may be still replied, But unto what Purpose was the *Law* Read, if it was Repeted Word for Word in another Language, and the People did not understand it in the Reading of it? But the cited Passage only signifies, that the *Levites* caused the People to keep Silence, & give Attention to the *Law*, while

71 See verse 16. Mather's remarks here constitute a rare disagreement with Patrick, who "cannot imagine what it was that they were set apart to examine; unless it was, whether the Persons before-named, did their Duty" (Patrick, *Commentary* 2:672).

it was Distinctly, Audibly, & Intelligibly Read unto them; or it supposes, that *Ezra* and those that were with him, explained the Law. It is not said, They rendred the Text Word for Word in *another Tongue*; but they Expounded the Difficult Places, in a Discourse more at Large, which better suited the Capacity of the People. The People *Read* the Law in the *Hebrew*; The Discourse to them was in the *Hebrew*.⁷²

⁷² This annotation is loosely paraphrased from Jenkin's *Reasonableness and Certainty*, vol. 1, pt. 2, ch. 9, pp. 206–08.

Q. *Nehemiah*; who? v. 1.

A. He lived in the Reign of *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, and came into *Judea* thirteen Years after *Ezra*. The King of *Persia* gave unto him great Authority, as he had given unto *Ezra*. God still disposed the Heart of the King of *Persia*, to have still about him some Jews in his Court, for whom he had a Kindness. After *Nehemiah*, we do not find, that the Kings of *Persia* made any Governour here; but probably left things to the Management of the *High-Priests*.¹

Q. In the *Twentieth Year*. Of what? v. 1.

A. Not of *Artaxerxes*; But of *Nehemiah's* Life.² Behold, an admirable Exemple of early Piety, Discretion and Capacity!

Q. *Shushan the Palace*? v. 1.

A. This was in the Region of *Elymais*, where the *Persian* Kings kept their Court in the Winter. From its pleasant and lovely Scituation, it was by the Heathen Writers called, *Susa*, which signifies, *A Lilly*; or, as *Athenæus* will have it, *A Rose*.³ There is by *Stephanus Byzantinus* given this Account of it; It was called, Σουσα, απο των κρινων, α πολλα εν τη χωρα πεφυκει εκεινη. *From the Lillies, that grew in Abundance in that Country*.⁴ Our Dr. *Hyde* ha's a peculiar Fancy, that the *Persians* called it, *Sûs*, which signifies, *Liquorice*. But the Jews, to complement *Ahasuerus*, called it in these Books, by this Name of a better Sound, which signifies, *A Lilly*.⁵

¹ See Patrick, *Commentary* (2:674). Patrick identifies his source as Cornelius (Corneille) Bertram (1531–94), author of *De Republica Ebraeorum* (1641), a work on Jewish law and life that was frequently cited by later commentators (*JE*). See Bertram, cap. 13, pp. 169–70.

² Patrick, *Commentary* (2:674). The exclamation is Mather's.

³ See Athenæus, *The Deipnosophists* (12.8): "The first men in history to become notorious for luxurious living were the Persians, whose kings wintered in Susa and summered in Ecbatana. (Now Susa was so called, according to Aristobulus and Chares, because of the beauty of its situation; for *suson* is what in the Greek language is called krinon or lily)."

⁴ Mather, through Patrick, provides a translation of the Greek at this point, omitting only the name of the city, Σουσα, or Sousa.

⁵ The commentary is, of course, Patrick's (*Commentary* 2:674–75), including the free translation of Athenæus. Stephanus Byzantinus (Byzantium) or Stephen of Byzantium (6th c. CE) was the author of a geographical dictionary, entitled *Ethnica*, only fragments of which survive. Many of these fragments are preserved in the writing of Constantine Porphyrogenitos, another common authority of Patrick and, by extension, Mather (*OCD*). The remark of Stephanus on the situation of Susa can be found in the *Ethnica*, p. 583, line (l.) 1. Hyde is Thomas Hyde, whose *Historia religionis veterum Persarum* (1700), Patrick cites.

Q. *Nehemiahs* Quotation? v. 9.

A. It is observed by Dr. *Jackson*, That *Nehemiah* framed his Prayer to God, & directed his Enterprize, for the Restauration of *Jerusalem*, by the Rule of *Moses*; Deut. XXX.1, 2, 3, 4. He plainly found the Truth of that Prædiction, in the Readiness of the King of *Persia*, to grant his Petition. This confirmed his Beleeif of what *Moses* there saies; Tho' a Prophet by Profession dissuaded his Enterprize. Neh. VI.10, 11.⁶

⁶ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:675). Thomas Jackson (1579–1640) is the source for Patrick (*ODCC*). As Mather does with Patrick, Patrick does with Jackson. The original is worth comparing to Mather's entry, which is in its turn a near quote of Patrick's: "By this rule of *Moses*, according to the Prediction of *Jeremiah*, doth *Nehemiah* afterwards frame his prayers to God, and direct his enterprise for restauration of *Jerusalem*. ... He saw the truth of *Moses*' divine prediction confirmed by the Kings present grant of his petition, and speedy restauration of *Jerusalem*, albeit a Prophet by profession, had disuaded the enterprise, as likely to prove dangerous to his person" (Jackson, *Works*, vol. 1, bk. 3, ch. 17, pp. 485–86). The remark occurs in Jackson's *Blasphemous Positions of the Jesuites and other Later Romanists* (1673). Jackson is a remarkable figure of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in that he adopted a rational position toward matters of faith and was a thorough Neo-Platonist. He rejected Calvinism as a result of his studies although he maintained throughout his life an aggressively anti-Catholic stance (*DNB*).

Q. In the *Month Nisan*? v. 1.

A. This was almost Four Months after he heard of the Desolate Condition, wherein *Jerusalem* lay. In all which Time, it seems, his Turn of Waiting did not come. Others will have it, that he & his Friends retired all this time, & spent it in Fasting & Prayer.⁷

Q. *Very sore afraid*; Of what? v. 2.

A. Lest the King should suspect him, of some Ill Design upon him. Or, we may rather say, He was afraid he should not prevail in his Suit; the Court, it is likely, being full of such as would oppose it.⁸

Q. *The Queen also sitting by him*? v. 6.

A. Historians tell us, This was not usual. Tis noted then, as a thing that was extraordinary. It is likely, she favoured *Nehemiah*, & promoted the Grant of his Request.⁹

Q. What was the *Kings Forest*? v. 8.

A. Probably, the *Forest of Lebanon*. The Word *Pardes* used here (and only Twice Elsewhere, Eccl. II.5. Cant. IV.13.) signifies, A most pleasant Garden, planted with all Sorts of Trees.¹⁰ It seems this *Forest* was a Place of such Delicacy, as to deserve this Name.

The *Gates of the Palace* here, probably are (as the *Vulgar Latin*, and *Pellican* understand it,) the *Gates of the Temple*. Tho' the *Temple* itself was built, yett the *Gates* it seems, were not made.¹¹

Q. *Sanballat the Horonite, and Tobiah the Servant, the Ammonite*; who were they? v. 10.

⁷ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:676).

⁸ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:676).

⁹ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:676).

¹⁰ פָּרְדֵּס [pardes] means “park, preserve, enclosed garden (including fruit-trees and costly plants).” Mather and Patrick transliterate the word according to its pronunciation, *pardās*. The word is a Persian loan word taken into Greek, παράδεισος [paradeisos] “paradise,” and used in the LXX at Gen. 2:8, to translate גֶּן [gan] “enclosure, garden.”

¹¹ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:676–77). Patrick’s suggested reading is possible only if the Vulgate is taken synecdochically, in which the gates of the fortress of the house (“portas turris domus”) represent the “house” of God. For Conrad Pellicanus, see notes on Ezra. All references to Latin, Syriac, Arabic, Chaldaic, and Greek versions of the scriptures are to Brian Walton’s *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta*.

A. *Sanballat* seems to have been a petty Prince of *Moab*; or some great Person in that Countrey. *Horonaim* was an eminent City there. [Isa. XV.5. XLVIII.3, 5, 34.]

Tobiah had been a Slave, but was now advanced unto some Authority; probably to be a Governour of a Province in these Parts.

The mention of these Two Men shewes, that the Nations of *Moab*, & *Ammon* were now Restored, as well as the *Jews*, according to the Divine Oracles. And they were now well known, that their Destruction by the People of God might be the more observable; This was done in the Time of the *Maccabees*, according to the Prædictions of several Prophets.¹²

[4v]

3059.

Q. The Well called, *The Dragon-Well*; why was it called so? v. 13.

A. *Bochart* thinks, it was from a *Dragon*, which was observed, while the City lay Desolate, for to lodge about that *Well*.¹³ Thus *Pausanias*, mentions a *Well*, near the *Ismonian* River, which was under the Custody of a *Dragon*; As *Homer* places one by the Fountain *περι κρήνη*.¹⁴

Hee looks on this Conjecture, as more likely, than that of the learned *Villalpandus*; That this little *Well* nourished in it, those *great Fishes*, which were called by the Name of / תנינים /.¹⁵

¹² Patrick, *Commentary* (2:677).

¹³ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:677). Samuel Bochart (1599–1667) was the author of *Geographica Sacra* (1646) and *Hierozyicon* (1663).

¹⁴ *περι κρήνη* means “by (or near) a spring (or fountain).”

¹⁵ תנין or תנינים [tannim] or pl. תנינים (י) [tanninim] “sea monster” (cf. Ezek. 29:3, Gen. 1:21, Ps. 148:7); “sea-dragon” (Isa. 27:1), “serpent” (Exod. 7:9), etc. These aquatic creatures are not to be confused with תנים [tannim] “jackals,” the plural form of תן [tan] “jackal” (e.g., Isa. 13:22; Lam. 4:3). The references to Pausanias, Homer, and Villalpandus are all drawn directly from *Hierozyicon* (pars. 2, lib. 3, cap. 14, col. 439). They are not mentioned in Patrick, however, a fact which serves to indicate that Mather was composing a text that would have in the end looked more like Bochart’s: a compendium of authoritative interpretations of difficult verses in the Bible. The reliance on Patrick at this point in the Biblia manuscript only serves to show Mather’s starting point. Pausanias, famous for his description of Greece (*Periegesis Hellados*) in 10 books, was a geographer who lived during the mid-second century CE (*OCD*). In his book on Boeotia and the city of Thebes there, Pausanias writes how, near one of the seven gates of the city (the Electra Gate), visitors are shown a place where Cadmus sowed the teeth of the dragon which he slew at the fountain, from which men sprang from the earth (9.10.1). The reference to Homer is not a direct one in Bochart’s *Hierozyicon*. Rather, Bochart alludes to the writing of Flavius Philostratus (Philostratus the Athenian, c. 170–247 CE), who wrote a biography of Apollonius of Tyana, a late Pythagorean philosopher (*OCD*). There, one of the students of Apollonius, Damis, asks about the sparrows of Homer which the dragon devoured in Aulis (*Life of Apollonius* 1.22). Damis is referring to an event in the Iliad during the council of war in book 2, in which Odysseus reminds the gathered leaders that at a sacrifice they had seen a propitious omen when a “serpent” devoured 8 sparrow chicks and their mother (2.302–18). Villalpandus is Juan Bautista Villalpandus (1552–1608), a Jesuit most famous for

Or, might it not be so called, as Dr. *Patrick* propounds, from the silent Sliding of the Water, as a Serpent creeps, from the Fountain of *Siloam*?¹⁶

Q. Who was *Geshem* the *Arabian*? v. 19.

A. Probably, he was the Kings Deputy in *Arabia*, as the two former were in *Moab* and *Ammon*.¹⁷

his completion of a multi-volume commentary on Ezekiel, which had been begun by Jerome Prado (d. 1595) (*DALA*). Bochart is referring to the 3rd volume of the commentary on Ezekiel, *Apparatus Urbis ac Templi Hierosolymitani* (1604), Villalpandus's dissertation on the Temple and its surroundings, in which Villalpandus argues that there were two pools of Siloam. As Bochart suggests, Villalpandus is able to make this case because he identifies the "Upper Pool" of Isaiah 8:6 with the "Dragon-well" of Nehemiah. See *Apparatus Urbis* pars. 1, lib. 3, cap. 13, p. 182.

¹⁶ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:677).

¹⁷ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:678).

Q. The *Sheep-Gate*? v. 1.

A. It was at the south Side of the City, in that Part of the Valley which looked towards the City of *David* & the Temple. Here did use to enter, the *Sheep*, which were to be sacrificed. And therefore probably it was, that the *Priests* undertook this Part of the Work, as most proper for them.

This *Sheep-Gate*, some think, is, the same with the Προβατικη mentioned in the *Gospel*. [Joh. V.2.] This being the First that was built, & by the *Priests* of God, & peculiarly commended unto His Blessing, had that singular Gift bestowed on the Neighbouring *Pool*, that it should miraculously Heal those that first entred into it, after the Waters had been stirred by an Angel. Some think, That from this time it had that Vertue.¹⁸

Q. The *Throne of the Governour*? v. 7.

A. *Pellican* takes the Word *Chissee*, which we render, *The Throne*, to be the Name of a great Man, a small Prince in *Syria*, under the King of *Persia*, who being proselyted, joined in the Work.¹⁹

Q. The *Daughters of Shallum*? v. 12.

A. Probably, they were either Heiresses, or else Rich Widows.²⁰

Q. *Baruch repaired earnestly*? v. 20.

A. That is, with great Zeal, as being Ashamed the Work went on so slowly. Or, that they should Repair only one Piece, and leave the other undone.²¹

Q. The *Horse-Gate*? v. 28.

A. So called, Because they went through it, for to water their *Horses*, at the Brook *Kidron*. Or, there was a Place for the Standing of *Horses*.²²

Q. *Hanum, the sixth Son*? v. 30.

A. It is likely, he had more Zeal than his elder Brethren. Tho' he had less Estate, he had more Vertue, than the rest of his Brethren.²³

¹⁸ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:678). Προβατικὴ [probatike] "sheep gate" (cf. Jn. 5:2).

¹⁹ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:679).

²⁰ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:679).

²¹ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:680).

²² Patrick, *Commentary* (2:680).

²³ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:680).

Q. *Miphkad*: what? v. 31.

A. Some think, it was an House of Correction; where they *visited* Men (as the *Hebrew* Expression is,) that is, punished them for their Faults.²⁴

²⁴ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:680).

Q. Does it not seem harsh, to pray that *their Sin might not be forgiven?* v. 5.

A. He spake by the Spirit of Prophecy; like *David* in the CIX Psalm. They were of such a Malicious and Implacable Spirit against God & His People, that he foresaw, they would never be capable of His Mercy, but be utterly Destroyed by Him. Indeed, there were several Oracles, on which this Prayer was grounded. And it was Confirmed and Fulfilled in the Destruction of these Nations, by the *Maccabees* and their Successors.²⁵

|
Q. They *putt not off their Clothes, except that every one putt them off for Washing?* v. 23.

A. R. *Solomon* repeats the Word, *Not; – No, not for Washing.* The Hebrew Word is, *Water*; which some here take for the *Water of the Feet*, as the Jews express it; and make the Sense to be, *No, not when they made Water.* Quite contrary *De Dieu*, who reads it, *except only to make Water.* It is a more simple Sense; every Man had his Sword ready, when he made Water.

But *Grotius* followes our Translation. He takes these Words for an Exception to what went before. The plain Meaning is, They putt off their Garments only for those Ablutions, which the Law required, or Custome had introduced.²⁶

²⁵ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:681).

²⁶ See Patrick, *Commentary* (2:682–83), de Dieu, *Animadversiones*, pp. 221–22, and Grotius, *Opera* (1:194).

Q. The *great Cry* of the People? v. 1.

A. These Rich Men, tho' they were cured of their Idolatry by their Captivity, yett they were not cured of their other Sins. They loved *strange Women* still. And they were so *covetous*, that they oppressed the Poor; And this, at a time, when their Enemies threatened the Destruction of them all.

But a learned Man observes, the Crime was the more heinous, inasmuch as the Twentieth of *Artaxerxes*, (the Year of this Oppression,) began about the End of the *Sabbatic Year*. This raised the Cry of the Poor to a greater Height against their Creditors; who exacted their Debts of them, contrary to the Law, [Deut. XV.2.] which in such a Year was read publickly among them. [Deut. XXXI.12.] It was of such Moment, that it moved *Nehemiah*, to bring the *Jews* under a solemn Oath, that they would observe this Law; and Release the Debts, that were this Year owing to them.²⁷

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Q. *Nehemiah* demands of the Rich Men at *Jerusalem*, To Restore unto their Poor Brethren, *the Hundredth Part of the Money*, &c., that they exacted of them. What was that *Hundredth Part*? v. 11.

A. That *Hundredth Part*, was the *Interest*, which the poor People paid unto the *Usurers*. And this is called, the *Hundredth Part*, because the Proportion of it was this; the *Interest*, in One *Hundred Months* amounted unto as much as the Principal. *Centesima est quæ mensibus centum sortem adequat*. A cruel Interest; as much again as is allowed by the Lawes of *England*! It was 12 P. Cent. | This *Usury* of the *Hundredth Part*, in which they every Year paid the Eighth Part of the Principal, was afterwards practised among the *Romans*.

[10v]

But *Salmasius* ha's observed, That in the Eastern Countreys, there never were any Laws, to determine what *Interest* should be taken for the Loan of Money. Men were left unto their own Agreements. Among the *Greeks* and *Romans* there was a Measure sett; and, *Εκατοστή*, *The Hundredth Part*, was among the *Greeks*, the lowest Usury. However, it was more or less in several Ages; as he notes in his Book, *De Fænore Trapezitico*, and his Book, *De Modis Usurarum*.²⁸

²⁷ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:683). The "Learned Man" is Pierre Allix, who posits the date in his *Reflexions* (vol. 2, pt. 1, p. 97).

²⁸ Mather diverges from Patrick at this point, and appears to rely instead on Humphrey Prideaux's *The Old and New Testament Connected* (pt. 1, bk. 4, p. 290), possibly because Patrick appears less willing to severely judge the wealthy Israelites. While Prideaux, like Mather, concludes that the interest charged is exceedingly heavy, Patrick believes that "we cannot certainly tell whether this was heavy or light Usury" (vol. 2, p. 684). Patrick, however, does reference

Q. We have *Redeemed our Brethren*. How? v. 8.

A. Perhaps they had with their own Money procured Freedom for such as were Slaves to some of the *Babylonians*; who would not part with them, when they desired to go to *Jerusalem*, unless they were paid the Price of them.²⁹

Q. How did he *shake his Lap*? v. 13.

A. While the People were in this good Mind, he call'd the *Priests*, & made the People swear in their Presence, & made them witnesses to it. Hereupon, Folding up the Skirts of his Garment, and Scattering them abroad, he represented, how God would cast them out of their Possessions, & the Fruit of their Labours, if this Oath were violated.³⁰

Q. The *Former Governours*, who were they? v. 15.

A. He spares their Names; inasmuch as he would not Irritate 'em.

Scaliger concludes from these Words, That before *Nehemiah* and *Ezra*, there had been, other Governours placed over them, by the Kings of *Persia*. If we may beleieve the Jewish Annals, compiled by the Author of *Seder Olam Zuta*, the First Governour *Zerubbabel*, returning from *Jerusalem*, to *Babylon*, died there; and was succeeded in his Government of *Judea*, by his Son *Meshullam*, and afterwards by his Grandson *Chananiah*.³¹

Q. *Neither bought we any Land*? v. 16.

both major works of Salmasius, or Claude de Saumaise (1588–1653), the 1640 *Dissertatio de Fœnore Trapezitico* and the 1639 *De modo usurarum*, while Prideaux only alludes to the *Dissertatio de Fœnore Trapezitico*. The Latin at this point is puzzling, however, because it does not seem to occur in either of the cited works. On the history and background of the “centesima usura,” see Saumaise’s *Dissertatio*, bk. 2, pp. 557–74. He treats the practice of usury among the Greeks and Romans at the beginning of his *De Modo Usurarum*, cap. 1, pp. 30–5, and in cap. 6, pp. 224–90. On the emergence of the practice of charging 12 per cent interest in the Eastern empire, see cap. 6, pp. 270–75. “A hundredth-part (one-percent) [usury] is that which equals the lot in a hundred months.”

²⁹ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:683).

³⁰ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:684).

³¹ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:684–85). Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540–1609) was a noted classicist and Hebraist who attempted to reconcile the competing calendric systems of ancient cultures (*OER*). The ultimate reference is to *De Emendatione Temporum*, the first edition of which was published in 1583. I have had access to the 1629 edition, published in Geneva. See Scaliger, bk. 6, p. 574–83. Scaliger, much like Mede, is concerned with the meaning of Daniel’s 70 weeks. To support his chronology, Scaliger argues that the mysterious figure of Darius the Mede was in fact the last king of Babylon, Nabonidus. This was an identification that both Humphrey Prideaux and, by extension, Mather dispute (see notes on Esther), but both agree with Scaliger that for several years there were governors of the returning Jews who preceded Ezra and Nehemiah. The *Seder Olam Zuta* (The “Small” Order of the World) is a brief Jewish chronicle supposedly written in the 9th c. CE, which continues the chronicle of the earlier *Seder Olam Rabba* (The “Large” Order of the World).

A. Which they might have done of the Poor, at an easy Price, if they had been desirous of Wealth. But they would not make any Advantages to themselves, of other Mens Necessities.³²

³² Patrick, *Commentary* (2:685).

Q. The Design and Conduct of the Prophet *Shemaiah*? v. 10.

A. We find him *shutt up*. Some think, this was to represent unto *Nehemiah*, as the Manner of the Prophets often was to make use of Signs, what he would have him to do. But others think, he *shutt himself up*, and Retired from the World, as an Holy Man, to spend his Time in Meditations and Supplications, in some of the Chambers of the Temple; unto which he exhorted *Nehemiah* also to Retire.

He invites *Nehemiah*, as a Friend confiding in him, to coming into the Lodgings he had about the Temple; A strong Place, and so priviledged by its Holiness, that it might be hoped the Heathen themselves would not violate it. He proposed, by this Means, *Nehemiah* would become contemptible, when the People saw his Cowardise; and the Jews would be disheartened, while their Enemies improved in Courage. It may be, he intended also with some confæderate Priests, to seize on the Person of *Nehemiah*, & deliver him up to *Sanballat*. At least, it would give some Countenance to the Calumny he had raised, of his affecting to be King; inasmuch as he fled from his Work, & durst not stand upon his Integrity. *Shemaiah* might likewise think, to draw him in to offend God, by coming into that Court, where the Priests only might come.³³

It is *Munsters* Gloss, upon *Shemaiahs* being *shutt up*; *Fingens scilicet se habere Spiritum Dei, et ob id sequestrabat se à reliquis*.³⁴

Q. The Prophetess *Noadiah*, and *the rest of the Prophets*? v. 14.

A. Dr. *Patrick* here observes, The Wickedness of this People was wonderful; who had already gott *False Prophets* among them, of both Sexes.

Nehemiah did not think fitt as a Judge to punish them, but left them unto the Judgment of God.

Nor do we find, that he informed the King of *Persia*, of the foul Dealings of those Wretches; but he pray'd unto God to take Notice of them.

He would have all Men know, that he depended wholly on the Power of God, to carry him thro' all his Enterprises, & all his Difficulties.³⁵

Q. Is it not incredible, that such a Work should be *finished in Fifty Two Dayes*? v. 15.

³³ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:686).

³⁴ Münster's remark is reproduced in Pearson (2:2782): "Supposing himself, no doubt, to have the Spirit of God, and on account of this he separated himself from the rest."

³⁵ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:687).

A. *Multorum Manibus*. A great Number of People were engaged in the Work; and these very zealously affected for it. The Foundation also of the Wall had not been razed by the *Chaldeans*. Nay, there were good Pieces of the Wall yett standing; there being only great Gaps made in it. Other Histories acquaint us with the like Diligence. Both *Amanus* and *Curtius* relate, That *Alexander* built the Walls of *Alexandria*, which were seven Miles in Compass, in the Space of Twenty Dayes.³⁶

Q. Men were engaged against the Interests of their Countrey and Religion; because they were *Sons-in-Law* to Men that were in other Interests? v. 18.

A. So Dangerous were Marriages with Foreigners! *Ezra* had great Reason to make void those Marriages; for by these Alliances, they were engaged in evil Designs against their Countrey.³⁷

³⁶ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:687). “*Multorum Manibus*” means that “by the hands of many” the walls were rebuilt.

³⁷ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:687).

Q. What had the *Singers* and *Levites*, to do at the *Gates*? v. 1.

A. Dr. *Patrick* saies, Tis not easily resolved; But they might be there, that they might be ready against the Time when the Wall should be Dedicated.³⁸

[*813.*]

Q. *Nehemiah* gives an Account of the Number & Kindred, by whom *Judæa* was planted, after the Captivity; But you will find a wonderful Difference from the Catalogue in the second of *Ezra*: Tho' the Text here seems to affirm, that it is the very same, *I found a Book of the Genealogy of them, that came up at the first, & found written therein.* v. 5. How is this Matter to bee apprehended?

A. Thus; *Nehemiah* found that List of them, that came up in the first of *Cyrus*, as it was Then taken: and hee called over the Families, as they lay in *Order* there. Nevertheless, tho' hee observed the *Order* of that List, hee took the *Number* of them, not as they were formerly, but as they were at this very Time. Some Families were now grown *more* Numerous, & some *less*; & some that were in that List, were not now to bee found. Some had more of their Stock arriving to them from *Babylon*, and some that came up at first, were now gone back again; and the Design of *Nehemiah* was to observe, by comparing the List, what Progress the Plantation had made.³⁹

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Q. To Reconcile *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*, in their Different Accounts, of the Numbers returned from *Babylon* to *Jerusalem*, is a Difficulty? v. 69.

A. Take Dr. *James Altings* Considerations upon it.

Ezra and *Nehemiah*, agree in the Summ Total, which is 42360. But if we add together the Numbred Persons of each Family, we find but 29818 in *Ezra*, and 31089 in *Nehemiah*. There is this further observable; That *Nehemiah* ha's 1765 Persons, which are not in *Ezra*; and *Ezra* ha's 494, which are not named in *Nehemiah*. This Difference, which seems to make the Reconciliation of these two Historians impossible, is that which Reconciles them. For, if you add the Overplus of *Ezra*, to those Numbred by *Nehemiah*, the Overplus of *Nehemiah*, to those numbred by *Ezra*, the Summ is the very same.

³⁸ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:687).

³⁹ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:688). Patrick is quoting John Lightfoot, *Chronicle of the Times and Order of the Texts of the Old Testament*. See Lightfoot, *Works* (1:145–46).

Persons Numbred	
by <i>Ezra</i> ,	29818.
The Overplus of	
<i>Nehemiah</i> .	<u>1765.</u>
	<u>31583</u>

Persons Numbred	
by <i>Nehemiah</i> ,	31089.
The Overplus of	
<i>Ezra</i> .	<u>494.</u>
	<u>31583.</u>

Which substracted from,	42360
there remains,	10777.

Which are not particularized; perhaps, because they had lost their Genealogies; or were *Israelites* of the Ten Tribes.⁴⁰

Q. The *Tirshatha*, who? v. 70.

A. *Jacobus Capellus* is of Opinion, that *Zerubbabel* is intended.⁴¹

⁴⁰ James (Jacob) Alting (1618–79) was the son of Johann Heinrich Alting (1583–1644), a representative from the University of Heidelberg at the Synod of Dort (1618–19) (*SH*). Though not as well known as his father, the younger Alting was frequently cited by nineteenth-century commentators, including Adam Clarke (1760–1832), who sought to reconcile the disparate accounts of Ezra 2 and Nehemiah 7 (*OCIH*). Clarke, in particular, includes a table very similar to Mather's (vol. 2, pp. 617–18), which suggests that both are drawing from a common source, though I have not been able to identify this reference. The ultimate origin of both references is in a letter (Epistola 69) to Francisco Burmanno, which is reproduced in Alting's *Opera Omnia* by his literary executor, Balthasar Bekker. See Alting's *Opera*, tom. 5, p. 388. Alting's own calculation, it should be noted, is much more specific than either Mather's or Clarke's. Alting carefully tabulates the numbers of each family listed in Ezra and Nehemiah and compares where they differ, but finally reaches the conclusion stated above. I am indebted to Connie Maddux for locating this reference.

⁴¹ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:688). Capellus, *Historia Sacra*, lib. 2, p. 323.

Q. The Proposal, *To bring the Book of the Law of Moses?* v. 1.

A. They called to Mind the Place in *Deuteronomy*, Chap. XXXI.10, 11. where God requires the Law to be read publicly, every seventh Year, in the *Feast of Tabernacles*, which was to be kept in this Month. No doubt, *Ezra* was ready to perform this; but such was the pious and forward Zeal of the People, that they prevented him, with their Entreaties, that he would observe that Law.⁴²

Q. *A Pulpitt of Wood?* v. 4.

A. To Raise him higher than the People; that he might be the better seen and heard by them all. In the Hebrew tis called, *A Tower of Wood*. It was made large and long, that many Persons might stand in it. It is largely described by *Vitringa*, in his Book, *De Synagogâ Veteri*.⁴³

Q. *Ezra's Blessing the Lord, the great GOD?* v. 6.

A. He seems to have used the Words, wherein *David* ordered them to *Bless*; 1. Chron. XVI.36. whereat all the People answered, *Amen*; as they do here, with great Affection.

The *Jewish Doctors* pretend, that in the Temple, the People never answered, *Amen*; but said, *Blessed be the Name of His glorious Kingdome forever & ever*.⁴⁴

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[*5081.*]

Q. Tis said here, *Drink the Sweet*; what was, *The Sweet?* v. 10.

A. *Jerom* in his Version calls it, *Mulsum*.⁴⁵ Now this *Mulsum* was, ονομελι, a Drink made of *Wine* and *Honey*. *Dioscorides*, and *Palladius*, and *Pliny*, and others, teach the Way of preparing this Drink. The *Talmuds* also mention it by Name, in the Treatise, *Of Idolatry*; and say, Twas *Wine*, tempered with *Honey*, and *Pepper*.⁴⁶

⁴² Patrick, *Commentary* (2:689).

⁴³ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:689). See also Vitringa, *De Synagoga*, lib. 1, pars. 1, cap. 8, p. 184.

⁴⁴ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:689). The remark of the "Jewish Doctors" is from the Talmud, Ta'anith 16b.

⁴⁵ In the Vulgate, "bibite mulsum." See Walton (2:870).

⁴⁶ Οινόμελι [oinomeli] "honey mixed with wine, mead." Pedanius Dioscorides (c.40–c.90 CE) was the author of *De Materia Medica*. His work remained in use as a pharmacopeia to the eighteenth century (ODS). See *De Materia*, lib. 2, cap. 82, sec. 4, l. 7. Palladius (Rutilius Taurus Aemilianus Palladius) was the author of the 4th c. CE work, *Opus Agriculturae* (sometimes called, *De re rustica*) (OCCL). See *Opus*, 3.15. Mulsum is frequently referred to in Pliny the elder's

Macrobius tells us, The best Mixture, was *Old Wine*, and *New Honey*. The old Poets often speak of it; and *Virgil* among the rest.

*Dulcia mella premes, nec tantum Dulcia, quantum
Et Liquida, et durum Bacchi domitura saporem.*⁴⁷

Yea, we find it mentioned in *old Homer* himself. It seems a Mistake in *Plutarch*, to make it a *Novel Invention*.⁴⁸

Q. The Meaning of that Passage; *The Joy of the Lord is your Strength?* v. 10.

A. *Joy in the Lord*, for the great Things done by Him for them, would make them cheerfully perform the rest of their Duty, & fortify them against their Adversities and their Adversaries. Nay, it was the Way to Remove them, or to keep them off. When the Service of God was their Delight, it was His Promise, that He would keep off the Plagues threatened in His Law against Transgressors, & give them all the Blessings they could ask for.⁴⁹

Natural History. The reference to the Talmud is from Avodah Zarah 30a. ονομελι seems to be a spelling error. Mather likely intends οινόμελι.

⁴⁷ Macrobius is Ambrosius Theodosius Macrobius (395–423), a late Roman author best known for the *Saturnalia* (*OCD*). This remark appears in *Saturnalia* (3.16.16). The quotation from Virgil is from *Georgics* (4:101–02). The Greenough translation of these lines reads, “Sweet honey, nor yet so sweet as passing clear, / And mellowing on the tongue the wine-god’s fire.”

⁴⁸ The reference to Homer is probably to the “honey-sweet wine” (μελιγδής) mentioned in the *Odyssey* (21). Plutarch, in *Parallel Lives*, credits Numa Pompilius with the invention of this drink. Although he is not relying directly on Plutarch here, Mather did own an edition of *The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romanes*, translated by Sir Thomas North. This text, first published in 1579 went through numerous editions and was one of those that Mather purchased as a duplicate from Harvard Library, but the precise edition he owned is not known. Mather’s library also included a copy of *Plutarch’s Morals Translated from the Greek by Several Hands* (1690).

⁴⁹ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:690).

Q. *They separated themselves from all Strangers, and stood?* v. 2.

A. Namely, such as had been guilty of taking *strange Women* to be their *Wives*. *Ezra* had severely censured these, and constrained them to putt away their *Wives*. But so depraved were some among them, that it seems, they Transgressed again in this Matter; as they did in other things.

In their Confession, and Repentance, they so *separated* themselves, that they *stood* at a Distance from them, to show that they Renounced them. The Word, *stood*, in this Place, is not to be taken for a Posture of Prayer; for it is more likely, that they lay down, & bewayled themselves.⁵⁰

Q. *The Mighty Waters?* v. 11.

A. The Hebrew signifies, The *Rough Waters*. *Bochart* observes, out of many *Greek* Authors, that the *Red-Sea* was called so; & was in short, *κατα παντα φοβερον* *In all Regards a Terrible Sea*.⁵¹

|
Q. *Thou didst Divide them into Corners?* v. 22.

A. Some Translate it, *Thou didst Divide them by Angles*. That is, He parted those Kingdomes among them, as by a Line. Others understand it, of the People dispossessed by the Jews, whom He *drove into Corners*.⁵²

⁵⁰ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:691–92). See *Bochart, Geographia Sacra*, pars. 2, lib. 1, cap. 13, p. 437.

⁵¹ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:692–93).

⁵² Patrick, *Commentary* (2:693).

Q. *These were the Priests.* Where's *Ezra*? We don't see him among them? v. 8.
A. The Meaning is, These were the Chief of them. For there are but One and Twenty mentioned. It is hard to give an Account, why there is no Mention of *Ezra*. Unless we suppose him now gone unto *Babylon*. If it were so, it was very lately. For he was at *Jerusalem* in the Beginning of the *seventh* Month. And yett now on the *Twenty Fourth*, when they fasted and prayed, we don't find him. However, at the *Feast of Dedication*, he was come to *Jerusalem* again. Some think therefore, he was hindred by Sickness, that he could not afford his Presence at the *Sealing of the Covenant*.⁵³

|
Q. *The Lotts cast for the Wood-Offering?* v. 34. [20v]
A. They determined, by casting of *Lotts*, how much *Wood* every one should bring in for their Share, to maintain the *Fire* continually upon the *Altar*, to burn the Sacrifices; and in what Order it should be brought; that is, what Family should Begin first, & what Family should Follow next, and at what Times of the Year.

There was a *Feast* among the Jews, called, *The Feast of the Wood-Offering*, which from hence took its Original. *Scaliger* observes, it was kept on the twenty second Day of the Month *Ab*. The Talmudists tell us, That every Family, on the Day when they brought in the Wood, sacrificed a voluntary Burnt-Offering, called, *The Corban of Wood*.⁵⁴ This is observed by *P. Cuneus*, in his Book, *De R. P. Hebr.* where he notes, that *Josephus* differs from the Talmudists. They speak of Nine Days for this Feast; he mentions but One, which is called by him, ξυλοφορια.⁵⁵ Such a solemn Festival, (as *Maimonides* tells us, in his *Furniture of the Temple*,[]) that none might mourn on this day, or Fast, or Do any Work.⁵⁶

⁵³ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:695).

⁵⁴ קָרְבַּן הָעֵצִים [qurban ha'etsim] "wood-offering for second temple."

⁵⁵ "Now the next day was the festival of Xylophory (ξυλοφορια); upon which the custom was for every one to bring wood for the altar," in Josephus, *Wars of the Jews* (2.425).

⁵⁶ The idea and the references are drawn from Patrick, *Commentary* (2:696). See also Jurieu, *A Critical History of the Doctrines and Worship*, vol. 1, p. 522. Scaliger's claim can be found in *De Emendatione Temporum*, bk 7, p. 649. Petrus Cuneus, or Peter van der Kun (1586–1638), wrote a popular study of the Hebrew Republic, entitled *De Republica Hebraeorum* (1617) (CBL). Complete editions of this 3 volume work are now very rare. Patrick cites bk 2, ch. 13. I have supplied the parenthesis that is missing in the manuscript.

Q. The *Rulers dwelling at Jerusalem?* v. 1.

A. Their Neighbours were so enraged, to see the Walls of *Jerusalem* built again, & were so Restless in their Designs to keep the City from Rising to its former Splendor, that many of the Jews were terrified from coming to Dwell there; Thinking themselves more safe in the Countrey, where their Enemies had no Pretence to disturb them. The Rulers of the People therefore came, and settled themselves at *Jerusalem*, that they might encourage others to come also, and inhabit it. And several Persons did so, on this Encouragement.⁵⁷

Q. The *Second over the City?* v. 9.

A. The Deputy-Governour *Bertram* thinks, This is he, that is called, 2. Maccab. III.4. προστάτης του Ιερου· *The Præfect of the Temple*. And by *Josephus*, Antiq. XIV.11. υποστρατηγος εν Ιεροσολυμοις *The Under-Governour in Jerusalem*.⁵⁸

Q. The *outward Business of the House of God?* v. 16.

A. There were a great many things to be done *without* the Temple, as well as *within*, to præpare for the Service of it. Particularly, to gather the *Third Part* of a *Shekel*, which every one was to give, to make Provision for it. That Work was committed unto these Persons. *Bertram* thinks, the Meaning may be, that they were Judges & Officers in the Countrey; where their Presence was necessary, when there were but few to discharge this *outward Business in Israel*. See, 1. Chron. XXVI.29.⁵⁹

Q. *Mattaniah, the Principal, to begin the Thanksgiving in Prayer?* v. 17.

A. He was the Præcentor, who begun to sing the Hymn, at morning and evening Sacrifice. It seems to have been that, 1. Chron. XVI.7 – in the latter Part of which, they pray to God, as in the former they gave Thanks.⁶⁰

Q. What *King* was it, that ordered the Daily Portion for the Maintainance of the Singers? v. 23.

⁵⁷ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:697).

⁵⁸ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:698). Patrick is at this point in his commentary simply translating verbatim the words of *Bertram* in his *de Republica Ebraeorum*, cap. 13, p. 164. In modern translations of *Josephus's Antiquities*, Patrick's reference can be found at 14.93: "Now there was one Pitholaus, a lieutenant [i. e., major-general] at Jerusalem."

⁵⁹ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:698). See also *Bertram*, cap. 13, p. 160.

⁶⁰ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:698).

A. Some refer it unto King David. But it is most likely, that it was the King of *Persia*; who out of his Munificence made them a Daily Allowance for their better Support. They that sung Hymns to their Gods, were Persons much valued in all Countreys.⁶¹

Q. *Pethahiah*, how was he, *At the Kings Hand, in all Matters concerning the People?* v. 24.

A. The King appointed him to receive all Petitions from the People, and by him returned them Answers.

Tis translated by some, not, *At the Kings Hand*, but, *On the Kings Part*. That is, He heard all Causes in civil Matters, between the King & the People; as about his *Tribute*, or any *Grievance* they complained of. *Bertram* thinks, it appears by the Context, that he was *Appointed* by the King, (which is the Meaning of, *At his hand*, or, *By his hand*,) to see all Things supplied, which the People were bound to furnish for the Temple. Or, as *Pellican* thinks, To see that what the King allow'd for public Sacrifices, to be made for Him & His Family [Ezr. VI.10] were duly paid out of the Treasury of the Province.⁶²

⁶¹ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:699).

⁶² Patrick, *Commentary* (2:699). See *Bertram*, cap. 18, p. 322.

Q. *Ezra*; who? v. 1.

A. Dr. *Patrick*, thinks, there are many Reasons, to prove, that this was not the same *Ezra*, with him that wrote Part of the Book, which we have under the Name of *Ezra*.⁶³

Q. *Jaddua*? v. 11.

A. We have here, a Succession of the High-Priests, from the Return of the Captivity, till the time that they began to bear the greatest Sway in the Jewish Nation. This *Jaddua*, is commonly thought to be that *Jaddus* the High-Priest, who went to meet *Alexander* M. in his pontifical Habit, as he came from the Conquest of *Tyre* and *Gaza*, & procured great Priviledges for the Nation. If this be so, then, as *Grotius* observes, The *Scripture-History* ends, where the very *Light of Times* (as he calls it) begins; and we have the Affairs of *Alexander*.⁶⁴ From this Time, all things in History, are clear. The Affairs of the *Jews* are also Recorded by many *Greek* Writers, (whereof indeed several are now perished,) as appears by *Jerom* upon *Daniel*.⁶⁵

Q. The *Dedication of the Wall*? v. 27.

A. *Selden* observes, That it being said here to be Dedicated *with a Song*, (for so it is in the Hebrew,) there was a particular *Song of Dedication*, which had been formerly used, & was now sung on this Occasion.

Some think, that ever after this Time, they made a yearly Commemoration of this *Dedication*; as they conceive, there was of *Solomons* Dedication of His Temple. We know, the Heathen who imitated the *Jews* (whose Temple was built by *Solomon*, Two Hundred & Sixty Three Years before the Building of *Rome*,) were wont to do so.

Selden thinks, *Hospinian* is in the right, that the *Maccabees* kept the First Anniversary Dedication, & upon another Account.⁶⁶

⁶³ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:699). Patrick does not develop the claim.

⁶⁴ Grotius, *Opera* (1:197).

⁶⁵ The entire entry, of course, is originally Patrick's. See his *Commentary* (2:700). John Selden (1584–1654) was a famous jurist and antiquarian, who helped establish traditions of international law in England, lay the foundations of comparative anthropology, and establish Judaic and Central Asian studies on a firm intellectual footing (*DBH*). Patrick is referring to Selden's 3 volume work on the Sanhedrin, *De Synedriis et Prefecturis Juridicis Veterum Ebraeorum*, tom. 3, lib. 3, cap. 13, sec. 6, pp. 208–09.

⁶⁶ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:700–01). Selden, *De Synedriis*, tom. 3, lib. 3, cap. 13, sec. 6, p. 210. Rudolf Hospinian (1547–1626) was a Swiss theologian and anti-Catholic polemicist (*SH*).

Q. *Two Great Companies of them that gave Thanks?* v. 31.

A. Two Great *Choirs*, as the Vulgar translate it, which most Versions follow. But our *Selden* translates the Words, *Two Eucharistical Sacrifices*, præpared for the Altars; which was proper to the present Business. The *Spanish Jews* translate the Words, *Two Grand Processions*.⁶⁷

Q. The Order of the Procession seems a little obscure? v. 40.

A. Dr. *Patrick* will give us the Sense of the Whole, in this Description.

Being mett together in the same Place, Half of the Rulers went on the Wall on the Right Hand, accompanied with several Priests & Levites and *Ezra* the Scribe, at the Head of them. The other Half took the Left Hand, & walked upon the Wall in the same Order, accompanied with *Nehemiah*, who brought up the Rear of them. At length, both Parts of the *Chorus* mett in the Temple, and there they stood still, and completed their Praises and Thanksgivings, & offered Sacrifices. Where all the People walked, it is not certain; but only that Half of them went with *Nehemiah* upon the Wall; the rest it is likely walking below, because the Wall could not contain them.⁶⁸

Q. The *Joy heard afar off?* v. 43.

A. It might no doubt, be heard at a great Distance.

But, the Meaning may be, that the Report of it spread into far distant Countreys.⁶⁹

Q. *Judah Rejoicing for the Priests & Levites that waited?* v. 44.

A. They so glad to see, such a Concourse of these, performing their Duty, to such Satisfaction, that their Hearts were enlarged in Love to them; which moved them to take all due Care, that they should never want the Provision appointed by God for them.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:701).

⁶⁸ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:701).

⁶⁹ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:701–02).

⁷⁰ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:702).

Q. The *Ammonite* and *Moabite* not to *come into the Congregation of God*? v. 1.
A. Dr. *Patrick* observes, That they who by the *Congregation of God*, understand the public Assemblies for Divine Worship, are very much mistaken. For no Man of any Nation, was forbidden to come & pray unto God, at the Temple; but Men of every Nation, who would become *Proselytes*, were Admitted into the Communion of the People of God; and if they would be circumcised, they had like Priviledges, with all other *Israelites*, even to eat the *Passover*. Some think therefore, the Meaning is, They should be excluded from all public Offices. But this not the Truth neither; For it is to be understood of *Marrying* with them.⁷¹

Dr. *Prideaux* observes very truly, That no Law of GOD excluded any one, of what Nation soever, from entering into the Congregation as a Proselyte. The Jews freely received all into their Religion that would embrace it, and immediately on their Conversion admitted them unto all the Rites, Parts, & Priviledges of it, as true *Israelites*; except only in the Case of Marriage. The Phrase of, *Not Entering into the Congregation of the Lord, even to the Tenth Generation*, is by all the Jewish Doctors, expounded as no more than a Prohibition of being *married* there into.⁷²

According to *Maimonides*, No *Israelite* of either Sex, might marry with any *Gentiles* whatsoever, but what became entire Proselytes unto the Jewish Religion. And yett even of the *Proselytes*, there were some wholly barred from it forever. Such were the seven Nations of *Canaan*. Others were barred for a limited Time. The *Moabites* and *Ammonites*, were excluded, they say, forever. But they extend this only to the *Males*. And this not only for the Sake of *Ruth*, but also because the Word in the Prohibition is only of the masculine Gender. But in making a perpetual Exclusion, they exceed the Prohibition of the Law, which goes not beyond the *Tenth Generation*. With *Edomites* and *Egyptians*, they married not until the Third Generation. With all others, they intermarried immediately on their becoming Proselytes. But at Present, it not being discoverable, who is who,

⁷¹ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:702). Patrick abridges portions of Selden's and Wagenseil's works in his own commentary on a related passage (Deut. 23:1–3) in 1:803–05. See Selden, *De Jure Naturali et Gentium*, lib. 5, cap. 14, p. 621. Wagenseil is Johann Christoph Wagenseil (1633–1705) (*JE*). Patrick references his treatise on the Talmudic tractate, *Sotah*, or “Wayward Wife.” Wagenseil translates and annotates this text under the title, *Sota, hoc est: Liber Mishnicus de Uxore Adulterii Suspecta*. Patrick uses this text, as he does Selden's, to support the assertion that the Ammonites and Moabites would not have been refused entry into the “congregation” of the Jews, but only into their families by marriage. This prohibition, however, applied only to the men, as the story of *Ruth* is considered to demonstrate. See Wagenseil, *Sota*, ch. 1, p. 143.

⁷² The Talmudic reference is Seder *Nashim*, Masechet *Kiddushin*, 67b.

thro' the Confusions that have happened in the Nations, the Jews look on the Prohibition as wholly out of Date, & immediately marry with any Proselyte.⁷³

Q. The *Portions of the Levites* had not *been given them*? v. 10.

A. Either the People did not pay them well, when they saw, they were not laid up, for their proper Use in the Place appointed. Or, *Eliashib*, the corrupt and wicked High-Priest, employ'd them for the Entertainment of *Tobiah*, which he might as well do, as bring him into the sacred Place. The People not knowing what became of them might keep them for themselves.⁷⁴

Q. What were the *good Deeds*, which *Nehemiah* desires to have *Remembred*? v. 14.

A. Dr. *Patrick* notes, 'Tis very natural here to observe, that to make Provision for the Maintainance of the Ministers of God, & of His Worship and Service, is a Work of High Esteem with God. For these are the *good Deeds*, which *Nehemiah* recommends unto the Divine Remembrance.'⁷⁵

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[26v]

Q. *When the Gates of Jerusalem began to be Dark.* When was this? v. 19.

A. When they who satt there, began to want Light for their Business. This was about Sun-Sett. For the Mountains about *Jerusalem*, intercepted the Light there, sooner than in other Places.⁷⁶

[*2222.*]

Q. What was, *The Language of Ashdod*? v. 24.

A. The *Arabian* Version tells us, It was the *Chaldee*. But it is the Guess of Dr. *Lightfoot*, that it might bee indeed the *Arabian*.

Hee considers that Passage, in Act. 2.11 *Creets, & Arabians*. Who are these *Creets*? Any one would conclude them to bee the *Cretians*, that inhabited the Island of *Crete*. But now, saies *Lightfoot*, I should bee ready to say, They were the *Cherethim*, a *Philistine* People, of a *Philistine* Countrey. For / כרתים / is by the Greek Interpreters rendred, Κρητες [Ezek. 25.16. Zeph. 2.5, 6.]

And there is reason to think, that *Luke* might mean that People; because hee joins them with *Arabians*.⁷⁷ Read the *Targum*, on 2. Chron. 26.7. and you'll

⁷³ Humphrey Prideaux, *Old and New Testament Connected*, pt 1, bk. 6, p. 317. Prideaux identifies his source in Maimonides as belonging to *Mishneh Torah*, Issure Biah 12.1. This section of the *Mishneh* treats marriage laws.

⁷⁴ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:703).

⁷⁵ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:704).

⁷⁶ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:704).

⁷⁷ See Lightfoot, *Works* (1:752–53).

find, *Arabians dwelling in Gerar*, a City of the *Philistines*; And it is well enough known, That *Arabia* joined unto the Land of that People. One would suspect now, that the Language of *Ashdod* might bee the *Arabian*: especially whenas the Name of *Idumæa* obtained as far as these Places: And was not the *Arabic*, the Language of the *Idumæans*?⁷⁸

Q. How did *Nehemiah* curse them? v. 25.

A. He denounced the Judgments of God, against them.

Q. A Remark upon the Governours *Plucking off the Hair* of the Delinquents? v. 25.⁷⁹

A. To deprive the Head of its Natural Ornament, was a special Punishment among the Ancients. The *Athenians* made it a Part of the Punishment for *Adulterers*. *Nehemiah* seems here to inflict it, as a Punishment for Wantonness, & Luxury. He did it, that the Guilty might see their *Liberty* chang'd into a State of *Slavery*. *Baldness* was a Token of Servitude.⁸⁰ It was also a Token of *Lamentation*. See Isa. XV.2. and, Ezek. XXVII.37. And in General, among the Jews, a Token of *Ignominy*.

In the Case before us, to some it appears, as a Symbol of *Purgation*; like what was used by the *Levites*, & the *Lepers*, & foreign Women taken in War, before they were joined in Marriage with the *Israelites*.

Q. What the Intent of, *Remember them, O my God*? v. 29.

A. To punish their Scandals.

But *Rasi* takes it for a Prayer to God, to Reform them, & render them Good for Evil.⁸¹

Q. The *Covenant of Priesthood*? v. 29.

A. See Num. XXV. We don't find indeed a *Covenant* so express with the *Levites*. But these Priests dishonoured the whole Tribe of *Levi*.⁸²

⁷⁸ The Targum is an Aramaic translation of Hebrew scripture. There are two accepted Targumim: the Targum Onkelos, on the Torah, and the Targum Jonathan on the Prophets. These are called by Mather, respectively, the Former Targum and the Latter Targum. There is no officially sanctioned Targum of the Writings, which include the Chronicles. Mather appears at this point to be relying on Samuel Bochart (*Geographia Sacra*, pars. 1, lib. 1, cap. 15, pp. 68–9 and pars. 1, lib. 2, cap. 22, p. 138).

⁷⁹ See Appendix B.

⁸⁰ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:705).

⁸¹ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:706). Rasi is RASHI.

⁸² Patrick, *Commentary* (2:706).

But, according to the better Thoughts of Dr. *Alix*, it means, the *Covenant* made in the Twentieth of *Artaxerxes*, To putt away their *strange Wives*.⁸³

Q. Does not *Nehemiah* in his History, seem to commend himself, and Relate his own good Deeds, with too much Self-Estimation? v. 31.

A. It is answered by Mr. *Robert Jenkins* on his behalf; That there are certain Times & Occasions in which the wisest Men have thought it requisite, with great Openness to speak of Themselves. Men in Place, and Men in Age, have much Deference owing to them; they speak, as we say, *with Authority*. And any Man may speak in his own Vindication, what would not become him in another Case. Every Man has a Right by lawful Means to defend his own Innocency; and it is not unlawfully done, to speak Truth, altho' it be in ones own Commendation; and there can be no Indecency in it, when it is forced from a Man, for the Good not only of himself, but of others, who may suffer by the Scandal thrown upon him. All these things concurr'd in the Case of the Apostle *Paul*; and the Case of *Nehemiah* had some of these things in it.

Plutarch has a sett Discourse on this Subject; and he determines, That a Man may praise himself, when it is Necessary for his own Defence, & when it may be for the Benefit of others. *Nestor* in *Homer*, speaks of himself, with as great Commendation as he could have spoken of another Man; but his Years, with the Occasion of Speaking, bore him out. So saies *Tully*; *Nihil necesse est mihi, de meipso dicere, quanquam est id quidem senile, ætatique nostræ conceditur. Videtisne ut apud Homerum sæpissimè Nestor de Virtutibus suis prædicet?*

Virgil makes *Æneas* and *Turnus* to speak of themselves in such a Manner, as is hardly reconcileable to the Rules of Decency, in our Times. Hence the English Translator softens their Expressions. *Sum pius Æneas, — Fama super æthera notus*. Englished, *The good Æneas I am call'd; a Name while Fortune favour'd, not unknown to Fame*.

So, *Turnus ego haud ulli veterum Virtute Secundus*. Englished, *I Turnus, not the least of all my Name*.

It was agreeable to the Notion *Virgil* had of that Age; else that Master of *Decorum* would never have putt such Words in the Mouthes of his *Hero's*. Indeed, he had them from *Homer*. *Homer* makes them spoken by *Ulysses*. We are told by *Servius*, the Heroes did use to speak so.

Poets likewise assumed a Liberty of Bold Expressions concerning themselves, upon Pretence, that they were acted by some Divine Power. Thus *Ovid*,

⁸³ As usual, Mather is citing Patrick, *Commentary* (2:706). Patrick, though, appears to be creatively misreading Allix's conclusion in *Reflexions* that "God would have the Posterity of *Jacob* distinguished from all other Nations of the World, and that he prohibited all alliance with them, as also all Imitations of the Customs, and Religious Ceremonies practiced amongst them" (vol. 1, p. 198).

in his, *Jamque Opus exegi*; And Horace, in his, *exegi Monumentum ære perennius*. This is an Argument that in the common Opinion of Men, Inspired Writers might use Forms of Speech, that would not have been proper for others. This Liberty was taken by *Orators* as well as *Poets*; as may be observed in *Isocrates*.⁸⁴

⁸⁴ The entire answer, though not the question, is selected from Robert Jenkin's *Reasonableness and Certainty of the Christian Religion* (vol. 2, pp. 82–5). Paul's praise of himself occurs in 2 Cor. 11 and 12. Plutarch's essay "On Inoffensive Self-Praise" is in *Quæstiones convivales* (2.1). Cicero's words can be found in *Cato the Elder on Old Age* (30–31): "I need say nothing of myself in this connection, though to do so is an old man's privilege and permitted to one of my age. Do you not observe in Homer how, time and again, Nestor proclaims his own merits?" The speeches of Aeneas and Turnus appear in Vergil, *Aeneid* (1.379): "The good Aeneas am I call'd – a name, / While Fortune favor'd, not unknown to fame." The words of Aeneas are, as Jenkin himself notes, softened by the translation he employed. More accurately, Aeneas says, "I am pious Aeneas – known by fame above the others." Turnus announces himself as, "I, Turnus, hardly second to any of the old ones in virtue." Odysseus's similar speech is in the *Odyssey* (9). Servius is Maurus Servius Honoratus, who wrote a *Commentary on the Aeneid*. Ovid's praise of his own work appears in his *Metamorphoses* (15:871): "For I have raised a [great] work." The reference to Horace is to the thirtieth Ode in Book 3. The citation is from the first line: "I have finished a monument ... lasting (perennial)" (*Odes and Epodes* 279). The remarks of Isocrates can be found in the speeches *Panegyricus* (4.3) and *Panthenaicus* (12.1).

Q. The History of *Esther*, when did it fall out? v. 1.

A. Most evidently, after the Captivity was ended, and after the Time of *Darius* the *Mede*. For *Shushan*, was not the Royal City of the *Medes*, but of the *Persians*. Nor had the *Medes* so large a Dominion, as from *India* to *Ethiopia*.¹

Q. Who was *Ahashuerus*? v. 1.

A. *Jacobus Capellus*, would prove, that it was not *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, nor *Darius Nothus*, nor *Artaxerxes Mnemon*. But he concludes, that it was the next King, *Ochus*; which agrees well with his *Persian* Name, which was, *Achasch*; To which *Verosch* being added, as his Surname, he was by the *Persians* called, *Achasch Verosch*, which the *Greeks* translated, *Ahashuerus*.²

But we shall elsewhere confute him, and prove, that it was, *Artaxerxes Longimanus*.³

Q. His Reigning from *India*, even to *Ethiopia*? v. 1.

A. *Herodotus* tells us, *Darius* conquered *India*. And there might well be so many Provinces between that and *Ethiopia*; whether we understand thereby the Countrey beyond *Egypt*, or that near *Arabia*. *Herodotus* rather directs us to the former, when he saide, *Darius* found by his Conquests, that *Asia* in the Eastern Part of it, was like to *Libya*.⁴

Q. *Shushan*? v.2.

A. A Noble City. *Strabo* calls it, πόλιν ἀξιολογοτατήν. A most famous & highly to be praised City. Here the *Persian* Kings, after the *Medes* were conquered, settled their Royal Seat, that they might not be far from *Babylon*. He writes, That the Countrey about it, was admirably Fruitful. *Pliny* saies, It was built by *Darius*. It should rather be said, enlarged, by building there a most magnificent Palace; as

1 Patrick, *Commentary* (2:707–08).

2 Patrick, *Commentary* (2:708). For Capellus, see notes on Ezra. Patrick identifies his source as Capellus's *Historia Sacra et Exotica*. See the *Historia Sacra*, lib. 2, pp. 361–62. Capellus asserts not only that Ahasch was the Persian name of Ochus, but that his prenom was “Art,” and that the names that characterized this ruler (his agnomena) were “Sta” or “Verosch.” Thus, as Patrick and Mather indicate, Ahasch-uerosch can transliterate through the Greek to Ahashuerus, while by adding the prenom, “Art,” and the suffix, “Sta,” Flavius Josephus and the compilers of the Septuagint can derive Artaxerxes from Art-Ahasch-Sta (Capell, lib. 2, p. 362).

3 This brief paragraph, based on the handwriting, was added at a much later date than the preceding annotation.

4 Patrick, *Commentary* (2:708). The reference to Herodotus is from his *History* (4.44).

Ælian explains it. *Aristotle*, in his Book, *De Mundo*, calls it, Θαυμαστον Βασιλειον Οικον, *A Wonderful Royal Palace, shining with Gold, and Amber, and Ivory.*⁵

[*905.*]

Q. The *Persian* Empire extended over an *Hundred & Twenty Seven* Provinces. Was there any thing else Remarkable to that Empire in that Number? v. 1,2.

A. Yes; The Empire continued an *Hundred & Twenty Seven* Years: At least, so many, from *Daniels* Vision concerning it.

Q. *Nobles?* v. 3.

A. The Word, *Parthemim*; is a *Persian* Word.⁶ As *R. Solomon* expounds it, it signifies, *Governes.*⁷ *Joseph Kimchi* thinks, they were such great Men, as governed a Tract of Land lying on *Phrath*, or the River *Euphrates*. *Hottinger* will have it a Compound, of *Par*, that is *High*; and *Ram*, that is *Spirit*. q.d. High-Spirited, or Heroic Persons. But, as *Dr. Patrick* saies, This is but an Ingenious Conceit.⁸

Q. Of what Use, were the gaudy *Beds*, at the great Feast of *Abashuerus*? v. 6.⁹

A. It is evident, that the most ancient Posture of the Table, was that of *Sitting*. [Gen. 27.19. and Gen. 37.25. and Exod. 32.6. with 1. Cor. 10.7. and Judg. 19.6. and 1. Sam. 20.5, 24.] And as the Texts thus alledged, prove This to have been the Fashion in the Nation of *Israel*, so wee find the same among the *Egyptians*. [Gen. 43.33. whence *Philo* observes, that the Custome of *Discumbiture* was not yett Received.]¹⁰ And when the *Assyrians* and other such Nations, are spoken of,

⁵ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:708). Strabo remarks on the founding of Susa in his *Geographica* (15.3.2). The assertion of Pliny occurs in his *Naturalis Historia* (6.31), though Patrick references 6.27. A previous passing reference to Susa is in 6.26. Aelian's observation is in *De natura animalium* (13.18). It is now generally agreed that *De Mundo* (On the Cosmos) is a spurious work, written not by Aristotle but by a disciple (Pseudo-Aristotle). The quotation can be found in *De Mundo* (398a.14–5).

⁶ פָּרְתֵמִים [partemim] pl. “nobles,” is a loan-word from Old Persian *fratama*, “the first.”

⁷ It is likely that Mather intended not the verb “Governes,” although this is what is written in the manuscript, but the noun “Governers,” since the *-im* ending of “parthenim” denotes a plural.

⁸ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:708). For Rabbi Solomon (RASHI) see notes on Ezra. Rabbi David Kimchi (RADAK) was a twelfth-century commentator on the Tanakh and champion of Maimonides (*ODWR*). Hottinger is Johann Heinrich Hottinger, author of *Smegma Orientale Oppositium Sordibus Barbarismi* (1658) (*BBK*).

⁹ The entire entry is carefully digested from Edwards's *A Discourse on the Authority, Stile, and Perfection of the Books of the Old and New Testaments*, vol. 3, ch. 3, pp. 129–43, but other writers make some of the same points, as I indicate below.

¹⁰ “Discumbiture” is the act of “reclining” or, as Mather puts it in this note, “declining.” The *triclinium* was the room in an upper-class Roman house in which reclining (declining) banquets were held. The seats at these banquets are called here by Mather “beds” though the modern English “seat” is probably less confusing. Thus a *Lectus Discubitorius* is literally a “reclining bed” but better understood as a seat upon which one reclined in order to eat.

wee read, in Ezek. 23.41. of *Sitting on a stately Bed, and a Table prepared before it*. Only here, wee find, they begin to Decline; & they turn their *Stools*, or *Chairs*, into *Pallets*. The old *Græcians* (as *Athenæus* often tells us) did *sitt* at their Tables; *lying*, or *leaning*, is not in all *Homer* once mentioned; That the old *Romans* did so too, is intimated by *Virgil*, in his, *perpetuis soliti patres considerare Mensis*. And *Servius*, on the seventh *Æneid*, remarks, that they *sat*, on their *Tricliniary Beds*.¹¹

It was when Men gave themselves up to *Delicacy*, that they *Lay Down* on their *Beds*, at their *Meals*, & from hence the *Eating-Bed*, was called, *Lectus Discubitorius*. Lying on their left Sides, they rested the upper Part of their Bodies, with the left Elbowes, on a Cushion. When they drank more freely, they satt up a little; but for the most Part they were in this lolling Posture. This became a general Custome, among the *Græcians* and the *Romans*; but the First Rise of it, was among the *Oriental*s. The First Mention of it is, at the Feast of *Ahashuerus*, where wee find gaudy *Beds*, for the Banquets. It was on one of these, that *Haman* fell, when tis said, [Esth. 7.8.] *Hee was fallen on the Bed where Esther was*. Hence, the effæminate Custome was brought in among the *Jewes*. Among these, the more luxurious Feeders, lay all along, stretching out their Bodies. This may bee intended | in Amos. 2.8. *They lay themselves down upon Cloathes*; and in Amos. 6.8. *They ly upon Beds of Ivory, & stretch themselves upon their Couches*. It is a Mistake of *Hammond*, that the Custome of the Ἀνάκλασις at Meat, is not mentioned in the *Old Testament*. But when these *Dining-Beds*, became a general Custome, among the *Jewes*, the Holiest Persons complied with it. It was used, by our Saviour, & His Apostles; and the Words, κατακείσθαι,¹² and, ἀνακλίνεσθαι,¹³ but especially, ἀνακείσθαι,¹⁴ express this Disposition of the Body, used by them; tho' wee render it, *Sitting at Meat*.¹⁵

[2v]

A Room was generally spread, with *Three Beds*, (called hence, *Triclinium*) one situated, at One End of the Table, the other Two at Both Sides; one Corner of the Table, being left Free, for the Waiters to serve up the Dishes. Generally, Three or Four lay upon a Bed together, but only *Men* by themselves; *Women* did not eat promiscuously with them. Hence, *Ahashuerus* feasted the Men, & *Vashti* the Women; and the Daughter of *Herodias* went unto her Mother in *another Room*, & so by Consequence, at *another Table*. Only, among the *Romans*, Men and Women, did eat at the same Table; with this Distinction, the Men *lay*, but

11 See Athenæus, *The Deipnosophists* (1.20). Virgil's phrase is, "At continuous tables the fathers were accustomed to sit" (*Æneid* 7.176).

12 Lying down.

13 Lying back.

14 Reclining.

15 Ἀνάκλασις [anaklasis] "a bending back, reclining (at a table), flexure." All three of the latter synonyms of "leaning back" are also used in the New Testament but, as Edwards remarks, in those cases these words are usually translated as "sitting."

the Women *sat*. However, in after Times, they Degenerated into *one Posture* together.¹⁶

There was an Order of *Præcedency* in this *Discumbiture*. Our Lord saies, in Luk. 14.8. *When thou art bidden of any Man, to a Wedding, lie not* [or, lean not] *in the Highest Room, in the Chief Place of Discumbiture*. Here was the *πρωτοκλίσια* affected by the Pharisees. [Math. 23.6.] The Order of Placing was This. The Chief Guest, lay at the Head, of the First Bed; with his Feet behind the Back, of him that lay Next unto him; so, the Second Mans Head rested in the Bosom of the First, and his Feet were behind the Back of the Third. Unto this ancient Way of *Lying at Eating*, some think those Words refer, in Cant. 2.6. *His Left Hand is under my Head, & his Right Hand doth embrace mee*; This was, at a Feast in an Orchard. The Person, might, if hee pleased, lay his *Left Hand* under the Head of him that lay next unto him, & in his Bosom; & hee lay conveniently, to embrace him with his *Right Hand* also. Thus, *John* leaned in the Bosom of our Lord. The Favourites, were placed so near to their Friends. Thus *Pliny* saies, *Cenabat Imperator cum paucis, Veiento proximus, atque etiam in sinu recumbebat*. The Place of the Bride at Supper was thus next unto the Bridegroom. *Gremio jacuit nova nupta mariti*.¹⁷

3094.

Q. You translate the Account of the *Pavement* of the *Persian Palace*, as tho' it consisted of *Porphyrie*, and *Marble*, and *Pearl*, and *Onyx*; can such Luxury be imagined? v. 6.

A. *Bochart* ha's demonstrated, that the / ך / here, signifies, *Pearle*; and brought these things to Light about this Word, which are unknown to the *Hebrewes* themselves.

Both *Aristotle* and *Apuleius*, describe the Palace of *Persia*, as having a Magnificence little short of what is here assign'd unto it. *Polybius* confirms it. *Androstenes* writes, that *Pearl* in *Persia*, bore no higher Price than *Gold*. And now *Atossa*, (which some do make the same with *Esther*), in *Æschylius*, brags of her χρυσεοστιλβους δομους. *Houses covered with Gold*. Yea, *Philostratus* expressly mentions the *Pavement* in the Temple of the *Sun* in *India*, as laid with *Pearl*; as that of *Bel* at *Babylon*, was both Tiled and Paved with *Gold*. In *Strabo* we read of Peoples, whose private Houses had their Walls inlaid with *Gold*, and *Pearl*.

¹⁶ A very similar paragraph can be found in Lightfoot, *Works* (1:539) in "The Harmony of the Four Evangelists" (pt. 2, sec. 13).

¹⁷ A comparable paragraph also appears in Jurieu, *A Critical History of the Doctrines and Worship* (1:492–93). Πρωτοκλίσια [protoklisia] means "place of honor (at banquets)." The statement of Pliny the Younger (63–c. 113) occurs in his *Epistolarum Libri Decem*. It is from book 4, letter 22 to Sempronius Rufus and concerns the Emperor Nerva: "The Emperor was eating with a few friends, Veiento was near him, and leaning on his shoulder." The second statement appears in Juvenal's *Satires* 2.120: "The new bride reclined on the bosom of her husband."

And we have the like in *Agatharchides*, and in *Diodorus*. *Pliny* saies, That *Pompey* had, *Musæum ex Margaritis*. And the Profuseness of *Heliogabalus*, (who walked on *Aurosa Arena*,) is well-known to all, who know any thing of History.¹⁸

Q. The Repudiation of Queen *Vashti*, might there bee any thing in it Figurative & Prophetical?

A. Why not? As the great King of *Persia*, dealt with his proud Queen *Vasti*, so dealt the King of Heaven, with the insolent *Jewes*; Hee hath Repudiated them from His Royal Bed, *The Church*, and Received thereinto, Poor, Bondslave, Captive *Gentiles*. A *Type*, which perhaps, the *Jewes* then little thought of!¹⁹

Q. The Continuance of the *Feast*, for an *Hundred & Fourscore Dayes*? v. 6.

A. It was, as *Jacobus Capellus* observes, for the Space of Six Months. From the Vernal to the Autumnal *Equinox*, is an Hundred Fourscore and Seven Dayes. Now *Vashti* kept a Feast of Seven Dayes, at the End of this Feast, for the Women of *Susa*, as *Artaxerxes* did for the Men.

Some indeed will have it, that he was thus long in making Preparation for this magnificent Entertainment; but that the Entertainment itself did not last so long.

[3r]

¹⁸ As usual, Mather takes his lead from Patrick's *Commentary* (2:709). The second paragraph of the entry, however, is selected from Bochart's *Hierozaicon* (pars. 2, lib. 5, cap. 6, cols. 681–82). Aristotle remarks on the splendor of Susa in the spurious *On the Cosmos* (398). Among his other works, Apuleius (c. 125–c. 180 CE) prepared a translation of *On the Cosmos* (*De Mundo*), on which Bochart is probably here relying (*ODCW*). Polybius of Megalopolis (c. 200–c. 118) describes Ecbatana in his *Histories* (10.27) (*OCD*). Androstenes of Thasos (4th c. BCE) was an admiral of Alexander who made a voyage down the Euphrates to explore the Arabian coast (*OCD*). His claim is reproduced in *The Deipnosophists* of Athenaeus (3.46). In his play, *Persæ* (*The Persians*), Aeschylus has Atossa, widow of Darius, describe the magnificence of her palace as she is waiting on news from the battle of Salamis. Philostratus details the Temple of the Sun in India (1.24) and the Temple of Belus in Babylon (1.25), in his *Life of Apollonius*. Agatharchides is mentioned in the *Bibliotheca Historica* (3.11) of Diodorus Siculus (Diodorus of Sicily) a 1st c. BCE Greek historian. His *Bibliotheca* is a compendious geographical-historical study of the ancient world, spanning countries from Persia to Gaul, and time from the Trojan War to the Gallic Wars (*ODCW*). Pliny, in his *Natural History* (37.6.14) reports that Pompey during his triumph constructed a temple to the muses made entirely out of pearls. Heliogabalus (or Elagabalus) is the 3rd c. CE Roman Emperor famous for his dissolute lifestyle (*OSCC*). The story of how he would strew gold and silver over the floor of his portico is told in the *Historia Augusta* (18.31), traditionally assigned to Aelius Lampridius. 𐤁𐤏 [dar] “mother-of-pearl, a costly flooring in Pers. king's palace” (*BDB*).

¹⁹ This identification of Esther with the Church is a traditional one. Mather's wording suggests that he may be drawing on *A Commentary or Exposition Upon the Books of Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, Job, and the Psalms* (1657), p. 116, by John Trapp (1601–99).

However, one Dr. Fryar, a Traveller, who lived lately in this Countrey, affirms, that unto this Day the Custome continues of keeping sometimes a Festival of an Hundred & Eighty Dayes.²⁰

Q. How is it said, *The Drinking was according to Law; None did compel?* v. 8.

A. Dr. Patrick observes the most plain Translation to be; *The Drinking according to Custome, none did compel.* It had been customary, to compel Men to drink more than they had a Mind to do. But this Prince left every Man to his Liberty, that no Man should incur any Displeasure, if he did refuse to Drink, what others would impose upon him.

Nothing was more barbarous, than their *pressing* Men to drink beyond their Inclinations; which the Son of *Syrach* expresses by the Word *θλιβειν*. [Eccclus. XXXI.37.] There is an ancient Saying of *Sophocles*, quoted in *Athenæus*; *το προς βιαν πινειν, ισον κακον το διψαν βια*. *To compel a Man to Drink, by Force, is as bad as to compel him to endure Thirst for Want of Drink.*²¹

Q. We read of *Wise Men, which knew the Times*. What were they? v. 13.

A. Men who knew what had been done in former Dayes; or, what was fitt to be done, on all Occasions.

Vitringa explains it, Men well versed in ancient Histories; and in the Laws and Customes of their Countreys. It was thought such would be able to give Counsil in Dubious and Perplexed Cases.²²

[4v]

Q. The *Seven Princes?* v. 14.

A. *Daniel* had a very great Hand in framing the Constitution of this Government. Mr. *Mede* conjectures, That he was willing to have the *Persian* Court resemble that of Heaven. He ordained therefore *Seven Princes* to stand before the King, as the *Seven Archangels* are said in Scripture to stand before the Throne of God.²³

²⁰ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:708). See Capellus, *Historia Sacra*, lib. 2, p. 365. Fryar is John Fryer, author of *A New Account of East India and Persia* (1698), p. 348. Fryer (d. 1733), a graduate of Trinity College, Cambridge, and a physician, undertook a tour in 1672 of India and Persia at the behest of the East India Company. He did not return until 10 years later. The account of his travels was published 16 years after his return in response to criticisms of English expeditions in French guidebooks. In 1697 Fryer was elected a fellow of the Royal Society (*DNB*).

²¹ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:708). In most English translations of Ecclesiasticus, or the Wisdom of the Son of Sirach, *θλιψης* is translated as “Press not a man to drink,” but it can also imply that a person should not make another “grieve” to not drink. The adage of Sophocles can be found in the *Deipnosophists* (10.31).

²² Patrick, *Commentary* (2:710). For Vitringa, see notes on Ezra.

²³ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:710). Patrick refers to Joseph Mede’s discourse on Zech. 4:10 (Mede, *Works*, bk. 1, disc. 10, pp. 40–1).

Q. *Memucan* is the last of the Seven. Why does he answer first? v. 16.

A. This inclines Dr. *Patrick*, to the Opinion, That the *Puny Judge* (as we call him,) delivered his Opinion first; (as it is among us,) and so they spoke, in the Ascending Order.

Indeed, so the *Latter Targum* takes it: *He was the least of them, & therefore gave his Opinion first.*²⁴

Q. He propounds, That the Edict be *unalterable*? v. 19.

A. The *Targum* saies, This was cunningly done; For if the Queen had recovered the Kings Favour, this Council might have cost him his Head.

What made *Laws unalterable* among them, is now uncertain. Possibly, the *Sealing* of them, not only by the King, but by all the Princes. Ponder, Dan. VI.8, 12, 15.

The *Targum* reports, That *Memucan* had a Wife, who being Richer than himself was very proud, & would not speak to him, but in her own Language; and he now took an Opportunity to be Revenged on her, and make her do whatever he pleased.²⁵

Q. The import of that Clause; *And that it should be published according to the Language of every People*? v. 22.

A. The Decree runs thus in the Hebrew; *That every Man should bear Rule in his own House, and speak in the Language of His People*. It seems, the *Persians* had yeilded so much to their Wives, that when they had married a Stranger, they suffered her to bring her own Language into the Family. But this Decree altered that Custome, and allowed no other Language to be spoken in the Family, but that of the Man, & of the People among whom he lived. Thus the *Former Targum* ha's it; *every Man shall rule in his own House, & compel his Wife to speak in the Language of her Husband, & in the Language of his People*. This indeed is a Token of Dominion. Conquerors endeavour to bring in their Language. The *Latter Targum* ha's only these Words; *Every Man shall be honoured in his own House, & speak according to the Language of his People.*²⁶

²⁴ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:710). Mather does not offer Patrick's continued commentary, which notes that "others take it quite contrary, that Memucan was the President of the Council, or the King asked him first, what he thought of the matter."

²⁵ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:711).

²⁶ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:711). Patrick references Ludovicus De Dieu. See *Animadversiones*, pp. 248–49.

Q. Surely *Mordecai*, must bee a very Old Man, that it should bee said of him, *Hee had been carried away with Jeconiahs Captivity?* v. 6.

A. Tis not said of *Mordecai*, but of his Great Grandfather *Kish*, here mentioned. Otherwise, *Mordecai* must now have been much above an Hundred Years Old.²⁷

Q. What is *Esthers* Name, in the pagan Writers? v. 7.

A. *Herodotus* calls her, *Amestris*; and shee is by *Ctesias* called, *Amistris*. Tho' out of Envy to the Jewish Nation, *Herodotus* makes her the Daughter of *Otan*, and *Ctesias*, of *Gnoph*: Whereas her Fathers Name was *Abihail*.

But it is disputed, whether these are the same. She, of whom *Herodotus* tells us, *Darius* her Husband so loved her, as to make her Statue of pure Gold, was not the same with *Esther*.²⁸

But we shall elsewhere settle this Matter, more to Satisfaction.

Q. *Oyl of Myrrh?* v. 12.

A. *Fortunatus Scacchus* observes, That many Authors take *Mor*, to signify, not *Myrrhe*, but that fragrant Herb, which we call *Marum*, or as some think, *Marjaron*; From which there were drawn excellent Oyls.

But he takes it, as we do, for *Myrrhe*; from whence not only a Noble Oyl was drawn, but being beat unto a Powder, such a Fumigation was made with it, as was offered unto their Gods. Whence *Athenæus* blames the Arrogance of *Alexander*, for Suffering *Σμύρνα και άλλα θυμιαματα*, *Myrrhe*, & other sweet Odours, to be offered unto him.²⁹

Q. In The *Seventh Year* of his Reign *Esther* is admitted unto *Ahashuerus*. *Vashti's* Repudiation was in the *Third Year*. Why so long before *Esthers* Advancement? v. 16.

²⁷ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:711). Patrick's conclusion recapitulates that of Jacques Bonfrere (Jacobus Bonfrerius), author of *Pentateuchus Moysis, Commentario Illustratus* (1625). Patrick cites Bonfrere's "Appendix to his *Praeloquium* to his Commentaries on the Scriptures, Cap. vii."

²⁸ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:712). Patrick here depends upon Ussher's *Annales Veteris et Novi Testamenti* (p. 110). The reference to Herodotus is to the *History* (3.88 and 7.69). Ctesias (late 5th c. BCE) was a Greek physician and historian who claimed to have treated Artaxerxes for wounds inflicted by his brother, Cyrus. Ctesias's *Persica* was a 23 book history that is now lost; but is abstracted in the *Bibliotheca* of Photius of Constantinople (EB).

²⁹ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:713). Fortunatus Scacchus was the author of *Sacrorum Elaeochrismaton Myrothecia Tria* (1701). See lib. 1, cap. 51, pp. 256–57 of this work. For the reference to Athenæus, see *The Deipnosophists* 12.53.

A. It is a little Difficult to Resolve. But, as Dr. *Patrick* notes, we are to consider, that there was much Time spent in gathering the Virgins; and she was then a Year in her Præparations; and several, tis likely, went in before her; It might also take some time, for the King to try, how he liked her Witt, & Humour, & Conversation.³⁰

Q. *When the Virgins were gathered together the second time.* What is meant by the *second time*? v. 19.

A. Not that there was a second Inquisition for Virgins, after *Esther* was married. But this Passage is, to join this History with what followes; and it repeats what was in the second Verse; Where we read, there was a second Collection of Virgins, as there had been one before, when *Vashti* was married; and *Mordecai* was then in Attendance at the Palace.³¹

Q. The Plot of *Bigthan* and *Teresh*, what was the Occasion, and whence the Discovery of it? v. 21.

A. Probably the *Occasion* of their Plot, was a fear, least upon the Emperors Match with *Esther*, her Kinsman *Mordecai*, might arrive unto too high Advancements. But the *Discovery* of it was, as wee are informed from *Josephus*, by one *Barnabazus*, a Servant unto one of these Eunuchs, who acquainted *Mordecai* with it.

Perhaps, they were *Vashti's* Creatures, & incensed at her Divorce.³²

³⁰ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:713–14).

³¹ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:714).

³² Patrick, *Commentary* (2:714). Mather collapses Patrick's gloss on verses 21 and 22 into this single entry. Patrick also appears more certain of the identity and motives of Bigthan and Teresh than is Mather. The reference to Josephus is from the *Antiquities* (11.6.4).

Q. *Haman*, the Minion of the *Persian* Court, had by his Brigues, obtained from the Emperour a Commission & Privilege, to require a more than common Reverence, from the Courtiers, then about the Palace; but *Mordecai* found it against his Conscience to take such a Notice of such a Miscreant. Whence the Scruple? v. 2.

A. The Scruple either arose from this; That *Haman* was an *Amalekite*; hee was among the Children of that *Agag*, whom *Samuel* slew; & so of a Generation, both *Accursed* of God, & no less Justly than Greatly *Abhorred* by the *Israel* of God; Or, some say, from *This*, That it was a *Divine* and *Sacred* Respect, which *Haman* did now require. Such was the Respect which the Haughty & Impious Kings of *Persia*, would sometimes arrogate unto themselves; & they would sometimes impart that Respect unto their Parasites & Favourites. Had it been a meer *Civil* Respect, which was here demanded, it would have been very *Superfluous*, & well-nigh *Ridiculous*, to have given Express Command unto all the *Kings Servants that were in the Court*, concerning it; Good Manners were doubtless enough used there. Now, that a Godly *Jew*, should refuse to render such an Honour unto a sorry *Potsberd of the Earth*, is not at all to bee wondred at; when wee call to Mind, That even the prudent, but pagan *Gracians*, did refuse it, in their Addresses to the *Persian* Monarchs; & the *Athenians* putt one *Timocrates* to Death, for adoring of *Darius* in such a Manner.

The *Former Targum* seems to have had some Thought of this; It saies, *They in the Kings Gate bowed down to his Image, which he had sett up, & worshipped Haman.*

It seems not a Reason weighty enough, that because the *Jews* were to cultivate no Friendship with the *Amalekites*, therefore *Mordecai* should not pay *Haman* the Civil Respect which was given to all Men in great Place; especially since by denying it, he might expose the whole Nation to Danger. This is an Argument, that there was more intended. Accordingly the Author of the *Apocryphal* Additions to this Book understood it. He represents *Mordecai*, as praying after this Manner. *Thou knowest, O Lord, that it is not Contumacy or Pride, nor Desire of Vainglory, that makes me not to worship Haman; for I would willingly kiss his Feet for the Safety of Israel; but I do it, that I may not prefer the Glory of a Man to the Glory of God: nor adore any one, but thee, my Lord, alone.* And thus the *Latter Targum*, Explains it. When they asked him, why he did not obey the King? He answered, *What is the Son of Man, that he should exalt himself? What is he that is born of Woman, who comes lamenting into the World, & is of few Dayes, and then returns to his Earth, that I should worship him? No; I worship God, the Living God, who endures forever!* So he goes on, describing very well, the Majesty

of God, the Lord of Heaven & Earth; & thus concludes; *He is to be praised by us, & before Him, we ought to bow down ourselves.*³³

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[8v]

Q. How did they *cast the Lott from Day to Day, & from Month to Month?* v. 7.

A. It was the Manner of the Eastern Countrey, by *casting Lotts* into an *Urn*, to Enquire what Dayes would be Fortunate, and what not, to undertake any Business in. *Haman* accordingly enquired, what *Month* would be most unfortunate for the Jews; and found the Month *Adar*: the Last Month in the Year; which as tis observed by *Schickard*, had no Festival Solemnity in it, nor was it sanctified by any Rites peculiar. Then hee enquired the Day, and found the *Thirteenth Day*, not auspicious for them.

Now, this whole Business was governed by the Providence of God, who ordered a whole Year to intervene between the Design, & the Execution; & so gave Time for the Execution of it.³⁴

Q. *Haman* promises to pay his Money, *To those that have the Charge of the Business.* Who were they? v. 9.

³³ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:715) and Poole, *Annotations upon the Holy Bible* (np). Significantly, Patrick does not mention Timocrates or any other Greek being put to death for honoring Darius in this way, although Matthew Poole (*Synopsis Criticorum* 2, pars 1:1004) does identify Timagoras as having been executed by the Athenians. This fact is reported by Plutarch in his “Life of Artaxerxes” (22), who is probably getting his own account of the story from Valerius Maximus’s *Factorum et Dictorum Memorabilium Libri Novem* (*Nine Books of Memorable Deeds and Sayings*), 6.3, a writer of whom very little is known. As his own marginal comments in the *Synopsis Criticorum* indicate, however, Poole derives his information from neither source but from Oliver Bonartius (see below). Mather’s mistake at this point, which he corrects in his last entry on Esther, seems to creep in from reading Matthew Poole’s English *Annotations upon the Holy Bible*, a work owned by the Harvard Library during Mather’s lifetime. In his commentary on this same verse Poole in his English annotations uses exactly the same wording as Mather. The fault in this case is probably not Poole’s, since the *Annotations* were compiled and published posthumously. It is worth remarking that such errors easily perpetuated themselves in the eighteenth century. John Wesley, in his 1765 *Notes on the Old Testament* makes a remark that is very similar. There, Wesley says that “One Timocrates was put to death by the Athenians for worshipping Darius in this manner” (vol. 2, p. 1500). Bonartius is Olivier Bonaerts (1570–1655), a Jesuit who published several commentaries on canonical books, including one on Esther entitled, *Estherem Commentarius Literalis et Moralis* (1647).

³⁴ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:715–16). Patrick references both Hottinger’s *Smegma Orientale* (p. 75) and Guillaume (Wilhelm) Schickard (1592–1635), a professor of Hebrew at Tübingen. A pamphlet of Schickard’s was published in the second, continental, edition of Pearson’s *Critici Sacri*, which included two volumes of collected tractates (*Tractatum Biblicorum*, 1696). See “Purim, sive Bacchanalia Judaeorum,” in the *Tractatum*, tom. 1, cols. 483–85. Schickard is known today for his production of a calculating machine that anticipated Leibniz’s similar device by a half-century (*OCHMS*).

A. Not those who had the Charge to kill the Jews; but those that received the Kings Money, as is intimated in the next Words. And thus the *Former Targum* ha's it, *I will pay it into the Hands of those who coin the Kings Money.*³⁵

Q. The Dispatch of the Letters, by *Posts*, into all the *Provinces*? v. 13.

A. Concerning those *Posts*, which were in use among the *Persians*, you may consult *Herodotus*, l.VIII. c.XCVIII. Describing the Dispatches, which were sent into *Persia*, to carry the News of *Xerxes's* Overthrow, he saies, Τουτεων δε των αγγελων ουδεν εστι, οτι θασσον παραγινεται θνητον εον. *There is nothing upon Earth, swifter than those Messengers, whom neither Snow, nor Rain, nor Heat, nor Night, can hinder from finishing their Course most speedily.* He setts down the Manner of their Course, and saies, the *Persians* call it, Αγγαρηιον.³⁶

Q. The horrible Edict, for the Destruction of the Jewish Nation, what Remark do the Jewes make upon it, & upon the Offence to Heaven, that procured such Judgment from Heaven upon them? v. 13.

A. There was a mighty Feast made by *Ahashuerus*, for all the Princes, & Captains, and Governors, of the Provinces; which lasted *Seven Dayes*. One *Sabbath* was therefore included in the Time of the *Feast*. It is thought the *Jewes* did also solemnize it; and immediately thereupon came out the Decree to Destroy the Jewes. Wee have no less Authority, than the Chaldee Paraphrast, expounding this Decree to have been ordered by Heaven, for their Contempt of the *Sabbath*.³⁷

Q. The Anguish whereinto the Jewes were thrown, upon this Occasion, what might there be Remarkable in it? v. 15.

A. It was a Remarkable & most Particular Fulfillment of that Prophecy, Deut. 28.66. *Thy Life shall hang in doubt before thee, & thou shalt fear Day & Night, and shalt have none Assurance of thy Life.*³⁸

³⁵ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:716).

³⁶ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:716). Αγγαρήιον (or angarëion) simply means "post-riding."

³⁷ See Walton, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta*, tom. 2, p. 12.

³⁸ This is the opening sentence to the proem of Midrash Rabbah on Esther (I.1), but is seen as applying to Esth. 3:14.

Q. *Mordecai's Distress?* v. 1.

A. The *Targum* tells us, The Jews now flock'd about him, and he caused the Book of the Law to be brought unto the Gate of *Shushan*, covered with Sack-cloth, and therein he read those words of *Moses*; Deut. IV.30,31: *when thou art in Tribulation, – if thou turn to the Lord thy God, – He will not forsake thee.* After which, he exhorted them unto Fasting, and Humiliation, and Repentance, & to follow the Example of the *Ninivites*.³⁹

Q. The Law about, *putting him to Death, who came unto the King in the Inner Court, uncalled?* v. 11.

A. It seems to have been an Ancient Law in that Countrey; and there is an Intimation of it, in *Herodotus*, l.I and in *Athenæus*, l.XII.

But the *former Targum*, will have it, that it was procured by *Haman*; that none might come into the Kings presence, unless *he* introduced them.

The *Golden Sceptre* was the Ensign of the Highest, and most Absolute Authority. Whence, as *Wagenseil* observes, when *Mordecai* was advanced unto the Greatest Dignity next unto the King, even to the *Robe*, and the *Crown*, yett he had no *Sceptre*. This was peculiar to the King.⁴⁰

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[10v]

Q. *Esthers Direction, for the Jews to Fast Three Dayes, Night & Day?* v. 16.

A. Dr. *Patrick* thinks, Few or None, could keep a *Rigid Fast* so Long. The Meaning therefore is, They should make no sett Meal in their Families, neither Dinner, nor Supper, but only Eat and Drink so much at Night, as would support them in Prayer to God, for a Blessing on her Undertaking. *Josephus* understands it as only an Abstinence from Delicacies, and a Contentment with Hard & Coarse Fare. *Drusius* thinks, this Fast was only One Whole Day, and Two Nights; as it is said of our Saviour, He Lay *Three Dayes & Three Nights* in the Grave.

But we have read of Monks, who have in those Hott Countreys, Fasted Four or Five Dayes.⁴¹

³⁹ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:717).

⁴⁰ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:718). See Herodotus's *History* (1.99) and Athenæus's *The Deipnosophists* (12.13). On Wagenseil, see notes on Nehemiah.

⁴¹ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:718). See the *Antiquities* (11.6.7). Drusius is Johannes Drusius (Jan van den Driesche) (1550–1616) (*EB*), whose gloss on this passage is contained in Pearson's *Critici Sacri* (2:2839).

Q. *Esthers* Resolution is, *I will do that which is not according to the Law?* v. 16.

A. In some Cases, there are such Violent Circumstances, that to observe the Law, would be, as *Grotius* notes, to offend against the chiefest Law.

Hither does *Puffendorf* refer, what we read in *Valerius Maximus*; lib. III. cap. VII.n. 1 and Cap. VIII.n. 6.⁴²

⁴² Patrick, *Commentary* (2:719). See Grotius, *Law* (pp. 7 and 193) and *Opera Omnia* (1:200). Puffendorf is Samuel Freiherr von Pufendorf, author of *De Habitu Religionis Christianae* (1687), translated as *Of the Nature and Qualification of Religion in Reference to Civil Society* (1698), and *De Jure Naturae et Gentium, Libri Octo* (1672), which appeared in many translations as *The Law of Nature and Nations, Eight Books*. I have used the 1729 edition of this text. Pufendorf's argument can be found there in bk 1, ch. 7, sec. 4, p. 78. This chapter of Pufendorf's text is entitled, "Of the Qualities of Moral Actions." The assertion of section 4 is that "A Good Action must have all Things requisite, an evil one is made such by wanting one Condition" (p. 77). Patrick, through Pufendorf, references Valerius Maximus's *Factorum et Dictorum Memorabilium libri Novem*. One of these stories (3.7.1b) in a translation by Henry John Walker (2004) notes that "Scipio was just as high-spirited and successful in crossing to Africa. He brought his army over from Sicily, even though the Senate forbade him to do this. If he had not followed his own counsel in this matter, but had obeyed the wishes of the conscript Fathers, nobody would ever have discovered how to finish off the Second Punic War" (106).

Q. The *Records of the Chronicles*? v. 1.

A. These were *Diaries*, wherein was entred what passed every day. We now call them *Journals*. It was the *Persian Manner*, here to sett down the Names of those who had done the King any Eminent Services. Thus *Grotius* notes, out of *Herodotus*, and *Thucydides*, and *Procopius*.⁴³

Q. The Kings Enquiring what had been done for *Mordecai*? v. 3.

A. It is not improbable, that, as *Josephus* relates, the History of some of his Ancestors had been read before they came unto his Reign, and therein was recorded, what Services had been done by these and those, and how they had been Rewarded. This moved the King, when they came to the Story of *Mordecai*, to ask, what had been done for him.⁴⁴

Q. The Honours done to *Mordecai*? v. 8.

A. The *Royal Apparel*, (that should rather be translated, *The Royal Robe*,) was that wherein the King appeared publickly; a Stole coming down to the Feet, worn by none but His Majesty.

The *Horse* was one which none but the King himself might Ride upon; Like the *Mule* among the Kings of *Israel*. [1. King. 1.33.] *Herodotus* ha's mention'd such a Generous and most Noble *Horse*, belonging to the King of *Persia*.

The *Crown*, was upon the *Horses* Head. A Royal Ornament. Such an one there is at *Rome*, now called a *Fiocco*. *Keter* is a very large Word, signifying any Ornament, about the Head or Neck.⁴⁵ *Lud. de Dieu*, shoves that it is plain in the Hebrew, & from the next Verse, that this *Crown* refers to the *Horse*, and not to the *King*. Presently you have no more mention of the *Crown*, but only of the *Robe* & the *Horse*.⁴⁶

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Q. *Mordecai's* Advancement? v. 11.

⁴³ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:720). See Grotius, *Opera Omnia* (1:201). The reference is to Herodotus's *History* (8.85). According to *Peloponnesian War* (1.5), Thucydides reports that a letter passed between Xerxes and Pausanias after the latter's invasion of Byzantium in 478 BCE. Grotius refers to Procopius's *The History of the Wars* (bk. 2).

⁴⁴ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:721). The reference to Josephus is to the *Antiquities* (11.6.10).

⁴⁵ A "fiocco" is a "tassel" or "bow." Kether כֶּתֶר [kether] "high turban (of Pers. king)" (Pers. loan-word) or "decoration on head of horse" (*BDB*).

⁴⁶ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:721); Herodotus, *History* (1.189). See de Dieu, *Animadversiones*, pp. 251–52.

A. The Latter *Targum* tells us, That [at] the Sight thereof, *Esther* praised God, in the Words of Psal. CXIII.7, 8. *He raises up the Poor out of the Dust, & lifts the Needy out of the Dunghil; That He may sett him with Princes, even with the Princes of His People.* And *Mordecai* said these Words; Psal. XXX.11,12. *Thou hast turned for me, my Mourning into Dancing; Thou hast putt off my Sackcloth, & girded me with Gladness. I will praise thee, O Lord God my Redeemer, that thou hast not lett my Enemy triumph over me.*⁴⁷

Q. The Prædictions of *Hamans* Friends? v. 13.

A. It is likely, they had observed, how since the Time of *Cyrus*, the *Jews* had been wonderfully raised from under great Oppressions; and from thence they concluded, there was a particular Providence watching over them. It is possible, they had also heard something of the Oracle concerning the *Amalekites*, That they should perish by the Hands of the *Jews*. And it is well noted by Dr. *Jackson*, That those Plotts which would have crushed other Nations, did often turn to their Advancement, & the Fall of their Enemies. The Success of such as opposed them, was in the Apprehension of Wise Men of other Nations, meerly Fatal; altogether Incorrigible by Worldly Policy. Whence, these Wise Men of *Chaldaea* (as he calls them) upon the first Notice of the Winds turning for them, read *Hamans* Destiny. See *Achiors* Speech to *Holofernes* [Judith. V.17.], which (tho' it may be feigned by the Historian) was framed according to the Known Experience of those Times.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:721). For the reference to the Targum, see Walton's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta*, tom. 2, p. 20. See also Midrash Rabbah Esther (10.5), which contains a similar tradition.

⁴⁸ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:722); Jackson, *Works*, vol. 1, p. 85.

Q. *The Enemy could not countervail the Kings Damage?* v. 4.

A. *Aben Ezra* takes the Word *Habzar*, to signify, not an *Enemy*, but, *Misery, Distress, Trouble*. Then the Sense runs thus. “If they had sold us for Slaves, I had not then Troubled the King with my Petition; because that Misery of ours, would not have been so much to the Kings Damage.”⁴⁹

Q. *Where is he that durst præsume in his Heart to do so?* The Emphasis of the Phrase? v. 5.

A. It seems, His Majesty had forgott, the Decree that *Haman* had obtained from him!

In the Hebrew, the Words are, *Who is he, whose Heart hath filled him to do so?* A Speech like that in the New Testament; Act. V.3. *Why hath Satan filled thy Heart?* Made thee so præsumptuous.

See Eccl. VIII.11.⁵⁰

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[14v]

Q. *Hamans being fallen on the Bed where Esther was?* v. 8.

A. Of old, you know, they lay on *Beds* at *Meals*. Here *Haman* fell down at the Feet of *Esther*, & laid his Hands on her Knees, as beseeching her to take Pitty on him. We are sure, it was the Manner among the *Græcians* and *Romans*, and probably among the *Persians*, to embrace the Knees of those, for whose Favours they petitioned. It was therefore a Rite of Religious Worship, to touch the Knees of their Gods. See *Pliny*, in L. XI cap. 45. So *Sulpitius Severus* takes it here; *Deinde regressus Rex, vidit Aman Reginae genua amplexum*. The King, in his furious Passion, turned every thing to the worst Sense, and made the Posture of his Petition but the Aggravation of his Crime.⁵¹

⁴⁹ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:722). Aben Ezra is Abraham ben Meir ibn Ezra (i. e., Aben Ezra), a medieval Spanish rabbinical commentator (*JE*). Patrick's source is his own trusted Ludovicus de Dieu, *Animadversiones*, pp. 253–54. צר [tsar], here: “narrowness, distress.” A second usage, e. g., at 2 Sam. 24:13: “oppressor, adversary, enemy.” At Esth. 7:4 it is transl. with “enemy” (KJV), “affliction” (ESV) and “trouble” (NAU). See Strong's # 6862.

⁵⁰ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:722).

⁵¹ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:723). The reference to Pliny's *Natural History* is 11.103; Patrick cites an old edition which contains a different set of book-and-chapter references. Sulpitius Severus is Sulpicius Severus, an early church father (c. 363–420), best known for his life of St. Martin (*ODCC*). The remark occurs in his Sacred History (*Chronicorum Libri Duo* 2.13). The translation of Alexander Roberts runs thus, “He [the king] then returned, and when he saw Haman grasping the knees of the queen, excited with rage, and, crying out that violence was being applied to the queen, he ordered him to be put to death.”

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Q. The *Covering of Hamans Face*, upon the Intimation of the Kings Displeasure against him; what might bee the Original, & Occasion of that usage? v. 8.

A. I have read, that of Old, according to the Lawes of *Persia*, a Malefactor had Liberty, for an Hour before his Execution, to ask what hee would, & what hee asked was granted him. One that was under Sentence of Death, being admitted unto the Use of this Liberty, desired neither one thing nor another, but only, *That hee might see the Kings Face*; which being allowed him, hee so plied the King in that Hour, that hee obtained his Pardon: Whereupon the *Persians* altered their Custome, and *covered the Face* of the Malefactor, that hee might never see the King, any more. *Quære*: How far may this Peece of History Illustrate the Text before us?⁵²

Q. After what Manner, was the *Hanging of Haman* Executed? v. 9.

A. *Salmasius* observes, It is not said, whether Dead, or Alive. In his Book, *De Cruce*, he shewes by many Instances, that it was the Manner of the *Persians*, first of all to cutt off the Heads of Malefactors, and then to Hang them on a Gibbet.

Josephus indeed saide, He commanded *Haman*, *ἐκ σταυρου κρεμασθεντα αποθανειν*. *To be putt to Death, hanging on a Cross*. But *Crucifying* was not a *Persian* Punishment; nor did the *Romans* lett the Malefactors dy on the Cross themselves, but they extinguished them some other Way.⁵³

⁵² Patrick's commentary suggests this point derives from Aben Ezra. Fryer also makes a similar point in *A New Account of East-India and Persia* (p. 358).

⁵³ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:723) refers to a series of letters exchanged between Thomas Bartholin and Claude Saumaise, which were reprinted in *De Latere Christi* and *De Cruce* (1646), p. 494. The reference from *Josephus* is to the *Antiquities* (11.6.11).

Q. Is it not strange, that *Ahashuerus*, would chuse to fill his Realm with Blood, rather than Revoke a Rash Decree? v. 8.

A. This would have been agreeable enough unto the Temper of *Ochus*, whom *Valerius Maximus* represents to have been a very cruel Man – Had he been the Emperour now on the Throne.

Thus *Jacobus Capellus* observes; *ad A.M.* 3650. Where, he saies, he does not Remember any Heathen Writer, who mentions any such absurd Law, as this of the *Medes* and *Persians*. Tho' *Ælian* mentions one, that was not much less unreasonable.⁵⁴

Q. But a further Illustration on the Irreversible Decrees of *Persia*? v. 8.

A. Dr. *Fryar*, in his, *Present State of Persia*, ha's this Passage.

“Out of Respect unto their own Lawes, which are still unalterable, they have sought by one Nail to drive out another. When they find themselves perplexed with a Dilemma, they seek not to abrogate any Former Decree of their Emperors, by a Direct Contradiction, but study to impugn it some other Wayes. As for Example, In *Shaw Abas* the Greats Time, on the Dayes of their Feasts & Jubilees, Gladiators were approved and licensed; but feeling afterwards the Evils that attended that Liberty, which was chiefly used in their *Hossy Gossy*, any private Grudge being then openly Revenged; it never was forbid, but it passed into an Edict, by the following King, That it should be Lawful to kill any found with Naked Swords in that Solemnity.”⁵⁵

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[16v]

Q. *Mordecai's Great Crown of Gold*, and his *Garment of fine linen & purple*? v. 15.

⁵⁴ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:724). Patrick is directly referencing Jacques Capell's *Historia Sacra*, lib. 2, p. 370. Patrick may also be recalling any of several remarks in Aelian's *Varia Historia* (2.9), among them the laws of the Athenians that certain rebels should have their thumbs cut off so that they could not hold a spear, but could row as galley-slaves, or the dictate of Cleon that every young man of Mitylene should be put to death. Patrick could as well have in mind the law of the Ceans that the old should be gathered together and be given hemlock to drink (3.37) or the law of the Sardinians that the sons should beat their old fathers to death with clubs (4.1).

⁵⁵ Fryer's *New Account*, p. 357. Hossy Gossy, which dates to as early as 1673, seems to be a soldier's corruption of “Hassan Husain,” or “Hosseen Gosseen,” as British soldiers apparently heard it. This is the cry of Shia Muslims during the Remembrance of Muharram, a memorial marking the anniversary of the Battle of Karbala (680 CE) when Imam Hussein (Husain) ibn Ali and Hassan ibn Hassan were killed by the forces of the second Umayyad caliph, Yazid I (Nagle, 120–21).

A. The *Crown* was not that of the King; but such a *Coronet*, as was used by the greatest Peers of the Realm.

The *Garment of fine linen & purple*, was his Inner Garment, as the *Royal Apparel* was his Outward.

The *Former Targum* ha's made an extravagant Description, of the Riches of the Habit. *Four Hundred & Twenty Talents of Gold!*

But one thing he relates, which is very pious, if it be truly Related. *Esther* looking out of her Window, saw *Mordecai* in his Glory. He spying her, spoke those Words; Psal. CXXIV.6. *Blessed be the Lord, who hath not given me a Prey unto their Teeth.* Whereto she replied in those Words; Psal. CXXIV.8. *Our Help is in the Name of the Lord, who made Heaven & Earth.*⁵⁶

Q. Why is not this memorable Revolution, Mention'd, or so much as Touch'd, by any exotic Writer, whatsoever? v. 17.

A. *Jacobus Capellus* ha's given us a plain Reason. The History of *Ochus*, is described by no Writer in the World, but only *Diodorus Siculus*; and he meddles with the Affairs of *Persia*, no further than as they cohære with the Affairs of *Græcia*.⁵⁷

But I again, declare against having any thing to do with *Ochus* in this affair. — It must be further considered.

⁵⁶ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:726). For the Targum, see Walton, *Biblia Sacra*, tom. 2, p. 24.

⁵⁷ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:726). The reference to Capellus is to the *Historia Sacra*, lib. 2, pp 371–72. For Diodorus, see the *Historia Bibliotheca* (17.5).

Q. How did the *Fear of Mordecai* make them aid the *Jews*? v. 3.

A. They were Men of the Times, & would have been as ready to Execute *Hamans* Decree, if he had continued in Power. But it was their Interest now to do the *Jews*, the best Services they could; being otherwise in danger to be turned out of their Places, by *Mordecai*, who was the Chief Minister of State.⁵⁸

Q. The *Five Hundred Men* slain by the *Jews*? v. 6.

A. These, and the rest who were killed, were such as could not suppress their wicked Inclinations to destroy the *Jews*, but wickedly assaulted them.

Some learned Men, think the Conjecture of the *Targum* to be right; That these *Five Hundred Men* were *Amalekites*, who follow'd the fate of *Haman*; and by their Slaughter, the Threatnings against *Amalek* were accomplished.

The *seventy five thousand Men* slain thro' the rest of Empire, were probably a great Part of them also *Amalekites*, as the *Targum* intimates. Many of these were doubtless dispersed in the Provinces, & being the old Enemies of the *Jews*, they could not forbear attempting their Destruction; tho' the Attempt issued in their own.⁵⁹

Q. The *Ten Sons of Haman*, slain by the *Jewes*; was there any *Mystery* therein? v. 10.

A. I make no Doubt, That *Haman* was a Type of *Antichrist*.

If you'l pursue this Thought, you'l find it full of Grateful and Curious Reflections.

Now, you find that the Empire of *Antichrist*, must consist of *Ten Kingdomes*; which are to fall before the Prevailing Church of our Lord. What are those *Ten Kingdomes*, but the *Ten Sons of Haman*?

Yea, I have somewhere mett with a Curiositie, in which perhaps the Thought may be of too fine a Threed.

The *Heighth* of the *Gallows*, whereon *Haman* was hanged, was *Fifty Cubits*. Behold, a Signature of a *Jubilee*! The Church of God is to see a Time, that will be the Grand *Jubilee*; when the *Great Trumpet shall be blown*. *Antichrist*, with

⁵⁸ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:727).

⁵⁹ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:727–28). The “learned Men” are Patrick and his source, Pierre Allix.

his Sons, will perish in that *Jubilee*. Then shall the *Israel* [**]⁶⁰ of GOD return to their [*]⁶¹ Possessions in a Resurrection of the Dead. [**]⁶²

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Q. The Observation of the *Feast of Purim*? v. 26.

A. The *Jews* observe it at this day. And they make it consist in Three Things; in *Reading*, & in *Resting*, & in *Feasting*.

The *Reading* begins in the Evening, as soon as the Stars appear; when the History of *Haman* is Read, from the Beginning to the End, out of an *Hebrew Manuscript* written on Parchment; for it is not lawful to read this, any more than the Law, out of a printed Bible. *Schickard* observes this out of the Jewish Writers; who say also, That *Three Prayers* go before the *Reading*. In the *First*, they praise God, for counting them worthy to attend this Divine Service. In the *Second*, they praise God, for the Miraculous Præservaⁿtion of their Ancestors. In the *Third*, they give Thanks, that they have lived unto the Observation of another Festival in Memory of it. After this, they go to Supper upon Spoon-meats. The next Morning, they go to the *Synagogue*, where the History is read over again with the same Ceremonies. After this, they have done with Religion, and all Piety; they spend the Two Dayes in Idolness, & in Eating & Drinking. *Surenhuysius* ha's given us a large Account, of the *Reading*, & of the *Benedictions*, in his Notes upon the *Megillah*. They *Rest* so punctually, that they will not sow or sett any thing in a Garden in these Dayes; they play at Chess & other Games; and Music and Dancing, you may be sure, enough of *That*. They then *Feast*; but at such a rate, that our *Usher* well calls this, *The Bacchanals of the Jews*. They indulge themselves, till they are dozed unto such a Degree, that as they themselves express it, they can't well distinguish between the *Cursing* of *Haman*, and the *Blessing* of *Mordecai*.⁶³

Q. The *Two Dayes*? v. 27.

A. On the *Fourteenth* Day, they kept the Festival, in the Countrey, & thro' all the Kings Dominions. On the *Fifteenth* Day, they kept it in *Shushan*. The former

⁶⁰ [**Israelitish Nation* also*]. Here, as he does throughout the Psalms, Mather carefully alters his transcriptions of Allix, who held that the return of the Jews to their ancient homeland would precede the Second Coming of Jesus to earth. As Mather revised his reading of the prophecies, he began to allegorize these readings so that the "return to Israel" was viewed as a symbol of the final purification of the church that would usher in the millennium.

⁶¹ [*Ancient*]

⁶² [*and *Mordecai* shall be advanced into the place of *Haman*; The *Kingdome* will be restored unto *Israel*; and the *Jews* become superior to the *Gentiles*.*]

⁶³ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:729). Surenhuysius is William Surenhuis (c. 1664–1729), a Dutch Hebraist and translator of the Mishnah. See Ussher's famous chronology, *Annales veteris testamenti* (1650), p. 163. In the 1658 English edition of Ussher's *Annals* (p. 114), "Judaeorum Bacchanalia" is translated as the "Jews Shrovetide." See also Schickard in *Tractatum Biblicorum*, tom. 1, cols. 483–85, who seems to be the primary source here.

of these, the *Jews* in their *Calender* now call, *The Lesser Feast of Purim*; the Latter, *The Greater Feast*.⁶⁴

Q. The CXXXVII Provinces? v. 30.

A. Consequently, as far as *Jerusalem*. *Syria* and *Judæa* were among the *Provinces*. The *Jews* were to have been kill'd there, as well as in the rest. These were under Obligation to give Thanks unto God, with the rest of their Countrey-men. Had not God preserved them, they had no longer been a People.⁶⁵

Q. *Words of Peace & Truth?* v. 30.

A. Full of Hearty & Sincere Desires of their Happiness; *Verbis Amicis et Sinceris*. Or, as others will have it; wishing their Prosperity; & exhorting them to live in Love, & be faithful to their Holy Religion; and particularly, in keeping their Promise, to observe those Dayes.

After all, *Pellican* seems to have guess'd right enough; That these Words, *Peace* and *Truth*, were the Salutation on the Top of the Letter.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:729).

⁶⁵ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:729–30).

⁶⁶ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:730). For Conrad Pellicanus, see notes on Ezra.

Q. The *Isles of the Sea*, on which *Ahashuerus* laid a Tribute? v. 1.

A. Dr. *Usher* hereby understands the *Isles* of the *Ægean Sea*, which were conquered by *Darius Hystaspis*, who was the First that laid a Tribute on his Subjects. Before him, *Cyrus* and *Cambyses* laid none; but, being begun, they continued it unto the Reign of this King. *Strabo* saies, The Tribute exacted on the *Seacoast*, was paid in *Silver*; but from the *Land*, in such Commodities as every Countrey afforded; Wool, Drugs, Cattle, & the rest.⁶⁷

Q. The *Power* and *Might* of *Ahashuerus*? v. 2.

A. So Great, that the *Egyptians* in their *Hieroglyphicks* represent *Ochus* by, *A Sword*. And *Plutarch*, as *Jacobus Capellus* observes, calls him, *The Most Terrible of all the Persian Kings*.⁶⁸

But lett us drop *Ochus*. —

Q. A Note upon that Expression, *Mordecai the Jew*? v. 3.

A. *Mordecai* being so often called, *The Jew*, in this Book; it inclines Dr. *Patrick* to think, It was not written by one of that Nation; but by a Proselyte of *Persia*, who was converted, as many were at this time [Est. VIII.17.] unto the Jewish Religion. Some of these might now be divinely Inspired, as *Nicolas*, a Proselyte of *Antioch* was, in the Dayes of the Apostles. [Act. VI.5.]⁶⁹

It is probable, That this Book, was written, after that of *Malachi*, which takes no Notice of the astonishing Deliverance, which is here commemorated.⁷⁰

Q. A Reflection upon the Book of *Esther*? v. 3.

A. A learned Man long since made this Reflection.

In the astonishing Deliverance of the Jewish Nation, there was no extraordinary Manifestation of the Power of God; nor any particular Agent in its working advanced above the ordinary Pitch of Nature. And yett the whole Contrivance, and the Suiting of Causes & Occurrences appointed by God, is more admirable, than if the same End had been effected, by Means never so much miraculous.

⁶⁷ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:730). See Ussher, *Annals* (p. 119) and Capellus, *Historia Sacra*, lib. 2, p. 371.

⁶⁸ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:730).

⁶⁹ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:730).

⁷⁰ Patrick, *Commentary* (2:731).

That a King should not sleep well, is no unusual Thing; nor is it, that he should solace his waking Thoughts, with having the *Journals* of his own Reign read unto him. But that he should ly Awake, at the very Time, when *Haman* was watching to destroy the *Jews*; and that in the *Annals* of the Kingdome they should light on the very Paragraph that recorded *Mordecai's* unrewarded Services; and that resolving to putt Honour upon *Mordecai*, *Haman* should come in at the very Nick of Time, & so determine the Honour, and be made the Instrument of it; This was from the *Keeper of Israel*, who *never slumbers nor sleeps!* We may make the like Remarks on the other Circumstances in this History.

Dr. *Jackson* on this Occasion, observes, That *Miracles* are more apt in their Nature, to affect the *Sense*; but the *secret Contrivances* of the Wisdome and Providence of God, more affect the *Understanding*. The one works *Astonishment*; the other, *Admiration*. Hence *Miracles* were more frequent in the Infancy of our Holy Religion; which compelled Unbeleevers to give Ear unto the Words of Life, and to take into serious Consideration the Promises of God, which otherwise they would have sleighted. But now, the more *secret Dispositions* of the Wisdome and Providence of God, are more apt to cherish the Seed of Life, sown in the Hearts of Beleevers. *Miracles* by continual Frequency, would cease to be *Miracles*; and be no longer wondred at; whereas the unsearcheable Wayes in the Conduct of God, contriving extraordinary Successes by Means that are but Ordinary, will incessantly breed in us a noble Wonderment. These Contrivances, are very visible, but we want Eyes or Hearts to contemplate them.⁷¹

[21r]

Q. What Further Light upon the Book of *Esther*? v. 3.

A. That which Dr. *Prideaux* ha's given, ought to be preserved.

And, in the first Place; He ha's determined the *Abasuerus* in this Book, to be the *Artaxerxes*, who after the Murder of his luxurious Father *Xerxes*, by *Artabanus*, the Captain of his Guards; and his own Rash Killing of his elder Brother *Darius*, upon the False Accusation of *Artabanus*, that he had plotted on his Fathers Life, & after the Destruction of *Artabanus* on the Discovery of his Villany; succeeded on the *Persian* Throne, & held it for One and Forty Years. He was esteemed the Handsomest Person of his Age; and a Prince of a very Gracious & Generous Disposition. He is called by the Historians, *Μακροχειρ*, or *Longimanus*, that is, The *long-handed*; Because his Hands were so long, that standing upright, he touch'd his knees with them.

Dr. *Prideaux* answers all that is brought by Dr. *Usher*, for *Darius Hystaspis*, to be the *Ahashuerus* of *Esther*; and all that is brought by *Scaliger* for *Xerxes*. *Atossa* could not be *Vashti*, as Dr. *Usher* thought; Because *Atossa* had Four Sons

⁷¹ The learned man is Patrick in his *Commentary* (2:723). Patrick references Thomas Jackson's sermon on 2 Chron. 6:39–40. The original can be found in Jackson's *Works* (vol. 2, p. 309).

by *Darius*, besides Daughters, after he was King. Whereas *Vashti*, was divorced from her Husband in the Third Year of his Reign. *Hamestris* could not be *Esther*, according to *Scaliger*, For *Xerxes* had a Son by *Hamestris* that was marriagable in the Seventh Year of his Reign; whereas *Esther* was not married unto her Husband, until near that Year. Our Doctor brings many unanswerable reasons against those two Pretenders, *Darius* and *Xerxes*. But now, *Josephus* positively tells us, That *Ahashuerus* was this *Artaxerxes* whom we are now claiming for. And the Septuagint, throughout this whole Book, where the Text ha's *Ahashuerus*, reads *Artaxerxes*. And *Severus Sulpicius*, with many other Ancients as well as Moderns, come into this Opinion. And the extraordinary Favours, done by *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, unto the Jews, beyond any former Kings of *Persia*, sending first *Ezra*, and afterwards *Nehemiah*, for the restoring of their ancient Prosperity, agree well in their having in his Bosom, such a powerful Advocate as Q. *Esther* for them.⁷²

The Removal of Q. *Vashti*, on the well-known Occasion, produced a Collection of Virgins; whereof one of the earliest was *Hadassah*, a Neece, adopted by *Mordecai*, a Jew, who seems to have been one of the Porters of the Royal Palace. Her Beauty was extraordinary, & her Carriage recommended her unto the Chamberlain; so that she was one of the first Introduced unto the King; to whom she proved so acceptable, that he after call'd for her by Name; which now became *Esther*; the Signification whereof is unknown unto us: And anon he putt the Royal Diadem upon her Head.⁷³

About the Eighth Year of *Artaxerxes*'s Reign, *Bigthan*, and *Teresh*, Two Eunuchs of Palace, entred into a Conspiracy against the Life of the Emperour. Tis Likely, they were those who had attended Q. *Vashti*, and now being putt out of their Offices by the Degrading of their Mistress, took a Disgust, & resolved on a Revenge. *Mordecai* having some way gotten the Knowledge of it, he discovered it unto *Esther*; and she in his Name unto the King. The Two Traitors were crucified; & the History registred in the Annals of the Kingdome.⁷⁴

Haman an *Amalekite*, who was descended from *Agag*, that was King of *Amalek* in the days of *Saul*, growing to be the principal Favourite of *Artaxerxes*, we have read what Honours the King allow'd him, and *Mordecai* refus'd him; and the exquisite Revenge he proposed therefore to take, not only upon *Mordecai*, but also upon all the whole Jewish Nation; on the Thirteenth Day of *Adar*, the Twelfth Month following, which their Divinatory Lotts, determined for the Lucky Day of executing his Bloody Design.

⁷² Humphrey Prideaux, *Old and New Testament Connected*, pt. 1, bk. 4, pp. 197–200. Severus's conclusion is in his *Chronicorum Libri Duo* (2.13). Scaliger's identification of Xerxes the Great with Ahashuerus and Hamestris with Esther can be found in *De Emendatione Temporum*, lib. 6, p. 591.

⁷³ Prideaux, *Old and New Testament*, pt. 1, bk. 5, pp. 202–03.

⁷⁴ Prideaux, *Old and New Testament*, pt. 1, bk. 5, p. 242.

That the King might make no Objection, from the Damage which the Destroying of so many Subjects might give unto his Treasury, *Haman* offered him from his own Purse, a | Compensation of Ten Thousand Talents; but so [22v] Great was the Kings Favour to him, as to remitt it. The Sum, if computed by *Babylonish* Talents, amounts to Two Millions One Hundred & Nineteen Thousand Pounds of our Sterling Money; but if by *Jewish* Talents, tis as much again. How Prodigious the Wealth of the Wretch! His Desire of Revenge, how Implacable! How Insatiable! But in old times, there were now & then such wealthy Men. *Pythius* the *Lydian*, was possessed of Two Thousand Talents in Silver, and Four Millions of Darics in Gold; which together amounted unto near Five Millions & an Half of our Sterling Money. *M. Crassus* the *Roman*, after he had consecrated the Tenth of all he had unto *Hercules*, feasted all the People of *Rome* at Ten Thousand Tables, and gave them in a Donative of Corn unto every Citizen, as much as would last him Three Months, and yett found the Remainder of his Estate, Seven Thousand One Hundred Roman Talents, which amounts to above a Million & an Half of our Money. The Historians tell us, the vast Expences of *Lucullus*, the Roman Orator. The Philosopher *Seneca* instructs us to moderate Ambition & Avarice, and shews us that Nature will be contented with a very little; yett besides the Moveables and Gardens which this Hypocrite possessed, he had near Seven Millions & an Half of Crowns lying by him. *Gold* and *Silver* were then more plentiful than they are at present. The Mines which furnished that Plenty, especially those of the Southern *Arabia*, were exhausted. The Burning of Cities, & the fearful Devastation of Countreys, which followed from the Eruptions of the *Goths*, the *Vandals*, the *Huns*, & other Barbarous Nations in the West, & of the *Saracens*, the *Turks*, & the *Tartars* in the East, buried a great Part of the Gold & Silver that was then circulating in the World. And a great Scarcity ensued, which the opened Mines of *Mexico* and *Peru* and *Brasil* have not been able fully to repair unto this day.

It is not easy to find a Reason for *Mordecai's* refusing to pay unto *Haman* the Respect which he required, & exposing his whole Nation to an Extirpation: It is commonly said, That it was the same Adoration, that was paid unto the Kings of *Persia*, a Bowing of the Knee, & a Prostration of the Body to the Ground; and that *Mordecai* declined it as Idolatrous. But this being the Common Complement, which was constantly paid unto the Kings of *Persia*, by all that were admitted into their Presence, it was, no doubt, paid unto this very King, by *Ezra* and by *Nehemiah*, when they had Access unto him, and afterwards by *Mordecai* himself. And if this Homage might be paid unto the King, there was no Idolatry in paying of it unto *Haman* too. The *Greeks* indeed would not pay this Respect unto the Kings of *Persia*; but it was out of Pride: *Themistocles* indeed was brought unto it: But when *Timagoras* the Athenian paid it, the People of *Athens* passed a Sentence of Death upon him for it; thinking the Honour of their City debased in it. Our Dr. *Prideaux* will not suppose this the

Case of *Mordecai* in respect of *Haman*; but supposes the cause to be personal in *Haman* only. Probably, it was because *Haman* was of the race of the *Amalekites*, and under the Curse denounced by GOD upon that Nation; and therefore, he thought it not proper to give that Honour unto him. And if all the rest of the Jews thought the same, we may see, why he would also revenge himself upon all the Nation.⁷⁵

How the Matter proceeded, needs not be again Repeted.

But upon the astonishing Deliverance of the Jews, *Esther* and *Mordecai*, ordered, the Thirteenth of *Adar*, to be kept as an Anniversary *Fast*; and the Two Following Days an Anniversary *Feast* forever. Tis done even to this Time. The *Fast*, they call, The Fast of *Esther*; The *Feast*, they call, The Feast of *Purim*; in remembrance of the *Purim*, or Lotts then cast by *Haman*, for their Destruction. This Feast is the *Bacchanals* of the Jews; who now indulge themselves in all Manner of luxurious Excesses, & look upon Drunkenness as Part of their Duty, because the Kings Heart was merry with Wine on the Occasion. During the Solemnity, the Book of *Esther* is read in all their Synagogues: & when the Name of *Haman* occurs, they clap their Hands, and cry out, *Lett his Memory perish*.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ Prideaux, *Old and New Testament*, pt. 1, bk. 5, pp. 244–50.

⁷⁶ The remainder of this entry is a recapitulation of Mather's usual sources already identified in the notes, primarily the commentary of Patrick, but also those of Mede, Bochart, Poole, Prideaux, and Ussher. The reference to Pythias derives from Herodotus (7.28). M. Crassus is Marcus Licinius Crassus. The anecdote concerning his wealth derives from Plutarch's *Life of Crassus* (2), and the one on Lucullus from Plutarch's *Life of Lucullus* (41). Seneca's advice is in his essay on providence (1.6.1–4). Plutarch reports Themistocles's reverence to Artaxerxes in his *Life of Themistocles* (47). For the reference to Timagoras, see the note relating to Esth. 3:2, above.

Q. Who was the Writer of the Book of *Job*?

A. This Problem ha's been handled with such a Varietie, that I wholly refer you, to the Writers that have handled it.

All that I shall at present say, is; What think you of *Elihu*? Methinks those Words of his, in Chap. 32. 15, 16, 17. *They were Amazed, they Answered no more, they Left off Speaking. When I had waited, for they spake not, but stood still, & answered no more; I said, I will Answer also, I also will show my Opinion:* are at least an *Intimation*, if not, a *Demonstration*, that it was *Elihu*, who was the Writer of this History.¹

I will here only add, That it may bee worth your while, to take Notice of the reference, which our *Elihu* (if it were *Hee*) ha's in this Book, to the Histories of *Genesis*.

The *Creation* is handled, in Chap. 38.

The First *Adam* is mention'd, in Chap. 15.7.

The Fall of the Angels & Man, in Chap. 4.20. and Chap. 5.2.

The miserable Case of *Cain*, in Chap. 3.21.

The old World, & the Flood, in Chap. 22.6.

The Builders of Babel, in Chap. 3.15. and Chap. 5.13.

The Fire of *Sodom*, in Chap. 20.23, 26. & Chap. 36.14.

The Consideration of those Passages, will soon carry you to consider many more, with notable *Illustrations*.²

Q. When seems the Time that *Job* lived?

A. Dr. *Patrick* observes well; That it seems to have been, before the Children of *Israel* came out of *Egypt*. For tho' there be plain mention of the Drowning of the *Old World*, & of the Burning of *Sodom* in this Book, yett there is no Allusion to the Destruction that came upon *Pharaoh*, & other miraculous Works which attended the Deliverance of the *Israelites*. Nor is there any Notice taken of that Revelation of the Will of God unto *Moses*, when *Elihu* reckons up those Wayes whereby God was want to discover himself unto Men. Such Reasons moved *Origen* [l. I. Contr. Cels.] to say, That *Job* was, Ἀρχαιότερος καὶ Μωυσεως αὐτου. *More Ancient even than Moses himself*; And *Eusebius* [Dems. Evang. l. I.c. 6.] to pronounce, *That he was before Moses, Two whole Ages*. This is conformable to the Opinion of many of the Hebrew Writers, who (as Mr. *Selden* observes) think

¹ Patrick, *The Book of Job Paraphras'd*, p. 198. John Lightfoot makes a similar point (*Works* 1:23).

² Patrick, *Job Paraphras'd*, Preface.

[2v] that *Job* lived in the Dayes of *Isaac & Jacob*. *Hottinger* shewes that the Eastern People are much of this Opinion. | *Job*, and the pious Persons that were of his Age, seem to be governed by, these Præcepts only, which the First Man received; even the Dictates of Natural Reason. *Tertullian*, in his Book against the Jews, contends, *That before the Law of Moses written, in Tables of Stone, there was a Law not written, which was understood naturally, and observed by the Fathers*. This he elsewhere calls, *The Common Law, which we meet withal, in Publico Mundi, in the Streets and High-Wayes of the World, in the Natural Tables*, which Mankind having broken, our Saviour came to Repair and Renew. When our Saviour did this, He abrogated the *Ceremonial Præcepts* in the Law of *Moses*, in which the Jews placed too much confidence, while they neglected those *Natural Præcepts*. Yea, He hath by His Sacraments engaged us to observe these more strictly; & ha's also raised them to a greater Heighth of Purity. So saies *Chrysostom*; *We are to show greater Vertue, because now there is an abundant Grace poured out, and great is the Gift of the Coming of Christ*.³

Job was neither an *Israelite*, nor a *Proselyte*; nor is there the least Intimation of, *Circumcision* being so much as known unto him. And yett, as *Eusebius* observes, His Religion is *not unsuitable unto the Evangelical Doctrine of our Saviour*. Wherefore the same *Eusebius* adds; *The Word of CHRIST hath published unto all Nations, that most ancient Manner of Godliness, which was among the First Fathers; And: the New Covenant is no other than the Old Godly Polity, which was before the Times of Moses*.⁴

This Book ha's in it, such powerful Comforts for the Afflicted, that the old Tradition is; *Moses* could not find any thing like it, for the Support and Satisfaction of the *Israelites* in their *Egyptian* Bondage; and therefore took the Pains to translate it into their Language, out of the *Syriack* wherein it was first

³ The whole of this lengthy note is in Patrick, *Job Paraphras'd*, Preface. Patrick, of course, is relying heavily on the standard works of Poole (*Synopsis Criticorum* 2, pars. 1:1–3), Selden (*De Jure Naturali*, lib. 7, cap. 11, pp. 834–37), and Hottinger (*Smegma Orientale*, lib. 1, cap. 8, pp. 381 and 452–53).

⁴ The remark of Origen occurs in his polemic, *Against Celsus*. In more modern editions, this remark occurs not in book 1, as Mather and Patrick suggest, but in book 6.43. The references to Eusebius' *Demonstratio Evangelica* are correct (1.6), as are the two references to Tertullian's *An Answer to the Jews* (2) and *De Corona* (6). John Chrysostom's fourth-century treatise *On Virginity* held that the first parents had lived in a state of virginity before the fall and that, since the advent of Christ brought with it a new outpouring of grace, virginity was therefore to be preferred by the redeemed (Shore, ed. 126). This comment is extracted from two chapters (63 and 64) of Chrysostom's polemic which together asserted that the ancients and the "us" of Chrysostom's period were held to differing standards of virtue. Thus, the conclusion that we ought to live more fully than they followed from the greater atonement offered those who came after Jesus. Mather, while he adopted the warrant for the ancient theology in broad outline, shows here that he disputes some of its broader implications. For Mather and his peers and forebears such as Chrysostom, it was necessary naturally to preserve the sanctity of Christ. Therefore, Mather and other Christian Hebraists could not conclude that the first humans had access to a truth that was more complete than that available to latter-day Christians.

written. He who writes the Commentaries on this Book, under the Name of *Origen*, tells us; That he found in *Antiquorum Dictis*, that when the great *Moses* was sent by God into *Egypt*, & beheld the Affliction of the Children of *Israel* to be so grievous, that nothing he could say was able to comfort them, in that lamentable Condition; he declared unto them the terrible Sufferings of *Job*, with his happy Deliverance; and setting them down in Writing also, gave this Book, to that Distressed People; That Reading these things in their several Tribes and Families, and hearing how sorely this Blessed Man suffered, they might comfort and exhort one another, to endure with Patience and Thanksgiving the Evils, which encompassed them; and hearing withal, how bountifully God Rewarded *Job* for his Patience, they might hope for Deliverance; & expect the Benefit of a Blessed Reward for their Labours.

When *Moses* delivered this Book into their Hands, he said with a pleasant Countenance, “O Children of *Israel*, Do not faint in your Minds; O Posterity of *Abraham*, Suffer your Evils patiently. Be like the Man whose Name was *Job*; who tho’ he were a Righteous and Faithful Person, yett suffered the sorest Torments from the Malice of the Divil; as you do now most unjustly from *Pharaoh* & the *Egyptians*. They treat you basely & have enslaved you, without any Fault of yours. However despair not of a better Condition; you shall be delivered as *Job* was, and have a Reward of your Tribulations, like what the Lord gave unto him.”

That Writer ha’s more to this Purpose. And he observes, That the Church of Christ was wont, after this Exemple, to Read this Passion of *Job*, in their Public Assemblies, on their Dayes of Humiliation, & on all sorrowful Occasions. They also Read it on the Dayes wherein they more peculiarly commemorated the Passion of our Saviour; because they saw in the Sufferings of *Job* a Figure of it; as they did of our Saviours Resurrection and Exaltation in *Jobs* Recovery. {Yea} when they went privately to visit any one that was in Mourning or Sorrow, they would Read a Lesson of the Patience of *Job*, for their Comfort and Support under their Troubles, and relieve the Anguish of their Minds.

The Grace of God shone so admirably in *Job*, that the Fame of it in Ancient Times, was accompanied with a common Tradition, (from a Passage that some Editions of the LXX have added at the Conclusion of the Book,) & one, οὐδεν ἀπιστον εἶναι (as *Theophanes* expresses it,) *Not having any thing Incredible in it*, that *Job* was one of those who had the honour to Rise out of their Graves, at the Resurrection of our Saviour; when, Math. XXVII.51: *Many bodies of the Saints which Slept, Arose, & Went in the Holy City, & appeared unto many.*⁵

5 Origen was long thought to have composed a commentary on Job, based partly on a translation that was carried into the West and that was then assigned to Origen. Mather’s careful transcription of Patrick’s equally cautious remark, however, demonstrates the growing sensitivity of divines during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to issues of authorial identity. It is now believed that this work was composed by Julian the Arian, though for a century and a half after Mather it was thought to have been the work of Julian of Halicarnassus. The assertion

[3r] | There are some Thoughts of Dr. *Thomas Sherlock*, on the Book, of *Job*, which are worthy to be reserved in these Memorials, and will add unto the Riches of them.

It appears to be the oldest Book in the World, and written before any of the Books of *Moses*; and it gives an Account of the State of Nature and Religion, in the World, before *Moses* had committed any thing to Writing. To suppose it written for the sake of afflicted *Jews* (who were far from a *Righteous* People) without one single Word of the *Mosaic* Law, or Allusion to any one Rite in it, or any one Piece of *History* later than *Moses*, or any Forms of the *Idolatry* for which they were punished; it would be much as if a Critick should suppose *Homers Iliad*, written to celebrate the military Expeditions of the *Goths* and *Vandals*. Do but consider the View with which the Book of *Job* was written. *The Patience of JOB*, is much talk'd of: And for the use of the Book we seldom look any further. But the Book was in truth written, in Opposition to the very Ancient Opinion, of *Two Independent Principles*; the one, of *Good*, the other, of *Evil*. *Satan* must therefore have a permission from GOD, for the Afflicting of *Job*: And the Moral of the History is; *The Lord gave, & the Lord hath taken away*; And, *shall we receive Good at the hand of God, & shall we not receive Evil*? It is added, *In all this Job sinned not with his Lips*; intimating, how prone Men are to *Sin with their Lips*, when they talk about the Evils of Life, & the Author of them.

Well; was the Fall of *Adam* known to this Ancient Writer? Yes. The XX Chapter begins; *Knowest thou not this of old, since Man was placed on the Earth; That the Triumphing of the Wicked is but short, & the Joy of the Hypocrite, is but for a Moment!* The first Verse might as well have been rendred; *Since Adam was placed on the Earth*. Doubtless, it refers to the Fall, & the First Sin, of *Adam*. The sudden Punishment of the Iniquity, corresponds to the *Mosaic Account*; the *Triumphing short*, the *Joy but for a Moment*. Above all, the Nature of the Crime & of the Punishment for it, here described, are strong Præsumptions for this Interpretation. The Ambition of *Adam*, was to be *like GOD*, and the Tempter told him, he should be so. How aptly is this Ambition described? *Tho' his Excellency mount up to the Heavens, and his Head reach unto the Clouds*. The Syriac and Arabic Versions render it: *Tho' in his Pride he ascend up to Heaven, yett shall he perish forever*. The Punishment of *Adam* was *Death*; 'Tis here described, *Thou shalt perish forever*. But, how? *Like his own Dung*; that is, by returning to the Earth again. It is plain, The Chaldee Paraphrast understood this whole Passage, OF the *Fall*; For in the Fourth Verse he finds, the *Delator*, or, *Accuser*. We know of none such, at the Time when *Adam* was *placed on the Earth*, but the

that Moses brought with him a copy of *Job* into Egypt occurs, as Patrick notes, at the very beginning of that commentary (3.4). I have not been able to locate the reference to Theophanes on *Job*, although thanks to Patrick this opinion endures until near the end of the eighteenth century, as is shown by the fact that Robert Gray also closely paraphrases Patrick in his 1792 *Key to the Old Testament and Apocrypha* (p. 206). Gray's text itself went through several editions.

Tempter: To whom the Name of, *The Accuser*, or, *The Adversary*, was afterwards appropriated; which is also the Character of the Spirit that had a Permission for the Tormenting of *Job*. The Paraphrast apprehended the *Tempter* of *Adam*, and the *Tormentor* of *Job*, to be the same. Or, if we keep here, our Term of *Hypocrite*; It could be neither *Adam* nor *Eve*. They had other Faults enough; There appears little of their *Hypocrisy* in the whole Transaction. But the *Tempters* Part, was all *Hypocrisy*: pretending a great Concern for the Welfare of them whom it was his Intention to Destroy.

Again; In the XXXI Chapter, *Job* there professes, That he had *not covered his Transgressions as Adam, by hiding his Iniquity in his Bosom*. The Allusion to *Adams* hiding himself, is apposite. If you read it, *After the Manner of Men*, the Passage is an Accusation of others, & his Vindication ha's a Mixture of Pride, that suits not the Character of the Speaker.

Moreover; In the XII Chapter, when the *Power* and *Wisdom* of GOD is magnified, it is added: *The Deceived and the Deceiver are His*. That the *subtil*, as well as the *silly* Man, should be under the Dominion of GOD, is an Observation that seems hardly to deserve the Place & the Preface here given to it. It seems most agreeably to refer unto the Fall of Man thro' the *Cunning* of the *Tempter*. This is directly to the Purpose of the Book; which is to maintain the Dominion of GOD over the *Deceiver*, who by bringing *Evil* into the World, as a *Deceiver*, had grown up, in the Opinion of many, into a Rival unto the Majesty of GOD.

One more; In the XXVI Chapter, are those Words; *By His Spirit He ha's garnished the Heavens; His hand ha's formed the crooked Serpent*. How comes in the *crooked Serpent* here, as it were on an æqual foot, with | the *Creation of the Heavens*, and all the Host of them? *Job* vindicates himself here, from the ancient Idolatry of the *Sun* and *Moon*, & Heavenly Host. At the same time, in Opposition to the other *Idolatry*, of Two *Independent Principles*, *Job* now asserts, that GOD was the Maker of him, who was the *First Author of Evil*. So agreeably are joined, the *Garnishing of the Heavens*, & the *Forming of the Serpent*. Accordingly, the LXX renders it, *By a Decree he destroy'd the Apostate Dragon*. The *Syriac* & *Arabic* Version are to the same Sense. [4v]

We might {pause} to consider, the Notions which this Ancient Writer, & so others in his Daye, had of things after the Fall. Here, Besides the more obvious Complaints about the *general Corruption* of the World, and the *Overturning of the Earth by the Waters*, he observes, That the Works of Nature, are prepared by God, as His Instrument, either for *Judgment* or for *Mercy*. [XXXVII.12, 13. XXVIII.23.] It looks as if those Reflexions arose, from the Method used by the Divine Providence (not worn out of Memory in the time of this Writer) in Punishing the *old World*, in Consequence of the Curse laid upon the *Ground*. And it is noted, that the Blessing promised unto *Noah*, upon the Restoration of the Earth, is expressed by the *Regular Seasons* that should continue from that time, of *Seed-time* and *Harvest*, *Cold* and *Heat*, *Summer* and *Winter*; which is

but a Promise in other Words, that the *Hail* and *Snow* and *Waters of Heaven*, should be no longer Instruments of *Judgment*, but of *Mercy*. In the XXXVIII Chapter it being said, *He commanded the Morning & the Dayspring*; upon which it follows, *From the Wicked, their Light is withholden*. This is a Thing of older Date than the *Egyptian Darkness*; & stands among the earliest of the Works of GOD. We have it again [IX] *He commandeth the Sun, & it riseth not, and He sealeth up the Stars*. And again; [XXXVI.] After Mention of the *Clouds* and the *Light*, it follows, *By them judges He the People*. We have nothing remaining upon Record in History, to which we may apply these things; Only This we find, That when GOD Restored the Earth, and Gave His Blessing to *Noah*, our Promise is, *Day & Night shall not cease*: A strong Intimation, That *Clouds*, *Darkness*, *Tempests*, had before greatly prevailed for the Punishment of a wicked World. Indeed such Expressions are sometimes used *metaphorically*. But *Metaphors* do not rise out of nothing.

But, what Expectation had this Ancient Writer, of a *Deliverance* from the *Evil*, which the Fall ha's brought upon the World? The whole Book supposes Man to be Accountable unto his Maker, for his Actions: And yett it is maintained, That the Wicked often prosper in This World, & go down to the Grave in Peace. But, besides what we have in the XIV Chapter, the famous Passage in XIX well considered, will give us abundant Satisfaction.⁶

⁶ This entry is digested from Thomas Sherlock's *The Use and Intent of Prophecy*, Dissertation (diss.) 2, pp. 206–20. The references to the Chaldee, Syriac, and Arabian versions can be found in the *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta*. Sherlock (1677–1761) was the Bishop of London. His *Use and Intent of Prophecy* (1725) was intended to counter the rise of non-traditional and deist religious notions (*DNB*). As the note makes clear, in his remarks on Job Sherlock was not only attempting to preserve the status of scripture as the most ancient of sources, but to dispute the idea that the ancient religions were Manichean.

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Q. Where was the Land of *Utz*, the Countrey of *Job*? v. 1.

A. I will not amuse you, with the various critical & geographical Conjectures of learned Men. I will only Transcribe the Words of the Incomparable Sir *Richard Blackmore*, in his Præface, before his Excellent and Ingenious Paraphrase on *Job*.

“If a Man could remove the obstructions of great Learning & critical Remarks, methinks it should be a very easy Matter to settle this controverted Point. Tis allow’d by all, that *Utz*, the Countrey of *Job*, was exposed to the Incursions & Deprædations of the *Chaldeans*; and tis allow’d likewise, that *Chaldeæ* was Eastward of *Arabia*. Now suppose that in our *English History*, there had been mentioned a *great Man*, that had in ancient times been plundered by a Band of *Scotchmen*; and the *Habitations* or Countrey of this unfortunate Man, being mentioned by an obscure or obsolete Word, a Controversy should arise, in what part of *England* this Man lived: Would not any Man, that was delivered from the Encumbrance of *great Reading* and *learned Observations*, presently conclude, that he lived in the *North Part* of *England*, not far from the *Borders* of *Scotland*? And must it not have been a Critick of extraordinary *Sagacity*, that should have found out his Seat in *Middlesex*, or at the *Lands End*? And yett those that place the Countrey of *Job* in *Idumæa* or near *Damascus*, remove it farther from *Chaldeæ*, than those two Places before-named, are from *Scotland*. Tis not therefore to be doubted, but that the Countrey of *Job*, was in the Eastern Part of *Arabia*; and tis probable, twas near the River *Euphrates*, and that he was of the Posterity of *Nachor*. The stories therefore of *Jobs Well* near *Jerusalem*, of his Sepulchre in the Plain of *Jordan*, and of the Region in the North of *Syria*, which the Inhabitants shew to Travellers for the Seat of *Job*, are all modern Fables, & not to be regarded. But much more ridiculous is the Error of those Commentators, who make *Constantinople* to have been the Seat of *Job*: The Sepulchre of *Job* in *Armenia*, that favours this Opinion, tis very probable, according to the Conjecture of several learned Men, was erected in Honour of some Captain of the *Turks*, of that Name.”⁷

⁷ Richard Blackmore (1654–1729), *A Paraphrase on the Book of Job*, Preface. Blackmore’s aim as a poet through his numerous works, which included a Virgilian history of King Arthur (*Prince Arthur: An Heroick Poem in Ten Books*, 1695), was to reform the impiety and immorality of the age, especially as he believed these had been promulgated by the Stuarts. Of course, his moralizing made him an easy target for ridicule, and these attacks were not lessened when John Dryden accused him of having plagiarized his own project of an Arthurian epic. In spite of the

Now having thus Introduced the mention of Sir *Richard Blackmores* Paraphrase on *Job*; I will take this Place, to impart unto you, the *Sweetness*, with which that best of Poets ha's entertain'd mee. *Poetry* never had a Greater *Service*, never shone with a Brighter *Glory*, than what it ha's Received from the Pen of that Admirable Gentleman. Hee, having forever out-done *Homer*, and *Virgil*, in two Immortal Composures, ha's at length demonstrated, that *they two* had no Commission to settle the Limits, and Extent of *Epic Poetry*; and that the World ha's as much Reason to be Governed by the Example of *Poetry*, given in the Book of *Job*, which was written long before *Homer*, & *Virgil*, (and is perhaps the oldest Writing in the World,) as by that of the *Pagan Writers*. Hee ha's taught us, that the *Passive Hero*, is no less Illustrious than the *Active One*; and he ha's accordingly paraphrased the Book of *Job* unto us, with a *Quil* fetch'd, I had almost said, from the Wing of an *Angel*.

Reading over that *Paraphrase*, I now and then mett with an *Illustration*, that seem'd as if it call'd upon mee, to transcribe it, into these our *Memorials*. Accordingly, I will here single out a few, that seem'd unto *myself*, in a cursory Reading, more observable; but *You* might possibly by a more careful Perusal meet with many more.

Job. 2.4.

Satan answered – Skin for Skin, yea, all that a Man hath, will he give for his Life.

Sir *Richard* thus paraphrases upon, *Skin for Skin*.
Th' Apostate then reply'd: Mankind, tis known,
Will give their Childrens Skins to save their Own.
To save their Lives, their Treasures they produce;
*Rather than Death, a Naked Being chuse.*⁸

What is the Intention & Emphasis of that Passage?

Job. 6.6.

Is there any Tast in the White of an Egg?

I am sure there is a good one in the Paraphrase upon it.

Who in unsavory Meats can take Delight?
What Taste is in an Eggs Insipid White?

scorn in which many held him, Blackmore's poems went through numerous editions and were by no means unpopular (DNB).

⁸ Blackmore, *Paraphrase on the Book of Job*, p. 7.

*Then noxious Food, such as my Sorrowes are,
Tis Madness to commend, as wholesome Fare.*⁹

Where lies the Reason of introducing those Clauses?

Job. 6.16.

As the Stream of Brooks they pass away – which are blackish by reason of the Ice, and where the Snow is hid.

The Paraphrase gives a force to it.

*As when with Burning Heat a Trav'ler Fry'd,
Finds out the Brook, but sees the Channel Dry'd,
Where he expected Cooling Streams should flow,
Since'twas in Winter fill'd with Ice and Snow:
But when the Waters felt a warmer heat,
They rose in Vapors, & forsook their Seat:
Won by the Summers Importuning Ray,
Th' eloping Flood did from its Channel stray,
And with enticing Sun-beams stole away:
The Trav'ler casting down a troubled Look,
Sighs and upbraids the false deceitful Brook.*¹⁰

Again,

Job. 6.21.

Now yee are nothing; yee see my casting down, & are afraid.

Its thus paraphrased.

*You are unable to afford me aid,
Seeing my Grief, you start and are afraid.
Has my Disease this Consternation bred?
D'ye fear my Ulcers will Infection spread?
D'ye fear your friend now poor, will craving grow,
And beg Supplies of you to ease his Woe?*¹¹

That Passage –

Job. 9.3.

If he will contend with Him, he cannot answer Him one of a thousand.

⁹ Blackmore, *Paraphrase on the Book of Job*, p. 22.

¹⁰ Blackmore, *Paraphrase on the Book of Job*, p. 24.

¹¹ Blackmore, *Paraphrase on the Book of Job*, pp. 24–5.

[6v] | Could not be better paraphrased by *one of a Thousand*, than here.

*Nor can a Man his Innocence defend,
If with him God should in Debate contend.
What Reasonings e'er He offers in Dispute,
Man of a Thousand could not one confute.*¹²

Again;

Job. 9.24.

If not, where, & who is hee?

The Paraphrase thus applies it.

*This is th' Almighty's Deed; if not, Declare
Its genuine Authors, who and where they are.*¹³

What should be the Import of that?

Job. 13.12.

Your Remembrances are like unto Ashes, your Bodies to Bodies of Clay.

This, according to the Paraphrase.

*I all your Counsils vain & fruitless find,
Like Dust, that flies before the driving Wind.
Your High Discourses weak & tott'ring Stand,
Like Heaps of Clay, or uncemented Sand.*¹⁴

And of that?

Job. 15.4.

Thou Restraineest Prayer before God.

This.

*All Reverence to pure Religion due,
Will soon be lost, if thy Assertions true.
If Gods afflicting stroke Mankind invade,
Without Distinguishing the Good and Bad,
Who at His Throne will Adoration pay?*

¹² Blackmore, *Paraphrase on the Book of Job*, p. 32.

¹³ Blackmore, *Paraphrase on the Book of Job*, p. 37.

¹⁴ Blackmore, *Paraphrase on the Book of Job*, p. 54.

*Who will to Heav'n their Songs of Praise convey?
Thy Irreligious Maxims will restrain
All future Prayer, for Prayer will be in vain.*¹⁵

How shall we take that abrupt Passage?
Job. 16.18.
O Earth, cover not thou my Blood –

The Paraphrase tells us.

*If e'er a Man, by my flagitious hand
Vext and opprest, ha's perish'd from the Land,
Lett not thy Womb, O Earth, his Blood conceal,
But to the Light my black Offence Reveal;
That publick Shame and Pains may be my Fate,
Which on the heinous Malefactor wait.
Lett God and Man their bowels shutt, when I
In deadly torment for Compassion cry.*¹⁶

How that?
Job. 17.15, 16.
*Where is now my Hope? As for my Hope, who shall see it? They shall go down
to the Bars of the Pitt, when our Rest together is in the Dust.*

Thus.
*Where's then the Hope, which you pretend to give,
That I may yett in Peace & Pleasure live?
If I Repent, to see it you must go
Down to the Grave, & the cold Shades below.
There you may see, how all my Hopes, and I
In the same Grave together buried lye.*¹⁷

That Passage,
Job. 20.17.
He shall not see the Rivers, the Floods, the Brooks of Honey & Butter.

The Paraphrase gives it this Meaning.

¹⁵ Blackmore, *Paraphrase on the Book of Job*, p. 62.

¹⁶ Blackmore, *Paraphrase on the Book of Job*, p. 71.

¹⁷ Blackmore, *Paraphrase on the Book of Job*, p. 76.

*The Streams of Joy, and Rivers of Delight,
Which he beleev'd, would all his Toil Requite,
Shall disappoint his Hope, and in their Stead,
Amazing Floods of Sorrow shall Succeed.*¹⁸

That Passage,

Job. 21.31.

Who shall declare his Way to his Face? and who shall Repay him what he hath done?

It is thus paraphrased:

*Aw'd by their Wealth, and Greatness, Men forbear
To tell them what their Crimes & Dangers are.
Elated, and Impatient of Reproof,
They at the wisest Admonitions scoff.
They're Great above the Fear of Punishment;
Too Wise to own their Errors, & Repent.*¹⁹

What means that?

Job. 24.18.

He is swift as the Waters, their Portion is cursed in the Earth; he beholdeth not the Way of the Vineyards.

It means the Pyrate.

*To this vile Crew, you may the Pyrate add,
Who putts to Sea, the Merchant to invade,
And reaps the Profit of anothers Trade.
He sculks behind some Rock, or swiftly flies
From Creek to Creek, rich Vessels to surprise.
By this ungodly Course the Robber gains,
And laies up so much Wealth, that he disdains
And mocks the Poor, unprofitable toil
Of those, who plant the Vine, or till the Soil.*²⁰

¹⁸ Blackmore, *Paraphrase on the Book of Job*, p. 87.

¹⁹ Blackmore, *Paraphrase on the Book of Job*, pp. 95–6.

²⁰ Blackmore, *Paraphrase on the Book of Job*, p. 108.

How, and why the mention of the knowledge of Natural Things is introduced, in the 28th Chapter, ha's not been commonly observed. The Paraphrase therefore makes this Curious and Instructive Transition.

*As if you thought your Narrow Witt and Sense,
Could reach th' unfathom'd Depths of Providence.
In things below your Wisdome may appear,
But these are Heights that far surmount your Sphere.*

How comes in that?

Job. 28.4.

The Flood breaketh out from the Inhabitant:

Thus.

*But often subterranean Floods invade
The Miners Caves, thro' which he cannot wade.
With wondrous Toil the Men their Works maintain,
And from the Mine, the flowing Deluge drain.²¹*

What should be the Intention of that?

Job. 31.1.

I made a Covenant with my Eyes: Why then should I look upon a Maid?

This.

*Yett tho' my Wants and Pains are so extream,
None can my Life, of heinous Sin condemn.
So far from that, I have with Care suppress
Sins first Conception struggling in my Breast.
I did the Spark, as soon as kindled, tame,
Before it blaz'd, and spread resistless Flame.
I with my Eyes, whose Objects oft inspire
The Heart with wild, unquenchable Desire,
A sacred League did make, that they should ne'er
Look on forbidden Fruit, tho' wondrous fair;
That they on beauty should not gazing stay,
Nor on th' enchanting Brink of Ruin play.²²*

²¹ Blackmore, *Paraphrase on the Book of Job*, p. 121.

²² Blackmore, *Paraphrase on the Book of Job*, p. 131.

What is the Meaning of that?

Job. 31.31.

If the Men of my Tabernacle said not, Oh that we had of his Flesh! We cannot be satisfied.

The Paraphrase helps you.

*I ne'er design'd him Harm, ne'er curst his Name,
Nor e'er insulted, when his Ruin came.
Tho' he express'd such Cruelty & Spite,
And so provok'd me in my Servants Sight;
That they enrag'd, did all demand his Blood,
And would have eat his very Flesh for Food.*²³

What is the Meaning of that?

Job. 35.15.

But now, because it is not so, He hath visited in His Anger.

The Paraphrase helps you.

*Condemn thyself, and for His Mercy wait,
To rescue thee from thy Afflicted State.
For 'tis because th' Almighty cannot find
Those pious Inclinations in thy Mind,
That He this Weight of Trouble on thee laies,
And disregards thy former prosp'rous Dayes.*²⁴

What is the Meaning of that?

Job. 36.7.

He withdraweth not His Eyes from the Righteous: But with Kings are they on the Throne.

The Paraphrase helps you.

*What Suffrings e'er the Good & Righteous bear,
They never cease to be th' Almighty's Care.
And sometimes He exalts them from the Dust,
To posts of Highest Dignity & Trust.
They round the Thrones of Kings, as Fav'rites stand*

²³ Blackmore, *Paraphrase on the Book of Job*, p. 134.

²⁴ Blackmore, *Paraphrase on the Book of Job*, p. 153.

*And next to them in Power, the World command.
They rest secure above the reach of all,
Who hate their Virtue, & design their Fall.*²⁵

| Perhaps you were *in the Dark*, about that Passage,
Job. 36.20.

[7r]

Desire not the Night, when People are cutt off in their Place.

The Paraphrase will thus Illuminate you.

*That Power or Wealth can serve thee, do not Dream,
Please not thyself with such an Idle Scheme.
Never thyself with such vain Hopes delight,
Not even in Musing on thy Bed by Night.
For God whole Nations who soft Peace enjoy'd,
Sometimes with sudden Vengeance ha's destroy'd.*²⁶

The Paraphrase gives us more *Light*, about that;
Job. 37.21, 22.

*And now, Men see not the Bright Light, which is in the Clouds: but the Wind pas-
seth and cleanseth them. Fair Weather comes out of the North; with God is Terrible
Majesty.*

With such a Gloss upon it.

*For Men, alas, their Eyes so feeble are,
Cannot the Suns Meridian Lustre bear,
When Northern Winds have swept & clear'd the Air.
Then sure, with Terror siez'd, they should decline
The awful Sight of Majesty Divine.*²⁷

That Passage;

Job. 37.24.

He respecteth not any that are wise of Heart.

The Paraphrase *wisely* carries it.

For God regards the Meek, but does despise

²⁵ Blackmore, *Paraphrase on the Book of Job*, p. 154.

²⁶ Blackmore, *Paraphrase on the Book of Job*, p. 156.

²⁷ Blackmore, *Paraphrase on the Book of Job*, p. 163.

*The proud conceited Man, and in His Eyes
All Men are Fools, who in their own are Wise.*²⁸

I had forgotten the Paraphrase, on that Passage;
Job. 19.28.

The Root of the Matter is found in me.

*But you, my Friends, no doubt will still aver,
That persecuting me you do not err.
You'll say, That in my Conduct may be found,
For your censorious Words abundant Ground.*²⁹

And now, tho' I cannot here transcribe the Rare Flights, of Poetry, which every where occur, in this Admirable Paraphrase; yett, from the Passage last mentioned, I will take Occasion, to recite the Paraphrase on *Jobs* Confession of Faith, which immediately precedes it.

*I solemnly pronounce, That I beleeve,
That my Redeemer does forever live.
When future Ages shall their Circuit end,
And bankrupt Time shall its last Minute spend,
Then He from Heav'n in Triumph shall descend.
He on the Surface of the Earth shall stand,
And from the Grave His captive Saints demand.
The slumbring Dead shall waken at His Call,
And from their Limbs their leaden Chains shall fall.
Victorious Life, at His Command shall flee,
To vanquish Death, & sett her Pris'ners free.
It shall new Warmth, & vital Vigour spread
Thro' all the cold apartments of the Dead.
It shall in Triumph march thro' Shades beneath,
Thro' all the Dusty Galleries of Death.
Th' Invading Conqueror shall sack the Grave,
Force every Tomb, & rescue every Slave.
Destructions Empire shall no longer last,
Death from her sad Dominions shall be chas't,
And Desolation laid forever wast.
From opening Tombs, th' enliven'd Dead shall rise,
And to enjoy the Light lift up their wond'ring Eyes.*

²⁸ Blackmore, *Paraphrase on the Book of Job*, p. 164.

²⁹ Blackmore, *Paraphrase on the Book of Job*, p. 84.

Tho' Worms & Putrefaction shall consume
 This mortal Body in the silent Tomb,
 I shall revive, & from the Grave arise,
 And see my God with these corporeal Eyes.
 I for myself shall see the Blessed Sight,
 For my own Profit, & my vast Delight.
 He shall my Virtue from your Slanders clear,
 Assert my Cause, & Job pronounce sincere.
 This is th' unshaken Pillar of my Hope,
 This does my Soul oppress with Sorrow prop,
 That tho', as I have said, the rav'ning Worm
 Shall eat my Flesh, & break this mortal Form,
 My Reunited Parts I shall assume,
 When my Redeemer does to Judgment come,
 Forever to be clear'd by an Impartial
 Doom.³⁰

[8v]

Q. Some further Considerations upon the Book of *Job*?

A. M. *Jurieu* urges, with others, That the Time of *Job*, was doubtless long before the Time of *Moses*; For his Life extended at least unto Two Hundred Years, & seems to have been in an Age before the Life of Mankind was brought down unto what it was in the Days of *Moses*. He not only offered *Sacrifices* in Person, but also was eminent for the Fear of GOD; whereas the Grace of GOD was more withdrawn from the Nations, after the Days of *Moses*. He lived, when the Riches of People consisted in Flocks & Herds; And his Book makes no mention of the miraculous Things done for the Church in the Days of *Moses*. The Frequent Revelations mention'd in this Book, agree well to the earlier Times, of *Abraham*, and those before him, when there was a more familiar Converse between God and Men. The *Idolatry* from which we find *Job* clearing himself, was that of the *Stars*; which is calculated for the Times when *Idolatry* was in its Infancy.

M. *Jurieu* thinks, that this Book was translated into Hebrew, since the Days of *Moses*; Because the Name, JEHOVAH, occurs in it; which, he thought, was not known before those Days; He imagines, That *Solomon*, or some such Person might be the Translator of the Book; the Memoirs thereof being taken from the Monuments of the *Chaldeans* and *Arabians*.³¹

³⁰ Blackmore, *Paraphrase on the Book of Job*, pp. 83–4.

³¹ This entry is a composite of quotes selected from Pierre Jurieu's 1705 *A Critical History of the Doctrines & Worships (Both Good and Evil) of the Church from Adam to our Saviour Jesus Christ*, vol. 1, pt. 1, ch. 2, pp. 14, 19. The idea that Job was untainted by the worship of astral bodies is also traceable to Selden, *De Jure Naturali*, lib. 7, cap. 11, pp. 834–37.

But now, in this Illustrious Book, Behold, The Divinity known and own'd by the Patriarchs, before the Days of *Moses*! Behold, How much nearer it approach'd unto the Christian, than unto the Jewish Religion! The Articles of the Faith embrac'd by the Ancient Church, here appear to be such, as cannot be read without astonishment.³²

[9r]

Q. What is there observable in the Description given of Job? v. 1, 2, 3.

A. There are two things, which I single out, from other Observations of Mr. *Hutcheson* upon it.

First. It may be observed, That *Piety* is the *First* and *Chief* Excellency that any Man can be adorn'd withal. The Piety of *Job*, is the First Thing, that is mentioned among his Greatnesses.

Secondly. It may be observed, That *Piety* and *Honesty* is no disadvantage to Thriving Prosperity. *Job* was one who *feared God*, and *shunned Evil*; and this did not hinder him, from arriving to be Richer and *Greater than all the Men in the East*.

But I shall reserve other Observations of this good Man, to be introduced all in one Collection, at the End of this Book.³³

Q. On the Appearing of *Satan*? v. 6.

A. There is a surprising Passage of *Plato* [De Legib. L. 10. Tom. 2.] *Seeing we are agreed* (sais he,) *that the Air is filled with Good and Bad Genii, which are entirely opposite unto each other, this occasions an immortal Combate, & requires a continual Attention on our Part; The Good Angels being ready to help us; For we are their Possession.*

Eusebius is amaz'd at the Beauty of this Passage; and shows, that he must needs have it from the Book of *Job*; where the *Devil* appears before GOD, with the *Good Angels*.

32 The gloss here is characteristic of Mather's style as he transitions into specific commentary. See the annotations on Ezra and Esther.

33 George Hutcheson (c. 1615–74), *An Exposition on the Book of Job*, pp. 3, 5. Hutcheson's loyalties wavered throughout his life between king and kirk. After the peace of Breda was signed in 1650, Hutcheson was appointed chaplain to Charles II. However, he associated himself with the western remonstrants following the King's return to Scotland. Later, he would return to the royalist "resolutioners," but after the Restoration was an accomplished fact, Hutcheson refused to conform to episcopacy and was deprived of his parish. In 1669 he accepted an indulgence and was admitted to the parish of Irvine, Ayrshire. It was at this time, toward the end of his life, that he published his commentary on the book of Job.

The amazing Stroke that follows, about, *The Combate*, M. Dacier observes, Tis the very same, that is admirably explain'd by the Apostle Paul; Eph. VI.12. *We wrestle against the Rulers of the Darkness of this World*.³⁴

|

[10v]

Q. On the *Wind striking the Four Corners of the House?* v. 19.

A. Here ha's been a mighty Subject of Ridicule among the Ridiculous, & Impertinent, & Atheistic Libertines of our Days. How, say they in the Course of Nature could the Wind blow from *Four Points of the Compass* at once? Yet, you Blockheads; If you had ever been in the Way of an *Hurricane*, you might have known to your Cost, that the Wind will in less than a Minute blow from Four Opposite Quarters. Besides, your *Patron* had now a Permission to execute his Power; and, the *Prince of the Power of the Air* might act something beyond the ordinary *Course of Nature*.³⁵ Moreover, Tho' you Dispute our *Bible*, I hope, you will not præsume to dispute your *Virgil*, with whom, *Una Eurusque Notusque ruunt creberque procellis Africus*.³⁶

Q. I have seen this Noble Quæstion proposed; *Assertitne Gerson rectè; Jobum plus meruisse, quòd illatam sibi à Satanà injuriam patienter sustinuit, quàm si ex voluntate libera omnem suam substantiam pauperibus erogasset?* v. 21.

A. And I have seen the Quæstion thus Answered.

Rectissimè. Majori præmio digni sumus, si ærumnas supervenientes, vel à Deo nobis immissas sinè querela et murmure, sine Divinorum Iudiciorum Reprehensione, et absque odio proximi, æquo animo sufferamus, quàm si Disciplinis, Jejunijs, aliisque Molestijs Carnem nostram maceremus. Tantum valet Resignante proprie Voluntatis.³⁷

³⁴ Dacier, *The Works of Plato Abridg'd*, vol. 1, p. 110. The idea loosely translated here can be found in the *Laws* (10.906a). The remark of Eusebius is in *Preparatio Evangelica* (11.26).

³⁵ See Joseph Caryl's *An Exposition upon the First Three Chapters of the Booke of Job*, p. 172. The exclamation of "blockheads" appears to be Mather's. Caryl (1602–73) was an obscure English nonconformist and a close friend to John Owen (1616–83) (*EB*). His large multi-volume commentary on Job is, however, a monument to his learning and piety and forms the foundation for much of Mather's synopsis on this book.

³⁶ Virgil, *The Aeneid* (1.85–86). The prose translation of H. R. Fairclough in the Loeb Library reads, in part, "the winds ... blow in storm blasts across the world. They swoop down upon the sea, and from its lowest depths upheave it all – East and South winds together, and the Southwester, thick with tempests" (269).

³⁷ Mather is loosely paraphrasing a brief portion of Jeremias Drexel's *Opera*. Drexel (1581–1638), a Jesuit devotional writer who converted to Catholicism from Lutheranism and who was chaplain to Maximilian I, Elector of Bavaria, is remembered chiefly for his spiritual works. These went through numerous editions well into the 19th c. and were highly valued by both Protestants and Catholics (*ODCC*). The remark occurs at the end of the *Heliotropium* (Conformity of the Human Will with the Divine Will) in an epilogue that is not reprinted in more modern editions. The Harvard Library owned a two volume edition of Drexel's *Opera*, printed in Douai in 1676. I have used an edition from 1675 from Leyden (tom. 1, lib. 5, cap. 12, sec. 2,

Q. From whence may wee fetch, the more particular *Emphasis*, in those Words of *Job*, *Naked came I out of my Mothers Womb, and Naked shall I return thither?* v. 21.

A. Tis very sure, that by his *Mothers Womb*, in the latter Clause, is meant, *The Earth*; *Chrysostom*, and others do well to expound it so.

The better to show the Tenour of the Words, lett it bee observed, That it is said in the Immediately Foregoing Verse, *Job fell down upon the Ground, & grovell'd on the Bare Earth*. It was *Then* that hee took Occasion to utter these Words: q.d. "I am here laid low upon the Ground; which minds mee of my original Extraction: Out of *This*, I and all Mankind, were taken at *first*, as wee were *since* from the *Wombs* of our *Mothers*; and wee must again Return unto *This*, as unto the *Mother of us all*."

This Notion ha's been entertained, among Pagan writers; The *Earth* is called *παμήτηρ* and *δημήτηρ*, among them: altho' they do not mention the first Order of Burial, *unto Dust thou shalt Return*.³⁸

p. 584). Drexel could be referencing Levi ben Gerson (Gershon, Gershom, or Gersonides) (1288–1343), a prolific rabinnic commentator (*ODP*). His commentary on the book of Job was well known among both Christians and Jews, and many Christian commentators who argued for the historicity of the book of Job took their lead from Gerson in his introduction (6). The modern translation of Gerson's Hebrew *Commentary on the Book of Job* renders the gloss on this verse as follows: Satan "was however warned not to stretch forth his hand against Job himself. The purpose in all this is to point out that Satan has no complete ruling power over man, for if the latter cleaves to God, then Satan does not rule over him" (12). Drexel might also be alluding to Jean Gerson (1363–1429), a French scholar and churchman who sought to heal the Great Schism. For many years, *De Imitatione Christi* was attributed to Gerson, though it is now generally recognized that this work was indeed written by Thomas à Kempis (*ODCC*). The question and answer in translation is, "Does not Gershon rightly assert that Job was more meritorious in that he patiently sustained the injury brought upon him from Satan, than if he had, of his own free will, given all of his wealth to the poor? – Most assuredly. We are more worthy of a reward if we endure with a level mind the hardships that come upon us or are sent to us from God without complaint or murmur, or without criticism of the divine judgments, and without hatred of our neighbor, than if we wear down our flesh with discipline, fasting and other troubles. One avails only by resigning his own will!"

³⁸ This entry is digested from John Edwards's *A Discourse Concerning the Authority, Stile, and Perfection* vol. 3, ch. 6, pp. 263–64. *Παμήτηρ* (*pam-meter*) means "Mother of all" and *δημήτηρ* (*Demeter*) suggests "mother earth." Edwards (1637–1716) was a highly respected Calvinist divine and author of some 40 learned hermeneutical and pietistic works (*DNB*).

Q. That Expression, *Skin for Skin?* v. 4.

A. I know no great Obligation upon us, to be laborious in searching after the Intentions and Elegancies that may be supposed in the Words of *Satan*.

Munsters Gloss on this Expression may be sufficient; *Ignobiliora Membra objicit quis ut tueatur nobiliora*. A Man will part with a Less Noble, to præserve a More Noble Part; the Arm for the Head.³⁹

The *Chaldee* Interpreter ha's it, *Membrum propter Membrum*.⁴⁰

Q. How may one understand, the *Limitation* of the Lords Permission to *Satan* concerning *Job*, *Behold, Hee is in thine Hand, but save his Life?* v. 6.

A. I understand it, as it is here Expressed and here Translated. Nevertheless *Maimonides* by what is rendred *His Life* chooses to understand, *His Mind*. *Satan* ha's no allowance to smite the *Mind* of *Job* with *Distraction*, *Madness*, *Frenzy*, & *Loss of Reason*, which is a Calamity often inflicted, by the Hand of *Satan*, on Miserable Mortals.⁴¹

Q. What was *Jobs* Disease? v. 7, 8.⁴²

A. I can by no Means consent unto the Paradox of *Pineda*, after *Vatablus*, That the Divil, for the greater Ignominy, as well as further Calamity, to the chaste *Job*, inflicted the *Lues Venerea* upon him: A Disease, not known in those Ages; nor till towards the End of the Fifteenth Century, when the Conjunction of some *Lepers*, with some *Harlots*, first gave Rise unto it. Tho' by the way, among the Roman Catholicks, *Job* is the *Saint* unto whose Patronage they that are infected with that unhappy Disease commit themselves. I confess, the *Leprosy*, is by very

³⁹ Mather provides the translation to Münster.

⁴⁰ "A limb for a limb." Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:2914).

⁴¹ Maimonides, *Doctor Perplexorum*, pars. 1, cap. 41, pp. 59–60, and pars. 3, cap. 22, pg. 398. Maimonides's understanding of this passage is much richer than Mather here makes it, since Maimonides interprets the Hebrew *nefesh* to mean not only mind, but soul and blood. *Nefesh* is that which survives life, and so, in Maimonides's reading of the verse, Satan, the adversary, is prevented from harming that which is immortal in Job, not simply his reason, though that is included in the sanction. The *Guide for the Perplexed*, or *Moreh Nevachim* (variously spelled by Mather) was available to Mather from the Harvard Library in an edition prepared by Johannes Buxtorf the younger (1629).

⁴² This entry is extracted from a chapter of a work by Thomas Bartholin or Bartholine, *De Morbis Biblicis Miscellanea Medica, Editio Secunda Correctior* (1672), cap. 7, pp. 28–39. Bartholin's work also exists in a recent English translation, by James Willis, edited by Johan Schioldann-Nielsen and Kurt Sorensen, entitled *On Diseases in the Bible: A Medical Miscellany, 1672* (vol. 41) of the *Acta Historica Scientiarum Naturalum Et Medicinalium*, published by the Danish National Library of Science and Medicine (1994). The identifications below are contained in the English edition.

many assigned, for *Jobs* Distemper; and even by the most excellent *Sennertus* himself. The notes of a *Leprosy*, enumerated by *Celsus*, agree to his Condition wonderfully. *Totum Corpus afficitur, ita ut ossa quoque Vitiari dicantur: summa pars Corporis crebras Maculas, crebrusque Tumores habet: Rubor Harum, paulatim in atrum Colorem convertitur. Summa Cutis inæqualiter Crassa, Tenuis, Dura, Mollisque, quasi Squamis quibusdam exasperatur, Corpus Emacrescit, Os, Suræ, Pedes intumescunt. Ubi Vetus Morbus est Digiti in Manibus, Pedibusque, sub Tumore conduntur, Febricula oritur, quæ facile tot malis obrutum Hominem consumit.* Behold the Symptoms, often bewayed in the Complainte of *Job*! And whereas *Hee* took a *Potsherd* to *scrape himself withal*, you may find *Celsus* commending that Method for *Frictions* because of the Indispositions which attend the *Nails* in this Malady.⁴³

Yea, But wee read of *Sore Boyls*, in *Jobs* Disease. *Cocceius* apprehends that hee might bee troubled with that *Egyptian* Plague, which is Threatned in Deut. 28.27, 35. And what if wee should now suppose the *Ulcus Syriacum*, to be the Disease, whereby this Holy Person suffered? *Aretæus* ha's described it; saying, *Dolor quidem Acer, et calidus, qualis in Carbunculo; Spiritus Vitiatus: Exhalant Enim Maxima Putredinis Odorem, Eundemque Vehementer in Pectus spirando adducunt. Immundi adeo sunt, ut neque suum ipsorum Odorem ferre queant. Pallida his, seu Livida Facies; Febres Acutæ, sitis, ut igne accensi videantur, potum Veriti Dolores non admittunt. Tristantur enim, cum Tonsillæ comprimuntur aut Potus in Nares resilit; quumque decumbunt, Surgunt ut Sedeant decubitus non ferentes; quod si sedeant, Quiete carentes, iterum Decumbere coguntur; plerumque autem Recti stantes obambulant; nam quiescere nequeunt. Solitudinem fugiunt, Dolorem dolore tollere tentantes. Inspiratio magna est, Expiratio verò parva; nam veluti Igne exusta Ulcera cum sint, a Calido prætereà Spiritu incenduntur. Raucitas adest; Vox nihil significat. Atque hæc in pejus ruunt, quum subito in Terram collapsis Anima deficit.* What is there in this Description, that was not felt, | by

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⁴³ Pineda is Johannes (or Juan) de Pineda (1557–1637), a Jesuit and author of a large commentary on *Job*, *Commentariorum in Iob libri tredecim* (1619). Vatablus, whom Pineda follows in this interpretation, is Francois Vatable. The editors of the English translation of Bartholin's work identify the source here as belonging to the lecture notes of Vatablus that were collected and published in Paris, 1545. Sennertus is Daniel Sennert (1572–1637), a professor of medicine at Wittenberg. Bartholin is probably referring to Sennert's *Medicina Practica* (1629–36). See *On Diseases in the Bible*, 140. Cornelius Celsus was a first century writer who composed a general encyclopedia, which included a section in 8 books, *De Medicina*. *De Medicina* (for our citation, see lib. 3, cap. 25). The editors of Bartholin's *De Morbis Biblicis* note that English and Scots medical students were required to study Celsus's work well into the nineteenth century (108). James Willis provides the English to Celsus's Latin: "The entire body is affected, so that even the bones are said to be corrupted. The upper part of the body has many discolorations and swellings, the colour of these gradually turning from red to black. The skin is irregularly thick or thin, hard or soft, and is sometimes roughened by a sort of scales; the body becomes thin, but the mouth, calves, and feet swell up. Where the disease is of long standing, the fingers and toes are lost in the swelling of the hands and feet. A fever arises, by which the patient suffering so many ills is easily carried off" (55).

Miserable *Job*? Except you'll say, The *Acute Fever* were wanting. Whereas *Jobs* Malady continued, the LXX say, *A Long Time*; *Chrysostom* sais, many Months; *Origen* sais, Three Years & an Half; and *Suidas*, no less than Seven Years. But *Severinus* tells us there are two forms of this Disease; whereof one is more *Slow* & less *Fierce*, than the other; and unto that might the Tempers, Humors, & Habits of *Jobs* Body more dispose him.⁴⁴

In this Malady, the *Stomach* is disturbed, by taking in the Quittor, and the *Oesophagus*; the *Lungs* also become Infected; & the *Heart* hereby inquieted. Hence they come to vomit *Worms*, and the whole Body putts on an *ulcerous* Disposition.

This Malady of *Job*, is further Illustrated, from his, *sitting down among the Ashes*. This might bee not only to express his Pænitent & Abased Humility; twas the Oriental Custome in that Case. Thus Math. 6.16. ἀφανίζουσι τὰ πρόσωπα. i. e. Cineribus. But also, to use a Medicine for his Malady. *Dioscorides* tells us, *That Ashes do Dry & Cleanse Ulcers*; they are an Ingredient of Escharotic Remedies. Thus *Galen* advises us, *Ipse Cinis in Recentia Vulnera, in profundum Positus, Sanguinem statuit, a Cursu*.⁴⁵

And besides & beyond all the rest, wee may conceive *Job* to bee *Scorbutically* Affected. A *Scorbutic* Taint, would have been a Notable Engine, for the

44 Johannes Cocceius (1603–69), was the author of an early Hebrew Lexicon, and professor of Hebrew at Bremen and then at Franeker. Aretaeus was a 2nd-c. CE Greek physician. The editors of the English edition of Bartholin point out that, because Bartholin references J. P. Crassus's translation of this work, Bartholin was most likely using an edition of Aretaeus published in 1552 (100). In the *The Extant Works of Aretaeus* (ed. Francis Adams), see Aretaeus, *De causis et signis acutorum morborum* (1.9). Willis again provides the translation of the Latin: "The pain is sharp and hot, as in a carbuncle; the breath is tainted, for the patients exhale an odour of putrefaction and draw it forcibly into their lungs when inhaling. They are so unclean that they cannot endure their own smell. The face is pale or livid, fever is high, they have a thirst as if they were on fire, but will not drink through fear of the pain, for they suffer when the tonsils are compressed or when what they have drunk is thrown up into the nostrils. When they are lying down, they get up to a sitting position, being unable to endure lying; if they are sitting up, they cannot sleep and are obliged to lie down again. Often they stand up and walk about for they cannot be at rest. They shun solitude, seeking to take away pain by pain; they draw great breaths, but breathe out little, for since the ulcers have been, as it were, burned by fire, they are further kindled by the hot breath. There is hoarseness and speech without meaning. These symptoms worsen until the patient suddenly falls to the ground and dies" (56). Severinus Eugalenus was born c. 1570, and practiced medicine in Hamburg and London. He was the author of a famous work on scurvy (*De Scorbuto*) that went through many translations in the 17th century.

45 The Greek quotation from Matthew 6:16 alludes to the injunction of Jesus that when his disciples fasted they should not do as the hypocrites, "for they disfigure their faces." Thomas Bartholine supplies the supposition that such disfigurement was done through rubbing ashes (cineribus) on the face. On Dioscorides, see Nehemiah. The citation attributed to Galen (c. 129–217 CE) is from the widely circulated medieval pharmaceutical encyclopedia named after him, *The Alphabet of Galen* (Nr. 150 "Lixiua"): "This ash, when applied to bottom of recent wounds, staunches the flow of blood." (Bartholin, *On Diseases in the Bible*, p. 58). The critical edition of *The Alphabet of Galen* from Nicholas Everett has *profluvio* where Mather has *profundum*.

Divel to increase *Jobs* Torments with. A Coacervation of Melancholic Juices & Vapours in the *Scurvy*, produce those Inquietudes, Griefs, Pains, and Sores, with many *Cutic* Denigrations & other affects; and such a Laxity of the Teeth & Gums; as wee find mentioned among the Sighs of *Job*.

To this Purpose, one of the *Bartholines*.

Q. Wee read that *Satan smote Job, with sore Boils*. What Remark upon *Satans* Agency in the Matter? v. 7.

A. It ha's been observed, That when *Sodomites*, when *Egyptians*, when *Assyrians*, and when *Herods*, have been smitten with Plagues, there were *Good Angels* employ'd in the Smiting of such Ungodly Sinners. But when the Godly Servants of God, such as *Job*, and *Paul*, are to bee chastened, a *Satan* must bee employ'd for their Chastisement. This is a Reflection that may administer particular Thoughts unto us.⁴⁶

Q. *Satan* left unto *Job*, the Use of his *Mouth* and his *Tongue*? v. 7.

A. Some think, it was in hopes that he would *BlaspHEME God* with it!⁴⁷

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Q. What is the *True Sense*, of the Words wherewith *Jobs* Wife Addressed him; which in our Translation are, *Curse God & Dy*? v. 9.

A. Some Endeavour to putt a *Good Sense* upon them.

You know, There are many Words, in the Hebrew Language, which have a very *contrary* Sense, & so must bee expounded from the Context. As, *Chesed*, denotes *Bounty*, *Goodness*, *Pietie*; and it notes also, *Cruelty*, *Malice*, *Evil*, and whatsoever is *Reprocheful*. Thus that Passage, which wee render, in Prov. 14.34. *Sin is a Reproche to any People*; is by some very learned Persons rendred, *The Pietie of the Nations is Sin*; because while they worship Idols, they think, they serve God.⁴⁸

But among the many Words, which are thus Ambiguous, there is none more notable, than that [*Barak*] which is in the Speech of *Jobs* Wife, now before us.

The Apostle tells us, *With the same Tongue, & with the same Mouth, wee Bless & Curse*; But behold, here tis done with the same Word also. *Barak*, in the Hebrew, signifies either to *Bless*, or to *Curse*; and in the Greek, *Suidas* and *Hesychius*, will tell you, that εὐλογεῖν, sometimes is βλάσφημεῖν. And you can easily both of those Wayes, help the Words of *Jobs* Wife unto a Paraphrase; I shall not bee at the Pains to do it for you.

⁴⁶ Hutcheson, pp. 9–11.

⁴⁷ Hutcheson, p. 11.

⁴⁸ Edwards, *A Discourse*, vol. 2, ch. 10, pp. 334–35.

Instead of that, I'll give you the original Sense of the Word, *Barak*, which, I know not that ever I saw distinctly discoursed but in Mr. *Edwards* on the *Style of the Scriptures*.

Barak then, signifies, to Salute. [See 2.King. 4.29. and Gen.47.7, 10.] But because, *Kneeling* was a Posture of *Salutation*, *Barak* also signifies, to *Kneel*, or to *Salute* with Bowing of the *Knee*. Hence comes *Berek*, a *Knee*; and hence may come the, *Abrek*, that was proclaimed before *Joseph*, Riding in State. Instances hereof, are too many to be repeted. [See especially, 2.Chron. 6.13. and Psal. 95.6.] The Word *Barak*, answers to *Nashak*, which signifies to *Salute*, in a *Lowly and Humble Manner*: with *Kissing* (or *Homage*) particularly. But from this first Signification of the Word, there arises another. *Salutations* do end in *Valedictions*: Thus *Barak* also signifies, *To take Leave of One*. [See 2.Sam. 14.22. *Hee Thanked the King*, or (*Jeberek*) *hee took Leave of the King*.] *Nashak* also signifies the Same. The Valedictory Salutation, was, *Neshikah Parashah*, or, *Osculum Separationis*. And then, there is another Derivative Signification of the Word. Persons at *Greeting* or *Parting*, use to wish *Well* or *Ill*, to one another, and express it in *Good* or *Bad* Words: whence *Barak* is either *Benè* or *Malèprecari*.

Accordingly, The Words of *Jobs* Wife, either they are to this Purpose,

“Do not justify thyself, before God, as if thou wert void of all Guilt, but with Humble Reverence Bow thyself before Him, Adore Him, Worship Him, Confess thy Sinfulness: then mayst thou *Dy* with Comfort.”

Herein shee might incur the Imputation of *Speaking Foolishly*; because, as the rest of *Jobs* Friends afterwards did, shee wronged him.

Or, if you will needs have worse Language, what if it should bee at this rate? “Now *Take thy Leave of God*; seeing thou art so Desperately and Horribly Afflicted, Think not of living; but rather desire to quitt the World, and bidding *Adieu* to God, ask to *Dy* as soon as may bee.”

Or, if the Language must bee yett worse, before it will content you, Here tis:

“Take your *Last Farewel* of Heaven; Renounce God, Have no more to do with Him, seeing Hee deals after so severe a Manner with you: Forsake Him & so *Dy* when you can.”

To say downright, *Curse God*, was a little too rough a style.

It is likely enough, that in, the Book of *Job* [as Chap. 1.5. and 2.11. and 3.5.] still this phrase, may mean, the *Forsaking* of God, and Religion.

Yea, and in 1.King. 21.13. which wee translate, *Naboth Blasphemed, or Cursed, God & the King*, may bee thus understood. It was pretended that by certain Actions, hee discovered that hee had *Forsaken God* and *Revolted from his Duty to the King*.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ Edwards, *A Discourse*, vol. 2, ch. 10, pp. 337–45. Suidas, or Suda, was the reputed and eponymous 10th-century Byzantine author of a favorite Greek lexicon. It is now generally

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Q. What might *Job* have in his mind, when he so piously repelled the Temptations of his Wife? v. 10.

A. One of the Ancients, (tis the Blessed *Prosper*,) I find having this Note upon it; *Statim ille ruinam primi hominis recordatus, Evam Novam, atque in illa illum inimicum qui praeliabatur, expugnans, ait, Tanquam una ex insipientibus mulieribus Locuta es.* *Job* thought upon *Eve*, and the Temptations which our First Father suffered from her, and the sad Consequences of those Temptations.⁵⁰

You may from this Hint, form several curious Reflections at your Leisure.

recognized that “Suda” refers to the work rather than the author, and is loanword from Latin meaning “fortress” (*OCD*). Hesychius was a 5th-c. grammarian from Alexandria, but Edwards might also be referring to Hesychius of Jerusalem (d. 433?), an early Christian commentator on the Psalms (*OCD*). βλασφημεῖν [blasphemein] (in relation to people) “to revile; to defame; to slander;” (to God) “to speak irreverently of; to blaspheme.” εὐλογεῖν [eulogein] “to speak well of; to praise; to extol.” Edwards seems to be referring to the entry in the Suda that concerns Eunomius, who did not perceive by his fine expressions that he was falling into blasphemy (Epsilon, 3598). I have not been able to locate the allusion to Hesychius.

⁵⁰ Prosper of Aquitaine (c. 390–c. 455) was a disciple and defender of Augustine of Hippo, especially in the Pelagian controversies. Though he was a layman, Prosper is important in two regards. First, he expanded and continued Jerome’s universal history in his own *Epitoma chronicon*. This work chronicles the period from 379–455, and includes detailed accounts of the barbarian invasions, especially Attila’s attacks on Gaul and Italy. Second, Prosper’s *De vocatione omnium gentium* (Calling of all Nations) is a systematic attempt to answer the Pelagians by arguing that although God does not dispense a saving grace to all, he does, in the creation alone, grant a general grace to every human being (*ODCC*). The quote Mather reproduces and translates here occurs in a work whose authorship is now uncertain, *De Promissionibus et Praedictionibus Dei* (22.31). This text, in which the author examines the “promises” of redemption and “predictions” of human wickedness in the Old Testament, was thoroughly typological in its hermeneutic, and so especially familiar to Puritans like Mather. Nevertheless, Prosper’s Latin disguises here Mather’s real reason for including this comment. In translation, the claim is that “at once he [*Job*], thinking over the ruin of the first man, and young *Eve*, and that personal enemy [*Satan*] who was assaulting her, said, ‘you have spoken according to the foolish women.’” Who the foolish wives were in verse ten, whether spiritual types or cultural metonymies (the view Mather tended toward, based upon his trusted authorities), was a problem that frequently troubled seventeenth-century biblical scholars.

Q. On that, *Lett the Blackness of the Day Terrify it?* v. 5.

A. Or make it a Terrible Day; as tis paraphrased by Dr. *Isham*. There is another Sense præferr'd by some. *Lett the Chemarim* [See Zeph. 1.4.] *who tell the Fortune of Days, putt this down as an unlucky one*. By that Word, some understand, *Evil Spirits*; And some again, *scorching Heate*. The Hebrew admitts of either.⁵¹

Q. Who are meant by, *Those, that Curse the Day, and are ready to Raise up their Mourning?* v. 8.

A. If you would see a Variety of Opinions, consult *Pinæda*. For my Part, by those that *Curse the Day*, I choose rather to understand, those that *Curse in the Day*; or the more Impudent Sort of *Direful Conjurers*. And that Clause, *Ready to raise up their Mourning*, should bee translated, *Ready to Stirr up the Leviathan*; that is, the Crocodile, & the cruellest Sort of Dragons and Serpents. Briefly, your magical *Præstigiators*, or præstigious *Devoters*, ordinarily perform their Enchantments by *Night*; When they come to *Curse by Day*, & exercise their execrable Arts in the Noon-day Light, their audacity renders them yett more considerable Artists. Those Wretches, in and for their Designs of Incantation, did use to call forth, *Leviathans* out of their Holes, and concern themselves with terrible *Snakes*; Whereof our Indian *Powawes*, frequently sending a *Divel* in a *Snake*, to kill their Neighbor, give us a notable Illustration. Disturbed *Job*, giving over his *Birth Night*, unto the blackest of Curses, hee here leaves it under all the bad Influences that such horrid *Maledictors* could plague it with.⁵²

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Q. *Whose Way is hid*. What Way? v. 23.

A. *Munsters* Gloss upon it is, *Via Mortis est abscondita, et Deus circumsepsit eam, ut excedere Vita non liceat, donec illi placuerit*.

51 *Isham* is Zachæus (Zacchæus) *Isham*, author of *Divine Philosophy: Containing the Books of Job, Proverbs, and Wisdom*, p. 11. Little is known of him, though he is listed as a rector of St. Nicholas Church in Essex from 1686–88 and St. Botolph without Bishopsgate from 1688–1701. He is one of Mather's primary sources for *Job*. The second part of this entry derives from Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:2943).

52 The primary source is a work of August Pfeiffer (1640–698), *Dubia Vexata Scripturae*, centuria (cent.) 3, locus (loc.) 33, pp. 262 and 263. Pfeiffer's text was published many times, beginning in 1679; I have used the 1704 edition of the posthumously published *Opera Omnia* in 2 books. The *Dubia Vexata* is reproduced here in book 1. Many of these same opinions also appear in Poole, *Synopsis Criticorum* (2, pars. 1:21–2). However, Mather so closely adheres to the order of Pfeiffer in his *Dubia Vexata* that Pfeiffer is likely the original source. The apostrophe concerning Indians appears to be Mather's. For Pinæda's interpretation see Caryl's *Exposition upon the First Three Chapters* (141).

The Way for Man to Dy fairly, is hid from him.⁵³

Or, take Dr. *Ishams* Paraphrase. "One surrounded with Miseries which there is no Escaping from." Compare, Lam. III.7, 9. Hos. II.6.⁵⁴

⁵³ "The way of death has been hidden, and God has obscured it so that it may not be permitted to depart from life until it pleases Him." Pearson, *Critici Sacra* (3:2926).

⁵⁴ Isham, p. 13.

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Q. That Passage, *Is not this thy Fear, thy Confidence?* May it otherwise bee rendred? v. 6.

A. Yes; What wee render, *Confidence*, may bee rendred, *Folly*: [tis so, in Psal. 85.8.] By *Fear* in this Place, may bee meant, that *Religion*, which is, the *Fear of God*. And *Eliphaz*, here taunts *Job*, as if all his *Religion*, did now appear to bee but *Folly*. *Is not thy Fear, become thy Folly?* *Cappellus* gives this Interpretation, (suitably to the LXX) *Is not thy Fear Folly?* i. e. For the Insincerity of it.⁵⁵

Dr. *Ishams* Paraphrase is; "Is not this the Cause of thy Murmuring; That thou didst expect to be free from Calamities, because of thy Fearing GOD, & Trusting in Him, & Living Righteously?"

Or, the Sense may be; Is it not fitt for thee now to exercise those Virtues?⁵⁶

Q. *Eliphaz* refers to Destructions of the Wicked, which he himself *had seen?* v. 8.

A. Probably he refers to the *Horims* that were Dwellers in *Seir*; [Deut. II.12.] whom the Ancestors of *Eliphaz* had overcome, [Gen. XXXVI.11.] tho' they were as fierce as *Lions*. To such Beasts of Prey, he compares Tyrants & Oppressors. [Here, v. 10, 11.] It is probable he also Remembers the Destruction of the *Emims*, by the Children of *Moab*: [Deut. II.10, 11.] And of the *Zamzummims*, [v. 20, 21.] rooted out by the Children of *Ammon*; as the *Horims* by the Children of *Esau*; From whose Grandchild *Eliphaz* seems to have been descended, and called by the Name of the eldest Son of *Esau*.⁵⁷

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Q. Who may be meant, by the *Lions Whelps?* v. 11.

A. One thinks, The *Horims*, mentioned in Deut. II.12. which were possessed by the Ancestors of *Eliphaz*, are here particularly referr'd unto.⁵⁸

Q. How do you take those Words, *Hee chargeth His Angels with Folly?* v. 18.

A. You know, that tho' the Hebrew Language bee so copious, as to afford several *Words* for one *Thing*; thus, there are three Words for the *Sun*, as many for the *Earth*, six Words for a *Lion*, six for a *Giant*, and seven for *Gold*; yett it is

⁵⁵ Poole, *Synopsis Criticorum* (2, pars. 1:30). Cappel, *Commentarii et Notae Criticae in Vetus Testamentum*, p. 447.

⁵⁶ Isham, p. 15.

⁵⁷ Patrick, *Job Paraphras'd*, pp. 22–3.

⁵⁸ The "one," of course, is Simon Patrick.

not seldome that one *Word*, shall signify many *Things*. Besides the many *Words* which are of *two* Significations; there are some that have no less than *Four*, or *Five*; Yea, the Word *Nasa*, hath no less than *Eight*. But no essential Point of Religion, is ever perplexed with Uncertainties, by the Use of those Words; no, instead thereof, you shall ordinarily see the Wisdome of the Holy Spirit, inviting us to a Variety of *Thought* which is all *Truth*, suggested by the several Senses of the *Words* before you.

The Text now in our Hands, may bee as well read, according to *Tremelius*, and the Gallic Version, *Hee putt Light into His Angels*; the Word signifies *Light*, as well as *Folly*. And our own marginal Translation so carries, it, *Nor* [does Hee putt Trust] *in His Angels, in whom Hee ha's putt Light*.⁵⁹

But the Word here, ha's a Third Signification; that seems here peculiarly designed. The Noun, is derived from *Halal*, which is, *Laudare* or, *Gloriari* – to *Boast*. So, *Toholah* here, is as much as *Tehillah*, a *Glorious Commendation*. Read it so then. *Nor do's Hee putt Boasting in His Angels*. q.d. Even the Blessed Angels (for I do not, with some, imagine the Fallen Ones here spoken of) have nothing to *Boast* in.

Some apply this to the *Fallen Angels*. And certainly, they might well be *charged with Folly*, when by their Fall from God they threw themselves into eternal Wretchedness.

Yea, and the Highest *Wisdome* of the *Holy Angels* themselves is but *Folly*, when it appears before the *Wisdome* of the Most High God.⁶⁰

Munster notes, *Defect* is called *Folly*. *Aben Ezra* and *Kimchi*, expound the Word / תהלה / so. And so tis found in the I. and the X. of *Ecclesiastes*.⁶¹

Q. *Crush'd before the Moth?* v. 19.

A. A Metaphor from Garments eaten by the *Moth*. See Psal. XXXIX.11. Isa. L.9.⁶²

⁵⁹ This remark from Tremellius ultimately derives from the marginal commentary of Immanuel Tremellius and Franciscus Junius in the *Testamenti Veteris, Biblia Sacra*, lib. 3, p. 108b.

⁶⁰ Edwards, *A Discourse*, vol. 2, ch. 7, pp. 268–70.

⁶¹ Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:2946). The word translated as folly (or error) in Job 4:18 is תהלה [toholah] (Strong's # 8417).

⁶² Caryl, *An Exposition upon the Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh Chapters of Job*, pp. 153–54.

Q. *To which of the Saints wilt thou Turn?* I pray, To what *Sense* would you *Turn* that Passage? v. 1.

A. *Saints*, is the Name of *Angels*. [Dan. 8.13. and Zech. 14.5.] And *Grotius* thinks, that *Eliphaz* here ha's the Vanity, to boast of the *Visions*, which hee had enjoy'd, in the *Angelical* Conversation, mentioned in the former Part of his Discourse; when, *A Spirit had passed before him, and an Image had been before his Eyes*. As if hee had said unto *Job*, see, whether you are like to bee admitted unto any such Favours of Heaven; They are Favours, whereof thou art unworthy!⁶³

Q. Some further Criticism, if you please, upon that Passage;

A. *Samuel Bohlius*, once a Professor in the University of *Rostoch*, ha's published certain, *Dissertationes pro formali Significationis in S. S. Scripturae, Explicatione Eruendo*. He is not content with the *Lexicons*; but he maintains, That every Word hath a General, Absolute, Formal Signification, which is only proper to it; and that in the Particular Significations of Each Word, there is alwayes something of that Formal Signification included; and that we should keep close to that Formal Signification, where there is no Special Reason to determine us otherwise; And that where any Special Reason does determine us to depart from the Formal Signification, we ought not wholly to lose the View of it, but retain as much of it as is possible. These are the Four Maxims of *Bohlius*.⁶⁴

I'll give you only two of his Exemples. One Exemple, is, of the Verb, / אהב / which we ordinarily render, *To Love*. *Bohlius* asserts, that in the Formal Signification of it, it is, *To Praefere*. When *Rebeckah* saies, *I will make ready the Meat, that*

⁶³ Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:2980). Grotius, *Opera Omnia* (1:204).

⁶⁴ Samuel Bohlius, or Samuel Bohl (1611–89), penned a total of 11 brief *Disputationes Pro Formali Significationis Eruendo Primum in Explicatione Scripturae Sacrae*, as well as the *Pro Regula Rustica Reintroducenda in Explicatione Scripturae Sacrae*, all of them published in Rostock in 1637. These non-paginated works might have been bound together with and appended to Johannis Tarnovi's (Johann Tarnow, 1586–1629) equally brief *Exercitationes Biblicae* (Rostock, 1619). The Harvard Library owned a copy of Tarnow's work, published in Leipzig in 1640 according to the *Catalogus Librorum*, and the copy of Tarnow available to me from the Herzog August Bibliothek includes Bohl's *Disputationes*, as well as several others of his texts. More likely is that Mather read Bohl's dissertations in the supplement to Pearson's *Critici Sacri*, the 2-volume *Thesaurus Theologico-Philologicus* (1701–02), which Mather also turns to in his introduction to the Psalms. Bohl and Jacques Gousset (1635–1704) propounded a method of Hebrew study by which one collected all the occurrences of a word in which the meaning was clear. From these instances, a scholar could propose a generalized "first meaning" and use this as a basis for determining particular meaning in individual cases (Legaspi 88). In the first paragraph of this entry, Mather is recapitulating Bohl's thesis contained in Disputation 1.

thy Father loveth, it would be better translated, *that thy Father Preferreth before others*. *Hatred* is opposed unto *Love*; and we must not say, That *Isaac* did *Hate* all other *Meats*, and *Love* none but this. Thus, when we read, That *Jacob* did *Love Rachel*, and that *Elkanah* did *Love Hannah*. And thus *Bohlius* will translate, Mal. 1.2, 3. *I have Præferr'd Jacob, and Postpon'd Esau*; – or, – *Rejected Esau*.⁶⁵

Another Exemple, is that in the Text now before us. *Bohlius* thinks, That if we examine the Formal Signification of the Hebrew Words, which we translate, *Call*, and, *Answer*, we might thus express the Sense of the Original; *Name any one that is like unto thee*; As if it had been said, “Is there any Man that is Holy and Righteous, who finds himself in the State which thou art in? Canst thou Name so much as one?”⁶⁶

I will here only add, That the same Author ha's a Dissertation upon a *Rule*, which he calls, *The Rustick Rule*; wishing it were more established in the Explication of the Scripture. It is, To explain the Text in the Most Natural Sense, which appears at the First View, & is Most Simple & Obvious. According to this Rule, what we read, Job. 13.15. *Tho' He slay me, yett will I trust in Him*; he renders, *If He will kill me, I will not delay*. q.d. Whenever God will have me to Dy, I will not oppose myself to His Will.⁶⁷

Q. What Wrath is it that *killeth the Foolish One*? v. 2.

A. [*** torn*] what we render *Envy*, in the next Clause, [*** torn*].⁶⁸

Q. *The Robber*? v. 5.

A. The Hebrew Word signifies, *One that {wears?} Long Hairs*. It seems here to denote, a wandering Beggar.⁶⁹

Q. How do you understand those Words, *Man is born unto Trouble, as the Sparks fly upward*? v. 7.

A. The first Thought, which at the first View, naturally rises, like a *Spark* from the *Fire*, in ones Mind, would be, That it is not more natural for the *Sons of the Burning Coal*, (as the *Sparks* are called here) to *fly upward*, than it is for the *Sons of Sinful Man*, to run into *Trouble*. Yea, as many *Sparks* do arise together from the *Fire*, and those do no sooner disappear, but as many more *Sparks* do *succeed*,

⁶⁵ Bohlius, *Disputationes Pro Formali* (Diss. 1, loc. 33–4). אָהָב [‘ahab] (Strong’s # 157) means in general to love or like or to delight in.

⁶⁶ Bohlius, *Disputationes Pro Formali* (Diss. 4, loc. 2). קָרָא [qara’] (Strong’s # 7121) is to call out, proclaim, read, or to name.

⁶⁷ Bohlius, *Pro Regula Rustica Reintroducenda in Explicatione Scripturae Scripturae Sacrae*, loc. 18.

⁶⁸ This is probably owed to Caryl, *An Exposition upon the Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh Chapters*, pp. 180–81.

⁶⁹ Caryl, *Exposition upon the Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh Chapters*, p. 212.

so we must expect a *Succession of Troubles*. And it will not be unprofitable for us, to consider *Sin*, as the *Fire* at the Bottom, from which all those *Troubles* are produced.⁷⁰ Nevertheless, there may be some further Glosses made upon this Matter. And among the rest, methinks, That of *Cocceius* is a little elegant: *Sicut scintilla naturâ efferuntur, sed statim resolvuntur, et in cinerem descendunt, ità homo Calore quidem innato ad Tempus tollitur, ut scintilla igne suo, sed eo ipso resolvitur.*⁷¹ Man coming into the World, flies and growes apace, up to Mans Estate: his Native *Heat* carries him *Up* there unto; and the further he goes, the more *Trouble* he sees; but that *Heat* suddenly leaves him, and he falls down *Lifeless Ashes*, buried in the Heap of Incinerated Mortals.

Indeed, such is the *Troublesome* Vanity and Levity of *Mans Best Estate*, in this World, that some (as *De Dieu*) thus read the Text; *Man is born unto Trouble, and the very Sparks* (not only the *Fire*, which *levia sursum secum rapit*, but even the *Sparks* themselves are enough to) carry him upward.⁷²

Nor is this all. I find some to take it after this Manner; *Man is born to* (commit) *Iniquity*; but among Men, there are some *Sons of Light*, that *fly upward*, and are illustrious for their eminent Vertues, and are of *Heavenly Dispositions* and Inclinations.⁷³

As to the Verse which introduces this: *Affliction comes not out of the Dust*; *Munster* notes, that / אָנָּן / the Word used here, signifies, *The Sterility of the Earth*. If the *Earth* be *unfruitful*, there is the Providence of God, & perhaps, the Slothfulness of Man, causing of it.⁷⁴

Q. *The Crafty disappointed?* v. 12.

A. The Chaldee Paraphrast, here understands *Pharaoh* & the *Egyptians*.⁷⁵

Q. How does He save the *Poor* from the Mouth of their Enemies? v. 15.

A. From their Flatteries, & from their Calumnies.⁷⁶

⁷⁰ Caryl, *Exposition upon the Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh Chapters*, pp. 223–24.

⁷¹ “Just as sparks naturally rise up, but are immediately scattered and descend into ash, so man is lifted up by an innate heat at the appointed time, but is dissolved by his very self, as a spark is dissolved by its own [internal] fire.”

⁷² See de Dieu, *Animadversiones*, pp. 260–61. “Which (fire) carries the light things (i.e., sparks) up with itself.”

⁷³ Poole, *Synopsis Criticorum* (2, pars. 1:43). Poole cites Cocceius and de Dieu. The last interpretation offered here, though it occurs in Poole, derives from a work of Thomas Malvenda (1566–1628), a Dominican exegete (*BBK*). Malvenda’s commentary, the five volume *Commentaria in S. Scripturam* (1650), was held by the Harvard Library during Mather’s lifetime. See *Commentaria*, tom. 3, p. 570.

⁷⁴ Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:2965). The Hebrew / אָנָּן / [’aven] means trouble, sorrow, or wickedness.

⁷⁵ Caryl, *Exposition upon the Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh Chapters*, p. 274.

⁷⁶ Caryl, *Exposition upon the Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh Chapters*, pp. 298–99.

[20v] |
 [**]⁷⁷

Q. The Scope of that Passage, *Hee shall deliver thee in Six Troubles. Yea, in Seven there shall no Evil Touch thee?* v. 19.

A. The Passage alludes to the *Six Dayes* of the Lords *Work*, in the Creation of the World & His *Rest* on the *Seventh*.

The Church of God, is to, experience the Fulfilment of this Passage, in going thro' *Six Ages*; as I may call them, of *Troubles*; in all of which there shall wonderful *Deliverances* bee still Received: But there is a *Sabbatism Remaining for the People of God*; in the *Seventh Age*, there shall bee *no Evil*, for the Church to bee delivered from.⁷⁸

Q. How, *At League with the Stones of the Field?* v. 23.

A. Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase, is agreeable. The *Stony Parts* of the Countrey shall not fail to bring forth Fruits plentifully.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ See Appendix A.

⁷⁸ Caryl, *Exposition upon the Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh Chapters*, pp. 338–44. Caryl offers a highly charged political gloss on this verse, including among the evils to which the verse may be applied the threat from the Spanish Armada, the Gunpowder Plot, and the Royalist attacks on London during the Civil Wars. Mather, perhaps chastened by his own mistaken attempts at placing the second coming of Christ, carefully avoids temporal readings of the verse, though he does accept Caryl's main point.

⁷⁹ Patrick, *Job Paraphras'd*, p. 31.

Q. The *Poison of the Arrows*? v. 4.

A. *Poisoned Arrows*, (or, Darts,) were of old much used in Wars.⁸⁰

Q. The Meaning of the *Braying, & Lowing*? v. 5.

A. Tis, q.d. Think you, that I would complain, if I were easy?⁸¹

Q. The Intention of that Passage; *can that which is unsavory be eaten without Salt*? v.6.

A. May not he who eats insipid Things, call for a little Salt, to make them go down better? [How much more may we call for something to qualify that which is very bitter?] As I do now, who have nothing afforded me for my Support, but such Discourses as yours, which my Soul abhors! Thus Dr. *Patrick* paraphrases this Verse, and that which follows.⁸²

Q. The Meaning of that, *my Sorrowful Meat*? v. 7.

A. Such Words are loathsome to me, as you entertain me with. – What I unwillingly eat in my Mourning.⁸³

Q. The Meaning of that, *I would harden myself in my Sorrow*? v. 10.

A. q.d. I would bear it patiently, hoping to be soon rescued from it.

It follows, *Lett Him not spare*. q.d. Lett GOD mercifully deliver me out of this Life; inasmuch as I have served Him faithfully, and I have declared His Truth!⁸⁴

Q. *Is not my Help in me*? What is meant by, *my Help*? v. 13.

A. My Reason.⁸⁵

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Q. On that, *You dig for your Friend*? v. 27.

A. *Mercer* and *Gousset*, rather it so: *You Feast on your Friend*; i. e. You Rejoice in his Misery, and Jest upon it. See Job. XLI.6.⁸⁶

⁸⁰ Caryl, *Exposition upon the Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh Chapters*, p. 429.

⁸¹ Caryl, *Exposition upon the Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh Chapters*, p. 438.

⁸² Patrick, *Job Paraphras'd*, pp. 34–5.

⁸³ Patrick, *Job Paraphras'd*, p. 35.

⁸⁴ Caryl, *Exposition upon the Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh Chapters*, pp. 459–60.

⁸⁵ Patrick, *Job Paraphras'd*, p. 36.

⁸⁶ The direct source is Caryl, *An Exposition upon the Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh Chapters*, pp. 547–48. Caryl cites Mercer and quotes Gousset in these pages. Joannes Mercerus

- Q.** The Meaning of that; *Lett it not be Iniquity?* v. 29.
A. Lett me not be condemned for what I say.
 Or, Deal justly & fairly with me.⁸⁷

(Jean Mercer) (ca. 1500–70) was a favorite Dutch Hebraist and is often relied on by Poole, as well as Caryl and other commentators (*Ej*). The Harvard Library held two of Mercer's best known works, *Commentarii in Genesin* (1598) and *Commentarii in 5 priores Propheta Minores* (1598), and the Mathers owned his *Commentarii in Jobum et Salomonis Proverbia, Ecclesiasticen, Canticum Canticorum* (1651), from which this gloss is drawn. It is included in Poole, *Synopsis Criticorum* (2, pars. 1:64). Jacques Gousset (1635–1704) was the author of *Commentarii Linguae Ebraicae* (1702). His alternative translation of the word “dig” as “convivial gathering” or “feast” can be found at p. 401 in the *Commentarii*. For Gousset's method, see note 64 above.

⁸⁷ Caryl, *Exposition upon the Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh Chapters*, p. 555.

Q. Saith *Job*, *Is there not an Appointed Time for Man upon the Earth?* What is that *Appointed Time*? v. 1.

A. Consult the Original, and you'll see, That it should bee translated, *A Warfare*.

Job found his own Life to bee so.

Accordingly tis observable, that the Holy Spirit, in the Holy Scripture, ever & anon uses *military* Expressions, to describe the Offices & Conditions of Humane Life. The Ministry of the *Levites* is called a *Warfare*. [Num. 8.24, 25. See the Hebrews.] But especially the more Afflictive Part of *Life*, is thus called. [Heb. 10.32. & Isa. 40.2.] All over the New Testament, Christianitie is a *Warfare*, & the Church on Earth is *Militant*. [Heb. 2.10. 2.Tim. 2.3, 4. Phil. 2.25. *Fellow-Souldiers*. 1. Tim. 1.18. & 6.12. 2. Tim. 4.7. Rom. 6.13. Jam. 4.7. with Eph. 6.12–18.]⁸⁸

Now, this Notion of Life, you shall find frequently inculcated, in the Writings of the more Illuminated *Pagans* also.⁸⁹

With *Antoninus*, you'll see ο βίος πολεμος: and with *Arrianus* upon that Aphorism, Στρατεία τις ἐστὶν ο βίος ἑκάστου. Another famous Moralist, adorns this Matter with Noble Reflections. *Reckon upon this* (saith *Maximus Tyrius*) *That God is our Commander & Chief Captain, that this Life is a Military Expedition, that every Man, is an Armed Souldier*. And *Seneca* tells us, *Vivere, Militare est*.⁹⁰

Upon this Occasion, you shall permitt mee, briefly to *Illustrate* many of the Inspired Oracles, by observing to you, That God, by Works of His on the *Con-sciences* of the poor *Gentiles*, ha's all along born Witness, to many Things, which His *Written Word*, ha's more fully testified, & explained unto His People. I am confident, it will give you some Satisfaction to see, the Light of *Nature*, owning the better Light of *Scripture*, and the Pens of perishing Heathen Illustrating the Texts which are given us by the Good Spirit of God.

⁸⁸ See Edwards, *A Discourse*, vol. 2, ch. 2, p. 75. The Hebrew word מָצָא [tsaba'], which in the KJV is translated "appointed time," indeed more accurately indicates "army service."

⁸⁹ The remainder of this entire comment is a digest of Edwards's *A Discourse*, vol. 2, ch. 2, pp. 64–89.

⁹⁰ The reference to Antoninus is to the *Meditations* of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (2.17): "Life is warfare." The reference to Arrian is from his *Discourses on Epictetus* (3.24): "Every man's life is a kind of warfare," (literally, a military campaign or expedition). Maximus Tyrius is Cassius Maximus of Tyre, a 2nd-c. Neo-Platonic rhetorician (*OCD*). His remark occurs in his third dissertation. The quotation from Seneca is from the younger Seneca's letters to Lucilius, in *Epistulae morales ad Lucilium* (96.5): "Do you not know that life, Lucilius, is really a battle?" Edwards's predecessor, Grotius, chooses another example from the *Epistulae* to make the same point about this verse in Job: "sine missione nascimur," or, "there is no discharge from the moment of our birth" (4.37).

The Annotations of *Grotius*, and *Pricæus*, and so *Bogan* in his *Homerus Εβραϊζων* and *Gataker* in his *Antoninus*, have by vast Collections exhibited unto us from the Ancient Profane Writers those very Schemes of Speech which there are in the Sacred Pages, of the Book of Life.⁹¹

I will not insist on many Instances; nor enlarge upon it, That *Paul* mentions *The Outward and Inward Man*; and *Plautus* also mentions the, *Salus Interioris Hominis*: The Phrase of *ανηρ τελειος*, a *Perfect Man*, opposed unto *μειρακιον*, a *Youth*, or one of Maturity in Moralitie, unto a meer Beginner; tis in *Epictetus*: [**torn*]⁹²

The Apostle calls the *Body*, a *Vessel*; and *Cicero* also tells us, *Corpus est quasi vas Animi*.⁹³

Both *Paul* and *Peter*, style their *Body*, a *Tabernacle*; and our Saviour assuming a *Body*, tis said, *Hee pitch'd His Tent*; which Language the Ancient *Gracians* also used, who styled the *Body* of Man, *Σκηνος*⁹⁴

The Apostle anatomizes Man, into Three Parts, *Spirit*, *Soul*, & *Body*; and you have that very Distribution in *Antoninus*, who so explanes it, *Σωματος αισθησεις*, *ψυχης ορμαι*, *νου δογματα*, to the *Body* belong the Senses, to the *Soul* the Affections, to the *Spirit* the Refined Thoughts of Reason & Judgment; Yea, *Plato*, and his Followers have the very same Division:⁹⁵

91 John Pricæus (1600–76) was a well-known classicist (*DNB*). Zachary Bogan (1625–59) published *Homerus Hebraizon* (1658), a work which sought to establish parallels between Homer and Hebrew scripture (*DNB*). Thomas Gataker (1574–1654) in 1652 published one of the first editions of the works of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (*EB*).

92 The biblical reference in this paragraph is to 2 Cor. 4:16: “though our outward man perish, the inward man is renewed day by day.” The reference to Plautus is to act 3, scene 3 of the *Asinaria* (The Comedy of Asses), in which Argyrippus praises his slave, Leonida, as a “savior of the inner man and general of love.” The remark of Epictetus occurs in the *Encheiridion* (51): “you are no longer a youth, but already a full-grown man.”

93 The biblical reference is to 1 Thess. 4:4: “Every one of you should know how to possess his vessel in sanctification and honor.” The quotation from Cicero, a commonplace of Christian humanism, is in fact a slight alteration and truncation of the original in the *Tusculan Disputations* (1.22.52): “nam corpus quidem quasi vas est aut aliquod animi receptaculum” (for the body is but a kind of vessel, or receptacle of the soul).

94 The reference to Paul is to 2 Cor. 5:1: “For we know that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens.” Peter compares his body to a tabernacle in 2 Pet. 1:14: “Shortly I must put off this my tabernacle.” The remark on Jesus is a literal reading of John 1:14: “And the Word was made flesh and dwelt (i.e. made his dwelling, or, pitched his tent) among us.” Though Edwards does not identify further, according to Liddell and Scott’s Greek Lexicon, the same metaphor occurs in numerous Greek writings, among them Hippocrates’s “On the Heart” and “On Anatomy,” the Epigrams of Democritus, and in the pseudo-Platonic Axiochus.

95 This triune division of a human occurs in 1 Thess. 5:23: “I pray God your whole spirit and soul and body be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ.” The anatomy of Marcus Aurelius occurs in the *Meditations*, (3.15). Similar but not identical divisions occur throughout Plato’s *Phaedo* and in the *Enneads* (5.3.9) of Plotinus.

Solomon compares the short Pleasures of Sin, to the *Crackling of Thorns under a Pott*; and you have the Same Comparison in *Virgil*, *Magno veluti cum Flamma sonore Virgea suggeritur costis undantis Aheni*.⁹⁶

The Speech of *Nestor*, is with *Homer*, that great Soul of Poetry (as *Edwards* my Author, on this Occasion calls him) *Μελιτος γλυκιων*, *Sweeter than Honey*; but how often do *David* and *Solomon* make use of the same Similitude?⁹⁷

Our Lord speaks of an, *Hen gathering her Chickens under her Wings*; and you have the same Resemblance, both in *Euripides*, and *Seneca*.⁹⁸

I will rather touch upon some Examples, of more Importance. Particularly, *A Course of Life*, is called, *A Way*, not only all over the Old and New Testament, but also in the Writings of all the Moralists. And whereas, our Saviour speaks of *A Broad Way*, and, *A Narrow Way*, thus in *Cebes* his Table the Way to Vertue is represented as *Narrow*, Craggy, Thorny, Difficult and Unfrequented, with a *Θυρα τις μικρα*, a *Little Gate*: And the Words of that notable Platonist, *Maximus Tyrius*, are most emphatical; about a *Narrow Way*, Trod by Few, and leading directly to a good Journeyes End; while others turn aside unto *By Wayes*, & *Broad Wayes*, that lead them unto Ruine.⁹⁹

That wee are *Travellers* in this World, is a Confession made by *Jacob*, by *David*, by *Peter*, by *Paul*, and by the whole Bible. Well, *Epictetus* and *Arrianus* have that very Metaphor; *Anaxagoras* called, *Heaven*, his Countrey; and *Socrates* professed himself to beε πολιτης πολεως της ανωτατης, a *Citizen of the City above*. *Tully* sais bravely, *Ex hac Vita ita discedo tanquam ex Hospitio, non tanquam ex Domo*; and elsewhere yett more bravely, *Erigamus in Cælum Oculos tanquam in Patriam, in quam nobis aliquando redeundum est*. *Antoninus* and [***torn*] {and other select Moralists?} have the like Sayings. | And *Seneca* sais, *Peregrin[atio] [*torn] est Vita*.¹⁰⁰ [24v]

⁹⁶ Eccl 7:6: "For as the crackling of thorns under a pot, so is the laughter of the fool;" *Virgil*, *Aeneid* (7.462–63). Dryden's famous translation renders these lines about the anger of Turnus, "So, when with crackling flames a caldron fries, / The bubbling waters from the bottom rise."

⁹⁷ *Iliad* (1.249). Ps. 19:10 and 119:3. Prov. 16:24. Song. Sol. 4:11.

⁹⁸ Matt. 23:37. *Euripides* uses this image in his *Children of Heracles*: "I and you, old friend, are doomed to die, and these children of Heracles, whom I am guarding beneath my wing as a bird keeps her tender chicks under her" (70). *Edwards* does not identify his reference to *Seneca*, though it may be to the *Phoenissae*, a fragment based on a play of the same name by *Euripides*. At one point in *Seneca's* version of this play, *Jocasta* says to her son, *Polynices*, "I will cover thy whole body with my protecting embrace."

⁹⁹ Matt. 7:13–4. The "Tablet" or "Pinax" of *Cebes*, supposed to be a Theban contemporary of *Socrates* and participant in two of the Platonic dialogues (*Phaedo* and *Crito*), was a favorite moral treatise of the late renaissance. *Milton*, for instance, references this work in his essay, "Of Education." In this allegory of learning and wisdom, the "little gate, and the way there before the little gate" lie on an unused path in "a steepe discent of that craggy rock" (p. 128); this unused path of true learning is opposed to the broad courtyard of false learning in which many wander aimlessly (pp. 126–27). The remark of *Maximus Tyrius* is from *Dissertation 23*.

¹⁰⁰ The image of life as a journey occurs in several of *Arrian's Discourses on Epictetus*, including 2.14, 2.23, and 4.1. *Diogenes Laertius*, in his *Life of Anaxagoras* (2) reports that when

That Good Men are *Free*, but Ill Men are *Slaves*, is a thing abundantly intimated in Sacred Writ. [The *Prisoners*, in Zech. 9.11. Isa. 42.6, 7. Ch. 49.8, 9. Ch. 61.1. are Mystically, the *Ungodly*, as may be proved from our Lords Allegation, in Luc. 4.18. Besides, consider Joh. 8.32, 34, 36. 2. Pet. 2.19. 2. Cor. 3.17. Those who are by *Paul* (Rom. 6. *per totum*) called, *The Servants of Sin*, are, as the learned *Edwards* interprets it, the same that *Peter* calls (1. Pet. 3.19.) *The Spirits in Prison*; for while Men continue in their Sins, their Souls are in Durance in Thralldome and have horrible Chains upon them.] Now, *Tully* also defends this problem, *Quòd omnes Sapientes, Liberi; et Stulti, Servi. Laertius* will tell you, how many Stoicks mentained this Position. *Isocrates*, in his Orations, more than once utters it. *Epictetus* and *Arrianus* assert it vigorously; That *Vice* is the greatest *Slavery*. *Horace's* Character of a *Free-Man* is Remarkable,

*Quisnam igitur liber? Sapiens sibi que Imperiosus,
Quem neque Pauperies neque Mors neque Vincula terrent,
Responsare Cupidinibus, contemnere Honores,
Fortis, et in se ipso Totus, Teres atque Rotundus,*

A Man that extremely loves Money, is, *A Golden Slave*, among the Moralists. *Boethius* will assure us, *Extrema est Servitus, cum Anima Humanæ Vitiis deditæ,*

the pre-Socratic philosopher was accused of having no love for his country he replied, "Be silent, for I have the greatest affection for my country," and pointed to heaven. The phrase that Edwards attributes to Socrates by way of Johannes Stobaeus (Πολίτης πόλεως τῆς ἀνωτάτης) occurs, in fact, in Thomas Gataker's thoroughly annotated edition of the Meditations of Marcus Aurelius (3.11). Plutarch famously claims in his *Morals* ("On Banishment") that Socrates identified himself as a citizen of the world. Stobaeus does attribute this same idea to Socrates in *Oration* 38, "De Exilio," although in that case the wording is slightly different: in Stobaeus, Socrates claims that "the world is the common fatherland of all men." Epictetus, in Arrian's *Discourses* (1.9), has the same aphorism, but again in different wording. In that case, according to Wentworth Higginson's translation, Socrates says that we are citizens of the universe (κόσμος). All of these opinions were seen as validating the claim of Paul in Philippians 3:20 that our "citizenship is in heaven." Both the King James and the Geneva Bibles use the somewhat misleading phrasing that "our conversation is in heaven." In *De Senectute* (On Old Age), Cicero says, "I go out of this world as out of an inn, not a home" (23.84). I have not been able to place the second quotation which Edwards ascribes to Cicero although a possible source of Edwards, Johann Schröder (1572–1621), in *Opusculum Theologicum De Principio Theologiae, Et Naturali Notitia Dei* (1605), cap. 2, sec. 1, ch. 10, pt. 8, p. 275, attributes the same words to *De Legibus* (1). The same quotation, without any specific textual attribution, occurs in Christoph Sand's *Tractatus de Origine Animae* (1671), p. 48. It is highly improbable that Sand (1644–1680) is the source of this quotation, however, because he was a notorious Arian and apologist for Spinoza (*CB*). The reported place of publication of Sand's *Tractatus* indicates how unorthodox were his opinions: the work is purported to have been published in "Cosmopoli," a fictional identity for any of a number of European cities. Schröder, an orthodox Lutheran, is a far more likely source. Edwards translates this phrase, "Let us lift up our eyes to heaven as to our country, to which we must think of returning some time or other." Edwards and Gataker also identify the phrase of Seneca, "Life is a pilgrimage" ("Peregrinatio est Vita") as deriving from *De remediis fortuitorum*, though this work is now usually attributed not to Seneca, but to a follower (Pseudo-Seneca).

*rationis propria Possessione ceciderunt; and Seneca, Nemo Liber est, qui Corpori servit.*¹⁰¹

That Good Men are *Wise*, but Ill Men are *Fools*, is a thing in Sacred Writ intimated as abundantly. [Weigh, Deut. 4.6. with Job. 28.28. and Psal. 14.1. Psal. 49.13. Prov. 14.9. and Luc. 12.20. Yea, *Madness* is ascribed unto the Impious, Eccl. 9.3. Eccl. 2.2. Jer. 50.38. and 51.7. Act. 26.11. Luc. 15.17.] Now all the *Stoicks* generally, & most other Philosophers, have the very same Style. *Cicero's* paradoxes, do expressly prove this very Thing. *Maximus Tyrius* with the Platonic School do likewise hold Virtue to bee the Σοφία στασιμος καὶ ἐδρανα, the *Stable & Solid Wisdom*; and *Hierocles* pronounces, Τὸν ἀθεὸν ἀνοήτον, an *Irreligious Man*, to bee *Void of Understanding*. Yea, The Founder of the Stoic Sect advanced this Maxim: *That Wicked Men are Mad*. *Maximus Tyrius* likens an Ill Man to one disordered by *Madness*. And *Horace*, you know,

Quid Avarus?

*Stultus et Insanus.*¹⁰²

Shall wee proceed? *Abraham* is Three times called, *The Friend of God*. [Compare, Exod. 33.11. 2. Sam. 12.25. and Cant. 5.1, 16. And the Word, *Oheb*,¹⁰³ translated *Friend*, in those Places, might bee rendred so, in many others, where

¹⁰¹ "Per totum" is a Latinate construction meaning "through the whole." Cicero's claim that wise men are free while fools are slaves occurs in his *Paradoxa Stoicorum* (5). This was a popular truism of the late Renaissance, and occurs also in Burton's Preface to *Anatomy of Melancholy*, a copy of which was owned by the Mathers. Diogenes Laertius reports that Zeno, among others, held that those "who were not virtuous, [were] adversaries, and enemies, and slaves" while the wise were "the only citizens, and friends, and relations, and free men" (*Life of Zeno* 28). In his letter to Demonicus, Isocrates suggests that Demonicus "govern your pleasures on the principle that it is shameful to rule over one's servants and yet be a slave to one's desires" (*Speeches and Letters* 21). Likewise, he instructs Nicocles to "govern yourself no less than your subjects, and consider that you are in the highest sense a king when you are a slave to no pleasure but rule over your desires more firmly than over your people" (29). The idea that vice is the greatest slavery occurs in Arrian's *Discourses on Epictetus* (4.1), in the *Encheiridion* (14) but is most plain in fragment 111 where "It is the part of a wise man to resist pleasures, but a foolish one to be slave to them." The quotation from Horace is from *Satire* (2.7): "Who then is free? The wise man, who is lord over himself, whom neither poverty nor death nor bonds affright, who bravely defies his passions, and scorns ambition, who in himself is a whole, smoothed and rounded" (83–6). The man who is a slave to money is attributed to Socrates by Stobaeus in his *Oration* (22). Boethius in the *Consolation of Philosophy* says that the "worst kind of servitude is when the souls of men are given up to vice and are fallen from the possession of their own reason" (5.2). The statement of Seneca occurs in his *Epistulae morales* (14.92): "No man is free who is a slave to his body." (92.33).

¹⁰² See Edwards, *A Discourse*, vol. 2, ch. 2, p. 81. The equation of virtue with stable and solid wisdom occurs in *Dissertation* (15) of Maximus of Tyre. Hierocles remarks on the relationship of reason and religion in his *Notes on the Golden Verses of Pythagoras* (1). The aphorism that "wicked men are mad" is an accepted Stoic proposition, according to Diogenes Laertius in his *Life of Zeno* (64). The comparison of an ill man to a mad one occurs in *Dissertation* (28) of Maximus Tyrius. The quotation from Horace is from *Satire* (2.3): "What of the covetous? He is a fool and a madman" (158–59).

¹⁰³ אָהֵב [oheb] "loving," a participle which is sometimes translated as "friend" (see *BDB* 12).

our Translators English it, *Him that Loveth God*. So in the Evangelical Writings. Luc. 12.4. and Joh. 15.13, 14, 15. and Joh. 11.11.] Thus Δι Φίλος; Theophilus is usual in *Homer*; and among the Philosophers. *Plato* especially discourses, *Who are the Friends of God?* in his Fourth Book of *Lawes*. A Religious Man, is a *Friend of God*, says the most eminent of the Moralists. *Epictetus*, with *Arrianus*, often speak of God, as the *Best Friend*. The Advice of *Cambyses*, to his Son *Cyrus*, in *Xenophon*, was, *Bee thou the Friend of God*. *Socrates*, *Antoninus*, *Seneca*, *Plotinus*, commonly call a vertuous Person, by that Name. Φίλος ἀθανάτοις, was the greatest Stroke in an Honourable Epitaph, among the Pagans.¹⁰⁴

Again, wee say of a wicked Man, *Hee is Dead*: and in so saying wee speak Scripturally. [See it, in Luc. 15.24. Math. 8.22. 1.Tim. 5.6. Eph. 2.1. Col. 2.13.] Now the old Philosophers would say so too. *Clemens Alexandrinus* notes it, That even in the Barbaric Philosophy, they would call those *Dead*, who abandoned the Right Sentiments of Things, which they once had, & enslaved their Souls to their Animal Passions. *Pythagoras* would place a *Coffin* in the Room of an outcast Scholar; & so would the *Platonists*, as well as the *Pythagoreans*. They call'd, *Vice*, *The Death of the Rational Part* and the *Mortalitie of the Soul*. And *Intermortui Mores*, in *Plautus*, are Vitious & Corrupt Manners.¹⁰⁵

Wee'l come to *Death*, and *There* wee'l stop. *Death* is a *Sleep*, in the Scriptural Reckoning. [Compare Gen. 19.4. / שָׁכַב / with 2. Sam. 7.12. Isa. 14.8. To *Sleep with our Fathers*, is to Dy. The *Grave* is a *Bed*. Isa. 57.2. Perhaps, our Saxon Word, *Grave*, or *Grab*, is from *Grabatus*. Weigh also, Ps. 13.3. Job. 7.21.

¹⁰⁴ Abraham is styled the friend of God in 2 Chron. 20:7, Isa. 41:8, and Jam. 2:23. Of the passages cited, the word [ʾāhēb], or “beloved” is only used in 2 Chron. 20:7 and Isa. 41:8. In the other texts mentioned, the word translated as “friend” is the more neutral [rēyaʾ], or, “associate” or “companion.” Mather, no mean Hebraist, is, however, simply transcribing the opinion of Edwards. The idea of being a friend or beloved of God occurs numerous times throughout the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* (see, for example, *Iliad* 2 and 10). A modern translation of the phrase alluded to in Book 4 of the *Laws* reads, “The temperate man is the friend of god.” In Arrian’s *Discourses* (2.17), Epictetus says, “It is enough for me if it shall ever be in my power to ... look up to heaven as a friend of God.” Cyrus gave this instruction to his son, Cambyses, rather than Cambyses the elder to his son, Cyrus. See the *Cyropaedia* (8.7.22). Marcus Aurelius, of course, does not possess any idea of a personal friendship with a god, but he does remind himself frequently to honor and submit himself to the universe or god. See Seneca’s *Epistulae* (14.92) and Plotinus, *The Enneads* (6.9.7). Edwards identifies the “honorable epitaph” as belonging to Epictetus. This is probably a reference to Aulus Gellius, a second-century Latin author, who reports in *Attic Nights* that Epictetus composed his own epitaph, which read, “Epictetus, a slave, maimed in body, an Irus in poverty, and favored by the immortals” (*Noctae Atticae* 17.19).

¹⁰⁵ The statement of Clement of Alexandria is in Chapter I of *Exhortation to the Heathen*. Iamblichus reports the practice of treating failed students as if they were dead in his *Life of Pythagoras* (17). According to Edwards, the idea that vice is a kind of death comes in the first instance from Hierocles (most likely, his “Notes on the Golden Verses”) and in the second from Arrians’s *Discourses* (probably 2.15). The remark on “dying morals” comes in act 1, scene 1 of Plautus’s *Trinummus* (*The Three Pieces of Money*), where Megaronides complains in the opening speech that his fault “has encroached too much upon good morals,” so that they are ready to die.

Joh. 11.11. Act. 7.60. 1. Thess. 4.14. 1. Cor. 15.6, 18.] To *Sleep* and to *Dy*, were synonymous Terms, with the Pagans too: *Sleep*, is with *Homer*, *The Brother of Death*; Yea, κοιμησατο χαλκεον υπνον. So saith *Catullus*, *Nox est perpetuò una dormienda*. *Horace* tells of, *Perpetuus Sopor*; *Propertius*, of *Nox Perpetua*; *Virgil*, of *Nox Eterna*; with *Tully*, *Decumbere*, is to *Dye*.¹⁰⁶

But heres enough.

I shall attain my End, if your Esteem of the Scriptures bee raised, from the Consent, which you see God compelling the Consciences of poor Pagans to give unto the Nations of things [** *illeg.*]

Q. The *Whale*? v. 7.

A. Dr. *Pocock* will have it, The *Jackal*.¹⁰⁷

Q. The *Magnifying* of Man? v. 17.

A. It means, To act for his Good.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁶ The Hebrew word שָׁכַב [shakab] (Strong's # 7901) is translated in Gen. 19.4 as "lay down [to sleep]," but metaphorically means "to die" in the other passages mentioned. The quotation from *Homer* is from the *Iliad* (11.241), however the translation here provided, "the brother of death," refers more directly to 14.231. Κοιμήσατο χαλκεον υπνον literally is to lay down in a bronze bed, a Homeric expression for death by bronze weapons (*Homer, Iliad*, 11.241). *Catullus* writes that "we must sleep through perpetual night" in *Carmina* (5.4). For "perpetual sleep" see *Horace (Ode 1.24, line 5)*. I have not been able to locate the "perpetual night" assigned to *Sextus Propertius* by *Edwards and Mather*, though *Propertius* in *Elegy* (2.15) does mention the "long night (nox longa) with no dawn" (24). At several points in the *Georgics* and the *Aeneid* *Virgil* refers to "eternal night." See, for instance, *Georgics* (468). "Decumbere" as a metaphor of death is in the *Tusculan Disputations* (2.39).

¹⁰⁷ This is actually in verse 12. *Mather's* source is *Isham* (p. 28), who references *Edward Pocock[e]* (1640–91), an orientalist who was instrumental in the composition of *Walton's Biblia Sacra Polyglotta*, and in *Edmund Castell's* companion *Lexicon Heptaglotton* (1669) (*ODCC*). *Isham's* source for his information is *Pococke's Commentary on Micah*. At Job 7:12 the word is תַּנִּינִי [tannin] "sea monster, sea-dragon; serpent." See *Micah 1:8*, where a similar Hebrew word is used: תַּנִּינִים [tannim] "jackals." *Pococke* examines the various interpretations of this word at some length in his commentary (pp. 5–6). See Appendix B.

¹⁰⁸ *Isham* p. 28.

Q. The Intention of *Bildads* Discourse? v. 1.

A. He does insist upon the same with *Eliphaz* who went before him; That this was the Sense of all Antiquity (the *former Age*, & the *Fathers*,) that God prospers the Just; but the Wicked, tho' they flourish for a Season, are quickly extirpated. And he being descended from *Shuah*, one of the Sons of *Abraham* by *Keturah*; [Gen. XXV.2.] seems in his Appeal, to have a special Reference unto the Records, which then remained, of Gods Blessing upon that Faithful Mans Posterity, who hitherto, and not long after, continued in his Religion; and of the Extirpation of those Eastern People, Neighbours to *Job*, in whose Countrey they were settled, because of their Wickedness.¹⁰⁹

Q. On that, of *Jobs* Children *cast away for their Transgression*? v. 4.

A. *Munsters* Translation is Justifiable; *cast away into the Place of their Transgression*. That is, the Place due to their Transgression; suppose, *Grave* or *Hell*.¹¹⁰

Q. What may be intended by *The Habitation of thy Righteousness*? v. 6.

A. I object not against the Intention commonly supposed.

But I think it worth mentioning; That I find one Critic translating it, *He will Restore the Habitation of thy Righteousness*. And this *Habitation* he takes to be the *Body* of the *Righteous* Man. Thus *Munster*. *Instaurabit Dominus Corpus tuum propter Iustitiam tuam*.¹¹¹

Q. On, *A Trust Like a Spiders Web*? v. 14.

A. Reading Dr. *Burnets* Most Instructive, *History of his own Time*, I find a Passage, that carries in so famous an Exemplification of this Matter, I cannot but enter it as an Illustration of it.

Entring upon his History of King *James II* his Words are these. "A great King, with strong Armies, & mighty Fleets, a vast Treasure, & powerful Allies, fell all at once; And his whole Strength, LIKE A SPIDERS WEB, was so irrecover-

¹⁰⁹ Isham, pp. 30–1. Isham references Patrick, but does not identify the source of his information, which is *Job Paraphras'd*, p. 44. Mather could have been using either author at this point, but the indication from his earlier references is that he was drawing from Isham rather than Patrick.

¹¹⁰ Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3021).

¹¹¹ "The Lord will restore your body because of your righteousness." Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3021).

ably broken with a Touch, that he was never able to retrieve, what for want both of Judgment & of Heart, he threw up in a Day.”¹¹²

Q. How, *Green before the Sun?* v. 16.

A. Before the Rising of the *Sun*; or, before the scorching Heat thereof upon it.¹¹³

Q. The Meaning of that, *Out of the Earth shall others grow?* v. 19.

A. There shall be a Succession of other Men, to enjoy his Wealth.¹¹⁴

¹¹² Burnet, vol. 3, bk. 4, p. 1059.

¹¹³ Isham, p. 32.

¹¹⁴ Isham, p. 32.

Q. Who are the *proud Helpers*? v. 13.

A. They who confide in their own Power to Help; These are found Able to do nothing. *Schmidius* interprets thus: of the Devils crouching under the Wrath of GOD.¹¹⁵

Q. The Import of that Passage; *Yett would I not beleieve, that he had hearkened unto my Voice?* v. 16.

A. If He had granted my Desire, yett I should not have thought, that my Prayer had done the Business.¹¹⁶

Q. The *Laughing at the Trial of the Innocent?* v. 23.

A. Dr. *Ishams* Paraphrase, is; “GOD will bring the Righteous into such Distresses, as if He really scorned them.”¹¹⁷

Q. The Intention of that Passage; *The Earth is given into the Hand of the Wicked; he covereth the Faces of the Judges thereof; if not, where, and who is he?* v. 24.

A. Dr. *Patrick's* Paraphrase on it, is this. “And on the other Side (so false is your Discourse!) we see the Government of the Earth, given into the Hands of a Wicked Prince, who blinds the Eyes of his Judges. If you deny this, tell me, where is the Man, & what is his Name, who administers things uprightly?”¹¹⁸

It looks indeed, as if he referr'd unto one great Prince, reigning somewhere at that time in the Neighbourhood.¹¹⁹

Or, *If not, where & who is he?* may be so paraphrased. If this be not GODS doing, who does it?¹²⁰

[*8304.*]

Q. What are meant by, *The Swift Ships?* v. 26.

115 Isham, p. 35. It is Isham, of course, who offers the interpretation of *Schmidius*. Isham's source is probably the *Biblia Sacra* (1696) of Sebastian Schmidt (1617–96). The Mathers owned *Schmidius's Sabbathum Deuteroproton* (1668).

116 Patrick, *Job Paraphras'd*, p. 52.

117 Isham, p. 36.

118 Patrick, *Job Paraphras'd*, p. 54.

119 Patrick, *Job Paraphras'd*, p. 49.

120 Isham, p. 36.

A. Instead of translating it, as the Vulgar Latin, *The Ships that carry Apples*, the best way is to give it no Translation at all. But read it, *The Ships of Ebeh*. For there are Two Rivers of that Name in the Countrey of *Job*; one that is near to *Cupha*, and the other in the Province of *Babylon*, called, *Wasit*, which is the *Misenum* of the *Greeks*.

L. *Cappellus*, from an Arabic Root, interprets it, Ships ready & well furnished for a Voyage.¹²¹

Q. The Meaning of that; *If I be Wicked, why then Labour I in Vain?* v. 29.

A. If GOD condemns me, tis to no Purpose for me to vindicate myself.¹²²

¹²¹ Isham, p. 37. Isham, it should be noted, offers the opinion of Ludovicus Cappellus that is transcribed at the end of this annotation, but neither Cappel nor Isham propose any specific location for a river Ebeh. See Cappel, *Commentarii*, p. 449. John Gill (1697–1771), in his *Exposition on the Old Testament* (1748–63), credits Jacobus Golius (Jacob Gohl, 1596–1667) with suggesting these possible placements of the river in his *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum* (1653). Mather, however, likely owes his information to the commentary of Philippus Codurcus contained in Pearson's *Critici Sacri* (3:3054–55). Gohlius and Codurcus on their parts are recapitulating the general opinion of Rabbinic commentators such as Jarchi (RASHI) and Aben Ezra (Ibn Ezra).

¹²² Isham, p. 37.

[29r]

Job. Chap. 10.

Q. The Meaning of that, *Are thy days as the days of Man?* v. 5.

A. Dost thou want any Length of Time, to find out the Right in a Cause?¹²³

[30v]

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Q. The import of that; *These things hast thou hid in thy Heart?* v. 13.

A. Notwithstanding so many Benefits, thou didst secretly præpare and purpose these Afflictions for me.¹²⁴

¹²³ Isham, p. 39.

¹²⁴ Isham, p. 40.

Q. What are the, *Double to that which is?* v. 6.

A. GOD regarded as a Creditor, finds us endebted unto Him, Twice as much as He reckons to us. Compare: Isa. XL.2.¹²⁵

Q. What may the Four Dimensions here mention'd, refer to? v. 8, 9.

A. Dr. *Arrowsmith*, in his *Chain of Principles*, with some Reason and Ingenuity, thinks, That *Zophar*, in the Dimension of *Heighth*, refers to the omnipotent *Sovereignty* of GOD; In that of *Depth*, to the omniscient *Wisdom* of GOD; In that of *Length*, to His everlasting *Duration*; In that of *Breadth*, to His omnipresent *Immensity*. These very *Dimensions* are elsewhere in the Scriptures applied unto these very *Attributes*. Compare, Eccles. VI.8. Rom. XI.33. Psal. XXI.4. and, Isa. XXXIII.21: The *Vulgar Latin*, & our *Old English* Translations, carry these Four Passages, to GOD; and read, *HE is*. But because there are Fæminine Words in the Text, we may look back unto the sixth Verse for the Antecedent; where you find, *Wisdom*, which is of the Fæminine Gender. Some therefore, as *Oecolampadius*, | and *Junius*, insert, *Sapientia* here. But *Arrowsmith* finds a Word nearer hand, which is of the same Fæminine Gender. And that is, *Perfection*. *Canst thou find out the Almighty to Perfection? It*, that is, the *Perfection* of GOD, is, as *High as Heaven*. *Castellio's* Translation is fully squared unto this Interpretation.¹²⁶

[32v]

Q. What may be meant, by, *Gather together?* v. 10.

A. As a Booty, and for Slaughtering. Or, Into an Assembly, to contend with.¹²⁷

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Q. The Rite of, *Lifting up the Hands in Prayer*, deserves to be a little spoken to? v. 13.

[33r]

¹²⁵ Isham, p. 42–3.

¹²⁶ This passahe, including the references to *Oecolampadius*, *Junius*, and *Castellio*, is from the *Armilla Catechetica*, aphorism 4, exercitation (exer.) 6, pp. 234–39, of John *Arrowsmith* (1602–59) For *Junius*, see notes on *Ezra*. This is drawn from *Junius's Testamenti Veteris, Biblia Sacra*, bk. 3, p. 110b. *Johannes Oecolampadius* (1482–1531) was an early reformed German theologian and assistant to *Ulrich Zwingli*. *Castellio* is *Sebastian Castellio* (1515–63) another early reformer and sometime ally of *Jean Calvin*, though *Calvin* eventually repudiated *Castellio* for the latter's support of freedom of religious conscience (*ODCC*). *Mather* likely intends Eccl. 5:8, not 6:8.

¹²⁷ Isham, p. 43.

A. It is a Passage of *Aristotle*, in his Book, *De Mundo*; πάντες οι άνθρωποι ανατεινομεν χειρας εις ουρανον ευχας ποιουμενοι. *Omnes quotquot sumus Mortales, Manus in Caelum protendimus Orantes.*¹²⁸

The Custome of the Ancient Hebrewes, is abundantly testified in the Sacred Scriptures. How twas among the *Gentiles*, lett *Virgil* tell us,

*Cælo Palmas cum Voce tetendit.*¹²⁹

And *Livy*; l. v. *Dicitur Manus ad Cælum tollens, ità precatus.*¹³⁰

How among the *Christians*, we learn from *Tertullian*; *Manibus Expansis quia Innocuis.*¹³¹

The Intention of the Rite, may be to declare our *Sinceritie*; it being supposed that we not only show our *Naked Hands*, but also as the Prophet speaks, [Lam. 3.41.] *Our Hearts in our Hands*. To declare likewise our Hope to be in God alone; That we take Hold of Him, (as Children offer their *Hands* unto their Parents to take Hold of them,) as not knowing where else to stay our Hands. There is in it also an Intimation, of our Disposition to apply our *Hands*, unto the Use of such Means, as God ha's directed us, for the Obtaining of what we pray for. It was the Old Admonition, *Admotà Operi Manu Deum implorandum esse*; Την χειρα προσφεροντα τον Θεον καλειν.¹³²

But there is a further Observation upon the Matter, which *Chrysostom* ha's, (In Psal. 141.) not unworthy to be recited.

128 "All we mortals extend our hands towards heaven when making our prayers." *De Mundo* is now recognized as belonging not to Aristotle, but to a follower of his, usually identified as *Pseudo-Aristotle*. See 400a.17 in that work. This quote, however, was a favorite one of exegetes during the late Renaissance, and also occurs in the annotations of Grotius on Luke 18:13 (*Opera* 2:437).

129 "He stretched his hands along with his voice to the sky." Vergil, *Aeneid* (2.688); here Anchises prays that the family of Aeneas will be shown a way out of the ruined city of Troy.

130 "He is reported to have raised his hands to heaven and prayed." See Livy's history of Rome, *Ad Urbe Condita Libri* (5.21). The reference is to the prayer made by Camillus after his successful attack on the city of Veii.

131 Tertullian, *Apology*, cap. 30, with context: "Thither [to God in heaven] we lift our eyes, with hands outstretched, because free from sin." [PL 1.503; ANF 3.42.]

132 Translation of the Latin from Witsius (see below): "God is to be called upon by the hand moved to work." Transl. of the Greek: "To call unto God (or, 'on the god') when applying one's hand." The Greek citation is probably from Diogenianus (see Diogenianus 8.11, Apostolius 15.79), and was taken into the *Suda*, a 10th-century Byzantine encyclopedia of the ancient world, with over 30,000 entries (entry: Την χείρα ...; Adler's Teubner Edition number of the entry: 528). There were a variety of early modern editions of the *Suidae Lexicon*, such as Aldus Manutius's from 1514 (Venice) (see Dickey, *Ancient Greek Scholarship*, pp. 87–91). Mather's source is Witsius, *Exercitationes sacrae* (1689), exer. 4, p. 67; Witsius's (cited) source for the Greek (not the Latin) is: Thomas Gataker's (1574–1654) edition: Marcus Aurelius, *Markou Antoninou tou autokratoros ton eis heauton biblia* 12 (1652), lib. 2, § 40, p. 347. Gataker refers to Plutarch, *Moralia*, *The Ancient Customs of the Spartans*, 29: "Those fond of proverbs are wont to quote this on occasion: 'Yer ain hand use when Fortune ye would call,' thus indicating that calling on the gods for aid ought to be accompanied by effort and action on one's own part, or else they should not be invoked."

*What means the Lifting up of our Hands in our Prayers? Our Hands are employ'd in many evil Actions. For this Cause we are bidden to lift them up; that being employ'd in our Prayers, they may for the future, be withdrawn & withheld from such Actions. If thou art at any Time tempted to rob or strike another, call to Mind, These are the very Hands that thou must lift up to God, in thy Supplications, and by them offer thy Spiritual Sacrifices. Oh! Don't putt them to Shame, or by any evil Action spoil them of that glorious Liberty.*¹³³

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[34v]

Q. The *Digging*, referr'd unto? v. 18.

A. Some understand it of *Digging Wells*. Compare, Gen. XXI.30. & XXVI.18. Dr. *Isham* thinks, that such a Sense may best agree to the *Arabians*, who dwelt in Tents.¹³⁴

¹³³ See Chrysostom, *Expositio in Psalmos*, Ps. 141 [PG 55.427–28]. The entire entry is taken from the *Exercitationes in Orationem Dominicam* of Hermann Witsius, or Wits (1636–1708), which was published together with his *Exercitationes Sacrae in Symbolum quod Apostolorum Dicitur* (1681). I have had access to the third edition of this work, printed in Amsterdam in 1697. The note is contained in Exercitation 4 (“De Gestibus Orantium”), §§ 35–7, pp. 67–8. Witsius, best known for his *De œconomia foederum Dei cum hominibus* (*The Economy of the Covenants between God and Man*) (1677), was highly respected for his many works of systematic theology, which attempted to reconcile the orthodox Calvinism of the followers of Gisbertius Voetius (1589–1676) with the rigorously maintained covenant theology of that party which adhered to the works of Johannes Cocceius (1603–69) (*SH*). The “old admonition” Witsius refers to is contained in Thomas Gataker’s edition of the Meditations of Marcus Aurelius (bk. 2, p. 347).

¹³⁴ Isham, p. 44.

Q. *A Lamp despised?* v. 5.

A. Tho' he shines in his Adversity, yett it renders him Despicable.

Codurcus carries it so. Tis' a proverbial Speech. A *Torch is useless to one that walks firmly*; tis fitt only to such as totter in going. *Job* wanted not their Advice.¹³⁵

Q. The Meaning of, *Into whose hand GOD bringeth?* v. 6.

A. Some understand here, the Idolater, that fashions his GOD with his Hand.

Schmadius explains it, of him who trusteth in his own Strength, as his GOD.¹³⁶

Q. The Intention of that; *Ask now the Beasts, and they shall teach thee?* v. 7.

A. Take Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase; "Thou needest not go any further, than to the Beasts or Birds, to learn how well the Wicked fare. The *Earth* brings forth her Fruit to them abundantly and the Fishes of the *Sea* deny them not their Service. – God hath ordered it should be thus."¹³⁷

Q. Saies *Job*, *The Hand of the Lord hath Wrought this*. Is there any thing Remarkable, in the Manner of the Expression here? v. 9.

A. This is the only Passage, in the whole Discourse between *Job*, and his Friends, wherein you will find, that great Name, JEHOVAH, mentioned.

Q. The Intention of what we read here, about, *Kings?* v. 18.

A. GOD *loosens their Bonds*, when He weakens their Authority [Job. XXX.11.]. He *girds their Loins with a Girdle*, when He sends them into Captivity. See the Case of Servants. Luk. XVII.8. But some understand it of Restoring them to their Power. See v. 21. And Isa. XLV.5.¹³⁸

¹³⁵ Isham, p. 46. The reference to *Codurcus* can be found in Pearson (3:3092).

¹³⁶ Isham, p. 46.

¹³⁷ Patrick, *Job Paraphras'd*, p. 68.

¹³⁸ Isham, p. 48.

Q. *Your Remembrances.* What? v. 12.

A. Your memorable Qualities.

But some interpret it, of the Arguments they employ'd against him.¹³⁹

Q. Give us the Sense of *Jobs* Words, *I will maintain my own Wayes before Him?* v. 15.

A. We have in the Context here, the Hope of *Job*, which was for no less than a Resurrection from the Dead. He was brought so low, that he (v.14.) *took his Flesh in his Teeth*; (compare what he saies, Job. 19.20. about, *The Skin of his Teeth*,) Altho' his Disease were tearing away his *Flesh* from him, yett like a *Lion* that had siezed his Prey, he held it fast in his *Teeth*. How? With a *lively Hope* of Recovering his *Flesh* from the Grave at the *Resurrection of the Dead*. It follows therefore, *Tho' He slay me, yett will I hope in Him*. For what? See Act. 26.6.

Well; The Ground of his Hope, is in the Clause now before us. It might have been an Objection against his Hope, That *Salvation is far from the Wicked*. In this Clause, the Man of God, proves himself not a *Wicked* Man, but a *Righteous* One. Saies he, *I will maintain my Wayes*: q.d. I will dispute my Cause, I will manage my Plea, I will assert myself to be Righteous. But how will he do it? *Before Him*. I read it, *Because of His Face*; or, by, or with His Face. Now, *The Face of God*, is most certainly the Name of the *Lord-Messiah*; the very Person, of whom tis presently said, *He is my Salvation*. It is as much as to say, Tis upon the account of the *Lord-Messiah*, that I will assert myself to be *Righteous*.

Behold, a point of Christianity, not {supposed ?} here to be mett withal! Turn to Psal. 17.15. and you will find a Notable Key to it.¹⁴⁰

|

[38v]

Q. *Hee also shall bee my Salvation, for an Hypocrite shall not come before Him.* What may bee understood, by an *Hypocrite*, in that Passage? v. 16.

A. The Chaldee, here, [and Chap. 17.8.] use the Word, / דלטר / which is the same with the Latin, *Delator*; A False-Accuser. q. d. A *False-Accuser* will not bee

¹³⁹ Isham, p. 50. Isham identifies the "some" as Vatablus, and recognizes his own source as Patrick. For Patrick, see *Job Paraphrasid*, p. 74. The remark of Vatablus is in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3095).

¹⁴⁰ This entry seems to derive most directly from Matthew Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (2, pars. 1:128–30), but Mather might also be referencing Pfeiffer (cent. 3, loc. 36, pp. 500–01).

heard with God; None shall Impose upon the Great God, with such Calumnies, as you now load mee withal.¹⁴¹

Q. What is the *Writing of Bitter Things*? v. 26.

A. Making a Severe Decree. Tis a Metaphor, from the Writing of Judicial Sentences.¹⁴²

Q. The *Stocks*; what? v. 27.

A. Or, *Into Mortar*; by which the Steps of a Man are marked.¹⁴³

Q. *He*. Who? v. 28.

A. *Job* intends himself, and perhaps points to his Body.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴¹ Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3107). Grotius, *Opera Omnia* (1:206). Mather is here transcribing Grotius from Pearson exactly. The full passage avers that the Hebrew “hypocrite” (חֲנֶפֶת [chaneph]) is read in the Aramaic here as דִּלְטָר, cf. the Latin, *delator* (“accuser, denouncer,” etc.). Oddly, this suggests that the Targum is using a Latin loan-word for “false accuser.” The massive lexicon of Johannes Buxtorf (1564–1629), *Lexicon Hebraicum et Chaldaicum* (1607), where this point is made, is almost certainly the source for Grotius’s note. I am indebted to Mark Miner for this information.

¹⁴² Isham, p. 52.

¹⁴³ Isham, p. 53. Isham identifies this reading as deriving from “Gusset.” This is Jacques Gousset, in the *Commentarii Linguae Ebraicae*, p. 550, where he reads this image of feet being planted in mortar as a poetic exaggeration for the sake of convenience in order to emphasize how God always watches the steps of humanity.

¹⁴⁴ Isham, p. 53.

Q. What special Import may there be in that Expression, *Man that is born of a Woman*; concerning whom it is said, *He is of few Dayes, & full of Trouble?* v. 1.

A. Dr. *James Alting* ha's a notable Gloss upon it. We know, that there was fixed at the Beginning, a Distinction between, *The Seed of the Woman*, and, *The Seed of the Serpent*. By the *Seed of the Woman* are meant, not only our Lord Jesus Christ, who is most eminently meant, but also, all that beleeve on that *Seed of the Woman*, all that lay hold on the Promise made unto the *Woman*, all that imitate the Faith of that famous *Woman*. And we all know, who the *Seed of the Serpent* are.

My *Alting* therefore, thinks, that the special Design of *Job* in this Passage, is to contradict the Assertion of his Friends, who had asserted, that extraordinary *Affliction* was a Mark of *Wickedness* in those whom it fall upon. *Job* would maintain, That the better Sort of Men, even those who are the *Seed of the Woman*, true Beleevers on the *Messiah*, such as derive the Original of their Character, from the *Woman* to whom the *Messiah* was promised, and from their Imitation of her Faith in the *Messiah promised*; Even Such are *of few Dayes & full of Trouble*.

This we also know, That this Passage was eminently fulfilled in our Lord Himself, *That Seed of the Woman*.¹⁴⁵

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[40v]

Q. What is the *Appointed Time*, which wee are to *Wait*, and what is, *The Change*, then to come? v. 14.

A. It is to bee understood, rather of the *Resurrection*, than of *Death*, as tis commonly misapplied. *Job* in the Context here, speaks first according to common Apprehension; & then gradually discovers his better Hope. In his *Protasis*, hee gives us a Similitude not fully expressive of his Meaning; & in his *Apodosis* more openly intimates, that the Sleep of Man should bee only *Till* the Heavens bee no more; which is not *Forever*. For at last hee speaks more fully: hee putts the Quæstion to himself, *If a Man Dy, shall hee Live again?* And hee Answers it, *All the Dayes of my Appointed Time, I will wait until my Change come*. The *Appointed Time* here, is, what is before called, *The Sett Time wherein God, would Remember him, after hee had been hidden in the Grave*. The *Change* is when, according to what followes, *God having a Desire to the Work of His Hands, shall call, & wee*

¹⁴⁵ This remark is in Jacob Alting's commentary on the Pentateuch, *Commentarius Theorico-Practicus in loca quaedam Selecta Pentateuch Geneseos*, which appears in his *Opera* (2:5).

answer Him. Briefly, Gods Raising our Bodies from the Dust unto Immortal Glory, is the thing here waited for.¹⁴⁶

Q. On this, *Dost thou not watch over my Sin?* v. 16.

A. It may be rendred, *Thou dost not Reserve my sin;* or, Delay the Punishment of it.¹⁴⁷

Q. *Thou changest his Countenance, and sendest him away.* Whom? When? How? v. 20.

A. I would not slock this Passage from the Service, which the obvious and common Sense thereof call it unto. Yett I may Report unto you the Sense of *Maimonides*, That *Adam* was the Person intended in this Passage; *Qui postquam Propositum suum mutaverat à Deo expulsus est.*¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁶ Poole, *Synopsis Criticorum* (2, pars. 1:139–40).

¹⁴⁷ Isham, p. 55.

¹⁴⁸ To slock is to suppress. The reading of Maimonides on this verse is in *Doctor Perplexorum*, pt. 1, ch. 2, p. 5. Mather appears to be paraphrasing Buxtorf's Latin translation of Maimonides. In English, the phrase is that "after he [Adam] had changed his purpose, he was expelled by God."

Q. The Meaning of that; *What do thine Eyes wink at?* v. 12.

A. What dost thou aim at?¹⁴⁹

|

[42v]

Q. Who were they, *to whom alone the Earth was given?* v. 19.

A. Dr. *Patrick* thus paraphrases it; "And they no mean Persons neither, but such as were alone thought worthy to be intrusted with the Government of whole Countreyes; (*and no Stranger passed among them;*) which no foreign Power could enter (as they have done thine) while they Ruled."¹⁵⁰

Q. The Meaning of that; *He beleeveeth not, that he shall return out of Darkness?* v. 22.

A. It may intimate, The Fear of the Tyrant, that he shall be killed before Morning.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁹ Isham, p. 58.

¹⁵⁰ Patrick, *The Book of Job Paraphras'd*, p. 87.

¹⁵¹ Isham, p. 60.

Q. A Paraphrase on that Verse; *And thou hast filled me with Wrinkles, which is a Witness against me; and my Leanness rising up in me, beareth Witness to my Face?* v.8.

A. Dr. *Patrick* thus paraphrases it. "The Furrowes in my Face (which is not old) show the Greatness of my Affliction; which is extremely augmented by him, who rises up with False Accusations to take away mine Honour, as this Consumption will do my Life."¹⁵²

My Leanness, may be rendred, *My Lye*; i. e. My lying Adversary. This is found in the old Interpreters.¹⁵³

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Q. The Meaning of that Passage; *O Earth, cover not my Blood; and lett my Cry have no Place?* v. 18.

A. Dr. *Patrick* makes this Paraphrase. "If this be not true, lett my Blood be left unto the Dogs to lick, when I am Dead; and lett neither God nor Man regard my Complaint, while I am Alive."¹⁵⁴

¹⁵² Patrick, *The Book of Job Paraphras'd*, p. 93.

¹⁵³ Isham, p. 64.

¹⁵⁴ Patrick, *The Book of Job Paraphras'd*, p. 95.

Q. The Meaning of, *Doth not mine Eye continue in their Provocation?* v. 2.
A. Do not their hard Censures cause me to weep, & hinder me from Sleeping?
 Or; Do not I look only at their provoking Speeches, & mind nothing
 else?¹⁵⁵

Q. The Meaning of that Passage; *Thou hast hid their Heart from Understanding:
 therefore shalt thou not exalt them?* v. 4.

A. Who is it that will engage to do me Right? Not these Friends of mine; For
 they comprehend nothing of the Way of Thy Judgments; Therefore thou shalt
 not confer it on them, who talk so absurdly.¹⁵⁶

Or, *Thou shalt not exalt them;* is, q.d. Thou shalt not give them the Victory
 in this Cause.¹⁵⁷

Q. The Meaning of that Passage; *He that speaketh Flattery to his Friends, even
 the Eyes of his Children shall fail?* v. 5.

A. Dr. Patrick offers this Paraphrase. "I must speak the Truth of them, (tho'
 it displease them,) and not soothe them up in their Errours; For he that flatters
 his Friends, when he should Reprove them, may look long enough before either
 he, or his Children, find one that will deal sincerely with them."¹⁵⁸

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[46v]

Q. How, *The Innocent stir up himself?* v. 8.

A. Oppose the Hypocrites Misconstruction of my Sufferings.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁵ Isham, p. 67.

¹⁵⁶ Patrick, *The Book of Job Paraphras'd*, p. 98.

¹⁵⁷ Isham, p. 67.

¹⁵⁸ Patrick, *The Book of Job Paraphras'd*, p. 98.

¹⁵⁹ Isham, p. 68.

Q. The Meaning of that; *The Spark of his Fire shall not Shine?* v. 5.

A. Thus Dr. *Patrick* paraphrases; “The Wicked shall not continue in the Splendor, wherein we sometime see him; but tho’ he seem to sitt, as by a great *Fire*, (warm in his Wealth and Honour and Power) there shall not remain so much as a *Spark* to comfort him.”¹⁶⁰

Q. What may be meant by, *The Steps of his Strength?* v. 7.

A. The Attempts, which his Power makes, to præserve his Greatness. These will but the more perplex him.¹⁶¹

Q. *Destruction ready at his Side?* v. 12.

A. The Chaldee Paraphrase here, by, *His Side*, understands, *His Wife*. Hebr. His *Rib*.¹⁶²

|

Q. What [is] meant by, *The Strength of his Skin?* v. 13.

A. His Bones.¹⁶³

¹⁶⁰ Patrick, *The Book of Job Paraphras'd*, p. 102–3.

¹⁶¹ Patrick, *The Book of Job Paraphras'd*, p. 103.

¹⁶² Isham, p. 71. Isham identifies his source as Grotius (see *Opera Omnia* 1:208).

¹⁶³ Patrick, *The Book of Job Paraphras'd*, p. 104.

Q. How, his *Hope removed like a Tree*? v. 10.

A. He hath rooted me up, so that I must expect never to flourish again.¹⁶⁴

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[50v]

Q. What may be the Meaning of that, *I am escaped with the Skin of my Teeth*? v. 20.

A. Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase is; “A Mouth to complain withal, is all the Flesh that is left me.”¹⁶⁵

Q. *O that my Words were graven with an Iron Pen, and Lead, in the Rock forever.* What was the Manner [of] this *Graving*? v. 24.

A. *Jarchi* tells us, That the Manner was to make Incisions in *Marble*, & fill the Incisions with *Lead*. Perhaps, the Hebrew / לעד / which wee render, *For Ever*, may bee as well rendred by the LXX, εἰς μαρτύριον, *For a Witness*.¹⁶⁶

Q. What special Remark is to bee made, upon *Jobs* Retreat unto the Consideration of his *living Redeemer*, & his own living again to see Him at the *Resurrection*? v. 24.

A. This; That you never find him so Impatient *after* This, as hee was *before*.¹⁶⁷

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[51r]

Q. In the *Confession of his Faith*, here made by *Job*, we find the Doctrine of, *A Resurrection for the Dead*, so asserted, that it gives us an Occasion for an Enquiry, after the *Opinions*, and the *Traditions*, to be found among the *Gentiles*, Ancient as well as Modern, concerning that Illustrious Matter? v. 25.

A. There is Dr. *Hody*, who ha's employ'd some Inquisitive Industry upon it; from whom especially we may now take some Delibations.

Photius mentions an Author, who published a large Work, in *Fifteen Books*, to prove, That the Doctrine of the *Resurrection*, with other great Points of Christianity, was owned by many of the *Gentiles*. It is not improbable, That

¹⁶⁴ Isham, p. 74.

¹⁶⁵ Patrick, *The Book of Job Paraphras'd*, p. 111.

¹⁶⁶ Poole, *Synopsis Criticorum* (2, pars. 1:190). לעד [la'ad] (Strong's # 5703) means perpetuity or eternity.

¹⁶⁷ This remark properly glosses v. 25, rather than v. 24. The commentator Mather is relying on at this point, Matthew Poole, makes this assertion about Job's creedal statement in v. 25, “For I know that my redeemer liveth.” See Matthew Poole, *Synopsis Criticorum* (2, pars. 1:191), as well as Poole's non-paginated English *Annotations upon the Holy Bible*.

many Opinions among the *Gentiles*, were grounded on some Traditions of the *Resurrection*.¹⁶⁸

It was a common Opinion among the *Gentiles* in old time, & so it is at this day thro' the whole pagan World, That the *Soul* (or *Manes* which remain after Death) ha's a perfect *Humane* Shape, and all the Parts both External and Internal, which the Body ha's, & continues to *Eat* & to *Drink* as a living Man, after it ha's left the Body. This looks as it were grounded on a Tradition, That the *Soul* after Death shall be united unto an *Humane* Body. *Justin Martyr*, to prove that *Homer* knew something of the Resurrection, produces his Descriptions of the Punishments inflicted on the Wicked after Death; as of *Tityus*, and of *Sisyphus*, & of *Tantalus*; which Punishments, he observes, do suppose not a *Soul* only, but a *Body* also. And he observes, that *Plato* speaks of those that were punished in Hell, as of *Men*, compounded of *Soul* and *Body*, with the same Faces & Members which they had here on Earth; & he makes *Arideus* & other Tyrants, to be there bound Neck & Heels, & flay'd, & to be drag'd thro' Briars and Thorns. Now, saies he, for, *Plato*, to say, that the *Soul* is judged with the *Body*, can signify nothing else, but that he beleev'd the Doctrine of the Resurrection. (Yea, our Lord, in the Parable of the *Rich Man* and *Lazarus*, discourses of the Dead, as if they had *Bodies*, tho' what is related of them, supposes their *Bodies* to be yett in the *Graves*.) And, whence, I pray, the Custome, so general in the World, of leaving *Food* on the *Graves* of the *Dead*, & of burying together with the Dead, their *Utensils* & *Instruments*?¹⁶⁹

Another Opinion prevailing among the *Gentiles* was, that of the Μετεψυχωσις, or, *Transmigration of Souls* from one Body to another. This was entertained, not only by the *Pythagoreans* and *Platonists*, and some of the *Stoicks* among the *Greeks*, but by many whole Nations; and it still is the Perswasion reigning among the greatest Part of the Eastern Pagans, & in many other Countrey's. One cannot but think this to have been founded on a Tradition among the Descendents from *Noah*, That the *Soul* should after Death be reunited unto a *Body*. But losing a just Apprehension, how it is to be done, they invented a Way for it, in a παλιγγενσια, or, a being *Born again*; And as Error is fruitful in

¹⁶⁸ Hody, *Resurrection of the [same] Body Asserted*, pt. 1, p. 2. Photius (Photios) is Photius I of Constantinople (c. 810–c.893), one of the primary architects of the schism between the eastern and western churches (ODCC). Hody is referencing here Photius's massive *Myriobiblon* or *Bibliotheca*, which extracts and abridges 279 works from antiquity, many of which are now lost. The work mentioned and summarized by Photius is *Anonymi Testimoniorum de Christo genitum scriptis libri xv* (170.117a).

¹⁶⁹ Hody, *Resurrection*, pt. 1, pp. 3–6. Hody is relying here on Justin Martyr's *Cohortatio ad Græcos* (*Hortatory Address to the Greeks* 27, 28). The related myths of Tityus (Tityos), Sisyphus, and Tantalus are in the *Odyssey* (11.576–600). The story of Aridaeus (Ardiaeos) is told by Plato in *Republic* (13 and 14).

Inventions, they carried on the *Transmigration* to a Variety of Bodies.¹⁷⁰ Tho' a *Transmigration* into *Brutal* was not so generally received, as that into *Humane* Bodies. *Hierocles* affirms, That the Soul of a *Man* passes only into a *Man*. *Cæsar* mentions this, as the Faith of the Old *Gauls*. And with an Eye to this, *Appian* saies of the *Germans*; *Death* was contemned by them, δι' ἐλπίδα ἀναβιωσεως, *Thro' the Hope they had of living again*. And *Lucan* reports the like Hope in the *Scythians*,

Felices Errore suo, quos ille Timorum
*Maximus haud urget Lethi Metus.*¹⁷¹

Add unto this, what *Herodotus* writes of the *Egyptians*; That they beleev'd the Departed Soul, after many *Removes* into the Bodies of diverse Animals, & after the Long Term of Three Thousand & Five Hundred Years, will again assume the Body of a Man. And at this very Day, there are great Numbers at *Grand Cairo*, & elsewhere; which continue in that Beleef. Yea, more than so; The Ancients tell us, The Souls in Heaven, after they have been there a long Term, of perhaps a Thousand Years, come again into the World; and are again united unto an *Humane* Body. Thus *Virgil*.

Has omnes, ubi mille rotam volvère per annos,
Lethæum ad fluvium Deus evocat agmine magno;
Scilicet immemores supera ut convexa revisant,
*Rursus et incipiant in Corpora velle reverti.*¹⁷²

¹⁷⁰ Hody is at this juncture recapitulating the widely accepted idea that Noah's sons spread through the world after the flood, and that their originally pure worship of God was gradually perverted by their descendants. Mather, like many clerics of his age, agreed with this notion. It pervades not only the commentary on Genesis, but also, as here, appears throughout the *Biblia Americana*. See especially his annotations on Gen. 10, in BA (1:693–804).

¹⁷¹ Hody, *Resurrection*, pt. 1, pp. 6–8. Hierocles of Alexandria was a pagan Neo-Platonist who lived during the mid-5th century. His *De Providentia et Fato libri vii*, is summarized in Photius (214.171b), from which this remark of Hody's comes. Although one of the works of Hierocles has survived (the so-called Golden Verses of Pythagoras), fragments of *De Providentia* are only reproduced by Stobaeus and Photius (*ODB*). The remark of Julius Caesar is in *The Gallic War* (6.14). Appian of Alexandria (c. 95–c. 165 CE), who penned a fragmentary history of the Romans in Greek, wrote during the reigns of Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus Pius. Most of what is known of Appian is contained in the letters of Fronto to his student Marcus Aurelius (*OCCC*). This remark occurs in the context of Caesar's campaigns against the Germans under Ariovistus (1.3). Lucan, or Marcus Annaeus Lucanus (39–65 CE), wrote a poetic account of the civil war between Julius Caesar and Pompey (*OCCC*). This remark, which Mather truncates, occurs not about the Scythians, but about the Druids who were celebrating the retreat of Caesar from Gaul in order to march on Rome. Hody's mistake is due to a comparison Lucan makes between Taranis (the Celtic god of thunder, often associated with Jupiter by the Romans and probably the origin of the Norse Thor) and the Scythian Diana. In context, the quote is that "Certe populi, quos despiciat Arctos, / Felices errore suo, quos ille timorum / Maximus haud urget, leti metus" (1.458–60). J. D. Duff's prose translation reads, "Truly the nations on whom the Pole star looks down are happily deceived; for they are free from that king of terrors, the fear of death" (37).

¹⁷² Hody, *Resurrection*, pt. 1, pp. 9–10. See Herodotus's *History* (2.123) and Virgil's *Aeneid* (6.748–50). H. R. Fairclough renders these lines, "All these [departed souls], when they have

Thus *Claudian*,
tandem

*Rursus ad humanæ revocat primordia formæ.*¹⁷³

Austin mentioning this Opinion, *That the Souls of Good Men are a long time in Rest, but after a great while, come down from Heaven, & assume Bodies again;* he saies, *Hoc dixerunt valde magni philosophi.* We are not alone, in our Suspicion,
 [52v] {that the Doctrine of the Transmigration was taken} | [*** torn*] from that of the *Resurrection. Tertullian*, and *Minucius Felix*, and *Lactantius*, concur with us in it.¹⁷⁴

A Third Opinion frequent among the *Gentiles*, was, That the *Soul* should indeed remain after Death, but not unless the *Body* did so too. *Servius* tells us, these were the Sentiments of the *Stoicks*; *Animam tamdiu durare dicunt, quamdiu durat et Corpus.* The *Egyptians* thought so too; and this Thought of theirs (not their Expectation of a *Resurrection*, as *Petrus Bellonius* mistook it,) was That which introduced their Custome of Embalming their *Dead*. Yea, as *Lucian* tells us, They would even sett the Dead Bodies of their Friends, at their Tables with them; and *Silius* reports of *Egypt*,

*Et à Mensis exanguem haud separat Umbram.*¹⁷⁵

rolled time's wheel through a thousand years, the god summons in vast throng to the river of Lethe, in sooth that, reft of memory, they may revisit the vault above" (559).

173 Hody, *Resurrection*, pt. 1, p. 10. *Claudian Claudianus* (c. 370–c. 400) was one of the last Roman poets. Among his other writings, *Claudian* composed a polemic in two books against *Flavius Rufinus* (c. 335–95), Praetorian Prefect to the young Byzantine Emperor, *Arcadius*. *Rufinus*, as he attempted to gain the throne for himself, permitted *Alaric* and the *Visigoths* to ravage *Thrace* and so establish themselves inside the borders of the Empire (*OCCC*). This quote, which is again abbreviated by *Mather*, occurs in the *Second Book Against Rufinus*: "Quos ubi per varias annis ter mille figuras / egit, Lethæo purgatos flumine tandem / rursus ad humanæ revocat primordia formæ" (491–93). *Maurice Platnauer's* translation of the passage in full reads, "When for thrice a thousand years he [the other-worldly judge, *Minos*] had forced these [departed souls] through countless diverse shapes, he sends them back once more to the beginnings of human form purged at last with *Lethe's* streams" (1:93).

174 Hody, *Resurrection*, pt. 1, pp. 9–11. The missing portion from the manuscript is inferred from Hody (p. 11). The statement of *Augustine* is in his *Sermones de Tempore* (*Sermons on the Liturgical Seasons*), in the homily "On the Resurrection of the Body, against the Pagans" (240.5) [PL 38.1132]. On *Tertullian's* summary of Platonic and Pythagorean views of the resurrection of the body, see *De Resurrectione Carnis* (1). *Marcus Minucius Felix* (c. 150–c. 270) was one of the first Latin apologists for Christianity. His refutation of Platonic and Pythagorean opinions is found in his *Octavius*, a dialogue between the pagan *Caecilius Natalis* and the Christian *Octavius Januarius* (34.346a) (*OCD*). *Lactantius* concentrates on answering the Pythagorean doctrine of the transmigration of souls in *De Vita Beata* (23.806c).

175 Hody, *Resurrection*, pt. 1, pp. 11–12. *Servius* is *Maurus Servius Honoratus*, a teacher who lived toward the end of the 4th c. CE and author of a detailed commentary on *Virgil* that is still relied upon by students of the *Aeneid* (*OCCC*). The quote reproduced by *Mather* and abbreviated in this case by Hody comes from *Servius's* 3rd book on the *Aeneid* (3.68). It reads in translation, "They say the soul exists as long as the body exists." The succeeding remark on Egyptian belief also comes from the same location in *Servius*. *Petrus Bellonius* is *Pierre Belon* (1517–64), a French naturalist and author of *Les Observations de Plusieurs Singularitez et choses*

The *Gentiles* had a Fourth Opinion among them; That these very *Bodies* of ours, are capable of Incorruption and Immortality and a Translation to Heaven, with the Soul forever united unto it there. The *Chaldean* Philosophers held this; (you have it in the gloss of *Psellus*, on the *Chaldaic Oracles*;) and so did the *Græcian* too. The *Romans* also proclaimed the Translation of *Romulus*.¹⁷⁶ The Emperour *Julian* mentions the *Assumption* of *Hercules*, and saies, he went up ὅλος προς ὅλον πατέρα· tho' he supposes the gross Parts of his Body consumed by Lightning;¹⁷⁷ as he supposes, in the Case of *Romulus*, That the το θνητον του σωματος, the mortal Part of his Body, was consumed, πυρι κεραννιω· by the *Heavently Fire*.¹⁷⁸ *Plutarch* tells us, it was the common Opinion of the *Greeks*, That *Cleomedes Astypalensis* was translated in his *Body* into Heaven, and that many Others had been so translated.¹⁷⁹ *Philostratus* quæstions whether his admired

memorables (1553) (ODS). John Ray, prominent Fellow of the Royal Society, included several extracts from Belon in his 1693 *A Collection of Curious Travels* (tom. 2, chs 1–5, pp. 1–29). Lucian of Samosata (c. 125–c. 180), was a satirist and rhetorician (ODCC). A prolific author, one of the works he was best known for in the Renaissance (and cited by Hody here) was a translation of his original Greek text, *De Luctu* (*On Mourning* or *On Funerals*). The remark of Hody (and Mather) should be qualified by the recognition that Lucian was a confirmed Cynic and notorious wit. So, his remark about the Egyptians eating with their dead is only one of many “stupid customs” they have (21). Others include the usual toll paid to Charon without consideration for what “sort of coinage is customary and current in the lower world” (10), and the bathing of dead, “as if the lake down below were not big enough for the people there to bathe in (11). Silius Italicus (25–101) was a Latin epic poet who wrote a lengthy narrative on the second Punic war (*Punica*) (OCCC). The remark on the Egyptians here is from the latter portion of *Punica* (13.474–76): “the Egyptians enclose their dead, standing in an upright position, in a coffin of stone, and worship it; and they admit a bloodless spectre to their banquets” (239). 176 Psellus is Michael Psellos or Psellus (c. 1017–c. 1078), a Byzantine historian and philosopher (ODCC). During the late renaissance he was especially well known for his commentary on the so-called Chaldean Oracles, a fragmentary work probably dating from the 2nd c. CE. This long mystery poem is filled with Neo-Platonic, Gnostic, and Persian influences. Much like the putative Egyptian writings of Hermes Trismegistus, the Chaldean oracles (sometimes attributed to Zoroaster) were a syncretic text that was seen as anticipating Christianity in several places. Thomas Stanley produced a wide-ranging survey of the *History of Philosophy* (3 vols., 1655–60), to which he appended *The Chaldaick Oracles of Zoroaster and His Followers with the Expositions of Pletho and Psellus* (1661). The reference made by Mather and Hody can be found in that volume, in Psellus’s gloss on the injunction to “Leave not the Dregs of matter on a precipice [i. e., the earth]” (48). On the ascension of Romulus, see Plutarch’s *Romulus* (27.7). For the Greek parallels, see references below.

177 Hody, *Resurrection*, pt. 1, p. 13. Julian the Emperor remarks upon the assumption of Hercules (Heracles) in several orations, most notably *Oration* (5), “Hymn to the Mother of the Gods,” and *Oration* (7), “To the Cynic Heracleios.” In *Oration* (5), Heracles “has returned, one and indivisible, to his father, one and indivisible” (1:467). In *Oration* (7), Zeus calls Heracles “to his side through the flame of a thunderbolt” (2:111).

178 Hody, *Resurrection*, pt. 1, p. 14. Julian’s retelling of the myth of the ascension of Romulus is in his fourth oration, “Hymn to King Helios Dedicated to Sallust.” There, as in the case of Hercules, the heavens receive Romulus “back from the earth, after blotting out with fire from a thunderbolt the mortal part of his body” (1:423).

179 Cleomedes of Astypalæa was a mythical athlete. The story Plutarch tells of him in *Romulus* (28.4) is that he “was of gigantic strength and stature, of uncontrolled temper, and

Apollonius Tyanaeus ever died; but reports a Tradition of the *Cretans*, that he was taken up into Heaven from one of their Temples, at which a Voice was heard, Singing, *Στειχε γας, στειχε εξ ουρανου, στειχε. come from Earth, come into Heaven, come.* Yea, The *Gentiles* beleaved, That the *Souls* of some, had been after their Death Reunited unto their *Bodies*, and that with such a *Resurrection* they had been taken up to Heaven. This was generally beleaved of *Aristeas* the *Proconnesian*. And *Plutarch* saies, it was generally beleaved of *Alcmene*, the Mother of *Hercules*: tho' he himself did not beleave these Reports.¹⁸⁰

Another Opinion rife among them, was, That after the Expiration of many Thousands of Years, the Stars returning to the same Respects in which they stood posited formerly to one another, there shall be a *Resurrection* of *Men*, & of every thing else to the State wherein they formerly stood in the World. *Origen* relates this Opinion.¹⁸¹ And *Porphyrie* reports it of *Pythagoras*;¹⁸² and *Proclus* of *Plato*.¹⁸³ Indeed, who has not heard of *Plato's GREAT YEAR*? In *Abarbinel* we have Testimonies of this Opinion received by many Philosophers of *India*. And *Bar Chaia* saies, *They formed this Notion from the Tradition, which they had received from their Ancestors, concerning the Resurrection*.¹⁸⁴ *Varro*, the great Roman Writer, speaks of some that he calls, *Genethliaci*; who had such an Opinion. Yea, the *Stoicks*, tho' they called the Doctrine of the *Resurrection* preached by our Apostle *Paul*, nothing but *Babble*, yett they themselves held a *Resurrection*, and

like a mad man, is said to have done many deeds of violence, and finally, in a school for boys, he smote with his fist the pillar which supported the roof, broke it in two, and brought down the house. The boys were killed, and Cleomedes, being pursued, took refuge in a great chest, closed the lid down, and held it so fast that many men with their united strength could not pull it up; but when they broke the chest to pieces, the man was not to be found, alive or dead. In their dismay, then, they sent messengers to consult the oracle at Delphi, and the Pythian priestess gave them this answer: 'Last of the heroes he, Cleomedes, Astypalaeon'" (1:181). After that time, the Astypalaeans venerated Cleomedes as a god.

¹⁸⁰ Hody, pt. 1, pp. 14–5. Philostratus the Athenian (c. 170–c. 250) wrote a hagiographic account of the life of Apollonius of Tyana (c. 40–c. 120), a neopythagorean philosopher and teacher (*ODCW*). In this work, Apollonius is presented as possessing miraculous or occult powers that often parallel accounts of Jesus in the gospels. Thus, the story of Apollonius was sometimes appropriated by later pagans to demonstrate that Jesus was not unique. The story of Apollonius's ascent into heaven is told in *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana* 8.30 (2:401). The reports of the translations of Aristeas and Alcmene are also contained in Plutarch's *Romulus* (28.4 and 28.6). Plutarch's source for the story of Aristeas, a semi-mythical poet and traveler from the 7th century BCE, is likely Herodotus (4.14.1).

¹⁸¹ Origen, *Against Celsus* (5:20).

¹⁸² Porphyry of Tyre (234–c. 305 CE) is best known for editing the *Enneads* of Plotinus, but among his other works is a *Life of Pythagoras*. Hody appears to refer to chapter 26 of this work.

¹⁸³ Proclus Lycaeus (412–85 CE) was one of the last major Neo-Platonists of the late classical period.

¹⁸⁴ Hody, *Resurrection*, pt. 1, pp. 18–9. This remark on Jewish belief in a return of the world to its origins appears in the appendix (*Nota Miscellenea*) to Edward Pocock's 1655 *Porta Mosis*, the prefatory discourses of Rabbi Moses Maimonides on the Mishnah (pp. 146–47).

Restitution, much such as the *Platonic*, after the general *Conflagration*.¹⁸⁵ This is by *Origen* proved upon them.¹⁸⁶ And *Lactantius* produces these Words of *Chrysippus* (whom *Cicero* styles, *The Prop of the Porch of the Stoicks*:) *It is Manifest, that it is not at all impossible, but that after a Certain Revolution of Time, Even we may be Restored from Death, to what we now are.*¹⁸⁷ The Philosopher *Numenius* calls it expressly, *την Αναστασιν, A Resurrection.*¹⁸⁸ You may be surprised if you be now told, That even *Democritus* and *Epicurus* themselves, did hold, That after a long Distance of Time, our *Bodies* would be Restored, & Consist of the very Particles that now compose them. Yett, for the former of these, tis affirmed by *Pliny*; for the latter, by *Jerom.*¹⁸⁹

Come to the *Arabians*, the Countreymen of our *Job*; Among them, how many Traditions do we find, that are plainly founded on the Doctrine of the *Resurrection*? It would be a long Work, to transcribe, what our Travellers report of such an Aspect, among the several Nations of the Paganizing World, at this day!¹⁹⁰

Our Doctor *Hody*, not with out Reason, concludes, That the *Resurrection of the Dead*, was an Old Universal Doctrine, derived from *Noah*, but grounded on the more Ancient Revelation of the *Antediluvian* Patriarchs, and thus disguised among the Pagans, in the Following Generations.¹⁹¹

| Q. A Remark on that, *I know that my Redeemer Liveth?* v. 25.

A. As Dr. *Knight* observes; According to the Original, the Words run thus: *I know that the Living One is my Redeemer, and that He who is the Last shall stand upon the Earth.*

R. *Levi Ben Gersom* understands, *The Living One*, and, *The Last*, of the Blessed GOD; and thinks, they mean the same here, that, *The First and The Last*, mean in the Prophecies of *Isaiah*.

Now, tis our Glorious CHRIST who is, *The Living One*. We see, *Job* as well as *John* giving Him this Denomination. Tis He, who is our *Near Kinsman*,

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185 The direct source is Augustine *De Civitate Dei* 22.28 [PL 41.796]. There, Augustine remarks on a lost work of Marcus Varro (116–27 BCE), *On the Race of the Roman People*.

186 Hody, *Resurrection*, pt. 1, pp. 19–20. Origen, *Against Celsus*, 5:20.

187 Lactantius, *De Vita Beata*, 7.23.

188 Eusebius, *Preparatio* 15.18–19.

189 Hody, *Resurrection*, 26. Pliny renders this opinion on Democritus in the *Natural History* 7.55; Jerome remarks on Epicurus in his *Commentary in Ecclesiasten*, 1. Numenius of Apamea (fl. 2nd c. CE) was a Neopythagorean and Platonist philosopher. Much of his work, intended to demonstrate the correspondence of Judaic and Platonic thought, is known only through the writings of Eusebius.

190 Hody, *Resurrection*, pt. 1, p. 31.

191 Hody, *Resurrection*, pt. 1, pp. 49–50.

Flesh of our Flesh, and Bone of our Bone; the *Seed of the Woman* who *Avenges our Blood* on the *Head of the Serpent*.¹⁹²

2815.

Q. *Jobs* Confession of his Faith, You know that some learned Men try to expound it quite away, and will have it understood of a *Metaphorical Resurrection* only; that he should be Restored unto his former flourishing State here on Earth? v. 25, 26, 27.

A. I will recite unto you, the Words of the most Ingenious Mr. *Nathanael Taylor*, hereupon.

“Ah! Poor *Job*! I perceive all his *untoward Friends* did not live in his own Days; but some of them in ours: who, if the Saints above did know how Matters go here below, would putt him to a fresh Exercise of his *Patience*. One would have thought, the *Chaldeans* and *Sabæans*, his Diseases, the Wind, and the Divil, had made him miserable enough. But these *Criticks* would, if it were in their Power, deal worse by him, than All of them together. They deprived him of his Health, his Children, and his Estate; But these Men would plunder him, of this glorious Profession of his *Faith*.

“This is to putt such a Sense on these Words, as is directly contrary to the whole Strain of *Jobs* Speeches, who had no Thoughts of a Restoration to a Temporal Happiness: A total Despair of that, like a *Black Line*, runs thro’ the Whole of his Discourses.”¹⁹³ [Many Passages does that worthy Man here quote, from *Job*, to this Purpose, in his, *Discourse of Faith in Jesus Christ*. And then proceeds,] “This would be, to putt such a Construction on these Words, as would be very unsuitable, to that pompous Præface, wherewith | he introduces them. — *O that my Words were now written*, etc. Words too big, to usher in so small a Matter, as a Restoration of him, to his former Happiness here below; a thing which good Men in all Ages have had but a very mean & slender Opinion of.

“Besides, he speaks of such an Happiness, as he should have in the *latter Day*, when *after his Skin, Worms had destroy’d his Body*. And, tho’ the Words, *Worms*, and, *Body*, are not in the Original, yett they are fitly enough supplied by our Translators. In the Hebrew tis, *Tho’ after my Skin they destroy This*: i. e. *This be Destroy’d*; a very usual Hebraism. They Destroy *This*; *This* Shadow of a Carcase; which methinks, he points to, with his Finger; this Broken, Sorry, Fragment, that is not worth the Name of a *Body*. His *Skin* was already broken by his many Sores, and his *Reins* consumed within him; and he expected, the miserable Relicks should be eaten up too, by the merciless *Worms*: Yett, *After* all this, *in*

¹⁹² Knight, *Eight Sermons*, pp. 234–35.

¹⁹³ Taylor, p. 91.

my Flesh shall I see God! For which words, *In my Flesh*, there had been no Occasion, if he had not had his Eye on the Resurrection of the Body, at the Last Day.

“I cannot, but be of the Mind of the most learned *Spanheim*, That this Interpretation is most agreeable to the Words in the Original; and the Other is Forced and Strained.”¹⁹⁴

Q. The Meaning of that; *The Root of the Matter is found in me?* v. 28.

A. Take it in Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase; “I have not without Ground, thus long disputed this Matter with you, but I am sure, the Right lies on my Side, & not on yours.”¹⁹⁵

¹⁹⁴ Taylor, pp. 93–4.

¹⁹⁵ Patrick, *Job Paraphras'd*, p. 113.

Q. How, the *Sin of his Youth ly down with him in the Dust?* v. 11.

A. Stick to him till his Death. Dr. *Isham* adds, or perhaps, till his Resurrection, to be then punished.¹⁹⁶

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Q. *Bow of Steel?* v.24.

A. Rather, *of Brass*. *Drusius* observes, That *Bows* were of Old made of That.¹⁹⁷

Q. *The Fire not Blown?* v. 26.

A. *Schmadius*, after the Chaldee Paraphrast, understands it, of *Hell-fire*.¹⁹⁸

Q. How is it said; *The Heaven shall Reveal his Iniquity?* v. 27.

A. Dr. *Patrick* paraphrases it; “The Heaven by Thunder, Lightning, or Tempests, shall declare itself his Enemy.”¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁶ Isham, p. 79.

¹⁹⁷ Isham, p. 81. For *Drusius*, see Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3220–21).

¹⁹⁸ Isham, p. 81.

¹⁹⁹ Patrick, *Job Paraphras'd*, p. 121.

- Q.** The Meaning of, *Hear – Lett this be your Consolations?* v. 2.
A. That is, Instead of those you boast of. Compare Ch. XV.11.
 Or, – Your Attention will be acceptable to me.²⁰⁰

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- Q.** On that, *His Breasts are full of Milk?* v. 24.
A. Here is an original Word, no where else found in the Bible. *Bochart*, with the Authority of the *Syriac* & *Arabic* Translations, renders it, *Sides*. And the Hebrew, which we render, *Milk*, may be rendred, *Fatt*. And so tis in the old Versions.²⁰¹

- Q.** The Import of that Passage; *Where is the House of the Prince? And where are the Dwelling-Places of the Wicked?* v. 28.
A. What is become of the House of *Job*, who lived like a Prince? What Difference is there between him, & those wicked Men, whose Dwelling Places are destroyed?²⁰²

- Q.** The Meaning of, *In your Answers there remaineth Falsehood?* v. 34.
A. This is the Point unto which all your Disputing tends; *That I am conscious to myself of some heinous Wickedness*.
 Thus *Gousset* carries it.²⁰³

²⁰⁰ Isham, p. 83.

²⁰¹ Isham, p. 86.

²⁰² Patrick, *Job Paraphras'd*, p. 129.

²⁰³ Isham, p. 88. See *Gousset*, *Commentarii Linguae Ebraicae*, p. 836.

Q. The Intention of that Passage: *As for the mighty Man, he had the Earth, and the honourable Man dwelt in it?* v. 8.

A. Dr. *Patrick* thus paraphrases, “As for the great and powerful, all thy Estate was at his Service; If he brought the Title to any Land in quæstion, he was sure to carry the Causes by thy Favour to him.”²⁰⁵

Q. The Intent of that Passage: *Which said unto God, Depart from us; And what can the Almighty do for them?* With what followes? v. 17.

A. Take Dr. *Patrick's* Paraphrase. “They [*whose Foundation was overflowed with a Flood*, & whom God carried quite away with a Flood, when they thought themselves firmly settled in the Earth:] were saying, (as thou wouldest have us believe, the Wicked now do, and yett prosper; XXI.14.) We have nothing to do with God, nor He with us. Dost thou remember what God then did to them, for their horrid Ingratitude unto Him?”

He adds: *But the Counsel of the Wicked is far from me.* q.d. “O vile Wretches! Whose wicked Thoughts I abhor, as much as thou thyself. XXI. 16.”²⁰⁶

Q. Who may be meant by, *The Righteous who see it, & are glad?* v. 19.

A. Dr. *Patrick* makes this Paraphrase. “Whose overthrow, *Noah* and his Family beholding, rejoiced in Gods Righteous Judgment; That *Innocent* Man derided their Incredulity.”²⁰⁷

Q. What means *Eliphaz*, when hee saies, *Whereas our Substance is not cutt down, but the Remnant of them, the Fire consumeth?* v. 20.

A. *Eliphaz* would prove the Justice of God, by this, That the Nation of the *Edomites*, whereof himself was, had hitherto been præserted,²⁰⁸ Whenas, the wicked *Sodomites* had been consumed, for their Wickedness.²⁰⁹

Q. *Acquaint now thyself with him.* With whom? v. 21.

²⁰⁴ See Appendix B. This page is bound out of place.

²⁰⁵ Patrick, *Job Paraphras'd*, p. 134.

²⁰⁶ Patrick, *Job Paraphras'd*, p. 136. This commentary is actually taken from v. 16, 17, 18.

²⁰⁷ Patrick, *Job Paraphras'd*, p. 136.

²⁰⁸ These appear to be Mather's own words.

²⁰⁹ Isham, p. 92. Mather judiciously expands on Isham's note in order to emphasize Eliphaz's supposed descent from Edom.

A. Hear Dr. *Patrick's* Paraphrase. "Lett me advise thee therefore (whom God hath not yett quite consumed) to join thyself to the Society of the Righteous, & to become like *Noah*: Then bee secure, and doubt not but by that Means all Happiness shall return to thee."²¹⁰

Q. I pray, give mee the full Sense of those Words, *Then thou shalt lay up Gold as Dust, & the Gold of Ophir, as the Stones of the Brooks; Yea, the Almighty shall bee thy Defence, and thou shalt have Plenty of Silver?* v. 24, 25.

A. Some rather choose to read the Words, as *Grotius* does: *Make no more of thy Gold, than Dust, & esteem the Gold of Ophir no better than the Stones of the Brook; so, the Almighty shall bee unto thee, both Gold, and the strongest Silver.* A Devout, & Wholesome, Intimation!

Laying up Gold as Dust, is by Schindler explained, of paving the Floors with it. Compare, 2. Chron. I.15.²¹¹

Q. The Meaning of that Passage: *When Men are cast down, then shalt thou say, There is lifting up?* v. 29.

A. Dr. *Patrick* ha's this Paraphrase. "Thou shalt pray to God also, to lift up others, who are in a low Condition; and He shall [*save the Humble Person,*] grant thy Petitions, by delivering him that is depressed."²¹²

Q. *Hee shall Deliver the Island of the Innocent:* Who, and, What? v. 30.

A. I have not forgott, what I have said of the Matter, in our Illustrations upon *Paradise*.²¹³ But yett, wee may now note, what *Grotius* hath upon it; That /א/ the Word, which wee translate, *Island*, is an *Arabic* Word, signifying, *Every one*. q.d. *Every Innocent One shall deliver himself.*

²¹⁰ Patrick, *Job Paraphras'd*, p. 137.

²¹¹ This note combines annotations of Patrick (p. 138) and Isham (p. 92). Though Isham's footnote reads "Schimd," his reference is to the *Lexicon Pentaglotton, Hebraicum, Chaldicum, Syriacum, Talmudico-Rabbinicum, et Arabicum* of Valentin Schindler (d. 1604), cols. 111–12. Schindler, a professor of Hebrew first at Wittenberg and later in Helmstedt, was well-known for his *Institutionum Hebraicarum libri V* (1575), an encyclopedic study of ancient Hebrew culture later expanded to include a sixth book (1581) but was most famous for his lexicon, posthumously published in 1612 in Hanover. In the preface to his own sixfold lexicon, the *Lexicon Heptaglotton*, Edmund Castell remarks that he transplanted Schindler's work almost whole into his own (*ADB*).

²¹² Patrick, *Job Paraphras'd*, p. 139.

²¹³ See *BA* 1:463. There, in his annotations related to the rivers that were said to have bounded Eden in Gen. 2:8–14, Mather remarks that an island in the River Euphrates is that "Island, whereto *Eliphaz* the *Temanite* alludes, who lived not far from it: [Job. 22.30.] ...; and perhaps hee prophecies, that God will deliver this *Island* of the Innocent *Adam*, in the *Lat*{t}er *Dayes*, into some wonderful *Circumstances* of *Glory*, not yett comprehended." *Grotius's* remark is in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3267).

Dr. *Patrick* so paraphrases. “Yea, a whole Countrey shall owe its Safety to thy Innocence; it shall be delivered by thy pious Prayers and blameless Actions.”²¹⁴

He intimates, That he should be able “To do as much for a Nation, as Ten Righteous Men, could they have been found there, might have done for *Sodom*.”

See Jer. V.1.

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²¹⁴ Patrick, *Job Paraphras'd*, p. 139.

²¹⁵ Mather silently expands Isham's reference to Jer. 5:1, but deletes in this instance the remark on Grotius (Isham, p. 93). See Appendix A for the deleted passage.

Q. The Meaning of that, *Why, seeing Times are not hidden from the Almighty, do they that know Him, not see His Dayes?* v. 1.

A. Dr. *Patrick* thus paraphrases. “If Punishments from the Almighty be so apparent & visible upon the Wicked, why do not they who are truly Pious, see these public & open Judgments?”²¹⁷

Dr. *Isham* paraphrases it so. “Since GOD hath resolved upon certain Seasons of Punishing the Wicked, why are not good Men acquainted with them?”²¹⁸

Q. Upon whom, is it probable, *Job* had his Eye, when he saies, *They rise betimes for a Prey?* v. 5.

A. Probably, his Countreymen, the wild *Arabs*, whose Profession is Rapine, & they thrive & prosper in it.²¹⁹

Q. The Meaning of that; *They pluck the Fatherless from the Breast, & take a Pledge of the Poor?* v. 9.

A. They snatch away young Children, from their Mothers Breasts; and carry away the Poor (pretending they owe them something) to make them their Slaves.²²⁰

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Q. The Meaning of, *Yett GOD laies not Folly to them?* v. 12.

A. He does not immediately punish the Oppressors, or make Examples of them.

The Soul of the Wounded crying out, is by some taken for the separate Soul. Compare, Rev. VI.10.²²¹

Q. How do they *Rebel against the Light?* v. 13.

A. They avoid it, that their secret Villainies may not be discovered. See Joh. III.20.²²²

²¹⁶ Regular pagination resumes.

²¹⁷ Patrick, *Job Paraphras'd*, pp. 144–45.

²¹⁸ Isham, p. 97.

²¹⁹ Patrick, *Job Paraphras'd*, p. 144.

²²⁰ Patrick, *Job Paraphras'd*, p. 147.

²²¹ Isham, p. 99. Isham does not, in this instance, identify the “some.”

²²² Isham, p. 99.

Q. On what account is it said: *Drought & Heat consume the Snow Waters; so doth the Grave those which have sinned?* v. 19.

A. Dr. *Patrick* will give you this Paraphrase. “And yett, all these, after they have spent their Life in such horrid Villainies, do not dy of lingering & tormenting Diseases; but go down to the Grave, as easily as *Snow Water* sinks into the Dry Ground, when it is melted by the Sun.”²²³

It followes, *The Womb shall forgett him, the Worm shall feed sweetly on him, he shall be no more remembred, & Wickedness shall be broken as a Tree*; which the same Writer thus paraphrases: “God setts no such Mark of His Displeasure upon him, but that his Mother may soon forgett him; The Hand of Justice doth not hang him on a Gibbet for the Birds to feed on; but he is carried to his Grave like other Men, to be the sweet Food of Worms. There he lies quietly and neither he nor his Wickedness are any more remembred than a Tree which is broken all to Shivers.”²²⁴

Q. The Meaning of that, *He resteth, yett his Eyes are upon their Ways?* v. 23.

A. *Patrick* ha's a Sense different from the Common. “Tho' he gives you his Hand, & promise you Security so solemnly that you think, you may rely upon him, yett he watches all Occasions, & lies in Wait secretly, to do you a Mischief.”²²⁵

²²³ Patrick, *Job Paraphras'd*, p. 150.

²²⁴ Patrick, *Job Paraphras'd*, p. 150.

²²⁵ Patrick, *Job Paraphras'd*, p. 151.

Q. The Meaning of that, *He maketh Peace in his High Places?* v. 2.

A. The Glorious GOD quietly orders every thing in the Heavens. Compare Chap. XVI.19. But if the Angels never complain of Him, how dares *Job* to do it?

Is there any Number of His Armies; and of the Creatures that are obedient unto Him?²²⁶

| [blank]

Q. The Meaning of that; *Whose Spirit came from thee?* v. 4.

A. By whose Inspiration didst thou speak?²²⁷

Q. What is your Sense of those Words *Dead Things are formed, from under the Waters; and the Inhabitants thereof?* v. 5.

A. My Sense is, first, that our Translation of them is hardly Intelligible: but the Original runs thus, *The Rephaim* [or the Giants] *do groan under the Waters, and the Inhabitants of them.* The *Rephaim*, of whom wee read in the Sixth Chapter of *Genesis*, are in the Depths of *Hell* as certainly as they are *under the Waters*. [See Prov. 21.16. and Prov. 2.18.] The *Tartarus*, where these Monsters are, is not that of *Hesiod*, who, if *Plutarch* took him right, placed it in the *Air*; but that of *Homer*, who makes it an *Abyss*, or Gulf of *Waters*. Tis a Passage in *Pausanias*, *Homer was the first that sang that the Titans or Giants were Gods* (Inhabitants) *in that Place, which is called, Tartarus, or Hell.* Mr. *Burthogge*, reckons this a plain Comment on the Text now before us.²²⁸

Dr. *Patrick* ha's this Paraphrase. "I know as well as thou canst inform me, the Power of God, which appears not only in the *Heavens* (to which thou biddest me look) but even in the *Lowest Parts of the Earth*; where Vast Giant-like Creatures are *formed under the Water*, whose Inhabitants are innumerable."²²⁹

Cappellus finds here, the Resurrection of the Dead. Compare, Rev. XX.13.²³⁰

Q. On that, *Hell is naked before Him?* v. 6.

A. Take *Munsters* Paraphrase; *In Sepulchris mira operatur Deus qui Corpus mortuum et putrefactum resuscitat.*²³¹

The Hebrews, by, *Hell*, understand the *Center* of the Earth; which is *reached* by the Eye of God, & can be *changed* by His Hand.²³²

²²⁷ Isham, p. 103.

²²⁸ Burthogge, *Causa Dei, or an Apology for God*, pp. 33–34. Richard Burthogge (c. 1638–1705) was a natural philosopher and medical doctor who studied first at Oxford and later at Leiden. His works, among them *Causa Dei*, reflect a broad church sensibility and firm belief in tolerance that he shared with Henry More, Joseph Glanvill, and John Locke, with whom he corresponded and over whom he exercised some intellectual influence. Early works such as *Causa Dei*, though their explicit target is atheism, are equally aimed against Calvinist beliefs in a implacable God whose dictates appeared to reach beyond reason (*DNB*).

²²⁹ Patrick, *Job Paraphras'd*, p. 155.

²³⁰ Isham, p. 104. Cappel, *Commentarii*, p. 453.

²³¹ Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3309): "God who revives the dead and rotting body works wondrous things in the grave."

²³² This note seems to depend upon the *Meletemata Leidensia* (1703) of Witsius, in the Dissertation entitled, "De Seditone et Exitio Corae," diss. 1, sec. 29, p. 267.

Q. That wonderful Thing, *The Hanging of the Earth upon Nothing?* v. 7.

A. The Terrestrial Globe contains by Computation, contains above Two Hundred and Sixty Thousand Millions of Miles, in the Solid Content of it. Every Yard Square of this, how many Hundreds of Pounds does it weigh? Who can then compute the vast Weight of the Globe? Now, that the Globe should hang & move so Regularly, & for so many Ages, in an Empty Space! What, but an Almighty Arm can uphold it there?²³³

Q. The *Trembling* of the *Pillars of Heaven?* v. 11.

A. The Quaking of Mountains.

Yea, yea, the Tumbling of the Heavenly Bodies out of their Places.²³⁴

Q. The *Smiting through the Proud?* v. 12.

A. The Calming of the swelling Waves. Compare, Psal. CVII.29.

The LXX applies unto the *Whales*. Compare, Psal. LXXIV.13, 14.

Grotius finds *Pharaoh* here.²³⁵

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[66v]

Q. *By His Spirit Hee hath garnished the Heavens. His Hand hath formed the Crooked Serpent.* What understand you, by the *crooked Serpent?* v. 13.

A. The most Learned among the Hebrewes, understand it, of, the *Galaxie*, the *Milky Way*, which *garnishes* the Heaven, with a *serpentine* Circumvolution. I can't think the Name now given the Constellation of *Draco*, to bee as old as the Days of *Job*.

Fuller, and *Gousset* go this Way.²³⁶

²³³ This note is from a sermon of Benjamin Stinton (1676–1718), pastor of the Baptist church at Horselydown, south of London: *A Sermon Preach'd the 27th of November 1713, in Commemoration of the Great and Dreadful Storm in November 1703* (1714), pp. 8–9. For his measurement of the earth, Stinton adduces William Derham's *Physico-Theology* (bk. 2, ch. 2, p. 43). The Harvard Library held the 1714 edition of Derham's text.

²³⁴ Isham, p. 105. The exclamations are Mather's.

²³⁵ Isham, p. 105.

²³⁶ Isham, p. 105. Mather disputes the claim of Isham that the crooked serpent of verse 13 is "more probably a Constellation, so called by the *Eastern People*; perhaps the *Dragon*, or (as very Learned Men think) the *Milky-way*" (105). The references to Fuller, and "Gusset" (Gousset) are contained in Isham's characteristic footnotes. Fuller is Nicholas Fuller (1557?–1626), who examines ancient astrology in his *Miscellanea Sacra*, contained in *Tractatum Biblicorum*, tom. 2, lib. 1, cap. 16, cols. 36–44 (DNB). See also Gousset, *Commentarii Linguae Ebraicae*, p. 506.

Q. *Jobs Parable?* v. 1.

A. As *Bildad* began to decline the Dispute, so *Zophar* quite gives it over. Such a Silence raised the Spirit of *Job*, so that he now *Triumphs* over his Opponents. This may be intimated in the Word, *Mashal*, which we render, *A Parable*. It signifies among the Hebrews, an Ingenious and Elegant Speech, *Excelling*, and as it were *Domineering* over all other, in the Pithyness, or some rare Quality of it.²³⁷

Q. On what account is it said; *Lett mine Enemy be as the Wicked, and he that riseth up against me, as the Unrighteous?* v. 7.

A. Dr. *Patrick* præfers this Paraphrase. “And lett me tell you, he that settis himself against me, & would have me thought wicked, shall be found so himself in the End; I say again, He shall prove himself unrighteous sooner than me.”²³⁸

Q. On that, *I will teach you by the Hand of God?* v. 11.

A. It may be carried, *I being in the Hand of God, will teach you*. One under the Influences of the Holy Spirit, is peculiarly, *In the Hand of God*.

But then, lett Ministers that are under singular Afflictions, endeavour to communicate the Lessons & Maxims of Piety more instructively than ever unto their People. Their Afflictions come to render them the more Able to *Teach* their Neighbours. Being themselves *under the Hand of God*, they ought more agreeably & more assiduously to *Teach* those that are about them.²³⁹

Q. How, *Buried in Death?* v. 15.

A. Shall Dy of the Plague, and have no Funeral Obsequies.²⁴⁰

Q. Why is it said of the Wicked, *He builds his House as a Mothe?* v. 18.

A. One *Thompson*, in a Sermon on *The Treasures of the Sea*, ha's this ingenious Gloss upon it.

“Easy Observation shewes, That this little Creature, harboured in some Peece of Cloth, gnawes perpetually to cover himself, till his Greediness ha's devoured the Walls of his House; and so he discovers his own Nakedness,

²³⁷ Patrick, *Job Paraphras'd*, p. 158.

²³⁸ Patrick, *Job Paraphras'd*, p. 160.

²³⁹ See Malvenda, *Commentariorum*, tom. 3, p. 695. This same point, though not in reference to this specific verse, is made in Mather's *Optanda* (1692), pp. 26–8.

²⁴⁰ Isham, p. 108.

instead of covering himself. Thus does every covetous Man; He racks himself, & torments others, to raise a Monument of his Greatness or Security; But this goodly Building, composed of Injustice, Rapines, and Oppressions, cemented together with the Sweat & Blood of the Poor, crumbles into Ruine. And when this cometh into the Judgment of God, this foolish *Moth*, who hath so gnawn, to feed & cover himself, finds himself naked, hungry, & extreemly miserable.²⁴¹

Q. *The Rich Man shall ly down, but hee shall not bee gathered; hee openeth his Eyes, & hee is not.* Your Sense of, *Hee shall not be gathered*, and of, *Hee is not?* v. 19.

A. The Word, / אסף / or, *A Gathered One*, was used among the Hebrewes, for, *One Buried with Honour, in the Monuments of his Ancestors*. The other Clause, *Hee is not*, may bee rendred, *Hee finds None*; that is to say, while hee is yett living, hee shall, bee so forsaken by his own Folks, (perhaps, for fear of a contagious Distemper,) that when hee looks about him, hee shall *find None* to serve him, & help him.²⁴²

He openeth his Eyes, – i. e. In the twinkling of an Eye.²⁴³

Q. On that, *God shall cast upon him?* v. 22.

A. The Word, *God*, is not in the Original. *Munster* makes the *East-Wind*, and, *Storm*, in the præceding Verse, to be the Antecedent. His gloss is: *Ventus Orientalis inducet super eum Morbos incurabiles*.²⁴⁴

241 Mather spells the author's name incorrectly. This is William Thomson, from a sermon published in 1683 (p. 9).

242 Malvenda, *Commentariorum*, tom. 3, p. 696. אסף [asaph] "to gather." Mather is referring to the passive form (Niphal) of the verb, as it is used at Job 27:19; see also Gen. 25:8: "Abraham breathed his last and died in a good old age, an old man and full of years, and was gathered to his people."

243 Isham, p. 108.

244 Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3321). "The east wind will spread incurable diseases over him."

Q. *Surely, there is a Vein for Silver.* The Connexion of this Discourse with the preceding? v. 1.

A. Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase well expresses it. “You would have me give a Reason perhaps, why God punishes some wicked Men, & not all. But the Witt and Industry of Mankind, which have discovered Mines of Silver and Gold, must not think to find out this Secret, which God have reserved unto Himself.”²⁴⁵

Q. What are meant by, *The Stones of Darkness*? v. 3.

A. *Gems*, formed in the Dark Recesses of the Earth. And thus, when tis here said, *Hee setteth an End unto Darkness, & searcheth out all Perfection*; The Meaning is, That Hee setteth Order, even in the subterraneous Regions, and when Metals & other Minerals, are Digested unto *Perfection* there, Hee is well acquainted with it.²⁴⁶

Q. *Under the Earth which brings forth Bread*, What is the *Fire that is turned up*? v. 5.

A. *Lime* and *Brimstone*, & such like Fiery Stuff.²⁴⁷

Q. What is the *Earth*, yielding *Bread*, under which there is *Fire turned up*? v. 5.

A. I suspect, the particular Land of *Paradise*, to bee herein referred unto. Every *Eateable* is comprehended under the Term of *Bread*; and how *Fire* encompassed it, You’ll see, if You please, in our Illustrations upon that *Garden* of God.²⁴⁸

Q. Who are meant by, *The Lions Whelps*? v. 8.

A. In the Original here, (as well as in Job. 42.34.) the Phrase is / בְּנֵי שִׁחַי / *The Children of Heighth*. It is a Phrase for all High or Tall *Animals*.²⁴⁹ Places whereto *Animals* that exceed Man, for *Highness*, for *Tallness*, for *Bigness*, do not come, are come at by the Industry of *Man*.

²⁴⁵ Patrick, *Job Paraphras’d*, p. 165.

²⁴⁶ Mather appears here to turn to a Catholic commentator, Jacob Bolducii, in his *Commentaria in Librum Job* (1638), tom. 2, pp. 244–45. This two-volume work was owned by the Mathers. See also Malvenda’s *Commentariorum*, tom. 3, p. 609.

²⁴⁷ Patrick, *Job Paraphras’d*, p. 166. See Appendix B.

²⁴⁸ Mather is referring here to his *Trip paradisus*, where he identifies the “flaming swords” of Gen. 3:24 with the bituminous lakes near Ecbatana. See *Trip paradisus* (Smolinski, ed., 101). See also BA 1:456.

²⁴⁹ Isham, p. 111. Mather identifies the cross reference incorrectly. He intends Job 41:34, though he writes “Job 42.34.” Isham identifies his own source as Bochart.

Q. Who is, *Hee that putteth forth his Hand upon the Rock*, and, *Hee that overturneth the Mountains by the Roots*, and, *Hee whose Eye seeth every Precious Thing*, and, *Hee that bringeth forth to Light the Thing that is Hid?* v. 9, 10, 11.

A. The *Industrious Man*, is *Hee*, of whom these, with all the other Passages, in these three Verses, are to bee understood.²⁵⁰

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[70v]

Q. How does the *Sea*, say, *Wisdom is not with mee?* v. 14.

A. *Grotius* hath a Note upon it, which our Sailors may do well to consider, *Apud Nautas non solet habitare Sapientia*: but it must bee Englished for them; *There is Little Wisdom to be found among them that follow the Sea.*²⁵¹

Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase on it, is this. “The *Miners*, poor Souls! Dig they never so deep, are never like to come within the reach of it: Nor is it to be fetch’d by the *Mariner* from any of those Countries to which he sails.”²⁵²

|²⁵³

[71r]

Q. The, *Peninim*, which we translate, *Rubies*, in diverse Places throughout the *Bible*; is the Name truly translated? v. 18.²⁵⁴

A. I will not offer you, the Variety of Translation, which ha’s been employ’d upon this Name. I will only observe, That the *Chaldee* thus reade the Text now before us; *Tractio Sapientiae melior est Margaritis*;²⁵⁵ and R. *Solomon* so renders the Word, in Prov. 8.11. and *Pomarius* in his *Lexicon*, saies / פִּנִּין / *Penin*, is, *Lapis Pretiosus, vel Lapillo albo similis, qui educitur è ventre Piscis Ostrei nomine in Oceano reperiri solito*: and the most learned *Bochart*, ha’s a Discourse of exquisite Learning, to prove, That the *Peninim*, are no other than proper *Pearls*.²⁵⁶

²⁵⁰ Mather’s concluding gloss on verse 8 in the previous entry and this is a summary of Patrick’s *Book of Job Paraphras’d* (pp. 165–68).

²⁵¹ See Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3350) and Grotius, *Opera Omnia* (1:212). The translation is Mather’s.

²⁵² Patrick, *Job Paraphras’d*, p. 168.

²⁵³ See Appendix B.

²⁵⁴ This entire entry is extracted and translated from Samuel Bochart’s chapter on oysters and pearls in *Hierozoicon* (pars. 2, lib. 5, cap. 6, cols. 680–92). Mather adopts Bochart’s translation of pearls for rubies based, as usual, on the similarity of the transliteration of the Hebrew word with the Greek πιννα, *Pinna*. Isham (p. 112) references Bochart’s *Phaleg* in his *Geographia Sacra*, pars. 1, lib. 4, cap. 2, p. 239.

²⁵⁵ “The pull (or appeal) of wisdom is greater than pearls.” In the *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* the passage from the Chaldee paraphrast is a little clearer: there, the subject is “attractio” (3:55).

²⁵⁶ “Penin, is, a precious stone, similar to a small white pebble, usually found in the ocean, which is removed from the stomach a sea creature, namely an oyster.” Pomarius is most likely Rabbi David ben Isaac de Pomis (1525–93), a Sephardic linguist, physician, and philosopher born in Spoleto in Spain. He was known for the *Zemah David* (1587), the Sprout of David, a trilingual lexicon in Hebrew, Latin, and Italian (*JE*). I am indebted to Reiner Smolinski for this identification. פִּנִּינִים [peninim] “corals.” The *Zemah David* of de Pomis should not be confused with the chronological history of the same name written by Rabbi David Ganz.

Indeed the very Name of *Penin*, does marvellously agree with *πιννα*, *Pinna*, the Name used both by the *Græcians* and the *Romans*, for the *Pearl-bearing Oyster*: The lesser sort whereof have been also called, *Pernæ*, whence the Word, *Perle*, (not, à *Perulâ*, as the great *Casaubon* and *Salmasius*, have etymologized it.)

It may be, the *Bedolach* is the greater *Pearle*, and the *Peninim* are the smaller *Pearle*, whereof the *Linea dives*, mention'd by the old Poets was composed.

And the Word in the Text now before us, which we render *The Price*, is to be rendred, *The Extraction*; Read it, *The Fetching out of Wisdome, is better than that of Pearles*. It is an Allusion to the *Diving* for *Pearles*, at the bottom of the Sea; often mention'd by *Ptolemy*, and *Arrian*, and very particularly by *Isidorus Characenus*, who describes the Deepness and the Danger of the Diving, & how the Divers often lose their Fingers; if the open *Shel-fish* are unskilfully handled. They who apply their Hands with an Agreeable Dexterity, to the out-side of the *Fish*, tis said, *ραδιως τους κογχους απο του λιθου αποσπωσιν*, *Do easily Draw the Shell-fish from the Stone*. This Extraction, or, *Αποσπωσιν*, is in the Hebrew, / מִשַּׁךְ / so that in *Job*, here is used, the very *Term of Art* for this very Matter. As *Manilius* ha's it;

Cúmque suis domibus Conchas, vallóque latentes

*PROTRAHIT immersas.*²⁵⁷

And other Authors, needless here to be quoted. Or, if we should suppose an Allusion, to that other way of Mens *Fishing* for *Pearles* with *Netts*, described by *Ælian*, and by *Pliny*, and *Solinus*, as usual in *India*, the Hebrew Word here used, is very proper for *That* also.

[72v] The Excellency ascribed unto the *Peninim*, in many Passages of the *Proverbs*, holds a good Correspondence with our Opinion of their being *Pearles*. *Pliny* saies, *Principium ergo culmenque omnium rerum | pretii Margaritæ tenent.*²⁵⁸ And tho' that Expression be a little *Hyperbolical*, (and contradicted by some others in him, wherein he prefers *Diamonds*,) yett in *Athenæus* we find *Pearle* æquall'd with *Gold*; Yea, and in *Chares Mitylenæus* præfer'd before it; and *Megasthenes* reports (in *Arrianus*,) that among the *Indians*, a *Pearl* was worth a Treble Quantity of *Gold*. But all *Pearles* are not of æqual Worth. In *Suetonius* we read, That *Cæsar Servilia*, the Mother of *Marcus Brutus*, a *Pearl* of so many *Sesterces* Value, that *Budeus* computes it at an *Hundred & Fifty Thousand* Crowns. And *Cleopatra* dissolved in *Vinegar*, one that was worth, *Two Hundred & Fifty Thousand* Crowns. We need not wonder, that the *Merchant* in our Saviours Parable, sold all, for a *Pearl* of such a *Great Price*.

257 Manilius (fl. 1st c. CE) in this passage from book 5 of the *Astronomica* refers to a diver who "drags forth pearl oysters with shells, which had been hiding submerged in a protected place." Manilius is copying from Athenæus, in the *Deipnosophists* (3.46). מִשַּׁךְ [meshek] "(leather) pouch, bag; for pearls & metaphor for wisdom."

258 Pliny, *Natural History* (9.54): "The first place therefore and the topmost rank among all things of price is held by pearls."

Whence *Manilius*,
Censibus æquantur Conchæ, Lapidumque nitore
Vix unquam est Locuples, oneratur terra profundo.

The World, saies he, is hardly rich enough to purchase the *Shel-fish* of the World.²⁵⁹ And it was the Complaint of *Tertullian*, upon the Vanity & Luxury in his Time, *Uno Lino decies sestertium inseritur*.²⁶⁰

And yett we read, Prov. 20.15. *There is a Multitude of Pearles*. About the Island of *Baharain* particularly, in the Months of *July* and *August*, the Inhabitants in two or three hundred Boats at a Time, find good Success in fishing for them; and *Pearles* to the Value of more than *Five Hundred Thousand Ducats* are yearly exported from thence; and they are found in many other Places. *Americus* tells, of huge Quantities of them found in our *New World*. Yea, he tells of single Shells, which have afforded an hundred & thirty.²⁶¹

Indeed the *Pearle-Grounds* were somewhat remote from the Land of *Canaan*; for which cause the Words of *Solomon* about the *Wise Woman* are, Prov. 31.10, *The Purchase of her, is further off than that of Pearles*. The nearest, was, the *Persian Gulf*, whereas, the *Chaldeans*, which lay much nearer, are said to come from a *Far Countrey*. [2. King. {20.14.} Isa. 5.26. Jer. 5.15. Hab. 1.8.]

It followes, That what we render, Lam. 4.7. *Her Nazarites were more Ruddy in Body than Rubies*, is to be rendred, *They were Brighter in Body than Pearles*. The Hebrew Word, / אדם / signifies, not only, *To Look Red*, but also, *To Look Bright*, or, *To Shine*. In this Verse tis also said, *They were purer than Snow, they were whiter than Milk*, which is not so very {well} consistent with the *Redness* of a *Ruby*. Besides, as *Bochart* observes, *Rubor in facie, non est color bene se habentis, sed ægri potius, aut ebriosi*.²⁶²

|²⁶³

[70v]

Q. What may be meant by, *the Fowles of Heaven?* v. 21.

A. *Munster* will tell you, *The Angels of God*, who yett are not acquainted with all the *Mysteries of His Wisdome*.

²⁵⁹ Manilius, *Astronomica* (5.404–5): “Pearls are worth fortunes, and because of these splendid stones there is scarcely a rich man left. Dwellers on land are burdened with the treasures of the sea.”

²⁶⁰ Tertullian, *De Cultu Foeminarum* (1.9): “On a single thread is suspended a million of sesterces.” [PL 1.1314; ANF 4:18.]

²⁶¹ Bochart refers to the second voyage of Amerigo (Americus) Vespucci (1454–1512). In a letter to Piero Soderini, Vespucci recounts how the natives gifted the explorer with large quantities of pearls (Lester and Foster 179).

²⁶² אדם [adam] “to be ruddy,” and in other forms of the verb, “to have a reddish sparkle,” or “to glow reddish.” See Lam. 4:7: “Her princes were purer than snow, whiter than milk; their bodies were more ruddy than coral.” (ESV) Transl. of Bochart: “Redness in the face is not the color of one keeping himself well, but rather of the ill or the drunken.”

²⁶³ Continuation of 70v.

He adds, That the same is to be thought of the *Saints*, who are gone out of the World, and who may be here meant by, *Destruction and Death*, which is come upon them in their Dissolution.²⁶⁴

Q. How do *Destruction* and *Death* say, *Wee have heard the Fame of Wisdome with our Ears?* v. 22.

A. *Grotius* ha's a notable Stroke upon it; *Quòd omnes res compositae in sua principia redeunt, ingens est Sapientiae Divinae Testimonium*. Indeed, the *Wisdome* of God appears wonderfully, in that Law of the Creation, whereby *Destruction* and *Death*, comes in a fitt Period, upon every thing that is generated.²⁶⁵

It is thus paraphrased by Dr. *Patrick*. "*Death* is the Best Informer, & the *Grave* the only Place, where we may learn Something of it. But this is all that they can tell us, (which is as far short of a full Account, as a *Rumour* is from a certain Knowledge,) That they will shortly make all Men æqual; and then it will be of no great Moment, whether we have been happy or miserable."²⁶⁶

Q. The Design of those Passages, *Then did He see it, & declare it, – And unto Man He said?* v. 27, 28.

A. "When He ordered all these things, He was pleased in the *Wisdome*, which He saw in His Works; He made it Visible & Apparent; He fixed it therefore, and made these Lawes perpetual: Because after all the Search that could be made, He found no Fault in it.

"And making *Man* at the same time, He imprinted this Sense upon his Heart; That he ought to be an Humble Adorer, not Censurer, of His secret *Wisdome*, whereby He governs the World. For the Highest *Wisdome* and Skill that *Man* can attain, is to be possessed with such a Religious Fear of the Great Lord of all, as not to dare to do any thing, which he knowes will displease Him."²⁶⁷

²⁶⁴ Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3335). The translation is Mather's.

²⁶⁵ Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3350). *Grotius*, *Opera Omnia* (1:212). "Because all composite things return to their beginnings, great is the testimony of divine wisdom."

²⁶⁶ Patrick, *Job Paraphras'd*, p. 170.

²⁶⁷ Patrick, *Job Paraphras'd*, pp. 171–72.

Q. On that, *The Dayes of my Youth?* v. 4.

A. The original Word, signifies, *Reproach*. Tis what *Youth* is rarely free from administring Occasions for.²⁶⁹

That Passage, *The Secret of GOD was on my Tabernacle*; some expound it, *I was consulted as an Oracle*. Compare, 2. Sam. XVI.23.²⁷⁰

Q. What means, *I washed my Steps with Butter?* v. 6.

A. Plenty of Cattel; such Plenty that they might have afforded a superfluous Abundance of *Butter*.²⁷¹

Q. How did the *Rock pour out Rivers of Oyl?* v. 6.

A. Compare, Deut. XXXII.13. The *Rocky Parts of Arabia*, and *Syria*, were full of *Olive-trees*.²⁷²

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[*2482.*]

Q. The Import of that Passage, *I shall multiply my Dayes as the Sand?* v. 18.

A. The Motto of the *Palm-tree*, is *Depressa Resurgo*.²⁷³ That this Tree was used as the Emblem of *Recovery out of Trouble* in ancient times, to Mr. *Lee* seems probable, from the Speech of *Job* now before us. Hee foreseeing that hee should Rise out of the Dust of his Afflictions, foretels that hee should *multiply his Dayes* [not, *as the Sand*, which is our Translation, but] *as the Palm-tree*. The Hebrew Word is by the Seventy translated φοινίξ, and by the Vulgar Latin, *Palma*; and by sundry learned Lexicographers, *The Palm*. The following Words do much favour this Intimation; which tell us, of, *A Root spread out by the Waters*. The Restoration of *Job*, to his former splendid Condition, after he had been long prest under the Weight of Calamity, seems fitly resembled unto a *Palm-tree* rising up to its posture after {depression?}.

When Christ, the King of His Church, was in His Procession toward *Jerusalem*, the People cutt down Branches of *Palm-trees*. A most happy Præ sage, from the Constant & Receiv'd Hieroglyphic of the *Palm*, That tho' the Kingdome of

²⁶⁸ Regular pagination resumes.

²⁶⁹ Caryl, *An Exposition upon the Twenty-Seventh, Twenty-Eighth, and Twenty-Ninth Chapters of the Book of Job*, p. 446.

²⁷⁰ Isham, p. 115.

²⁷¹ Isham, p. 115.

²⁷² Isham, p. 115.

²⁷³ "I rise again, having been pressed down."

our Lord were opposed, oppressed, & kept under at the first, yett at length, it should recover gloriously, and fill the Whole Earth, with its Fruitful Branches.²⁷⁴

Q. On that of, *The Root spread out by the Waters; the Dew all night on the Branch; The Glory fresh, & the Bowe renew'd?* v. 20.

A. Behold, The Blessings of the Resurrection from the Dead. It is *Munsters Gloss*.²⁷⁵

Q. The Meaning of, *The Light of my Countenance they cast not down?* v. 24.

A. They did not grieve me.²⁷⁶

Q. How did *he dwell as a King in the Army as one that comforteth the Mourners?* v. 25.

A. Dr. *Patrick* thus paraphrases the whole Verse.

“If I went to visit them, they still preserved their Respect to me, & gave me the Præ-eminence. And as my Condescension to them, did not make them less honour me, so their Submission to me, did not make me less familiar with them; for when I satt as a King, guarded with many Troups of Followers, I comforted the Meanest, & would not suffer them to be dejected.”²⁷⁷

²⁷⁴ This is a reference to Samuel Lee's *Orbis Miraculum*, pp. 221–22.

²⁷⁵ Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3354).

²⁷⁶ Isham, p. 117.

²⁷⁷ Patrick, *Job Paraphras'd*, p. 179.

Q. *Mallows?* v. 4.

A. *Bochart* proves, that the Plant here mentioned, was a Shrub common in *Syria*; an usual Food for the Poor; of a saltish Taste; and like our *Buckthorn*.²⁷⁸

Q. Who were they which *dwelt in the Clefts of the Rocks?* v. 6.

A. *Vossius* takes it for a Description of the *Troglodytes*, called so from dwelling in Caves, near the *Arabian Gulf*.²⁷⁹

Q. The Meaning of, *He hath loosed my Cord?* v. 11.

A. He hath disarmed me, and made my Bowe useless. Compare, Ch. XXIX.18. Or, He hath taken away my Power of Restraining Ill Men. Compare Ch. XII.18. and Psal. II.3.²⁸⁰

Q. The Meaning of that; *They raise up against me the Wayes of their Destruction?* v. 12.

A. I am become the beaten Path, as I may call myself, of their pernicious Reproaches.²⁸¹

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Q. The Meaning of, *My Sinews take no Rest?* v. 17.

A. Tis, *My Arteries*. The Meaning is, His Pulse was very Quick & Feavourish.²⁸²

Q. Why is it said, *Thou regardest me not?* v. 20.

A. The particle, *Not*, is not in the Hebrew. The sense may be, Thou knowest my wretched Case, without relieving it.²⁸³

Q. The Meaning of that; *Howbeit He will not Stretch out His Hand to the Grave, tho' they Cry in His Destruction?* v. 24.

²⁷⁸ Bochart, *Hierozoicon*, pars. 1, lib. 3, cap. 16, col. 872.

²⁷⁹ Isham, p. 119. Vossius is Isaac Vossius (1618–89), son of the eminent Dutch humanist theologian, Gerhard Voss (1577–1649) (*ODCC*).

²⁸⁰ Isham, p. 119.

²⁸¹ Patrick, *Job Paraphras'd*, p. 183.

²⁸² Isham, p. 120.

²⁸³ Isham, p. 121.

A. The *Grave*. – “Whither thy Afflicting Hand will not pursue me; for tho’ Men cry, when they are sent thither, yett when they are there, all their Sufferings and Complaints are ended.”

So Dr. *Patrick*.²⁸⁴

They Cry, – Men are wont to complain when they are taken out of this World.

Or, GOD won’t bring Men back from the Grave, tho’ they pray never so earnestly.²⁸⁵

Q. What, the *Dragons* and *Owls*? v. 29.

A. *Bochart* and *Pocock*, & the Great Linguists, here understand, *Jackals*, & *Ostriches*.

They have their Names from their fearful Screeches.

Compare, Isa. XLIII.20.²⁸⁶

²⁸⁴ Patrick, *Job Paraphras’d*, p. 185.

²⁸⁵ Isham, p. 122.

²⁸⁶ Isham, p. 123.

Q. What *Portion* is referr'd unto? v. 2.

A. The Divine Vengeance on the Unclean.

Compare, Chap. XX.29.²⁸⁷

Q. A Remark on that; *Lett me be weigh'd in an Even Balance?* v. 6.

A. They who find *Homer* (as in *Iliad* 8.) representing of GOD, as weighing the Destinies of Men in his *Balances*, observe, That this Figure was first used in the Sacred Scriptures. Thus in the Text before us; and in the Declaration of *Daniel* to *Belshazzar*. Consider, Prov. XVI.11. *Homer* ha's it again in *Iliad* 22. And it appeared so Beautiful to succeeding Poets, that *Æschylus* (as we are told by *Plutarch*) writt a whole Tragedy upon this Convention; which he called, *Psychostasia*, or, The Weighing of Souls. It ha's been also copied by *Virgil*, in his last *Æneid*.

*Jupiter ipse duas æquato examine Lances
Sustinet.*²⁸⁸

On the Clause which follows; *That He may know my Integrity*; it may be observed, The Sacred Writers often say of GOD, That He *knows* Persons & Matters, when it means, that by His *Providence* He makes them *known* to the World.

There is a Passage in *Pindar*, exactly parallel to this; Γνωσσομαι ταν ολβιαν Κορινθαν· *I will know Rich Corinth*. He means, I will make her *known* to the World, and celebrate her Glories.

Consider, I. Cor. II.2.²⁸⁹

²⁸⁷ Isham, p. 123.

²⁸⁸ Mather is depending here upon the observation of Alexander Pope in his 6-volume translation of the *Iliad*. Pope's observations follow upon his verse translation of each book of the epic. The reference, as Mather remarks, is to book 8, line 88, which by Pope is rendered, "The sire of gods his golden scale suspends" (vol. 2, p. 90). The commentary on this verse, with its accompanying scriptural and classical references, is contained in vol. 2, observation 9, p. 128. The story of Daniel, Belshazzar, and the writing on the wall is told in Dan. 5:27. Plutarch's reference to the *Psychostasia* of Aeschylus is in his *Morals* on "How the Young Man Should Study Poetry." This essay of Plutarch also contains the other reference to Zeus weighing men in book 22 of the *Iliad*. Jove is represented as holding scales in balance during the final battle between Aeneas and Turnus in the *Æneid* (12.725–26). John Dryden, in his famous translation of the *Æneid*, renders these lines, "Jove sets the beam; in either scale he lays / The champions' fate, and each exactly weighs."

²⁸⁹ The second portion of this note derives from Anthony Blackwall's (1672–1730) *An Introduction to the Classics*, pt. 1, ch. 1, p. 94. Blackwall's footnote observes that the passage in Pindar is in his Olympic Ode 13.3. This poem celebrates the victory of Xenophon of Corinth in the foot race and the pentathlon in 464 BCE.

Q. The Intent of that Passage; *Lett my Off-spring be rooted out?* v. 8.

A. He had now no *Offspring* to be *rooted out*. But *Patrick's* Paraphrase agrees well with the former Part of the Verse. "Lett other Men, pluck up the Trees, (roots and all,) which I have planted."²⁹⁰

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Q. The Meaning of, *When I saw my Help in the Gate?* v. 21.

A. When the Judges being partial to me, would have willingly favoured my Cause. Compare, Ch. V.4; XXIX.7.²⁹¹

Q. *Beholding the Sun & Moon?* v. 26.

A. {*Schmidius*} applies this, to the Flattering of Great Men.²⁹²

[+1990.+]

Q. Those that plead for the *Magistrates* Power, to compell Men unto his own way, in Matters meerly Religious, do mightily urge the Words of *Job*, about *Idolatry*: *This were an Iniquity to bee punished by the Judge?* v. 28.

A. But in the Original, you find not a Word, of any *Punishment*. The Original only saies, *This might bee accounted to mee, an Iniquity*. And agreeably to the Hebrew Original, the LXX renders it, καὶ τοῦτο μοι ἄρα ἀνομία ἢ μεγίστη λογισθεῖη.²⁹³

Q. On that, *Oh! That we had of his Flesh?* v. 31.

A. Take *Munsters* Gloss; "I did not permitt my Servants to revenge the Injuries that were offered me, tho' they urged, that they could not be satisfied without pulling the Injurious Wretches to Peeces."²⁹⁴

Q. To what may that Passage be allusive; That if he should receive an *Answer* from the *Almighty*, he *would take it on his Shoulder, & bind it as a Crown unto him?* v. 35.

A. Honest Mr. *Terry* in his *Voyage to East India*, ha's a Passage, which I will transcribe, and leave you to Judge, whether it will help to illustrate that before us.

²⁹⁰ Patrick, *Job Paraphras'd*, p. 190.

²⁹¹ Isham, p. 126.

²⁹² Isham, p. 127.

²⁹³ "Let this also then be reckoned to me as the greatest iniquity." Caryl, *An Exposition upon the Thirtieth and Thirty First Chapters of the Book of Job*, p. 577. Ironically, Caryl is one of "Those that plead for the *Magistrates* Power, to compell men unto his own way, in matters meerly Religious." Caryl makes an extensive case for the magistrates' power in religious matters (pp. 579–88). Mather, however, adopts the first interpretation, which Caryl makes (p. 577) only to drop two pages later. Caryl, nonetheless, recognizes that "those words, *to be punished by*, are not expressed in the Hebrew text" (p. 580).

²⁹⁴ Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3391). This appears to be Mather's own translation.

“When the *Mogol* by Letters sends his Commands to any of his Governours, those Papers are entertained with as much Respect, as if himself were present: For the Governour having Intelligence that such Letters are come near him, himself with other Inferior Officers, ride forth, to meet the *Patamar*, or Messenger that brings them: and as soon as he sees those Letters he alights from his Horse, falls down on the Earth, & then takes them from the Messenger; & *laies them on his Head*; whereon he *binds them fast*: and then returning to his Place of public Meeting, for his Dispatch of Business, he reads them, & answers their Contents with all Care and Diligence.”²⁹⁵

Q. The Meaning of that Passage, *And that mine Adversary had written a Book*, — and what followes? v. 36.²⁹⁶

A. Having said, That he continued still to desire this Favour of God, That he might be examined by some æqual Judge; he then goes on. “And lett him that can Accuse me, bring in his Libel in Writing against me. Surely, I would not endeavour to obscure it, but openly expose it to be Read by all; nay, Wear it as a singular Ornament, which would turn to my Honour, when the World saw it disproved.

“I myself would assist him to draw up his Charge, by declaring to him freely every Action of my Life. I would approach him as undauntedly as a Prince, who is assured of the Goodness of his Cause.”

Thus Dr. *Patrick*.²⁹⁷

²⁹⁵ Edward Terry (1589/90–1660), *A Voyage to East-India*, pp. 383–84.

²⁹⁶ This is verse 35 in King James.

²⁹⁷ Patrick, *Job Paraphras'd*, p. 196. (Mather selects from Patrick's paraphrases on verses 35, 36, 37).

Q. The import of that Passage; *For God speaketh once, yea, twice: yett Man perceiveth it not?* v. 14.

A. “Not that God envies Knowledge to us; for He teaches Man more Wayes than one; and a great deal more than he cares to learn.” So Dr. *Patrick* paraphrases.²⁹⁸

Q. *If there bee a Messenger with him*, [whose Life is drawing near to the Destroyers,] *an Interpreter, one among a Thousand*: – who and what, may bee meant? v. 23.

A. The Jewes do think, a proper *Angel*, to bee here intended: and they think, this Passage may have Respect unto the Story of *Abimelek*, who having Opportunity by the Admonition of an *Angel*, to *shew his own Uprightness*, was *Delivered from going down to the Pitt*, when his Life was threatned.²⁹⁹

There may bee more of Curiositie in this Matter, than you are at first aware; and therefore I Recommend it unto your exactest Meditations.

Q. But may there bee nothing of our Lord *Jesus Christ*, in this *Messenger*?

A. I can give you as good Authority, as that of a great *Gregory* for it, if I interpret the / מַלְאָךְ מְלִיץ / *Angelus Interpres*, to bee, *Christus Mediator*.³⁰⁰

I pray, pursue this Thought; and see whether there bee not in the Context, many glorious Apprehensions of the *Messiah*, from hence presently Raised in you.

Then lett this Thought be pursued a little further.

Our *Lord-Messiah*, who was *the Same Yesterday* under the *Old Testament*, that He is *To Day* under the *New*; is represented here, as an *Advocate* for the Dying Children of Men.

Wonder not, that the *Messiah* is called *The Messenger*, or, *The Angel*. Tis the Name frequently given to Him, in the *Old Testament*, for Causes evident unto the Christian World.

The Name which we render, *An Interpreter*, is to be rendred, *An Advocate*. And this is a great Glory ascribed unto our Saviour, in the *New Testament*.

He is called, *One among a Thousand*: because of the Admirable *Excellency*, that belongs unto Him. Tis He, whom the *Wise Man*, could not find among the

²⁹⁸ Patrick, *Job Paraphras'd*, pp. 208–09.

²⁹⁹ Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3436). Grotius, *Opera Omnia* (1:214).

³⁰⁰ מַלְאָךְ מְלִיץ [mal'ak meliyts] or “interpreting messenger”.

Fallen Children of Men, who have *sought out many Inventions*, to depart from God, & to defend themselves in this their Departure.

When it is here said, *He is with Him*, His being *with God*, may be intended. For our *Advocate* is to be *with the Father*.

But then, in regard of our Faith in Him, He is to be *with us* also: And *with us*, He is to *shew* that is, *on our Side*, *Man his Rectitude*. Yea; but the Clause is rather to be read thus, *To plead His Righteousness for Man. His Rectitude*, is *for Man*; and He *shewes* it, & pleads it before God.

Now is it said, *I have found a Ransome*. It could not yett be said, *I have paid a Ransome*. This could not be said, until the Fulness of Time arrived.

What followes about, *A Return to the Dayes of Youth*, leads us to the Blessedness of the Resurrection from the Dead; the great Blessedness obtained by the Messiah for us.³⁰¹

³⁰¹ This entry appears to derive most directly Pfeiffer's *Dubia Vexata*, cent. 3, loc. 41, pp. 272–273, but Mather might also be drawing in part from Herman Witsius's *De Œconomia Foederum Dei Cum Hominibus* (1677), lib. 2, cap. 3, para 3, p. 111, and bk. 4, ch. 3, paras. 30–8, pp. 460–62.

Q. How, *Drink up Scorning like Water?* v. 7.

A. That is, He drinks in Opinions, that are only *worthy to be scorned*.³⁰²

Q. The Force of that Passage; *Is it fitt to say to a King, Thou art Wicked?* v. 18.

A. Dr. *Patrick* paraphrases it so. "There is no King on Earth, but looks upon it as a great and unsufferable Reproach, to be called a Tyrant; nor will inferiour Rulers endure you should say, that they have no regard unto æquity. Shall we impute then any such thing unto God?"³⁰³

Schmadius, by *King*, understands GOD; by *Princes*, the *Trinity*. Were not this Interpretation a little too strained, it would supersede the Words of Supply which we begin the next Verse withal.³⁰⁴

Q. How is it said, *He strikes them in the open Sight of others?* v. 26.

A. The Hebrew runs, *In the Place of Beholders*. On the Theatre. Exhibited on a Scaffold. A Tragical Spectacle. Before a Multitude of Spectators.

The next Verse, is by some carried unto that Sense; *They will desert him, & know none of his Ways*; i. e. will follow none of his destructive Practices.³⁰⁵

[*1744*]

Q. Here seems to bee a Prophecy of *Elihu*; That *an Hypocrite* shall one day *Reign*, by whom the *People* shall bee *ensnared*: That God will *break in Peeces mighty Men without Number, and sett others in their Stead*, for to introduce the *Reign* of this *Hypocrite*; And that yett, *God hiding His Face*, this *Hypocrites Reign* shall come to an End, and the *People* bee no more ensnared. Of whom is all this to bee understood? v. 30.

A. I am surprised, to find in Old *Raymunds*, *Pugio Fidei*, This very Prophecy applied unto *Mahomet*; of whom hee saide, *Quoniam Christiani, et ceteri ultramarini fuerunt scelerosi, et Hæreticâ pravitate vehementer infecti, permisit Deus, ut Regnaret Mahomedus super eos Hypocrita simul, et Scelerosus, et Hæreticus pessimus*.³⁰⁶

³⁰² This seems to be a paraphrase of a reading provided by Caryl in his *Exposition upon the Thirty Second, the Thirty Third, and the Thirty Fourth Chapters of the Book of Job* (p. 534).

³⁰³ Patrick, *Job Paraphras'd*, p. 218.

³⁰⁴ Isham, p. 141.

³⁰⁵ Isham, p. 143.

³⁰⁶ "Since Christians, and others from beyond the sea were wicked, and strongly infected

Now, *Arabia*, being the Place where this Prophecy was first uttered, and the Place of *Mahomets* rise also, it may call for the more attention.³⁰⁷

The Word, *Hypocrite* generally denotes, a Profane and Impious Person. *Gataker* ha's largely proved it.³⁰⁸

Q. The Meaning of that Passage; *My desire is that Job may be tried unto the End?* v. 36.

A. "I am so far from wishing, he may be presently released from his Afflictions, that I take it to be more desireable he should be still tried and proved by them; until he recant the Answers in which he ha's complained of Divine Providence, after the Manner of wicked Men."

So Dr. Patrick.³⁰⁹

with heretical perversity, God permitted that Mohammed might rule over them at the same time, a hypocrite, a wretch, and the worst heretic."

³⁰⁷ Raymund Martin, *Pugio Fidei*, pars. 2, cap. 14, p. 461. Raymund Martini or Ramón Martí, was a 13th-c. Dominican friar. Although he is chiefly remembered for the anti-Jewish polemic of his work, Martin in the *Pugio* shows himself an astute reader of Rabbinic literature who sought, as did many later reformers, to demonstrate that Jesus as the messiah had been unwittingly foretold by Rabbinic commentators (*SH*). His work, long thought to have been lost, was recovered by Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540–1609) and later edited by Joseph de Voisin and published in 1651. Voisin's edition was republished in 1687.

³⁰⁸ Isham, p. 144. Gataker is Thomas Gataker, whose *Adversaria Miscellanea* was published in London in 1659. The remark, Isham notes, occurs in ch. 22, pp. 249–50. Gataker, a prestigious divine, authored the Westminster Assembly's *Annotations* (1645) upon Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Lamentations.

³⁰⁹ Patrick, *Job Paraphras'd*, pp. 222–23.

Q. When and Where had *Job* said, *My Righteousness is more than Gods?* v. 2.

A. I don't find that he had ever spoke it in express Terms. But he had said, that which *Elihu* thought, implied it.

I suppose, the Instance to which he referr'd, might be this.

Job had been a *Judge*. He asserted, That he then *putt on Righteousness, & it clothed him*. He then Defended, Releev'd, Rewarded such as Deserved it. But he *brake the Jawes of the Wicked*; Them he punished. Well, The Great God is the *Judge* of the World; And yett in His Dispensations, He did not alwayes distinguish the *Godly* from the *Wicked*. Such a Speech fell from the Mouth of *Job*; *This is one thing, therefore I said it. He destroyes the Perfect, & the Wicked*: [Ch. IX.22.] He makes no Distinction. What? Then, saies *Elihu*, Syr, you say, do yee? *My Righteousness is more than Gods*. God is not so *Righteous a Judge*, it seems, as you are!³¹⁰

Q. What are the, *Songs in the Night?* v. 10.

A. Refreshments in Disconsolate Hours.

But hear the Chaldee Paraphrase. *Before whom the High Angels order Praises in the Night*.³¹¹

Q. What is the *Vanity*, that GOD will *not hear?* v. 13.

A. Vain Men.

Or, such as ungratefully complain of GOD.

Or, vain Prayers, extorted by Anguish.

Compare, Joh. IX.31.³¹²

Q. The meaning of this, *Because it is not so, He ha's visited in His Anger?* v. 15.

A. Some Famous Interpreters, as *Vatablus*, and *Mercer*, and *Drusius*, carry it so; *His Anger ha's visited thee but a little & He takes not Cognisance of very much*. i. e. GOD is not Exact and Righteous in His Dealings with thee.³¹³

³¹⁰ This paragraph summarizes a portion of Caryl's *Exposition* on Job 35–7 (pp. 3–8).

³¹¹ Isham, p. 146. This is a very close paraphrase: Isham proposes that the phrase means "Refreshment in the most melancholy hours" (146).

³¹² Isham, p. 147.

³¹³ Isham, p. 147. The "Famous Interpreters" are identified by Isham, but without further specification. Their remarks can be found in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3463, 3468), and Poole, *Synopsis Criticorum* (2, pars. 1:381–82).

- Q.** Who, *with Kings on the Throne?* v. 7.
A. Tis thought, that *Joseph* is alluded to.³¹⁴

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- Q.** The Meaning of, *Desire not the Night?* v. 20.
A. Seek not impatiently for a Release by Death.
 Compare, Chap. XXXIV.20.³¹⁵

- Q.** Upon, *making small the Drops of Water?* v. 27.
A. Signs of Rain seem to be now appearing in the Sky.³¹⁶

- Q.** How, *cover the Bottom of the Sea?* v. 30.
A. The Beams of the Sun, raise Vapours from thence.³¹⁷

- Q.** How does GOD *command* it? v. 32.
A. *Bochart* chuses this Exposition. GOD orders the *Lightning*, what it shall strike.³¹⁸

³¹⁴ Isham, p. 149.

³¹⁵ Isham, p. 151.

³¹⁶ Isham, p. 151.

³¹⁷ Isham, p. 152.

³¹⁸ Isham, p. 152. See *Bochart, Hierozoicon*, pars. 2, lib. 5, cap. 16, col. 792. This remark occurs in the chapter on the Leviathan.

Q. On that, *He seals up the Hand of every Man?* v. 7.

A. *Munster* translates it, *Signaculum facit*, and glosses it; *Quia variæ fiunt in aere immutationes, coguntur homines facere signacula, unde colligunt quando terra est invertenda, seminanda, et stercoranda, arbores putandæ, aut propter superventurum frigus tegenda.*³¹⁹

Q. What is meant by, *His Bright Cloud?* v. 11.

A. The *Cloud* with a *Rainbow* upon it. Which is anon, v. 15. called, *The Light of His Cloud.*³²⁰

Q. What *Land* is meant, when tis said, *God causes the Rain to come, for His Land?* v. 13.

A. When tis said, *Hee causeth it to come, whether for Correction*, wee may read it, *On One Tribe*; – and compare *Amos*. 4.7. But when tis added, *or, for His Land*, it may mean *Land* hitherto undivided among the Children of Men, *Land* yett fallen unto no Mans Proprietie, *Land* that lies waste, without any Owner. Thus the *Sea*, is called *Gods-Sea*, & is distinguished from the *Earth* by that Appellation.³²¹

Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase, is this. “Being sent, either to bring a Dearth, & to scourge our Sins with Plagues and Pestilential Diseases; or to produce the wonted Crop of the Earth, for the necessary Sustenance of Man and Beast; or to Reward our Obedience with Extraordinary Plenty & very Healthful Seasons.”³²²

[**]³²³

Q. Why such Notice of, *Quieting the Earth with the South Wind?* v. 17.

A. Compare v. 9. *Out of the South comes the Whirlwind.*³²⁴ Now, How does a *Calm* come out the same quarter, from whence comes a *Whirlwind*?

319 Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3489). *Signaculum facit* means “he makes a seal.” The translation of the gloss is: “Because various changes occur in the weather, men are compelled to make signs, from which they gather when the earth has to be plowed, seeded, and manured; when trees are to be pruned, and so that they can be protected from the on-coming frost.”

320 Isham, p. 154.

321 Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3501), and Grotius, *Opera Omnia* (1:216).

322 Patrick, *Job Paraphras'd*, p. 240.

323 See Appendix A.

324 Isham, p. 155. The question, which is Mather’s, was answered in his commentary on ch. 1, v. 19. There, Mather had relied on Caryl to answer those scoffers who claimed that the idea of wind coming from every compass point at once was patent nonsense.

Q. The Meaning of, *shall it be told Him that I speak?* v. 20.

A. Can I say any thing of GOD, that shall be worthy of His Notice?³²⁵

Q. With *Fair Weather coming out of the North*, why is there joined the *Terrible Majesty* of God? v. 22.

A. We will take Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase on this Verse, with the preceding.

“Alas, Men are not able to look on the Brightness of the *Sun*, when it shines in the Heavens, after a Wind hath swept and cleans’d them; And brought Pure and Serene Weather out of the Northern Parts. How then shall they look upon GOD, whose Majesty is most dreadful; and therefore not to be pried into with Curiosity, but worshipped & praised with the Humblest Reverence.”³²⁶

³²⁵ Isham, p. 156.

³²⁶ Patrick, *Job Paraphras’d*, p. 242.

Q. What was the *Whirlwind*, out of which, the *Lord answered Job*? v. 1.

A. It seems, that while *Elihu*, was Addressing of *Job*, there came up a *Thunderstorm*; as the beginning of the former Chapter intimates. Now, a *Thunderstorm* ha's usually somewhat of a *Whirlwind* attending it. Why then, might not the Lord now utter the things that follow, out of a *Turbinous Cloud*, in that *Thunderstorm*? This wee know, That the Exemples, of the Lord Speaking from such a *Cloud*, in *Thunder*, do several Times occur in the Scripture.³²⁷

Q. I have mett with such a *Question* as this; How dos it come to pass, that after *Job* had insisted so much upon his *Righteousness*, the Glorious GOD bestows now no Rebuke upon him for it? v. 1.

A. And I have mett with such an *Answer* as this; *Job* was a Notable Type of that Glorious CHRIST, by whose *Righteousness* it is, that all His People are *Justified*.³²⁸

Q. Why does the Lord chuse to speak unto *Job*, out of the *Whirlwind*? v. 1.

A. Hear the Reason of no *Less* a Man, than *Gregory the Great*.

*Quia Flagellato loquebatur; durabat enim illa adhunc Tempestas malorum, qua Deus flagellabat Job; idcirco non alius Flagellanti, e quo loqueretur Thronus conveniebat, quàm Turbo.*³²⁹

Q. On that, *Hast thou caused the Day-Spring to know his Place*? v. 12.

A. It may be rendred so; *Dost thou know perfectly the Place of the Twilight*?

It is remarked by the admirable Dr. *Nieuwentyt*; every one knows, that according to the Greater or Lesser Thickness of the *Air*, which varies in different Places, and in the same Place too at different times, for many Reasons, the Refraction does likewise differ. And therefore, that the *Twilight*, with respect unto the extremest Parts where it is seen upon Earth, or in the Air, cannot be determined by any Body. The Meaning of the Quæstion is, *Dost thou understand*

³²⁷ Pearson (3:3506). This note seems chiefly to rely on Münster's commentary reproduced in Pearson.

³²⁸ See the *In Librum Job Commentarii cum Paraphrasi* (1625) of Gaspar Sanchez (Gasparis Sanctii), p. 450.

³²⁹ Mather is referring to Gregory's *Moralium Libri, sive Expositio in Librum B. Job* (28); there are multiple variants of this passage [PL 76.447]. "Because He spoke to one who was scourged. That storm of evils, by which God scourged Job, continued indeed up to this point. Therefore, none other than the whirlwind, from which the throne spoke, was fitting to the scourging."

the {Variations?} of the Morning & Evening Twilights, which are by the greater or lesser Refractions of the Air occasioned?³³⁰

That Great Mathematician, Mr. Gregory, observes, *The Bounds of the Morning & Evening Twilights are not certain.*³³¹

[*281.*]

Q. The Meaning of, *It is turned as Clay to the Seal?* v. 14.

A. The Earth receives any Change, which God orders for it.³³²

Q. *They stand as a Garment.* What means it? v. 14.

A. Take the Sense of Grotius upon it. *Non Magis sibi constabit Impius, quam vestis versicolor. Rei solent subinde mutare Vultum et Colorem.*³³³

[*1222.*]

Q. What may bee intended by, *The Day of Battel*, against which the *Treasures of Hail* are said here to bee Reserved? v. 23.

A. The Story of the *Egyptians*, in Exod. 9.23. But why may it not also refer unto the *Day of the Battel* that *Joshua* had with the *Amorites*? If we suppose this Passage written before that Battel, why may it not be a Prophecy of it? Thus *Hannah* prophesied of the Thunder, wherewith Heaven afterwards fought against the *Philistines*.³³⁴

Indeed, this Book being probably written before any of those Events, I shall be rather satisfied with *Patrick's* Paraphrase. "I need no other Weapons than those, if I please to use them, for the Destruction of Mine Enemies."³³⁵

|

[90v]

330 Bernard Nieuwentyt (Nieuwentijdt), *The Religious Philosopher*, vol. 3, pp. 760–61. Here, God is presumed to have a grasp of Newtonian physics and optics. The translation used by Mather was from John Chamberlayne, a fellow of the Royal Society. Nieuwentijdt (1654–1718), a contemporary of Mather's, was one of the first continental proponents of Newton's law of gravity (*EE*). On Mather and Newton, see R. Smolinski's "How to Go."

331 David Gregory, *The Elements of Astronomy*, vol. 1, bk. 2, p. 227. Gregory (1659–1708) was another early adherent to Newton's views. The first, Latin, edition of the *Elements* (*Astronomiae Physicae et Geometricae Elementa*) appeared in 1702.

332 Isham, p. 159.

333 Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3523) and Grotius, *Opera Omnia* (1:217). "The impious man will not remain true to himself [agree with himself] anymore than colored clothing. The accused are accustomed to change their face and complexion frequently."

334 Mather appears to return here to his personal copy of Bolducii's *Commentaria in Librum Job* (tom. 2, p. 800), although Bolducii does not refer to the song of Hannah (1 Sam. 2). This song, however, was included in the New England Psalm Book used in many churches in Massachusetts and its application in this instance would have come easily to Mather's mind. See *The Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs* (1698), p. 22.

335 Patrick, *Job Paraphras'd*, p. 250.

[*216.*]

Q. What Constellation is that which the Lord mentions unto *Job*, under the Name of *Cesil*, by us translated, *Orion*? v. 31.

A. The same, as you find in our Translation.

You must know, that *Nimrod*, the *Mighty Hunter*, whom the Seventy Interpreters also call, *A Giant*, (and well they might, if hee were, as *Methodius* affirms, Ten Cubits high;) was in After Ages, Deified, or at least, advanced as High as the Starry Sphære; for hee was Eternized by the Designation of that Constellation, which wee now call by the Name of *Orion*. The Greeks confess this *Orion* to have been a *mighty Hunter*; and the Astronomers of *Arabia* call him, *Algebar*, that is, *A Giant*. His Posture in the Heavens, is with *Sword* and *Buckler*; & as an Intimation of his Huntsmanship, with the Skin of a Wild Beast in his Hand. The sweet Poet *Musæus* calls him ἡρᾶς οὐρανὸν ὥρωνα: and hee ha's his *Hare* at his Feet, and his Two *Dogs* behind him; yea, *Homer* tells us expressly that one of them is οὐρανὸν ὥρωνος, *Orions* cur.

Now, this Constellation tis, that is here, & elsewhere called, *Cesil*, from the great Inconstancy of the Weather, at the Astronomical Ascension thereof: and hence also the Month *Cislen*. It was therefore a Mistake of *Rab. Jonah* in *Rab. Kimchi*, to say, that by *Cesil*, is meant the Great Star, which the Arabians call *Sohel*; for *Sohel*, is not *Orion*, but the Bright Star, in *Argo-navis*.

The Chaldee Paraphrase renders *Cesil*, by / נַפְלָה / *A Giant*; which confirms the common Opinion of Interpreters, for *Orion*; or, *Nimrod*, who was called *Orion*, because that is the Chaldee plural, / אֹרִיִן / *Orin*, of / אֹר / *Or*, Light; for this Constellation ha's the most conspicuous *Lights* of Heaven in it.³³⁶

³³⁶ This identification of Nimrod with Orion is an ancient one, but Mather seems to rely here on two primary sources. The first paragraph appears to depend upon several portions of *De Theologia Gentili* (tom. 1, lib. 1, cap. 16, p. 65 and cap. 24, p. 93, as well as lib. 2, cap. 35, pp. 248–49) of Gerhard Vossius (1577–1649) (*ODR*). The concluding paragraphs of this annotation are extracted from the comments of Ludovicus Cappellus in his *Notae Criticae* on the book of Job. See Cappel, *Commentarii*, pp. 460–62. Thomas Browne (1605–82) also identifies Nimrod with Orion in passing in *Hydriotaphia* (ch. 5, p. 28). An early medieval text known as the *Apocalypse* that is now attributed to “Pseudo-Methodius” to distinguish him from the early Christian bishop, Methodius of Tyre, relates the story of Noah's fourth, post-diluvian son (Yonton), who instructed Nimrod in the astronomical sciences. See Gero's, “The Legend of the Fourth Son of Noah,” (324–26). Musæus is probably Musæus Grammaticus (6th c. CE), in whose poem, *Hero and Leander*, Orion is styled, depending upon the English translation, as “faithless,” “bright” and “raging.” This poem was tremendously popular in the 17th and 18th c., and went through numerous editions. The epithet is assigned to Orion in line 214 of the poem. “Orion's dog” appears in book 22.29 of the *Iliad*, where its effects are presented as deleterious to humans. It is noteworthy that Mather here departs from his usual and most trusted authority on links between pagan mythology and scripture, Samuel Bochart, who connects Nimrod not with Orion, but with Bacchus (*Geographia Sacra*, pars. 1, lib. 4, cap. 12, pp. 256–60). Mather probably refuses this explanation because the association of Nimrod with Orion is much older and therefore has the greater weight of authority behind it. The Hebrew word כְּסִיל [kesil], translated as Orion in the KJV, admits various interpretations. The root word means “large,

Q. Some Jewish Traditions, about the Hebrew Names of the *Stars*? v. 32.

A. *Gaffarel* in his *Curiosities*, ha's made a Collection from the Jewish Rabbis; whereof this is the Sum.

The Ancient Hebrews represented the *Stars* of Heaven, by the *Letters* of their Alphabet. And when the Letters were ended, they went on to express the rest of the *Stars*, by *Two Letters*; And by this mean they made up a Word, unto which they added a Third Letter, & so more fully perhaps expressed the Nature of the Star.

So *עש* /in the Prophet *Amos*, which *Aben Ezra* will have to be translated, *Ursa*, might be the bare Characters of that Constellation.

The Ancient Hebrews fancied not the Figures of any living Creatures in the Heavens, as we do. The *Arabians* in this imitated the Zeal of the *Hebrews*. And when they were drawn into an Imitation of the *Greeks*, yett they left out the Humane Figures. Instead of *Aquarius* they had on their Globes, a Mule with a Pannel, & a Couple of *Bundletts*. Instead of *Gemini*, they had a Couple of *Peacocks*. For *Virgo*, they had a Sheaf of Corn. For the *Centaure*, they had only an *Horse*; For *Sagittarius* only a *Quiver*; For *Andromeda*, only a *Sea-Calf*, & for *Cepheus*, only a *Dog*; and so for the rest.

The *Egyptians*, the *Persians*, the *Arabians*, and others, having introduced these Figures, the *Hebrews* were at last under a Necessity, at least of using the *Names*. And yett, where the Figures were of *Men*, they there abstained from their very *Names*. Thus, *Aquarius* is called by them, / *רלי* / *Deli*, which is a *Vessel* to take up Water with. *Sagittarius* is called / *קשת* / *Keshet*, which signifies only a *Bowe*. *Saturn* is called, / *שבתאי* / *Shabbathai*, Rest. *Jupiter*, is called, / *צדק* / *Tzedek*, Just; Because they are supposed so, who are born under his pretended Influence. *Mars* is called, / *מאדים* / *Madim*, Red; which is the Colour of the Star. *Venus* is called / *נוגה* / *Nogah*, Brightness; which is allow'd by every body. *Mercury* is called, / *כתב* / *Catab*, Writing; because this Planet forsooth is favourable to Learning.

There is but one Constellation of an Humane Figure, which ha's its Name among the Hebrews; That is *Virgo*, which they call, / *בתולה* / *Bethola*; Tho' the Rabbins often call it only, *Shiboleth*, or, *The Ear of Corn*. Of this Allowance, the Roman Catholicks make pretty Earnings.³³⁷

fat, or burly" (thus, the Targum's "giant"), but in this form it suggests unwarranted confidence, foolishness, or impiety (*TWOT*, 1011e). For more on this topic, see Maddux, "Euhemerism and Ancient Theology in Cotton Mather's 'Biblia Americana.'" See also Paolo Rossi, *The Dark Abyss of Time*, especially Part Two; Jean Seznec, *The Survival of the Pagan Gods*; and Frank Manuel, *The Eighteenth Century Confronts the Gods*.

337 Gaffarel, pp. 303–05. Jacques Gaffarel's *Unheard of Curiosities: Concerning the Talismanical Sculpture of the Persians; the Horoscopes of the Patriarkes; and the Reading of the Stars* appeared in English in 1650. Among other things, this work assumes the unorthodox position that some images prominent in Jewish history, such as Jeroboam's calves (1 Kings 12:25–33), were not in fact idols, as they were traditionally taken to be. Gaffarel's thesis is that Hebrew worship was

Q. The *Understanding* that is given to the *Heart*? v. 36.

A. The Talmudists, with the old Latin, read it, *The Cock*. A wonderful Creature, for Observing the Times!³³⁸

an esoteric science in which certain talismans, nominally idols, were complicated representations of their right worship of God, and that these talismans, including their astrological signs, possessed real, physical powers. On the whole, the book is a volley in the battle between the ancients and the moderns, as his comments at the beginning of part 2 of *Curiosities* make plain: "There is nothing in the whole businesse of Learning, which astonishes mee more, then to see, how many of the most Excellent Wits of this our Age, make it their businesse, to find fault with the Ancients, ... as if ... one can never passe for an Able man, nor appeare to be Any Body, without reprehending those which have gone before us (pp. 61–2). For more on this topic, see R. Smolinski's "Eager Imitators." According to Pierre Bayle, Gaffarel was the librarian of Cardinal Richelieu. The Cardinal, however, could not shield him from papal inquiries, and Gaffarel was censored and forced to retract certain claims made in *Curiosities*. Bayle dryly notes that even "before that time he had been exposed to many untoward suspicions, and it is highly probable he held some very peculiar opinions" (vol. 5, pp. 362–63). Much that Gaffarel wrote must have been equally suspect to Mather, but his dependence on such a source here demonstrates his appreciation of and respect for virtuosic displays of learning, even when these were patently misguided. Thus, Mather includes Gaffarel's remarks but at the same time considers them "Pretty Earnings" that were disproportionate to the actual value of the information. Mather does not continue quoting Gaffarel because he specifically disputes the idea that the "Figure, by which they [the Hebrews] expressed the Signe of *Virgo*" was a celestial prophecy of the Virgin Mary suckling the baby Jesus (pp. 305–06). I have not been able to determine where Mather might have read Gaffarel.

338 Isham, p. 162. Isham apparently did not finish his own annotations on Job, since they almost disappear from this point in Isham's own *Divine Philosophy*. There are scattered variant translations of individual words, but the more discursive notes that pepper Mather's commentary cease entirely. Mather therefore turns to other trusted sources, especially Bochart, to treat the numerous animals named in God's monologue.

Q. The Providence of God exercised about, *The Hindes?* v. 2, 3.

A. The Psalmist observes it, [Psal. XXIX.9.] and other Authors agree to it, That their *Hard Labour* among the Rocks, is Promoted, Quickened, and Releevd by God, with a Clap of Thunder; the Terror whereof putts them into such an Agony, that they presently exclude their Young that stick in the Birth.³³⁹

[*1460.*]

Q. Wee have here a Description of the *Unicorn*, and a Creature of that Name, is often mention'd in our Translation of the Sacred Oracles. I pray, what *Creature* was it? v. 9.

A. That Creature, is a very *Romance*; there is no such Creature in the World, as that which we paint for an *Unicorn*. As for the *Rhinoceros*, the Description of the / רֶאֶם / *Reem*, (which we translate the *Unicorn*,) in the Sacred Oracles, does not belong unto it. When both Ancient and Modern Writers, have laboured never so much, in describing their *Monoceros*, or *Unicorn*, (following of *Ctesias*, the First Inventer of the Fable, as *Pliny*, and *Solinus*, and *Ælian*, and others do,) it must be one with the Fabulous Creatures of the Poets; the *Sphinx*, the *Chimæra*'s, the *Cerberus*, the *Lamia*'s, the *Gorgons*, & the *Sirens*. And therefore the Writers of Natural History, who have countenanced this Fable, have well carried on the Humour, with a fabulous Tradition, That the *Unicorn* was never to be taken *Alive*; We may add, as *Bochart* Ironically does, Nor *Dead* neither.³⁴⁰ The learned *Bootius*, ha's abundantly confuted the Fable of the *Unicorn*; & brought the most Inquisitive Travellers, of his Friends in the *Indies*, to assist him in the Confutation, who all prospered no better in their Enquiries after the *Unicorn*, than *Lucian* when he enquired after the *Amber-folks* on the Banks of *Padus*. As for the pretended *Horns* of *Unicorns*, that are shown here and there, *Bellonius* ha's demonstrated them | to be no other than the Teeth of *Whales*.³⁴¹

[92v]

³³⁹ This is a loose paraphrase of Caryl's *Exposition with Practical Observations*, p. 321. The "other naturalists," according to Caryl, range from Pliny's *Natural History* (8.32), to Aristotle's *De Historia Animalium* (9.5), to Cicero's *De Natura Deorum* (2).

³⁴⁰ In this entry, Mather threads together two widely separated chapters of Bochart's *Hiero-zoicon*. The first, to this point, is a summary from Bochart's book on fabulous animals named in English translations of scripture (pars. 2, lib. 6, cap. 12, cols. 843–44). Ctesias (b. 5th c. BCE) was a Greek physician and historian to Artaxerxes Mnemon (*OCD*). Fragments of Ctesias's writings *Persica* and *Indica* are preserved in the works of Athenaeus, Plutarch, and Diodorus Siculus. His reports of unicorns are contained in the *Indica*. רֶאֶם [rem] is translated as "wild ox" in the ESV, but as "unicorn" in the KJV.

³⁴¹ See *De aquatilibus* (1553), lib. 1, pp. 15–17.

But then, *Bootius* fails in his Attempt, when he goes to prove the *Reem* (or, our pretended *Unicorn*) to be the *Urus*; for that *Wild-bull*, was an utter Stranger to those Parts of the World, where *Job*, and *Moses*, and *David* lived; and it is not likely that so frequent Comparisons and Allusions, would be made unto an unknown *Animal*.

After all, the most learned *Bochart* proves, from the Consent of *Arabic*, and *Chaldaic*, and ancient *Hebrew* monuments, That the *Reem* does belong unto the *Goat-kind*. He proves, That there was a Creature, very common in *Arabia*, and thereabouts, (and scarce known any where else,) to which all the Descriptions of the *Reem*, do admirably answer. It is a Creature that makes famous Work for the Hunters; but of such force, & mettle, & courage, that it putts the Hunters unto much Trouble & some Danger, to conquer it. It is very little different from the *Oryx*, described frequently in the Books of the Philosophers.

Oppian particularly,

Εστι δε τοις δρυμοισι παρεστιος, οξυκερος θηρ,

Αγριοθυμος ορυξ, κρυερος θηρεσσι μαλιστα.

Est quædam saltibus familiaris, Acuto cornu fera,

*Sævus oryx, feris maximè horrendus.*³⁴²

The Creature ha's *Two Horns*. And that so I may no longer allow you, so much as the very Name of an *Unicorn*, we find the *Reem* expressly wearing *Two Horns*, or *Horns* in the *Dual Number*: Deut. 33.17. The Two Tribes of *Ephraim* and *Menasseh*, were the *Two Horns*, on the account whereof *Joseph* is compared unto this *Animal*. Compare Psal. 22.21.

It is a Passage, twice occurring in the Prophecies of *Balaam*, about *Israel*; Num. 23.22. and, 24.8. *Hee hath as it were the Strength of an Unicorn*. Read it rather, *The Elevations of the Reem*, (or, Arabian Wild-goat,) As Intimation, That *Israel* should be as Eminent among the Peoples of the Earth, as the *Reem* is among the Kinds of *Goats* in the World. Unless you will rather take it Thus. The *Reem* ha's a Peculiar Disposition to lift up, his Ears and Horns, & Head; His Action this way is called by the *Arabians*, *Elatio του Rim*. Thus the People of *Israel*, which had lain down oppressed under their *Egyptian* Servitude, being delivered by God, & Redeemed into Liberty, they *Lifted up* themselves by Degrees, into a Glorious Eminence.³⁴³

[93r] | [blank]

³⁴² *Oppian* of Apamea (fl. 3rd c. CE) was the author of a Greek poem on hunting, the *Cynagetica*, dedicated to the Emperor Caracalla (*OCD*). This remark on the fierceness of the *Oryx* occurs in 2:445–46. A. W. Mair translates these lines as: “There is a certain sharp-horned beast that dwells in the thickets, even the fierce *Oryx*, most formidable to wild beasts.”

³⁴³ The remainder of this remark occurs mostly at the beginning of the chapter on the *oryx* and related creatures (pars. 1, lib. 3, cap. 27, cols. 948–51). *Bootius* is Arnold Bootius (c. 1600–c. 1653), or Arnold de Boot (Boate). The work alluded to is *Animadversiones Sacrae ad Textum Hebraicum Veteris Testamenti* (1644), lib. 3, cap. 1, pp. 12–3.

| [**]

[94v]

Q. The Description of the *Ostrich*, in our Translation begins thus: *Gavest thou the Goodly Wings unto the Peacocks? Or Wings & Feathers unto the Ostrich?* Should it be thus translated? v. 13.³⁴⁴

A. The Pride of the *Peacock* is not in his *Wings*, but in his *Tail*. And *Bochart* shewes, That the *Peacock* which was not known in *Palestine*, until the *Dayes* [of] *Solomon*, (as not in *Greece*, till very long after,) was also unknown in *Arabia* in the Time of *Job*; and it is probable, the Almighty would not here insist on any Creatures, but such as *Job* was himself acquainted with.

It is demonstrated by *Bochart*, That / רִנְנִים / *Renanim*, are no other than *Ostriches*, the very Animals that are now going to be described. And the / חֲסִידָה / *Chasidah*, which we render the *Ostrich*, is, the *Stork*; nor ever was it, since the World began, to be rendred otherwise.³⁴⁵

The Verse is then to be Read thus; *The Wing of the Ostrich lifts up itself, truly the Wing as of the Stork & its Feather*. You must know, the *Ostrich* is a *Bird* and no *Bird*; for, as the Philosopher saies, *Quædam habet Avis, quædam Quadrupedis propria*.³⁴⁶ It is not a *Beast*, because it ha's *Wings*. It is not a *Bird*, because its *Wings* are unable to *Fly*. And there are many other Mixtures in this *Animal*. For which Cause *Diodorus* when he speaks of *Arabia*, describes this *Animal*, as Half *Goose*, Half *Camel*; concluding, Χερσαίον αμα φαίνεσθαι και πτηνόν, *Terrestrem*

³⁴⁴ The answer is culled from *Bochart*, *Hieroicoicon*, pars. 2, lib. 2, cap. 16, cols. 238–39, and 248–49. This discussion occurs in full in *Bochart's* book on “De Immundis Avibus” (Unclean Birds) and the chapter on disputed translations of Job 39:13 (39:16 in the Geneva Bible, the translation *Bochart* particularly disagrees with on this point). *Mather* draws most heavily from columns 248 and 249, though he also copies *Bochart's* introduction to the chapter. The variant translation of this verse, followed by the editors of the King James Bible as well as the Geneva committee, depended upon Latin interpretations of the Chaldee paraphrast, which substituted cock for ostrich and ostrich for stork. Among other evidences, *Bochart* also cites the misreading of “heart” for “cock” or “rooster” in Job 38:36 (col. 239). There he specifically identifies the Talmudists only referenced generally by *Isham* (see note above). Throughout this chapter, as in much of *Hieroicoicon*, *Bochart* is probably relying on *Conrad Gesner's Historiæ Animalium* (1551–58), in this case, book 3, on the chapter “de Struthocamelo.”

³⁴⁵ רִנְנִים [renanim] (Strong's # 7443) is more generally a bird with a piercing cry. In fact [renen] probably does apply to the sound or screech of the ostrich, or to the grating sound of its wings flapping. The bird referred to is the Arabian Ostrich (*Struthio Camelus Syriacus*), an extinct subspecies which ranged over the Arabian Peninsula and the Near East. חֲסִידָה [chasidah] (Strong's # 2624) is a stork, called by *Pliny* in *Natural History* the pious bird (10.28) from the love it exhibits toward its young. *Arabians*, however, as *Job* implies, call the female ostrich an impious bird on account of her “neglect” of her young – a reference to the way in which she buried her eggs in the sand. As *BDB's* entry for חֲסִידָה notes, *Bochart's* proposed translation, which is followed by the best modern editions, is that “The wing of the ostrich exults, but (is her) wing and feather (also) pious? i.e., but she is not (like the stork) pious or affectionate towards her young, but she treats them cruelly (vv. 14–6).”

³⁴⁶ *Aristotle*, *De Partibus Animalium* (4.14): “It has some of the characteristics of a bird, some of the characteristics of a quadruped.”

*simul, et Volucrem videri.*³⁴⁷ Pliny sais, Tis, *penè Bestiarum generis*;³⁴⁸ and Tertul-
 lian, *Bestia quædam magis quam Avis*.³⁴⁹ The Arabians therefore make it a Proverb
 for a Man of Inconsistencies, *Struthio neque Avis, neque Camelus est*.³⁵⁰ For this
 Cause the *Ostrich* is here, in the Speech to *Job* described among the *Quadrupeds*.

Nevertheless, it is mention'd as an Agreeable Intimation in the Beginning
 of its Character; *For all this, it ha's True Wings and Feathers*. But why are its
Feathers compared unto those of the *Stork* by name, rather than any other? The
 Answer is, Its *Feathers* in the Colour of them, resemble those of the *Stork* more
 than of any other *Bird*. Thus *Marmolius*, observes; It ha's Feathers both Black
 and White, *como las de la Cigüeña, Like those of the Stork*.³⁵¹ And *Scaliger* telling
 how all the African Merchants painted out the *Ostrich* unto him, concludes,
Quod ut melius intelligerem, Ciconiæ Colori comparabant.³⁵²

Q. The *Ostrich leaving her Eggs in the Earth?* v. 14.

A. *Munster* mentions a good Reason for it; *cum Corporis ejus pondere, facile ova
 comminuerentur*.³⁵³

[95r]

Q. Our Translation of the Description given of the *Horse*, is there nothing to
 be corrected in it? v. 19.

A. He that would see Notable Illustrations upon every Article in the Descrip-
 tion here given of the *Horse*, fetched especially from the ancient Poets, may
 consult the most learned *Bochart*.

But assisted by the Notes of that Prodigy for Learning, we will take the
 Liberty here only to correct a few Articles, in our Translation of the Description.

That Passage,

Hast thou cloathed his Neck with Thunder?

³⁴⁷ *Library of History*, 2.50.4: "It has the appearance of a land animal as well as a bird."

³⁴⁸ Pliny, *Natural History* (10.1): "almost in the nature of a beast."

³⁴⁹ *De Virginibus Velandis* (17.8) [PL 2.913]: "a certain animal more beast than bird." This
 statement in Tertullian's work on *The Veiling of Virgins* comes in the context of the chapter
 entitled, in English, "An Appeal to Married Women," and beseeches them to not be like the
 ostrich that, while secure with her head buried in the sand, is bare in her larger parts.

³⁵⁰ "The Ostrich is neither a bird nor a camel."

³⁵¹ *Marmolius* is Luis de Mármol Carvajal (1520–1600), a Spanish chronicler and Arabic
 scholar (*EAH*). This remark occurs in his *Primera Parte de la Descripción General de Affrica*
 (1573), lib. 1, cap. 22, fo. 30.

³⁵² "That this might be better understood, they were compared to the color of storks." Julius
 Caesar Scaliger, or Giulio Cesare del la Scala, (1484–1558) was an Italian scholar and physician
 and father to Joseph Justus Scilaiger (*ODR*). The reference is to *Exercitatio* 230, folio 302 in
 his *Exotericarum Exercitationum* (1557), a response to Jerome Cardan's *De Subtilitate Libri XXI*
 (1550), often called *De Subtilitate Rerum*.

³⁵³ Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3530): "since, by the weight of its body, the eggs were easily
 crushed."

The Eminent *Bootius* refutes this Translation of it. He shoves, That the Vessel emitting the Voice of the *Horse*, which the Interpreters would here compare to *Thunder*, is not / צוֹאֵר / the *Neck*, but / גֵּרוֹן / the *Throat*. Hee adds, That *Cloathing* of one with a *Voice*, would be a very harsh *Catechresis*. *Bochart* thinks, both of *Boots* Exceptions may be answered; but he thinks, there is a Third, which appears more unanswerable; Namely, That the *Neighing* of an *Horse*, was never compared unto *Thunder*, nor would there be any Likelihood in the Comparison. In *Virgil*, the *Hinnime*, is, *Acutus*. And *Hesiod* saies, ὄξεια χρέμισαν, *Acutè hinniverunt*.³⁵⁴

Bochart therefore shoves, That the Hebrew Word, / רַעְמָה / *Raama*, used here, is to be rendred, not, *Thunder*, but, *A Main*. *Xenophon* a Pagan, writes, That by God, there is given to the *Horse*, ἀγλαΐας ἕνεκα χαίτης, *For Ornaments Sake, A Main*. And the Phrase of *Cloathing*, is very proper here; according to that of *Ovid*;

Turpis equus, nisi colla Jubæ flaventia velent.
velent, i. e. vestiant.

Hee thinks also, that the Word φόβον, used by the LXX here, should be corrected, φόβην, which also signifies, *A Main*.³⁵⁵

In all the Poetical Descriptions of the *Horse*, our *Bochart* shoves, that his *Main*, makes a main stroke; he quotes at least a Dozen of them.

The Word / רַעַם / *Raam*, signifies, *To be High*: And the Place of the *Horses Main*, agrees well enough with it.³⁵⁶

That Passage,

Canst thou make him afraid as a Grasshopper?

Bochart shoves, it should be rendred, *Canst thou make him Leap*, (or, *Dance*), *like a Locust*? The prancing *Horses*, whereof we read, Jer. 51.27 the *Chaldee* Paraphrase thus mentions, *Quorum Equi ascendunt saltantes ut Locustæ*. It refers

354 Mather is, of course, summarizing *Bochart*'s argument in *Hieroicoicon*, pars. 1, lib. 2, cap. 8, col. 118. The reference to *Bootius* is to *Animadversiones Sacrae*, bk 3, ch. 6, pp. 59–60. See also Cappel's *Commentarii et Notae Criticae in Vetus Testamentum* (1689), p. 465. The reference to *Virgil* is to the *Georgics* (3.94), where Saturn, in love with *Philyra*, changed himself into a horse in order to elude to his wife and "with a shrill neigh filled the heights of *Pelion*" (trans. Fairclough). *Hesiod* in *The Shield of Hercules* (345), writes of the "shrill neighing" of the horses of *Cycnus* and *Ares*. De *Boot*'s argument is that צוֹאֵר [tsavva'r] or neck already carries within it the suggestion of גֵּרוֹן [garown] or throat.

355 *Bochart*, *Hieroicoicon*, pars. 1, lib. 2, cap. 8, cols 118–19; *Xenophon*, in *The Art of Horsemanship* (5.8), writes that "the mane, forelock and tail have been given to the horse by the gods as an ornament." *Ovid*, in the *Metamorphoses* (13.848) on *Acis* and *Galatea*, remarks that "every horse, unless a mane covers (or clothes) its tawny neck" is unsightly. רַעְמָה [ra'mah] is a "trembling," a poetic figure for the mane of a horse.

356 רַעַם [ra'am] is a primitive root that denotes a violent agitation; thus this word is used as a peal of thunder in, for example, 1 Sam. 2:10: "The adversaries of the LORD shall be broken to pieces; out of heaven shall he thunder upon them."

to the stately *Prancing* of the *Horse* (notably described by *Xenophon*,) to which the Poet may refer, in his,

Equitem docuere sub Armis

[96v] *Insultare Solo, et gressus glomerare superbos.*³⁵⁷ |

That Passage,

He swalloweth the Ground.

Bochart contends a little with his learned Friend about it; and that it may very well be understood, of the *Swiftness*, with which the *Horse* advances to the *Battel*, [and of a *Battel* begun, with such *swift Advances*, he also gives many Instances,] even such a *Swiftness*, as to leave & lose the Sight of the Ground which is passed over, (as the *Sight* of what is *Devoured* is Lost,) he demonstrates, from the *Arabian* Writers and Lexicons, to whose Language, the Book of *Job*, is conformed. A *Swift Horse*, is called by them, *Terram Vorans*: and in them we read of, *Velox, et Acer Equus, quasi deglutiens Terram.*³⁵⁸

I'll add no more, but only a pretty *Etymology*, that *Bochart* ha's litt upon. He saies, with the Hebrewes and Syrians, / פג / *Pag*, or / פגא / *Pega*, is a *Bridle*; and / סוס / *Sus*, we all know is an *Horse*. Behold then, the English of the famous, *Pegasus*; tis as much as, A *Bridled Horse*.

Paras also is, *An Horse*; and (oftener) an *Horseman*. The *Persians* have their Name from hence. And *Perseus*, the Spark so famous, for a Cavalier among the old Pagans, was in English, *An Horseman*. And the *Wings* with which that Blade was furnished in his *Heels*, were no other than the *Spurs* invented by him.

As for *Bellerophon*, the Rider of *Pegasus*, he was no other than / בעל הרובין / *Baal harovin*, i. e. *Magister, vel præfectus Jaculatorum.*³⁵⁹

357 *Bochart, Hierozoicon*, pars. 1, lib. 2, cap. 8, cols 121–22. The Chaldee paraphrast on Jer. 51:27 writes that “these horses go up dancing like the locust.” The quotation from “the Poet” refers to Virgil’s *Georgics* (3.116–17), where the Thessalians are credited with having taught the “horseman in armor to leap over the ground in proud steps.”

358 *Bochart, Hierozoicon*, pars. 1, lib. 2, cap. 8, cols. 142–43. *Bochart*’s learned friend is *Bootius*: “A swift and ardent horse, as if swallowing the earth.”

359 *Bochart, Hierozoicon*, pars. 1, lib. 2, cap. 6, cols. 98–9: “The master or commander of the javelin-throwers.”

Q. What Animal may be intended by the *Behemoth*? And how is the Description of this *Behemoth*, to be translated & understood? v. 15.

A. The *Behemoth* ha's commonly been taken to be the *Elephant*; but the admirable *Bochart* ha's demonstrated, that it is, the *Hippopotamus*, or the *River-Horse*, an *Amphibious Animal*, (fitly therefore joined with the *Leviathan*) frequent in the *Nile*, whereof *Herodotus* affirms, *That it is as big as the biggest Oxe*; and *Diodorus*, That it is *no less than Five Cubits in Dimension*; and *Achilles Tattius*, That it is in Shape like an *Horse*, το δε μεγεθος ως τριπλασιον, *sed magnitudine Tripla*.³⁶⁰ And *Vincentius* makes no Scruple to say, *Hippopotamus est bellua in Terrâ nascens, equaliter potens Elephantibus, plerumque major*.³⁶¹ And in the Epistle to *Aristotle* fathered upon *Alexander*, it is said, *Majores Elephantorum Corpore, Hippopotami inter profundos aquarum gurgites emersi apparuerunt*.³⁶²

Behomah signifies no more than a vast Four-footed Creature. Now tho' we should grant unto *Mercer* and others, that the Name is confined unto *Terrestrials*, (which is denied by the *Arabians*, who teach, *Albahima, omne animal quadrupes, etiamsi in aquis degat*;) yett it will not exclude the *Hippopotamus*, which *Diodorus* makes to be as much χερσαιον as ποταμιον, & which ha's more a *Terrestrial* figure & nature, than any other *Aquatil* whatsoever. Briefly, as *Behemoth* is not the *Plural Number*, but the *Egyptian* termination of the *Singular*, so we may suppose, that the *Hippopotamus*, an *Egyptian Animal*, is thus express'd unto us, in the *Egyptian Dialect*.³⁶³

³⁶⁰ Achilles Tattius is an obscure 2nd c. CE author. Very little is known of him, though he is referred to in the *Suda* and by Photius (in both of which he is identified as Achilles Statius or Staios) (*OCD*). The reference is to his sole surviving work, *Leucippe and Clitophon* 4.2. *Bochart* depended upon the edition of Claude Saumaise (1640) bk. 4, p. 221. Both the Latin and Greek transcriptions here note that the hippopotamus is like a horse, "but triple in size."

³⁶¹ Vincentius is Jacob (or James) of Vitry (Jacques de Vitry or Jacobus de Vitriaco) (d. 1240), author of *Historia Orientalis et Occidentalis* (1597), pars. 1, cap. 88, p. 182: "The hippopotamus is a beast born on the ground, as powerful as the elephants, often greater."

³⁶² This letter, which purports to relate Alexander's travels in India to his old tutor, was already recognized as a forgery in the early modern period, as Mather's wording suggests. An Anglo-Saxon version of this letter also appears in the *Beowulf* manuscript but *Bochart* or his source likely read the work in one of several editions of the biography of Alexander written originally by Quintus Curtius Rufus (5th c. CE), to which the spurious epistle was usually appended. See, for example, *De Rebus Gestis Alexandri Magni: Libri 10* (1565), p. 417. This work observes, "larger in body than elephants, the hippopotami have been seen to emerge from deep whirlpools of water."

³⁶³ *Bochart*, *Hieroicozon*, pars. 2, lib. 5, cap. 15, cols. 754–56. For the opinion of *Mercer*, see *Thesaurus Linguae Sanctae*, cols 220–21. Mather provides a loose translation of the Greek. The Latin reads, "*Albahima*, all quadrupeds, even if living in the water." *Al-bahima* (Arabic transliteration) is the Arabic cognate of the Heb.: בְּהֵמָה [behemah] "animals in general; four-footed animals; wild animals; cattle."

But lett us proceed unto particular Articles in the Description.

15. *The Behemoth which I have made* (not, *with thee*, but) *near thee*.] q.d. I need not go far; tis in the *Nile*, not far from thy *Arabia*.

He eats Grass as an Oxe.] It would be no Wonder for a Creature so like an *Oxe* as an *Elephant* so to do; but for an Animal to come up from the Bottom of the *Nile* (as the *Hippopotamus* does) & feed upon *Grass like an Oxe*, this is wonderful! *Diodorus* accordingly mentions it, and *Nicander* the Poet, sings of it. Nor is the Name of an *Oxe* introduced here, without good Occasion; for the *Italians* call this Creature, *Bomarin*, the *Sea-Ox*, and *Gesner* and *Bellonius*, and *Alcisius Cadamuistus*, and *Leo Africanus*, & others, will entertain you with more about it.

16. – *His Force is in the Navel of his Belly*.] This will by no means agree with the *Elephant*, whereof both *Pliny* and *Solinus* take notice, that he is, *Ventri Molle*. Such is the Tenderness of the *Elephant* in his *Belly*, that the *Rhinoceros* effectually encounters him there. Yea, there is a little *Water-Gnatt*, called, *Jatthus*, by the Hebrewes, & by the Græcians *εμπις*, which is terrible to the *Elephant*, for the Assaults which it there makes upon him. You know likewise the Story of *Eleazar* in the *Maccabees*. But now the *Hippopotamus*, is, in this part Impenetrable. His Hide here is of that *Solidness* and *Spissitude*, that it was wrought into *Darts* and *Spears*; which the Philosopher calls, *Δόρατα*,³⁶⁴ and the Historian, *ξυστα ακοντια*, *Rasilia Tela*.³⁶⁵

17. *He moveth his Tail, which is like a Cedar*.] The *Hippopotamus* ha's a *Tail*, short, & round, and *like a Cedar* for the strength & smoothness of it. Now, that he should be able to move it, & that it should be *Tortilis*, like that of an *Hog*, this is an Argument of more than ordinary *Strength* in him.

The Sinewes of his Thighs are wrapt together.] So *Bochart* reads it. That of, *Stones*, is but a secondary Signification of the Word. Of the *Hippopotamus* they affirm, that with one of his Legs, hee will break a Good Boat all to peeces, & sink it. Such are the *Sinewes of his Thighs*!

19. *He is the Chief of the Wayes of God*.] Or, the {first?} of the Works of God in this Kind. He was created on the *Fifth Day*, the Day before all the Four-footed Creatures, that yett are his Brethren. Or, He is one of the principal Works of God, a Work of the first & cheef Rank; *un Chef d'œuvre de Dieu*, as a French Version ha's it. His notable Qualities, with *Sagacity*, (celebrated by *Pliny*, who

³⁶⁴ Δόρατα [dorata] are spears.

³⁶⁵ ξυστα ακοντια [xysta akontia] are “polished javelins.” On the softness of the elephant's belly (ventri molle), see *Pliny, Natural History* (8.10). Gaius Julius Solinus (fl. 4th c. CE) was the author of *Polyhistor* (sometimes called *De Mirabilibus Mundi*), a work that drew heavily from *Pliny (EB)*. He writes of the elephant in chapter 25. The story of *Eleazar* slaying an elephant by creeping beneath it and thrusting a spear into its belly (which then collapsed and crushed the Maccabee) is in *1 Macc. 6:43–6*. Aristotle writes of the toughness of the hippopotamus's hide and its use in making spears in *Historia Animalium* 2.7. Herodotus, the original of all the classical accounts of the hippopotamus, makes the same point in the *History*, 2.71.

calls him, *Medendi Magistrum*) added unto the rest, render him worthy to be called so.³⁶⁶

He that made him, ha's applied a Scymeter to him.] Ἀρπη, *Harpe*, is the proper Word, for the Hebrew, *Hereb*, here; the *Falcatus Ens*.³⁶⁷ The *Hippopotamus* is admirably furnished, with such a *Scymeter*, in his *Tooth*, which is made *Scythe*-fashion, Sharp, Long, Bending, wherewith he cutts down all Herbs before him. Thus *Nicander* ha's it of him,

Βοσκει, αρουρησιν δε κακην επιβαλλεται Αρπην.

*Pascit, et Harpen sic damnosam immittit in Agros.*³⁶⁸

And *Nonnus*³⁶⁹ ha's Passages not much unlike to This.³⁷⁰

[20. Surely, the Mountains bring him forth Food.] This is the Reason, why the *Hippopotamus* must be armed with such a *Sword*! And this is a marvellous Thing, that a *Water-Animal* should visit the Mountains for his *Food*, where all the Beasts of the Field play! The Hills and Heaps, about the Banks of *Nilus*, are here called *Mountains*. Yea, there were proper *Mountains*, near the *Nilotic* Habitations of the *Hippopotamus*; there was *Casius*, near *Pelusium*; and another near *Memphis* mentioned by *Herodotus*, which *Eustathius* calls *Sinopion*; and there was *Nitria*, near *Scetis*; and another near the *Ostium Heracleoticum*, which is mention'd by *Heliodorus*. *Quere*, How far the *Hippopotamus* may agree with the Creature in the Northern Seas, called, *Morss*, by the *Muscovites*; whereof Historians (as *Matthias à Michou*, and *Sigismund*, and *Leonardus Nogarola*,) relate, That they resemble *Oxen*, and have Short *Legs*, and Large *Teeth*, like *Ivory*, and that, *Hoc animal oceano relicto gregatim montes petit*.³⁷¹ [98v]

366 Bochart appears to refer here to book 8, chapters 39 and 40 of the *Natural History*. In the former, the hippopotamus is said to decide beforehand what part of a field of wheat it will eat, and then to enter the area backwards in order to avoid an ambush. In the latter chapter, the animal is reported to bleed itself when it has overgorged on food, thus it is “medendi magistrum,” a master of healing.

367 A sickle, or shaped like a sickle.

368 Nicander of Colophon (2nd c. BCE) was a Greek physician, poet, and author of numerous works (*OCD*). This remark on the grazing of the hippopotamus occurs in one of his most famous texts, *Theriaca* (567). This work on antidotes to poison and its companion, *Alexipharmaca*, were frequently republished in the early modern period. One of the most common editions was the Greek and Latin text prepared by Jean de Gorris (1557), although Bochart appears not to be using that particular version: “He grazes, and thus plunges his destructive scimitar into the fields.”

369 Nonnus of Panopolis (4th or 5th c. CE) was the author of the epic *Dionysiaca* (*ODCC*). He writes about the sharp teeth of the hippopotamus in book 26 of that work.

370 Bochart, *Hieroicoicon*, pars. 2, lib. 5, cap. 15, cols. 762–69.

371 This catalogue of mountains near the Nile relies not only on the *History* of Herodotus (2), but on the commentary of Eustathius of Thessalonica (1115–c. 1195) on *De Situ Habitabilis Orbis*, a geography written by the 2nd c. BCE Greek Dionysius of Alexandria, also called Periegetes (the Guide), and on Heliodorus of Emesa, the 3rd c. CE, author of a work entitled the *Aethiopica* (1). Matthias à Michou or Miechowa (1457–1523), a priest from Krakow, wrote an early work on Poland and Russia in 1517, *Descriptio Sarmatarum Asianae et Europianae* (in Lach, trans., vol. 2, bk. 3, p. 516). Bochart cites lib. 1, cap. 14 of this text. Sigismund of

21. *He Lieth – in the Covert of the Reed.*] So saies Marcellinus of the *Hippopotamus*. *Inter Arundines Celsas et squalentes nimiâ densitate, hæc Bellua, cubilibus positis.* – And Bellonius, *Vivit Arundinibus, et Cannis sacchari, et foliis Papyri Herbæ.* Possibly, the *Beast of Reeds*, [in Psal. 68.31.] may be the *Hippopotamus*; a Type of his Countrey-men, the *Egyptians*, whom the *Chaldee* will have to be there meant, because immediately there follows the mention of the *Bulls* and *Calves*, which were worshipped by the *Egyptians*.³⁷²

22. *The shady Trees cover him with their Shadow; the Willowes of Nilus Compass him about.*] A Traveller gives this Account of the *Hippopotamus*; *Versantur ut plurimum, circa littora fruticosa aut sylvosa, et hominibus insidiantur, quos comprehensos vorant.* But as for the / נחל / *The Torrent*, whose *Willowes* are here mention'd, Bochart shewes that this Name is in many other Scriptures peculiarly putt for *Nilus*. Thus, Num. 34.5. where *Jonathan*, & the *Jerusalem-Interpreter* expressly Read it, / נילוס / *Nilus*. And Josh. 15.4, 47. 1. King. 8.65. 2. King. 24.7. 2. Chron. 7.8. Isa. 27.12. Indeed the Word / נחל / the ancients pronounced, νεῆλ. So you have it in *Epiphanius*. Of *Neel* they made it, Νεῖλος. And, *Nilus Torrens*, is often mention'd in the *Poets*.³⁷³

23. *Behold, Lett a River press upon him, he feareth not; he will be secure, tho' Jordan breaking forth come on upon his Mouth.*] Bochart shewes, that *River*, and *Jordan*, have no Note of the Accusative Case attending them; and that the Expression of *Drinking up a River*, and of *Drawing up a Jordan*, is too hard an *Hyperbole* to be supposed in such a Divine Speech as is now before us, and much more hard than the most *Hyperbolical* that ever any of the *Poets* ventured upon. Or if you could allow the *Hyperbole*, yett he shewes, that the Hebrew Terms will

Herberstein (1486–1566) penned a work on the the principality of Muscovy entitled *Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii* (1551). The quotation at the end of this paragraph is extracted from that volume, p. 124: “This animal, having left the sea behind, seeks the mountains.” Leonardus (Leonardo) Nogarola (fl. 15th century) was an Italian theologian. Bochart, however, is citing Scaliger’s *Exotericarum Exercitationum*, Exer. 218, sec. 4, fol. 289.

372 Ammianus Marcellinus (c. 325–c. 390) was the author of *Res Gestae* (*Rerum gestarum Libri XXXI*), one of the final histories written during the late Roman period. This quotation is from *Res Gestae* (22.15.22). The Loeb translation of this passage reads, “this monster makes its lair amid a thick growth of high and rough reeds” (291). In this passage on the hippopotamus, Marcellinus copies the opinions of Pliny and Solinus, including those reports of how the animal avoids hunters and relieves gastric distress. For Pierre Belon, see note 175 above. Belon’s remark is that “he lives off of reeds, sugar cane and the leaves of the papyrus plant.”

373 This account from a navigator “Auctor Hamburgensis” in 1549 can be found in Conrad Gesner’s *Historiae Animalium Liber III* (1558), p. 498: “They stay as much as possible around shores or banks overgrown with bushes or woods, and they lie in wait for men, whom they capture and devour.” Epiphanius is the name of several early Christian writers. Bochart may be referring to Epiphanius of Salamis (c. 310–403). נחל [nachal] is sometimes translated as river (e.g., Num. 34:5), sometimes as torrent, and sometimes, as in Job 40:22, as brook. Although [nachal] naturally bears some etymological similarity to נילוס [Nilus], it is not likely that the river of the Behemoth is necessarily the Nile. The word used for the Nile in Hebrew scripture is יאר [yeor], a loan-word that denotes “shining” or “bright.” Thus, the Nile is the “bright river.” See, for instance, Gen. 41:1.

by no means admitt of such a Translation as wee commonly, (after the *Jewes*;) have putt upon them. Whereas, in this our New Translation, all runs along with the Greatest Agreeableness imaginable. Only *Jordan*, being a, *Well-known River*, is to be taken for *Any River*. As for the *Elephant*, if he don't keep his Trunk above Water, hee is gone. But the *Hippopotamus*, is not afraid for to ly down in the Bottom of a River; he can lye there without Suffocation, for diverse *whole Dayes* together. Tis true, he can't *Swim*, (as *Nonnus*, who is not the most Accurate Writer in the World, represents him;) nevertheless the Account which *Diodorus* gives of him is right, *He lies whole Dayes in the Waters*, γυμναζομενον κατα βαθους, *Tumbling at the Bottom*, & at night grazes abroad about the Countrey.³⁷⁴

24. *In his Sight, who shall take him, & with Hooks pierce thro' his Nose?* With *Open Force*, there is no Taking of him, it seems. He is rarely taken, but with *Tricks* and *Snares*. Thus *Eustathius*, Απατη δε θηραται τοιαυτη, *Hoc autem Dolo capitur*. *Tatius* tells how. *Albertus* and *Vincentius*, provide for him, nothing less than a *Nett of Iron*; and *Iron Mauls* they make necessary to kill him, *propter pellis Crassitudinem*. *Diodorus* tells us, There must be a πολυχειρια, to take him; it requires, *Many Hands*.³⁷⁵

|
[*2804.*]

[99r]

Q. The *Behemoth*, How came the Ancients to understand so generally, the *Divel*, as here intended by the *Behemoth*? v. 15.³⁷⁶

³⁷⁴ For *Nonnus*, see note above. *Diodorus Siculus* writes of how the hippopotamus spends its days “exercising in deep water” in his *Library* (1.35.9).

³⁷⁵ Pseudo-Eustathius of Antioch composed a commentary on the Hexameron sometime in the late 4th or 5th century, to which Bochart refers (*ODCC*). It appeared in 1629, with extensive Latin notations. Migne reproduces it in the *Patrologia Graeca* [PG 18.707–94]: “but by this trick he is captured.” For Achilles Tatius, Vincentius and *Diodorus* see notes above. Albertus Magnus (c. 1200–80) was a Dominican bishop and is best known as the tutor of Thomas Aquinas and one of only 33 doctors of the Roman Catholic Church. One of the first western Christians to reappropriate the study of Aristotle, Albert is also remembered for his attempts to reconcile science and religious doctrine (*ODCC*). Among his many works was *De Animalibus*, to which Bochart here refers. Bochart, *Hieroicoicon*, pars. 2, lib. 5, cap. 16, cols. 769–72. Bochart, *Hieroicoicon*, pars. 2, lib. 5, cap. 16, cols. 769–72: “because of the thickness of his hide.”

³⁷⁶ The ultimate source of this note is the *Bibliorum Sacrorum cum Glossa Ordinaria* (3:399–404). This work, which appeared in several editions in the 17th century (Harvard's copy during Mather's lifetime was printed in Douai in 1617), is a remarkable text that is really a threading together of two separate works: the *Glossa Ordinaria* (attributed before the 20th century to Walafrius Strabus, or Strabo, who lived during the 9th c.) and the *Postillae Perpetuae* of Nicholas of Lyra (Nicholaus Lyranus). The Ordinary Glosses were a collection of mainly patristic commentaries on scriptures. The *Postillae* of Lyra (c. 1270–1349), a Franciscan monk and teacher at the Sorbonne, were so called because of Lyra's placement of his own commentary *post illa* (after the words) of the scriptural text itself (*ODCC*). In printed versions of the text, Lyra's *postillae* are keyed to scripture that is printed in the middle of the page and the actual exposition surrounds the text. When this technique is combined with the Ordinary Glosses, the effect appears vaguely Talmudic: the scripture appears in the middle top center of the page;

A. It was from that Passage, v. 19. *He is the Chief of the Wayes of God*. Hereupon *Lyra* affords this Note; *Hoc interponitur ad intelligendum, quòd ea quæ dicuntur hic, de Dæmone intelliguntur, sub Metaphorâ Elephanti. Est enim Dæmon, Principium Viarum Dei, quia inter Creaturas Angelica est prima, et inter Angelos ille qui fuit Primus simpliciter, peccavit per Superbiam, et fuit aliis Cadentibus Occasio peccandi. And Carthusianus tells us, Ex hoc Verbo, et quibusdam Sequentibus constat, quòd ista de Diabola | tanquam re figuratâ principaliter proferantur.*³⁷⁷

Bede (tho' the Gloss, is not the more *Venerable*, for being his) in his little Book, of, *Separate Questions*; goes to prove out of this Text, That as the *Angels* were created before the rest of the World, so the *Divel* was created before the rest of the *Angels*. And *Gregory* from hence, in his *Morals*, thinks, that he ha's notably confuted the *Arians*, who would make the *Son of God*, a Creature.³⁷⁸

Consult the LXX and you'll see, how these Interpreters came to be led into this Apprehension. However, I suppose, it must a little Strain their Witts, to find, what *Grass* the *Divel* Eats; or at least what may be, the *Navel of his Belly*; or *his Tail like a Cedar*, or the *Sinewes of his Stones*.

But for *Leviathan* in the next Chapter, they generally applied the Description of him, unto the *Divel* also. But *Marsennus* will have *Leviathan* to be rather, *The Divels Lieutenant*, or Companion. And then, one of *Marsennus's* Good Friends, I doubt, will stand fair, to be the *Leviathan*; even, the Pope of *Rome*. For my Part, I suspect, That the Holy Spirit of *Prophecy*, might have an Eye to that Monster, in His Description of the *Leviathan*. Præserve the *literal* Sense of the Text; and then with an agreeable Ingenuity, lett a sound Protestant prosecute this *Mystical* Sense. It may yeeld some curious and useful Thoughts unto him.³⁷⁹

the patristic glosses or *catena* surround it in two columns, while *Lyra's* commentary and moral observations are printed at the bottom of the page. Mather, however, is probably approaching *Lyra* indirectly via Sixtinus Amama's *Antibarbarus Biblicus* (1656), lib. 3, pp. 438–43, as suggested by the sequence of the citations that follow.

377 *Lyra's* citation reads: "This is inserted to understand that these things which are addressed here are understood to be about the Devil through the metaphor of the large sea creature. Indeed the Devil is the chief of God's ways because among the created ones, the angelic is first, and among the angels he, who was plainly first, sinned through pride, and he was an occasion for sin for the others who were falling." "Elephantus" in *Lewis Short* so also and in Karl Ernst Georges's *Handwörterbuch* can mean both "elephant" and "sea creature." See Job 41:7. Carthusianus is Denis the Carthusian (1402–71), a prolific Belgian monk and mystic (*EMA*). The remark is that "From this word [sc. Behemoth] and from others following, it confirms that this is about the Devil, as is immediately deferred by the thing which is figured."

378 Question 9 (On the Angels) in the Venerable Bede's *Aliquot Quaestionum Liber* [PL 93.462] determines that the "diabolic angel" was "principium viarum Dei." Gregory uses this passage in Job to refute the Arians in his *Moralium* (32.24.51) [PL 76.667–668].

379 Marsennus is Marin Mersenne (1588–1648), French theologian, philosopher, mathematician, and correspondent and friend to Rene Descartes (*ODCC*). He was the author of a partial commentary on Genesis, *Quæstiones Celeberrimæ in Genesim* (1623). This sprawling, uneven work is largely a polemic against the use of divination, magic, and astrology. Amama refers to Mersenne's gloss on chapter 1, verse 8 (quest. 8, col. 851).

The Jewish Tradition will humour them; That the *Leviathan* being salted up, is præpared & reserved, for the Entertainment of the Just, at the Feast intended for them in *Paradise*.

Q. What Sort of Creature is meant, by the *Leviathan*? v. 1.

A. It must necessarily bee the *Crocodile*; or else the Monster is as hard to bee *found*, as the Scripture saies it is to bee *tam'd*.

The learned *Bochart*, gives us the Derivation of the Name, from an Arabic Root, that signifies *Winding in Folds*, or *Twisting*, as a *Serpent* wee know does, his *Longæ Volumina Caudæ*. A Word of the same Original is used in Arabic Writers, for the *Folds* of a *Serpent*, wherewith, *Solinus* tells us, the *Dragon*, or *greater Serpent* (which is the Name here used by the LXX, for the *Leviathan*) often winds, even about the *Elephants* Legs & Thighs, & so hampers him, that hee falls to the Earth: and *Knox* in his History of *Ceylon*, gives a like Account of their falling & fastning on a *Stag*. Doubtless, the Apostle *John* may allude unto some such Property in those Animals, when hee speaks of the *Dragons* drawing some of the *Stars* to the Ground, with his *Tail*, that is, with his long *Folds*, (with which the *Pytho* is also described) reaching from *Earth* to *Heaven*.³⁸⁰

Leviathan therefore must have at least, something of the Shape of a *Serpent*; but a *Whale*, which Interpreters make the Competitor to the *Crocodile*, for the Description here before us, ha's nothing of such a Shape; whereas the *Crocodile*, is by the Prophet fitly called, *That Crooked Serpent*, a Posture, a figure, whereto a *Whale* complies not.³⁸¹

But lett us Reflect more particularly, upon Passages, in the Description of the *Leviathan*.

Wilt thou draw out his Tongue with a Cord?] Indeed Not only *Herodotus*, & *Pliny*, but even *Plutarch*, *Diodorus*, *Ammianus* & *Aristotle*, say the *Crocodile* ha's no *Tongue*. Nevertheless, ocular Demonstration convinces us, that hee ha's a *Tongue*; however not so *long* & so *us'd* an one, as diverse other Animals; tis more fastned, *fish-fashion*, unto his *Under-Jaw*. For which Cause, the LXX, need not have been so afraid, as here to change his *Tongue*, into his *Nose*, in their Translation.³⁸²

Canst thou putt an Hook in his Nose, or bore his Jaw through, with a Thorn?] This mighty Creature is not easily Taken. *Bochart* observes, that the Hebrew Word for *Thorn* here, means an *Hook*, sharp like a *Thorn*; & our English Word *Hook*, may, for ought I know, bee fetch'd from the Hebrew, for *Thorn*, here,

³⁸⁰ *Solinus*, *Polyhistor* (26); Robert Knox (1641–1720) was an English sailor and author of *An Historical Relation of the Island of Ceylon* (1681), pt. 1, ch. 7, p. 29; Rev. 12:4.

³⁸¹ *Bochart*, *Hieroicoicon*, pars. 2, lib. 5, cap. 16, col. 770.

³⁸² *Herodotus*, *History* (2.68); *Pliny Natural History* (8.37); *Plutarch*, *De Iside et Osiride* (75); *Diodorus*, *Library* (1.35); *Ammianus*, *Roman History* (22.15.15); *Aristotle*, *De Partibus Animalium* (4.11).

which in sound Resembles it. Besides, Fishermen use the *Thorn* itself, to string their Fish upon, or bore the *Jawes* of them; and perhaps, they did formerly catch little Fishes with such an Instrument.³⁸³

Wilt thou play with him, or wilt thou bind him for thy Maidens?] The *Crocodile* is not easily Tameable; & hee often devours Children, that come too near the River.

Canst thou fill his Skin with Barbed Irons, or his Head with Fish-Spears?] The *Whales*, wee do thus handle, mighty shoals of them, every Year; Yea, a *Whale* at *Bermudas* once ran away, with half the Weapons of the whole Countrey sticking in his Back. But the *Scales* of the *Crocodile*, are Impenetrable; unless to *Canon*, with which an English Slave once killing one of those Monsters, obtain'd his Freedom.

Shall not one bee cast down at the Sight of him?] So Terrible is the Aspect of the *Crocodile* that Persons have been frighted out of their Wits, at the Sight of him; and particularly, a certain Grammarian was thereby so scared, that hee forgot his very Letters. Indeed some of them, are Forty, Sixty, nay, an *Hundred* foot long.

Who can open the Doors of his Face? His Teeth are Terrible round about.] The Mouth of the *Crocodile*, is the most horrible Thing in the World: it is, *Magnus et horrendus Hiatus*; & when hee gapes for his Prey, all his long *Head* is turned into *Mouth*. Some describe it Seven Foot large; and in *Martials* Epigrams, the widest Mouth is compared unto an *Egyptian Crocodiles*. Hee ha's also a most wicked Sett of *Teeth*; about *Threescore* of them, & those of all Sorts & Sizes, & sett together like the Teeth of a Comb; so that hee is glad of the *Ichneumon* for a Tooth-pecker.³⁸⁴

His Scales are his pride.] or, Coat of Mail. This is *Crocodile* all over: the *Whale* ha's no Pretence to it.

His Eyes are like Eylids of the Morning.] The *Crocodile* is very quicksighted; and his *Eyes*, were among the Egyptians, as *Horus* tells us, the *Hieroglyphic* of the *Morning*; being the first Part of him that appears out of the *Water*, as the *Sun* out the *Seas*, at his Rising. Whereas, the *Whale* is a Dimsighted Thing, & often loses his way, among Rocks, & Shoals, when hee loses the *Musculus*, his Pilot.

Out of his Mouth go burning Lamps.] The LXX soften it, with an $\omega\varsigma$, a *sicut*. When the *Crocodile* ha's been long under Water, hee does at his coming up again, breathe very vehemently; & the Air breaks out of his Mouth, with a Violence, like flakes of Fire.

In his Neck remaineth Strength.] The *Whale* ha's no Neck at all; the *Crocodile* ha's one, but a short one, & a strong one. |

[102v]

³⁸³ For Bochart on the crocodile, see below.

³⁸⁴ Martial (c. 40–c.100), *Epigrams* (3.93.8).

When hee Raiseth up himself, the Mighty are afraid; by reason of breakings, they purify themselves.] It is a Passage, in the *French Academy*, that *Fear* brings a *Diarrhæa*, a Laxness, a Looseness of the *Belly*; for which the Author quotes this very Passage: *For the Leviathan, the Mighty are Afraid; they purge themselves.* And so *Drusius* renders it, *Nauseant, Vomunt.* But the true Sense of the Words rather is This: They look'd on the Sight of the *Crocodile*, as an *unlucky Omen*; & therefore they used some καθάρματα, or *Purifications*, afterwards, to avert the *Omen.* *Bochart* might have brought good Authors, to prove this, as well as what hee does from *Heliodorus*, That the very *Sight* of the *Crocodile*, was thought an Ill Sign, tho' they did Escape him. All that the LXX make of it, is, that the *Wild Beasts* are afraid of him.³⁸⁵

The Sword of him that layeth at him cannot hold.] This & what followes, agrees to nothing more, than the *Impenetrabilitie* of the *Crocodile.*

Hee makes the Deep to boil like a Pot, the Sea, like a Pott of Oyntment.] The *Crocodile* stirs violently the Water & Mud; & hee ha's a Smell, sweet like Musk. *Nilus* is often call'd, the *Sea.*

Hee beholds all high Things.] Tho' the *Crocodile* bee so short-leg'd a Wretch, yett hee durst sett upon the Tallest Animals; *Horses, Camels, Elephants.*

Those Hints I find offered, by some obscure Authors, who have made much use of *Bochart*. But I choose rather now, to go unto *Bochart* himself, where doubtless we shall meet with some curious Entertainment.³⁸⁶

[103r]

Q. Well, And lett us now hear our famous *Bochart*, upon the *Leviathan*?

A. That famous Critick, will have *Leviathan*, to signify originally, the same that *Thammin*, The *Dragon*; for which Cause we sometimes find the Names used promiscuously. [Psal. 74.13, 14 and Isa. 27.1.] The Root of the Word, he (and none before him) ha's found in the *Arabic Tongue*: à *flectendo et contorquendo*, to signify, a *crooked*, & *winding* Sort of a thing; according to what the Poet sings of the *Serpent*, *hic flexu sinuoso elabitur Anguis.*

And again,

Serpens sinuosa Volumina versat.

The *Leviathan* is therefore, very fitly by the Prophet called, *The Crooked Serpent.* But in one Word, it is the CROCODILE.³⁸⁷

³⁸⁵ Heliodorus, *Aethiopicorum* (6).

³⁸⁶ The "obscurer authors" are contained in the passage treating the Leviathan in *A Supplement to the Athenian Oracle* (1710), pp. 251–55. For John Dunton and the establishment of the Athenian Society, see note in the Psalms.

³⁸⁷ Bochart believed that the name of the leviathan was rooted in the Arabic "from bending and twisting." Virgil, *Georgics* (1.244): "here glides the huge snake forth with sinuous coils." Virgil, *Aeneid* (11.753): "the serpent writhes its sinuous coils."

And now lett us take notice of several Articles in the Description.

v. 1. *Canst thou – lett down a Cord into his Tongue?*] That is to say, with an Hook at the End of it. It is, by the way, a great Mistake of *Herodotus*, and *Aristotle*, and *Diodorus*, and *Plutarch*, and *Pliny*, & *Solinus*, & others, That a *Crocodile* *ha's no Tongue*. Tho' tis true, his *Tongue* sticks closer to his *Lower Jaw*, than that of any other *Terrestrial Animal*; which is observed by *Bellonius*, and *Cardan*, & *Scaliger*, and some in *Samuel Purchas*, and others.³⁸⁸

2. *Canst thou putt a rush-rope into his Nose?*] *Rush-rope* is the proper English of the Hebrew Word used here; as may be proved out of the *Talmuds*.

Or, bore his Jaw thorough, with an Hook Head like a Thorn?] So the Word signifies, as well as more simply a *Thorn*.

5. – *or wilt thou bind him for thy Maidens?*] There are Tragical Stories, of Young People devoured by those Horrible Monsters. *Ælian* mentions diverse of them; and among the rest, the Daughter of King *Psammuth*, (or, *Psammetichus*). *Maximus Tyrius* tells of a Boy, that would play with a Young *Crocodile* in *Egypt*, but when the *Crocodile* grew up, he devoured the *Boy*.³⁸⁹

7. *Canst thou fill his Skin with barbed Irons?*] This one Passage, is enough to exclude the *Whale* from all Pretence to be the *Leviathan*; for nothing is more common then to fill the *Skin* of that Creature, with mighty *Showres* of *Harping Irons*. The Difficulty of conquering the *Crocodile*, which is here described with a Variety of Elegancy, was ingeniously intimated by *Augustus*; who upon his Conquest of *Egypt*, ordered upon his *Coin*, a *Crocodile* tied unto a *Palm-tree*, with this motto; *Nemo antea religavit*. Perhaps hence the *Arboreus Crocodilus*, in *Hesychius*. And unto this Day, at *Cairo*, the Public payes *Ten Crowns*, to every Man that brings in a *Crocodile*.³⁹⁰

13. *Who will enter his double Chaps?*] The *Chaps*, or *Lips*, were called *Χαλινοί*, or, *Bridle-bitts*, by the Greeks. And R. *Solomon* countenances the Translation, which we have here putt instead of ours; *Who can come to him, with his Double Bridle?*

14. *Who can open the Doors of his Face?*] Horrible, when they are opened! It is the Expression of *Achilles Tati*us, *ὅταν δε χανη προς τας αγρας, ολος στομα γινεται*. *Ubi hiare ad prædam incipit, fit totum os*.³⁹¹

³⁸⁸ Most of these sources are identified in previous notes. Cardan is Girolamo (or Jerome) Cardano (1501–76), to whom Julius Caesar Scaliger was repending in his *Exercitationes*. The ultimate reference is to Cardan's *De Rerum Varietate* (1557). Samuel Purchas (1577–1626) was the author of *Purchas, His Pilgrimage* (1613).

³⁸⁹ Aelian, *De Natura Animalium* (10.21); Maximus of Tyre, *Dissertation* (38).

³⁹⁰ Bochart provides an abbreviated citation for this story of Augustus striking a medal with the motto, “No one has captured it before,” but I have not been able to identify it with any more specificity: “*Ant. August. de numismat.* Dial. 6. Sect. 9.” Hesychius is most likely an allusion to the *Lexicon* of Hesychius of Alexandria.

³⁹¹ Achilles Tati^{us}, *Leucippe et Clitophon* (4.19): “When it yawns after its prey, it is all mouth.”

15. *His Back, is as the Plates of a Shield.*] Bochart shows, That what we render *Pride*, is truly to be rendred, *The Back*. *Aquila*, and *Jerom* render it, *Body*.³⁹²

18. – *His Eyes are like the Eylids of the Morning.*] Tis admirable, That in the *Hieroglyphicks* of *Horus*, we find the *Egyptians* made the *Eyes* of the *Crocodile*, to be the *Hieroglyphick* for the *Dawning of the Day*; because, *προ παντος σωματος ζωου οι οφθαλμοι εκ του βυθου αναφαινονται. ante totum Corpus Animalis, oculi ex fundo apparent.*³⁹³

22. – *Horror walks in State before him.*] Horror, like an Officer attending on him, *tumidique anteambulo Regis*, immediately siezes on all that come in his Way. Thus the Poets assign, *Anger* and *Terror*, as the *Squires* to attend upon *Mars*. Thus *Apuleius*, of *Pallas*, *præliaris Deæ comites armigeri, Terror, et Metus, nudis insultantes Gladiis*. The word, *insultat*, is the proper Translation of the Text now before us. What, *Insultare*, means, lett the Poet say,

Insultare solo, et gressus glomerare superbos.

[104v] | The Hebrew Word is used no where else in the Bible. But the *Syriac* ha's it Thrice, for *σκιρταν*. [Luc. 1.41, 44. & 6.23.]³⁹⁴

25. – *by reason of Terrors, they run out of the Way.*] Bochart shows, That in the *Orient*, what we render, *Breakings*, does mean, *Terrors*, which do indeed *Break* the mind. And, what we render, *They purify themselves*, is, *Aberrarunt*.

[**]

30. – *sharp Stones are under him; he spreadeth sharp pointed things upon the Mire.*] Dr. *Patrick* thus paraphrases it, & I forgett whether out of *Bochart* or no. *He laughs at the Shaking of the Spear.*] For instead of him, it meets only with the

³⁹² Aquila is probably Aquila of Sinope (2nd c. CE), who composed a literal Greek translation of Hebrew scriptures.

³⁹³ The *Hieroglyphics* of *Horus Apollo* was written in the 2nd or 4th c. CE. The book became available in Italy in 1419 and was frequently republished throughout the sixteenth century: "The eyes appear from the depths, before all the rest of the body."

³⁹⁴ Citation from Bochart; see Martial, *Epigrams* (2.18), with context: "I myself am of your escort, and walk before my proud patron." Lucius Apuleius (c. 125–c. 180), is best known for his long prose work, *The Golden Ass* (or, *Asinus Aureus*, also called the *Metamorphoses*). The tale of an incompetent practitioner of magic who frequently turns himself into an ass, in which form he hears numerous other stories, the most famous being that of Cupid and Psyche, *The Golden Ass* is the only Latin prose fiction to have survived in its entirety. This quotation comes from the relation of the trial of Paris. As Minerva (Pallas Athena) approaches, she is "accompanied with two young men, armed and brandishing their naked swords in their hands, whereof one was named Terror, and the other Fear" (10.31). The quotation from Virgil is from the *Georgics* (3.116), here with context: "And taught the knight in arms to spurn the ground, and arch the upgathered footsteps of his pride." Σκιρτάν is to leap or dance. This is the word that is used in reference to the moment when the baby John the Baptist leaps in the womb of Elizabeth upon hearing of the Annunciation (Luke 1:41 and 44) and in the Lucan version of the Beatitudes where those who are reproached and reviled are instructed to "leap for joy: for, behold, your reward is great in heaven" (Luke 6:23).

rough Shells, wherewith he is arm'd, which are so hard, that he beats back the sharpest Weapon, & throwes it into the Mire.³⁹⁵

33. *Upon the Dust there is not his like; so made, that he cannot be bruised.*] The *Crocodile* is not *without Fear*, as our Translation intimates. Read rather, *Upon Dust*, than, *Upon Earth*; for the Phrase here used, intimates, That the *Crocodile* is a *Reptile*. But in this he differs; other *Serpents* may be *bruised*; but this is too dreadful and scaly, to receive *bruises* by being trodden underfoot.

If you read it, He is *made without Fear*, take it so; He creeps indeed in the Dust, but he is *made* so that there is *no Fear* of his being Bruised there.

34. *He despises all High Things; He is a King over all the Children of Heighth.*] Albeit the *Crocodile* have so *short Legs*, yett he contemns the *Taller Animals*; which are called, *The Children of Heighth*. Why, with one Stroke of his formidable *Tail*, about their *Legs*, he pulls them down, & makes a Prey of them, & rends them in Peeces. *Horus* takes notice of This: And it is a Passage in *Peter Martyr*; *Camelum, Equum, Juvenum, et quodcunque genus Quadrupedis ei occurrit, cum in terram famelicus exit Crocodilus grandior, ictu Caudæ adeò acriter ferit, ut illud Cruribus fractis prosternat, ac interimat. Tanta est enim illius Caudæ Vis, ut fregisse quatuor uno ictu grandioris Animalis Crura repertus sit aliquando.*³⁹⁶

Bochart, after his other Proofs, proceeds to prove out of the *Talmuds*, That the *Leviathan* is the *Crocodile*; but I am satisfied without them.³⁹⁷

I have elsewhere already hinted, how, and where we are provided with a mystical Interpretation for the *Leviathan*. To confirm it, it a little surprised me to find in so unlikely a Quarter, as, a Collection published in the Year 1702 under the Title of, *The Ancient & Present State of Germany*, such Words as these.

“When this wanton Age, would no longer be bridled, by the simple Ignorance, & pretended Sanctity of the *Monks*; the Society of *Jesuites* was invented, who at first, with great Art, supported the falling Fabrick of the *Romish Church*, by undertaking, the *Instruction of Youth*, & *Confession of Penitents*, and a *cunning Scrutiny into the Secrets of all Men*: So that many think, all that hath been said in *Job*, of the *Leviathan*, is in a mystick Sense applicable to the See of *Rome*.”³⁹⁸

395 Patrick, *Job Paraphras'd*, p. 275.

396 Peter Martyr is Pietro Martyr d'Anghiera (1459–1526), an Italian historian and Spanish courtier who wrote some of the first accounts of explorations in Central and South America (*ODR*). In 1501, Martyr was sent on a diplomatic mission to Egypt, and this voyage formed the basis of his first work, *Legatio Babylonica*, to which Bochart here refers (lib. 3). This work was first published in 1511: “When the more powerful crocodile comes out famished onto the land, he strikes with a blow of his tail a camel, horse, bullock – whatever kind of quadruped encounters him – so fiercely that he knocks it down, its legs broken, and kills it. For so great is the strength of his tail that sometimes he has been found to have broken the four legs of a larger animal with one blow.”

397 Mather is here alluding to Bochart's chapter on Talmudic references to and other names of the Leviathan (*Hieroicoicon*, pars. 2, lib. 5, cap. 18, cols. 791–96). All of the previous notes are culled from the preceding chapters (pars. 2, lib. 5, caps. 16–17, cols. 769–91).

398 Moll, *The Antient and Present State of the Empire of Germany*, ch. 31, p. 367.

I will add, because it so well agrees, with the last Intimation, a Fancy of Dr. Gells. Tis true, it seems a little *Punning*; But as Trivial as you may count it, you shall have it. “When *Tan*, [which you know is the Name for, *The Dragon*] when the *Old Serpent*, comes to be joined unto *Levi*, behold then, *Leviathan*: Behold, The grand Doer of Mischief. Lett him alone to deceive & destroy the World!”³⁹⁹

Munster saies, *Nostrī hęc omniā, quę hic de Leviathan scribuntur, referunt per Allegoriam, in Diabolum, et Membra ejus.*⁴⁰⁰

³⁹⁹ Robert Gell, *An Essay toward the Amendment of the Last English-Translation of the Bible*, serm. 20, p. 794. Gell (1595–1665) was a clergyman who was sometimes suspected of harboring heterodox tendencies (*DNB*). As Louise Hill Curth notes in her entry on Gell in the *DNB*, the *Essay* was intended to confound those, among them Matthew Poole, who had at times accused Gell of Familist and Arminian leanings.

⁴⁰⁰ Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3574): “All these comments of ours which are written here concerning the Leviathan refer by way of allegory to the Devil and his members.”

|
Q. The Names of *Jobs* Three Daughters, what appears Remarkable in them?
 v. 14. [106v]

A. The Signification of their Names, does carry an *Happiness*, just contrary to the *Misery* whereof their Father had sometimes complained.

Hee had complained, Chap. 19.8. *Hee hath sett Darkness in my Paths*. But now, God gives him a *Jemima*; which signifies, *The Day*; that is, Prosperity.

Hee had complained, Chap. 7.5. *My Skin is broken, & become Loathsome*. Now God gives him a *Keziah*; which signifies, *Cassia*, or, Aromatic Spices.

Hee had complained, Chap. 16.16. *On my Eylids is the Shadow of Death*. Now God gives him a *Keren-happuch*, which intimates, *A Plenty of that beautifying Stuff, with which they then ting'd their Ey-lids, to make them look beautifully*.⁴⁰¹

Thus, as *Grotius* notes, *Hæc Nomina Monumenta erant Jobo, Familiaeque eius ex quibus Miseriis quantæ Felicitati eos Deus reddidisset*.⁴⁰²

Q. Tis Recorded, that *Job* had *Seven Sons* and *Three Daughters*. Now the Names of the *Sons* are wholly left unmentioned, whereas wee have the Names of each of the *Daughters*, mention'd with additional Remarks upon them. This is a Thing very contrary to the Custome of the Scripture, where the *Males* appear far more commonly than the *Females*, in *Genealogies*. Besides, tis the Glory of a good Man, to have his *Name* Registred in the Sacred Oracles. What might bee the Reason of this Difference? Was it because less considerable Things befell the *Sons* of *Job*, than his *Daughters*? Or what? v. 14.

A. There is more of *Illustration* in your *Questions*, than there can bee in my *Answer*. For in Truth, I can give you no Reason of this Matter. Only I hope, twil occasion this profitable Reflection, That a worthy Mans *Daughters* may sometimes prove more considerable, than the *Sons* of such a Man.⁴⁰³

|
Q. The Duration of *Jobs* Troubles, & of his *Life*? v. 17. [107r]

⁴⁰¹ Mather appears here again to be relying mainly on Caryl, *An Exposition*, pp. 1001–08.

⁴⁰² See Grotius in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3599) and Grotius, *Opera Omnia* (1:221): “These names were reminders to Job and to his family from what miseries to what great happiness God had restored them.”

⁴⁰³ Caryl, Mather’s common authority for Job, also raises this question only to avoid it. In one paragraph, Caryl supposes that Job’s sons must have been worthy or they would have lessened the force of God’s restitution, but then goes on to expound on the names of the daughters for a total of 16 pages.

A. The Hebrews in *Seder Olam*, reckon the Sufferings of *Job*, to have been XII Months; and if we may rely upon their Traditions, the whole Term of his Life, was Two Hundred & Ten Years; just as long, as the *Jerusalem Targum*, and the *Bereshith Rabba*, will have the Stay of the *Israelites* in *Egypt*.⁴⁰⁴

But the *Hebrew Traditions* are not alwayes to be relied upon. *Menasseh ben Israel* saies, 'Tis evidently certain by Tradition, that the *Mahometans* at this day, pay a great Reverence to the Sepulchre of this Holy Man, & honour it at *Constantinople* with much Religion and Devotion. Whereas all Men that have any considerable Acquaintance with other Authors, besides those of their own Nation (upon which the Hebrews dote) may easily know, (as Dr. *Patrick* observes,) that the *Job* whom the *Turks* honour, was a Captain of the *Saracens*, who was slain, when they besieged that City.⁴⁰⁵

Dr. *Patrick* takes notice of an Observation of theirs, which ha's more of Certainty in it. That *Job* was a *Prophet among the Gentiles*; and one of no little Eminency. He deserved certainly to have been mentioned by *Josephus* in his *Antiquities*; and yett he ha's not so much as once named him. Nay, he deserved, that the Son of *Sirach* should have praised him in his Catalogue of famous Men, who were Glory of their Times. But according to the Humour of the Jews, he magnifies only those of his own Countrey or those from whom they were directly descended.⁴⁰⁶

The Wisdome of this Prophet appeared most conspicuously in his Piety & Patience. And therefore, tho' *Paul* do not mention him among those who were famous for their Faith, he not being of the Race to which the Promises were made; yett *James* highly magnifies him, & propounds him as a Pattern to the Christian *Hebrews*.

Even prudent Men, as *Ambrose* observes, in a Book he had written about *Job*, are apt to be moved, when they see the *Wicked* abound with good Things, and the *Righteous* very much afflicted. But here, God Himself brings the Dispute unto such a Conclusion as may satisfy Religious Minds. Yea, the *Mahometans* themselves, do seem here to be fully satisfied; As we read in, *The Lives of the Fathers*, written in the *Arabian* Language by *Kessæus*, who brings in the Most High Speaking to *Jobs* Friends after this Manner. *Do you not know, that Job is a Prophet of God, whom He hath chosen to His Apostleship; & to whom He hath committed His Inspiration? God would not have you think, that He is angry with him; as you seem to gather from the Afflicted State wherein he Lies. For you know, that God is wont to prove the Prophets, the Just, the Martyrs, and other good Men;*

⁴⁰⁴ See Appendix B.

⁴⁰⁵ Patrick, *Job Paraphras'd*, p. 287. Patrick cites book 1 of Menasseh ben Israel's *Libri tres de Resurrectione Mortuorum*.

⁴⁰⁶ Patrick, *Job Paraphras'd*, p. 287.

wherein | notwithstanding, there is no Indignation or Contempt of them, but rather Honour with God Most High.⁴⁰⁷ [108v]

Maimonides ha's many Foolish Things about the Intent & Meaning of the Opinions advanced in this Book. But then he concludes with more suitable Thoughts.

"The Scope of the Book [*he saies*] is, to establish the great Article of *Providence*; and thereby to preserve us from Errour, in thinking that Gods Knowledge is like our Knowledge; or His Intention, Providence, and Government, like our Intention, Providence, and Government; which Foundation being laid, nothing will seem hard unto a Man, whatever happens. Nor will he fall into Dubious Thoughts concerning God; whether He knowes what ha's befallen us or no, and whether He takes any Care of us, But rather he will be inflamed the more vehemently in the Love of God; as it is said, in the End of this Prophecy, *Wherefore I abhor myself, & Repent in Dust & Ashes*. So say our Wise Men, *They that act out of Love will rejoyce in Chastisements*."⁴⁰⁸

⁴⁰⁷ Patrick, *Job Paraphras'd*, pp. 294–95. Patrick references book 2 of Ambrose's *De Interpolatione*.

⁴⁰⁸ Patrick, *Job Paraphras'd*, pp. 309–10. Patrick is quoting from Maimonides's *Doctor Perplexorum*, pars 3, cap. 23, p. 405.

There are Expositors of the Sacred Scripture, who have applied themselves to find out the *Hints of practical Religion* contained in those glorious Oracles. The *North-British Expositors* have in this Way, deserved well from the Church of God; and among those, Mr. *George Hutcheson* is a Star of the First Magnitude. In the Expositions of that worthy Man on the Book of JOB, I have observed several Things, which I will here insert, as the *Magis Curiosa* of that elaborate and valuable Composure. You must excuse me, if the *Language* be not always *his*; 'Tis enough, that I have been beholden to him for the *Notion*.

Chap. I. v. 1. *Eschewed Evil.*

The most Holy of the Sons of Men within time, are surrounded with Temptations to Sin. Obnoxious to such *Evil* as is to be *Eschewed*.⁴⁰⁹

v. 3. *The greatest of all the Men of the East.*

It is no small Mercy, when Godly Men are not only blessed with Riches, but also advanced unto Authority.⁴¹⁰

v. 5. *When the Dayes of their Feasting were gone about.*

After all our Actions, especially after liberal Diversions, it is our Duty to examine ourselves.⁴¹¹

Ditto. The Care of Parents about the Souls of their Children, must not be laid aside, even when the Children are grown up, & swarm'd out into Families of their own.

Ditto. The Riches in the Merits of our Saviour, are inexhaustible. *Job* did resort unto the Sacrifice *Continually*.⁴¹²

v. 8. *None like him in the Earth.*

Tho' God know more Evil in His poor Servants, than any one in the World, yett He is Readier to take Notice of what is Good in them, than any in the World. The Great God speaks more to *Jobs* Advantage, than the Writer of the History does.⁴¹³

v. 9. *Doth Job fear God for nought?*

⁴⁰⁹ Hutcheson, *An Exposition on the Book of Job*, p. 4.

⁴¹⁰ Hutcheson, p. 5.

⁴¹¹ Hutcheson, p. 6.

⁴¹² Hutcheson, p. 7.

⁴¹³ Hutcheson, p. 9.

Satan and his Instruments have Calumnies ready fitted for all the Conditions of the People of God.⁴¹⁴

v. 12. *Behold, all that he hath is in thy Power.*

They who fly to God in Christ, for Assistance under Temptation, may comfort themselves in this, that *He* hath no small Interest in the Matter, to glorify Himself, & give them a Victory over Satan. God would have it *Beheld*, & Observ'd, whether *Job* did not prove a Conqueror!⁴¹⁵

v. 14. *The Oxen were ploughing.*

Satan would fain drive good Men, to despair of a future Subsistence in the World. He kills the *Oxen* while they were *ploughing*; that so an Harvest might be despaired of.⁴¹⁶

v. 20. *He worshipped.*

It is a safe Way of managing the Sense of Trouble, when we run to God with all that grieves us.⁴¹⁷

v. 21. *Naked shall I return.*

We ought not to take it ill, when we lose that at any time, of which we are certain to be stript in a short time.

Ditto. *Blessed be the Name of the Lord.*

It is an act of Holy Providence, to strain ourselves unto that which is quite contrary unto what our Temptations and Corruptions would drive us to. *Job* is Tempted to *Curse God*. On the Contrary, he *Blesseth* Him.⁴¹⁸

Chap. II. v. 3. *None like him in the Earth.*

True Grace, hath the same Lustre in the Eyes of God on the Dunghil, that it hath upon the Throne. *Job* in his low Estate, ha's the same Commendation he had before.

Ditto. *Without Cause.*

The Saints are allow'd to look towards higher Purposes of God in their Trials, than merely to chasten them for their Sins.⁴¹⁹

v. 6. *but save his Life.*

It is a Mercy unto the People of God, when Clouds upon their Condition are cleared, before they Dy. *Job* is to *Live*, on this account.⁴²⁰

v. 7. *Sore Boils.*

⁴¹⁴ Hutcheson, p. 10.

⁴¹⁵ Hutcheson, p. 11.

⁴¹⁶ Hutcheson, p. 13.

⁴¹⁷ Hutcheson, p. 14.

⁴¹⁸ Hutcheson, p. 15.

⁴¹⁹ Hutcheson, p. 18.

⁴²⁰ Hutcheson, p. 20.

The People of God must not stumble, tho' their Strokes, to appearance differ nothing from the Plagues of the Wicked. *Job* ha's the *Sore Boils*, that were inflicted on the *Egyptians*. Exod. IX.9. See Deut. XXVIII.27.⁴²¹

v. 9. *Dost thou still retain thine Integrity?*

It is no strange thing to see Men despised in the World, & counted silly Men, for those very things, for which they are commended of God. God commended *Job* for his Integrity; His Wife derides him for it.⁴²²

v. 11. *heard of all this Evil.*

Such things may befall Godly Men, as may expose them to be much talk'd of.⁴²³

v. 13. *None spake a Word to him.*

Such Troubles may befall the People of God, as may surpass all Humane Consolation.⁴²⁴

Chap. III. v. 8. *Lett them Curse it.*

Impatience is very unreasonable. And tho' it be an Hasty Thing, yett it takes the longest Way to come at Releef.⁴²⁵

v. 20. *Why is Light given?*

Grace, even when tis most overpowered with Weakness and Passion, will yett one Way or other discover some Evidences of itself, & of its Respect unto God. *Jobs* Expostulation does Reflect on God. Yett Reverence to God makes him to forbear His Name in the Complaint.⁴²⁶

Ditto. Men are apt to Quarrel with God, as if they could guide better than He. And to Judge every thing unreasonable, whereof they cannot tell the Reason.

[110v] | *Ditto. Life to the Bitter in Soul.*

Whatever proves Intolerable to the Godly, it comes of Themselves. Tis because they are *Bitter* in their *own Soul*, that they look upon themselves as Miserable.

v. 21. *It cometh not.*

Men are guilty of Insobriety in desiring of Things, when they cannot brook & bear a Disappointment.⁴²⁷

v. 23. *a Man whose way is hid.*

⁴²¹ Hutcheson, p. 21.

⁴²² Hutcheson, p. 22.

⁴²³ Hutcheson, p. 25.

⁴²⁴ Hutcheson, p. 26.

⁴²⁵ Hutcheson, p. 29.

⁴²⁶ Hutcheson, p. 31.

⁴²⁷ Hutcheson, p. 32.

The sad Apprehensions of Godly Men in their Troubles, are the Conjectures of Men Groping in the Dark.

Ditto. It is a sad & very humbling Thing, to be in a Strait, without knowing the Mind of God in it, or the Way how to gett out of it.⁴²⁸

v. 26. *Yett Trouble came.*

Piety is greatly advantageous, tho' it should neither prevent, nor remove, Temporal Troubles. And yett it looks very strange for very tender Walkers with God, to meet with real Troubles. *Job* wonders at it!⁴²⁹

Chap. IV. v. 1. *Then Eliphaz answered.*

Men may have not only fair Pretences, but also good Intentions, and yett be in the Wrong.⁴³⁰

v. 3. *Thou hast instructed many.*

Grace will teach Men to be communicative, and cause the greatest of Men, to stoup with kind Communications to the Meanest.

Ditto. Care should be taken, that the Afflicted be well Instructed, that the Kindnesses we do for the Afflicted, be accompanied with good Instructions.⁴³¹

v. 6. *Fear, Confidence, Hope, Uprightness of Wayes.*

These do seem the usual Terms, whereby True Piety of Old was described & expressed!

It is a sad Aggravation of Sin, when the former & better Practice of a Man, may be brought in as a Witness against him.

v. 7. *Remember, I pray thee.*

It is our Duty to Remark the Dealings of God with the Sons of Men, whether in Mercy or in Judgment, & make use of them.⁴³²

v. 10, 11. *The Lion, the fierce Lion, the young Lion, the old Lion, & the stout Lions Whelps.*

Most of the Names of *Lions* in the Scripture, taken from their several Ages are gathered here together; to point at old *Job*, & his Children, in their several Ages. It may please God, after He hath taken Innocent Persons out of the World, still to permitt Reproaches to ly upon their Names; partly for the Trial of Relatives whom they leave behind them, and partly that all may expect a Day, in which there will be a Resurrection of Names as well as of Bodies.⁴³³

v. 12. *A Thing was secretly brought to me.*

⁴²⁸ Hutcheson, p. 33.

⁴²⁹ Hutcheson, p. 35.

⁴³⁰ Hutcheson, p. 39.

⁴³¹ Hutcheson, p. 40.

⁴³² Hutcheson, p. 42.

⁴³³ Hutcheson, pp. 44–5.

Tho' Men are taught by Immediate Revelation from God, yett they will be too ready to Expound and Apply things according to their own Fancies. Even Visions from God, may be wrested by the Prejudices of Men. *Eliphaz* improves his Instruction from God, for the Condemning of an Innocent Saint. When the Spirit foretold *Pauls* Hazards at *Jerusalem*; Act. XXI.4. the affection of his Friends interpreted it, as if the Spirit would not have him go.⁴³⁴

Ditto. *Mine Ear received a Little.*

The Sons of Men are but narrow-mouth'd Vessels; & unable to apprehend all that God communicates unto them.⁴³⁵

v. 16. *There was Silence, and I heard a Voice.*

The Composing of our Spirits from the Confusions and the Disorders incident unto them, is a good præparatory, unto the Receiving of what God ha's to Reveal unto us.⁴³⁶

v. 17. *Shall a Man be more pure than his Maker?*

Since God is our *Maker*, & we have no *Perfection* but from Him, this is enough to prove, that in *Perfection* we cannot compare with Him.

v. 18. *He putt no Trust in His Servant.*

Trust, Reliance, Confidence, is a thing so Weighty, that nothing that is Created & Dependent, can bear the Weight of it; tho' it be never so perfect.⁴³⁷

v. 20. *They perish forever, without any Regarding.*

Tho' Death be *forever*, (that is, in all Ages,) doing Execution, yett such is the Stupidity in the most of Men, they gett no Good by it.

v. 21. *They Dy, even without Wisdom.*

Men Dy, not only without attaining to the Impossible Skill of *Avoiding Death*, but also, before they are so wise, as to understand what they ought; especially in the Points of living wisely, & as they ought to live.⁴³⁸

Chap. V. 1. *If there be any that will answer thee.*

It is an Encouragement unto the People of God, under Trouble, when they find that others of the People of God have been in the same Case before them; others whose Case would *Answer* theirs.⁴³⁹

v. 3. *Suddenly I cursed his Habitation.*

⁴³⁴ Hutcheson, p. 45.

⁴³⁵ Hutcheson, p. 46.

⁴³⁶ Hutcheson, p. 47.

⁴³⁷ Hutcheson, p. 49.

⁴³⁸ Hutcheson, pp. 50–1.

⁴³⁹ Hutcheson, p. 52.

It is Wisdome, not to hearken long unto Debates and Suggestions, concerning the Prosperity of the Wicked. *Eliphaz* would not hold any long Deliberation upon it, whether the Wicked were not miserable.⁴⁴⁰

v. 4. *In the Gate.*

The Administration of Justice ought to be *Open*, and easily Accessible. *Courts of Justice* were held in the *Gate*.

v. 5. *The Hungry Eateth it up.*

It is the sad Plague upon many, that they have no sanctified use of their Afflictions; but are given up unto the use of sinful Shifts to help themselves. Oppressed and *Hungry* Persons, turn the Robbers of others.⁴⁴¹

v. 8. *I would seek unto God.*

Such as would press Duties effectually should in their own Practice essay and commend them.

Ditto. Men at Ease, do think it more easy to præscribe unto the Afflicted than it is; and they would do far better under Affliction, than they see others do.⁴⁴²

v. 10. *Who giveth Rain upon the Earth.*

Why *this*, rather than the greater Works of the superiour Heavens? The Want of *Rain* being our frequent Exercise, we are made to see God in it. Alas, we see little of God, in Mercies which we ordinarily enjoy; Little of God in Mercies unless we are often sent unto God about them.⁴⁴³

| v. 16. *Iniquity stoppeth her Mouth.*

[111r]

The wicked Oppressors of the Godly, are alwayes confounded, but rarely converted. They should *open their Mouthes*, to take shame unto themselves, & glorify God.⁴⁴⁴

v. 17. *the Chastening of the Almighty.*

A Right Sight of God, might perswade us to Patience under our Afflictions. He is *Almighty*; and so there is no Contending with Him, no Resisting of Him. He is *All Sufficient*; & we may look to Him, for that in Him, which may easily make up all our Wants.⁴⁴⁵

v. 19. *He shall Deliver thee.*

Here is *Deliverance*. But at v. 23. *Prevention* comes in. We ought to study both Sorts of Mercies. Our not observing of *Preventing Mercies*, brings us into the want of *Delivering Mercies*.⁴⁴⁶

⁴⁴⁰ Hutcheson, p. 54.

⁴⁴¹ Hutcheson, p. 55.

⁴⁴² Hutcheson, p. 57.

⁴⁴³ Hutcheson, p. 59.

⁴⁴⁴ Hutcheson, p. 61.

⁴⁴⁵ Hutcheson, p. 62.

⁴⁴⁶ Hutcheson, p. 65.

v. 24. *Thou shalt visit thy Habitation, & thou shalt not Sin.*

So carnal are our Hearts, & so entangling are the affairs of this World, that without the special Assistance of God, we cannot avoid much *Sin*, in our common Enjoyments & Employments.⁴⁴⁷

v. 27. *Lo this, we have searched it, so it is.*

Men should not publish any thing in the Name of God, (particularly to Distressed Persons,) but what is real Truth; & ha's been well-demonstrated.⁴⁴⁸

Chap. VI. 1. *O that my Grief were thoroughly weigh'd.*

The Case of the Afflicted is rarely considered with a due Tenderness; even by those that profess the greatest Friendship unto them. This is ordered by God, that they may make the more use of CHRIST, who was a *Man of Sorrows & Acquainted with Griefs*!⁴⁴⁹

v. 4. *The Arrows of the Almighty.*

[Not merely his Boils, but all his Troubles.] It is our Duty under Troubles, to take off our Eyes from Instruments, & look unto God. *Job* saies nothing of *Chaldeans*, or *Sabeans*, or *Satan*; but the Almighty.

Ditto. It is a sad Thing, when God keeps at a Distance from us in our Troubles, when they are like *Arrows*.⁴⁵⁰

v. 6. *That which is Unsavoury.*

True Doctrine may be made *Unsavoury*, by the Manner of applying it. So was *Eliphaz's*.⁴⁵¹

v. 11. *What is my Strength, that I should hope?*

God happily disappoints the sad Expectations of His People, in many things, which they certainly look for. *Job*, considering how little strength he had, expected certainly to Dy; but he lived long while after this.

Ditto. We reckon wrong, when we reckon only by our own Inherent Strength.⁴⁵²

v. 21. *Now yee are Nothing.*

A Man may be truly said, to be *Nothing*, when he is not what he *should be*. A sad Word for them, who live to no good Use in the World.

v. 22. *Did I say, Bring unto me?*

⁴⁴⁷ Hutcheson, p. 66.

⁴⁴⁸ Hutcheson, p. 67.

⁴⁴⁹ Hutcheson, p. 69.

⁴⁵⁰ Hutcheson, p. 71.

⁴⁵¹ Hutcheson, p. 72.

⁴⁵² Hutcheson, p. 75.

It is the Property of Godly and Sober Spirits to stoup unto a Mean Condition, and acquiesce in it, when God calls them to it.⁴⁵³

Chap. VII. 3. *Wearisome Nights.*

So condescending is the Providence of God, that the Trouble or Quiet of every Night is appointed by him.

*And, It is of God, that all our Comforts do not prove our Crosses.*⁴⁵⁴

v. 7. *My Life is Wind.*

When our Troubles are sanctified, they contribute much to render common Truths well understood, and more sensibly considered. As here, The Frailty of Humane Life. Whereas, the most precious Truths, become Nauseous to Hearers, that are not exercised.⁴⁵⁵

v. 13. *My Bed shall comfort me.*

They that are truly Humble, will acknowledge the meanest Mercy. Tho' but a little *Sleep*, in the midst of a great Deal of Trouble.⁴⁵⁶

v. 15. *And Death rather than Life.*

When the Children of God, are in the Heighth of their greatest Conflicts, yett His *Grace* will one way or other appear in them. Tho' *Job* would gladly Dy, yett he durst not cutt off himself.

v. 16. *My Dayes are Vanity.*

Men may live to more good Purpose than they think for. *Job* was never more useful to the World, and the Church in it, than when he thought, his *Dayes were Vanity*.⁴⁵⁷

Ditto. Mens Dayes are as often *Vanity*, in regard of their Useless and Fruitless Living, as in regard of Trouble taking them off their Business. Men do not so often complain of the former, as they murmur at the latter.⁴⁵⁸

v. 20. *I have sinned.*

A Man may find Sin in himself; and yett maintain his Integrity.⁴⁵⁹

⁴⁵³ Hutcheson, p. 78.

⁴⁵⁴ Hutcheson, p. 86.

⁴⁵⁵ Hutcheson, p. 88.

⁴⁵⁶ Hutcheson, p. 91.

⁴⁵⁷ Hutcheson, p. 92.

⁴⁵⁸ Hutcheson, p. 93.

⁴⁵⁹ Hutcheson, p. 95.

Chap. VIII. 4. *If thy Children have sinned against Him.*

God sometimes tries the Humility and Ingenuity of His Servants, by obliging them to take in a way of Challenge from others, what they are content privately to charge upon themselves. *Job* was himself afraid his Children had sinned: And now *Bildad* puts the same Fear upon him.⁴⁶⁰

v. 6. *The Habitation of thy Righteousness.*

Good Men must be careful to maintain *Righteousness*, & all Holiness of Conversation, among their Domestick & most Intimate Relations, where usually Men take the greatest Liberty.⁴⁶¹

v. 8. *Enquire, I pray thee, of the former Age.*

Appeals to Antiquity are sometimes rashly made by them that have not sufficiently examined it, & considered it. Tho' Mr. *Hutcheson* have not this Observation, yett he led me to it, by an Hint in a Word he letts fall; That the one Instance of *Cain* and *Abel*, might have refuted what *Jobs* Friends insisted on. But then he adds very well; "This may discover to us the Mercy of the sure written Word, which makes this uncertain Enquiry less needful."

Ditto. *Prepare thyself to the Search of their Fathers.*

The Experience of many Generations, if well observed, is a great Mercy to Posterity. And the longer the World continues, Ignorance & Unsettledness, in some Truths, that have been greatly verified, is the greater Iniquity.

[112v] | Ditto. *Prepare thyself.*

Truth won't be found out, even by them that search after it, without some suitable *Preparation*. A Man must be *Prepared*, by Prayer, and by laying aside all Interests and Passions, and by submitting to the Truth he is already acquainted withal.⁴⁶²

v. 9. *We know nothing.*

Error may be maintained, not only by Godly, but also by Humble Men. Yea, a Temptation to *Error*, may be fastned by Satan, upon Tenderness, upon Holiness, upon good Inclinations in the Children of Men. How Humble is *Bildad* in asserting an Error!

v. 10. *Shall not they Teach thee. – and utter Words out of their Heart.*

Teachers ought solidly to digest, what they are to Teach, and Communicate unto others; & so to Utter it, that it may be evident, they speak *from the Heart*.⁴⁶³

v. 22. *They that hate thee. – the Dwelling Place of the Wicked shall come to nought.*

⁴⁶⁰ Hutcheson, p. 101.

⁴⁶¹ Hutcheson, p. 102.

⁴⁶² Hutcheson, p. 103.

⁴⁶³ Hutcheson, p. 104.

Truly Godly Men must have their Enemies; But they are *Wicked* Ones. And in the issue, they prove Enemies to their own Families. Yea, God will deal with them, for their Punishment, as He dealt with His own People for their Trial. As *Jobs* Family was *come to nought*, so, —⁴⁶⁴

Chap. IX. 2. *I know it is so, of a Truth.*

Truth is the good Mans Jewel, on any Terms; & when he is in a good Frame, no Prejudice will so disoblige him, as to make him reject it. Tho' *Jobs* Friends had provoked him, yett he yields to what of *Truth* had been delivered by them.

Ditto. *How should Man be Just with God?*

Sense of Sin, is a special Mean, to produce a Right Carriage before God, under Trouble.⁴⁶⁵

v. 5. *Who removeth the Mountains.*

There is nothing so stable, but God can shake it.

Ditto. *who overturneth them in His Anger.*

Extraordinary Alterations on the Creatures, carry in them the *Anger* of God; not against the Creatures themselves, but against the Sinners that live upon them. Thus *Earthquakes* here.⁴⁶⁶

v. 12. *Who will say unto Him, What doest thou?*

It is not a sufficient Submission, when Men simply quitt what is taken from them, only because they cannot help it; unless also they give over Quarrelling with God in their Minds, as being the Sovereign Lord of all they Enjoy.⁴⁶⁷

v. 14. *How much less shall I?*

It is an Evidence of Humility, and of Real Wisdome, when Men are made wise upon the Expence of others.⁴⁶⁸

v. 18. *He will not suffer me to take my Breath.*

Learn to acknowledge the Mercy of Breathing Times.⁴⁶⁹

v. 20. *If I justify myself, my own Mouth shall Condemn me.*

The more a Man esteems his own Righteousness, he is thereby the worse in Effect, & in the Sight of God.

v. 21. *If I say, I am perfect, I know not my Soul.*

So read it. And observe; It is Mens Ignorance of themselves, or their being in some Sort out of their Witts, that makes them to Boast of their own Righteousness.

⁴⁶⁴ Hutcheson, p. 109.

⁴⁶⁵ Hutcheson, p. 111.

⁴⁶⁶ Hutcheson, p. 114.

⁴⁶⁷ Hutcheson, p. 117.

⁴⁶⁸ Hutcheson, p. 118.

⁴⁶⁹ Hutcheson, p. 120.

v. 22. *This is one thing; therefore I said it.*

Truth is Truth; and we are not to quitt it, because of any specious Pretences, or odious Aspersions.⁴⁷⁰

Chap. X. 3. — *shine upon the Counsel of the Wicked.*

Good Men love Piety so well, that it will exceedingly afflict them, when the Dealings of God with His People, seems to harden Men in Impiety, and Introduce Atheism & Wickedness. — To apprehend the *Counsel of the Wicked shined upon*.⁴⁷¹

v. 20. — *that I may take Comfort a little.*

That is, gett his Spirit calmed from those Passions, which he now abhors in himself. To an humble Saint, a Victory over his own Spirit, will be a Great Deliverance.

v. 21. *Before I go, whence I shall not Return.*

Men should be solicitous, not to be distempered with any Passions, as a Dying Hour approaches them.⁴⁷²

Chap. XI. 3. *Should thy Lies make Men hold their Peace.*

It is a sharp Trial sometimes befalling the best of Men, that they suffer under much Misconstruction; they are not seen in their true Colours, but thro' the Perspective of Prejudice & Passion.⁴⁷³

v. 5. *O that God would speak.*

Errors are such Bewitching and Entangling Evils, that what ever be Mens Duty to oppose them, yett it is above their reach to root them out.⁴⁷⁴

v. 14. *Lett not Wickedness dwell in thy Tabernacles.*

The Consideration of the Transitory State of our Families, that they dwell as in Moveable Tabernacles, ought powerfully to move us, unto the Reforming of what is amiss in our Families.

v. 15. *Thou shalt Lift up thy Face without Spott.*

Behold the Difference between the Impudent and the Pænitent. The former *Lift up their Face* with a cauterised Conscience; but they only proclame their

⁴⁷⁰ Hutcheson, p. 121.

⁴⁷¹ Hutcheson, p. 135.

⁴⁷² Hutcheson, p. 143.

⁴⁷³ Hutcheson, p. 145.

⁴⁷⁴ Hutcheson, p. 147.

Pollutions. The latter do it *without Spott*, their Sins being all Repented of and Pardoned.⁴⁷⁵

v. 18. *Thou shalt take thy Rest in Safety.*

The Help of God is nothing the further from the Man, to whom He is Reconciled, because he can be but little Active, to help himself. When we *Sleep* we can't do for ourselves, but He will do for us.⁴⁷⁶

v. 20. *The Eyes of the Wicked shall Fail.*

Lett wicked Men have never so much, they are still plagued with the Lust of the *Eye*; they desire & expect more; there is something further, which they still have their *Eye* upon.⁴⁷⁷

Chap. XII. 2. *No doubt, – Wisdome shall dy with you.*

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There is *no Doubt*, but we may be confident of it, that God can supply His Church with fitt Instruments, when such as have been eminent in their Generation are taken away.⁴⁷⁸

v. 4. – *the just upright Man is laughed to Scorn.*

proud Insolence in Debates, is disapproved of God, & an Evidence of an Evil Cause.⁴⁷⁹

v. 7, 8. *Ask the Beasts, & they shall teach thee; – the Fowls; – the Earth; – the Fishes of the Sea.*

What? Among the *Beasts*, and *Fowls*, and *Fishes*, nothing is more ordinary, than to see the Greater devour the Lesser; & the Ravenous devour the Harmless; yea, the Tamest of them frequently devoured for the use of Man. Therefore, tis no wonder, if God permitt wicked Men to oppress the Righteous. The Best *Earth* is most frequently torn up with Tillage; while barren Places are suffered to continue as they were. The greater Trees damnify the Lesser, & withhold both the Sun, & the Rain, that should nourish them. The Best Fruits are cutt down, & endure Grinding, and are præpared for the use of Man; when useless Things are lett alone. All this tends to illustrate *Jobs* Conclusion; That Oppressors may prosper, and the best of Men may be Sufferers.⁴⁸⁰

v. 13. *He hath Counsel.*

⁴⁷⁵ Hutcheson, p. 154.

⁴⁷⁶ Hutcheson, p. 158.

⁴⁷⁷ Hutcheson, p. 159.

⁴⁷⁸ Hutcheson, p. 160.

⁴⁷⁹ Hutcheson, p. 162.

⁴⁸⁰ Hutcheson, p. 164.

What Creatures have, is but borrowed, & may be taken away, when tis abused. But all Perfections, *God ha's* them; they belong to God, Originally & Independently.⁴⁸¹

v. 24. *He taketh away the Heart of the Chief of the People.*

The Ruines of a People are often from the Rulers of the People; God leaving them to Misgovernment.⁴⁸²

Chap. XIII. 3. *Surely, I would speak to the Almighty.*

Men should debate Controversies as in the Sight of God, and be afraid of Maintaining that before Men, which they durst not maintain in the Presence of God.⁴⁸³

v. 8. *Will yee accept His Person?*

God will not allow, that a Pretence of being for His *Righteousness*, be made an Excuse for the *Wrath* of Man. [Jam. I.20.]⁴⁸⁴

v. 12. *Your Remembrances are like unto Ashes.*

Whatever be Mans Conceit of himself, his *Excellencies* are but Base and Mean Things before the Glorious God; & all the Memorials thereof soon blasted, & laid in the Dust.⁴⁸⁵

v. 26. *Thou makest me to possess the Iniquities of my Youth.*

Tho' Youth is very obnoxious to Miscarriages, yett Youth will not excuse them. A Tender Heart will be much affected with them.⁴⁸⁶

v. 28. *He as a rotten thing confirmeth.*

Our Complaints are not to be dictated by Self-Love, nor that be made a great Thing in our own Case, which we should little regard in others. *Job* here speaks of himself in the Third Person. He saith not, *I*, but, *He*, perhaps, by way of Contempt. For Trouble should putt Men out of Conceit with themselves. Or, it may be, to point out this Frailty, as common to him, with all Men. Or, does it not refer to the *Leaf*, & the *Dry Stubble*, spoken of three Verses before? So, it should be read, *It*. But his chief Intention may be, that he could not but pitty such a Case, whosoever it was.

Ditto. *As a Garment that is Moth-Eaten.*

Whatever Men may think of themselves in a Time of Ease, Trouble will bring out their Frailty and Weakness. A *Garment that is Moth-Eaten*, may continue

⁴⁸¹ Hutcheson, p. 167.

⁴⁸² Hutcheson, p. 172.

⁴⁸³ Hutcheson, p. 174.

⁴⁸⁴ Hutcheson, p. 176.

⁴⁸⁵ Hutcheson, p. 178.

⁴⁸⁶ Hutcheson, p. 188.

long enough, if it be unemployed; but it is no sooner made use of, but it appears what it is.⁴⁸⁷

Chap. XIV. 4. *Who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean?*

They to whom Afflictions are blessed, will search after Sin, even to the very Root of it.⁴⁸⁸

v. 6. *Turn from him.*

He speaks of himself in the Third Person, intimating, that he would be content with the common Lott of *Adams* Posterity; which is that of an *Hireling*. It is an Evidence of a subdued Spirit, when Men do not seek to be singular in their Allowances, but are content patiently to bear the *common Lott* of Mankind.⁴⁸⁹

v. 7. *There is Hope of a Tree.*

Similitudes are used. How spiritual ought we to be! What Use we should make of the most common & obvious Things!⁴⁹⁰

v. 15. *Thou shalt call & I will answer thee.*

Yea, when God speaks to a Saint, he will be sensible of the call, tho' he be in a *Grave*!

Ditto. Thou wilt have a Desire to the Work of thine Hands.

When God ha's wrought a Work of Grace in any, He will have Respect unto it, & have a Care of them, whatever *Grave* they are thrown into.⁴⁹¹

Chap. XV. 4. *Thou Restrainest Prayer before God.*

There are Discourses and Principles, which open a Door to Profaneness, & Atheism, & Irreligion.⁴⁹²

v. 9. *What knowest thou that we know not.*

Conceited Men, are not sensible of the Irritations they give unto others, and the Indignities they cast upon them; And yett the least Thing that looks like a Contempt offered unto themselves, they highly resent it.

Ditto. It's quite wrong, for Men to leave the Consideration of the Cause in Debate, & come to consider Persons, & make Reflections upon them. As here, to dispute, who had the best Parts, *Job* or his Friends.

⁴⁸⁷ Hutcheson, p. 189.

⁴⁸⁸ Hutcheson, p. 192.

⁴⁸⁹ Hutcheson, p. 193.

⁴⁹⁰ Hutcheson, p. 194.

⁴⁹¹ Hutcheson, p. 198.

⁴⁹² Hutcheson, p. 206.

Ditto. Tis a Miscarriage, in Disputes, when the Learning and Wisdome of the Disputants is cried up, & Men must have a thing imposed on them as a Truth, because the Imposers are more learned than their Opposites.

[114v] | v. 10. *With us are very Aged Men.*
No Antiquity can prove an Opinion True, unless we recur to *Ancient of Dayes*, & find that it flows from Him.⁴⁹³

v. 18. *Wise Men have told from their Fathers.*
It is the Duty of Men in their Stations, not to hide what they know, of God & His Way, but be careful to have the Truth perpetuated in their Families, & among their Posterity.⁴⁹⁴

v. 31. *Lett not him that is deceived, trust in Vanity.*
Men are so desperately averse to Piety, & so prone to deceive themselves, that tho' they have had some Experience of their Folly, & how they have been already deceived, yett they will not be diverted from it; they will persist in it.⁴⁹⁵

v. 32. *It shall be accomplished before his Time.*
Sinful Men may out-live all their Enjoyments.⁴⁹⁶

Chap. XVI. 4. *If your Soul were in my Souls stead.*

Men should so treat others in a sad Condition, as not knowing how soon it may be their own Condition; and their Injustice & Unkindness towards others in their Distresses, may provoke the Lord to send the like Distresses on themselves.

v. 5. *the moving of my Lips should assuage your Grief.*
Godly Men, humbled under the Cross, will not be Revengeful, when they have Advantage over those who have notably injured them.⁴⁹⁷

v. 13. *His Archers compass me about.*
Afflictions don't hitt Men by Chance, but come by some Direction, & according to a Purpose of God. As *Arrows* from *Archers*.⁴⁹⁸

v. 22. *I shall go the way, whence I shall not return.*
Reproaches & unjust Imputations are things, whereof good Men would gladly see themselves well cleared before they Dy. For other Miseries end by Death; but Reproaches will outlive it.⁴⁹⁹

⁴⁹³ Hutcheson, p. 210.

⁴⁹⁴ Hutcheson, p. 215.

⁴⁹⁵ Hutcheson, p. 223.

⁴⁹⁶ Hutcheson, p. 224.

⁴⁹⁷ Hutcheson, p. 227.

⁴⁹⁸ Hutcheson, p. 232.

⁴⁹⁹ Hutcheson, p. 238.

Chap. XVII. 10. *As for you all, do you Return.*

When we tell others of their Faults, it should not be to Insult them, but to Reclaim them.⁵⁰⁰

Chap. XVIII. 2. *How long will it be, ere yee make an End of Words?*

Controversies once started, are not soon ended.⁵⁰¹

v. 6. *His Candle shall be putt out.*

All the Light & Comfort enjoy'd by Wicked Men, is but artificial, but composed, but of the lowest & basest Sort. Not a *Sun*, or a *Star*, but a *Fire* & a *Candle*, & a Spark of their own Kindling. And such as will also leave them in the Dark, when they have most Occasion for them.⁵⁰²

v. 20. *They that come after him shall be astonished at his Day.*

The Sense of the Judgments of God, ought to continue long among the Children of Men. Even, *after* the Sinner *is gone* & when his Ruine can only be heard of.⁵⁰³

Chap. XIX. 19. *My Inward Friends.*

Tho' good Men, are Friendly & Civil, to all whom they converse withal, yett they make a Distinction of their Friends, & admitt but some only to their Secrets & Counsels. *Job* had other Friends; but there were some who were peculiarly, *The Men of his Secret*, as it is in the Original.⁵⁰⁴

v. 21. *The Hand of the Lord hath touched me.*

One Touch of Gods Hand, is enough to undo a Man.

Ditto. The Piety of Men may be tried, by their sense of the Hand of God in their Afflictions.⁵⁰⁵

v. 24. — *that they were graven in the Rock forever.*

Men should study so to walk and act, as if not only all the present Generation throughout the World, saw what they did, but as if their Actions & Discourses were to be transmitted unto Posterity.

Ditto. After Ages will judge better of Controversies, than those who are embarked in them, & are transported with the Heat of Debates about them.

⁵⁰⁰ Hutcheson, p. 249.

⁵⁰¹ Hutcheson, p. 253.

⁵⁰² Hutcheson, p. 258.

⁵⁰³ Hutcheson, p. 265.

⁵⁰⁴ Hutcheson, p. 275.

⁵⁰⁵ Hutcheson, p. 277.

Truth will Triumph at last, & Perfume the Graves of them who have been buried with Ignominy for maintaining it.

Ditto. The Exercises of Pious Men, & the Fruits and Proofs of their Integrity under Trouble, are worthy Monuments. Tis pitty they should be lost.⁵⁰⁶

Chap. XX. 1. *Then answered Zophar the Naamathite.*

Men should consider what the Just God may have to say unto them, in the Continuance of Trials from the Injustice of Men. *Job* had the better Cause, & he gott the better of his Friends in the Dispute. Nevertheless, he failed something toward God. And therefore God orders it, that an Exercise of one kind or other, must not Leave him, until he was duely humbled before the Lord.⁵⁰⁷

v. 3. *I have heard the Check of my Reproach.*

When a Mans own Reputation is much in his Eye, he will not readily do much Good in Disputation. *Zophar* is under Irritation by the *Check of his Reproach*, and his Reply proves but a poor one.⁵⁰⁸

v. 7. *They that have seen him, shall say, Where is he?*

The Lord would have His wonderful Works of Justice to be Remark'd, & be made a Matter not only of Meditation but also of Conference in the World.⁵⁰⁹

v. 10. *His Hands shall Restore their Goods.*

No unjust Possession of Riches, will give Men a true Title to them. They are still, *Their Goods*, from whom they were unjustly taken.⁵¹⁰

v. 11. *They shall ly down with him in the Dust.*

Even the Grave won't separate Impænitent Sinners, from their Sins, & from the sad Effects of them.⁵¹¹

[115r] | v. 12. *He hides it under his Tongue.*

Wicked Men do not want for fine Language to palliate their Wickedness.⁵¹²

Chap. XXI. 11. *their Children dance.*

They breed them only in Idleness, Vanity, & Revelling. There is a searching Trial of Peoples Piety, in their Care about the Education of their Children.⁵¹³

⁵⁰⁶ Hutcheson, p. 280.

⁵⁰⁷ Hutcheson, p. 287.

⁵⁰⁸ Hutcheson, p. 288.

⁵⁰⁹ Hutcheson, p. 291.

⁵¹⁰ Hutcheson, p. 292.

⁵¹¹ Hutcheson, p. 293.

⁵¹² Hutcheson, p. 294.

⁵¹³ Hutcheson, p. 305.

v. 16. *Lo, their Good is not in their Hand.*

It is a sure Principle, & a great Encouragement unto Piety, that the World, & particularly that Part of it which is bestowed upon themselves, is not at the Disposal of wicked Men. All their Prosperity is entirely in the hand of God.⁵¹⁴

v. 31. *Who shall declare his Way to his Face?*

As it is the Mark of wicked Men, that they cannot endure Faithful Reproof, so tis their Plague, that they shall go without it.⁵¹⁵

Chap. XXII. 5. *Is not thy Wickedness Great?*

It may be wondred on what Pretence *Job* could be so charged! This Judgment was passed on him, not only because he was in great Affliction; but also tis not improbable, that the wicked Men, whom *Job* had crushed, & caused to fall under the Hand of Justice, did, now he was in Affliction, take Occasion to complain, that he had Oppress'd & Injur'd them.⁵¹⁶

v. 7. *Thou ha's not given Water, thou hast withholden Bread.*

Charity may be very acceptable to God thro' Christ, tho' Men give but a little, if that little bear Proportion to their Ability. A little *Bread*, and, *Water*.⁵¹⁷

v. 15. *Hast thou marked the Old Way?*

Sin is a very old Trade in the World.⁵¹⁸

v. 18. — *But the Counsel of the Wicked is far from me.*

The most commendable Emulation in the Debates of good Men, would be, who shall be most opposite unto impiety.⁵¹⁹

Chap. XXIII. 10. *He knowes the Way that I take.*

When tis the *Way*, or constant Endeavour, of a Man to please God, God will not reject him, for some Fitts of Distemper in him.⁵²⁰

⁵¹⁴ Hutcheson, p. 308.

⁵¹⁵ Hutcheson, p. 315.

⁵¹⁶ Hutcheson, p. 318.

⁵¹⁷ Hutcheson, p. 320.

⁵¹⁸ Hutcheson, p. 323.

⁵¹⁹ Hutcheson, p. 326.

⁵²⁰ Hutcheson, p. 343.

Chap. XXIV. 2. *Some remove the Landmarks.*

One of the First Sins punished in this Life, or one of the Sins least likely to escape a Punishment in this Life, is the Sin of *Oppression*. *Job* {instances} first in that Sin; to show, that if any Sin may look to be punished here, be sure, it will be this.⁵²¹

v. 3. *They take the Widowes Oxe for a Pledge.*

Oppression is nothing the less odious, for being committed under a Prætext of Law. Here tis a Crime, tho' it be a taking Things *for a Pledge*, which is according to Law.⁵²²

v. 5. *They go forth to their Work.*

Wicked Men make a Trade of Sin. Tis their *Work*.⁵²³

v. 13. *Those that Rebel against the Light.*

Mens *Light* should have Authority over them. They *Rebel*, who act against it.⁵²⁴

v. 21. *He doth not Good to the Widow.*

They who do not Good unto the afflicted, as they have Opportunity for it, may be charged with Hurting of them. They {*evilly entreat*} them.⁵²⁵

Chap. XXV. 2. *Dominion & Fear are with Him.*

He speaks of God without Naming Him; *Job* had done so before. It shewes how much God was in his Thoughts. Our Speech ought to be such, that it may be plain, that we are Thinking of God, tho' we do not say so.⁵²⁶

Ditto. *He maketh Peace in His High Places.*

Since *Peace* is in *Gods High Places*, there can be no Access for the Contentious there, nor for their Prayers.⁵²⁷

v. 5. *Behold, the Moon, — the Stars.*

Why not, the *Sun*? It seems this Discourse was in the Evening.⁵²⁸

521 Hutcheson, p. 350.

522 Hutcheson, p. 351.

523 Hutcheson, p. 352.

524 Hutcheson, p. 354.

525 Hutcheson, p. 359.

526 Hutcheson, p. 363.

527 Hutcheson, p. 364.

528 Hutcheson, p. 366.

Chap. XXVI. 2. *How savest thou the Arm that hath no Strength?*

q. d. He had said nothing to support his almost exhausted Faith. Faith is the *Arm* of the Soul.⁵²⁹

v. 9. *He spreadeth His Cloud upon it.*

Our Light & Comforts are not always gone, when we see them not.⁵³⁰

Chap. XXVII. 6. *My Heart shall not Reproach me so long as I live.*

A Man should rather chuse to lett any Creature be his Enemy, than his own Conscience.⁵³¹

v. 8. *The Hypocrite, — hath gained.*

Hypocrisy and Covetousness (or the Inordinate Thirst of *Gain*,) are Evils that often remarkably go together.⁵³²

v. 11. *I will teach you.*

Irritations and Provocations should not cause Men to neglect their Duty towards them that have provoked them. Tho' *Jobs* Friends had grieved him, yett he would not lett them continue in their Mistakes: he would still *Teach* them.⁵³³

v. 15. — *shall be Buried in Death.*

It is an Infelicity, to Dy in an Odd Way, & without having any Solemnity, or leaving any Memorial.⁵³⁴

v. 18. *He buildeth his House as a Moth.*

Wicked Men care not whom they wrong, if they may but serve and fix themselves. As the *Moth*, which eats the best Cloth, & what belongs not unto it.⁵³⁵

Chap. XXVIII. 25. *To make the Weight for the Winds.*

The meanest Things, yea, those that are most Certain, yea, those that are most Turbulent, are ordered by the Providence of God.⁵³⁶

v. 28. — *To depart from Evil is Understanding.*

⁵²⁹ Hutcheson, p. 368.

⁵³⁰ Hutcheson, p. 376.

⁵³¹ Hutcheson, p. 385.

⁵³² Hutcheson, p. 386.

⁵³³ Hutcheson, p. 390.

⁵³⁴ Hutcheson, p. 394.

⁵³⁵ Hutcheson, p. 395.

⁵³⁶ Hutcheson, p. 370. The pagination in the 1669 edition of Hutcheson's *Exposition* is inconsistent here. Page numbers revert to 370 beginning with the exposition of chapter 28.

The Fear of God, will not allow any *one Sin* whatever. It looks on Sin, as *Evil*; & it is opposite unto this *Evil* indefinitely; every Kind of it, every Act of it, every Degree of it.

Ditto. The *Understanding* of Men is never so well discovered, as when Sin *follows* them with Temptations, and Perswasions, and all its Fallacious Oratory; but they Avoid it.⁵³⁷

[116v] Chap. XXIX. 2. *O that I were as in Months past; as in the Dayes.* —

The Times of our Lives, & more particularly, the Times of our Prosperity, are to be measured by short Periods. *Months, Dayes.*

Ditto. Tis a very comfortable Thing, when a prosperous Condition leaves no Sting behind it; nothing, that when it is gone, shall make Men ashamed of it.⁵³⁸

v. 3. *By His Light I walked thro' Darkness.*

When God gives the greatest Proofs of His Favour, yett He may suffer some Dark Exercises to continue on His People; Either of Temptations to Sin, or of some other Difficulties. Tho' *Job* had the *Shining* of the *Candle* on him, yett he had some *Darkness* to *walk through*.

Ditto. To have much to do, and much of God, and Furniture from Him, wherewith to do it, is a sweet Life in the Esteem of a Godly Man.⁵³⁹

v. 5. *When the Almighty was yett with me.* Communion with God, is the First & Chief Part of a Godly Mans Prosperity.⁵⁴⁰

v. 9. *The Princes refrained Talking.*

They are to be condemned, who envy the Abilities & Eminencies of others, & think nothing well done, except they themselves are notably seen in the doing of it.⁵⁴¹

v. 11. — *it blessed me, — it gave Witness to me.*

To Deny Men the Testimony, which is due to them, is a great Iniquity; A breach of the Ninth Commandment.

Ditto. *When the Ear heard me, — when the Eye saw me.*

Me, is a Supplement of ours; it is not in the Original. In giving a Testimony & a Commendation, we should not consider the *Person* of any Man, or look chiefly at *that*, or be sway'd by a *Respect of Persons*; but consider the *Matter* abstractly; *What* ha's been *heard* & *seen*, & not in *Whom*.⁵⁴²

⁵³⁷ Hutcheson, pp. 373–74.

⁵³⁸ Hutcheson, p. 376.

⁵³⁹ Hutcheson, p. 377.

⁵⁴⁰ Hutcheson, p. 379.

⁵⁴¹ Hutcheson, p. 382.

⁵⁴² Hutcheson, p. 383.

v. 14. *I putt on Righteousness, and it clothed me; my Judgment was as a Robe & a Diadem.*

Judgment subjoined unto *Righteousness*, may import, That one should not always Judge according to the strict Rigour of the Law, but observe Moderation, when the Cause requires it.

Ditto. A Magistrate should have no Access for Injustice at any Passage; he must be fixed in it against all Opposition; and it must be Habitual to him. All this is implied in its *cloathing* him.

Ditto. The Faithful Discharge of his Office, is to a good Magistrate, his chief Crown & Ornament.⁵⁴³

v. 17. *I brake the Jaws of the Wicked.*

The Oppression of the Poor, is a Brutish Wickedness.⁵⁴⁴

v. 18. *Then I said, I shall Dy in my Nest.*

Sometimes it pleases God, when He ha's exercised His People, to grant them a Fulfilment of those Expectations, that seem'd wholly to be disappointed, and have a Sentence of Death written on them. What *Job* had formerly look'd for, did after his Trial, really come to pass.⁵⁴⁵

v. 24. *If I laughed on them. —*

It is lawful for good and grave and great Men, sometimes to be cheerful. Yett they should be so sparing in it, that the Spectators may look on it, as a Rarity.⁵⁴⁶

Chap. XXX. [*The whole.*]

The Want of Wealth, is not the Worst of Trials to a godly & generous Mind. In all the Enumeration of *Jobs* Troubles, there is no Complaint, of his Wealth being taken from him.⁵⁴⁷

v. 2. *Whereto might the Strength of their Hands profit me?*

Men are to be accounted Base, or otherwise according to their Usefulness. Unprofitable Creatures are very Despicable Ones.⁵⁴⁸

v. 3. *They were Solitary.*

Even Hermitages will not cure Mens Vices.⁵⁴⁹

⁵⁴³ Hutcheson, p. 385.

⁵⁴⁴ Hutcheson, p. 386.

⁵⁴⁵ Hutcheson, p. 388.

⁵⁴⁶ Hutcheson, p. 389.

⁵⁴⁷ Hutcheson, p. 392.

⁵⁴⁸ Hutcheson, p. 394.

⁵⁴⁹ Hutcheson, p. 395.

Chap. XXXI. 12. *It is a Fire that consumeth to Destruction.*

So formidable is the Wrath of God against Sin, that it is never quenched but in the Destruction of the Sinner, Except the Sinner by Repentance flee to the only Saviour. This Passage alludes to the Destruction of *Sodom*.⁵⁵⁰

v. 16. *or have caused the Eyes of the Widow to fail.*

We ought to be Active and Speedy in doing of Good. Not make any *Eyes* weary in waiting for it.⁵⁵¹

v. 18. *From my Youth, he was brought up with me.*

See the Benefit of a Good Education. And, how Good it is to begin betimes, in Youth to do well!⁵⁵²

v. 26. *If I beheld the Sun when it shined.*

Confidence in Wealth, ha's a near affinity with the grossest Idolatry, that worships any Creatures. *Job* here joins these two, because of their affinity, & because the one draws on the other.⁵⁵³

Chap. XXXII. 3. *Also against his Three Friends, was his Wrath kindled.*

Zeal ought to be uniform. *Elihus* was not only against *Jobs* Errors, but those of his Friends also.⁵⁵⁴

v. 19. — *ready to burst like New Bottles.*

— He means not, *New Bottles*, [compare Matth. IX.17.] but Bottles fill'd with *New Wine*, which by its Working is ready to burst the *Bottles*, if they be not very strong. Tho' the Spirit of God will not make Men *Furious*, yett it will make them *Fervent* in the Cause of God.⁵⁵⁵

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Chap. XXXIII. 1. *Hearken to All my Words.*

Tis a Duty to hear Men out.⁵⁵⁶

v. 6. *I also am formed out of the Clay.*

⁵⁵⁰ Hutcheson, p. 421.

⁵⁵¹ Hutcheson, p. 424.

⁵⁵² Hutcheson, p. 425.

⁵⁵³ Hutcheson, p. 429.

⁵⁵⁴ Hutcheson, p. 444.

⁵⁵⁵ Hutcheson, p. 453–54. I have corrected the inconsistent pagination in *Exposition* here, which misidentifies page 454 as page 456. Correct pagination begins again with page 455.

⁵⁵⁶ Hutcheson, p. 458.

Men that are to speak in Gods Stead, or as His Mouth, ought to be balanced with much Humility. *Elihu* so employ'd, remembers that he is *formed out of the Clay*.⁵⁵⁷

v. 18. *He keepeth back his Soul from the Pitt.*

Nothing so sad befalls the People of God, but it is to prevent something sadder.⁵⁵⁸

v. 26. *He shall pray unto God.*

We never pray so well, as when we have made our Flight unto the Imputed Righteousness of our Saviour, and received the Manifestations of the Divine Favour to us.⁵⁵⁹

Chap. XXXIV. 13. *Who hath given Him a Charge over the Earth?*

The supreme Dominion of God over the Earth, proves that He can do no wrong; and when we cannot in any particular Case easily discern His Righteousness, we should silence ourselves with the Thoughts of His Sovereignty.⁵⁶⁰

v. 18. *Is it fitt to say to a King, Thou art Righteous?*

Mr. *Hutcheson* chuses to read the Verse without any of our Supplements. *Wilt thou condemn Him that is Most Just? Even Him that saies to a King, Thou art Wicked* [or, O Belial:] *and, to Princes, Yee are Ungodly! Who accepts not the Person of Princes!*

God is so Just, as not to spare the greatest Persons in the World.⁵⁶¹

v. 34. *Lett Men of understanding tell me.*

Tho' Men should stand for the Truth, were they left alone; yett it is a desireable Thing to be Encouraged & Accompanied in the Maintainance of the Truth; And it is a Duty which we owe unto the Truth, to stand by them that maintain it.⁵⁶²

v. 36. *His Answers for Wicked Men.*

When Godly Men do not bear Afflictions patiently, or do complain of Gods Dealings with them, they harden wicked Men in evil Wayes.⁵⁶³

⁵⁵⁷ Hutcheson, p. 461.

⁵⁵⁸ Hutcheson, p. 477.

⁵⁵⁹ Hutcheson, p. 484.

⁵⁶⁰ Hutcheson, p. 495.

⁵⁶¹ Hutcheson, p. 498.

⁵⁶² Hutcheson, p. 507.

⁵⁶³ Hutcheson, p. 508.

Chap. XXXV. 4. *I will answer thee & thy Companions with thee.*

Honest and Zealous Men, will engage in the Defence of Truth, altho' it be against never so many.⁵⁶⁴

v. 10. *But none saith, Where is God?*

It is a great Fault, when Men under Oppression, make more Noises of their Trouble, than they make Errands to God.⁵⁶⁵

Chap. XXXVI. 2. *Suffer me a little.*

It is Prudence in the Messengers to God, not to be Tedious & Wearisome.⁵⁶⁶

v. 21. *Take heed.*

The Miscarriages of Good Men, are from their Inadvertency.⁵⁶⁷

v. 27. *He maketh small the Drops of Water.*

The Moderation used by God in dispensing many of our Temporal Mercies, is itself a Remarkable Mercy.⁵⁶⁸

Chap. XXXVII. 7. *He sealet up the Hand of Every Man,
that all Men may know His Work.*

Idle Time needs not be spent Idly, nor Unprofitably.⁵⁶⁹

v. 13. — *for His Land.*

God laies a Claim to the Earth, & He testifies His Interest & Propriety in it, by the Rain that He sends upon it.⁵⁷⁰

Chap. XXXVIII. 1. *Then the Lord answered.*

It is our Comfort, all our Controversies will be one Day decided. But for our Humbling, alas, many Mistakes on both sides, will then be discovered.⁵⁷¹

v. 7. *When the Morning Stars sang together.*

⁵⁶⁴ Hutcheson, p. 511.

⁵⁶⁵ Hutcheson, p. 513.

⁵⁶⁶ Hutcheson, p. 521.

⁵⁶⁷ Hutcheson, p. 534.

⁵⁶⁸ Hutcheson, p. 539.

⁵⁶⁹ Hutcheson, p. 3. Pagination restarts at the beginning of the exposition of Chapter 37.

⁵⁷⁰ Hutcheson, p. 5.

⁵⁷¹ Hutcheson, p. 10.

If the Angels of God, were not Counsellors but only admiring & applauding Spectators, at His Creating of the World, how little can the poor Children of Men pretend to direct the Glorious One, in ordering and governing the Affairs of it.⁵⁷²

v. 23. *Which I have reserved against the Time of Trouble.*

One of the Uses, for which the Great God made His Creatures, is, this; That He may scourge Rebellious Man with them.⁵⁷³

Chap. XXXIX. 1, 3. *the Hinds do calve. –
they bring forth their Young Ones.*

They that are cast on God, & left with Him, will not be Ill-provided for. He takes Care of the *Hinds*, and their *Young Ones*.⁵⁷⁴

v. 9. *Will he be Willing to serve thee?*

Things are not useless, tho' they don't serve to such Uses, as we would have desired; Tho' they don't *serve us*.

v. 17. *God hath deprived her of Wisdome.*

There is no Excellency in any Creature, but it is attended with some Imperfection. The Beauty of the *Ostrich*, is disgraced with Stupidity.⁵⁷⁵

Chap. XLII. 7. *The Lord said to Eliphaz,
My Wrath is kindled against thee.*

Unsound Principles, are worse than Weak, Rash, Sinful Expressions, which are in Passion uttered. This was the Difference between *Job*, and his Friends.⁵⁷⁶

v. 8. *Go to my Servant Job.*

In due Time, God will putt Honour on His Reproached Servants, who have behaved themselves as they ought to do. *Job* is not only by God thrice called, *My Servant*, but also made a *Priest* for those who had wronged him.⁵⁷⁷

Tho' I have chosen to putt these Observations, very much into my own Expressions, (and if I had imitated a great part of those who sett up for *Authorism*, I might easily have made them to pass for *my own*) yett I must own my honoured Master *Hutcheson*, as the Author of the Hints, which | have afforded [118v]

⁵⁷² Hutcheson, p. 14.

⁵⁷³ Hutcheson, p. 20.

⁵⁷⁴ Hutcheson, p. 24.

⁵⁷⁵ Hutcheson, p. 26.

⁵⁷⁶ Hutcheson, p. 48.

⁵⁷⁷ Hutcheson, p. 50.

them. If any Acknowledgments at all belong to me, they are only those of a little *Industry*. But indeed we, both of us desire, *He* in the *Paradisian World*, and I hastening (as I hope) unto it, that instead of any Acknowledgments paid unto *us*, we may be *Nothing*, and they be all paid unto the Glorious Lord, from whom we have *Received*, all that we have *Offered* unto *Him*, & unto His People.

It is possible that sometimes in our *Illustrations* on this, & on other Parts of the Sacred Scripture, when I have been enriched with many good Thoughts together, from one Man, I have not remembred alwayes to *Quote* him, every Time I have *Us'd* him. Yett, I hope, no *such Writer* ha's gone without proper Acknowledgments; nor indeed, any *One* been left wholly unmentioned, that ha's been useful to me.

Q. The *Davidic Psalms*, are they composed in any proper *Metre*, or what *Measure* is there, whereto the *Poesy* of the *Psalms* is to bee adjusted?

A. This ha's been as *Vexed a Question* unto our modern Criticks, as most that they have meddled with. It would bee endless to reckon up the several *Methods* wherewith learned Men, have attempted an Account of the Hebrew *Poesy*: tis done by the learned *Pfeiffer*, in his *Dubia Vexata Scripture Sacrae*. Of all those Attempts, I know not whether that of the excellent *Gomarus*, bee not one of the most probable; but the Rules invented by that Author, are so prodigiously lax, that you may according thereunto imagine a Verse in almost every Line of *Cesars* Commentaries, *Tullies* Orations, or any other Author in the World. Wherefore, after all, I must keep to this Opinion, That the *Poesy* of the Ancient Hebrewes, knew no *Measure*, but that of the now unknown *Music*, whereto it was to bee accomodated.

The *Psalms* are not so much *metrical* as *musical*: and hence, the very Incriptions of them, intimate that there was a Sort of *Melody*, whereto they were fitted. It is true, that all the Oriental Nations at this Day, have their *metred Poetry*; but it is of a late Original; and perhaps the successes of the *Græcian*, and the *Roman* Arms, hath carried it about the World. However, tis very certain, that all the Skill in the world, will not find the Rules of that *metred Poetry*, with any tolerable Exactness observed in our Bible. I value the Authority of neither *Philo*, nor *Josephus*, nor *Jerom*, in this Matter, till I see them clear of more important Mistakes, than this, when they go to resolve the Hebrew *Poesy*, into, I know not what, *Lyricks* and *Hexameters*. But from the present Practice of the Jewes, to *Sing* what they should *Read*, in their Synagogues, I rather gather a Sort of Concession, that the Lawes of *Song*, were the only ones, that were considered in their Primitive *Poesy*.²

¹ See Appendix B.

² Cheryl Rivers, in her 1977 Columbia University dissertation, "Cotton Mather's 'Biblia Americana' Psalms and the Nature of Puritan Scholarship," transcribes and translates Mather's frequent Latin in the annotations on the first 30 Psalms. She was able to identify the sources for many, but not all, of these and I am heavily indebted to her initial exploration. In every case, however, I have verified her notations and corrected them on those few occasions when it was necessary. Rivers does not remark upon the fact that many of Mather's annotations in the Psalms also appear in his own *Psalterium Americanum* (1718). Hereafter *Psalterium*. In this case, for example, See Mather's introduction to the *Psalterium*, pp. xii–xiii. For both the *Psalterium* and his introduction to the Psalms in "Biblia Americana," Mather extracts material from Pfeiffer's *Dubia Vexata Scripturae Sacrae, Sive Loca Difficiliora Vet. Test.* The annotation is culled from Pfeiffer's own lengthy preface at cent. 3, loc. 46, pp. 279–82. See especially § 12, pp. 261–62 and pp. 284–86. Pfeiffer provides Mather with his references to and quotations from Gomar, Philo, Josephus, and Jerome. Gomarus is Francois Gomar (1563–1641), the

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Q. *Illustrations* upon the *Psalms* are to be fetched from very many Writings. But may not the *Psalms* themselves afford *Illustrations* to very many of the Inspired Writings?

A. It is a Good Note of Old *Hilary*, That the Book of *Psalms* may be compared unto a Bundle of *Keys*; which will open the Locks, of the Difficult Places in other Scriptures.³

[**]

Q. About the *Mictam*, found in the *Title* of several *Psalms*, what Remarkable, have we mett withal, besides the common Observations?

A. One M. Gousset, ha's lately published, *Commentarios Linguae Hebraicae*, wherein he ha's a Discourse on this Word, *Mictam*. He observes, The Word signifies, *A Thing that is covered with Gold*. But another Word, of the same Letters, does also signify, *A Sanctified Thing*. He observes, That our Lord JESUS CHRIST, and His Works, are variously exhibited in the *Types* of the Old Testament. There is a Sort of *Prophecies*, whereof the *Mystical* Sense, is the *Literal* Sense. The *Typical* Sense, or the Sense as it concerns the *Type*, is the *Remoter* Sense. Tis as a peece of *Canvas*, on which the Holy Spirit ha's drawn the *Mystical* Sense, as a *Gold Embroidery*. Here is a *Mictam*, a Wood, or Stone, or Canvas, covered with Gold. The *Sixteenth Psalm* is a *Mictam*; *David* is the Canvas; the Graces he received from God, are the Linen; on this, the Spirit of God ha's embroidered in *Gold*, the Hope which our Lord JESUS CHRIST had of His Resurrection, and the Glory that followed it. The *Fifty Sixth Psalm* is a *Mictam*; upon the Idea of *David* in the Hands of Murderers the Spirit of God ha's wrought a *Golden Idea*, of JESUS CHRIST, in the Hands of His Murderers.⁴

[2v]

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Q. About the Word, *Selah*, which is found seventy one times, in the Book of *Psalms*, and three times in *Habakkuk*?

A. In the *Thesaurus Philologico-Theologicus* lately published; there is a Dissertation upon this Word.

Belgian Calvinist and main disputant against Jacob Arminius (1560–1609) (*EB*). The work alluded to is *Davidis Lyra, seu nova Ebraea Sacrae Scripturae Ars Poetica* (1637). The Harvard library held a 3 volume edition of Gomar's *Operum Theologicorum* (1644). Mather could also have found much of this in his dependable Poole, *Synopsis Criticorum* (2:500–01). Philo examines Hebrew poetry in *De Vita Mosis* (1.5). On the *Psalms* in Josephus, see *Antiquities* (7.12). Jerome (c. 340–420), translator of the Vulgate, describes Hebrew poetry in his Preface to Job [PL 28.1140–1142].

³ Hilary of Poitiers (c. 315–67). See [PL 9.236]. The Harvard Library did own a work of Hilary's, his "extant meditations," or *Lucubrationes quotquot extant* (1580).

⁴ Gousset's *Commentarii Linguae Ebraicae*, pp. 409–11. This definition of "mictam" as something covered with gold is now considered dubious. *Psalterium* (pp. xiv–xv).

The Author gives us all the Old Interpretations & the Reasons of his looking out for a New One.

He thinks, That the word *SELAH*, is a proper Name of the Blessed God; and that it signifies, *The Magnificent*, or, *One that is exalted on high*.

The Word must not be separated from the rest of the Discourse, but it is to be look'd on as a part of it; It belongs to the Period, & is to be rendred sometimes in the *Nominative* Case & sometimes in the *Genitive*, & sometimes in other Cases; but most commonly in the *Vocative*.⁵

Q. About the *Psalms*, which were sung in the *Temple-Service* Every Morning, on the *pouring out of the Drink-Offering*?

A. The *Psalms* that were more ordinarily sung were these.

On the *First Day* of the Week, they sang the XXIV Psalm; which begins, *To the Eternal GOD, the Earth, and what fills it, belongs*; Because, on the *First Day* of the Week, the Creation began, and GOD possessed the World, & gave it in Possession.

On the *Second Day*, they sang, the XLVIII. *Great art Thou, O Eternal GOD; and greatly to be praised*; Because on This Day, the Lord made a Division of His Works; the Waters particularly, and Reigned over them.

On the *Third Day*, they sang the LXXXII. *In the Assembly of our GOD, there standeth GOD the Judge*; Because on This Day, the Earth appeared, upon which there must be Judgment & Judges: And by His Wisdome He discovered the Earth, & established the World by His Understanding.

On the *Fourth Day*, they sang the XCIV. *O Thou Eternal GOD, The GOD to whom Revenge belongs*; Because on This Day He made, the Host of Heaven, and will be Revenged on those who Worship them.

On the *Fifth Day*, they sang the LXXXI. *O Sing aloud unto the GOD in whom we have our Strength*; Because of the Variety of Creatures which were made on This Day to praise His Name.

On the *Sixth Day*, they sang the XCIII. *The Eternal GOD is now the King; High Glory He puts on*; Because on This Day GOD finished His Works of Creation, & made Man, who understands the Glory of His Creator.

On the *Seventh Day*, they sang the XCII, which bears the Title of, *A Psalm or Song for the Sabbath Day*.

When the *Psalms* were sung, they were divided by the Singers into Three Parts; at each of which they made long Rest, by ceasing from their Singing & their Music. At these Three Intermissions, the *Trumpetts* were sounded, & the

⁵ Rivers notes that Mather is transposing the name of this text. He refers to the *Dissertatio de SELAH Philologicæ Enucleato* of Johannes Paschius (d. 1709), contained in *Thesaurus Theologico-Philologicus*, a 2-volume collection of dissertations intended to supplement to Pearson's *Critici Sacri* (1701–02), 1:666–74. Mather is referring specifically to part 2 of Paschius's dissertation (1:670–74). *Psalterium* (pp. xvi–xvii).

People worshipped. The Sounding was a *Taratantara*, that is, Three Strains, a Plain, a Quavering, and a Plain again.⁶

Q. About, *The Book of PSALMS*?

A. *Melanchthon* truly saies, Tis the most elegant Work extant in the World. It ha's indeed performed, that which *Plato* wish'd for, but which he confessed was above the reach of meer Man. That Philosopher saw, there was no more efficacious Way of Instructing Youth, than by *Odes* and *Songs*; about which he discourses at large, & gives a great many Cautions in his *Second Book of Laws*: But after all, he concludes, at last; *τοῦτο δὲ θεοῦ, ἡ θεοῦ τινοῦς ἀνείη*. *This must be the Work of God, or of some Divine Man*. Herein, he plainly acknowledges the Defect of their Institution (tho' certain Poems were pretended then to have been anciently made by their Goddess *Isis*) and marvellously owns the Hebrew Discipline, which taught their Children or Scholars by *HYMNS*.

The Psalms are in the Hebrew divided into *Five Books*, like those of *Moses*; and so they may be called, *A Second Pentateuch*.

They have such a strange Power as *Proclus* of *Constantinople* expresses it: *To cure Heaviness, to extirpate Grief, to wipe away Sorrow, to lay asleep Troublesome Thoughts & Passions, to ease us of our Cares, to recreate those who are oppressed with any Sorte of Pains, as well as to move Compunction for Sin, and to stimulate unto Piety*; that no Book in the World, is to be compared with it for these Purposes.

Theodoret informs us, The People in his Time were so well acquainted with them, that both in *City* and *Countray*, it was the Employment of Christian People to sing them; and they that had little Acquaintance with any other Book of the Scripture yett had this so by heart, that both in their Houses & in the Streets, & in the Highways, they were wont to recreate themselves with the Singing of these Holy Songs.

The Commendations which the Ancients give of this Book, are as High as Humane Language can rise. *Basil* alone, would give you the sense of all the rest, who among other things calls it, *The common Treasure of all good Precepts*; and, he saies, tis *Εκκλησιας Φωνή*, *The Voice of the Church*; and in it may be found, *Θεολογία Τέλεια*, *A complete Body of Theology*.⁷

⁶ This note is copied from ch. 7 of John Lightfoot's *The Temple Service as it stood in the Days of Our Saviour* (1682), which reappears in Lightfoot, *Works* (1:922–23). Lightfoot, in his turn, is transcribing tractate Tamid (33b) from the Mishnah Kodoshim in the Babylonian Talmud.

⁷ This material is culled from the unpaginated preface to Simon Patrick's *The Book of Psalms Paraphras'd*, sect. 1. Philip Melanchthon (1497–1560), colleague of Martin Luther, wrote a commentary on the Psalms to which Patrick is referring. See Melanchthon's *Opera*, vol. 13, col. 1017. Plato, in the second book of his *Laws*, praises ancient music in Egypt. Proclus, Patriarch of Constantinople, was an early church father who died in 446. See [PG 65.691]. Theodoret of Cyrene (c. 393–c. 450) was an Antiochan exegete. Patrick is most likely referring to a scene in the *Historia Ecclesia* (2.19), where Flavianus and Diodorus introduce the singing of Psalms to the church at Antioch. This practice later spread, according to Theodoret, "to the

Q. Some Ingenious and Well-Disposed Men, have given us diverse Versions of the *Psalms* in Meetre. And those Versions, no doubt, have some Good & Fine *Illustrations*, here and there scattered in them.

A. I have not had the Time to peruse them all. And in most of them, you have no Glosses, but what are Common. But I have at this Instant Lying before me, a Version of the *Psalms*, made by One Mr. *Charles Darby*, in which I find many good Thoughts and Flights. I will give you a Taste of them.

Psal. 2.9.

With Iron Scepter thou shalt Rule;
And, *if they scorn thy Yoke*,
Shalt dash them all in Peeeces small,
As Potters Sheards are broke.

v. 12.

Humbly Adore, and *Kiss the Feet*
Of His Beloved Son.
Lest His Displeasure should arise,
And you be all undone.⁸

Psal. 8.2.

Thou, by the Mouth of Sucking Babes,
Canst bring great things to pass:
HE quell'd the Enemy by His Word,
who *first* an *Infant* was.⁹

v.5.

He who abased was *a while*,
And less than Angels made,

ends of the earth." See [PG 82.1059]. The remark of Basil of Caesarea is from his *Homilia in Psalmum I* in [PG 29.212–13]. See also *Psalterium* (pp. iii–iv).

⁸ These quatrains are copied from Charles Darby's *The Book of Psalms in English Metre* (1704), p. 3. Darby, who died in 1709, sought in his version of the Psalms to replace Semitic with English turns of phrase and, to maintain his meter, often collapsed several verses into one quatrain. A nineteenth-century review of Darby's method is William Watkinson's "Pre-Wesleyan Hymnology," which appeared in the *London Quarterly Review* (1888).

⁹ Darby, *The Book of Psalms*, p. 9.

With Honour, and with Glory now
Is crowned and array'd.¹⁰

Psal. 12.6, 7, 8.
Gods Word, like Silver seven times try'd,
Remains most pure and good;
And He will ever save His Flock
From this Ungodly Brood.
The Wicked then shall *wondring Gaze*,
And Walk on every Side,
To see how *good Men* are advanc'd,
*Whom they so Vilify'd.*¹¹

Psal. 14.5, 6.
But tho' the Poor, that trust in God,
These wicked Men deride,
His Terrors shall convince at last,
That God is on their Side.¹²

Psal. 16.2, 3.
And tho' *my Goods* thou needest not,
Yett on thy Saints below,
The Excellent, whom I so love,
*I freely them bestow.*¹³

v. 7.
Thanks be to God, who counsels me,
How I may walk aright:
And with *good Thoughts* doth me inspire,
And teach me *every Night*.

v. 9, 10.
This makes my Heart to leap for Joy,
My Mouth in Praises 'ope:
To think of that Immortal Prince,
Whose Flesh shall rest in Hope.
For thou wilt not permitt Him long
In Bands of Death to lye;

¹⁰ Darby, *The Book of Psalms*, p. 10.

¹¹ Darby, *The Book of Psalms*, p. 17.

¹² Darby, *The Book of Psalms*, p. 18.

¹³ Darby, *The Book of Psalms*, p. 19.

Nor leave thy Dear and Holy One
In Grave to putrify.¹⁴

Psal. 17.13.

Rise, Lord, Defeat, and Cast them down,
Who thus my Life pursue;
Draw forth thy Sword, and save my Life
From that ungodly Crew.¹⁵

Psal. 21.9, 10.

In Wrath thou shalt consume them all,
As in a Furnace hott;
Their seed shall perish from the Earth,
And Children be forgott.¹⁶

Psal. 22.26.

The Meek, and they that seek the Lord,
Upon those Feasts shall feed;
And Praise the Lord with cheerful Hearts,
That helps them at their Need.

v. 27, 28, 29, 30.

All People shall confess to Him,
That He is King of Kings;
All, all the great Ones of the Earth,
Shall bring their Offerings.
And *when they to the Dust shall go*,
The next succeeding Age,
Shall hear and learn to serve the Lord,
And be His Heritage.¹⁷

Psal. 29.9, 10.

Within His Temple every one
Proclaims His Power aloud;
Whose *Seat is on the Waters High*,
And Throne upon a Cloud.¹⁸

¹⁴ Darby, *The Book of Psalms*, p. 20.

¹⁵ Darby, *The Book of Psalms*, p. 21.

¹⁶ Darby, *The Book of Psalms*, p. 29.

¹⁷ Darby, *The Book of Psalms*, p. 32.

¹⁸ Darby, *The Book of Psalms*, p. 42.

Psal. 32.6.

For this shall every good Man pray,
 When thou art to be found;
 And shall be *Safe in mighty Floods,*
*When other Men are Drown'd.*¹⁹

v. 8.

Then suffer me, O wicked Man,
 To give thee good Advice;
 I will Instruct thee in the way,
 By which thou mayst be wise.²⁰

Psal. 34.11.

Come hither then, yee Children dear,
 And to my Words give heed;
 I'll shew you, *from the Fear of God*
*What Blessings do proceed.*²¹

Psal. 36.3.

His whole Discourse is nothing Else,
 But Malice, Fraud, and Lyes;
As if he quite had taken Leave
 Of being Good or Wise.²²

Psal. 40.6, 7.

When Sacrifice and Offerings
 Our Sins could not remove;
Thou didst prepare a Sacrifice,
The Lord from Heaven above.
 In Manner of a servant Mean,
 Or one whose Ears are bor'd,
 He came and said, Lo, Here I am,
 To do thy Will, O Lord.²³

Psal. 42.6, 7.

O God, my Soul is troubled sore,
 Yett will I think on thee,

¹⁹ Darby, *The Book of Psalms*, p. 46.

²⁰ Darby, *The Book of Psalms*, p. 47.

²¹ Darby, *The Book of Psalms*, pp. 49–50.

²² Darby, *The Book of Psalms*, p. 53.

²³ Darby, *The Book of Psalms*, p. 61.

From Jordan, and from Hermon Hill,
Where I am forc'd to flee.
 The Floods beneath and from above,
To swallow me agree;
 Thy mighty Billows and thy Waves
 Are all gone over me.²⁴

Psal. 44.11, 12.

As Sheep for Slaughter we are made,
 And scattered here and there;
 We are become the *Worst of Slaves,*
*For whom no Buyers care.*²⁵

| Psal. 45.1.

[4v]

Of CHRIST, that Glorious King,
 My Heart shall now endite;²⁶
 My Tongue shall imitate the Pen
 Of those that nimbly write.

v. 4, 5.

Lett Meekness, Truth and Right,
Adorn thy peaceful Reign:
 But lett thy *Terrors fall on them*
That do thy Power disdain.
 With Arrows prick the Hearts
 Of them that are thy Foes;
Till they at last submitt themselves,
 And thee no more oppose.²⁷

v. 16.

And thou, *who didst forsake*
 Thy Father and his Land
Thou shalt have Children of thine own,
 That shall the World command.²⁸

²⁴ Darby, *The Book of Psalms*, pp. 64–5.

²⁵ Darby, *The Book of Psalms*, p. 67.

²⁶ I.e., “indite.”

²⁷ Darby, *The Book of Psalms*, p. 68.

²⁸ Darby, *The Book of Psalms*, p. 70.

Psal. 48.8.

That Zion shall preserved be,
We often have been told;
 But now *our Eyes have seen it done,*
 As we have heard of old.²⁹

Psal. 49.5.

Why should I fear, *When Age shall come,*
Those Dayes that Evil be;
 And *Death* itself, the *Fruit of Sin,*
 supplant and *compass* me?

v. 8.

But when the Souls Redemption ceas'd,
 And paid by none could be;
 HE paid it, who forever Lives,
 Nor could Corruption see.³⁰

Psal. 51.4, 5, 6.

What I *in Secret* did committ,
 Was open, Lord, unto thy Sight;
 And if I be condemn'd for it,
 Thy Judgment, Lord, is just & right.
 In me, who was conceiv'd in sin,
 The Seeds of Evil thou canst see:
Much more this heinous Fact of Mine,
 Is manifest and known to thee.
 I know, O Lord, thou dost command
 A Conscience pure and clear within;
 But *I thy Lawes did understand,*
*Yett did against my Knowledge sin.*³¹

Psal. 54.7.

Then will I praise thy Name, O Lord,
 And freely sacrifice,
 Who savest me, and mak'st *my Foes*
*To fall before mine Eyes.*³²

²⁹ Darby, *The Book of Psalms*, p. 73.

³⁰ Darby, *The Book of Psalms*, p. 74.

³¹ Darby, *The Book of Psalms*, pp. 78–9.

³² Darby, *The Book of Psalms*, p. 82.

Psal. 69.9.

The Zeal that to thy House I bore,
Hath me to nothing brought:
 And I by such as thee Blaspheme
 Am scorn'd, and sett at nought.³³

Psal. 72.1.

To CHRIST thy Son, that glorious King,
 Thy Judgments, Lord, committ;
 That He, to Rule thy People well,
 Upon His Throne may sitt.³⁴

v. 15.

Long shall He live; and Men to Him
 Shall Gold of Sheba bring;
All People for His Reign shall pray,
And Praises daily sing.

v. 16.

As when of Corn an handful sown
 Upon a Mountains top,
At last doth shake like Lebanon,
 And proves a mighty Crop.
 So from the City of this King,
 The people shall abound;
 And flourish like the spreading Grass,
 That covers all the Ground.³⁵

Psal. 74.5, 6.

By felling *Trees to build thy House*
 Of old Men gott Renown:
 But now the carved Work at once
 Is knock'd, and chopped down.³⁶

Psal. 75.1.

To thee, O God, do we give Thanks,
 To thee all Praise is due;

³³ Darby, *The Book of Psalms*, p. 105.

³⁴ Darby, *The Book of Psalms*, p. 110.

³⁵ Darby, *The Book of Psalms*, p. 111.

³⁶ Darby, *The Book of Psalms*, p. 117.

For *thou art ever near to them*
*That do thy Wonders shew.*³⁷

Psal. 80.5, 6.

Our Tears have been our Meat & Drink,
 That from our Eyes did slide:
 Our *Neighbours strive among themselves*
*Who shall us most deride.*³⁸

Psal. 84.5, 6, 7.

O Blest is he, whose Strength thou art,
 Who *loves the Wayes of them*,
 That through the Vale of Baca pass
 Unto Jerusalem.
The Pitts they dig are fill'd with Rain,
 And so from Strength to Strength
 They go, till they before the Lord
 In Zion come at length.³⁹

Psal. 87.3, 4, 5, 6, 7.

Great things, O City of the Lord,
 Of thee Recorded are:
 Not Rahab, nor Great Babylon,
May once with thee compare.
 Both Tyrus and Philistia,
But few good Men brought forth,
 And scarce did all Arabia
Produce a Man of worth.
 But *this and that, and many more*,
 In Zion have been born:
 And with His Fixed Residence
 The Lord will her adorn.
 When He shall all the Nations write,
 And each Mans Name sett down,
Some eminent for Piety
Shall here & there be found.
 But *out of Zion they shall flow,*
As Waters from a Spring;

³⁷ Darby, *The Book of Psalms*, pp. 118–19.

³⁸ Darby, *The Book of Psalms*, p. 130.

³⁹ Darby, *The Book of Psalms*, p. 135.

And there with Songs and Instruments,
Shall praise the Heavenly King.⁴⁰

Psal. 88.8.

My old Acquaintance me forsake,
They hate and loathe me so:
As one unclean I am shutt up,
And forth I cannot go.⁴¹

Psal. 89.51.

They mock at us, because we hope,
Thy CHRIST will Come & Reign:
His Footsteps are so slow, say they,
Your Hope is all but vain.⁴²

Psal. 93.5.

Because thy Promises, O Lord,
Are very firm and sure;
Thy Beautiful and *Holy Church,*
*Forever shall endure.*⁴³

Psal. 99.6, 7, 8.

Thus, Moses, Aaron, Samuel,
Upon his Name did call:
And other Priests and Saints of old,
And He did hear them all.
He from the Pillar of a Cloud
To them declar'd His will:
And they His Statutes did observe,
And His Commands fulfill.

| *At their Request, when Israel*
Had sinned in thy Sight,
Thou didst correct them for their Sin,
But not destroy them quite.⁴⁴

[5r]

⁴⁰ Darby, *The Book of Psalms*, p. 139.

⁴¹ Darby, *The Book of Psalms*, p. 140.

⁴² Darby, *The Book of Psalms*, p. 145.

⁴³ Darby, *The Book of Psalms*, p. 151.

⁴⁴ Darby, *The Book of Psalms*, p. 158.

Psal. 103.5.

Who crowns thee with His Mercies great,
And with good Things doth fill:
And makes thy Youth *Like Eagles' Plumes*
To be Renewed still.⁴⁵

Psal. 110.3.

A willing People in that Day,
Shall in thy Holy Church be found:
And be enlarged Every Way,
*As Morning-Dew doth spread the Ground.*⁴⁶

v. 7.

The Brook that runneth *in the way*
That to His glorious Throne doth lead,
He first shall drink, and then with Joy
Lift up to Heav'n His Royal Head.⁴⁷

Psal. 115.6.

And Ears they have, but cannot hear,
The Prayers to them are made.
Nor can their Nose the Incense smell
*Upon their Altars Laid.*⁴⁸

Psal. 116.11.

I said, when in my Haste I fled,
In Man there is no Trust:
But by Experience I have found,
The Lord is True and Just.

v. 16.

I am thy Bounden Servant, Lord,
I own most solemnly:
None bought or born within the House,
*Are Servants more than I.*⁴⁹

⁴⁵ Darby, *The Book of Psalms*, p. 162.

⁴⁶ Darby, *The Book of Psalms*, p. 183.

⁴⁷ Darby, *The Book of Psalms*, p. 184.

⁴⁸ Darby, *The Book of Psalms*, p. 190.

⁴⁹ Darby, *The Book of Psalms*, p. 192.

Psal. 119.64.

On every Creature in the World
Thou dost thy Gifts bestow:
But *lett my Portion be*, O Lord,
Thy Holy Will to know.⁵⁰

Psal. 121.5, 6.

The Lord will keep thee Safe and Sound,
So that no Evil thee shall smite,
While Sun by Day doth go his round,
*Or while the Moon doth rule the Night.*⁵¹

Psal. 122.9.

But tho' I love thee for the Sake
Of Friends and Brethren dear;
Yett cheefly do I wish thy Good,
Because Gods House is there.⁵²

Psal. 126.4.

Those *Captives that are still behind*,
Lord, bring them with the rest:
Their Coming will like Rivers be
*Unto the Wilderness.*⁵³

Psal. 127.2.

For Riches from the Lord proceed,
His Blessings make us thrive:
Tho' we of our convenient Rest
Do not ourselves deprive.

v. 4.

Children of Youth Like Arrowes are,
Shott by a strong Mans Arm:
For *they defend a Family*,
*And save an House from Harm.*⁵⁴

⁵⁰ Darby, *The Book of Psalms*, p. 202.

⁵¹ Darby, *The Book of Psalms*, p. 216.

⁵² Darby, *The Book of Psalms*, p. 218.

⁵³ Darby, *The Book of Psalms*, p. 222.

⁵⁴ Darby, *The Book of Psalms*, p. 223.

Psal. 133.3.

Yea, out of Zion He will add
One Blessing to their Store,
 That shall compleat and crown the rest,
 Even Life forevermore.⁵⁵

Psal. 137.5, 6.

No, No; my dear Jerusalem,
 Since thou art lost and gone;
Tis Time my Hand should lose her skill,
 To play as she had done.
Tis Time my Tongue should silent be
 And from all Mirth refrain,
 Until the Day she sings for Joy
 That thou art built again.⁵⁶

Psal. 138.6.

Altho' the Lord in Heaven dwells,
 The Humble He doth love:
But from His Sight the arrogant
*And proud Man will remove.*⁵⁷

Psal. 145.5, 6, 7.

I first will of thy Honour speak,
 And wondrous Works declare:
Then Men shall answer me, and show
 How Terrible they were.
And I again, will show the Power
 Of thee our Mighty King;
And they at large thy Goodness great
 And Righteousness shall sing.⁵⁸

This may suffice, for a Taste of Illustrations, fetch'd from *Darbies* Version of the Psalms. Tis possible, you may find more, in the like Endeavours of other Gentlemen to paraphrase and versify this admirable *Book of the Messiah*.

Tis truly observed by *Cowley* concerning *David*; That the Best of his Translators, have been so far from doing *Honour*, or at least *Justice*, to that Divine

⁵⁵ Darby, *The Book of Psalms*, p. 229.

⁵⁶ Darby, *The Book of Psalms*, p. 235.

⁵⁷ Darby, *The Book of Psalms*, p. 237. Darby's 1704 version reads "For though" rather than "Altho'."

⁵⁸ Darby, *The Book of Psalms*, p. 245.

Poet, that, saies he, *Methinks, they Revile him worse than Shimei!* And Buchanan himself comes, in his Opinion, no less short of *David*, than his Countrey does of *Judea*.⁵⁹

| [blank]

[6v]

|

[7r]

Q. Can you mention any Jewish Curiosity about the *Psalms*, that may discover the *Subtilty* of Satan, & the *Sinfulness* of Men, to Abuse the Holy Word of God?

A. Yes. But that I may not lay a Snare before ordinary Readers, Who are easily decoy'd into those wicked *Sorceries*, by which they pay an Homage to the *Divel*, and give the *Divel* a Command over themselves, I will forbear Translating, what I read in *Amamas Antibarbarus Biblicus*. Nevertheless it shall be Transcribed, for the Entertainment of those Ingenious and Religious Readers, who will with a due Abhorrence Look upon it.⁶⁰

Possideo Psalterium, quod Aditum est Savionetæ 1556. *Ad Eius calcem additus est Libellus hoc Titulo* | שמוש תהלים | *id est Usus Psalmorum. In Eo singulis Psalmis suos assignatur usus. Dabo gustum.*⁶¹

Psal. 2. Ut Libereris ex Tempestate Maris recita hunc Psalmum et inscribe eum testæ et projice illam in mare et consilesce.

*Si cui caput dolebit, scribe hunc Psalmum usque ad illa, confringes eos virga ferrea, et suspende illam Chartam de Capite eius.*⁶²

⁵⁹ This paragraph is from the unpaginated preface to the Pindaric Odes contained in the *Works of Mr. Abraham Cowley* (1680). Shimei, a kinsman of Saul, had hurled both stones and insults at David when he was attempting to retake Jerusalem from his own son, Absalom (2 Sam. 16:5–14). In his dying injunction to his successor, Solomon, David asked that the new monarch remember and avenge the insult even though Shimei had surrendered to David after the defeat of Absalom (1 Kings 2:8–9). Solomon restricted Shimei to his own house in Jerusalem for the remainder of his life, but Shimei disregarded the decree for which he was finally executed (1 Kings 2:36–46). George Buchanan (1506–82) was a renowned Scottish antiquarian who published a much-praised and often reprinted version of the Psalms in Latin (*Psalmorum Davidis Paraphrasis*) in 1611 based on the Vulgate (*OEBL*).

⁶⁰ Amama is Sixtinus Amama (1593–1629), professor of Oriental languages at Leyden. Philip Benedict, in his recent study, *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed* (2002), notes that Amama was very much in the humanist tradition: like Erasmus, Amama advocated that greater attention be paid to the reform of daily life and less to precise theological controversies (335). Amama was also famous for his censure of the Vulgate, *Censurae Vulgatae* (1620). Rivers was not able to place this entry, but it occurs in Amama's "De Nomine Tetragrammato Dissertatio" that is inserted between books 2 and 3 of his *Anti-Barbarus Biblicus*, pp. 317–18. According to Amama, this Psalter was owned not by him, but by Francois Gomar.

⁶¹ "I possess a Psalter which was edited in Sabbioneta in 1556. A small book is added to its end called *Uses of the Psalms*. In it a use is assigned to each Psalm. I shall give you a taste." The text that Gomar owned is a very brief kabbalistic tract that purports to relate how the psalms might be used for prophylactic or healing purposes. Several copies of this work in various editions still exist, including one published in Amsterdam in 1658.

⁶² "In order to be freed from the tempest of the sea, recite this Psalm, and write it on shard, and throw that into the sea, and it will become calm.

Psal. 3. *Si quis humerum et caput dolebit, pronuntiet hunc Psalmum super oleo olivarum et inungat eo partes affectas.*⁶³

Psal. 7. *Utilis est iste Psalmus ne homines tibi possint nocere, et ut in fugam veritas inimicum tuum, qui te persequitur.*

Accipe pulverem ex terrâ et recita super eo hunc Psalmum et sparge Pulverum istum coram inimico tuo, qui te persequitur et retrocedet.

*Porro, si quis habeat inimicum, accipiat Ahenum novum et impleat illud ex fonte Aquarum et recitet hunc Psalmum quater à / קומה יהרה / usque ad finem, et effunde illam aquam in loco inimici tui et prevalebis ei.*⁶⁴

Psal. 120. *Cum vides serpentem aut scorpionem, recita eum septies.*⁶⁵

Psal. 123. *Contrà servum fugitivum. Inscribe lamina plumbi duo illa nomina / ארון / Dominus, et / עבר / Servus, et revertitur.*⁶⁶

Psal. 126. *Utilis est mulieri cujus liberi moriuntur: scribe eum in pergamento, et adscribe hæc / שני סנסגרי סמנלף / in postremâ lineâ, et pones illud in quatuor angulis domus.*⁶⁷

Psal. 130. *Quando vigiles circumeunt urbem si velis invisibilis transire coram illis, mussa eum versus quatuor plagas mundi, et obruet eos sopor. Tædet plura adscribere.*⁶⁸

T'wil be an Ornament unto a learned Man to know such things. For any Man to use them, would be a Damnable Wickedness. Lett no Reader now serve

"If one has a headache, write out this Psalm to these words 'Destroy them with an iron rod,' and suspend that paper from his head."

63 "If someone has shoulder and head pain, let him recite this Psalm over olive oil and then anoint the affected parts with it."

64 "This Psalm is useful for preventing men from hurting you and for putting to flight your enemy who is pursuing you. / "Take some dust from the earth and recite over it this Psalm and sprinkle the dust before your enemy who is pursuing you and he will yield. / "Furthermore if anyone has an enemy, let him take a new bronze vase and fill it from a fountain of water and let him recite this Psalm four times from / Arise, O Lord / to the end. Pour that water in the place of your enemy, and you shall prevail over him."

65 "When you see a serpent or a scorpion, recite it seven times."

66 "[To be used] against a fugitive slave. Write in a tin plate those two names, *Master*, and *Slave*; and he will return [or, will be returned]."

67 "It is useful to a woman whose children are dying. Write it on a parchment, and write beneath it the following: / שני סנסגרי סמנלף / Place it in the four corners of your house." שני סנסגרי סמנלף [Snwy, Snsnwy, Smnglf] are the names of three angels. They are identified in kabbalistic literature as names that are potent over the demon, Lilith. According to an early form of this legend in the Alphabet of Ben-Sira (a pseudonymous work of the later gaonic period) when Lilith fled paradise after vowing to kill any of Adam's offspring, she was pursued by three angels who forced on her the condition that whenever she saw their names written on an amulet, she would not harm the child thus protected. Joseph Dan, author of "Samael, Lilith, and the Concept of Evil in Early Kabbalah" in *AJS Review* (1980), supposes that the names are a "parody on the angelology of Heikhalot literature (which often used names like San-saniel)" (21). The spelling of the three Hebrew names varies in early modern sources.

68 "When guards are surrounding the city, if you want to pass before them without being seen, murmur this to the four quarters of the world, and sleep will overcome them. It pains me to write these many things."

me, so wickedly, as a Scholar of *Hemingius* did him, upon his reciting certain magical Superstitions.⁶⁹

|
Q. Thus we have seen the Children of Satan, abusing the Word of God, & the *Psalms of David*. Can any other Instance be mentioned?

A. It is an odd passage, which Dr. *Fryer* in his *Travels* relates concerning the *Moors of Indoustan*.

In the Beginning of the New Year, the *Moors* solemnize the Exequies of *Hosseen Gosseen*.

“A Time of Ten Dayes mourning [*he saies*] for two unfortunate Champions of them, who perished by Thirst in the Deserts, fighting against the *Christians*. Wherefore every Corner of the streets is supplied with Jars of Water, & they run up and down like Furies in quest of those Two Brethren; laying about with Swords, Clubs, and Staves, crying with that Earnestness upon their Names, and Dancing in such Antick Dances, resembling the *Pyrrhical* Saltation, that a sober Man could make no other Judgment on them, than that they were distracted. This is done, thro’ the Streets, where, if two Companies encounter, they seldome

[8v]

⁶⁹ Mather is confronting here one of the primary concerns with the uses of the Psalms in the early modern period: employment of the Psalter for incantatory purposes. A work included in two different editions at Harvard Library (1606 and 1611), and one of the central texts on this matter, was that of Martin Delrio (del Rio): *Disquisitionum Magicarum libri sex*. Part of Delrio’s work relates to this practice of “ensalmi,” incantatory phrases that in these cases use the Psalms. Since such employment of the Psalms could be invocative (as in a prayer), as well as constitutive (as in a charm), ensalmi were seen as a serious threat by both Catholic and Protestant divines. See Armando Maggi’s *Satan’s Rhetoric* (55–6). Protestants, however, normally saw this practice as emerging from the “superstitious” beliefs of gullible Catholics, and frequently cast it in those terms. So, the author Mather refers to at the end of this note, Nicolas Hemmingius, or Niels Hemmingsen (1513–1600), scoffed at the gullibility of Catholics who believed that by inscribing words and ingesting them they could heal themselves. The underlying anxiety of Protestants that such practices could be turned by demons to their own ends, however, also emerges in the work alluded to by Mather: Hemmingsen’s *Admonitio de Superstitionibus Magicis Vitandis* (1575). In his *Admonitio*, Hemmingsen details how, as an instructor in a moment of levity “above 24 years ago,” he had had his students write nine nonsense words on slips of paper and told them that if they were to have a person suffering from a fever put each slip in a piece of bread and then eat the bread for nine days, that the person would be cured. One “foolish” student standing nearby thought Hemmingsen was in earnest and tried the experiement with success. Other students saw this and repeated the procedure, also with success. Thus was Hemmingsen served with his own lesson. See *Opuscula Theologica in unum volumen collecta*, classis (cl.) 2 (Dogmatica), bk. 10, quest. 2, cols. 908–09. A copy of this work was owned by the Mathers. This story was a favorite of both Increase and Cotton, who used it (as did Hemmingsen) to prove that demons could turn even the innocent jest to evil ends. It occurs in equally oblique form in Cotton’s *Wonders of the Invisible World* (1692), p. 141, but is more fully related in *Angel of Bethesda* (1972), ch. 62, p. 295. In neither of these cases does Mather do much more than name his authority as he does here. Increase, however, provides the full tale, including a shorthand title and page reference of Hemmingsen’s work, in *An Essay for the Recording of Illustrious Providences* (1684), ch. 8, p. 277.

part without Bloody Noses. After Sun-sett, they eat, and fall to singing the Psalms of *Doud*, or *David*, in the most consonant Tone I have heard.”⁷⁰

⁷⁰ Fryer, *A New Account of East-India and Persia* (letter 3, ch. 3, p. 109). A “Pyrrhical Saltation” is a martial dance. In Increase Mather’s *An Arrow Against Profane and Promiscuous Dancing* (1684), Mather asserts that dancing itself is not sinful: “Pyrrhical or Polemical Saltation, i. e., where men vault in their Armour, to shew their strength and activity, may be of use.” Even the “sober and grave Dancing of Men with Men, or of Women with Women ... may be done without offence, in due season and moderation.” It is only “Gynecandrical Dancing” or “Mixt Dancing” that is “utterly unlawful” (pp. 1–2).

Q. The Quality of the *First Psalm*? v. 1.

A. Our Saviour began his excellent Sermon by the Mount, With a Discourse on the Supreme and Final *Blessedness* of Man. Yea, the very Philosophers did something of this, in their Books of Morality. The Book of Psalms ha's a like Beginning. *Basil* considers the first Psalm, as a Foundation of the whole ensuing Work. *Athanasius* and *Theodoret* have taught us, to bestow upon it, the Title of, Μακαρισμος.⁷¹

[*2056.*]

Q. The Phrase, that begins the Psalter, *The Blessings of the Man*, – is there any further Sense, wherein it may bee taken, than what appears at first Obvious? v. 1.

A. R. *Solomon Jarchi* carries it so; The *Praises* of a Man, are that hee *walks not in the Counsel of the Ungodly*. – Etc.⁷²

Q. The Terms for the *Wicked*, used here? v. 1.

A. They are such as the Holy Oracle putt on the Members of *Antichrist*. A Thing to be deeply thought upon! Isa. XI.4 and 2 Pet. III.4.⁷³

71 Mather owes this information to the Simon Patrick's unpaginated preface to *The Book of Psalms Paraphras'd* (sec. 1). For Basil on this Psalm, see [PG 29.213]; for Athanasius (295–373) [PG 27.60]; and for Theodoret [PG 80.865]. Athanasius and Theodoret both call the Psalms a collection of beatitudes or “blessings” (Μακαρισμος). In *Psalterium*, Mather does not identify his source for this opinion, but cites Basil's interpretation that the “*First Psalm* ... [is] the Foundation of all the Psalter” (p. 2).

72 When Mather refers to the rabbinic commentators in his annotations on the Psalms, he is almost always relying on the popular digest of John Viccars (1604?–1653?), *Decapla in Psalmos Sive Commentarios Ex Decem Linguis, Antiquis, Patribus, Rab., Historicis, Et Poetis* (1639), here at lib. 1, p. 3. Rabbi Solomon ben Isaac, or RASHI (1040–1105), was a highly respected French exegete whose own commentaries on the Talmud have become part of that text (*EMA*). Although he is one of Mather's most important sources for the Psalms commentary, not much is known of John Viccars. He graduated from Cambridge in 1622, but was tried by Bishop Laud in 1631 for heresy and convicted of keeping conventicles. After recanting in 1635, he was restored to the ministry. Shortly after, he began an extended trip through Francy and Italy, where he examined manuscripts in Paris, Rome, and Florence. Along the way he consulted with both Christian scholars, such as Athanasius Kircher, and the learned Jewish communities in Italy. The result was his sole work, *Decapla in Psalmos*, which was dedicated to Laud though this dedication was excised from the second edition. The English Civil War led to charges that Viccars was a crypto-papist, due to his time in Rome. He was sequestered and probably never held a benefice again. Despite this, Brian Walton named him in the prospectus of his *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* in 1652, although apparently Viccars died before he could contribute to the project. He was an uncle to Nehemiah Grew, one of the natural philosophers relied upon by Mather at great length in his “*Biblia Americana*” and elsewhere (*DNB*).

73 Allix, *The Book of Psalms with the Argument of Each*, bk. 1, p. 1. Allix, as Mather's excisions

Q. To What may the Spirit of the Psalm, have a special Eye, when we read of, *The Council of the Ungodly*? v. 1.

A. I will not say, with old *Arnobius*; That here is an Eye to the Loss of our *Blessedness*, by the First *Adam*, hearkening to the *Council* of the *Serpent* and the *Woman*.⁷⁴

But upon the Mention of this Matter by *Arnobius*, I could not but think, how the *Law of God*, or His Gospel, the New Law, of Salvation by the Second *Adam*, seems here to stand as the *Tree of Life*. Vertue communicated from thence, to those who *walk* in the *Council* of the Holy One, imparts the Nature of this *Tree* to them. Here they feed, as by the *River of Paradise*. And that Clause, *whatever he doth shall prosper*, seems in a special Manner opposed unto the *Curse*. The *Vanity of Briars* and *Thorns* in the *Harvest* of his Affairs, this *Curse* will be removed from him.

The Psalm concludes with the Promise of that *New World*, wherein this will have its full Accomplishment.⁷⁵

Q. About *standing in the way of Sinners*? v. 1.

A. Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase runs well.

– “Or, if he ha’s been at any time seduced by them, he timely retracts his Folly; he does not persist, like those obdurate Wretches, in evil Courses.”

Or, He abides not a Minute in the Estate of Sinners.⁷⁶

throughout the Psalms make clear, shared the standard 17th-c. belief in the restoration of the Jews prior to the Second Coming of Christ. Sometime after the publication of *Psalterium*, where Allix’s interpretations remain unchanged, Mather abandoned this eschatological mainstay and developed an allegorical reading in which the restoration of the Jews to Palestine was seen as a type of the church’s reformation. Compare *Psalterium* (bk. 1, p. 2) with “Triparadisus” (R. Smolinski’s edition *Threefold Paradise*, part 3, ch. 11, pp. 295–318).

74 Arnobius the Younger (c. 400–c. 451) authored a commentary on the Psalms, *Commentarii in Psalmos*. I have not been able to determine where Mather might have read this work, or extracts of it. There were two early modern editions. One of these was first published in 1522 by Desiderius Erasmus, and incorrectly identified the author of the Psalms commentary as the 4th century Arnobius of Sicca. It is more likely, but not certain, that Mather was employing Volume 8 of the 27-volume *Maxima Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum*, the first great collection of patristic writing, published in 1677 in Leiden although this text is not listed either in the holdings of Harvard or in the listings of the Mather family libraries. Arnobius’s commentary is reproduced in whole in the *Patrologia Latina*, and Mather’s careful copying throughout his own annotations indicates that he was viewing a fairly complete edition of the *Commentarii*. For this gloss, see [PL 53.328–329].

75 Mather seems to be drawing this interpretation largely from the commentary of Clarius contained John Pearson’s *Critici Sacri* (3:3607–08). Isidorus Clarius, or Isidoro Chiari (1495–1555), an abbot in Padua and later Bishop of Foligno, was a member of the Council of Trent and highly respected exegete. He was known for his translations of scripture that sought to be faithful to the original languages, even when they disagreed with the Catholic Vulgate. Because of his numerous commentaries on the failings of the Vulgate, he was also admired by Protestants such as Pearson, who gave him a favored place in the *Critici Sacri* (Hagen 46). See also Poole, *Synopsis Criticorum* (2:502–07).

76 Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras’d*, bk. 1, pp. 1–2.

Q. Whence may *David* seem to fetch his Comparison of a Godly Man, to, *A Tree planted by the Rivers of Water?* v. 3.

A. Doubtless, this Resemblance of a Blessed Man, is fetch'd from the Blessing of *Joseph* in Gen. 49.22. *Joseph is a fruitful Bough by a Well.* The Arms of the Tribe of *Joseph* were *A Tree proper, growing by a Well.* And so, compare that Clause in the Psalm, *Whatever hee doth, shall prosper*, with Gen. 39.3, *The Lord made all that hee did, to prosper.* But *Joseph* had more than this; Hee had not only a *Well* before him to Refresh him, but also a *Wall* behind him to support him. Tis said, *His Branches run over the Wall.* This foretold, as the Fruitfulness of *Josephs* Posterity, so, the Scituation of their Inheritance. *Jordan*, was the Wall, on the East of *Canaan*; & the Children of *Joseph* being Rooted & Planted on the other Side of the River, spread their Branches over this Wall. Half-*Menasseh* having his portion on the east side of *Jordan*.⁷⁷

Observe: The same Idea that is employ'd here, is more fully pursued, in the Happiness of the Faithful, under the Reign of our Saviour, after the Fall of Antichrist. Isa. LX and LXI.⁷⁸

Q. A good Remark on that Passage; *In His Law doth he meditate Day & Night; and whatsoever he doth, shall prosper?* v. 2,3.

A. Devotion is no Præjudice to Business. Our Business will not go on the Worse, for our Devotion. Piety will not hurt Prosperity.⁷⁹

[*2057.*]

Q. How may it bee said, of the good Man, *Hee bringeth forth his Fruit in his Season?* v. 3.

A. Besides the more obvious and common sense of this passage, I'll give you a Gloss of *Aben Ezra* upon it;

⁷⁷ See William Ames (1576–1633), *Lectiones in Omnes Psalmos Davidis* (1647), p. 11. Mather might also be relying here upon the work of Wolfgang Musculus (1497–1563), an early follower of Martin Luther, who published a large multi-volume commentary on the Bible held by Harvard during Mather's lifetime (*OER*). See Musculus's commentary on the Psalms, *In Sacrosanctum Davidis Psalterium Commentarii* (1563), p. 9. A copy of this text was also owned by the Mathers. Neither Ames nor Musculus develops the historical reading made by Mather, and neither specifically mentions Gen. 49:22, but both are implicit in the comparison they do draw between Psalms 1:3 and Gen. 39:3. Mather could be making this connection to Gen. 49:22 from a later commentary of Henry Hammond (1605–60) on Psalms 80:10–15, in *A Paraphrase and Annotations upon the Psalms* (1659), contained in Hammond's *Works* (1684), vol. 4, bk. 3, p. 230–31. Finally, Mather only alludes to the blessing of Joseph in *Psalterium*, p. 2.

⁷⁸ Allix, *The Book of Psalms*, bk. 1, p. 2 and *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 2.

⁷⁹ See Hammond, *Paraphrase*, in *Works* vol. 4, bk. 1, p. 9. The Harvard Library held an edition of Hammond's annotations on the Psalms, but it was listed as missing during the time of the composition of the *Catalogus Librorum* (1723).

*Anima Rationalis plena Sapientie, / הנשמה מלאה חכמה / in Tempore senectutis opportuno separatur à corpore, sicut Fructus ab arbore, et non moritur ante Diem.*⁸⁰

Q. Upon that; *Whatsoever he doth, shall prosper.* What? Shall a Godly Man meet with no Disappointments? v. 3.

A. The Clause belongs to the Description of the *Tree*; And it should be read, *whatsoever he beareth, shall prosper.* The good *Fruit* that he bears, won't be Lost.⁸¹

[10v]

Q. How are the Ungodly, *like the Chaff*? v. 4.

A. Their Counsels, Designs, Endeavours to root themselves (or suppose, their Church-state,) in the Earth, shall be scattered, & come to nothing.

Compare the Fate of Antichrist, & his Adhærents, Dan. II.35, *Like Dust scattered by the Wind.*⁸²

An Additional Remark. It is Remarkable, That in *Homers XIX Iliad*, *Ulysses* calls *καλαμην*, *Chaff* or *Straw*, such as are killed in the Battel; but, *αμητον*, the *Crop*, such as make their Escape. Tis observed by M. *Dacier*, that this is very conformable to the Language of the Holy Scripture.⁸³

[*2058.*]

Q. In what Sense may bee taken, that Clause, *Sinners shall not stand in the Congregation of the Righteous*? v. 5.

A. The *Syriac* Version, seems to mind us, That here is a special Intimation of the *Time*, when Destruction is to come upon the Wicked. *In Aggregatione Iustorum. Quando justi Aggregati sunt patribus suis, impii peribunt.* The *Righteous* will one day, bee all *gathered together*; and *then* will bee the Time for the Wicked to perish. Compare 2 Pet. 3.9.⁸⁴

⁸⁰ Viccars, *Decapla in Psalmos*, lib. 1, p. 2. Abraham ibn Ezra, or Aben Ezra (c. 1068–1167) was another redoubtable Hebrew, as well as poet and philosopher. “The soul endowed with reason and full of wisdom / the soul [lit. breath, cf. Gen. 2:7] full of wisdom / is seasonably in the time of old age separated from the body, and like the fruit from the tree, it does not die before its day” (Cf. Rivers 408).

⁸¹ Pearson *Critici Sacri* (3:3607).

⁸² Allix, *The Book of Psalms*, bk. 1, p. 2.

⁸³ Mather is confusing André Dacier (1651–1722) with his wife, Anne Lefèvre Dacier (1654–1720). André Dacier was the translator of Plato, referenced in Job. Madame Dacier translated Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Her *Iliad* was published in English in 1722 in 5 volumes as *The Iliad of Homer with Notes by Madam Dacier, done from the French by Mr. Broome, and By Him Compared to the Greek*. The reference above is in a footnote to the main text. See Dacier, vol. 4, bk. 19, pp. 159–60.

⁸⁴ The importance of Viccar's translation from the Syriac into Latin here is emphasized by comparison to the Vulgate, where the sinner will not stand “in congregatione iustorum,” i. e., “the congregation of the just, or righteous,” as opposed to “the assembly of the just” who are gathered at the end of time. See Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 1, p. 4. In full, the phrase reads, “In the

[*2059.*]

Q. The *Ungodly* that shall *not stand, in the Congregation of the Righteous*: May the Psalmist in their Fate, allude unto the Fate of any remarkably *Ungodly* Persons, mention'd in the Scriptures? v. 5.

A. The Jewish *Midrasch*, notably makes the Allusion, to bee unto, *Corah*, and his *Companions*.

And indeed, they fix the Character of *Scorners*, upon *Corah*, and his *Companions*, with a very particular Tradition, which may bee too lewd perhaps to bee recited. In short, They report; that a *Widow*, & her Two *Orphan* Daughters, had a Field, out of which they hoped to Raise a poor Living; but *Moses*, by his Lawes, about *Ploughing*, and then about *Sowing*, and then about *Reaping*, and then about the Required *Oblations* creepled 'em so, that they could not subsist. They therefore sold their *Field*, and bought a Couple of young Sheep, that the *Milk* and the *Wool* thereof might afford 'em some Support. But then, *Aaron* demanded the *First-born* of these, and such a Moieties of their *Wool*, that they could not subsist this way neither. Hereupon, they kill'd their *Sheep*; and then *Aaron* came in for still such a Sacerdotal Share, that the poor *Widow* and her Daughters were in a Manner chous'd of all. *This*, they say, was the Language of *Corah*, in the *Seat of the Scornful*.⁸⁵

[*2060.*]

Q. What may bee intended, in, *The Way of the Wicked*, that shall *perish*? v. 6.

A. What think you, of the Version, in the Vulgar Latin; *The Life of the Wicked*? For which this Reason ha's been given, *Quia Vita Hominis est via ad mortem*.⁸⁶

[*2061.*]

Q. Wee find, *The Ungodly*, mentioned *Four Times* over, in the *First Psalm*. Is it not possible, there may bee a *Mystery*, in the Number of the Repetitions?

A. I would not have you over Curious, and Fanciful in such observations. And yett what learned Men have observed in this kind, may bee, with *Pleasure*, if not with *Profit*, mentioned.

assembly of the just [or righteous]. When the just are gathered to their fathers, the impious [i.e. wicked] will perish."

⁸⁵ The story of *Corah* (Korah) and his populist revolt against *Moses* is told in Num.16. Mather translates the legend of the widow and her supposed oppression under *Moses* that appears in *Viccars' Decapla*, lib. 1, p. 2. By doing so, Mather is both highlighting a transgressive tale of the revered leader of the Israelites and bringer of the law, and underscoring the relationship of scornful language to judgmental language. The sin of *Korah* was not simply in his revolt, but in the language of that revolt that accused *Moses* of arrogating to himself the duty of leading the congregation of Israel. To "chouse" is to dupe, cheat, or swindle. In the *Psalterium*, Mather does not provide the Rabbinic gloss, but instructs his reader to "ponder the allusion to the Fate of *Corah*" (bk. 1, p. 3). See *Midrasch Tehillim*, I.15 (vol. 1, pp. 13–4).

⁸⁶ *Viccars, Decapla*, lib. 1, p. 4: "Because the life of man is the way to death."

I'll only here give you a Notable Touch of R. *Aba*.

*Et similiter sunt Quatuor Monarchiæ.*⁸⁷

Thus, upon that in the Second Psalm, *The Lord shall have them in Derision*; The *Midrasch* ha's this Passage, *Quatuor vicibus dicitur Deus Deridere Impios, sicut sunt Quatuor Monarchiæ.*⁸⁸

⁸⁷ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 1, p. 3; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 3: "And likewise are the four monarchies."

⁸⁸ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 1, p. 6; *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 4: "Four times God is said to deride the wicked, just as there are four monarchies."

Q. Can you find any Passage in the Jewish Writings, by which wee may challenge the *Second Psalm*, for the *Messiah*? Tit.

A. It is a strange Passage of R. Salomoh; *Magistri nostri, pia Memoria, exposuerunt, ipsum super Rege Messia, in adventu Gog et Magog. Sed propter hoc, quod sonat, et ut possit responderi Hæreticis, convenit ipsum exponere, de ipso David, propter hoc quod dictum est.* 2. Sam. 5.17. Et audiverunt Philistæi, quod unxerunt David in Regem super Israel, et ascenderunt. *Et super eis dixit David, Quare fremuerunt Gentes.*⁸⁹

But it is a Full Passage, which the Talmudic Gloss, ha's in the Treatise, *De Festo Tabernaculorum*, Cap. 5.

Ego hodie genui Te; *Sensus est, Ego hodiè ostendam Hominibus Te esse Filium meum.*⁹⁰

Aben Ezra saies, *Mihi videtur hunc Psalmum a quodam ex Cantoribus esse compositum, de Davide, / או על המשיח / vel de Messia.*⁹¹

⁸⁹ When Mather is not relying on Viccars for his Rabbinic quotations, he most frequently turns to *Pugio Fidei* (as he does in this note, pars. 3, dist. 1, cap. 8, p. 527), by Raymund Martin, or Ramón Martí, a 13th-century Dominican Friar, who lays the groundwork for the Christian Hebraism of the 15th through the 17th centuries. I am indebted to Jan Stievernann for pointing out to me Mather's frequent dependence on Martin for his messianic readings of scripture. "Our Teachers of pious memory expounded this passage with regards to the King Messiah, in his coming against Gog and Magog. But on account of this, that it may be heard, and that it may be responded to the heretics, it is appropriate to expound the same passage with regards to David himself because of what is said in 2 Sam. 5:17.: *And the Philistines heard that they had anointed David to be king over Israel, and they came* [to seek David]; about these David said, *Why do the nations rage?* [Ps. 2:1]" Martin, and therefore Mather, identifies the source of David's words incorrectly. They are from 2 Samuel, not 2 Kings, as is indicated in both the *Pugio* and in the *Biblia* manuscript. I have made this correction in the text above. Although Martin's work is polemical and intended to deprecate the Jews for their failure to recognize Jesus as the Messiah, it is nevertheless a work of immense learning and steeped in Rabbinic commentaries. His work was lost for a time, but recovered by Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540–1609) and edited by Joseph de Voisin. This edition remained definitive throughout the early modern period and which was reprinted numerous times (*JE*). For an able survey of Christian approaches to Judaism, see Frank E. Manuel's *The Broken Staff*.

⁹⁰ This quotation, as Mather notes, ultimately derives from the Seder Mo'ed, tractate Sukkah (52a), the tractate that concerns the Feast of the Tabernacles. The immediate source is in the comment of Joseph de Voisin Burdegal to Martin's examination of Psalm 2 in *Pugio*, pars. 3, dist. 1, cap. 8, p. 529. Rivers translates the remark as follows: "*I have begotten you today*; the sense is, today I disclose to men that you are my son" (Rivers, 410).

⁹¹ "It seems to me that this Psalm was composed by one of the musicians about David / or about the Messiah." This statement is a close paraphrase of sec. 4, cap. 1 of Johann Frischmuth's essay on "De Messia, Dei Filio, Dissertatio ad illustrandum locum Psal. 2:7," contained in the *Thesaurus Theologico-Philologicus*, tom. 1, p. 572. Frischmuth (1618–79) was a professor of oriental languages and poetry at the University of Jena (*ADB*).

Q. *Why do the Heathen rage, and the People imagine a vain Thing?* v. 1.

A. Old *Arnobius* after this Manner states the several Causes of their Dissatisfactions.

First; *The Heathen rage*; and saies he; *usque hodiè Gentes fremunt adversus Christum, quia Idolis finem imposuit.*

And then, *The People imagine a vain Thing*; he so carries it; *Judæi meditantur inania; Distinctiones ciborum, et sabbatorum Ferias attendentes.*⁹²

I have mett with such a Thought as this. *Why do the Heathen rage?* Alas, They were *Israelites*! They were a professing People of God; A People in Covenant with God. Yea, but when the Kingdome of a glorious Christ, is unacceptable to them, they become as Bad as *Heathen*.

O *English Nation*, consider of it!⁹³

Q. On what account is it said, *The Lord shall have them in Derision?* v. 4.

A. The Lord will expose them to the Scorn & Derision of all those, who shall behold their Folly.⁹⁴

Q. Those Words, *This Day have I begotten thee*, are by the Apostle, in Act. 13.33 apply'd unto the *Resurrection* of the Lord Jesus Christ. I pray, How Fitly? v. 7.

A. The *Resurrection* of the Lord Jesus Christ, was an evident, a glorious Demonstration, of His being the eternal Son of God. And in the Scriptures, you know, sometimes Things are *Then* said to bee *Done*, when they are *Declar'd* to bee *Done*.

But I have a further Illustration of this Matter to give you.

Tis no unusual Thing, to call the *Earth* our *Mother*. The *Grave* is our *Womb*, as well as that of our Parents. When *Julius Cæsar* dream'd, that hee had offered Violence unto his *Mother*, t'was interpreted, that hee should conquer the *Earth*, *quæ omnium parens haberetur.*⁹⁵ And when *Tiberius* dy'd, the People out of Hatred, prayed, *Terram Matrem*, the *Earth* our Mother to give him no Reception but among the Wicked. *Philo* tells us, that the *Earth* being our *Mother*, the

⁹² Arnobius, *Commentarii in Psalmos* [PL 53.229]. According to Arnobius, "even today the heathen rage against Christ because he put an end to idols." The charge of the second part of the verse is that "the Jews imagine empty things, paying undue attention to such things as differences among foods and attending festivals on the Sabbath." Arnobius's commentary is typical of the methods used by medieval Christians in their anti-Jewish rhetoric. As a Christian, Arnobius uses the Jewish scriptures to attack defining features of Judaism. The Psalms remark on the Philistine nation raging at the prospect of Israel united under a King; Arnobius, however, turns the Psalm against the *Israelites*, who have been reduced to the status of heathens after the coming of Christ. The remarkable rhetorical move is that Mather then takes up this instrument and wields it against the English who themselves appear likely to fail to see the wondrous works of God.

⁹³ This statement appears to depend most upon Allix, *The Book of Psalms*, bk. 1, p. 3.

⁹⁴ Patrick, *Book of Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 1, p. 4.

⁹⁵ "Which was regarded as the parent of all things."

Ancients call'd it, by the Name of, Δημήτηρ, which signifies at once, both *Earth* and *Mother*; and that according to *Plato*, οὐ γὰρ γυναικα, ἀλλὰ γυνή γῆν μεμίμεται, the *Earth* does not so much imitate a *Woman*, as a *Woman* the *Earth*. Yea, that the Channels of Rivers & Fountains, are the Breasts of that *Woman*.⁹⁶

Thus, the Writers of the Old Testament call the *Grave*, which receives the Dead, the *Womb*; & therefore a *Resurrection* may well be called a, παλιγγενεσία, or, a *New Birth*. Sais *Job*, *Naked came I out of my Mothers Womb, & Naked shall I return thither*. What wee render, *Thither*, the Chaldee Paraphrast renders, *To the Grave*. On the other side, when the Scripture speaks of the *Mothers Womb*, it speaks in such a Manner as refers to the *Earth*, the παμήτηρ, or *Mother* of us all. When the Psalmist speaks of his being Formed in the *Womb*, hee calls the *Womb*, the *lowest Parts of the Earth*. And a learned Man thinks, the *Womb* of the Virgin *Mary*, to be meant by the κατώτερα μέρη της γῆς. Thus, *Into the Innermost Parts of the Belly*, that Expression of *Solomon*, is by the *Targum* rendred, *In profundum Sepulchri*; into the Depth of the Grave. Wee find among the Jewish Writers, that the *Mothers Womb* is called קבר a *Sepulchre*. Hee that is *Born*, & then *Buried*, passes but from one *Grave* to another; & hee that *Rises* out of the *Grave*, is, *Born anew*.⁹⁷

So, when the Apostle applies these Words, *This Day have I begotten thee*, to the Resurrection of our Lord, hee do's but speak the Language of the Hebrew Writers: and the Jewes, who own the Psalm to belong unto the *Messias*, had no reason to complain of the Words being so applied. (See *Kidders Demonstration*.)⁹⁸

⁹⁶ The metaphors of earth as mother in relation to Julius Caesar and Tiberius derive from Suetonius's *Lives of the Caesars*. Philo identifies the earth with Demeter in *De Opificio Mundi* (On the Creation of the World), 133.4. Plato has Socrates report that he heard a speech of Aspasia of Miletus, mistress of Pericles, which contains this phrase (*Menexenus* 238a). According to Socrates in this dialogue, it was Aspasia who both taught Socrates his rhetoric, flogging him when he failed to mimic her correctly, and who also prepared the famous funeral oration of Pericles delivered during the Peloponnesian War.

⁹⁷ Job 1:21. The Chaldee Paraphrase, or Targum Onkelos, is reproduced in Walton's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta*. Paulus Fagius (1504–49), the “learned man” of Mather's note, compares the grave to the womb, and considers the prophetic implications of this image, in his Latin translation and paraphrase of the Targum Onkelos (Gen.37:35), where Jacob, mourning the loss of Joseph, cries “I will go down into the grave unto my son.” Fagius was another respected German Hebraist who came to teach at Cambridge, but who died of a fever before he could assume his post (*DNB*).

⁹⁸ This entire note is extracted from *A Demonstration of the Messias* (pt. 1, ch. 8, pp. 285–88), by Richard Kidder (1633–1703), bishop of Bath and Wells. His *Demonstration* was published in three parts (1684, 1699, and 1700). Kidder was killed during the memorable “Great Storm” of that year when the chimney of the Episcopal palace fell on him and his wife as they slept (*DNB*).

[12v] | We won't content ourselves, with a Gloss, which you know who, puts upon the Text. "This Day I begin to Reign & may call it, The Birth-day of my Kingdome."⁹⁹

[*1932.*]

Q. Is there any Evangelical Mystery, confess'd by the Jewish Writings, in that Command, *Kiss the Son?* v. 12.

A. In *Midrash Tillim* we find this notable Passage; *Simile est hoc Regi, qui iratus fuit Filiis Provinciæ cujusdam: Iverunt itaque illi, et persuaserunt Filio Regis, ut ipse Reconciliaret Regem; Ivit Filius, et persuasit Patri suo. Postquam autem Reconciliavit Patrem suum, venerunt Incolæ Civitatis, ut dicerent gratias Regi: Dixit ipsis Rex, mihine Gratias agite! Ite Dicite illas Filio meo; Nisi enim ille fuisset, ego destruxissem iam Civitatem: Hoc est, osculamini Filium.*¹⁰⁰

Q. I cannot but ask you over again; of whom do the *Jewes* understand the *Second Psalm?*

A. On that Passage, *I will declare the Decree*, I will quote you a Passage from the *Talmud*; [De Festo Tabern. c.5.] *Messia Davidis Filio, quam primum Revellando Diebus nostris, dixit sanctus Benedictus, pete à me quidvis, et dabo Tibi; dicitur enim in Psalmo Secundo, enarrabo Decretum. Ubi ergo videt Messias Josephi Filius, occidi se, dixit coram eo, Domine Mundi, nihil à Te peto, nisi Vitam. Dixit ei, Vitam? Quousque, non dixisti? Iam Vaticinatus est de Te David, Pater Tuus; dictum est enim, Vitam petiit à Te, et Dedisti illi.*¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ Mather means the rabbinic commentators. See Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 1, p. 5.

¹⁰⁰ The Midrash Tehillim is a Midrash on the Psalms that dates to the early 12th century. Much of it reappears in Viccars, but not in this case, where Mather is again turning to Martin, *Pugio Fidei*, pars. 3, dist. 3, cap. 20, p. 888. Mather spells the name of the Midrash variously in his manuscript, depending upon his own sources. The gloss of the Midrash is that "it is like the story of a King who became angry with the inhabitants of a certain province. And thus the inhabitants came and pleaded with the son of the King to himself mollify the King. The son went and won over his father. However, after the son had convinced his father, the inhabitants of that city came to give thanks to the King: the King said to them, 'Don't give thanks to me. Go speak your thanks to my son; for if it had not been for him I would have already destroyed your city;' that is, kiss the son." This messianic interpretation is largely Protestant. Hebrew readings of the verse, along with the Vulgate, tend to translate the injunction as one to "embrace purity (or discipline) so that you do not perish from the way." Thus, the effect of the Midrashic aggadah is to suggest that the son enjoined his father to discipline and purity, and that the subjects should embrace the same sort of discipline. See *Midrash Tehillim* II.17 (vol. 1, pp. 30–1). As it appears written in the manuscript ("mihine Gratias agite"), the remark of the King would be more accurately translated as a question: "Do you give thanks to me?" It is difficult to clarify the translation because whether Mather inserts a question mark or an exclamation point at the end of this statement is not evident.

¹⁰¹ This is a fuller translation of the passage quoted above in the headnote to Psalm 2. See the Talmud, Seder Mo'ed, tractate Sukkah (52a) and Martin, *Pugio Fidei*, pars. 2, cap. 9, pp. 412–13: "The Holy One, blessed be He, will say to the Messiah, the son of David, (who

On that Passage, *Ask of mee*, I will quote you a Passage, from *Rabba*, [in *Genesin*, Sect. 43.] *Tres sunt, quibus dictum est, pete. Solomon, Achaz, et Messias.* Solomon, *de quo Scriptum est*, gabaone Deus apparuit Solomoni in somno noctis, et dixit Deus, pete quid sim tibi daturus. Achaz, *de quo Scriptum est*, pete tibi signum a Domino. *Rex Messias de quo Scriptum est*, pete à me, et dabo gentes Hæreditatem Tuam.¹⁰²

Q. Is there nothing in the *Second Psalm* then, to prove the *Deity* of the *Messiah*, unto the Confusion of the Jewes, who have made this Concession? v.12.

A. Yes. When tis here said, *Kiss the Son*, it must bee the *Son of God*, and very *God*. For it followes, *Blessed are all they who Trust in Him*. Whereas, tis said in Jer. 17.5. *Cursed is the Man, who trusteth in Man*.

Our Dr. *Pocock* proves, That according to the Sense of the Ancient Jews, the SON of God, spoken of in the *Second Psalm*, was the *Eternal Son of God* – of the same Substance with the Father.¹⁰³

Q. On the *Wrath* here spoken of? v. 12.

A. Compare, Rom. II.5.¹⁰⁴

Q. What may be meant by, *The Way*? v. 12.

A. The Syriac renders it, *From His Way*. Pious Mr. *Pink* observes upon it; That CHRIST is *The Way*. They that keep at a Distance from Him, will perish, being out of the Way, to Life.¹⁰⁵

will forthwith be revealed in our days), Ask of me, and I will give it to thee, as it is said in the second Psalm, I will tell of the decree. But when he will see that the Messiah the son of Joseph is slain, he will say to him, 'Lord of the Universe, I ask of thee only the gift of life.' 'As to life,' he would answer him, 'Your father David has already prophesied this concerning you,' as it is said, He asked life of thee, thou gavest it him" (Cf. Rivers 412).

102 This is from the Midrash Rabbah (Genesis XLIV:8) that glosses Gen. 15:2, wherein Abram asks of God, "What wilt thou give me?" Rivers translates the aggadic passage, "There are three men – Solomon, Achaz (Ahaz), and the Messiah – of whom it is said, ask {of me}. Solomon, of whom it is written, in Gabon God appeared to Solomon in the sleep of the night, and God said, ask what I am going to give you. Achaz, of whom it is written, ask for a sign from the Lord. The King Messiah, of whom it is written, ask of me, and I shall give you the heathen as your inheritance" (Rivers 412). See also Martin, *Pugio Fidei*, pars. 3, dist. 3, cap. 2, p. 653.

103 Edward Pococke pursues this point at some length in the "Notae Miscellaneae" to his *Porta Mosis* (ch. 8, pp. 314–18), extracts from the Arabic commentary of Moses Maimonides on the Mishnah, See also *Psalterium*, where the didactic point is emphasized: "JEW, think of this, and leave thy Judaism" (bk. 1, p. 4).

104 Allix, *The Book of Psalms*, bk. 1, p. 3.

105 Mather refers to a collection of sermons entitled *The Tryall of a Christians Sincere Love unto Christ* (1631), by the Puritan William Pincke, aka. Pinke (c. 1599–26), skilled in Hebrew, Greek, and Arabic and a devout Puritan. Each of the sermons in this slim octavo volume is separately paginated. Mather is recalling a remark in the final sermon in the volume, on 1 Cor.

[13r]

Q. Some Thoughts on the Prædictions of the MESSIAH, in the *Psalms*, & the Prophets? v. 12.

A. In a Book Entitled, Monsr. PASCALS *Thoughts*, I meet with several Passages, which have Illustrations and Curiosities in them, relating to scriptural Matters, and such as I thought not unworthy to be thrown into this our *Amassment of such Treasures*. It were easy for me to make myself such a Master of these, and many more the like *Thoughts*, that my Reader should consider them, as no other than *Mine*, in the proposing thereof. But I am not seeking & serving *my own Esteem* in the World; it is the Service of *Religion* that I aim at; and I am desirous, that every one, whom God ha's employ'd as an Instrument of Good in that Service, may be duely acknowledged & remembred.

I will now transcribe some *Thoughts* of Monsr. *Pascal*.¹⁰⁶

"To procure Authority and Reputation to the *Messias*, it was necessary that certain Prophecies should præcede His Appearance, and should remain in the Custody of unsuspected Persons; such as were eminent for Diligence & Fidelity, and above all, for Zeal; and such as were remarkably known to the rest of Mankind.

"That things might succeed accordingly, God was pleased to make Choice of this carnal People, and to give them in charge the Prædictions concerning the *Messias*, which described Him after the Manner of a Temporal Deliverer, and a Dispenser of Sensible Goods; such as their Hearts were particularly affected with. Hence, as they received the Prophets, with the greatest Demonstrations of Affection and Reverence, so they communicated to all Nations those Books of the Prophets, which foretold the Coming of the Mighty One; assuring them, that He would most certainly come, & in the very Manner express'd by their Records, which they kept open to the View of the Whole World. But being finally deceived, by the Meanness & Ignominy of His Condition here on Earth, they became His greatest Opposers. So that we have now a People, who of all Mankind can be least suspected of partial Favour toward us, lending their Assistance to support our Cause; and by the Zeal which they show for their Law and their Prophets, præserting with the most exact Fidelity, our Evidences, and their own Condemnation.

16:22: "If any man love not the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be Anathema Maranatha." Pincke's association of the two passages is on pp. 9–10 of the 1631 edition. Harvard's *Catalogus Librorum* lists the 1636 edition of this text as among its holdings. A reader at Magdalen, Pincke was tutor to George Digby, later earl of Bristol. Pincke's *Tryall* was published posthumously after his untimely death at around the age of 30. It argues that a sincere profession of faith is more significant than any amount of education or any formality of worship (*DNB*).

¹⁰⁶ All of the quotes below were available to Mather in a 1727 translation by Basil Kennet entitled *Thoughts on Religion, and Other Curious Subjects*. This was the second of four editions produced by Kennet, the first in 1704 and the last in 1741.

“Those who Rejected & Crucified our Lord, being offended at Him, are the same People, with whom those Writings remain, which testify concerning Him, and which affirm, that He shall be Rejected by them, & shall be a Rock of Offence. Thus ha’s their Refusal added an eminent Mark to the Truth of His Credentials; and He ha’s been æqually demonstrated for the *Messiah*, by the Righteous Part of the Jewish Nation, who embraced Him, and by the Wicked Part who despised Him; the one Event, no less than the other, having been long before prophetically declared.

“The Reason why the Prophecies were conceiv’d with a *Double Sense*; a Remote and Spiritual, to which this people were strongly Averse, under an Obvious and Carnal, to which they were eagerly Inclined; seems to have been This. Had the *Spiritual Sense* been entirely disclosed unto them, it being such as they were unable to love, to embrace, or even to bear, they would have had very little Zeal, to præserve their Writings and Institutions. Or, if they could have Relished these *Spiritual Promises*, and had therefore kept their Books uncorrupted, until the Time of the *Messias*, then their Evidence must have suffered in its Force, as being the Testimony of Friends. We see therefore on the other hand, the necessity of concealing the *Spiritual Sense*. Yett on the other hand, should this Concealment have been too deep, for all Light & Discovery, the great Evidences of the *Messias* had been suppressed. See then the admirable Disposal of Providence! In an infinite Number of Places, the *Spiritual Sense* is covered over with another; yett in some (tho’ rarely occurring) it is openly Revealed; and this in such a Manner, as that the Passages in which it is suppress’d are capable of both Senses; but those in which it is declared, can agree only to the Spiritual.

“When *Good Things* were promised them in great Abundance, what could hinder them from interpreting this Promise, of *True and Real Goods*, but their *Covetousness*: | which determined their Apprehension to Earthly Riches. [14v] Whereas, those who placed their *only Treasure in Heaven*, would have referr’d the Promise to GOD alone.

“The *End* which we pursue, is that which gives *Names* to Things. And whatever hinders us in the Prosecution of this, is said to be *at Enmity* with us. Thus the Creatures, which are Good in themselves, do yett become the *Enemies* of Good Men, when they divert them from GOD; GOD Himself is styled an *Enemy*, by those whom He opposes in their Lusts. Hence the Appellation of *Enemy*, changing its Construction, according to the different *End* which Men propose. Good Men understood by it, their *Passions*; and Carnal Men, the *Babylonians*; so that this Term was obscure, only with respect to the Wicked. And tis on this account, that *Isaiah* saies, *Signa Legem in Discipulis meis, Seal the Law among my Disciples*. And that he tells us, Christ shall be *a Stone of Stumbling, & a Rock of Offence*; tho’, as our Lord Himself declares, *Blessed are those who shall not be offended in Him*. The Prophet *Hosea* evidently declares the same Difference. *Who is Wise, & he shall understand these things; prudent, & he shall know them:*

For the Wayes of the Lord are right; and the Just shall Walk in them: but Transgressors shall fall therein."¹⁰⁷

And now we are conversing with Monsr. *Pascal*, we will do, as we have done with some others; hold on our Conversation with him, till we have received from him, some other of his *Thoughts*, which have a Tendency to the *Illustration* of the Sacred Oracles; Leaving the Reader to apply them unto the more *Proper Places* for them, as they shall see occasion.

This is One of his *Thoughts*.

"So long as there was a Succession of *Prophets*, to guard the Law, the *People* were entirely negligent as to its Custody. But upon the ceasing of the *Prophets*, the Zeal of the *People* supplied their room. And this, among others, is a Providence too Remarkable to be overlook'd."¹⁰⁸

This is another of them.

"JESUS CHRIST liv'd in so much Obscurity (as to what the World terms *obscure*,) that the pagan Historians, who were wont to record Persons of Eminence, and Things of Importance, have scarce afforded Him a slender Notice."¹⁰⁹

Another of them is this.

"The *Jews* in putting to Death JESUS CHRIST, whom they beleev'd not to be the *Messias*, gave Him the final Mark & Assurance of the *Messiahs* Character. The more they persisted in Denying Him, they still became the more infallible Witnesses of His Truth. For to Disown, & to Slay Him, was but to join their own Testimony to that of the Prophecies which they fulfilled."¹¹⁰

He makes this very profitable Remark.

"The Style of the Gospel is admirable in a thousand different Views; and in this among others, that we meet there with no Invectives, on the part of the Historians against *Judas*, or *Pilate*; nor against any of the Enemies, or the very Murderers of their Lord."¹¹¹

Another of his Remarks, is this.

"We find it a very solemn Promise of God unto the *Jews*, that tho' they should be scattered to the Corners of the Earth, yett upon their Perseverance in His Law, He would gather them again. They are now in the highest Manner constant to their Worship, & tenacious of their Rites, and yett remain dispers'd and distress'd. It followes therefore of necessity, that the *Messias* is come, & the Old Law, which contained these Promises, ha's been disannulled, by the Establishment of the New."¹¹²

¹⁰⁷ The above paragraphs are carefully extracted from the chapter entitled "On the Jews," in the 1727 edition of *Thoughts*. See ch. 10, pp. 75–79.

¹⁰⁸ *Pascal*, *Thoughts*, ch. 10, p. 85.

¹⁰⁹ *Pascal*, *Thoughts*, ch. 14, p. 105.

¹¹⁰ *Pascal*, *Thoughts*, ch. 15, p. 115.

¹¹¹ *Pascal*, *Thoughts*, ch. 16, p. 122.

¹¹² *Pascal*, *Thoughts*, ch. 16, p. 125.

He remarks Elsewhere.

“In the Thirteenth Chapter of St. *Mark*, our Lord discourses at Large, to His Disciples, about His Second Coming. And, as whatever happens to the Church, happens likewise in some Manner and Proportion to every Christian, so is it certain, that this whole Chapter describes, as well the State of each Regenerated Person, and the Destruction of the Old Man in him, as the State of the Universe, which shall be destroy’d, to give way to the New Heavens and the New Earth, according to the Word of Scripture. The Prædiction concerning the Ruine of the Temple, when forsaken by GOD, (which is the Figure of the Rejected & Reprobate Body of Sin, dwelling in every one of us,) and the Expression of, *Not Leaving one stone upon another*, teach us, that we ought to leave no Affection of the Old Man unmortified or unremoved. And those Wars and Tumults, those Contentions, Civil & Domestic, are so lively a Repræsentation of the Inward Troubles, which Men feel at their Conversion, that no Colours could have painted them to more advantage.”¹¹³ |¹¹⁴

[15r]

It is a Notable Hint he ha’s.

“We shall sometimes find one single Expression of *David* or of *Moses* (as for instance, that of the Latter, *GOD will circumcise the Foreskin of your Hearts*,) which shall be sufficient to settle their Character, and to manifest the Spirit by which they wrote. Supposing all their other Discourses to be ambiguous, and to leave a Doubt, whether they spake by the Measures of Philosophy, or by those of Inspiration, one Word of this kind is sufficient to determine all the Rest. Here the Cloud must vanish, tho’ All should have seem’d obscure before.”¹¹⁵

I produce no more of this Gentlemans *Thoughts*. My Choice to produce them here together, may have some Apology, in this, that they all have much of the same Aspect, & agree on one common Character & Intention.

| [blank]

[16v]

¹¹³ Pascal, *Thoughts*, ch. 28, pp. 223–24.

¹¹⁴ MS pages 13r–16v are actually one oversized sheet of paper that has been folded to create two and a half pages. This oversized sheet is affixed to 17r with red wax, indicating that it is a later insertion.

¹¹⁵ Pascal, *Thoughts*, ch. 28, p. 227.

[*2062.*]

Q. The Psalmist complains, *That many said, There was no Help for him in GOD*: What made them say so? v. 2.

A. R. *David Kimchis* Gloss tells us, *Prudentes viri, velut Achitophel, et alii, putabant quod Regnum nunquam rediret ad Davidem, propter Peccatum eius in re Uriæ.*¹¹⁶

And R. *Obadia Gaons* Gloss is to the like Purpose; *Dicunt, quod peccatum cum Bathsheba commissum, erat Crimen inexpiabile.*

In short, They thought the Murder & Adultery of *David*, Crimes that putt him beyond the Mercies of God.¹¹⁷

Q. But give us a *Christian Gloss* upon it?

A. Hear old *Arnobius*. As the *History* refers to the Sufferings of *David*, so, saies he, the *Mystery* refers to the Sufferings of our *Messiah*. And this Passage, *There is no Help for Him in God*, was remarkably fulfilled in the Flouts of the Jewes upon Him, while He was a dying.

You have now a *Key* for the whole Psalm, in your Hands. Use it, as becomes a *Christian*.¹¹⁸

Q. On what account saies *David*; *The Lord heard me out of His Holy Hill*? v. 4.

A. *David* had before this, placed the *Tabernacle*, with the *Ark*, on the Hill of *Zion*; which here he calls, *The Holy Hill*. The High-priest offered for to carry the *Ark* with him into the Field. “No,” saies *David*, “Lett it remain in the Tabernacle, the proper Place for it; and my Prayer shall be towards it, as placed there.” His Prayer being heard at such a Distance from the *Ark*, he glorifies God,

¹¹⁶ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 1, p. 7. Rabbi David Kimchi, or RADAK (1160–1235) was one of the foremost medieval rabbinic commentators. Among Kimchi’s other notable works was a commentary on the Psalms which Viccars relied on in his synopsis (*ODWR*). The idea is that “sensible men, like Achitophel, and others who thought the kingdom would never return to David because of his sin in the matter of Uriah,” said there was no help for him [i. e., David] in God.

¹¹⁷ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 1, p. 8. Rabbi Obadiah Gaon, is Obadiah ben Jacob Sforno (c. 1475–1550), an Italian. Rivers notes that the term “gaon” which formerly applied only to leaders during the Gaonic period (589–1038 CE) of Jewish history, had become by the 15th c. a simple honorific. Sforno’s commentary on the Psalms first appeared in 1586 (Rivers 413). See also Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 6. The Rabbi’s gloss, as Mather notes, largely recapitulates previous commentators: “They say [that] because a sin was committed with Bathsheba, the crime was inexpiable.”

¹¹⁸ Arnobius, *Commentarii in Psalmos* [PL 53.330]; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 6.

the omnipresent God; as *Calvin* observes upon it. *Absalom* was possessed of *Jerusalem*; and had the Presence of the *Ark* with him. Yett he was rejected, while the prayer of *David* reached thither.¹¹⁹

[*1931.*]

Q. *I Laid mee down and slept; I awaked, for the Lord sustained mee.* How? v. 5.

A. T'wil bee an Illustration, full of Evangelical Truth and Light, if I only add the Clause hereto annexed, by the Jewes, in their *Midrasch Tillim*; על ידי מלך / המשיח / *Per manus Regis Messie*.¹²⁰

Dr. *Allix* observes, That this *Third* Psalm ought to be compared with the *Sixteenth*. And that this Verse evidently contains the *Death & Resurrection* of our Saviour.¹²¹

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[18v]

[*783*]

Q. What observe you in those Words, *Thou hast smitten all mine Enemies on the Cheek-bone?* v. 7.

A. *David*, now on the Top of Mount *Olivet*, is, as a Type of our Lord Jesus Christ, at Prayer. His Prayer concludes with a *Prophecy*, which, if it bee an Allusion, to *Sampsons* Victory with a Jaw-bone, hee therein foresees & foretels, that the Lord, would, by small Means work for him a wonderful Deliverance. But if you take the Words, in the very Letter of them, they prædict the very Manner of the End, which *Achitophel* and *Absalom* came unto; *smitten on the Cheek-bone*, *Achitophel*, with the Knot of the Rope, *Absalom*, with the Bough of the Tree.¹²²

Q. On what Intention may that Passage be added; *Thy Blessing is upon thy People?* v. 8.

A. There is a good Hint in Dr. *Patrick's* Paraphrase; “Unto thee I flee, to save and præserve me from this Controversy; Not that I may live to be Revenged, but to do good unto thy People; whose Prosperity I wish & will seek, tho’ never so ungrateful & undutiful to me their Sovereign.”¹²³

¹¹⁹ This is from John Calvin's *Commentarii in Librum Psalmorum Pars Prior*. The Harvard Library's edition of this dates to 1564. I have used the edition included in the *Opera*, vol. 31, col. 55.

¹²⁰ Martin, *Pugio Fidei*, pars. 3, dist. 3, cap. 18, p. 876. “By the hand of the king Messiah” (Rivers 414).

¹²¹ Allix, *The Book of Psalms*, bk. 1, p. 4.

¹²² Mather here conflates two traditionally different readings of this Psalm: the first, the typological supposition supplied by Allix's *Book of Psalms*, bk.1, p. 4; the second, the historical interpretation offered by Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 1, p. 7. See also Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 6.

¹²³ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 1, p. 9.

Q. On this Term, *To the Chief Musician*? Tit.

A. It may be rendred, *In finem*, That is, *To*, or, *For the End*. An Intimation, that those Things are eminently calculated for the Period, which is called, *The Time of the End*.¹²⁴

Q. A Key to the *Fourth Psalm*?

A. Father *Arnobius*, ha's given us a Golden One.

*Deus Justitiæ Exaudivit in cruce positum Filium suum; contra quem irascentes Judæi, peccant usque hodie; qui non peccarent irascentes, si vere Dei non esset Filius, quem negarent. Quod eis ideo evenit, quia non sacrificium Justitiæ sicut Abel, sed sicut Cain, Livoris atque Invidiæ offerunt.*¹²⁵

Q. That Phrase; *O yee Sons of Men*? v. 2.

A. Dr. *Patricks* Thoughts upon it, are those which I now shall offer you. *The Son of Man*, and, *The Sons of Men*, are Phrases, which there is Cause to think, do belong in the Scripture-Language, to *Princes*, and sometimes to the *Greatest of Princes*. Here, *O yee Sons of Men*, means, the Rulers of the People. So Psal. VIII.3 *The Son of Man*, is, the Greatest of Men. And Psal. CXLVI.3 *Putt not your Confidence in Princes, nor in the Son of Man*, is as much as to say, How great soever the Prince may be. And, Psal. LVIII.1 *Sauls* Counsellors, are called, *The Sons of Men*. Thus, Isa. LI.12 *Who art thou, that thou shouldest be afraid of the Son of Man*? That is, A Prince.

The Hebrews called the Chief of any kind, by the Name of the Whole Kind. They call Man, Mar. XVI.15 *Creature*; because the prime *Creature* here below. So a very eminent Person, as a King, they call, *The Son of Man*; because the Prime among the Sons of Men. This is to be understood of, *Ben Adam*, not, *Ben Enosh*; which we also render, *Son of Man*. Psal. CXLIV.3. This imports, the Wretchedness of Mans Condition. If this had been the Name, wherewith *Ezekiel* had been saluted, it might have putt him in Mind of his mean Condition, tho' conversing with Heavenly Ministers. But he is constantly called, *Ben Adam*; and so it may denote him a *Great Man*, highly esteemed & favoured of God; and

¹²⁴ Allix, *The Book of Psalms*, bk. 1, p. 5; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 6.

¹²⁵ Arnobius, *Commentarii in Psalmos* [PL 53.330]. The concluding word is not in Migne's edition of Arnobius' commentary: "The God of Justice clearly heard his son placed on the cross, against whom the raging Jews sin to this day; the angry ones would not commit sin if truly He whom they deny were not the Son of God. This happens to them therefore because they do not offer sacrifice out of justice, as Abel did, but as Cain, out of envy and jealousy."

appointed by Him to Judge His People. Thus *Daniel* is called, *Son of Man*, who is anon called, *A Man greatly beloved*.

From hence we may learn, what to understand by the Title which our Blessed Saviour so often gives Himself, of, *The Son of Man*, or rather, *That Son of Man*. 'Tis as much as to say, *The Messiah*, or *That Great Prince*, that God had promised, they should be blessed withal. Thus we read, Joh. V.22, 27 God hath committed all Judgment unto Him, *Because He is that Son of Man*. That is, He is that Great Person, whom God designed to be the Lord and Governour of all things.¹²⁶

Q. *Stand in Awe, and Sin not?* How may it otherwise bee Read? v. 4.

A. *Are yee Angry? Yett do not Sin.* q.d. You are Disturbed that I have the Kingdome? Yea, but have a Care, lest you herein offend the God of Heaven.

Munsters Gloss here, is good. *Monentur hostes ut contremiscant, & caveant sibi; ne peccent in Christum Domini: Et si incidant Malæ et Secretæ Cogitationes, has in Tempore reprimere studeant, & non permittant prodire in opus.*

An Admonition here is, to tremble at all Enmity & Rebellion against the Christ of God, & suppress the first Rising of all Thoughts, that may have such a Tendency.¹²⁷

|

[20v]

[*249.*]

Q. How may wee understand those Passages; *There bee many that say, who will show us any good? Lord, lift thou up the Light of thy Countenance upon us?* v. 6.

A. You know, That all the good Preachers in the World, use to accommodate these words, unto a Comparison, between the Desires of worldly Men, who ask for *Any Sort of earthly Good*, and of Godly Men, to whom the *Light of Gods Countenance*, or, some Evidence of the Divine Favour, is præferrible. And why should I go to disturb a *Gloss*, that hath been so long in the quiet Possession of the Text, all over the world? No, 'tis a Devout, & Useful One, & for mee, it shall remain undisturbed.¹²⁸

Nevertheless, My own Thoughts are to bee Free, for myself; and I think these two Things.

¹²⁶ This note is extracted from Patrick's *Book of Psalms Paraphras'd* ("Preface," sec. 2, n.p.). Mather further condenses Patrick in the *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 7.

¹²⁷ Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3616); Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, pp. 6–7: "His enemies are warned, however, that they should tremble and beware for themselves lest they sin against the anointed one of the Lord: And if evil and secret thoughts should arise, they should take pains to repress them in time and not permit them to come blossom into action."

¹²⁸ This paragraph probably relies on the ordinary glosses in the *Biblorum Sacrorum cum Glossa Ordinaria et Postilla Nicolai Lyrani* (3:463).

First, The *Light of Gods Countenance*, or, His *Face*, is the *Messiah*; in whom it is, that God will Discover Himself to His Creatures. Compare Mal. 3.1 with Mark. 1.2 and You'll see that this is not asserted without Book. And in asserting this, I have given you a Notable *Key*, to open a Thousand Scriptures, which else lose abundance of their Glory, by being Interpreted only of certain *mystical Dispensations*. Here, take this *Key* once for all; and Remember to make use of it.

Secondly; It is not here said, *who will show us Any Good?* That particle, *Any*, is merely foisted in, to serve a præconceived Notion. But it is, *who will show us the good Thing?* Which also is, in the Old Testament, more than once, the Name of the *Messiah*.

So then, the Psalmist, here takes notice, That many did then long for the *Coming* of the *Messiah*; and hee thereupon comforts himself, That altho' his own House, & Crown, were now so threatned, yett ere long, the *Messiah*, promised but a little before to come of his Line, would come, as Hee had been desired.¹²⁹

The *Syriac* supposes 'em to say, *Quando salvabit nos hic Solomon?*¹³⁰

Q. Unto what may that Passage of the Psalmist refer, *Thou hast putt Gladness in my Heart, more than in the Time that their Corn & their Wine increased?* v. 7.

A. Some do otherwise Translate the passage. They read it not, *More than in the Time*; They read it, *Ever since the Time*.

David, is here checking the people for despising his Kingdome, & for hearkening to a Kingdome that was but *Vanitie*, such an one as *Absaloms* and *Shebas*; and under the Distresses, which those Rebels raised unto him, hee does here profess, That *Ever since the Time, that Corn & Wine, & other Provision increased* unto him, from the Loyal Bounty of *Shobi, Machir, & Barzillai*, [2. Sam. 17.27] his *Heart* had Received a Joyful Confidence & Assurance, of his being Restored; and hee would still depend upon the good Providence, which had wrought these good Beginnings for him.¹³¹

[*2063.*]

The Jewish Interpreters take this Passage:

*Mihi Malum rependunt. Ego vero gaudio afficior in Prosperitate eorum.*¹³²

¹²⁹ Mather rarely intrudes with his own opinion, but this may well be one place where he does so, as his wording indicates. These interpretations are not unique, but they do not occur in any work that I have read in the way they do here. See also *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 8.

¹³⁰ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 1, p. 11: "When will Solomon save us in this place?"

¹³¹ Although Calvin decides against this alternative translation, he offers it in his *Commentarii in Librum Psalmorum Pars Prior* (*Opera* 31:64).

¹³² Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 1, p. 9. The Jewish interpreter in this case is Rabbi David Kimchi: "They repay me with evil. Truly, I am graced with gladness in their prosperity."

Q. Unto What may the Psalmist allude, When hee finds in the God of Heaven, the Satisfactions of *Corn*, and *Wine*, and Quiet *Sleep*? v. 7,8.

A. It was the Manner of the *Egyptians*, to describe Happiness, by a *Young Man*, carrying in one Hand, an Ear of *Corn*, in t'other Hand, a Cup of *Wine*, and about his Neck hanging a Bunch of *Poppy*. Whereby they intimated, That if a Man have but *Corn* enough, and *Wine* enough, hee may go to *Sleep* with as much Security, as any *Opiate* could help him to. But now, saies the Psalmist, It is the Light of Gods Countenance, which is to mee, instead of *Corn* and *Wine*, and for Quiet *Sleep*, it is my peace with God that gives it mee. So that the Happiness of a Good Man, is not laid-up in Creatures; hee seeks it, hee finds it, in God alone.¹³³

¹³³ Simon Patrick, *Mensa Mystica*, sec. 5, ch. 18, p. 324. This work was originally published in 1660 and went through 7 editions; the last (which I use here) was published in 1717.

Q. Of whom is the Psalm to be especially understood?

A. There are even Jews themselves, who refer the whole Psalm to the Time of the *Messiah*. It must be the Second Coming of the Lord, when there will be a *Temple*, wherein will be no *Sacrifices*, but those of *Praises*.

The Followers of *Antichrist* are here described; with the Joy of the Church in their Destruction. Compare, Rev. XI.17, 18.¹³⁴

Q. The Emphasis of that; *My Voice thou shalt hear in the Morning?* v. 3.

A. Take it from Dr. *Patricks* paraphrase; “Thou wilt be as speedy, I hope, in thy Help & Succour, as I am early in my Prayer; for the First Thing I do, is to address myself to thee.”¹³⁵

Q. Who are the *Workers of Iniquity, hated by the Lord?* v. 5.

A. The same that presently, *Speak a Ly*. And hear now, Old *Arnobius*. *Omnis qui negat Jesum Filium Dei, hic mendax est. Qui autem confitetur intrat in Domum Dei et adorat ad Templum Sanctum non in Lapide, sed in Spiritu.*

The *Lyar* is he who denies the Son of God. He that owns Him, worships in the *True Temple*.¹³⁶

Yea, How can we behold, the *Speakers of a Lye* here, without calling to Mind those of whom we read, 1. Tim. IV.2 *Speaking Lyes in Hypocrisy!* How can we sing about, *The Man of Blood & of Deceit*, without some Thoughts on the *Romish Antichrist*? You will find the very Name of *Rome*, in the Hebrew Word here used for, *Deceit*.¹³⁷

Q. Why does the Psalmist so particularly speak of that Matter; *I will come into thy House?* v. 7.

A. He had been by his Enemies driven out of the *House of God*; which was worse to him, than being driven out of *his own*. He hopes to be Restored thither.¹³⁸

¹³⁴ Allix, *The Book of Psalms*, bk. 1, p. 6. This entry is reproduced exactly in *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 9.

¹³⁵ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 1, p. 13; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 9.

¹³⁶ Arnobius, *Commentarii in Psalmos* [PL 53.332]; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 9: “All who deny that Jesus is the Son of God, this is lying. But he who acknowledges him enters into God’s house and worships at his holy temple, not in stone but in spirit.”

¹³⁷ This interpretation derives from Rashi’s commentary on the Psalms. I am indebted to Mark Miner for pointing out to me that the Hebrew word here has the letters **Resh** and **Mem** in it.

¹³⁸ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 1, p. 14; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 9.

Q. On that, *Make thy way straight before my Face?* v. 8.

A. Munster ha's a Good Gloss: *Fac me sic ambulare in via tua ut nunquam deflectam Oculos ab ea.* q.d. Lett me never look off.¹³⁹

|

[*1921.*]

[22v]

Q. What special Importance may there bee, of that Passage, *Their Throat is an open Sepulchre?* v. 9.

A. Infamy, as Dr. Manton observes, is usually, but the Fore-runner of some greater Trouble and Mischief. Showres of *Slander*, are but the Presages, and Beginnings, to more deadly Storms of *Persecution*. In the primitive Times, the Christians were first Invested with *Bears' skins*, and then treated as very *Bears*. The Divel is first a *Lyar*, and then a *Murderer*. This may bee the Import of that Expression, *Their Throat is an open Sepulchre*. The Slanders of the Wicked, are but *Præparatives* to Death; as when the *Sepulchre* is opened, it is præpared for to swallow the Dead Carcase. As tis elsewhere said, about the Force of the *Babylonians*; Jer. 5.16 *Their Quiver is an Open Sepulchre*; that is, you can expect nothing but Death from the Force of their Assaults: Thus here, the *Throat* of the Wicked, is a Burying-place, not only for the *Names* of Good Men, but for their very *Persons*, & all their Interests. First, Men will *Slander* them, & then *Molest* them.¹⁴⁰

Q. Who is the *Righteous One*, of whom tis here said, *The Lord will Bless Him?* v. 12.

¹³⁹ Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3621). Mather translates the latter portion of this remark: "make me thus to walk in your way, so that I may never turn aside my eyes from it."

¹⁴⁰ Thomas Manton (1620–77), *A Third Volume of Sermons* (Serm. 6, ch. 11, p. 42). Many of Manton's sermons were published after his death in five separate volumes (*DNB*). At this juncture in this sermon, Manton is applying the lessons of the first part of Hebrews 11:2 ("For by it [i.e., faith] the Elders obtained a good report"). The infamy which good men suffer, a preoccupation of Cotton Mather's (mentioned by more than one biographer) is, for Manton, one of three ways in which "active faith" is related to reputation (41). Reputation is first, a "necessary Blessing" of the covenant of grace. It is also, however, a "Provision made against all Inconveniences that may befall us in the way of Religion" (41). As a safeguard against the "Inconveniences of Reproach and Infamy," the report of faith redounds either to "God and Religion itself" or to "good Men" (42). Nevertheless, these "good Men" often suffer the "Showers of Slander [that] are but the Presages and Beginnings of grievous Storms: first it rains down in Slander, then comes a Storm of Persecution" (42). It is not entirely surprising that Mather ignores Manton's conscious artistry in favor of his historical and intertextual remarks, since those contexts are the fruits of learning Mather hoped to share with his readers. Still, Mather's omission of Manton's own core conclusion, orthodox though it is, ignores Manton's own positive optimism: God, allowing persecution and ridicule, will always requite the faithful by granting greater faith to the believer: "Believers honour him, therefore he will honor them" (43). See also Mather's *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 10.

A. I tell you, you must look out Sharp for the *Messiah*, in reading the Psalms continually.

The *Arabian* Interpreter, understands this Passage, of the *Messiah*. And hee does well to understand it so.¹⁴¹

[23r]

Q. That Expression, *Compass as with a SHIELD*; May lead us to consider and exhibit, the *Armour* of the *Ancient Hebrews*; which will Illustrate very many Passages in the *Sacred Scriptures*? v. 12.

A. *Lewis* in his *Origines Hebraeae*, ha's a Chapter, which facilitates my Labour on this Occasion.¹⁴²

Of an *Israelites* DEFENSIVE Weapons, the First is an *HELMET*, which covers the *Head*. This was part of the military Provision, which that Notable Warriour, *Uzziah*, præpared for his Army [2 Chron. XXVI.14]. Part of *Sauls* Armour, was an *Helmet of Brass* [1 Sam. XVII.8]. The *Philistines* used it; *Goliath* had it [1 Sam. XVII.5]. This *martial Cap*, was worn by the *Persians* and *Ethiopians* in their Battels [Ezek. XXXVIII.5].

The next is, The *BREAST-PLATE*, or *Corslet*. *Goliath* had it: we call it a *Coat of Mail* [1 Sam. XVII.5]. Tis mentioned in the Jewish Armoury, and called, An *Habergeon* [2 Chron. XXVI.14]. Between the Joints of this *Harness*, (for so we read it) *Ahab* was casually struck with a Dart. The Prophet *Isaiah* alludes to this *Armour*, [Isa. LIX.17] using the same Word, that is in the other Texts; but by us rendered here, A *Breast-Plate*. *Jeremiah* using the same Word, [Jer. XLVI.14] Our English for it, is, A *Brigandine*. It seems to answer the *Cuirasse*, or, *Corslet-Armour*, for both Breast and Back. Some had it so long as to come over all their other Clothes.

Thirdly: The *SHIELD*. This is to shelter the whole Body in the Time of Battel. It was either *Tsinnah*, the great Shield, or *Buckler*; and *Magen*, the small Shield. It is often mention'd by *David*, who was a great Warriour; to the *Protection* of Heaven which he expected and enjoyed. When he saies [Psal. V.12] *compass'd with a Shield*, he alludes to the great Shield, and *Tsinnah* is the Word he uses for it. This covered the whole Body. King *Solomon* caused these two Different Sorts of *Shields* to be made [2 Chron. IX.15, 16]; The *Tsinnah*, which answers to the *Clypens* among the Latins; and the *Magen*, which answers to the *Scutum*, & was of a lesser Size, & was much used by the Horsemen. The former of these, have in our Translation, the Name of *Targeth*. [see, 1 Sam. XVII.7.] A *Shield-bearer* was an Office among the *Jews*, as well as the *Philistines*. *David* had it, in his attendance upon *Saul* [1 Sam. XVI.21]. *Jonathan* had one to attend upon him in it [1 Sam.

141 Viccars, *Decapla in Psalmos*, lib. 1, p. 14; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 10.

142 This is a mistaken attribution on Mather's part. He is, in fact, copying extracts from the third volume of Edwards's *Discourse*.

XIV.1]. Besides the huge massy *Tinnah*, we find *Goliath* was also furnished with a less one, called, *Cidon*; which we render a *Target*, in one Place, and, a *Shield* in another. This differed from the common *Shields*; and, it seems, was not only to hold in his Hand, when he had Occasion for it, but it could also conveniently at other times be hung about his Neck, & so turned behind; wherefore it is added, *It was between his Shoulders*. Brass was the usual Metal, whereof this, as well as other Armour, was made in those times. The Loss of the *Shield* in a Fight, was excessively Resented; and Condoled. It was a Signal Ingredient of the Public Mourning [2 Sam. I.21]; *The Shield of the Mighty was vilely cast away*. – when the Jewish Souldiers, in an unhappy Engagement, fled, & left their *Shields* behind them. They used also to *scour*, and *oil* and *polish* their *Shields*; which they likewise did unto their other Armour. Hence we read [Jer. XLVI.4 and LI.11], about, *Furbishing the Spears*, and *Making Bright the Arrows*. But more especially the *Shields*; on which most valued Weapons, they generally engraved their *Names*, and their *Actions* and *Atchievements*; whereas those that had none of these were called, *Blank Shields*. These were polished with *Oil*, and made exceeding Bright. The *Shield* of *Saul*, we read, was *Anointed with Oil*; That Clause may refer unto the *Shield*, and not unto *Saul*. And so the Prophet *Isaiah* [Isa. XXI.5], saies, *Annoint the Shield*; that is to say, præpare for Battel. When the *Shields* were not in actual Service, they were kept covered in a Case. And therefore we read [Isa. XXII.6], of, *uncovering the Shield*; which signifies, præparing for War.

Now comes, fourthly; The Military *GIRDLE*. This had the *Sword* hanging at it; But it was also necessary to *Gird* the Clothing & the Armour together. To *Gird* & to *Arm*, are synonymous Terms. Those that we read, *Able to putt on Armour*, are in the *Hebrew*, and the *Greek*, such as were *Girt with | a Girdle*. [24v] *Jonathan* made this one of his Presents to *David* [1 Sam. XVIII.4].

Lastly; *BOOTS* occur as a Peece of the Defensive Harness: Because it was a Custome to cast, *Εμποδια*, or, *Impediments*, called so, because of their entangling or obstructing the *Feet*; afterwards known by the Name of *Gall-traps*, (in Heraldry corruptly called, *Coll-trops*;) in the Way before the Enemy. These *Boots*, or *Shoes*, were necessary to guard the Legs and Feet, from the Iron Stakes or Spikes cast in the way to gall them. And so, the *Greaves of Brass* on the *Legs* of *Goliath*, are accounted for.

We pass on to the *OFFENSIVE Weapons*.

And, first, of those which they used, when they came to a *close Engagement*, the first is, a *SWORD*. This is the most ancient Peece of Arm we read of; (Except the *Bowe*); It was treacherously used by the Sons of *Jacob* [Gen. XXXIV.25]; It was also used by the *Israelites* in the Wilderness [Exod. XIII.18]. There is no need of Saying, That they were furnished herewith, by the Arms of the drowned *Egyptians*, driven ashore; For we read, *They came up Harnessed out of Egypt*. *Military Habits*, may be Part of the *Rayment*, which, we read, *They borrowed of the Egyptians*.

The Second is, The *BATTLE-AXE* [Jer. LI.20, 23]. We have no particular Account of this Martial Implement; but we may believe, it was a weighty Weapon, a Sort of *Hammer* or *Hatchet*, used when there was occasion to break asunder any hard Thing that stood in their Way, & lay their Enemies prostrate before them. It seems to be a sort of *Poll-Axe*; but proper to the *Cavalry*; for we read of its *Breaking to Peeces the Horse & his Rider*, and, *the Chariot & his Rider*.

Then, of those which were to *Wound at a Distance*, there was first, the *SPEAR*, or *Javelin*. This was of Different Kinds, as to Length & Make. Some were to be Thrown, or Darded; others were a sort of long Sworde; And some were piked or pointed at both Ends.

Next, There was, the *SLING*. *David* once made a notable use of This. The *Benjaminites* were famous, for their Accuracy in handling it [Jud. XX.16]. And whereas, we read, *They were Left-handed*, it should rather be rendred, *They were Ambedexters*: For we are told [1 Chron. XII.2], *They could use both the Right Hand & the Left*: That is, *They did not constantly use the Right Hand*, as others did, when they *slang Stones*, but could perform it, with the Left Hand, as well as the Right.

Thirdly; *Bowes* and *Arrows*, are of Great Antiquity: No Weapon mentioned so soon [Gen. XXVII.3 and, XXI.20]. This afterwards became so useful a Weapon, that Care was taken to train up the Hebrew Youth in it Betimes. *Bowes* were instead of our *Guns*; and *Arrows* instead of our *Powder* and *Ball*. The *Bowe* for *War*, was made of *Steel* [Job. XX.24]; And was therefore very Stiff, and not easy to Bend. They therefore used their *Foot* in Bending their *Bowe*. Hence we read [Jer. L.14], of, *Treading the Bowe*. Those which our Translation calls, *Bent Bowes*, are in the Original, *Trodden Bowes*. This Weapon was thought so necessary in War, that it is called [Zech. IX.10. X.14], *The Bowe of War*, or, *The Battle Bowe*.

To say nothing of the *WAR-COACHES* or, *open Chariots* [Exod. XIV.7, Josh. XVII.16, 18], – When Sieges were carried on, they used *Engines on their Towres*, and *Bulwarks to shoot Arrows & Stones withal* [2 Chron. XXVII.15]; They *Dug Trenches*; They drew a *Line of Circumvallation*; They made *Ramparts*; They *built Forts*; They *Cast up Mounts*; They sett *Battering Rams* [Lam. II.8. Ezek. IV.2]. The *Engines of Shott*, as our Margin reads it [Jer. VI.6], doubtless resembled the *Balistæ* and *Catapultæ*, which we afterwards find among the Ancient *Romans*.¹⁴³

But we may find another Place, in which the Subject we are now upon, may be further prosecuted. I will here, only add, That the Arms of Deceased Warriours were usually hung at the Heads of their Tombs. In Allusion whereto, the *Egyptians* are threatened [Ezek. XXXII and XXVII], That they *shall not be*

¹⁴³ Edwards, *A Discourse*, vol. 3, ch. 4, pp. 200–16.

*buried with the Mighty; and, Tho' they have laid their Swords under their Heads,
yett their Iniquities should be upon their Bones.*¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁴ Giovanni Diodati or Deodati (1576–1649) was an Italian Protestant and professor of Hebrew in Calvin's Geneva. Nominated for the position by Theodore Beza, Diodati was the first man to translate the Bible from Hebrew and Greek into Italian, in 1604 (*OER*). His *Annotaciones in Biblia* (1607) was also translated into English in 1648 as *Pious and Learned Annotations upon the Bible*, from which this concluding paragraph is taken, on his annotations in Ezekiel 32:27, p. 578. Harvard held this English edition of his *Annotaciones*.

Q. Is not the Psalm, a Prayer for the [*]¹⁴⁵ Holy People in her Dispersion, & a Prophecy of [*]¹⁴⁶ their Condition under Antichrist? v. 1.

A. Dr. *Allix* takes it so.

That Prayer, *Heal me*, compare with Isa. LVII.18.

And the Fate of Idolaters, to be, *Ashamed Suddenly*, compare with 1 Thess. V.3.¹⁴⁷

Q. When tis said, *Rebuke mee not in thine Anger*: What fine Similitude, may one use, for the Illustration of it? v. 1.

A. R. *Eleazar* the Jew, ha's a very Fine One.

*Sicut Rex qui Jurat, transiturum gladium super collo Filii, mittitque in Vaginanam, et sic transit in Vagina, sine nocumento Filii, Et tamen implet iuramentum.*¹⁴⁸

Q. That Passage, *In the Grave, who shall give thee Thanks*? How hath it been sometimes improved? v. 5.

A. I find some of the Ancients, curiously applying this to the *Grave* of our Lord Jesus Christ.

These are the Words of the *Messiah*. Had the *Messiah* been left in His *Grave*, all His People must have perished; God would have had no Praises from them.

*Idcirco Christus resurrexit è Mortuis, propter iustificationem nostram, ut Deum Laudibus Extolleremus.*¹⁴⁹

Q. *David* saies, *I water my Couch with my Tears*? v. 6.

A. Most pænitently & pertinently done! T'was the very *Place* of his Crime.

¹⁴⁵ [*Synagogue*]

¹⁴⁶ [*her*]

¹⁴⁷ Allix, *The Book of Psalms*, bk. 1, p. 8; Mather in the *Psalterium* continues to hew closely to Allix's interpretation that the Psalms routinely refer to the eventual return of the Jews to their homeland. There, Mather remarks that the Psalm bespeaks the condition of the "*Jewish Church* in her Dispersion" (bk. 1, p. 11).

¹⁴⁸ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 1, p. 15; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 11: "Just as a king who swears that a sword will pass over his son's neck, and sends it into its scabbard, and thus the scabbard passes over without injury to the son, and nevertheless he fulfills his oath."

¹⁴⁹ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 1, p. 15: "for that reason, Christ rose again from the dead, for the sake of our justification, so that we might extol God with our praises."

Accordingly, tis the Note of *Theodoret* upon it; *Iniquitate contaminatum semper Lavabit, quoad reddatur purum.*¹⁵⁰

That Clause, *I make my Bed to swim*; ha's been by some so interpreted; "So Restless is the Night, that my Agonies dissolve me into Sweat."¹⁵¹

¹⁵⁰ See *Biblorum Sacrorum cum Glossa Ordinaria* (3:477) and *Theodoret, Interpretatio in Psalmos* [PG 80.905]: "He will always wash that which has been contaminated by iniquity until it is restored to purity." See also Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 11.

¹⁵¹ Patrick, *Psalm Paraphras'd*, bk. 1, p. 17.

Q. Who was the *Cush Benjamini* upon the Occasion of whose Words, the Psalmist is here concerned? Tit.

A. The Jewes generally carry it, for *Saul*, who was the *Son of Kish, of the Tribe of Benjamin*. But I rather suppose it might be *Shimei*, who was also related unto the family of *Kish*. As for *Saul*, they were more of *Real Injuries*, than *Verbal Reproaches*, whereby *David* suffered from him. The whole Psalm here, agrees to *Shimei*, all over. Which Matter I had not mentioned, if there had not been hence an Occasion given, for some *curious Thoughts*, in the Reading of the Psalm.¹⁵²

Dr. *Patrick* approves that Conjecture of *Schindler*, that our Psalmist, by *Cush* secretly notes (by a Change of Letters) *Saul* himself, the Son of *Kish*; who could no more alter his Mind, full of Hatred unto *David*, that a Man of *Cush*, or an *Ethiopian*, could change his Complexion.¹⁵³

Q. Is there any peculiar Thing to bee look'd for, in the *Seventh Psalm*?

A. Else what means, the *Title* which the *Syriac* putts upon it, *De Conversione Gentium, et Confessione Trinitatis*.¹⁵⁴

Indeed, as Dr. *Allix* observes, the Psalm agrees well with the Time of *Anti-christ*. Here are the chief Characters of his Government.

The Conclusion of the *Psalm*, is an Allusion to the Judgment upon *Anti-christ*; as described, Deut. XXXII.41, 42. Rev. XIX.11, 12, 16.¹⁵⁵

Q. The import of that Passage; *Lett him lay mine honour in the Dust?* v. 5.

A. Dr. *Patrick's* Paraphrase, is, "Lett me be as much Reproached when I am Dead, as I have been Honoured Alive."¹⁵⁶

Q. What may be meant by, *The Judgment which thou hast commanded?* v. 6.

A. *Munster* would have it be the, *Jus Regni*, which according to the Prophecy of *Jacob*, was to be transferred unto the Tribe of our Psalmist. By the accomplishment of this *Judgment*, this Just and Right Thing, which had been so long ago *commanded*, the Lord would bring the *Congregation of the People to compass Him*

¹⁵² Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 1, p. 17; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 13.

¹⁵³ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 1, p. 19. Valentine (or Valentin) Schindler (d. 1604) was a professor of Hebrew first at Wittenberg and later Helmstedt, most famous for his *Lexicon Pentaglotton* (1612) (*ADB*). A copy of this work was held at the Harvard Library.

¹⁵⁴ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 1, p. 18: "concerning the conversion of the nations and the confession of the Trinity."

¹⁵⁵ Allix, *The Book of Psalms*, bk. 1, p. 9.

¹⁵⁶ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 1, p. 20; *Psalterium* does not identify Patrick as the source of these words (bk. 1, p. 13).

about: The *Gathering of the People* would be to Him: The People would be no longer *Like Sheep without a Shepherd*.¹⁵⁷

| [blank]

[28v]

¹⁵⁷ Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3626); Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 13. “Jus Regni” is “the law of the realm.”

Q. The Occasion of the *Eighth* Psalm? Tit.

A. Dr. *Patrick* advances the Opinion, as most highly probable; That the Psalm was composed by *David*, and delivered unto the Master of Music in the Tabernacle, after he had overthrown the Haughty Giant *Goliath* of *Gath*; which is very agreeable to the Matter of the Psalm, and a lively Emblem of the Conquest which our Saviour ha's had over the Devil.¹⁵⁸

The Ingenious Mr. *John Reynolds* ha's a Remark: That the *Eighth Psalm* is, *An Hymn suitable & worthy to be sung at great Mens Tables*.¹⁵⁹

[*4114.*]

Q. When was it that the Lord *sett His Glory above the Heavens*? v. 1.

A. It was done at the *Ascension* of our Lord JESUS CHRIST. This Text is to be understood as intending that Illustrious Matter. And in this Hint, you have a *Key* to many more.¹⁶⁰

[*2050.*]

Q. What is here thus expressed, *Thou hast Founded Strength*, is in Math. 21.16 Translated, *Thou hast perfected it*? v. 2.

A. Yes; And it is *Chrysostom*, as I remember, that ha's this Note upon it; wherever God hath laid a *Foundation* for any Thing, that Thing shall come unto *Perfection*. *Quicquid Deus Fundat, vel, Incipit, Perficiet*.¹⁶¹

Q. A Paraphrase on, *Out of the Mouths of Babes & Sucklings*? v. 2.

A. Take Dr. *Patricks*. "What an amazing Wonder is it, that thou shouldest enable the weakest of Men, to do the greatest & most praise-worthy Things! And particularly, thou hast now assisted me (who in Comparison of *Goliath*, am but an Infant,) with Power and Strength to subdue that mighty Giant! It is enough to confound all thine Enemies, & stop the Mouthes of the most pernicious Opposers of Thee, & of thy People. As the far more to be celebrated Works of the

¹⁵⁸ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 1, p. 24; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 15.

¹⁵⁹ Mather refers to John Reynolds, *Three Letters to the Deist* (1725), letter 1, p. 36; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 15.

¹⁶⁰ This interpretation is a very old and accepted messianic reading of this verse. See *Biblorum Sacrorum cum Glossa Ordinaria* (3:493–94); Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 15.

¹⁶¹ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 1, p. 20: "Whatever God establishes or begins, he will bring to completion."

Messiah, & His Disciples, when they shall but speak the Word, shall confound even the Divel himself, that great Enemy of thine, & Tormentor of Mankind.”¹⁶²

[*459.*]

Q. The Psalmist admires the *Moon* and the *Stars*; but hee saies nothing of the *Sun*, the chief Part of the Creation. Why nothing of the *Sun*? v. 3.

A. Some have given this Answer. Because the Psalm was composed in the *Night*. And the Answer satisfied mee. But upon further Thoughts, I say; The *Sun* is in the Very Next Words treated of. *There* wee are told of, *A Man crowned with Glory and Honour*; Which *Man*, a very sufficient Interpreter, namely the Apostle *Paul*, in Heb. 2.9 tells us, is, our Lord Jesus Christ. Now, tho’ wee should make nothing of those lesser Comparisons, between our Lord, and the *Sun*, which also suffered an *Eclipse* at the Death of our Lord; That our Lord lay *Thirty Six Hours*, in the Hands of Death; and according to the Jewes the *Sun* stood still just so long, in the Dayes of *Joshua*: tis enough, that Hee is called, in Mal. 4.2. *The Sun of Righteousness*; and that *Hee* is to the Church, all that the *Sun* is to the World.¹⁶³

[*2070.*]

Q. What Reason do the *Jewes* give, why the *Sun*, is not here mention’d among the wonderful Works of God?

A. I can tell you, what Reason *Aben Ezra* gives.

Tis here said, *When I behold thy Heavens, the Moon, and the Starrs*. Now, saies hee, one cannot *Behold* the *Sun*, as one may the *Moon* and the *Starrs*.

But hee presently adds, Why mayn’t the *Sun*, bee meant, by /הַגִּבּוֹרִים/ *Thy Glory*, in the First Verse? And mention’d, when tis said, *Thou hast sett thy Glory above the Heavens*?¹⁶⁴

|

[30v]

Q. In that Clause, *What is Man, that thou art mindful of him*? What Elegancy is there observable? v. 4.

A. The Name here used for *Man*, is, /אֱנוֹשׁ / *Enosh*, [the Name of the Grandson of *Adam* in the Line of *Seth*]. *Eusebius* in his, *Præparatio Evangelica*, observes, That *Εως* properly signifies, *επιλήσμονα*, *Obliviosum*. It is as much, as to say, *Forgetful Man*, or, *Forgotten Man*. The *Wretchedness* of *Man*, lies very much

¹⁶² Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras’d*, bk. 1, pp. 24–5.

¹⁶³ For various Christological interpretations of this verse and the following, see the *Commentarius in Psalmorum Propheticonum* of André Rivet (1572–1651), pp. 57–63. A copy of this work was owned by the Mathers; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 15. Rivet was a formidable polemicist, theologian, and exegete, and one of the most famous members of the theology faculty at Leyden during the 17th century (*SH*).

¹⁶⁴ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 1, p. 19.

in certain Circumstances of *Forgetfulness*; for, First, Man did soon *Forgett* his Obligations to God, and continues to do so. Secondly; If *Old-Age* comes upon a Man, he soon growes very *Forgetful* of every Thing; and it is a principal Infirmity and Calamity of *Old Age*, thus to do. Thirdly; Tis the Fate of a Man to be soon *Forgotten*; he appears a very little while, and it is quickly *Forgotten* that ever he was in the World. Both the *Chaldeans* and *Arabians* do favour this Etymology.

Now behold the Elegancy. *What is this Forgetful and Forgotten Man, that thou shouldest Remember him?*¹⁶⁵

It followes, *What is the Son of Man, that thou visitest him?* Take Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase. “Nay, what is the *Greatest Prince* in the World, that Thou shouldest thus honour him? But that Thou shouldest advance our mortal Nature so highly in *That Son of Man*, the Lord Christ; whom the World will vilify and despise: this exceeds all Wonder, & ought to be the Matter of our perpetual Admiration.”¹⁶⁶

Q. *Luther* propounds that Quæstion; Whence that Expression, *The Pathes of the Sea*; when there are no *Pathes* at all to be seen there? v. 8.

A. *Luther* answers it. The *Sea* is all *Pathes*. *Quod Mare totum sit pervium*.¹⁶⁷ The Creatures there, have a *Path*, lett them offer to go where they will. To excuse the small Character of this Quæstion & Answer, he adds; *Verum hæc Levicula*. And so do I.¹⁶⁸

[*1202.*]

Q. God is here glorified, for giving Man Dominion, as over the *Fish of the Sea*, so over whatever *passes thro’ the Pathes of the Sea*. What may bee intended by the *Things passing thro’ the Pathes of the Sea*? v. 8.

A. Why not, the *Ships*, and the *Vessels*, whereby Men catch the *Fish*?

R. *David Kimchi*, mentions this, as the Intention of the Text; and adds, *Deumque Laudat propter potentiam eius datam Homini qui res tam pusilla est*.

Aben Ezra, has a Gloss, of the Like Purpose; *Naves quas fecit Homo in Sapientia sua ad Transeundum in Mari: Et mentionem facit Navium post Pisces, quia in Navibus capiunt pisces*.

¹⁶⁵ *Luther*, *Operationes in Psalmos 1–22*, in *Luther’s Werke* (5:270). The etymology of “Enos” as “forgetful” or “oblivious” is developed by Eusebius in *Preparatio* (11.6) [PG 21.857–858]; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 15.

¹⁶⁶ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphrasid*, bk. 1, p. 25.

¹⁶⁷ “Because the whole sea is passable.”

¹⁶⁸ *Luther*, *Operationes in Psalmos 1–22*, in *Luther’s Werke* (5:284). “But these things are trivial.”

But that you may have the Authority of *Christian* Interpreters, as well as of Jewish, *Chrysostom* gives you the Same Interpretation. Τὰ διαπορευόμενα, i. e. *Naves ac Transeuntes Homines, qui vident Dei Mirabilia, in Profundis*.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁹ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 1, pp. 19–20. Kimchi's statement reads, "And he praises God, on account of his faculty given to man, who is a thing so insignificant." Aben Ezra's says, "Man makes those ships in his wisdom, so that he can cross the sea, and makes mention of the ships after the fish because they catch fish in the ships." Chrysostom's is, "The ships and the men crossing through the sea who see the wonders of God in the deeps" (*Expositio in Psalmos* [PG 55.117]. LXX: τὰ διαπορευόμενα [ta diaporeuomena] "the [creatures] passing through." See also Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 15.

Q. What shall wee think, about the Subject, and the Design, of the *Ninth Psalm*?

A. I find the Ancients, make it a *Funeral Song*, upon the Ruine of *Antichrist*. And some of them do particularly allow *Goliah* to bee considered here, as a Type of him.

The, *Mysterium Anomi*, is here understood, by the Ancient Expositors. And *John Viccars*, in his laborious *Decapla*, on the Psalms, quotes us a Manuscript, in *Trinity Colledge*, in *Cambridge*, which gives this Title to the Psalm; *Ostendit quòd Christus Adventu suo, oppressurus est Antichristum*. I beleeeve, I have now offered you, a *Key*, that will carry you to a Treasure of Glorious Thoughts, in Reading the Psalm here before you.

The Syriac Title is, *De Regno Christi*; compare, Isa. XI.4.¹⁷⁰

Dr. *Patrick* thinks, no Opinion so probable as theirs, who think, *Muth-Labben* hath some relation to the Death of *Goliah*. *Labben* some think, signifies, *The Son*, or a great Man; others, *The White*; or a famous Person; others, *Intermediate*; such an one was *Goliah*, the Champion between the Two Camps [1 Sam. XVII.4]; Thus the *Chaldee*.

But we find *Zion* mentioned in the Psalm; which was not then in the Hand of the *Israelites*. Wherefore, tis to be supposed, That he only now calls to Mind that Deliverance, upon some fresh Occasion he had to implore the mighty Assistance of the Divine Power, which *then* first began to appear in him.¹⁷¹

Q. On that, *Thou hast destroyed Cities*. Who? v. 6.

A. It must not be applied unto the *Enemy*, in the Beginning of the Verse; but unto the GOD of *Israel*, who *destroyed* them, and their *Cities*.¹⁷²

Q. That Passage, *The Wicked is snared in the Work of his own Hand*; The Sense of it, I know, is obvious. But may there not bee a Further Sense of it, besides what is obvious? v. 16.

¹⁷⁰ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 1, p. 24. The “ancient expositors” understood this passage to treat the theodical problem of the *mysterium anomi*, the “mystery of the transgressor.” Thus, the manuscript in Trinity College “shows that Christ, by his advent, will overcome Antichrist.” Mather also identifies Viccars as his source in *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 18.

¹⁷¹ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 1, pp. 27–8. Patrick does not identify his source, but it may be Schindler.

¹⁷² Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 1, p. 29.

A. In the *Syriac* Interpretation of it, wee have a Notable Intimation, to this Purpose; *In Senectute quando relinquitur Improbus a peccato, turpiter ad Idem revocatur in Desideriis.*¹⁷³

A frequent, but a fearful, Observation!

Q. And *all the Nations that forgett God?* v. 17.

A. Take Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase. “Nay, so shall those People perish, (tho’ never so numerous) who, forgetting what God hath done to others, proceed on in the same Impious Designs against the innocent.”¹⁷⁴

¹⁷³ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 1, p. 24: “When a wicked man ceases from sinning in old age, he is shamefully lured back to the same thing in desires.”

¹⁷⁴ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras’d*, bk. 1, p. 32.

Q. Favour mee with a *Key* to uncommon Treasures, in the *Tenth Psalm*?

A. Take *That* of the *Syriac* Title to the Psalm, which is, *Concerning the Diavel Tempting Adam*. It will carry you, to some Curious, and Holy, *Ides* in Reading of the Psalm.

Nevertheless, *That* which I rather choose to offer you, is, the *Jewish* Notion of R. *Obadiah*, which is in my Opinion a very *Christian* One. Hee saies, *Tis a Psalm concerning the Captivity of Israel under the Fourth Beast*, or Monarchy. And accordingly, the *Midrasch Tillin*, on that passage, *Why Hidest thou thyself in the Times of Trouble?* understands by those *Times of Trouble*, the *Time*, the *Times*, and the *Half-Time*, foretold in *Daniel*, for the last Period of the *Jewes* Continuance under the Oppression of the *Gentiles*. And it mentions the Condition of the *Jewes*, in these *Times*, to bee aptly sett forth by such a Similitude as This. “The Keeper of an *Inn*, Invites Travellers towards the Evening, to Enter into his *Inn*, & Accept of an Entertainment there. They Refuse it, but by ‘nd by the *Darkness* of the *Night* overtakes them. Then they Return, with all possible Humility and Importunity, requesting Admission into the *Inn*. But the Keeper is become Inexorable. Hee hath shutt both his *Doors*, & his *Ears* upon them.”

Now, tis admirable; That this is almost the very Parable, used by our Saviour, Luk. 13.24, 25.

Well, That this Gloss may not seem too *Jewish*, I am now to tell you, That it is also a *Christian* One. For *Austin*, upon that Verse, *Hee Lieth in wait as a Lion*, ha’s this Remark, *Persecutio per Antichristum ventura est Violenta et Fraudulenta*.¹⁷⁵

Q. That Expostulation, *Why standest thou afar off?* v. 1.

A. It seems founded on that Promise; Deut. IV.7. That it should be said, *What Nation hath God so Nigh unto them?*¹⁷⁶

Q. How is it said; *His Wayes are alwayes Grievous?* v. 5.

A. All his Business is to molest his Neighbours, & cause Grief unto them.¹⁷⁷

Q. How is it said, *His Mouth is full of Cursing & Deceit?* v. 7.

¹⁷⁵ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 1, pp. 25–8. Mather culls these ideas from Viccars’s extensive entry, although they occur in reverse order there. “The coming persecution by the Antichrist will be violent and deceitful.” Viccars, or his source, is paraphrasing Augustine. See [PL 36.128] and Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 20.

¹⁷⁶ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 1, p. 25; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 20.

¹⁷⁷ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 1, p. 25; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 20.

A. He will not stick at any thing that may serve his Ends. For he makes no Conscience to call for one *Curse* after another upon himself, to confirm those Oathes or Promises, which he never intends to keep.

This is Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase.¹⁷⁸

| [blank]

[34v]

178 Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 1, pp. 34–5; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 20.

Q. On, *Flee thou a Bird?* v. 1.

A. Behold, A Prophecy & a Description of the Church fled into the Wilderness. Compare, Rev. XIII.2.

And indeed the Figures used in the ensuing Prophets, for the Destruction of *Antichrist*, by *Fire and Brimstone*, are originally in the Psalm now before us.

Compare, Isa. XXXIV.9 and Rev. XVI and XXI.

An Author of a Commentary on the *Psalms*, who goes under the Name of *Jerom*, sais, The *Psalm* is expounded by *Isaiah*, in Chap. XI.4. And *Paul* to the *Thessalonians*, expounds that of *Antichrist*. Yea, the *Chaldee* Paraphrase on that Chapter mentions the proper Name of *Antichrist*.¹⁷⁹

[*2075.*]

Q. That Passage, *If the Foundations bee destroy'd, what can the Righteous do?* v. 3.

A. Some read it, *What hath the Righteous done?* And, by the *Righteous*, they suppose *David* intended.

But, the *Foundations* here, take in what Sense you please: And you may especially take, the *Righteous* themselves to bee thereby meant, whom the Scripture calls, *Foundations*; for indeed the World stands upon them: These are by *Antichrist* horribly Destroy'd. And it followes, *What shall the Righteous do?* That is, what shall *God* now do? Wee see what is done by *Antichrist*; but what shall now bee done by *God*? The Answer followes in the rest of the Psalm. *God is in His Holy Temple*, and will Do all that followes.¹⁸⁰

Take Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase; "If Men have no Regard unto Laws and Public Decrees, which are the *Foundation* of Humane Society, but will boldly violate all Known and Standing Rules of Truth and Justice; what Security can an honest Man have? Or what should he do, but make haste away from this Court, where they act so arbitrarily, & are so perfidious?

"My Answer is; That the World is not governed by Chance; nor can Men carry things just as they please; but, —"¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁹ In his *Book of Psalms* (bk. 1, p. 16), Allix probably refers to a work usually assigned to an author named Pseudo-Jerome, the *Breviarium in Psalmos* [PL 26.845]. The reference there, however, is to Isaiah chapter 5, which seems more appropriate in the context of Psalm 11:1. The discrepancy could be explained as the result of a simple mistake in the typesetting of Allix's work. See also Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 21–2.

¹⁸⁰ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 1, pp. 29–30.

¹⁸¹ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 1, p. 38; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 22.

By *the Foundations* here, *Munster* proposes to be understood, The *Oaths* & the *Terms of Peace*, which had been by *Saul* so often violated.¹⁸²

[*3540.*]

Q. In what Sense, may it be said of the Lord, *His Eyelids try the Children of Men?* v. 4.

A. Old Mr. *Dickson* carries it unto this Purpose; That when the Lord makes it not manifest by His Works, that Hee sees the Carriage of Men, but seems to wink & close His Eyes, as if He took no notice of them; *Then* is He making a *Trial* of them.¹⁸³

But I have a learned and worthy Friend, Mr. *Nehemiah Hobart*; who, upon the Sight of this Illustration, sent me this further Intimation.

*Omniscientia Dei magnificè prædicatur quasi totus esset oculus. Ipsae palpebræ quæ apud nos, clausæ nimirum, visum impediunt, et excæcant, in Deo (dum de ipso Humanitus Loquimur, corpus | eiusque Membra ipsi tribuendo) accuratissime cernunt. Eodem sensu inquit Apostolus Stultitia Dei Sapientior est Hominibus Aliter. Allusio est ad eos, qui palpebris plusquam semiclausis intensius vident è rimulis. Denique Impiorum a Deo certissima poena et inevitabilis Ruina indigitatur Metaphora Sumpta a Sagittariis, qui venantes vel Militantes, quod et hodie faciunt Sclopetarii, altero Oculorum conniventes, certius collimaret, ut inter iaculandum volatile sive ferrum sive plumbum a Scopo neutiquam aberraret.*¹⁸⁴ [36v]

[*2076.*]

Q. What special Fulfilment, might this Prophecy have, *Upon the Wicked, God shall Rain Snares, Fire, & Brimstone, & an Horrible Tempest?* v. 6.

¹⁸² Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3643–44). See also Poole, *Synopsis Criticorum* (2:593).

¹⁸³ David Dickson (1585–1662), *A Brief Explication of the First Fifty Psalms* (1655), p. 58. Harvard Library held a copy of this work. Mather reproduces the note in *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 22.

¹⁸⁴ Mather was known to have had family, friends, and clerical acquaintances peruse his massive commentary. Rev. Nehemiah Hobart (1648–1712), pastor of Newton, Massachusetts, for “more than forty years” (*Diary* 2:226), is one of only a few of these cited by name in the books from Ezra through the Psalms. The fact that Mather identifies Hobart specifically here and later indicates the esteem in which he held his learning (*Diary* 1:350, 2:226). The Latin citation translates as follows: “The omniscience of God is magnificently described as if it were a whole eye. The eyelids themselves which in our case, being no doubt closed, impede our sight and bring a kind of blindness, in God (as long as we are speaking about Him in human terms by attributing to him a body and its members) see most keenly. In the same sense, says the Apostle, the folly of God is wiser by far than men. The allusion is to those who, with their eyes more than half closed, see more intensely out of the slits. Finally, a most certain punishment and inevitable ruin of the impious is invoked by God. The metaphor is taken from archers who in hunt or in war, squinting in one or the other eye which even today the Sclopetarii do, take aim more surely so that in the midst of hurling a javelin, whether iron or lead, it might by no means go astray from its mark” (Rivers 421–22). “Sclopetarii” are “arquebusiers.” See Bert S. Hall, *Weapons and Warfare* (1997), 181.

A. The *Syriac* seems to take it, for a Prophecy of what befel the Army of *Senacherib*.

The Fate of *Sodom*, is indeed herein alluded unto; but the like Fate yett Impending over the Seat of *Antichrist*, is herein also prædicted.¹⁸⁵

Q. What are the *Snares* to bee *Rained* upon the *Wicked*? v. 6.

A. *Plagues* that *suddenly* ensnare Men in unavoidable Perdition, like the *Horrible Tempest* that broke upon *Sodom & Gomorrah*.

But the great Sir *Francis Bacon*, advising of King *James*, to Amend by Consent of Parliament, some of our English Lawes, and Expunge others, especially pænal ones; Hee quotes a learned Civilian, that expounds this Curse of the Psalmist, *Pluet Super Eos Laqueos*, of, a Multitude of *Pænal Lawes*; which (continues hee) are worse than Showres of Hail, or Tempests upon Cattel; for they fall upon *Men*.¹⁸⁶

[*3083.*]

Q. I pray, give mee another extraordinary Gloss, upon, *The Snares*?

A. I find in some of the Ancients, a Gloss to this Purpose; *Laquei sunt vetera peccata, (et Cupidines) iterum prædominantia*.

So *Horace*, complains of it, in a Man, *Ten Lustres*, or Fifty Years Old.

Intermissa Venus diu

Rursus Bella moves.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁵ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 1, p. 30. The second comment derives from the Arabic version of the Psalm; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 22.

¹⁸⁶ William Rawley in his *Resuscitatio* (p. 274), the literary remains of Francis Bacon, prints Bacon's "Proposition Touching the Amendment of the Laws of England," a speech delivered to the Privy Council in 1616 (Coquillette 105). I have not been able to determine where Mather might have read one of the several editions of Rawley's work, or if he is duplicating the remark at second hand. Bacon does not identify the "learned civilian," the phrase he uses. Characteristically, Mather provides a very near quote of Rawley's text. Bacon held that a multitude of penal laws "will rain snares over them [the populace]."

¹⁸⁷ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 1, pp. 29–30. The first statement reads, "the snares are the old sins, (and desires) once again mastering." The remark from Horace is in his *Odes* (4.1): "Venus, again you bring a long-remitted war" (Rivers 422).

Q. What peculiar *Mysteries*, may bee look'd for, in the *Twelfth* Psalm?

A. Take an Hint, from the Title, which an *Arabian* Copy, putts upon the Psalm, with some respect unto the Word, *Sheminith*, [or, *Eighth*,] in the *Hebrew* Title of it.

De Fine Mundi, qui continget in Die Octavo, et Prophetia de Adventu Christi.
Thus the *Syriac*; *De Adventu Christi*.

Compare, the first Verse of the Psalm; *The Faithful fail from among the Children of Men*; with those Words of our Saviour, Luk. 18.8 *When the Son of Man cometh, shall Hee find Faith on the Earth?*

Quære, How far, the *seven Times*, in the sixth Verse, may refer to the *seventh* Age, or, the Sabbatism, wherein wee shall see the *Words of the Lord*, all accomplished?

R. Obadia Gaon, reads the last Clause in that Verse; *Ut Argentum, sic est Dominus Terræ*.¹⁸⁸

Daniel, Ch. VII and XI describes the Antichristian Party with Expressions taken out of this very Psalm.¹⁸⁹

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[38v]

Q. The Intent of that passage; *The Words of the Lord are Pure Words?* v. 6.

A. His Promises are not like Yours, Deceitful.¹⁹⁰

Q. The Emphasis of that; *Thou wilt prserve them from this Generation forever?* v. 7.

A. How often soever they renew their Attempts.

That Clause, *Thou shalt keep them*, which begins the Verse, may refer to, *The Words of the Lord*, in the preceding Verse. – They shall be *kept* inviolable.¹⁹¹

Q. How is it said, *The Wicked walk on every Side?* v. 8.

A. The original Word, /סביב/ is, *In circuitu*, or, in a *Circle*; That is, They walk up & down freely and boldly. Anciently it was (as Dr. *Jermyn* observes upon a Quotation of this Text,) a Sign of the *Liberty* of Servants, that when they were

¹⁸⁸ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 1, pp. 31–2; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 23. The “Hebrew Title” is “concerning the end of the world, which will happen on the eighth day and the prophecy about the advent of Christ.” Rabbi Gaon reads the end of verse 6, “as silver, so is the Lord of the earth.”

¹⁸⁹ Allix, *The Book of Psalms*, bk. 1, p. 17; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 23.

¹⁹⁰ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 1, p. 41; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 23.

¹⁹¹ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 1, pp. 41–42.

made *Free*, they did *walk round about* him from whom they had their Freedome; According to that of the Poet, *Quibus una Quiritem Vertigo facit*. One *Turn* makes a *Free Man*. *Seneca* more plainly expresses it; *philosophiae Servias oportet, ut tibi contingat vera Libertas: Non differetur in diem; Qui se illi tradidit et subjecit, statim circumagitur*. He is Forthwith *Turned about*; that is, obtains his Liberty.¹⁹²

Dr. *Patrick* præfers this Paraphrase. “This will make the Wicked not know which way to turn themselves, but be ready to burst with Anger & Vexation, when they see those poor Men, whom they contemned & vilified, not only preserved, but exalted by thy Favour to Dignity & Honour.”¹⁹³

¹⁹² סָבִיב [sabib] “circuit, round about, on every side.” Mather translates the first Latin phrase, identified by Michael Jermy (or Jermi) in his *Paraphrasticall Meditations* (1638), as belonging to Persius. Mather chooses to translate only the applicable portion of the second quotation, attributed by Jermin to one of Seneca’s *Epistles* (8.7). Jermin supplies this translation: “Thou must serve Philosophy, that thou mayest have true libertie; he shall not be put off unto a day, or from day to day, that giveth and subjecteth himself to her, but forthwith hee is turned about, that is, obtaineth his libertie” (ch. 26, p. 603). Seneca himself attributes the first part of this statement (“you must serve philosophy in order to be free”) to Epicurus. Aulus Persius Flaccus (CE 34–62) was a Roman poet and satirist whose works were much favored in the Middle Ages (*ODCW*). Persius, however, is actually criticizing the idea that Romans could be “made with a turn” (*Satire* 5.5). Michael Jermin (c. 1590–1659), chaplain to the Electress Palatine and afterwards to Charles I, wrote two popular commentaries on Proverbs and Ecclesiastes. He fell into disfavor during the Civil War and the Interregnum, but the presence of his works in Harvard Library attests to the reformed orthodoxy of his writings (*DNB*).

¹⁹³ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras’d*, bk. 1, p. 42; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 23.

Q. The Church in the Beginning of the Psalm, Repeats, *How Long*, four Times over. May there bee any Mystery in that Repetition? v. 1, 2.

A. It is a notable Stroke, That R. *Solomon* ha's upon it.

Repetit hoc Quatuor Vicibus, et erant Quatuor Monarchiæ opprimentes Israelem.

And hee particularly applies it, unto the Calamities of *Israel*, under the *Four Beasts*, in the *Seventh* of *Daniel*.

The *Midrasch Tillin*, takes notice of this *Mystery*, and adds, That herein was the just Vengeance of God, upon *Israel*, for putting Him, to complain *Four Times* of them, in the Wilderness, *How long?*

[See Exod. 16 and Num. 14.]¹⁹⁴

|

[40v]

Q. What may bee, *The Enemy*? v. 4.

A. The *Enemy*.

It needs no Exposition. But only I would lett you see, how a *Jew* may Teach a *Christian*, to make a further Application of it. The *Chaldee* understands it, of our *Evil Imagination*, that is to say, our *Original Sin*.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹⁴ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 1, p. 33; Mather *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 24. Rabbi Solomon thinks it significant that "he repeats this four times, and there were four monarchies oppressing Israel."

¹⁹⁵ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 1, p. 33; Mather *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 24.

Q. Who are intended, by the *wicked Wretches*, described in the *Fourteenth* Psalm?

A. All the Fallen, and Sinful Children of Men.

But yett, there is Cause to think, and certain Passages in the Jewish Expositors, first sett *mee* upon thinking; That the Holy Spirit of Prophecy, intended a more particular Description, of the *Romish Babylon*, and of the Horrible *Babylonians*, by whom the *Israel* of God, was to bee oppressed, until the *Second Coming* of the *Messiah*, when the *Salvation of Israel*, is to *come out of Zion*, and the *Lord will bring back the Captivity of His people*.¹⁹⁶

If this bee so, how pertinently, how elegantly, how cogently, & convictively, does the Apostle choose the Passages of *this* very Psalm, in writing unto the *Romans*, to convince the *Romans* of their being such sinful Creatures, as are here described. The *Romans* were the very Persons, more particularly intended by the Holy Spirit of God, in this Description; tho', alas, no part of Mankind is clear from a Share in this horrid Character.¹⁹⁷

Q. Who is the *Fool*, that *saith in his Heart, There is no God?* v. 1.

A. I have not the thousandth Part of a Syllable, to offer, to disturb the common Sense putt upon this Passage.

But yett there is a Notable Gloss of the brave old *Arnobius* upon it, which I have thought worth mentioning.

"The *Coming* of the Lord, was Desired, in the *Twelfth Psalm*; was presented in the *Thirteenth Psalm*. *Sed hunc videns humilem in Habitu, incredulus Populus dicit in corde suo; Non est Deus.*"¹⁹⁸

Q. The Emphasis of, *Gone aside?* v. 3.

A. Or, *Grown sowre*; as Wine, when it is grown Dead; & nothing worth.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁶ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 1, p. 34; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 26.

¹⁹⁷ This portion of the annotation seems drawn from *Philologia Sacrae* (1623), by Salomon Glass or Salomo Glassius (1593–1656), a later edition of which was owned by the Mathers. I have had access to the first edition. See *Philologia*, bk. 1, tract. 1, sect. 40, pp. 105–06. Glass was an influential Lutheran theologian and student to Johann Gerhard (1582–1637). His numerous hermeneutical and devotional works exercised an influence on Mather's pietist correspondent, August Hermann Francke (1663–1727) (*BBK*).

¹⁹⁸ Arnobius, *Commentarii in Psalmos* [PL 53.340]; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 26: "But seeing this man lowly in appearance, the unbelieving people say in their heart, 'He is not God'."

¹⁹⁹ The ultimate source is Hammond's *Paraphrase*, in *Works*, vol. 4, bk. 1, p. 45. Mather, however, is probably directly copying from another work, a florilegium by John Clutterbuck entitled, *A Brief Explanation of the Obscure Phrases in the Book of Psalms* (1702), p. 10. Mather frequently returns for other annotations to Clutterbuck, who is identified on the cover of his

2081.

Q. When tis here said, *There is none that doth Good, no, not one*; What? Can't wee find so much as *one*? v. 3.

A. The Great *Austin*, as I remember, would have it read, *There is none that doth Good, no, except ONE*. And I am not sure, That a critical Acquaintance with the Two Languages, would not admitt, both the *Hebrew* here, and the *Greek*, in Rom. 3.12 to bee so Translated. But then, by this *ONE*, wee must, with *Austin* understand our Blessed Lord Jesus Christ.²⁰⁰

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[42v]

Q. On that, *They eat up my People, as they eat Bread*? v. 4.

A. The particle, [*As*] is not in the Original. Dr. *Horneck* thinks therefore, another Sin of the Men is here denoted; *They eat Bread, and Call not on the Lord*, at their Eating.²⁰¹

[*2082.*]

Q. How may one understand that Passage; *Yee have shamed the Counsel of the Poor*? v. 6.

A. It followes, *Because the Lord is his Refuge*. That is, Because hee looks to bee *Justified* only by *Faith in the Lord*, and not by any Works of his own. If I bee not mistaken, tis the Great *Austin*, who somewhere gives this curious Gloss upon it.²⁰²

several works as "*Gent.*" i.e., "Gentleman." This appellation indicates that Clutterbuck was apparently not a man of the cloth. I have not been able to uncover any additional information about this author.

200 Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 1, pp. 34–5; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 26.

201 The ultimate source is Anthony Horneck's *The Crucified Jesus* (1686), ch. 8, p. 140. This work, first published in 1686, was very popular and went through seven editions by 1726, so it is possible that Mather is directly citing Horneck, but the immediate source is almost certainly Clutterbuck, p. 10, who also alludes to Horneck.

202 Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 1, p. 35; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 26.

Q. The Occasion of the Psalm?

A. The Psalm, in which the people are excited unto the Study of solid Vertue, was composed, by *David*, (as Dr. *Patrick* observes,) either when he brought the *Ark* to Mount *Zion*, or when he was himself restored thither, as he desired in the End of the foregoing Psalm, after the Rebellion of *Absalom*. Then it was very seasonable to admonish them, to live better; as became those who were under the Government of God. Thus *Theodore*t well expresses it.²⁰³

Behold, the Qualifications of them, who are to enter into the Kingdome of the *Messiah*! Quite contrary to those, of *Antichrist*.²⁰⁴

Q. Who is the *Citizen of Zion*, here described? v. 1.

A. All the World agrees him, to be, *The Godly Man*.

But good old *Arnobius*, invites us to consider, Whether our Blessed JESUS may not be described, in the Psalm; yea, and this with *Ten Characters*, answering to the *Ten Commandments*.

I will touch upon a Particular or two. He *ha's honoured them that fear the Lord*. How? By giving them *Power to become the Sons of God*. He *hath sworn, & not changed*. How? In the *Promises* of the Gospel. He *hath not putt out His Money to Usury*. Observable in the *spiritual Gifts*, which He bestow'd on His Disciples, & whereof He said, *Freely yee have received, Freely give*. He *took not a reward against the Innocent*. No; He freely gave Himself a *Ransome* for the *Guilty*.²⁰⁵

[*1500.*]

Q. It is said of the Good Man, *Hee taketh not up a Reproach against his Neighbour*? v. 3.

A. The Original will suggest a further Thought unto you. Tis, / לֹא נִשָּׂא / *Hee cannot Bear it*; for to hear his Neighbour Defamed; It is an Intolerable *Burden* unto him.²⁰⁶

Q. On that, *In whose Eyes a vile Person is contemned*? v. 4.

A. The *Munsterian* Reading is; *In his own Eyes, he is a vile Person, and contemned*. He is not like the proud *Pharisee*; One *Righteous* in his *own Eyes*, & a *Despiser* of others. After all that he ha's Attained and Performed, he still is an

²⁰³ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 1, p. 46; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 26.

²⁰⁴ Allix, *The Book of Psalms*, bk. 1, p. 20.

²⁰⁵ Arnobius, *Commentarii in Psalmos* [PL 53.541]; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 26.

²⁰⁶ Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3654); Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 28.

*humble Man, & very low in his own Eyes. Thus our Saviour teaches us, when we have done all, to say, we are unprofitable Servants.*²⁰⁷

[*255.*]

Q. How render *you* that Stroke, in the Description of a true *Church-Member*, which *wee* translate, *Hee swears to his own Hurt, & changes not?* v. 4.

A. You know our Sense of it; Hee will not *break* his Promise, tho' it bee to his own Disadvantage that hee *made* such a Promise: but some do not acquiesce in this Interpretation. The Hebrew Word here, *To his own Hurt*, is commonly translated, *Ad Nocendum*. The Jewes render it, *Ad Affligendum*, i. e. *se ipsum*: viz., *in Jejuniis*. Take their Gloss; *Exponitur; Jurans malefacere corpori suo, jejuniis; et segregare seipsum a deliciis; et sic detrahare quid Populo suo, ob Eleemosynam, et præceptorum Observantiam; et non mutat quod juravit, licet inde malefaciat corpori suo, aut opibus suis*. [See Num. 30.13.] But after all, Why may not, *Swearing לְהָרַע* bee, rendred, [*Qui Jurat Impio*] *giving a Promise to an Ill Man*. Lawful Covenants made with Enemies, with Hæreticks, with wicked Men; wee must not imagine that the wicked Unworthiness of those Men, will Release us from the Obligations of our Covenants; if wee do, wee are not the genuine *Citizens of Zion*.²⁰⁸

[*4296.*]

But ha's not this Clause had a further Application? v. 4.

Yes. There are some who take this Clause, as the Character of a *Vile Person*, mentioned before; looking on that, *He honours them that fear the Lord*, as coming in with a Parenthesis. And then; The *vile Person*, who is he? He is one who *swears to do an evil Thing, & changes not*. An horrid Instance there was of this afterwards, in the *Oath of Herod*, which issued in the Death of *John Baptist*. The Psalmist himself is an Instance of the Contrary, when he had sworn the Death of *Nabal*.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁷ Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3654). See also Poole, *Synopsis Criticorum* (2:615) and Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 28.

²⁰⁸ Pfeiffer, *Dubia Vexata Scripturae Sacrae*, cent. 3, loc. 15, p. 301 Mather greatly condenses this gloss in *Psalterium*, where it is simply remarked that the "Wickedness of others, won't release us from our Obligations to them" (bk. 1, p. 28). Mather here, following Pfeiffer, opines that "to his own hurt," normally translated "Ad Nocendum," is perhaps better rendered by the Jews, "To his own affliction [Ad Affligendum], that is, to his very self, such as in fasting. It is thus explained: Swearing to abuse his body on fasting days and to separate himself from pleasures, and thus to remove any such from his people because of charity [eleemosynam], and respect for the commandments; and he does not deviate from what he has sworn. Then it is permitted that he abuse his body or his wealth."

²⁰⁹ This paragraph seems largely due to the interpretation of Gilbert Burnet (1643–1715), bishop of Salisbury, in his *Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England* (1669), art. 32, p. 362. Though Burnet does not mention the oath David took, and then retracted, to

1270.

Q. The wonderful Clamour that zealous Men in all Ages have made against *Usury*, and the Pretence which they have taken for that Clamour from the *Fifteenth Psalm* causes mee to Request a few Propositions from you, about that *Noble Question?* v. 5.

A. I think, the *Fifteenth Psalm* is to better purpose alledg'd against *Usury*, than the *Fourth Commandment*. However, I have here composed for you, the ensuing *Propositions*.

[45r]

| Propositions Concerning *Usury*.

I. *Usury*, an Advance on any Thing, lent by Contract, for a Time, it is not Restrained unto *Money*; *Victuals*, or *any other Thing*, as the Oracles of the Sacred Scripture declare unto us, are capable of being *lent upon Usury*. The main difference of *Usury*, from other ways of Dealing is the Owners not running the Risk of the *Principal*.

II. That there is an *Usury* lawful to bee taken, is from several Passages in the *Divine Law*, sufficiently signified unto us. For first, under the *Old Testament* God allow'd unto His People, the Practice of *Usury*: Hee Expressly said, in Deut. 23.20 *Unto a Stranger, thou mayst lend upon Usury*. And this Allowance of *Usury upon a Stranger* had never been given, if *Usury* had in it any *Intrinsic Turpitude*. Yea, in all the Places of the *Old Testament*, prohibiting unto the *Israelites*, the Demand of *Usury upon a Brother*, there are Clauses in the Context, which may seem to intimate, as if the *poor Brother* only were intended in the Prohibition. However, the peculiar Constitution of the *Israelitish* Commonwealth, is enough to Release us *Gentiles*, from the Obligation of the Edicts against *Usury*, given thereunto. [^][**illeg.]^{^210} Hence also, in the *New Testament*, our Saviour ha's a passage of such Importance, as to give Countenance, in Math. 25.27 unto, *A Mans Receiving his own with Usury*. And in the *New Testament*, also, *John Baptist*, in Luk. 3.13 forbad not unto the *Publicans*, that *Usury*, which their Condition of Life, led them unto. |

[46v]

kill Nabal (1 Sam. 25:22), this instance would have quickly come to his mind based on Luther's commentary of Psalms 14:1, where he points out that the Hebrew "nabal" is the word translated as "fool" (Luther, *Operationes in Psalmos* I–22, vol. 5, p. 393). This is the pun that Abigail makes when she pleads for the life of her husband in 1 Sam. 25: "Nabal is his name and folly is with him." Burnet's *History of His Own Time* contains a wealth of both biographical and historical information on the late 17th and early 18th centuries (DNB).

²¹⁰ This illegible sentence, whose intended placement is signified by carets in the text, is bound into the margin of the manuscript.

III. There is every Sort of *Law*, except the *Popish*, to Justify a Regulated *Usury*.

Tis justify'd, by the *Law* of *Necessity* and *Utility*. Humane Society, now circumstanced, would sink, if all *Usury* were become unpracticable.

Tis justify'd, by the *Law* of *Equitie*. It is very {Equitable?} that a Man should partake, in the Benefits, which his Estate procures for another Man. Yea, it may bee the *Duty* of another Man, to *give* [**illeg.*] an *Usury*; namely when hee gains by my Possessions; it would bee *Iniquity*, in him to do otherwise: and certainly then, it cannot bee *Sin*, for mee to *Take*, what it is his *Duty* to *Give*.

Tis justified, by the *Law* of *Paritie*. There is no Manner of Reason, why the *Usury* of *Money* should bee more Faulty, than that of any other Thing; for, *Money* is as really Improvable a Thing, as any other; and it is rather more, than less, productive of Advantages to him that hath it. There can bee no Reasonable Pretence, that should bind mee to lend my *Money* for nothing, rather than any other Commoditie whatsoever: Nor can a *Contract* in this Case, bee more blameable than in any other.

Nor is it contrary to the *Law* of *Charity*, that a Man should expect, something for the Support and Comfort of his own Family, from the *Profitable Use*, which other Men make, of those things, whereof hee is himself the Proprietor.

IV. Nevertheless, the *Law* of *Charity*, is to Regulate our *Usury*, that it may not become unlawful, by the *Biting Extremities*, into which it may otherwise bee carried. | It is an eternal & a glorious Rule of *Charity*, That in Dealing with a Neighbour, a Man must propose his Neighbours Advantage, as well as his own, & hee should not propose to make his own Advantage, by adding to his Neighbours Misery. [47r]

Moreover, when the General Rules of *Charity*, oblige a Man to Releeve the Necessities of a Neighbour, or, to Remit of what hee might have exacted from a Neighbour, if it had not been for those Necessities, *Usury* must not supersede that *Charity*.

Whence also, To Demand *Usury* from the *Poor*, when wee accommodate them for their meer Necessary Sustenance and Subsistence, is a Sin. Tis a Sin likewise to Refuse helping the *Poor*, because wee would keep all that wee have, to serve the Designs of *Usury*.

Nor can it bee any other than a Sin, to require as much for *Usury*, as for *Hire*, which are carefully to bee distinguished.

And an *Idle Usury*, which is, when Men so confine themselves unto the way of living upon *Usury*, as to render themselves otherwise *Unuseful* unto the Public, this is justly become a Thing of an evil Character.

But yett, in all these Things, The Application of the *Rules of Charity*, is to bee left unto a Mans own Conscience, which is to bee advised from the Word of God, with the best Helps of Understanding that Word.

All these Things being thus considered, the severe Declamations of the Ancients against *Usury*, must bee of no further Account with us, than their Discourses against, *Limning*, or *Swearing*, or, *Fighting*, or, *Sitting & Acting* in a Court of *Civil Judicature*.²¹¹

[48v] | [blank]

[49r] | ²¹²

[*4502.*]

Q. May we not go on with an Operation on the *Fifteenth Psalm*, which tho' it shall bring some Thoughts unto us, much out of the common Road, yett they may be advantageously laid before us, and whether we receive *them* or no, yett they may invite us to some others, that may be of Advantage to us as, *A Key of Illustrations*, from one End of the Bible to the other? v. 5.

A. There is newly fallen into my Hands, a Book Entituled, [*The Christian Warfare*,] which is a Treatise upon the *Fifteenth Psalm*. I find so many uncommon Thoughts in the Book, that I am willing to make some Extract of them. I will not stand to *Defend* them all; but I will *Defend* this, that it is on Diverse Accounts, worth my while to *offer* them.

The Psalm describes the Man, who shall *never be moved*; and he points out the Way that leads to *the City that cannot be moved*. And therefore, the Author looks for something of a very *High* and *Heavenly* Importance, in every Step of the Way. He supposes, that some of the Expressions, which may seem a little flatt, in respect of the great end proposed, & which are in *the Letter* no more than a *Natural Man* may in some Degree attain unto, do reserve under them some *Hidden Treasures*, like those that *Zebulon* was to *Suck out of the Seas*, and that are yett *Hidden in the Sand*.²¹³

Lord, who shall Sojourn in thy Tabernacle? Who shall Dwell in the Mountain of thy Holiness? This is the grand Case! The Hebrew Word / יגור / here, notes, not only to *Sojourn*, but also to *Fear*.²¹⁴ [Compare, 1 Pet. 1.17.] The *Mosaic Tabernacle*, was a Temporary Abode; and Moveable: A Shelter for *Pilgrims*. *David*

²¹¹ Mather appears to draw this note from the opinion from Musculus' *In Sancrosanctum Davidis Psalterium Commentarii*, where Musculus confronts the subject of usury in his own notes on Psalms 15, pp. 134–35. Musculus also appends to his commentary a disquisition on the same topic (pp. 1183–91), which was translated and reprinted several times in England during the 16th century. One version of this appendix is attached to *Commonplaces of Christian Religion Gathered by Wolfgang Musculus* (1563), also owned by Harvard during Mather's time. The conclusion of this note, on its own, reappears in *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 28.

²¹² See Appendix B.

²¹³ This is from a work entitled *The Christian Warfare* (1680), published by "J.L." and the pseudonym Theophilus. Mather begins his selections on p. 4 of this text.

²¹⁴ The root word here (גור) [gur] means "residence in a temporary abode," though as Mather notes in the form of the Psalm it can also mean "to stand in awe of." Both readings derive from the central image of the word that suggests a "turning aside" from a chosen way.

under the Ordinances of the *Tabernacle*, called himself, Ps. 39.12 *A Stranger and a Sojourner*. This *Tabernacle* is also called / סכּה / *Succah*; Psal. 27.5 *In the Evil Day, He will hide me in His [Succah] Tabernacle: In the Rock He will lift me up, & exalt my Head above my Enemies*. That *Rock* was *Christ*; the Summ is, He will hide me under *Tabernacle-ordinances* from Confusion, until *Christ* shall come. When we read, Psal. 61.3 *I will take Refuge in the Hiding of thy Wings*; it alludes unto the *Cherubim*, which covered the *Mercy-seat*, and the *Ark*, in which lay the *Two Tables* that bring all the Earth under *Condemnation*.²¹⁵

But then the *Worship* of the *Holy Mountain*, is higher than that of the *Tabernacle*. The Excellency of the *spiritual Worship* in the latter *Dayes*, is often described by *Hills* and *Mountains*. The *First* and the *Last Glory* of the Church, as it begun in *Adams Integrity*, and as it shall be restored in the *Last Times* by the *Second Adam*, will be the *chief Things of the Ancient Mountains, & the precious Things of the ever lasting Hills*.²¹⁶

My Author gives us this Paraphrase upon the Case. “Lord, who shall *Sojourn* under the *Wings* of thy Covering *Cherubims*, and be hid in the *Tabernacle* from the *Avenger of Blood*, until the Great *High-priest*, by His Death open a way into the *Holy of Holies*? And who then shall *Dwell* in Assurance of Salvation, Peace of Conscience, and Union with thee, until thou subdue all, and shalt make thyself *All in All*?²¹⁷

Integrity is the Qualification of these Happy Ones. A Qualification assign’d particularly unto those Worshipers of the *Mountain*; *Noah*, and *Abraham*, and *Jacob*, and *Job*; and not (expressly) unto any other, until He came, who said, *Be yee perfect, as your Father in Heaven is perfect*. But the Word / תמים / comes from a Root, that signifies also, To be consumed. Indeed, Integrity or Perfection, is acquired, by having our own *Wisdom* and *Merit* consumed: Our *Emptiness* is our *Perfection*. My Author ha’s this Notion upon that: Isa. 42.19 *Who is Blind, like him that is perfect?* If a Man have *Eyes* to see Beauty in, or *Ears* to hear the Flatteries of, his own Performances, he is not *perfect* before God. He ought (as it followes) *To see much and not perceive, and to open his Ears and not hear*; he ought to be diligent in all the Duties the Lord hath commanded, but to use them as tho’ he used them not; confessing himself an *unworthy Servant*.²¹⁸

That which accompanies this *Integrity*, must be a *Working of Righteousness*; which a Man will not do, until, he have by a Sense of his own Emptiness, been brought unto *Beleeving* on Christ. But a Man is not now discharged from the

215 *The Christian Warfare*, p. 8.

216 *The Christian Warfare*, p. 17. The passage with which this paragraph ends is from Deut. 33:15.

217 *The Christian Warfare*, p. 26.

218 *The Christian Warfare*, pp. 27–30. The adjective תמים [tamim] (Strong’s # 8549) means “faultless,” and derives from the root תמם [tâmam] (Strong’s # 8552), meaning to be finished completely or entirely consumed.

[50v] *Rule of Obedience.* There are some, who by *Faith* are brought into the Treasures of *Grace*, & perceiving their *Works* to be of small Force, they grow slack in *good Works*, & make *Shipwreck of Faith and a | good Conscience*. But the *Faith*, which hopes to live upon *Grace*, and quitts the Rule of Obedience, is no more *Faith*, but blind, bold Præsumption.²¹⁹

Till we come to this, tis impossible to *speak the Truth in the Heart*; which is the Third Article. All Pretences to *Righteousness* any other Way, are but *Lies* and *Vanity*. To *speak the Truth in the Heart*, according to my Author, is to beware of the *Deceits*, with which the *Hearts* of many Professors deceive themselves.²²⁰

But then in the Next Clauses, our Author *Departs from the Footsteps of the Flock*; as himself saies, with some Apology. What we render, *He Backbiteth not with his Tongue*; he renders, (and the Hebrew, it seems, will bear it:) *Not casting Reproach upon his Reproacher*. This, he saies, runs in a fuller Harmony, with the Gospel-præcepts; and is a surer Step towards the *Holy Hill* of the Lord: *Love your Enemies, Bless them that curse you, pray for them that despitefully use you. Not to Backbite a Neighbour*, who ha's not wronged, but it may be served us, is but a slender Stroke of *Morality*. But now, *Not to Reproach a Reproacher*, this is Saint-like, and Christ-like, & very Noble.²²¹

Above all, Beware thou *Reproach* not God, or His Christ, tho' perhaps He hath seen meet to bring thee under great *Reproaches*.²²²

Again, What we render, *Not doing Evil to his Neighbour*, he renders, *Not doing Evil to his Evil-doer*. And the Truth is, This rises nearer to the Character, to which eternal Happiness does belong. Tis the more *Evangelical Strain*! What Answers it in the *Twenty-Fourth Psalm*, is; *Who stoppeth his Ears from hearing of Blood, and strongly shutteth his Eyes from seeing of Evil*. It is not enough, not to *Reproach*, but not willingly to *hear* any Reproached: nor enough, not to *Do Evil*, but not with Pleasure to *see* it done. There are some who can bridle their own *Tongues* and *Hands* from *Evil*, but yett they are well Enough contented to *hear* and *see* others do it. Yea, tho' God in His Glorious Justice Revenge upon others, the *Evil* which they have done unto us, yett we ought not to *hear* it, or *see* it with Satisfaction.²²³

The next Clause, *Nor taketh up a Reproach against his Neighbour*, my Author is very nice upon it. He renders it; *Not bring Reproach upon his Inward*, or,

219 *The Christian Warfare*, pp. 31–2.

220 *The Christian Warfare*, p. 34. J.L.'s reading of this verse and those that follow depends upon precise definitions of the conscience, heart, and soul. In sum, conscience is the divine judge implanted by God in humanity: it regulates and reproves "Commerce with sensual Affections" (p. 34). The soul, on its part, is totally depraved as a consequence of original sin. The heart sways between these poles, and participates in both: it is affected by the results of sin, but is capable of attachment to the divine conscience.

221 *The Christian Warfare*, p. 41.

222 *The Christian Warfare*, p. 44.

223 *The Christian Warfare*, p. 50.

his Warfare; That is, upon his *Conscience*, which manages the *Conflict*, between the *Law in the Mind*, & the *Law in the Members*. A Man may have Morality enough to avoid Reproaching his Neighbour, and yett miss of the *Immoveable Crown*. My Author submitts his Interpretation, to the Correction of the Learned and Pious; & hopes, that while it agrees with the *Gospel*, he does not however sow any Dangerous Error.

He saies, The Word / קרב / intends, the most *Inward Part* of Man; his *Mind*, and his *Conscience*. The Word also signifies, *A Warfare*, or, *A Battel*. And here is Occasion to keep our Thoughts on such a Matter as *That*.²²⁴

This is the sixth Link in the *Chain* before us. And indeed, until a Man have Attained unto what ha's been directed, he cannot keep his *Conscience un-reproachable*. But when he ha's learn'd these things, then he is capable of being enrolled in the *Host of God*; yett he must not expect without many Bickerings, to obtain Fælicity. We must *War a good Warfare, that we may hold Faith and a good Conscience*. He that would enter into Life, must enter thro', Psal. 118.19 *The Rough Gates of Righteousness*: [for so the original Word / שערי / does import. Compare, Matth. 7.14.]²²⁵

He proceeds: That Clause, *In whose Eyes a vile Person is Contemned*, is rendred, by him; *Contemned, in his own Eyes Despised*. Humanity is so prone to Judge *well* of ourselves, & Think others *vile*, that any Countenance of a Divine Warrant so to do, my Author, imagines it would embolden Men too much to do it. But now, the Præcepts of the Gospel run mightily this way; That our *Warfare* having unravel'd all our High Conceits of ourselves, we should become *vile* in our Esteem of ourselves; *Contemned, & in our own Eyes Despised*. Thus we are to lay a lasting Foundation of *Humility*. Our *Vileness* is most of all discovered in our *Warfare*; and it should never be forgotten, but make us *Humble* all our Days.²²⁶

The Next Clause, *He honours them who Fear the Lord*, he sees no Occasion to disturb it.²²⁷

But then what followes, he so renders; *Swearing to a (or, the) Friend, and Changeth not*. The various Translations of this passage, are well-known. And some of them, scarce well accord, with the Precepts of the Gospel, concerning *Oaths*, and *Vowes*; wherein Men often do, what the wise Man forbids; Eccl. 5.5 *suffer not thy Mouth to cause thy Flesh to Sin*; or, to make that a *Sin to the Flesh*, which is *no Sin of itself*. As for that of *Swearing to Hurt ones self, or to do Evil unto another*; they are Faults; and as the *Rabbis* tell us, they deserved a Beating; of old

²²⁴ *The Christian Warfare*, pp. 57–8.

²²⁵ *The Christian Warfare*, pp. 59 and 105.

²²⁶ *The Christian Warfare*, pp. 107–08.

²²⁷ J. L. does develop an interesting classification of fear in the next pages, as he identifies in scripture *Pachad*, a “slavish tormenting Fear” (p. 135); *Charad*, a “trembling Fear” (p. 136); *Magor*, or a “sojourning Fear, or a doubtful hanging Distrust, such as usually are upon wary Men, pilgrimating in strange Countries” (p. 138); and *Jara*, a “reverential Fear” (p. 139).

[51r] they were to be *Confessed*, with a *Trespass-offering*. *Jacobs Vow* is indeed a laudable Exemple. My Author compares it, | with the Precept of the Gospel, concerning a *Vow*; *Let your Communication be, Yea, Yea; Nay, Nay*. *Jacobs Vow*, was with much Dependence upon God; Gen. 28.20 *If God will be with me, and keep me, – then*. q.d. “I cannot præserve myself, nor make my own Way prosperous; But thou canst enable me to do all things; In dependence on thy Promise, I Resolve to serve thee.”²²⁸

Thus my Author thinks, That the Prophet here foresees, what would be the *Evangelical Vow*; a *Vow* not in our own Strength, but of one *Vile in his own Eyes*. This he takes to be the Sense of that in the Gospel; *Let your Communication be Yea, Yea; Nay, Nay*. Here seems to be a modest Purpose of a thing, with a Sense of our own Infirmary. *Yea, Yea, Nay, Nay*: Is as much as to say, If God enable me, then, *Yea*, I can, I shall; If God enable me *Not*, then, *Nay*, I cannot, I shall not. Compare, 2 Cor. 1.17. *Yea*, is Power, *Nay*, is Weakness. In *Us*, there is a Mixture of them. With God, we have *Power*; with ourselves, nothing but *Weakness*.²²⁹

But unto whom, are we to make our *Vow*? What Promise we make to any *Friend* should be faithfully performed. But here may be a further Sense, not intelligible to the Church at the Time when this was written, but reserved for them, who were to Purpose, to *Will*, and to *Do*, in the strength of the *Messiah*. Tis *Christ*, who is the Great *Friend*, here intended, & concerned; *The Friend*, who is also, (as the Word may also be rendred,) *The Shepherd*. He who ha’s a Promise, that the Great *Friend* and *Shepherd* will be with him, will again promise, in the Stroke of *Yea* and *Nay*, that he will serve Him all the Dayes of his Life; and he that so doth, *changes not*.

Our *Lord-Messiah* is often called, *The Shepherd*. See, Psal. 23.1 and, Psal. 80.1 and, Isa. 40.11 and, 63.11 and, Jer. 31.10 and, 49.29 and, Ezek. 34.23 and, Zech. 13.7 and, Heb. 13.20 and, 1 Pet. 2.25 and, 5.4 [written, to the *scattered Hebrewes*]. There are some other Scriptures, wherein my Author thinks, that / רֵעַ / which is read, *Friend*, [or may be, *Shepherd*,] intends the *Messiah*. Thus, Prov. 17.17 *A Friend*, (or, *The Shepherd*) *Loveth in all Seasons; and because of Straits, a Brother shall be born*. v. 18. *He that strikes his hand, and promiseth a Promise before his Shepherd, he is a Man void of Heart*. Our Lord at all times does tender the State of his Flock; and because of their *Straits*, He putt on a *Brotherhood* with them, in the Seed of *Abraham*. However, he that makes *Vowes* unto Him, without a due Dependence on Him for the Performance of all, is unadvised. Unto such a Sense he takes, Prov. 6.1. For no Commerce is to be upheld without *striking of Hands*. Thus, Prov. 18.24 *The Man of Friends makes himself to be Bruised, and his Love is Closer than a Brother*. A *Friend of Friends* is

²²⁸ *The Christian Warfare*, pp. 145–47.

²²⁹ *The Christian Warfare*, p. 149.

he that layes down his *Life* for his Friends. *Striking Hands with a Stranger*, he takes to be, with a *False Christ*.²³⁰

For the last Clause of, *Not giving Money in Usury*, my Author first allowing the *Literal Sense*; tho' justly maintaining, that all *Extortion* whatsoever, comes under the *Usury* here condemned; and that, on the other side, there is a letting out Money upon a Price, which is no unlawful *Usury*: he then soars up to a more *spiritual Sense*; An *Usury*, wherein a Man thinks, that by his own Vertues or Doings, he is profitable to God, and expects an Interest, and Increase, as of Right due unto him. After all the High Attainments in the foregoing Psalm, a Man must receive the Reward, not upon the Account of his *own Desert*, but still as the *Free-Gift of Grace*. He must not insist upon his *Innocency*, or think to have an *Usury*, as one that is *Innocent*.²³¹

He observes, That the *Word* being Interpretable in more senses than one, it *Cutts as a Two-Edged Sword*. There are more Duties than one, taught in one Præcept; and one does not interfere with the other; but each mutually interprets the other. This he takes to be more frequent, than is commonly supposed.²³²

I will not pass my Censure on these *High-Flights*. I hope, the *Lessons of Piety* in them, have done me a great deal of good, whether the Text ha's really given any good Foundation for them, or no. I will only say this; They may serve as a *Specimen of Mystical Interpretations*. Whether they will render my Reader, either Inclined to, or Distasted at, such a *Strain* of Interpreting the Scriptures, I cannot tell. But I will concede thus much. Lett the more *Literal Interpretations* forever stand undisturbed. Lett not the Versions, that are generally Received, be upon too slight occasions Altered. Nevertheless, if such things as are upon Incontestable Experience found in the *Dispensations of Grace*, towards the *Spirits* of Men, can be countenanced, by superadding more *Mystical Interpretations* to the *Literal*, I know not why they may not stand very well together. They are far from Destroying one another. Lett the *Mystical Interpretations* be Limited by the Rules of Truth, and of Great Sobriety, and they will but add unto our | just Astonishments, at the vast reach of the Divine Wisdome, in Inspiring and Composing of the Holy Scriptures.²³³

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230 *The Christian Warfare*, pp. 151–53. רֵעַ [rea] (Strong's # 7453) means “friend” or “intimate companion.”

231 *The Christian Warfare*, p. 155.

232 *The Christian Warfare*, pp. 157–58.

233 Here, Mather appears to follow Patrick's “Preface” to the *Psalms Paraphras'd*, even though Patrick is far more historically minded in his own interpretations of the Psalms than Mather is usually willing to be. Nonetheless, Mather's conclusion epitomizes the early modern Reformation approach to scripture that leads away from the allegorizing of the great medieval commentators and points toward the literal understanding of scripture espoused by the polymaths of the 16th and 17th centuries. It is also this same preference for literal understanding of Hebrew scripture that allows both a new-found respect for Hebraic learning and a renewed wrestling with the opinions of the Rabbinic commentators. The same push toward literalism and respect for Hebraic learning means that Christians who read the Psalms messianically, as Mather did,

Q. The Design? v. 1.

A. Behold, The Prayer of the *Messiah*, in his *Humiliation*! *Peter* proves it can belong to no other. Act. II.25, 31; In that State, *God is at His Right Hand*. But after His Exaltation He *Sitts at the Right Hand of God*.²³⁴

1272.

Q. *My Goodness Extendeth not to thee*. How may one understand it? v. 2.

A. *Bonum meum non est apud Te*: Sc. reconditum. q.d. *Non invades mihi cognitionem Rerum Salutarium*. Thus *Grotius*. *My Welfare* [Happiness, Blessedness, and the Things that Lead mee to it,] *is not* (concealed) *with Thee*. No; (as anon) *Thou hast shown mee the Paths of Life*.²³⁵

Or, I am thinking, What if wee take it thus? My *Goodness*, is not known only unto God; the Knowledge of it is not conceled & confined unto Him alone; But (as it followes) *the Saints on Earth* also are acquainted with it. These being the Words of our Lord Jesus Christ, such a Sense of them, is emphatical.²³⁶

[*2084.*]

Q. Doubtless that Passage, *My Goodness extendeth not unto thee*, meets with a great Variety of Interpretations? v. 2.

A. Yes: And among the rest, the *Midrasch Tillin*, thus carries it, *My Goodness is not without Thee*. q.d. *Prosperitas et Bona cuncta, non agnoscunt alium, nisi a Tuâ Misericordia ortum*.

And thus the *Chaldee*: *Bonitas mea, non est ab alio, præter Te*.²³⁷

had to confront the reasons why the Rabbis who provided such insight into the “Old” Testament had also failed to see that Jesus was the promised Messiah. Martin’s *Pugio Fidei*, so often cited by Mather, reflects the anti-Jewish polemicism relied upon to answer that question in the high Middle Ages; John Viccars’ 17th-c. *Decapla* is a later, and so somewhat more measured, attempt to resolve the same issue.

²³⁴ Allix, *The Book of Psalms*, bk. 1, p. 20; bk. 1, p. 29.

²³⁵ Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3659). Grotius, *Opera Omnia* (1:224): “My goodness is not with you. Which is to say hidden with you. You do not begrudge me knowledge of the things of salvation.”

²³⁶ This note is probably from Hermann Witsius, *De Œconomia Foederum* (1694), bk. 2, ch. 2, pp. 138–39. Witsius credits Johannes Piscator (1546–1625) with this reading, but without further identification. Witsius is most likely alluding to Piscator’s commentary on the Psalms, contained in his *Commentariorum in Omnes Libros Veteris Testamenti* (1643–45), vol. 3, p. 131. Both the selection from Grotius and this idea from Witsius appear without attribution in *Psalterium*, bk. 1, pp. 29–30.

²³⁷ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 1, p. 39. Midrash: “Prosperity and all good things know no other origin than Your compassion.” Chaldee: “My goodness is not from anyone but you.”

Q. Who are, *The Saints in the Earth?* v. 3.

A. The Jewish Expositors understand it, of *Interr'd Saints*. The *Midrasch Tillin* informs us, *Nemo dicitur sanctus ante Funera*.²³⁸

But I know no Reason to understand it so.

Hee that is not a *Saint*, while hee *lives* on *Earth*, will not bee one, after *Death* ha's laid him in the *Earth*.

Now, having mentioned this Passage, what think you of R. *David Kimchi's* Gloss upon these Words? "*O my Soul, Thou hast said unto the Lord, Thou art my Lord; and now say thou also to the Saints, These are the Excellent*."²³⁹

Q. About not *offering the Drink-offerings of Blood*, with them who *hasten after another God?* v. 4.

A. Take Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase. "They multiply Idols (here in this place, whither I am driven: 1 Sam. XXVI.19) and are zealous in the Service of another God. But I will never forsake thee, by partaking with them in their abominable Sacrifices (in which the Blood of Men is offered,) nor by swearing by the Name of any of their False Gods."²⁴⁰

Q. How may that Passage be applied; *I will not take up their Names into my Lips?* v. 4.

A. Old *Arnobius*, understands it of, the *Names*, not of the *Idols*, but of the *Idolaters*. Our Lord saies, *Non memor ero Nominum eorum per Labia mea; negans eos coram Patre et Angelis*.²⁴¹

Q. On the Multiplication of *Sorrows* to the Worshippers of *Idols?* v. 4.

A. It is noted that the same Hebrew Word, that signifies *Idols* does also signify *Sorrows*. The Word is / עֲצָבִים /. And this leads me to the Mention of a Curiosity in the *Book of Wisdome*. That the Worshipping of *Idols* had its Beginning from hence; Fond People causing the *Images* of their Dead *Relatives* to be made; & then honouring these *Images* too passionately; & anon adoring of them. Saies he, *Acerbo luctu dolens pater, cito sibi rapti filii fecit Imaginem; et illum qui tunc quasi homo mortuus fuerat, nunc tanquam Deum colere coepit, et constituit inter servos suos Sacra et Sacrificia*. Accordingly, Mr. *Selden* gives this Reason, why the same Word signifies both *Idola* and *Dolores*; *Quod quotannis statuīs et Monumentis Mortuorum dolori afficerentur*.²⁴²

²³⁸ "No one is said to be holy before his funeral."

²³⁹ *Viccars, Decapla*, lib. 1, pp. 38–9; *Mather, Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 30.

²⁴⁰ *Patrick, Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 1, p. 49.

²⁴¹ *Arnobius, Commentarii in Psalmos* [PL 53.342]. "I will not commemorate their names on my lips, denying them in the presence of the Father and the angels" (cf. *Rivers* 425).

²⁴² The reference to the "Book of Wisdome" is to the apocryphal Wisdom of Solomon 14:15: "For a father being afflicted with bitter grief, made to himself the image of his son, who was

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Q. That Expression, *The Portion of my Cup?* v. 5.

A. Those that are of the same Family, have the Wine in the *Cup* distributed among them. So in the Dispensations of Providence, Every Man has his Portion, Good or Bad. And this is called, *The Portion of his Cup*.²⁴³

Q. On that, *Thou maintainest* [or, Holdest] *my Lott?*

A. The old Way of Sortition was by *Rods* [Num. XVII.2]. The Shares and the Names of the Tribes, written on *Rods*, were held in the Hand of the High-priest, who assigned unto all their Portions. Here, Gods *holding the Lott* in His Hand, is to give a Portion unto him, whose *Lott* it is.²⁴⁴

Q. Upon what Account might the Psalmist say, *My Reins Instruct mee in the Night-season?* v. 7.

A. When our Lord Jesus Christ suffered for us, it was, [Act. 4.28] *Whatsoever the Hand & Counsel of God determined to bee done*. Yea, God the Father, gave *Counsel* unto our Lord Jesus Christ, for to suffer for us, & how to behave Himself when Hee came to suffer. *I will bless the Lord, who hath given mee Counsel*, saith our Lord.

This was the Counsel. And therefore Hee adds, *My Reins Instruct mee in the Night-season*; that *Night* when Hee was in the *Garden*, & when Hee was before *Pilate*: The *Instructions*, which God the Father had given Him, were then Rolling in His Mind.²⁴⁵

Take Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase. "In the darkest Night of Affliction, when I could not see my Way, He hath secretly inspired my Mind with wise Thoughts, and admonished me what Course to take for my Præservation."²⁴⁶

quickly taken away: and him who then had died as a man, he began now to worship as a god, and appointed him rites and sacrifices among his servants." The quotation from John Selden occurs in the Prolegomena to his highly influential work, *De Diis Syris Syntagmata II*, p. xliii: "Because every year they were moved to grief by the statues and monuments of the dead." See also Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 30.

²⁴³ Clutterbuck, *A Brief Explanation*, p. 11.

²⁴⁴ Clutterbuck, *A Brief Explanation*, p. 12.

²⁴⁵ This is from the work of Dr. Thomas Goodwin (1600–80), chaplain to Cromwell, Independent, President of Magdalen College, and member of the Westminster Assembly. Goodwin wrote 15 influential works, many of which went through multiple editions. Deeply involved in ecclesiastical and state politics during the era of the Civil Wars, he slowly and reluctantly aligned himself with the Independents, though he is now seen as one of the principal founders of Congregationalism (*DNB*). He should not be confused with the somewhat earlier Thomas Goodwin who authored *Moses and Aaron* (see notes on Ezra). The remark is embedded in Goodwin's *Discourse of Christ the Mediator*, reprinted in his posthumously published *Works*, vol. 3, ch. 5, bk. 8, p. 246.

²⁴⁶ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 1, p. 49; Mather does not identify the remark as Patrick's in *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 30.

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[*2083.*]

[55f]

Q. Those Three Subjects, *My HEART is Glad, my GLORY Rejoiceth, my FLESH also shall Rest in Hope*: Is there any Passage in the New Testament, which may consider the same, in some Allusion to this Passage? v. 9.

A. Some of the Ancients, if I mistake not, think the Apostle to have some Allusion unto this Division, when he speaks, in 1 Thess. 5.23 of *the Spirit, and Soul, and Body, being præserved Blameless*.²⁴⁷

In the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, there were Three Chappels; one of *Jupiter*, intended for the *Spirit*; another of *Minerva*, intended for the *Soul*; another of *Juno*, intended for the *Body*: And I find in *Viccars*, there are *Altars* to bee seen at *Rome*, with these Three Statues.

Tis true, by a *Metonymie* (wee'l suppose) the *Glory*, is in the New Testament, rendred *The Tongue*. *Aben-Ezra*, understands it, first, of, *The Soul*.

But I only mention this, without insisting on it. The Apostle *Peters* Interpretation, is of all the most Incontestable.²⁴⁸

|
[*2087.*]

[56v]

Q. Give mee a Jewish Description, of a *Chasid*, which here wee Translate, *An Holy One*? v. 10.

A. R. *Alexander* tells us, / חסיד / *Chasid, dicitur, qui audit maledicentem, et non respondet, sicut David Shimei*. Hee's one, who *when hee is Reviled, Revileth not again*.

See 1 Pet. 2.21.²⁴⁹

[*1700.*]

Q. The *Messiah*, is here called / מְסִיחַ / which wee render, *Thy Holy One*. What special *Emphasis* is there in it? v. 10.

A. It also carries this in it, *Thy Benign One*; and therein, tis to bee taken both *Passively*, for one, *cui Deus ingentia Bonitatis suæ contulit Beneficia*, and *Actively*, for one, *qui Benignus est, et Benevolus erga alios*. Thus *Glassius* ha's glossed it.

I suppose, the Greek Word, Ὁσιος, into which, this is Translated may bee derived from This. But it is observable, that you shall find in *Hesychius*, the word, ἁσιος, which is in him Expounded, ἀγαθός, and χρηστός, *Good and Kind*. Moreover, In the word / מְסִיחַ / here is the Letter / י / after an extraordinary

²⁴⁷ Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 30.

²⁴⁸ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 1, p. 40.

²⁴⁹ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 1, pp. 39–40: "Chasid, it is said, [is one] who hears someone speak ill of him and does not reply, just as David to Shimei." Mather is the one who transliterates the Hebrew. See also *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 30.

Manner inserted. This *Pleonasm*, tis possible, may bee to intimate the *Perfection* of Grace, that is in the *Messiah*; for the Letter / י / which is for *Ten*, carries the most *Perfect* of all Numbers in it.²⁵⁰

Q. But upon a due Reflection, may not we discover something in the Psalm, that ha's not heretofore been commonly observed? v. 11.

A. There is this very observable. The first Verse in the Psalm, is the Petition of our Dying SAVIOUR to His FATHER.

And there is an Emphasis in the Word / שמר / when He saies, *præserve thou me*. It signifies, *custodem agere de Nocte*; to keep {watch} in the *Night*. It was a *Dark Time* when our SAVIOUR was on the *Cross*. And the *Night of Death* was coming on Him; He was going into the *Land of Darkness*.²⁵¹

But now the Second, & Third, & Fourth Verses, are what ha's not been commonly thought, the Answer of the FATHER to our SAVIOUR. He approves and accepts the Obedience of the SON, whose Holy Soul had said unto Him, *Thou art my Lord, & I will become thy Servant*. He adds, *My Goodness is not resting upon Thee alone*; But for *thy Sake*, it shall now communicate my Blessings

²⁵⁰ Cheryl Rivers mistakenly believed this annotation might come from the *Philologie Sacrae*; however Mather relies here and at a later point in the Psalms on another work of Glass's, the *Onomatologia Messia Prophetica* (1624). This work was often reprinted with two others of Glass's works on Christology, the *Christologia Mosaica* and the *Christologia Davidica*. The Mathers did own a copy of *Christologia Mosaica*, which almost certainly included the other works. See *Onomatologia Messia*, Classis 8, sect. 3, pp. 105–06. The Harvard Library in *Catalogus Librorum* also lists an edition of Glass's *Christologia Mosaica*, published in Jena, 1649. The *Onomatologia* referred to by Mather in his annotation on Psalms 91 could also have been contained in this volume. Hesychius of Alexandria (fl. 5th c. CE) was a grammarian who compiled a large list of unusual Greek words. Those that can be taken in a Christian context are most likely later interpolations however. Glass probably references one of the editions published in Venice in 1514 or 1520/21. “Ὁσιος [hosios] “devout, holy.” As Mather and Glass note, *Χάσιος* is identified by Hesychius as meaning either “good” or “kind.” “*Cui Deus ingentia bonitatis suae contulit beneficia*” means “To whom God has conferred the vast benefits of his goodness”; “*qui Benignus est, et Benevolus Erga alios*” means “who is generous and kind toward others.” The Hebrew here is *חָסִיד* [chasid] “kind, pious.” Interestingly, Mather copies the form given by Glass in at least some versions of the *Onomatologia*, a form which apparently derives from a variant textual tradition containing a second Hebrew letter yod. In this form, the word should lead to a plural rendering (“thy holy ones”). This word does occur in the Bible, for instance in Ps. 52:9, but does not appear in most modern editions of Ps. 16:10. Both Mather and Glass, though, understand the second yod to be pleonastic, which affords them an opportunity to speculate about its mystical and Messianic significance as a marker of the tenfold perfection of grace. In a similarly creative vein, the unusual word “*Χάσιος*” [chasios] is a portmanteau constructed by conjoining the beginning of [chasid] with the usual noun ending of Greek [ος].

²⁵¹ This note is extracted from one of the dissertations of Nicolaus Gürtler (1654–1711) on Psalms 16, in his *Dissertationes de Jesu Christo in Gloriam Evecto* (1704). I have had access to the 1711 edition of this work. The first portion of Mather's annotation comes from diss. 4, p. 123. Gürtler, who had a reputation as one of the best read and most learned professors of his time, held successive professorships at Heidelberg, Hanau, Bremen, Deventer, and Franeker (*ADB*). Mather refers to *שָׁמְרֵנִי* [shamreni] “preserve me” (Ps. 16:1).

to the *Holy Ones*, who study a Conformity to my Will, and are separated for my Service.²⁵² Hereupon there follows a Threatning of a tremendous Punishment, on them who are the Despisers & Enemies of this Glorious Lord. They who *make Haste to Espouse themselves*, (there's all this in the Words) *unto Another, & follow him*: (The Jews did so; and so do the Followers of Antichrist:) These will find their *Sorrows multiplied*. And GOD will Reject *their Drink-offerings*; and so all their Sacrifices; and this, *Because of Blood*; that is, Because the *Blood of the Messiah*, which they sleight, is the only Sacrifice which He will take Satisfaction in. *Their Names* also will He never *take into His Lips*; He will never own them for His People.²⁵³

In the rest of the Psalm, Our SAVIOUR goes on, and gives Thanks unto His FATHER, in the View of both His Present & His Future Fælicity.²⁵⁴

Thus, *Gurtlerus*, in His Dissertation, *De CHRISTO ad Gloriam Evecto*.

252 Gurtler, *Dissertationes*, diss. 4, pp. 124–30.

253 Gurtler, *Dissertationes*, diss. 4, pp. 130–34.

254 Gurtler, *Dissertationes*, diss. 4, pp. 134–44.

[*2495.*]

Q. What Remarkable Fulfillment had that Petition of the Psalmist; *Hear the Right: — Lett my Sentence come forth from thy Presence; Lett thine Eyes behold the things that are æqual?* v. 1, 2.

A. The Psalmist petitions, for a Vindication of his Innocency, from the Accusations of his Adversaries, as if he had been the Author of all the Disturbances in the Kingdome. He petitions that God would in His Holy Providence pronounce & procure a Sentence in his Vindication. Well; Turn to 1 Sam. 24.17 *Saul wept, & said unto David, Thou art more Righteous than I.* For a *Saul* to give such a Sentence, in *David's* Vindication; This was the wonderful Work of God in His Providence, and a *Sentence coming forth from the Presence of the Lord.*²⁵⁵

Q. On that, *I have purposed that my Mouth shall not transgress?* v. 3.

A. It may be rendred; *I have thought, and my Mouth shall not transgress.* i. e. Thou shalt not find me to have one thing in my Breast, and another in my Mouth.²⁵⁶

Q. The Import of that passage; *Concerning the Works of Men, by the word of thy Lips I have kept me from the Pathes of the Destroyer?* v. 4.

A. Take Dr. *Patrick's* paraphrase. "I know what Men are apt to do, in such Circumstances. But the Respect I bear to thy Commandments, hath præserv'd me from those murtherous Practices, which the violent Man would have boldly attempted." [See, 1 Sam. XXVI.8.]²⁵⁷

Munster mentions a Gloss of some. "I have observed the Works of Men because of thy Word, & I have observed the Wayes of Men who Corrupt their Wayes; for this End, that I may Reprove them."²⁵⁸

Q. The Emphasis of, *Keep me as the Apple of thine Eye?* v. 8.

A. The *Eye* is a tender Part; not to be Jested with.

The *Apple of the Eye*, is in the Hebrew, *Ishon*; the *Little Man of the Eye*.

In the Greek, tis, κορη, the *Daughter of the Eye*. Which *Bath Gnaiin* signifies.

²⁵⁵ This notes seems to rely most on Poole, *Synopsis Criticorum* (2:630). See also Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 1, p. 51.

²⁵⁶ Clutterbuck, *A Brief Explanation*, p. 13.

²⁵⁷ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 1, p. 52; Mather's euphemism for Patrick in the *Psalterium* is "the *Patrician*." See *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 32.

²⁵⁸ See Poole, *Synopsis Criticorum* (2:632).

It is guarded with *Five Tunicles*. Each of those Clauses paused upon, may afford Notable & Elegant Hints unto us.²⁵⁹

Q. That Expression, *Hide me under the Shadow of thy Wings?* v. 8.

A. It may be justly paraphrased; “As an Hen covers her Chickens under her Wings, from the Ravenous Bird that hovers over them, to devour them.” This is the very Allusion afterwards used by our Saviour, Matth. XXIII.37.²⁶⁰

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[58v]

Q. That Clause, *Deliver my Soul, from the Wicked, thy Sword;* is it not of a Various & Difficult Interpretation? v. 13.

A. Yes. And while our Translation carries it, *The Wicked which is thy Sword*, others take, *Thy Sword*, here to bee the *Instrument* of the Deliverance. q.d. *Deliver mee from the Wicked, by thy Sword*. But some, take, *Thy Sword*, here to bee the *Subject* of the Deliverance. The *Ark*, say they, was the *Sword* of God, for the Defence of *Israel*, & the Offence of their Adversaries. The Psalmist, prays for the Deliverance of that *Sword*, from its Enemies, as for his own *Soul*.²⁶¹

Q. What is meant by, *Hidden Treasure?* v. 14.

A. *Aben Ezra*, well informs us, Tis *Gold*, and other *Metals* and *Jewels*, *quae primo Occultantur in Visceribus Terræ, et exinde Effodiuntur*: which were *Hidden* in the Bowels of the Earth, before they were fetched out.²⁶²

Q. That Clause, *From Men which are thy Hand*, and what followes; give mee some *singular Gloss* upon it?

A. There is a very *singular one* hinted by the *Chaldee* Interpreter. It runs to this Purpose;

“*Propter viros Dexteræ Tuæ.*] Libera me ob eos, qui Morti traditi sunt Nomini Tuo.

²⁵⁹ Mather conflates two sources here: John Edwards, *A Demonstration of the Existence and Providence of God* (1696), pt. 2, ch. 2, pp. 31–2, and Henry Hammond, *Paraphrase, in Works*, vol. 4, bk. 1, p. 49. Mather provides a literal translation of the Hebrew idiom בַּת־עַיִן [bath-ayin] “the daughter of the eye; pupil of the eye.” LXX: κόρη [kore] “maiden, damsel, bride, daughter.”

²⁶⁰ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras’d*, bk. 1, p. 53, and Edwards, *Discourse*, vol. 2, ch. 2, pp. 67.

²⁶¹ The first alternative translation, “Deliver me from the wicked by thy sword,” is proposed by Calvin, *Commentarii in Librum Psalmorum Pars Prior* (*Opera* 31:165), and reproduced by Hammond, *Paraphrase, in Works*, vol. 4, bk. 1, p. 52. The second interpretation, where “sword” is taken as the subject of the deliverance seems to depend upon the portion of the Midrash Tehillim reproduced in Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 1, p. 42. See also *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 32.

²⁶² Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 1, p. 42. Mather provides the translation, which is also in *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 33.

“*Sit Portio eorum in Terrâ, et imple Ventrem eorum.*] Hæreditent Terram, et remunera Filios Filiorum suorum, propter Martyrium Patrum.”²⁶³

[*323.*]

Q. What is that *Righteousness*, with which wee are to *behold the Face of God?* v. 15.

A. Not one Word can I say, to withdraw you, from considering the glorious *Righteousness* of the Lord Jesus Christ, as that by the Imputation whereof wee are fitted for our Appearance before God in Glory; or, from considering the *Righteousness* of True Holiness, the Effect thereof, as that without which also no Man shall see the Lord. But in a Sort of Subordination, hereunto, I would consider *Alms-doing*, as a more singular Sort, or Act of *Righteousness* herein recommended unto us. As for, *the Men of the World*, it is here intimated, that what of their *Treasures* they don't spend upon their own *Bellies*, they are studious to *leave all the rest unto their Children*. But the *Saints of God*, they are for employing their Estates in *Alms deeds*, which are a very special Discovery of the *Righteousness*, wherein wee may come to *Behold the Face of God*.

Accordingly, tis the Report of the Ancient Hebrewes, concerning *David*, That hee gave *Alms* to the Poor every Day, and especially, when hee went into the Synagogue, saying these very Words, *I will behold the Face of God in Righteousness*.²⁶⁴

Hence, the Poor Mans *Box*, was called, *The Box of Righteousness*. And some old Copies of Math. 6.1 for, Τὴν ἐλεημοσύνην have, Τὴν δικαιοσύνην. When tis said, in Prov. 10.2 *Treasures of Wickedness profit nothing, but Righteousness delivers from Death*; the Book of Tobit renders, ἡ ἐλεημοσύνη βύσεται. So the LXX Psal. 24.5.

Indeed, the *Poor* are called in the Scripture, *Domini Bonorum nostrorum*. See Prov. 3.27 *Withhold not Good* [Hebr.] *from the Owners thereof*. To give unto the Poor is but *suum cuique tribuere*, the Justice of *Aristotle*. Hence the Hebrew Style of *Begging*, was, *Think mee Worthy*, or, *Give mee the Commandment*. Thus our Saviour calls the *Riches* withheld from these Owners, in Luc. 16.9 *The Mammon of Unrighteousness*; which the *Targum* on Hos. 5.11 calls, *The Mammon of a Ly*; – opposed unto the True Riches.²⁶⁵

²⁶³ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 1, p. 43. “[On account of the men at your right hand.] Free me on account of those handed over to death in Your Name. [Let them have their portion on the earth and fill their bellies.] Let them inherit the earth, and reward the sons of their sons on account of the martyrdom of their fathers.”

²⁶⁴ Mather includes this story of David in *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 33.

²⁶⁵ John Gregory (1607–46), *Notes and Observations upon Some Passages of Scripture* (1646), ch. 14, pp. 58–9. Gregory is identified on the title page of this work only by I. G. The Mathers owned a copy of this text. The distinction pointed at in translations of Matt. 6:1 is between “charity” or ἐλεημοσύνην and “righteousness” or δικαιοσύνην. The rendering from Tob. 14:11 is

Q. Those words, *As for mee, I will Behold thy Face in Righteousness; I shall bee satisfied, when I awake, with thy Likeness*: Are they not capable of another Version?

A. Those Expressions, *Thy Face*, and, *Thy Image*, are the Names of the *Messiah*. Tis not here said, *when I shall Awake*, but, *when {he} shall Awake*. The *Resurrection* of the *Messiah*, (and therefore also, His *Death*) is here foretold by *David*. And, hee assures himself, that hee shall *behold* the *Messiah*, with *Satisfaction*, after the *Messiahs* Resurrection. Tho' wee admitt not the Popish *Limbus Patrum*, yett wee may Beleeve, That the Patriarchs of the Old Testament, received an Heavenly *Satisfaction*, upon the Resurrection of the *Messiah*, which they had not before.²⁶⁶

that "Righteousness (or charity) will deliver" (ἡ ἐλεημοσύνη ῥύσεται). It is the final instruction of Tobit to his son.

²⁶⁶ Mather is again weaving together two sources in this brief note. The idea that "when I shall awake" can be read "when *he* shall awake" depends most directly on a discourse of John Howe (1630–1705), *The Blessedness of the Righteous*. This text is reproduced in his two-volume *Works*, vol. 1, ch. 20, p. 609. Howe, one of the eminent Puritans of the period of the Civil Wars, was a personal chaplain to Oliver Cromwell. Howe is sometimes associated with the Cambridge Platonists; although he admired their works, his own work veered toward an abstract and rarefied spirituality. He remained an avowed Puritan in spite of his moderation in theological matters (*DNB*). In all of these senses, he resembles Mather. The latter portion of this note, with its rejection of the limbo (*Limbus Patrum*) of the Roman Catholics but continued interest in the post-mortem satisfaction of the patriarchs at the resurrection of the Messiah, is from the *Hexapla in Genesin and Exodum* (1633) of Andrew Willet (1562–1621), bk. 1, pt. 2, ch. 25, quest. 15, p. 234. Willet, like Howe, was greatly esteemed among non-separating Puritans, and Thomas Fuller (see below) modeled the "controversial divine" of *Holy State and Profane State* upon him (*DNB*). Both Howe's and Willet's texts were held by the Harvard Library.

Q. The Design of the Psalm. Tit.

A. Tis the Song of the *Messias*, on His Victory over *Antichrist*.

Compare the Destruction of those Enemies, in the *Forty Second* Verse, with the Destruction of Antichrist, in the II of *Daniel*.²⁶⁷

Q. A Remark on the Beginning of the Psalm; *I will love thee, O Lord my Strength?* v. 1.

A. Take one of the brave old *Arnobius*. *Cum omnibus Amoribus finem quendam et terminum ponentes, ipsi dicimus, Diligam Te: Tunc verè erepti de Manu omnium inimicorum nostrorum, id est, de Manu omnium Vitiorum; et de Manu Saul, id est, Principis huius Mundi.*²⁶⁸

The good old Man, ha's Glosses on other Passages in the Psalm, well worthy to be considered, by those that would apply (as doubtless the Holy Spirit would have us to do,) the Sacred Scriptures, unto the Concerns that every particular Christian ha's to regard, in the Course of his Life.

Thus; *By thee I have run thro' a Troup; by my God I have leaped over a Wall.* *Arnobius* thus (and wittily) applies it. *Transgredimur et nos Muros, cum de isto Corpore exeuntes, eos qui nos circumdant evadimus.* If we may be so happy, we may well sing, *The Lord my God will enlighten my Darkness.*²⁶⁹

Q. On that, *The Lord is my Rock, & my Fortress?* v. 2.

A. Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase leads us to an Elegancy. "It was not the Caves & Lurking-places, (1 Sam. XXII.1, 5; XXIII.23) nor the Fortresses and Strong Holds, (XXIII.14, 19, 29) nor the Rocks & Imprægnable Forts, (XXIV.2) nor the High Mountains & Steep Hills, to which I fled: (XXVI.1) that præserted me from my Enemies; But the Lord Almighty."²⁷⁰

²⁶⁷ Allix, *The Book of Psalms*, bk. 1, p. 23; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 39.

²⁶⁸ Mather provides a rough translation of *Arnobius* in *Psalterium*: "When 'tis come to this, that all our *Loves* are swallowed up in this, *I will Love Thee, O Lord*; Then we are truly *delivered from the hand of all our Enemies*, that is to say, *Our Vices; and from the hand of Saul*, that is to say, *The Prince of this World*" (bk. 1, p. 39). Or, "When, putting a certain end and limit to all our loves, we ourselves will say, 'I will love You, [Lord],' then truly are we delivered from the hand of all our enemies, that is, from the hand of all vices; and from the hand of Saul, that is, from the hand of the Prince of this world."

²⁶⁹ *Arnobius, Commentarii in Psalmos* [PL 53.347–48]: "And we cross over walls when, departing from this body, we pass by those who encircle us."

²⁷⁰ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphrast*, bk. 1, pp. 55–6; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 39.

2091.

Q. Do the Jewes apprehend any *Mystery* in it, that wee find a *double* Mention of *Death*, here; *The Sorrowes of DEATH Compassed mee; the Snares of DEATH prevented mee?* v. 4, 5.

A. Yes. Both the *Midrasch Tillin*, and *R. David Kimchi*, apprehend that the *Double Destruction* of the *Temple*, first by the *Chaldeans*, & then by the *Romans*, is herein mysteriously referr'd unto.²⁷¹

Q. Why, *The Sorrows of Hell?* v. 5.

A. Take this Paraphrase, out of *Clutterbucks* Collection.

*I had no more to help me, than a Dead Man, bound hand & foot in his Grave.*²⁷²

[*2092.*]

Q. When were those things fulfilled unto *David*, which are here described; *Earthquake*, and *Thunder*, and the appearing of God with *Brightness*, and, the discovery of the *Channels* of the *Waters?* v. 15.

A. I find, the Jewish Expositors, intimating, as if *David* here made the Condition of the Church of *Israel* his own. The Church of *Israel*, had all these things done for it, in its Deliverance out of *Egypt*, and in some following Dispensations. *David*, the King of *Israel*, counts all these Things as done for himself; and proceeding to speak of the Things done afterwards more Particularly & Immediately for himself, hee introduces the mention of these former Things; q.d. The God who once did those great Things, is Hee that hath done all the rest.

But now Remember, That all this is a *Prophecy*, as well as an *History*; The main fulfilment of it, still is to bee expected: consider our Lord Jesus Christ, our *Messiah*, as making His Descent, at the Destruction of *Antichrist*, the Antitype of *Saul*, and rescuing His People and Interest, from the Confusions which Threaten it: *Then* you have a glorious *Key*, to the Sense of all the *Psalm*.²⁷³

|

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Q. That Clause, *He drew me out of many Waters*. What Notable Hint may it give to the Thoughts of the Faithful? v. 16.

A. This; That our *Lord-Messiah*, is the Antitype of *MOSES*.²⁷⁴

²⁷¹ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 1, pp. 46–7.

²⁷² Clutterbuck, *Brief Explanation*, p. 14.

²⁷³ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 1, pp. 46–8; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 39.

²⁷⁴ Luther, *Operationes in Psalmos 1–22* (*Werke* 5:515); Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 39.

Q. The Import of, *I kept myself from mine Iniquity?* v. 23.

A. Take Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase.

“And how unjustly soever my Enemies dealt with me, I would not imitate them; but, tho’ I could not hinder *Theirs*, I kept myself from *Mine* Iniquity.”²⁷⁵

Q. How is that accomplished; *With the Froward thou wilt shew thyself froward?* v. 26.

A. According to Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase.

“If any will take crooked Ways to obtain their Ends, thou wilt ensnare them in their own Devices; & by such Means as they least think of, lead them to Destruction.”²⁷⁶

Q. How, *Leaped over a Wall?* v. 29.

A. q.d. I took a Fort.²⁷⁷

Q. The *Bowe of Steel broken by his Arms?* v. 34.

A. He was able to wrest the strongest Bowe out of his Enemies’ Hand, and break it in Peeeces.

Old *Austins* Gloss upon it was; *Intentio bonorum Operum in illo fuit indefatigabilis*.²⁷⁸

Q. On what might the Psalmist Reflect, when hee said, *Thou hast given mee the Necks of mine Enemies?* v. 40.

A. On the five Kings, on whose Necks, in Josh. 10.16 the Souldiers of *Joshua* did sett their feet.²⁷⁹

²⁷⁵ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras’d*, bk. 1, pp. 59–60; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 39.

²⁷⁶ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras’d*, bk. 1, p. 60.

²⁷⁷ Clutterbuck, *Brief Explanation*, p. 14.

²⁷⁸ This phrase does not occur in exactly this way in Augustine’s *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, or in the *Glossa Ordinaria* of Nicholas Lyra. Mather could be back-translating from another text, or simply recalling the comment. See [PL 36.152] and *Biblorum Sacrorum* (3:549–50). The exact same wording occurs in *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 39: “The exertion of good works was tireless in him.”

²⁷⁹ Thomas Fuller (1608–61), *A Pisgah-Sight of Palestine* (1650), bk. 2, ch. 12, p. 256. This text, a historical geography of the Holy Land as it was divided among the twelve tribes, was one of Mather’s favorite works and is a frequent title in his manuscript “Notebook on Texts and Authors of the Bible” (American Antiquarian Society); Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 40. Fuller, a deeply learned clergyman and antiquarian, sided with the Royalists during the Civil Wars. He turned to writing history, for which he remains best known, in part because of his forced retirement during the interregnum. It was during this period that he wrote *A Pisgah-Sight*, which was well-received even though it implicitly suggested that if Jerusalem could be rebuilt after the exile, then so could England after the ravages of the wars. *The Church History of Britain* (1655), the first comprehensive account of Protestantism in England, is generally considered his most important work (*DNB*).

Q. How may that Passage bee applied, *A People that I have not known, shall serve mee?* v. 43.

A. It hath been by some Applied unto the Nations of *America*. They say, It cannot bee literally, more verified of any. Christ, as *God*, knew all Nations; but as *Man*, Hee did not. Hee, as *Man*, had seen and known *Asians, Europeans, & Africans*. This cannot bee doubted, if you consider the Concourse of *Jewes*, and *Proselytes*, that was annually at *Jerusalem*, for the great Festivals. Now, as for the *Americans*, Hee as *Man*, had never seen or known any of them; neither had any *American*, ever seen or known Him. Whereas, the Time will come, that *Hee shall call them, tho' Hee knew not them, and they shall run to Him, tho' they never knew Him*.

Whatever there may bee, in this *Illustration*, certainly in a Work entituled, *Biblia Americana*, a place may bee allow'd unto it.²⁸⁰

Q. On that, *Strangers shall Lye to me?* v. 44.

A. *Aben Ezra* thinks the Meaning to be, They shall be found *Lyars*, in the the Promises they had made themselves of their Victories over *David*.²⁸¹

²⁸⁰ Mather quotes from the election sermon of fellow cleric Nicholas Noyes (1647–1717), who preached at the General Assembly on 25 May, 1698, and published later that year as *New Englands Duty and Interest* (pp. 73–74). Noyes was chaplain to the militia in Connecticut during King Philip's War and minister at Salem during the witch trials, where he presided over several of the executions. During his own life, he was respected for the extent of his learning, judicious temperament, and gravity (*SHG*).

²⁸¹ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 1, pp. 46–7; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 40.

Q. On, *The Heavens declaring the Glory of God, and, Their Words gone to the End of the World?* v. 1.

A. All Nations have made their Deductions from the *Works of God*, and particularly from what they saw in the *Heavens*, That there is a GOD.²⁸²

Ælian saies, [Var. Hist. 1.2.c.31] *There never was any Barbarian that contemned the Deity, nor called in question, whether there be any Gods or no, or whether they take Care of Humane Affaires.*

One of *Plato's* Arguments [De Leg. 1.10] for the proof of a GOD, is; *The unanimous Consent of all, both Greeks & Barbarians.*

Plutarch agreeably to our Psalmist, ha's told us, whence they collected this knowledge. [De Placit. Philos. 1.1.c.6] *Men began to acknowledge a GOD, when they saw the Stars maintain so great an Harmony; and the Dayes & Nights thro' all the Year, both in Summer & Winter, to observe their stated Risings and Settings.*²⁸³

Hear the *Stoick*, in *Tully* [De Nat. Deor. 1.2.c.2] *What can be so plain and clear, as when we behold the Heavens, & view the Heavenly Bodies, that we should conclude, There is some Deity of a most excellent Mind, by which these things are governed? – A Present & Almighty GOD. Which he who doubts of, I do not understand, why he should not as well doubt, whether there be a Sun that shines or no.*

This is not all that the *Ciceronian Stoick* saies. No; He talks emphatically. *Who would say, He is a MAN, who when he should behold the Motions of the Heavens to be so certain, and the Order of the Stars to be so established, and all things so well Connected and Adapted together, and deny that Reason was here, and say that all these things were made by Chance, which are managed with such profound Counsel, that with all our Witt we are not able to fathom them? What? When we see a Thing moved by some Certain Device, as a Sphere, the Hours, and many Things besides; we make no Doubt, that these are the Works of Reason. And so, when we see the noble Train of the Heavens moved & wheeled about, with an admirable Pace, and in the most constant Manner making those Anniversary | Changes so necessary to the Good & Præservation of all Things; Do we doubt whether those Things are done by Reason; yea, by some more Excellent & Divine Reason? For, setting aside the Subtilties of Disputation, we may actually behold with our Eyes, in some Measure,*

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²⁸² Only the first sentence of this answer occurs in *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 42. There, Mather only remarks that the supporting "Quotations would fill many volumns."

²⁸³ As Rivers notes (430), *De Placitis Philosophorum* (The Opinions of the Philosophers), is a pseudepigraphic text attributed to Lucius Mestrius Plutarchus (c. 50–c. 120). Nevertheless, there were many editions of this text which circulated throughout Europe. John Clarke, Gilbert Burnet, and many others believed it to be a genuine work of authorship by the writer of the *Moralia*, to which it was usually appended. See *De Placitis* in the late 18th-c. edition of the *Opera* prepared by Daniel Wytenbach, vol. 4, pt. 2, pp. 536–37.

the Beauty of those things which we assert are ordered by the DIVINE PROVIDENCE. He then enters into a long Detail of Particulars.

It would be endless to cite the many Passages occurring in *Cicero*, of such a Tendency. I will take only one from his, *De Legibus*, [l.1.c.8] that expresses his Opinion about the sense of all Mankind in general. He saies, *Among all the Tribes of Animals, none but Man hath any Sense of a GOD: And among Mankind, there is no Nation so Savage & Barbarous, but which altho' Ignorant of what God it ought to have, yett well knowes it ought to have one.*

Seneca in like Manner asserts the Existence of a Deity, from the Innate Opinion which all Men have thereof. He expressly saies, *They lye that say, They beleeve there is no God. For altho' by Day they affirm it unto Thee, yett by Night they are unto themselves Conscious of the Contrary.* And in his Discourse, *Quaere Bonis Viris* c.1 He takes it for granted, There is a Divine POWER & PROVIDENCE governing the World. And saies, *Tis needless to show, that so great a Work as the World could not stand without some Ruler; That so Regular Motions of the Stars could not be the Effects of a Fortuitous Force; and that the Impulses of Chance must be oftentimes disturbed & supple; That so Great a Number of Heavenly Lights, both very Illustrious, & also shining by a Manifest Disposal, must needs proceed by the Direction of some Eternal Law; That this never can be the order of Straggling Matter; neither is it possible for things fortuitously and rashly combined, to depend upon, & manifest so much Art.*

Dr. *John Clark* so paraphrases the Matter here.

Their Line, means, their *Proportion*; Their *Sound*, means their *Harmony*.

“Every Day & Night, by their Regular Succession, *speaks* as plainly as Inanimate Things can speak, the Wisdome of Him who moves them; And their *Proportion* is so exact & universal, so plain and manifest, that no Nation, Language, or Capacity can possibly in some Degree or other Escape the Knowledge of them. This *Harmony* and *Proportion* was particularly specified by the famous Heathen Philosopher *Pythagoras*; and called, *The Harmony of the Spheres*, so often mentioned by ancient Writers.”²⁸⁴

Q. *Day unto Day uttering Speech?* v. 2.

A. From the constant Succession (as Dr. *Patrick* paraphrases,) and commodious Variation, of Day & Night, there issues forth (as Water from a Fountain)

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²⁸⁴ This notation is from the Boyle Lecture of Dr. John Clarke (1682–1757), “An Enquiry into the Cause and Origin of Evil” (*Defence of Natural and Revealed Religion* 3:180). The Harvard Library owned two volumes of the Boyle Lectures, published according to the *Catalogus Librorum* in 1720 and 1721, respectively. I have used the 1739 edition (in 3 volumes). Clarke provided the references to his classical sources.

perpetual Instruction, & Matter of Praise & Thanks, to the most wise Goodness of God.

Indeed, there is *no Speech nor Language* in the Heavens making these Revolutions; their *voice is not heard*; They can't speak as we do: we don't hear any Words uttered by them; yett they are understood by all Nations. *Their Line is gone out*; They all read here as in a Book, the wonderful Skill of the Almighty.²⁸⁵

Q. How did the Ancients apply that of the *Suns* coming *like a Bridegroom out of his Chamber?* v. 5.

A. *Austin*, as their Foreman, shall answer for them.

*Conjugatum carni humanae Verbum, processit de Utero virginali.*²⁸⁶

But in the *Sun coming forth as a Bridegroom from his Chamber*, methinks, I see that grand Revolution which concludes our Bible coming on. I see the Marriage of the *Lamb*, and our Bright Saviour proceeding to that *Wedding*, for which He is to Return unto us.

Then will there be an accomplishment of what the Psalm now before us, goes on to celebrate. The *Word* of God will then have its Transcendent Effects. The glorious Vertues & Effects of the Divine Word, on those who are made New Creatures by it, will then appear with a most astonishing Lustre to all the World.²⁸⁷

[*2053.*]

Q. The Psalmist, passes from the Glories of the *Sun*, to the Glories of the *Law?* v. 7.

A. Yes. And you shall have the Gloss of R. *David Kimchi* upon it.

“The *Law* is compared unto the *Sun* with a *Dissimilitude*. The *Law* is *Perfect*, and never does any thing but *Good*. The Beams of the *Sun*, sometimes do *Hurt* by their *Heat*, as *Jonah* complained. The *Law* Restores the Soul; the *Sun* smites Men sometimes with Madness; but the *Law* makes Men *Wise*. The *Sun* putteth out the Eyes of them that look upon it; but the *Law* Illuminates us. When one sits in the *Sun*, one contracts *Head-ache* and *Weakness* from it; but the *Law* does *Rejoice* the Heart. *Clouds* cover the *Sun*; but the *Law* is clear. The

²⁸⁵ Patrick, *Book of Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 1, pp. 65–6. Patrick relies on Witsius, *De Œconomia Foederum*, bk. 3, ch. 5, para. 12, pp. 241–42.

²⁸⁶ This sentence is from Augustine's *De Consensu Evangelistarum* (Harmony of the Gospels), 1.30.46, in [PL 34.1064]: “The Word married human flesh, and proceeded from the womb of a virgin.”

²⁸⁷ Pierre Allix makes this connection in *The Book of Psalms* (bk. 1, p. 27), but the association would have been natural to Mather given his and his father's long interest eschatology; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 42.

Sun shines only in the *Day*, not in the *Night*; but the *Law* endures forever. The Heat of the *Sun*, is at Noon Immoderate; but the *Law* is *Righteous altogether*.”

But then, I find R. *Saadia* supposes, that, in this Verse of the Transition, the Word, / יאמר / is to be understood. q.d. *The Sun saith, The Law of the Lord is Perfect*, and the rest.²⁸⁸

Q. But the Resemblance of our Saviour to the SUN, may be a little further Illustrated? v. 7.

A. In allusion to this of the Psalmist, a *Sibyl* is thus quoted by *Lactantius*, [*De divino premio*, 7.19]

Καὶ τὸτ' ἀπ' ἡλίου πεμφεῖ θεὸς βασιλῆα,
Ὅς πᾶσαν γαῖαν παύσει, πολέμοιο κακοιο·

*God shall send a King from the Sun, who shall make Peace all over the Earth.*²⁸⁹

The pagan *Julian* durst not quæstion the Truth of the *Sibylline Oracle*; Taking it therefore for granted, that the common Saviour must come from the *Sun*, that so his *Æsculapius* | might be qualified for that Office he fancied him to be descended by the *Sunbeams* into the World. The Apostle *James* tells us, that the *All-heal* descends not from the visible *Sun*, which appears every day in several Habitudes and Positions, and every Year is further from us or nearer to us, after the Proportion of its moving towards the Northern or Southern Tropick; from whence it casts several *Shadowes* to the several Parts of the World; there being, *Ascii*, and *Heteroscii*, and *Periscii*. No, tis from that Fountain of *Light* which is exempted from all Mutation. From that *Inaccessible Light* came the *Sun of Righteousness*, which arose upon all Nations *with Healing in His Wings*.²⁹⁰

[64v]

Q. How, the *Fear of the Lord, Clean*? v. 9.

A. The True Worship of GOD, is free from all Profane Mixture.

²⁸⁸ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 1, pp. 50–1. Rabbi Saadia Gaon (c. 880 – 942), was a Egyptian Jewish exegete, whose work influenced both Kimchi and Aben (Ibn) Ezra. Saadia wrote much of his work, including a commentary on scripture, in Arabic (*JE*). He was the first significant Rabbi to do so. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 42. יאמר [yomar] “he/it says.”

²⁸⁹ A more literal translation of the second line is, “Who shall cause loud wars to cease.” Lactantius quotes from the *Oracula Sibyllina* (sec. 3, lines 652–53), which reads, Καὶ τὸτ' ἀπ' ἡλίου θεὸς πέμψει βασιλῆα / Ὅς πᾶσαν γαῖαν παύσει πολέμοιο κακοίο· Mather generally does not reproduce the Greek diacritics, because he believes they are a late invention of medieval scholars (see his *Manuductio ad Ministerium*, pp. 29–30).

²⁹⁰ This note is copied from a work of John Smith (fl. 1675–1711), *Christian Religion's Appeal* (1675), bk. 2, ch. 6, sec. 5, p. 63. As did many early apologists, Lactantius (c. 250–c. 325) sought to convince pagans through their own mythologies. Therefore, he turns frequently to the *Sibylline Oracles* as he does in this instance in *The Divine Institutes* (7.18 ad finem). See [PL 6.0079]. Smith, in his allusion to Julian the Apostate, refers to the cosmology of Julian wherein Aesculapius, the “healer,” restorer, and “offspring” of Apollo, is propounded as a counterpoint to the Christian mythos of Jesus as the son of God. Almost nothing is known of Smith, though Winton Solberg identifies him as the Rector of St. Mary's in Colchester (224).

Or, The Dread of GOD keeps us, from all Impure Mixtures.
 These Two Paraphrases are in *Clutterbucks* Collection.²⁹¹

Q. When the Psalmist prays that his *Words* and *Thoughts* may bee *Acceptable*, what special Gloss may you have seen upon it? v. 14.

A. In the *Midrasch Tillin*, there is this Gloss upon it; *May they bee written for Posterity*.²⁹²

²⁹¹ Clutterbuck, *A Brief Explanation*, p. 16.

²⁹² Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 1, p. 52; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 42.

Q. *The Lord hear thee in the Day of Trouble, the Name of the God of Jacob Defend thee.* Why is this Title, *The God of Jacob*, here used, rather than another? v. 1.

A. *Jacob* was the Patriarch most Remarkable for This, that God had *Heard Him in the Day of Trouble.*

Both R. *David Kimchi*, and the *Midrasch Tillin*, do on this occasion, quote those words of *Jacob*, in Gen. 35.3 *The God, who answered mee, in the Day of my Distress.*²⁹³

Q. But give us a *Golden Key* of Christianitie, to come at a most Evangelical Intention of these Passages, & of the whole Psalm? v. 1.

A. *Arnobius* helps us to one, in that lovely Hint: *Christo eunti ad Crucem dicit Ecclesia: Exaudiat te Dominus.*²⁹⁴

Yea, *Aben Ezra* testifies, That the Jews refer the Psalm to the Messiah.²⁹⁵

Q. But that Expression of, *The Name defend thee?* v. 1.

A. There is a Notion of Dr. *Gells*, which I think it not amiss to offer unto your Consideration.

Shem, the Son of *Noah*, was a Noble Type of our Saviour. Yea, *God* Himself dwells in the *Tents of Shem*. Our Saviour is the True *Shem*, the Great *Shem*, who is the Father to the chosen People of God. *Shem* signifies, *A Name*. Our Saviour is, That *Plant of Shem* [Ezek. XXXIV.29.], who ha's the most *Excellent Name* [Phil. II.9, 10.]

Now, saies my Doctor; This opens to us the Meaning of the Phrase, which meets us often in Scripture, & which without this Understanding seems harsh to our Apprehensions. That is, When the *Name* of GOD, is said, to be or to do, this or that. It is the *Christ* of God that is the *Name* [Psal. VIII.1.], *Excellent in all the Earth*; and [Psal. LXXVI.1.], *Great in Israel*. In our *Immanuel* the *Name* of God, is [Psal. LXXV.1.] *Near* to us. And, [Prov. XVIII.10.] our *Strong Tower*. Tis for the sake of this *Name*, that God ha's *Pitty* on the Children of Men [Jer. XIV.7 and, Ezek. XXXVI.21.]. And what other *Name* can defend us? When we read, Psal. LIV.1 *Save me, O Lord, by thy Name*; tis, q.d. by thy true *Shem*; even by

²⁹³ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 1, p. 54; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 44.

²⁹⁴ Arnobius, *Commentarii in Psalmos*, [PL 53.350]: "The Church says to Christ as he is going to the cross: 'May the Lord hear You.'"

²⁹⁵ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 1, p. 54; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 44.

thy CHRIST, who is He? This *Name* it is, by which we tread down our Enemies.
Tis this in which we walk.²⁹⁶

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²⁹⁶ Rivers mistakenly attributes this passage to Gell's sermon, *Noah's Flood Returning* (1655). It is in fact copied almost verbatim from Gell's *Essay toward the Amendment* (Serm. 3, pp. 90–1).

Q. Of whom? Of what? *Tit.*

A. Doubtless, the Psalm speaks of the *Messiah*. In v. 5 there is His Kingdome. The Psalm ends with the Judgments of God upon His Enemies.

Compare Dan. VII and XI.²⁹⁷

Q. On that, *Thou settest a Crown of pure Gold on his Head?* v. 3.

A. *Munster* observes, That it may allude unto the *Crown* taken by *David* from the *Ammonites*. 2 Sam. XII.30.²⁹⁸

Q. On that Clause; *Thy Right Hand shall find out those that hate thee?* v. 8.

A. It is an ancient Observation, and indeed a Curiositie; That when the *Right Hand* of God is mentioned, it is usually with an Eye to what He will do, in *the Future State*, in *Another World*, in the Eternity that is to take place, when *this present time* comes to an End. Thus when it is pray'd, *Save me by thy Right Hand*, it is a prayer for *Eternal Salvation*. The *Pleasures at the Right Hand* of God, are those of *Eternal Happiness*. *Wisdom* ha's *Length of Dayes in the Right Hand*, that is to say, *Eternal Blessings*. It was noted as long ago, as the *Gregory*, whom they call, *The Great*, that when the Church saies, *His Left Hand is under my Head, & His Right Hand embraces me*, it means, that the *Prosperity of this Life* is kept below her Thoughts, but that she is wholly under the possession and influence of *Eternal Blessedness*. And so, when it is said, *The Right Hand of the Lord*, shall deal with His Enemies; it intimates, That tho' they may *prosper here*, & enjoy the good Things of the *Left Hand*; yett *Eternity* shall distinguish them, & extinguish them. So saies the *Gregory* aforesaid; *Hostes Dei, etsi in Sinistrâ eius proficiunt, in Dextera franguntur quia plerumque Pravos vita præsens elevat, sed hos adventus æternæ Beatitudinis damnat.*²⁹⁹

²⁹⁷ Allix, *The Book of Psalms*, bk. 1, pp. 29–30; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 45.

²⁹⁸ Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3682); Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 46.

²⁹⁹ This annotation, another pious commonplace, seems to depend most directly here upon Luther's notes on Ps. 16:11 (*Operationes in Psalmos* 1–22, in *Werke* 5:464–65), and, as Mather himself indicates in the latter portion of this comment, upon Gregory the Great's *Regulæ Pastoralis*, pt. 3, ch. 26 [PL 77.99–100]. Much of this note also appears in *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 46. "The enemies of God, even if they succeed on His left hand, are broken on His right because the present life often raises up the wicked, but the coming of eternal happiness damns them."

Q. On, *Ajjeleth Hashachar*? Tit.

A. Some chuse to read it, *The Morning-star*. Is our Saviour here called so? See Rev. II.28.³⁰⁰

Be sure, we have our Saviour in the Psalm, first *Suffering*, & then *Triumphing*, so clear, that the former Jews confessed it.³⁰¹

Q. It is here said of God, *Thou Inhabitest the Praises of Israel*. What is meant by, *The Praises of Israel*? v. 3.

A. Why not, the *Messiah*, the Object of our *Praises*? It is in Him, that God *Inhabits*, as in His *Holy of Holies* forever.³⁰²

Dr. *Patrick's* paraphrase is; "Thou hast sent them many Deliverances from thy Holy Place, where they celebrate thy Name, with their perpetual Praises."³⁰³

Q. What special Remark is there to bee made upon that Expression, *I am a Worm*? v. 6.

A. Wee read in Isa. 1.18 concerning Sins, *Red as Crimson*. The Hebrew Word, for, *Crimson*, properly signifies a *Worm* of a *Red Colour*; They speak of such a little Animal by the Blood whereof, that *Colour* is made. Now the very same Word, that is used there to sett forth the *Crimson Die* of our sins, is used here concerning our Lord Jesus Christ. It may bee rendred, *I am the Red Worm*. And such an one truly Hee was when Humbled in His *Bloody Agonies*. Hee was Died of a *Crimson Red* in His own *Blood*, when Hee came to make Satisfaction for our *Sins*, which have been *Red as Crimson*.³⁰⁴

Q. The Resemblance of our Lord Jesus Christ, unto a *Worm*, what Matter of Observation may it afford unto us?

A. There is a Devout Observation made by *Nazianzen*, That in the Scripture our Lord Jesus Christ, is compared unto the *weakest* Things; as, A *Worm*, and a *Lamb*. And the *Divel* is compared unto the *Strongest*; as, a *Lion*, a *Dragon*, a *Strong Armed Man*. But yett our Lord Jesus Christ is too hard for the *Divel*.³⁰⁵

³⁰⁰ Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 49.

³⁰¹ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 1, p. 60. Viccars notes that Rabbi Solomon is the exponent of this reading.

³⁰² Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 49.

³⁰³ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 1, p. 76.

³⁰⁴ Hammond, *Paraphrase*, in *Works*, vol. 4, bk. 1, p. 72.

³⁰⁵ Mather seems to derive this note from Bochart's *Hieroicoicon*, pars. 2, lib. 4, cap. 28, col. 630, where Gregory of Nazianzus is alluded to indirectly. Both the remark of Hammond and of Bochart are included in *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 49.

Q. That Passage; *They gaped on me with their Mouthes, as a Ravening & a Roaring Lion?* v. 13.

A. Old *Arnobius* finds it notably accomplished, in *Caiaphas* the High-priest, *qui ità fremuit ut et Vestimenta sua scinderet*; who so Raged like a *Lion*, as to tear his own Garments in his Rage.³⁰⁶

On that Clause, *I am poured out like Water*, he devoutly adds, *Benè posuit Aquam, quia nihil novit Corpus Christi, nisi Peccata Lavare*. On that Clause, *my Heart is like Wax*, he makes the Comparison run thus; As the *Wax*, when taken out of the Fire, *ad hoc redit quod suit*, returns to what it was before; so our Lord knew He should not perish in the *Fire* of the Wrath of God. On that, *my Strength is dried like a Potsherd*, he is so critical as to observe, That it is not said, *Broken like a Potsherd*. An earthen Vessel when *Broken* becomes good for nothing; But, *quantò plus aruerit Figuli Opus tanto melior & solidior invenitur*; the *Drying* of such a Vessel is an Advantage unto it.³⁰⁷

|
Q. Who the *Bulls*, & who the *Dogs*? v. 12.

A. The *Bulls*, are the *Jews*, (represented by clean Beasts;) The *Dogs*, are the *Gentiles*, (who were treated as being so).

It is a little Remarkable, Histories inform us, that on some occasions, *Lions*, *Tigres*, *Bears*, were lett loose upon the poor Men, which were fastened on the Cross. In *Suetonius*, and in *Dion Cassius*, we find such a Thing related of *Nero*.³⁰⁸

Our glorious Redeemer complains of the People here, as doing the part of those Rabid Creatures on the Crucified.³⁰⁹

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³⁰⁶ The simile is not contained in the Latin quotation of Arnobius in the PL version.

³⁰⁷ Arnobius, *Commentarii in Psalmos* [PL 53.353]. The first quotation reads, “He [the Psalmist] did well to put water (or figure Christ as water), for the body of Christ knew nothing but the washing away of sins,” i.e., Christ washes away the stain of our sins as water washes the stain from our clothes. The remark on “my heart is like wax” suggests that wax, when taken out of the fire, “returns to this which it was.” The gloss about being “broken like a potsherd” has to do with the fact that “the more the work of a potter has been dried, the better and more solid it is found to be.”

³⁰⁸ Mather, or a source that I have not been able to identify, seems to confuse various accounts of Nero’s excesses. Tacitus (*Annals* 15.44) reports that Christians after the fire of Rome were crucified and were also condemned to death by being torn apart by animals. Suetonius in his *Life of Nero* (29), and Cassius Dio in his *Roman History* (62.13), both report that Nero would dress *himself* in the skins of wild animals and attack young boys and girls tied to stakes who were later “finished off” by an attendant.

³⁰⁹ The *Annotations* of Henry Ainsworth (1571–1622) was a highly popular work, which went through numerous editions. The Harvard Library held the 1626 edition of this work. I have used the 1639 edition. It was Ainsworth’s version of the Psalms, originally published in 1612, that the Pilgrims brought to New England and that became known thereafter as the “Ainsworth Psalter.” At this point in his *Annotations*, Ainsworth identifies the bulls with the Jews, especially the chief priests who were seen as condemning Jesus to death (p. 38). In doing so, Ainsworth follows a very long Christian exegetical tradition. The idea that the dogs in verse

[*2442.*]

Q. Why are you so ready, to expound many passages in the Psalms, as *Prophecies* of the *Messiah*, when, you know, your venerable *Calvin*, makes them to be little more than *Metaphors*, poetically describing the Sufferings of *David*? v.16.

A. Alas, that you will force mee to complain of my Renowned & Excellent *Calvin*!

And yett I come to it, with so much aversion, that I will do it, only in the Words of another Man. Wee may acknowledge the Worth of that incomparable Person, and yett not altogether Deny the Complaint by Dr. *Edwards*.

“This is the usual Course of this Learned Writer. All or most of the Places, which are mystically meant of *CHRIST*, and which were so understood by the ancient Fathers of the Church, are interpreted by him in a literal Sense only; which is a great Fault in this learned & worthy Reformer; For in thus doing, he extreamly favours the *Jewes* in those Texts, and is thereby a Patron of *Judaism*.”

On the other Side, I find old *Arnobius* crying out: *Nescio cum quâ Animi presumptione, O Sceleratissimi Judei, Psalterium in vestris canitis synagogis.*³¹⁰

Q. There ha's been a mighty Stir in the World, about that Hebrew Word here, which wee render, [*They pierced*] *my Hands & my Feet*. What is the true Signification, & Resolution of the Word כָּאָרִי or is not the Text now corrupted in that Word? v. 16.

A. A Cart could scarce carry, what ha's been Written upon this One Word; Whether it should bee rendred, *sicut Leo*; or whether it should not bee read כָּאָרִי *Foderunt* or how to make the grammatical Construction of it, bear with the Sense, that ha's been determined for it, in its Accomplishment. Great Wits have been employ'd for the Accomodating of this Business; & the Word here prophesying what was to befall our Lord on his *Cross*, ha's proved, as *Walther* calls it, *The Cross of Divines*, or, as *Pfeiffer* styles it, *The Cross of Criticks*. A *Lion* broke into the town, {could} not have {made} more {stir} than this word ha's done among {them}. I will not now Recite the various Opinions of learned Men upon this Difficulty; *that* would bee to Tire you. And I will Reject all Opinions that Countenance, either Corruption of the *Original*, or the Novelty of the *Punctuation*. But yett I take not this Text, for one of the, *Insolubilia S. Scripture*.

Wherefore, I say, First, That the True Word of the Text is כָּאָרִי and not כָּאָרִי for so the Observations of both *Masoras* ha's undoubtedly fixed it; and, the Consent of all unquæstionable Copies; nor indeed will a Jew count a Bible worth his buying, if this place have not a כָּאָרִי instead of a כָּאָרִי in it.

16 can be identified with the gentiles is a much less common interpretation, but Mather has some justification for it in Rivet's *Commentarius in Psalmorum Propheticonum* (p. 220).

310 Edwards, ΠΟΛΥΠΟΙΚΙΛΟΣ ΣΟΦΙΑ, *A Complete History* (1699), vol. 2, ch. 15, p. 472; Arnobius, *Commentarii in Psalmos* [PL 53.353]: “I do not know with what stubbornness of mind, O most wicked Jews, you sing the Psalms in your synagogues.”

As for that Exposition, *sicut Leo*, it labours under great Hardships. But I say, secondly, The Word of the Text, is in the *Participle*, and, it is to bee rendred, *Fodientes*. The Root of the Word, is, כּוּר and of כּוּר in the Participle *Benoni*, the plural Number makes כּוּרִים which with two Little, but usual Grammatical Figures, yeelds the כּוּרִי in our Texts. First, by an *Epenthesis* an א is added. Say not that this is Forced; for you have the Like in Ezek. 28.24. Instead of שָׁטִיִּם you have שָׁטִיִּם. And then by an *Apocope*, the ם is cutt off. Say not that this also is Forced; for you have the Like in 2 King. 11.4. Instead of לְכָרִים you have לְכָרִי. To all which, I may subjoin this Intimation, That perhaps in these Figures, there may bee something of a Mystery.

However, wee have now præserved the Integrity of the Text, and yett kept our own Sense of it, in spite of all *Popish* Calumniation on the one side, and all *Jewish* Oppositions on the other.³¹¹

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Q. Upon that Passage; *They part my Garments among them, and cast Lotts upon my Vesture?* v. 18.

A. Dr. *Patrick* thus paraphrases it.

“They make themselves sure I shall never recover; no more than the poor *Hinde* [see the Title] whose Skin the Hunters have divided, or cast Lotts to whose Share it shall fall. For so have they parted my *Upper* Garments among them, & cast *Lotts* who shall have my *Inner*.”

He observes; This was more literally fulfilled in *Christ*, than in *David*; in whose Story we can find nothing like it. And therefore, if it be applied unto him, it can signify no more, than that they look’d upon him as utterly undone; & rifled his House, and despoiled him of all, when he fled from *Saul* [1 Sam. XIX].³¹²

³¹¹ Pfeiffer, *Dubia Vexata Scripturae Sacrae*, cent. 3, loc. 60, pp. 305, 309–10. Pfeiffer alludes to the work of a professor of theology in Jena, Michael Walther (1593–1662) (*ADB*), in his *Harmonia Biblica*, p. 511. Although Mather inconsistently provides vowel points in this annotation, the vav/yod distinction indicated in the second paragraph of the note makes the point clear. In general, the debate that he and Pfeiffer enter upon is whether or not the word כָּאֲרִי [kā’aree] at this point in the text should perhaps be rendered כָּאֲרוֹ [kā’aroo]. As Pfeiffer points out, the former word, meaning “like a lion,” is employed in the most authoritative Hebrew texts, and is included in the best modern ones. The latter word, though, more readily permits a specifically Christian understanding of the verse, in which the Psalmist is “pierced” or dug at [fodientes] by his enemies. In order to interpret [kā’aree] as an extension of [kā’aroo], however, Pfeiffer has to account for how the one word might mutate into the other. Pfeiffer is correct that the root word כּוּר [khor] means to dig, but his ingenious argument is that כָּאֲרִי [kā’aree] is the result of a phonological alteration by which certain sounds were inserted (an epenthesis) into the root and others were deleted (an apocope). By way of evidence for the former, he adduces שָׁטִיִּם and שָׁאֲטִיִּם both forms of [shateem] and [sha’teem], “them who despise,” and for proof of the latter, he offers לְכָרִים and לְכָרִי variants on [l’khareem] and [l’kharee], “to (or for) the captains.” In this way, Pfeiffer seeks to buttress the Christological reading of the Psalm.

³¹² The second paragraph of this annotation also appears in Patrick’s *Psalms Paraphras’d*, bk. 1, p. 79; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 49.

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Q. That Clause; *The Meek shall eat and be satisfied?* v. 26.

A. *Arnobius* carries it so: *Edent Corpus eius pauperes Spiritu, ut satientur.*³¹³

Q. That Clause, *Your Heart shall live?* v. 26.

A. The *Chaldee* reads it, *Your Spirit*. And seems to understand it, concerning the *Spirit of Prophecy*.

Take Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase on the Verse.

"I will invite those poor People, who were Partakers with me in my Sufferings, to come & feast with me on that plentiful Provision I will make for them; & thereby encourage all those that seek the Lord sincerely, and depend upon Him, to hope that they shall also praise Him. Lett me assure all such faithful Souls, your Hearts shall be alwayes full of Comfort and Joy, which nothing shall be able to take away from you."³¹⁴

Q. That Clause, *None Can keep alive his own soul*: what singular Gloss may any of the Jewish Writers have upon it? v. 29.

A. The Psalmist mentions those that shall *go down to the Pitt*. One Character of them, is, *Qui Animam suam non Vivificat*. That is, according to R. *Obadiah Gaon*, *Qui non Conversus est ad Dominum.*³¹⁵

Take Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase on the verse.

"All they that are Rich and Powerful, shall partake of His Altar, [As they that eat of the Sacrifices did; 1 Cor. X.18] and humbly worship Him, that bestowes such Benefits upon them. And so shall all the Poor and Miserable also, think themselves happy in His Service. For He is the Protector of them all; and the greatest as well as the meanest, must acknowledge, that of Him alone cometh their Salvation."³¹⁶

Q. How is it said, *They that go down to the Dust, shall bow before Him?* v. 29.

A. *Munster* does well to refer it unto the *Dead*. Even they that are *Dead*, & gone *down to the Dust of the Grave*, shall bow before our great Redeemer, & own Him to be what He is.³¹⁷

Clutterbucks Collection ha's this Paraphrase.

"All the Rich & Powerful shall partake of His Altar (as they that Eat of the Sacrifices did,) and humbly worship Him that bestows His Benefits upon them.

313 *Arnobius, Commentarii in Psalmos* [PL 53.353]: "The poor in spirit will eat his body so that they may be satisfied."

314 Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 1, p. 81.

315 Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 1, p. 60. The first gloss signifies that the one who goes down to the pit is "the one who does not quicken his own soul." Rabbi Gaon says that the one who does not quicken his soul is the "one who has not been converted to the Lord."

316 Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 1, p. 82.

317 Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3686); Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 49.

And so shall all the Poor & Miserable think themselves Happy in His Service;
For He is the Protector of them all; & they must acknowledge that of Him alone
comes their Salvation.”³¹⁸

³¹⁸ Clutterbuck, *A Brief Explanation*, p. 18.

Q. The Scope of the Psalm? v. 1.

A. Behold, The Confidence of the Church, under the Conduct of the *Messiah*. Compare, Joh. X.11.

The Prophets understood the Psalm. Isa. XL.10. Jer. XXIII. Ezek. XXXIV.11, 23.

And so did the Apostles, 1 Pet. II.25. & V.4. Heb. XIII.20.³¹⁹

I find an Ingenious {Man,} whose Name is, *Nicolaus Gurtlerus*, in his, *Dissertationes de CHRISTO ad Gloriam Evecto*, discovering here, a Prophecy of the Church under the *sheperdly Care* of our SAVIOUR, in Four Periods. After the *Sufferings* of our SAVIOUR, in His *Humiliation*, which are celebrated in the XXII Psalm, we have now the *Benefits* to be expected from our SAVIOUR in His *Exaltation*.³²⁰

First; we have what our SAVIOUR did for His Faithful People, by Himself & His Apostles, while the Church at its Beginning *had Rest & was Edified, & walk'd in the Fear of GOD & the Comfort of the Holy SPIRIT*. This in the Three First Verses.³²¹

Next; we have the Condition of the Faithful under *Antichrist*, that Foolish and Cruel *Shepherd*. This in the Fourth Verse.³²²

Thirdly; we have the Condition of the Faithful after the Reformation; *feasted* with the good Things of the Gospel, but yett surrounded with *Enemies*.³²³

Lastly; we have what our SAVIOUR will anon do for us, at His Coming & in His Kingdome, when we shall have no *Enemies* to conflict withal.³²⁴

Q. A good Thought of *Arnobius* on this passage; *The Lord is my Shepherd, I shall not want?* v. 1.

A. *Dicant qui volunt, Reget me Ager meus, Et nihil mihi deerit. Dicat alius, Reget me Negotiatio mea, aut Militia mea, aut Industria mea, aut Ars mea, aut Litere meæ, Et nihil mihi deerit. Nos Dicamus cum Ecclesia, Dominus regit me, et nihil mihi deerit.*³²⁵

³¹⁹ Allix, *The Book of Psalms*, bk. 1, pp. 33–4; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 51.

³²⁰ Gurtler, *Dissertationes*, diss. 8, p. 249.

³²¹ Gurtler, *Dissertationes*, diss. 8, pp. 249–64.

³²² Gurtler, *Dissertationes*, diss. 8, pp. 264–70.

³²³ Gurtler, *Dissertationes*, diss. 8, pp. 270–73.

³²⁴ Gurtler, *Dissertationes*, diss. 8, pp. 273–75.

³²⁵ Arnobius, *Commentarii in Psalmos* [PL 53.354]: “Let those who wish to say, ‘My estate will govern me and I shall lack nothing.’ Let another say, ‘My business will rule me, or my military service, or my industry, or my art, or my scholarship, and I shall lack nothing.’ Let us say with the Church, ‘The Lord governs me, and I shall lack nothing.’”

I will add another Observation; Why should not good Men find in their sæcular Employments, the *Occasions* of Divine, Devout, Heavenly Reflections! *David a Shepherd*, is led by Sheperdy to think of the Heavenly *Shepherd*.³²⁶

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Q. To what may the Psalmist have an Eye, in the *Rod* and the *Staff* comforting of him? v. 4.

A. May not the *Rod* refer unto the *Tithing Rod*, whereof we read Ezek. XX.37. *I will cause you to pass under the Rod, and I will bring you into the Bond of the Covenant?* The *Tenth Lamb* of the Flock was to be the Lords; and as the Flock pass'd thro' the Door of the Fold, the Officer with the *Numbering Rod* counting of them, he touch'd every *Tenth* with his *Rod*, and it was then sett apart for GOD, & for His *Household*. When one is in the *Valley of the Shadow of Death*, then will be found a marvellous Consolation in this Consideration: *I had, while I was yett a Lamb, an early Separation for GOD, & Consecration to Him; and was brought into His Covenant.* Then the Benefit of the *Shepherdly Staff* may be also hoped for. Our SAVIOUR and *Shepherd* will with His mighty *Crook* defend us from the Enemies of our Welfare.

The *Numbering Rod* and the *Shepherdly Staff* are two things: The one used *occasionally*; The other carried *perpetually*.³²⁷

Q. How may that Passage bee understood; *Thou anointest my Head with Oyl?* v. 5.

A. The *Unctions*, which were one Entertainment still at a Feast among the Ancients, are well-known unto you. But I will here give you, a Chaldæan Curisitie.

The *Chaldee Paraphrast*, supposes that the Psalm was composed by *David* in the Name of the Congregation of *Israel*, when they were some Hundreds of Years before passing thro' the Wilderness, and as a Commemoration of what was done for that Congregation by the Lord.

Now the Passage which lies before us, is by the *Chaldee*, carried unto such a sense as This; *Thou hast fatned my Head, with Fat Things*; And indeed, it is very capable of this Translation. But if this Translation bee allowed, wee may then, with the *Chaldee*, understand it, of those *Fat Birds*, the *Quails*, which were showed, as I may say upon the *Heads* of the *Israelites* in the Desert.³²⁸

³²⁶ This remark and the entire succeeding note also appear verbatim in Mather's own *Hatzar-Maveth* (1726), here at p. 2. See also *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 51.

³²⁷ Mather, *Hatzar-Maveth*, pp. 15–6. Mather may owe the genesis of this idea to Ainsworth, in his *Annotations* (p. 40), which also references Ezek. 20:37.

³²⁸ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 1, p. 64.

We dismiss that Consideration: And we will offer you a Thought of *Drusius*: That our *David* had now in his Mind, the Action of *Samuel*, when he *anointed* him, & gave him Assurance of a *Kingdome*.³²⁹

Q. How then will you understand that Passage, *Goodness and Mercy shall follow mee, all the Dayes of my Life?* v. 6.

A. Remember, That *Goodness*, and, *Mercy*, are Names of the *Messiah*. You can tell a sufficient Reason, why Hee should bee Named so.

Well; In the Cloudy, Fiery, Pillar, that *Followed* Israel thro' the Wilderness, there was a marvellous Presence of the *Messiah*. Is not *this* the Thing here pointed at?

You may add; That the *Shelter* which this *Pillar* gave to the Congregation, was that of an *House*. Hence *Moses*, perhaps referring hereto saies, in Ps. 90.1 *Thou hast been our Dwelling Place*. *Quære*, How far this may bee intended, in what followes; *I shall dwell in the House of the Lord*.³³⁰

³²⁹ This reading of Johannes Drusius can be found in his “Quæstionum Ebraicarum” (lib. 2, quest. 3), contained in the *Tractatum Biblicorum* (1:1528). See also *Psalterium*, p. 51.

³³⁰ Mather appears to make these associations through various sources and creatively combines them. See Rivet, *Commentarius* (272–73); John Harrison (fl. 1610–38), *The Messiah Already Come* (1619), pp. 65–6; John Owen (1616–83), *Exercitations on the Epistle to the Hebrews* (1668), exer. 14, p. 178; *Exposition of the Epistle to the Hebrews*, ch. 1, p. 127 and ch. 2, p. 256; and Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 51.

Q. A Thought on the Intention of the XXIV Psalm?

A. The People attended the Removal of the Ark unto *Zion*, with extraordinary Solemnity. The Psalmist excites the People not to content themselves merely with that sort of Piety, but to add the practice of all moral Vertue. So they might expect the Divine Presence with them, & comfortably wait for the Coming of the Messiah; whose *Ascension* to Heaven is represented by the carrying of the Ark up into Mount *Zion*.

The Hebrews, (from whom some Copies of the LXX add in the Title, της μιας των σαββατων) were wont to sing this Psalm, *On the first Day of the Week*. Doubtless (as Dr. *Patrick* expresses it) because their Prophets & wise Men saw here a Prophecy of *Christ*, whose First Step to the Throne of His Glory, was on the *First Day of the Week*, whereon we constantly commemorate His Resurrection.³³¹

We have here, the *Messiah* coming in His Kingdome. It contains the Characters of those who are admitted into it. The Mention of His being *Powerful in Battel*, supposes His Enemies to be vanquished. Compare Rev. XIX.6.³³²

|

[76v]

Q. What may be the Intent of the Repetition, *Lift up Your Heads, O yee Gates*; and again, *Lift up Your Heads, O yee Gates*? v. 7, 9.

A. I can mention a Devout Thought, which a Servant of God, with whom I am acquainted, had upon it.

He heard the Psalm sung, & join'd in with the People of God in Singing it, at the Table of the Lord. He thought, Why this Passage Repeated? This Thought presently came into his Mind, with marvellous Light & Joy. The glorious Gates of the Heavenly City, are *opened* unto our Triumphant Saviour; and then they are *opened again* for His People too. Both times opened for the *King of Glory*; the first time for *Christ Personal*; the second time for *Christ Mystical*. The *strait Gate of Life*, entred first by our JESUS, His Followers will have an *open Entrance* granted unto them also.³³³

³³¹ Patrick (*Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 1, p. 85) adds that his reader should refer to the argument preceding Ps. 93.

³³² Allix, *The Book of Psalms*, bk. 1, pp. 34–5. This entire note appears in slightly different wording in *Psalterium*, bk. 1, pp. 52–3.

³³³ I have not been able to identify the devout servant of God mentioned by Mather, but it is likely himself or his father. The concluding sentence is in *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 53.

Q. Why is that Clause, *Mighty in Battel*, omitted in the Repetition? v. 10.

A. *Aben Ezra* saies, Because in the Dayes of the *Messiah*, Men are to *Turn their Swords into Ploughshares*.³³⁴

³³⁴ This remark of Aben Ezra is not reproduced in *Viccars*; it comes instead from *Patrick, Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 1, p. 85. See also *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 53.

Q. This is the First of the *Alphabetical Psalms*, as they stand in our *Psalter*. Only in the Second Verse, tis the Second Word that begins with a / א / and the Fifth Verse ha's two Letters, / ה / and, / ו / and the Eighteenth ha's / ר / instead of / ק / and the Last Verse, ha's / פ / which had been used in the Sixteenth. Whence this Variation from the exact *Acrostick*?

A. *Acrosticks*, (as is noted by Mr. *Robert Jenkins*,) tho' they be now of little Esteem, are of great Antiquity. Verses composed in the *Acrostichal* and *Alphabetical* Way were found an Help to Memory. This Benefit, and the Ornament it gave to the Ancient Poetry, is the Cause why it is used sometimes in the Scriptures.

But sometimes the Inspiration was of such a Strength on the Mind of the Writer, as to interrupt the Method he had proposed. Thus in this, & in the CXLV Psalm. Or perhaps, it might be customary on certain Occasions, to omitt some Letter of the Alphabet in such Compositions; for such Reasons as we are ignorant of, but such as might be very Satisfactory and Agreeable to the Sense of the Ages and Countreys more nearly concerned. The Ωδῆ σιγμοῦς is an Exemple of this among the *Greeks*, used by *Pindar*, and other ancient poets [mentioned in *Athenæus*, Lib.10.c.71.] The old *Spartan*, *Dorick*, and *Æolic* Dialect changed Σ into P, the rough Sound of this Letter, being, it seems, more grateful to that People; and if any of them had written *Acrostichal* and *Alphabetical* poems, Σ would have been omitted.³³⁵

It is Dr. *Patricks* Conjecture, That the Method of *Acrostick*, which the Psalmist began, was presently disturbed, by the ardency of his Desires, & his passionate Sorrow, which would not lett him follow exactly the Order of the Letters of the Alphabet, in the Beginning of every Verse, as he first designed.³³⁶

Q. What special Invitation might the Psalmist have unto that Supplication; *Remember not the Sins of my Youth? v. 7.*³³⁷

A. It is conjectured, That the Insurrection of *Absalom* was the occasion of the Psalm. *David* having sent forth an Army, to subdue the Rebels, while they were gone to *Fight*, now sett's him to *pray* for a good Issue of his Troubles. If it were so, then the *Instrument* of his Troubles, might very probably, and very properly,

³³⁵ Jenkin, *Reasonableness and Certainty of the Christian Religion*, vol. 2, ch. 3, p. 57; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 56. Ωδῆ σιγμοῦς literally means "poem without a sigma." In the passage referred to from *The Deipnosophists*, Aemilianus remarks on the sigma-less griphi, which "are said to be [contained] in the syllable" (10.69). "Griphi" are riddles; among them are those that begin with a particular syllable and those that either include or exclude a particular letter. Pindar's famous asigmatic ode was a lengthy expansion on this conceit.

³³⁶ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 1, p. 88.

³³⁷ See Appendix B.

awaken such a *Prayer*. It was a *Young Man* that was now afflicting of him. How agreeable was it for him now to pray for this; *Lord, Remember not the Sins of my Youth!*³³⁸

Yea, There are those who take this to be the Meaning of the Prayer. q.d. *Remember not the Sins of my Young Man; a Wicked Youth, which I am the Unhappy Father to.* I don't insist on this Gloss; But yett I will say, parents have Cause to pray, that the Sins of their Children may not be Remembred, either against Themselves, or against their Children. And in the sins of their Children, they may see the Punishment of what they did, when they themselves were Children.³³⁹

Q. We read, *The Lord is upright?* v. 8.³⁴⁰

A. For the Justice of God, there are two Terms used in the Scriptures. There is, / ישר / *Right*, and / צדיק / *Righteous*. The First, chiefly respects His *Universal Righteousness*. The Last, His *Judicial*.³⁴¹

[*2096.*]

Q. To what may allude that Passage, *The Lord will Teach Sinners in the Way?* v. 8.

A. It may seem to allude unto the Care of old used, about the *Way* to the *City of Refuge*. This *Way* was described and directed, with all possible Care, by the Order of God. I find the Jewish Expositors take notice of this Allusion.³⁴²

[78v] | [blank]

[79r] |³⁴³

Q. Who are, *The Meek?* v. 9.

A. Such as being sensible of their own Weakness, depend not on their own Power & Conduct, but apply themselves to GOD for Direction.³⁴⁴

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338 Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 1, pp. 88, 90.

339 See Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3697).

340 MS page 77r continues.

341 This is a commonplace of covenant theology and occurs in various ways in numerous works of the period, including William Ames's *Marrow of Sacred Divinity* (1642), ch. 3, p. 13, and Thomas Manton's sermon on Philippians 3:9 in his *Fifth Volume of Sermons* (1701), pt. 1, serm. 4, p. 274. One of the clearest formulations, however, and one of the closest to that summarized by Mather, is in the magnum opus of Francis Roberts (1609–75), *Mysterium & Medulla Bibliorum* (1657), bk. 3, ch. 3, aphorism 5, p. 587. יָשָׁר [yashar] (Strong's # 3477) means "uprightness" and צַדִּיק [tsadiq] (Strong's # 6662) signifies "just" or "lawful."

342 Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 1, p. 70; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 56.

343 Regular pagination resumes.

344 Clutterbuck, *A Brief Explanation*, p. 20.

[*3731.*]

Q. How may we understand that Passage, concerning the Godly Man, *His Soul shall Dwell at Ease, & his Seed shall Inherit the Earth?* v. 13.

A. Why should not we understand it, as a glorious Assertion of the *Souls* Immortality, and *Fælicity*, in a State of *Separation* from the *Body*? When the Offspring of the Godly Man, are entring upon the *earthly Inheritance*, which he leaves unto them, (and that he does not, until his Death!) Even *then* the *Soul* of the Godly Man is *lodged with the Good One*, (Christ) or, *in the Good Place*, (Heaven) for so tis in the Original, or, *in Goodness itself*; in Happiness.

I have this Hint, from the Excellent *James Alting*.

Tempus Mortis Psaltes designat, quod Nocti conferri solet, Somno transigendæ (Ps. 17.15) *ac finem accepit in Resurrectione Justorum, quam Mane vocat idem Psaltes*, (Psal. 49.15) *Et hac Nocte durante, licet Corpus in Sepulchro corruptionem videat. Animam asserit fruituram bono seu Felicitate; nam mox subjunget; Et Semen ejus hæreditario jure possidebit terram; Liberi autem tum domum hereditatem adeunt, quandò parentes vitâ functi sunt.*³⁴⁵

But then old *Arnobius* here finds another and a better *Earth*, for the People, who are the *Seed* of the *Messiah*. *Semen meum illam Terram possideat, quam non comedit Draco, quæ non est sinus Mortuorum, quæ non generat spinas; sed in quâ est Dominus Firmamentum timentibus se, et Testimonium ut manifestetur illis.*³⁴⁶

³⁴⁵ I have not been able to locate this citation in the *Opera* of Jacob Alting. A passing reference to Ps. 25:13 appears in Alting's *Commentarius Theorico-Practicus* (*Opera*, vol. 3, ch. 3, p. 26), but this only alludes to the "celebration" of David in the passage, before moving on to a more extended treatment of verses 10 and 11. The first paragraph, along with the attribution to Alting, also occurs in *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 56. In translation the passage reads, "The psalmist indicates that the time of death, which is usually compared to night, is to be passed in sleep (Ps.17.15), and it comes to an end in the resurrection of the just, which the same psalmist calls morning (Ps. 49.15). And though, while this night endures, the body is allowed to know corruption in the grave, the soul, he asserts, will enjoy a good state or happiness, for soon it will join God; by the law of heredity, his seed will possess the earth; however, the children come to the house of their inheritance when their parents have finished with life."

³⁴⁶ Arnobius, *Commentarii in Psalmos* [PL 53.357]. Much of the note (except for the Latin quotations) is in *Psalterium* (bk. 1, p. 56): "May my seed possess that earth which the serpent does not devour, which is not the valley of the dead, which does not produce thorns; but in which the Lord is a mainstay for those who fear him and so that a testimony shall be made manifest to them."

Q. The Psalmist saies in the First Verse, *Judge me, O Lord*: In the Third Verse; *For thy Lovingkindness is before mine Eyes?* v.1.

A. Old *Arnobius* makes this Paraphrase upon it; *Judica me, Domine; non essem ausus dicere, nisi misericordia tua antè oculos meos esset.*³⁴⁷

[*2099.*]

Q. The Psalmist saies, *I will not go in with Dissemblers*. What Sort of people may be meant by those *Dissemblers?* v. 4.

A. *Aben Ezra*, Letts fall an Hint, That these / נעלמים / are *young People*, who mind none but the *Delights of This World*; or, as one would say, young *Worldlings*.³⁴⁸

[*264.*]

Q. What and Whence that Rite of *Hand-washing*, in the Worship of God, *I will wash my Hands in Innocency?* v. 6.

A. Compare Psal. 73.13 and Deut. 21.6. I remember, *Aristeas* mentions this *Jewish Rite*, ὡς δὲ ἔθος ἐστὶ πᾶσι Ἰουδαίοις ἀπονιψάμενοι,³⁴⁹ speaking of the LXX Interpreters. And *Clemens Alexandrinus*, mentions it,

Ἀλλὰ γὰρ αἴρουσιν πρὸς οὐρανὸν ὠλένας ἀγνάς

*Puras tollunt ad sydera Palmas.*³⁵⁰

Yea, you will find that it became afterwards a *Christian Rite* also, if you read several Passages in *Tertullian*, *Cyril*, and *Synesius*. Hence *Prudentius*,

De rore fontano abluiam

Manus, et os, et Lumina

³⁴⁷ Arnobius, *Commentarii in Psalmos* [PL 53.358]: “Judge me, Lord; I would not have dared to speak if your loving-kindness were not before my eyes.” In *Psalterium* (bk. 1, p. 58), this reading is only identified as “a very Ancient one.”

³⁴⁸ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 1. p. 72; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 58.

³⁴⁹ Aristaeas (or Aristeas) was a reputed historian of the Septuagint. Supposed to have been an officer of the guard of Ptolemy Philadelphus, who commissioned the translation of Jewish scripture, Aristaeas recounts the story that the Septuagint was composed in 72 days by 72 translators working independently (ODCC). This history is contained in one of pseudepigraphic works of the 2nd c. BCE, the “Letter to Philocrates,” which is paraphrased by Josephus in the *Antiquities* (12.2), who also ascribes the work to Aristaeas. Here, Aristaeas reports that “it is the custom for the Jews to perform a ritual hand-washing.”

³⁵⁰ Clement of Alexandria (c. 150–c. 215) is best remembered as the teacher of Origen (ODCC). This remark occurs in *Protrepticus* (6.70.2, line 5) and in *Cohortatio ad Gentes* (ch. 6) [PG 8.175–76c]. The passage reads, “they raise pure hands to the stars.”

*Pateatque fac Sacrarium.*³⁵¹

And that it was likewise a *Pagan Rite*, is well known to all; Even to them that know no more than what *Livy* writes. *Prefatio omnis Sacrorum, eos quibus non sunt puræ Manus, ab Aris arcet.*³⁵² or, what *Horace* writes,

*Immunis aram si tetigit Manus,
Non sumptuosa blandior Hostia,
Mollibit adversos Deos,
Farre pio et saliente micâ.*³⁵³

There was a Signification in this *Rite*; and a *Cleansed Conscience* was the thing thereby signify'd. The *Hands*, were to be washed, "Ὅτι πᾶσα ἐνέργεια διὰ τῶν χειρῶν γίνεται, *Because by the Hands all our external Operations are performed*; as *Aristæas* ha's it. Hence that Famous Action of *Pilate*, in Math. 27.24. But as *Tertullian* expresses it, *Putida res est, et indecora prorsus, ut depurgatis quis Manibus, sed interim coinquinatâ mente, divina Sacra attrectet.*³⁵⁴

In fine, I suppose that almost All Nations of Men, used this Rite, very much as an Expression of *Civil Respect* one unto another, like *Our* being uncovered, in their Sacred Exercises; but that good Men, by way of *occasional Reflection*, hence took *Occasion* to think on the *purâ Mente colere* required of them.³⁵⁵

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351 Although this passage was frequently ascribed to Aurelius Prudentius Clemens (c. 348–c. 405), an early Christian poet, it seems to belong instead to Decimius Magnus Ausonius (310–95), from the fragmentary *Ephemeris* in the section "Parecbasis" (Interlude) lines 5–7 (OCD). In translation, the passage reads, "I will wash my hands in the water of the spring (or dew of the fountain), and my mouth, and my eyes. [He says to his slave:] See to it that the sanctuary is open."

352 This rather paraphrastic quotation is from Livy's *History of Rome* (45.5.4): "As a prelude to every sacred rite, those with unclean hands are banished from the altars." This pagan attitude is still reflected in many Christian churches, where the Communion table is separated from the rest of the sanctuary.

353 Horace, *Ode* 3.23 (17–20): "If a pure hand has touched the altar, / not more pleasing even with a costly victim, / it will soften the hostile gods, / by sacred meal of grain and salt."

354 This is a paraphrase of *On Prayer* (*De Oratione*), 13 [PL 1.1271]: "It is a shameful thing, and absolutely disgraceful, that someone with clean hands but a polluted mind should handle the divine sacrifices."

355 John Doughty (c.1598–1672), an English clergyman, was the author of a book of brief essays on customs in the Bible and their pagan parallels, *Analecta Sacra sive Excursus Philologici breves* (1658). Doughty's name is spelled "Doughtie" in the *DNB* but in Bond and Amory's *Printed Catalogues*, it is spelled "Doughty." An early Puritan, Doughty's later works such as the *Analecta* criticize both Independency and Presbyterianism, and argue instead for a bishopric as established by the Anglican church (*DNB*). The *Analecta Sacra* was owned by both the Mathers and Harvard library. This note is extracted and translated from Doughty's Latin *Analecta* (Excursus 138, pp. 366–69). "Pura mente colere" suggests "to worship with a pure mind."

[89H.2]

Q. *David* saies, *I will compass thine Altar*. Now *David* belonged unto a Tribe, whereof, *No Man gave attendance at the Altar*. To *Approche & Compass the Altar*, belonged unto none but the Tribe of *Levi*. How then could *hee* pretend unto this Action? v. 6.

A. *David* might well enough compose a Psalm, of such Terms, for the use of the *Priests*; yea, and if these Expressions bee taken Spiritually, Mystically, *Al-lusively*, for his own Use also.

But I rather choose to say, That it is our Lord Jesus Christ, the *High-priest* of the Church, who is the Speaker in the Psalm. *David* speaks no otherwise than as a Type of the *Messiah*. Behold, a *New Key* that I have given you, to a Precious Portion of Scripture! Use it, & see what precious Thoughts you may thereby find, of our Lord-Redeemer.³⁵⁶

Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase for the words of the Psalmist, is; “I never satisfied myself with the meer Ceremony of *Washing my Hands*, before I went to offer thee any Sacrifice; but sincerely endeavoured, O Lord, to keep myself free from all Impurity, (as by that token I testified,) and so presented myself, with due Reverence, at thine Altar.”³⁵⁷

Q. The Meaning of, *Gather not my Life with Bloody Men?* v. 9.

A. Lett me not perish, as if I were a Murderer.³⁵⁸

³⁵⁶ This seems to be, as his wording suggests, Mather’s own gloss.

³⁵⁷ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphrasid*, bk. 1, p. 95; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 58.

³⁵⁸ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphrasid*, bk. 1, p. 96; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 58.

[*2100.*]

Q. The Psalmist is desirous to Dwell in the *House* of God, that hee may *Enquire* there: *Enquire* after what? v. 4.

A. The Spanish in my Opinion hath a good Hint upon it: *Buscar en mis Dubdas*. To *Enquire*, for Direction in the *Doubtful Affayrs* of His Kingdome.³⁵⁹

Q. What may bee the special Importance and Emphasis of that passage; *In the Secret of His Tabernacle He shall hide me?* v. 5.

A. The *Secret of the Tabernacle*, was, *The Holy of Holies*. No Man might come into the *Holy of Holies*. Our Psalmist proposes to be where no Man might come at him. *Temples* were held Inviolable.

Is not the *Voice* of our *Saviour*, and a *Type* of Him, to be here considered, with a most affectious Meditation?³⁶⁰

Q. What Call, what Word of the glorious God, might our Psalmist have in his Eye, when he notes it, as the Voice of God, *seek ye my Face*; to which his Heart here makes an agreeable Answer? v. 8.

A. Our Psalmist had been, as we have many Reasons to beleieve, much a Student in the Book of *Deuteronomy*.

Doubtless he now had his Eye, on Deut. IV.29. *If thou shalt seek the Lord thy God, thou shalt find Him, if thou seek Him with all thy Heart, & with all thy Soul.*³⁶¹

Munster glosses well upon it; *Ego | Jugiter versavi in Corde meo haec tua Verba, quæ tu dixisti, Quærite Faciem meam.*³⁶² [84v]

Q. The import of that Clause, *putt not thy Servant away in Anger?* v. 9.

A. I won't propound the Interpretation, which the Hebrew Writers have upon it. q.d. "Don't Leave thy Servant unto the sinful Cares of this World which cause a continual *Wrath* and *Rage* in the Minds of Men."³⁶³

359 Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 1, p. 76; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 60: "To enquire into my [own] doubts."

360 Mather is providing a translation of the 2nd exposition of Augustine on this Psalm in the *Enarrationes*, [PL 36.193]; See also *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 60.

361 Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 60.

362 Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3701): "I have continually considered in my heart these words of yours, whereby you have said, 'Seek my face.'"

363 Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 1, p. 75.

But I will think it worth the while to mention a Gloss, which one of the best Expositors ha's upon it. q.d. "Leave me not unto an *Angry Impatience* under the Indignities, which my Adversaries heap upon me." One *Forsaken* by God, and *putt away* by Him, will be given up to *Anger* and *Impatience* under Oppressions. But if an oppressed Man, *Cease from Anger & forsake Wrath*, and be a very patient one, *The Lord is with thee, thou mighty Man of Patience*.

And yett, this excellent *Calvin*, than whom no Man had more *Occasion* for that Exposition, or more sweet *Experience* of it, returns to the more common Gloss; which supposes the *Anger of God* here pray'd against. But then, with his usual Penetration he notes upon it; That there is a Tacit Confession of *Sin*, in this Term of *Anger*. The Holy Soul confesses, That he had by *Sin* procured & incurred the *Anger* of God: made himself worthy to be Rejected in His Deserved *Anger*.³⁶⁴

Q. Unto what alludes, that Encouragement of the Psalmist, *When my Father & Mother forsake mee, then the Lord will take mee up?* v. 10.

A. 'Tis an Allusion to the Journeyes of *Israel* thro' the Wilderness; When the *Three* First Squadrons were passed on before, the *Fourth & Last* Squadron were to gather up the Sick, & the Weak, & the Lame, that had been left behind. Saies the Psalmist, Altho' my Parents arrive to the Heavenly *Canaan* before mee, and altho' I may bee left under many Inconveniencies, yett *the Lord*, Hee will see, that I shall not miscarry in the Wilderness of this World; I shall gett safe to Heaven after them, thro' the Care of *the Lord* concerning mee.³⁶⁵

1939.

Q. What is that, *Land of the Living*, wherein *David* Beleeved to see the Goodness of the Lord? v. 13.

A. This present World, is rather, *The Land of the Dying*, than, *The Land of the Living*. [See 1 Chron. 29.15.]³⁶⁶

Wee have the Writings of the *Jewes* themselves, to produce this *Christian* Apprehension in us.

Aben Ezra, in his Gloss on Psal. 142.6. distinguishes the / ארץ המתים / *Terra Morientium*, from the / ארץ החיים / *Terra Viventium*.³⁶⁷

And on the Text now before us, the *Jewes* in their Glosses, Expound, *The Land of the Living*, to bee, *The World to Come*. The Gloss of R. *Salomo* upon it is,

³⁶⁴ Calvin, *Commentarii in Librum Psalmorum Pars Prior* (*Opera* 31:276–77).

³⁶⁵ Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 61. I have not been able to identify any other source. This entry was composed at a different time than the surrounding entries, based on the color of the ink.

³⁶⁶ Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 61.

³⁶⁷ Ibn Ezra distinguishes between "the land of the dead" and "the land of the living."

*Dixit David, Deo Sancto Benedicto, Ego scio quod Tu daturus sis Mercedem Justis in sæculo futuro.*³⁶⁸

Arnobius glosses to the like Purpose.

Behold, a Key, to many Passages in the Bible. When you read about, *The Land of the Living*, think on the *New Heavens & Earth*; to take place after the Conflagration; the *Land of Promise*, which the Apostle tells us, was expected by the *Faith* of the Patriarchs.

Arnobius notes, That the last Verse of the Psalm, is an *Antiphony* of the Holy Spirit, unto the Saint expressing these Expectations.³⁶⁹

³⁶⁸ Martin, *Pugio Fidei*, pars. 3, dist. 3, cap. 22, p. 927: "David said to the holy and blessed God, 'I know what you will give as recompense to the just in the age to come.'"

³⁶⁹ *Arnobius, Commentarii in Psalmos* [PL 53.359]; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 61.

Q. The Title of the Psalm now before us, is only, *Of David*, or, *To David*; not, *A Psalm of David*. Is there any Notable Remark of the Jewish Writers upon it?

A. R. *Solomon* Remarks, That when in the Title of a Psalm, wee only Read, *Of David*, it intimates that the Holy Spirit came *suddenly* upon *David*, without the Use of usual means to obtain his Influences. But when wee read, *A Psalm of David*, it intimates, that hee then had used Means to obtain the Influences and Illapses of the Holy Spirit, as *Elisha* did, when hee called for his *Music*.³⁷⁰

Q. The Scope of the Psalm?

A. It is here wished on the behalf of the Faithful, and of the Synagogue, that they may not be joined in Confusion with the Followers of *Antichrist*; Here is also a Confidence of their Salvation by the *Messiah*, after He ha's destroy'd that wicked Society.

So Dr. *Allix*.³⁷¹

Q. A Remark on that; *Hear the Voice of my Supplications?* v. 2.

A. Our *Supplications* have a further *Voice* in them, than what just utters the Matter of them. They have a *Voice*, in regard of the *Discovery* which they make of us, who do present them. They *speak* what we are, and they *speak* how our Minds are disposed. Well-formed *Supplications* do *speak* our *Love* to the Glorious GOD, and our Exaltation of *His Will* above *our Own*; and our *Faith* in our SAVIOUR; and our Esteem for *Spiritual Blessings* above *Temporal*; and our Benignity toward our *Neighbours*, to whom we wish as well as to our own Souls. When there is a *Voice* in our *Supplications*, that shall *speak* such things as these, GOD ha's a great Respect unto them.³⁷²

Q. Who are those, that are threatned above the rest, with *Destruction*, because *they Regard not the Works of the Lord, nor the Operation of His Hands?* v. 5.

A. *Arnobius* applies it in a singular Manner unto the unbelieving Jewes, who did not *Regard* the miraculous *Works* of our Saviour, when He even Rais'd the Dead, and said, *Beleeve my Works*.

³⁷⁰ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 1, p. 78; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 62. "Illapses" are the insinuations (in-lapses) of the Holy Spirit.

³⁷¹ Allix, *The Book of Psalms*, bk. 1, p. 40.

³⁷² The idea, if not the exact wording, can be traced John Owen's *A Practical Exposition on the 130th Psalm* (1669), a work held by Harvard. See *Practical Exposition* (pp. 37–40 and 369); See also Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, pp. 62–3.

*Da illis, inquit, secundum Opera eorum, quia Opera Domini non intellexerunt, et quem videbant Mortuos suscitare, dicebant, Hic homo non est à Deo.*³⁷³

| Take Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase. “Because they regard not the wonderful Things thou hast done for me & by me; particularly that great Work (which is to be ascribed unto thy Power alone) of Making me their King, Thou wilt utterly overturn them, without any Hope of their being Raised up again.”³⁷⁴ [86v]

373 Arnobius, *Commentarii in Psalmos* [PL 53.360]: “Give to those, he said, according to their works, because they did not understand the works of the Lord, and when they saw him rising the dead, they said “This man is not of God.” Arnobius points out that the quote at the end of this gloss comes from John 9:16, where the Pharisees conclude that “this man [Jesus] is not of God” because he heals on the Sabbath. See also Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 63.

374 Patrick, *Psalm Paraphras'd*, bk. 1, p. 102.

Q. The Occasion of the Psalm?

A. The Psalm, (as Dr. *Patrick* judges,) it seems, to have been composed by *David*, after some extraordinary *Thunder*, and *Lightning* and *Rain*; whereby (it is probable) God had so discomfited his Enemies, & putt their Forces into such Disorder, that he easily gott the Victory over them. Hereupon, he exhorts them in the Psalm, to submitt unto that glorious Majesty from whom that Thunder came.³⁷⁵

Q. Who may be, *The Sons of the Mighty*? v. 1.

A. Compare Job. XXXVIII.7.

Munster has a Good Observation here; *Nil est tam sublime, tamque Magnificum quod non teneatur Laudare Et Magnificare Deum Creatorem suum.*³⁷⁶

Q. How did the Ancients take that Passage; *Worship the Lord in the Beauties of Holiness*? v. 2.

A. *Arnobius* tells you; *In aulâ Sanctâ eius; id est, in Christo Jesu, in quo habitat plenitudo Divinitatis.*³⁷⁷

Q. On, *The Voice of the Lord*, so often mentioned in the Psalm? v. 3.

A. *Pomeranus*, whom *Luther* cried up, as the Best and First Interpreter of the Psalter, who, *Te docebit Mirabilia*; And of whose Commentaries on the Psalter, tis noted by *Franckius*, *referti sunt Meditationibus de CHRISTI magnitudine & majestate*: This Writer would have what we read about, *The Voice of the Lord* here, compared with what the Apostle to the Hebrews, writes about, *The Quick & Powerful Word of God*; and what *John* writes, about, *The Word of God, by which all things were Created.*³⁷⁸

³⁷⁵ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 1, p. 104; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 64.

³⁷⁶ Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3704); Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 64: "There is nothing so exalted and so eminent that it is not held to praise and esteem God, its creator."

³⁷⁷ Arnobius, *Commentarii in Psalmos* [PL 53.361]: "In his holy house, that is, in Christ Jesus, in whom the fullness of Deity dwells." The concluding words are from Col. 2:9.

³⁷⁸ Pomeranus is Johannes Bugenhagen Pomeranus (1485–1558), an early proponent of Reformation and parish pastor to Martin Luther. Bugenhagen was the driving force behind the establishment of Lutheranism in Northern Germany and Scandinavia (*OER*). He wrote a commentary on the Psalms, *In Librum Psalmorum Interpretatio* (Nuremberg, 1524), to which Mather is ultimately referring in this note (p. 75). Luther's praise of Bugenhagen occurs in his preface to Bugenhagen's commentary on the Psalms (*Werke* 15:8). Franckius is probably August Hermann Francke (1663–1727), Mather's German Pietist correspondent, but I have not been able to locate this passage in any work of Francke available to me. See also Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 65. Pomeranus "will teach you wonders" (*te docebit mirabilia*). Francke

Dr. *Allix* Looks on the Psalm as an Exhortation unto all the Princes of the World, to submit unto the Empire of the *Messiah*, after He shall have re-established His People, & given as great Proofs of His Vengeance on His Enemies, as He did in the Time of the Flood. The *Voice* here so often mentioned, he would have to be the Report of the Wonders, that will be scattered over the Nations. Compare, Jer. XXV.31: *A Noise from the Ends of the Earth.*³⁷⁹

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Q. The Psalmist mentioning the great Effects of the *Thunder*, as the *Voice of God*, adds, *In His Temple doth every one speak of His Glory?* v. 9.

A. In *Aben Ezra*, there is an observable Passage of R. *Moseh*, quoted for a Gloss upon this Text.

*Levite Laudant Deum, quos servat Deus, ne noceat illis Tonitru.*³⁸⁰

Dr. *Patrick* thus paraphrases it.

“It laies bare the Coverts of the wild beasts in the Forest, whom it frightens into their Dens; while His *Temple* remains unshaken by those Tempestuous Blasts, & all His Pious Worshippers there, securely sing the Praises of His glorious Majesty and Power; saying,³⁸¹ [*what follows*].”

Munster glosses well; *In his omnibus, pii Homines potentiam Dei animadvertentes, dicunt Deo Gloriam Et Laudem in Templo suo; quod est totus Mundus, quem Deus implet.*³⁸²

Q. Why is it said, *The Lord sitteth upon the Flood; yea, the Lord sitteth King forever?* v. 10.

A. *Aben Ezra* has a Note upon it, That the Waters shall not overwhelm, the Kingdome of God, or, the People whereof God is the King. And therefore it followes, *The Lord will give Strength unto His People.*³⁸³

Here is an Intimation of what is by Dr. *Patrick* putt into his Paraphrase; “The Thunder doth not more easily tear the Trees & Rocks than God can break in Pieces the proudest Princes; who ought therefore to tremble before Him.”³⁸⁴

remarks of Bugenhagen’s commentaries are “filled with meditations on the magnitude and majesty of CHRIST.”

379 *Allix*, *The Book of Psalms*, bk. 1, p. 41; *Mather*, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 64.

380 *Viccars*, *Decapla*, lib. 1, p. 80. *Mather* provides a translation in *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 65: “The *Levites* praise GOD, for His preserving of them from hurt by *Thunder*.” More elegantly, the passage reads, “The *Levites*, whom God preserves, praise God that He does not harm them with His thunder.”

381 *Patrick*, *Psalms Paraphras’d*, bk. 1, p. 106.

382 *Pearson*, *Critici Sacri* (3:3705): “In all these things, pious men, observing the power of God, speak glory and praise to God in His Temple, which is the whole world that God fills.”

383 *Viccars*, *Decapla*, lib. 1, p. 80; *Mather*, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 65.

384 *Patrick*, *Psalms Paraphras’d*, bk. 1, p. 106.

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Q. What understand the Jewes, by, *The House of David*, the Dedication whereof is here mentioned?

A. The *Midrasch Tillin*, understands it of, *The Temple*, which is called, *The House of David*, as if *hee* had built it, because the serious *Purpose* of *David* was to *Build* that House, and God graciously Accepted his Purpose.³⁸⁵

One Remarks; The Psalm expresses the Joy which the Jews will have, when the *Tabernacle of David*, which is fallen, shall, according to Amos. IX.11 be re-established.

Compare v. 11 with Isa. LX.1.³⁸⁶

Q. What may be intended in that Expression; *In His Favour is Life?* v. 5.

A. I have no Objection against that which is commonly assign'd as the Intention of it.

Yett I am willing to offer you, the Gloss of *Drusius* upon it: *Benevolentia ipsius diu durat*. His Favour is a lasting thing; It will never dy. It is opposed unto the Clause that goes before: *His Anger is but for a Moment*. *Life* implies Duration. *A Tree that never dies*, is called, *A Tree of Life*.

Thus *David* the Jew paraphrases; *Benevolentia eius durat Tempore multo et Vita longa*.³⁸⁷

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Q. What may be the special Import of that passage; *Shall the Dust praise thee?* v. 9.

A. Saies the ingenious Dr. *Fuller*; "Under Correction, I humbly conceive this the Natural Sense. Whilest a Man is alive, not only his *Soul*, but his *Dust* praises God; I mean, his *Body* made thereof, concurrerh in Divine Service, & hath together with his *Soul*, a competent Share in Gods Worship. His *Eyes* lifted up, his *Hands* held up, his *Knees* bowed, his *Tongue* moved, his Moietie of *Dust* hath its Counterpart in the Praising of God. But in a Dead Man, his *Soul* indeed praises God in Heaven; but his *Dust*, (until glorified & united after the Resurrection) hath no Portion at all in praising of God. *David* therefore alledges

³⁸⁵ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 1, p. 83.

³⁸⁶ Allix, *The Book of Psalms*, bk. 1, p. 42. The entire note is in *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 67.

³⁸⁷ Drusius, "Quæstionum Ebraicarum" (lib. 1, quest. 49), in *Tractatum Biblicorum* (1:1513). Again the entire note is in *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 67: "His goodwill lasts for a long time and for a long life." David the Jew may be Rabbi David ben Solomon Gans (1541–1613) (*JE*) or Rabbi David Kimchi.

this, as an Argument to be continued in the Land of the Living, *Shall the Dust praise thee, O Lord?* That Gods Service might still be so preserved in him, that his *Body* might not be altogether useless, but have a Portion of Praising of God, conjoined with his *Soul*.³⁸⁸

³⁸⁸ This is Thomas Fuller. The Mathers owned a copy of his tract, *Life out of Death*, to which Mather here refers (pp. 13–4); Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 67.

Q. The Occasion of the Psalm?

A. After the Escape of *David* from *Keilah*, he was pursued by *Saul*, with Three Battallions, into the Wilderness of *Maon*, so close, that without an extraordinary Providence of God over him, he had certainly fallen into his hands. It is most probable, the Psalm refers to that strange Deliverance, (and not unto that from *Absalom*, whereto *Theodore*t refers it;) because the *Haste* which Psalmist here saith, [v. 22] he made in that sore Distress, is expressed by the very same Word, (and used no where else in any Part of *David*s History) when the great Fright he was in, and the sudden and speedy Flight he made from one Place to another, is described; 1 Sam. XXIII. 26.

But, *Christians*, Be sure to behold your Suffering SAVIOUR here! Compare v. 5 with Luk. XXIII. 46.³⁸⁹

Q. What might the Psalmist have in his Eye, when he said; *Be thou my strong Rock?* v. 2.

A. The *Rock*, or Strong Hold, wherein he was at this time [1 Sam. XXIII.25.] q.d. "It is not this *Rock* or Strong Hold, that can protect, but only Thou, O Lord."³⁹⁰

Q. What was the *Nett*, they *Laid privily for him?* v. 4.

A. The Treachery of the *Ziphites*. 1 Sam. XXIII.19, 20.³⁹¹

Q. What meant the Psalmist when he said, *Thou hast not shutt me up into the Hand of the Enemy?* v. 8.

A. God would not suffer him to be shutt up in *Keilah*, whose Inhabitants would have delivered him into the Hands of *Saul*; but admonished him by Oracles, how to escape from the Enemy. See 1 Sam. XXIII.7, 9.³⁹²

Q. We read of them, who *trust in God before the sons of Men?* v. 19.

A. / נגד / may be rendred, *Ex Diametro*, ἐναντίον. Dr. *Gell* accordingly renders it, maugre all the Opposition of the Sons of Men.³⁹³

³⁸⁹ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 1, pp. 85–6; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 70.

³⁹⁰ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 1, p. 85; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 70.

³⁹¹ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 1, p. 86; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 70.

³⁹² Patrick, *Psalms Paraphrasid*, bk. 1, p. 113; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 70.

³⁹³ Gell, *Essay*, serm. 2, p. 50; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 70. Ex diametro and ἐναντίον [enantion] both suggest that the verse should be understood as a promise to those who trust

Q. What is it to be *Hid from the Strife of Tongues?* v. 20.

A. To be preserved and sheltered from the Mischiefs, which contentious Men, by their false Accusations, do seek to bring upon me.³⁹⁴

Q. How did the Lord *shew* the Psalmist, *His marvellous Kindness in a Strong City?* v. 21.

A. God marvellously assisted his Escape, when he was shutt up in a *fortified City* that had *Gates* and *Bars*.

[See 1 Sam. XXIII.7, 13.]³⁹⁵

in God who “engages with” or “faces” the sons of men. נֶגַד [neged] is a preposition meaning “before.”

³⁹⁴ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 1, p. 85; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 70.

³⁹⁵ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 1, p. 116; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 70.

Q. Give mee a Key to an Hidden Sense of several Passages, in the *Thirty Second* Psalm?

A. Lett the *Syriac Title* give you one. *De Adami Peccato, et Christi Redemptione*. One Saies, The Fælicity of the pænitent & converted *Jews*, and of the Nations joined with them, in the Kingdome of GOD, is here pointed at.³⁹⁶

Q. The Meaning of *Maschil*? Tit.

A. There are Twelve other Psalms thus entituled.

Some take it for an Epithite of the *Master of Musick*, who instructed the *Sons of Korah*, skilfully.³⁹⁷

Q. To what may allude the Expression of, *Sin Covered*? v. 1.

A. As the *Law* in the Ark, was *covered*, by the *Mercy-seat*, so our *Sin* against the *Law*, is *covered* by the *Messiah*, our great *Propitiatory*; of whom the Apostle saith, *God sett Him forth*, προεθετο, which refers to the Prefigurations of the *Law*.³⁹⁸

Q. What is the true Character of the Man, *In whose Spirit there is no Guile*? v. 2.

A. Lett R. *David Kimchi* give you an observeable Answer:

Hee is one, who, *Non habet Propositum Revertendi ad Peccatum post Resipiscentiam*; hath no Purpose of Returning to the Sin that hee Repents of.³⁹⁹

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Q. The Condition of the Psalmist, while hee had not yett made a pænitent Confession of his Sin, is described, by his *Bones waxing old*, and his *Roaring all the Day Long*, and his *Moisture turned into the Drought of Summer*? v. 3, 4.

A. Yes. But I find some of the Ancients, make a, *Sighing*, of this *Roaring*, and for this, and the other Circumstances of Emaciation here mentioned, they say, They were, *Ardentis Amoris ad Bethshebam Judicia*. The Fever here complained

³⁹⁶ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 1, p. 91; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 72. The Syriac Title is “concerning Adam’s sin and the redemption of Christ.”

³⁹⁷ In Viccars’s *Decapla*, Rabbi David Kimchi is enlisted for this interpretation, but Viccars (using Kimchi) merely references Kimchi’s commentary on Psalm 4. See Viccars, lib. 1, p. 89 and lib. 1, p. 9; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 72.

³⁹⁸ Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 72. In Rom. 3:25, Paul refers to how God has “set forth” Christ, or exposed him to view (προεθετο, proetheto “displayed publicly”), as a propitiation for sin.

³⁹⁹ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 1, p. 89; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 72. He is one who “has no intention of reverting to sin after having come to his senses.”

of, *Austin* saies, was that of *Raging Concupiscence*. If this Gloss, which I only offer you, as a Curiosity, should bee allowed, it would only Illustrate a terrible Observation, which is every day to bee made, That *Sin*, ha's a strange hold on the Minds of Men, till it bee by a pænitent Confession Repented of.⁴⁰⁰

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Q. The *Finding Time*? v. 6.

A. Compare, Isa. LV.6.⁴⁰¹

Munsters Gloss on what followes is well enough. *Si Inundationes multorum Malorum insurgant, ad talem hominem qui in Tempore opportuno, Dominum invocaverit, non pervenient.*

It followes, *But as for the Inundation of many Waters*, [which means, wicked Men,] *they will not come nigh, unto Him*; that is, to GOD. Nor will He regard their Prayers.⁴⁰²

Q. How is it said, *Lest they come near thee*? v. 9.

A. It may be rendred, *yett they come not at thee*. Not withstanding Bitt and Bridle, all Means of Reducing and Subduing them, they won't be drawn that way that the Owner directs.

The use of the *Bridle* is not for to keep the *Horse* from doing Violence, as if they were Bears and Tygres; but the quite Contrary, to make them come to us, or go the Way that we would have them; and their not doing so, is the Effect of their Obstinacy; and that is it, wherein we are forbidden to be like them.⁴⁰³

⁴⁰⁰ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 1, p. 90. For Augustine's comment on this verse, see *Enarrationes* [PL 36.256]. See also Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 72. The gloss is that David's mournful cries were "judgments on Bethsheba [Bathsheba] for her burning love."

⁴⁰¹ Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 72.

⁴⁰² Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3714): "If floods of many evils should rise up, they will not reach such a man who has called upon the Lord at the right time."

⁴⁰³ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 1, p. 120.

Q. How is it said, *Praise is comely for the Upright?* v. 1.

A. *Kimchi* will have the word signify, *Desireable*, & *Acceptable*. So the sense will be, *qui recti sunt aliud nihil desiderant, quam Laudem et Gloriam Dei.*⁴⁰⁴

Behold, an Hymn of the Israelitish Nation, after it is re-established in the Favour of God; And a Song upon the Ruine of the Nations, which continue in Enmity to Him. Compare,⁴⁰⁵

Q. The Import of that Passage; *The Word of the Lord is Right and all His Works are done in Truth?* v. 4.

A. His *Works* have the same Voice in them with His *Word*, and come upon the Same Errand.⁴⁰⁶

So Dr. *Patrick* paraphrases. “The Lord hath graciously Revealed His Will unto you, and Shewn you the *Right* Way; in which if you walk, you cannot miss of being Happy. And whatsoever He *doth* hath the same Scope with what He *saith*; for in all that befalls you, He faithfully designs your Good.”⁴⁰⁷

Q. How, *Alike?* v. 15.

A. Or, *One by One*.

As He is the Creator of them all *Severally*, and, *Equally*; So He is able to discern all the Operations in their very Hearts particularly.⁴⁰⁸

⁴⁰⁴ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 1, p. 92; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 75. Rabbi Kimhi remarks that “those who are upright desire nothing other than the praise and glory of God.” See Mather, *The Christian Philosopher*, p. 11.

⁴⁰⁵ Allix, *The Book of Psalms*, bk. 1, p. 47; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 75. Mather leaves this thought incomplete.

⁴⁰⁶ Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 75.

⁴⁰⁷ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphrasid*, bk. 1, p. 122.

⁴⁰⁸ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphrasid*, bk. 1, p. 125.

Q. The Scope? Tit.

A. Behold, The *Praises* which the *Messiah* gives to His Father, for carrying Him thro' His wonderful Sufferings.⁴⁰⁹

Q. The Intent of that, *They look'd unto him, & were lightened; and their Faces were not ashamed?* v. 5.

A. The, *They*, are all the good Men that hear the Story. This is the Expectation of the Psalmist, concerning the Use, that others will make of his Experience.⁴¹⁰

I will give it you in Dr. *Patrick's* Paraphrase. "From this, all pious Men should take Courage in their Streights; and when their Hearts are ready to sink, look up unto God, who will Revive and Comfort them, & never suffer them to be ashamed of the Hope they repose in Him."

They, i. e. The Humble: Those *looking to him*, i. e. to *David*; were *enlightened* & encouraged by seeing the Dealings of GOD with him.⁴¹¹

Q. Upon what might the Psalmist have his Eye, when, he said; *The Angel of the Lord ENCAMPETH about them that fear Him?* v. 7.

A. Very probably, upon the *Mahanaim* & the Experience of his Father *Jacob*; consider, Gen. 32.1, 2.

Lett it be Remarked; That this Passage of *The Angels concerned for the Welfare of the Faithful*, ha's going before it, *The poor Man crying to the Lord, & saved out of all his Troubles*; and ha's coming after it, *No want unto them that fear the Lord, & seek Him*. What is this, but a sweet Intimation, That the Ministry of the *good Angels* is employ'd, for bringing to the Faithful the Answers of their *Prayers*; for delivering them out of their *Troubles*; for fetching in seasonable Supplies unto them, of such Things as may be *wanted* by them.⁴¹²

I will take Leave to mention a Passage relating to this Matter, that may serve the cause of *Piety*. The one is of *Gerhard*, in his *Meditations*. *Si Verbi et Precum gaudes Exercitio, Angelorum quoque gaudere poteris patrocinio.*⁴¹³

⁴⁰⁹ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 1, p. 96; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 77.

⁴¹⁰ Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 78.

⁴¹¹ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 1, p. 128.

⁴¹² Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 78.

⁴¹³ This entry derives from the *Meditationes Sacrae* (1606), Med. 26, pp. 175–80, by Johannes (Johann) Gerhard (1582–1637), a pious Lutheran theologian and pastor. I have relied upon the 1707 edition, published in Leipzig. In addition to devotional works such as the *Mediations*, Gerhard is known for what is still the principal work of Lutheran orthodox theology, *Loci Communes Theologici* (1610–22) (*SH*). The Latin quotation reads in English, "If you rejoice

Q. *O Taste & See, that the Lord is Good:* What special Instance of His Goodness, may herein bee referr'd unto? v. 8.

A. *That, in the Words immediately preceding; The Angel of the Lord encamps round about them that fear Him, & delivers them.*

The *Natives* of Heaven, as one well saies, do not grudge to *Guard*, those who are only *Free Denisons* thereof.⁴¹⁴ Excellently speaks one of the Ancients. *Wee see the whole Heaven at Work for our Salvation: God the Father sending His Son to Redeem us; the Father & Son sending their Spirit to Guide us; the Father, Son, & Spirit, sending their Angels to minister unto us.*⁴¹⁵

The Words of *Chrysostom*, [on Matth. XVIII.10.] are not improper to be recited on this Occasion.

*Say not, such an one is a Carpenter, such an one a Tailour, such an one an Husbandman, such an one Unlearned. – God ha's of Mean, made them Venerable, [Αἰδεσµοὺς] from the Angels whom they are committed to.*⁴¹⁶

It is a patheticall Passage of *Brentius*, [in Matth. 18. Homil. 1] *Vide Majestatem hominis pii, qui etsi Pauperrimus est, nec unum externum Servum habet, tamen serviunt ei multa millia Angelorum.*⁴¹⁷

Q. A Remark on *That; The Face of the Lord against Evil-doers?* v. 16.

A. In the Original, tis, *Faces*. And the word, *Panim*, is that by which the Three *Persons* in the glorious Godhead, are designed. Here is a sad Hint; That each of the *Persons* in the great JEHOVAH, will in their several Wayes, be engaged as *Enemies* against the Wicked. An Intimation capable of a very Copious and a very Tremendous Improvement, as it may be prosecuted.⁴¹⁸

in the Word and in the exercise of prayer, you too will be able to rejoice in the patronage of the angels.”

⁴¹⁴ The quotation is from Fuller's *Pisgah-Sight of Palestine*, bk. 2, ch. 9, sec. 52, p. 199. The quote reproduced here also occurs twice in Mather's own *Magnalia Christi Americana*, once in “Bibliander Nov-Anglicanus: The Life of Mr. Samuel Newton,” in bk. 3, ch. 15, pt. 2, p. 114, and again in the chapter entitled “Thaumatographia Pneumatica,” bk. 6, ch. 7, p. 78.

⁴¹⁵ The original source is Arrowsmith's *Armilla Catechetica*, aphorism 4, exer. 3, pp. 185–86. This is also a continuation of the first reference in the *Magnalia Christi Americana* (bk. 3, ch. 15, pt. 2, p. 114). The “ancient” is identified by Arrowsmith as “Bernard,” almost certainly Abbot Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153).

⁴¹⁶ Αἰδεσµοὺς means “to excite great respect or veneration.”

⁴¹⁷ These two notes are from a work of Benjamin Camfield (1638–93), *A Theological Discourse of Angels and Their Ministries* (1678), ch. 6, sec. 2, p. 126. Camfield alludes to Chrysostom's homilies on Matthew and the commentary of Johannes Brenz (1499–1570), an early reformer. Brenz is arguably the most important Lutheran theologian after Melancthon (*OER*). Although Camfield published several extant works, Mather probably quoted Camfield at second hand. Brenz's remark reads, “Behold the majesty of the pious man: although he is very poor and does not have a single foreigner as his servant, nevertheless many thousands of angels serve him.”

⁴¹⁸ A reference to יהוה פָּנָי [p'ney yhwh] and פָּנִים [panim] (pl.) “faces.”

Once for all, I propose, that the word, *panim*, applied unto the glorious God in very many other Scriptures, may awaken a Contemplation, of the *Trinity*.

Note. This Verse is to be read as a Parenthesis.⁴¹⁹

| [98v]

Q. That Passage, *Many are the Afflictions of the Righteous One, but the Lord Delivereth him out of them all*; Why may it not bee a Prophecy of our Lord JESUS CHRIST, and the *Humiliation* & the *Exaltation* of our Lord JESUS CHRIST, bee there intended? Especially, since the Following Passage, *Not one of His Bones is broken*, was a Prophecy notably Fulfilled in our Lord? v. 19.⁴²⁰

A. I Like it Well!

And that I may, both Requite, and Confirm, this Gloss of yours, I will Recite you the memorable Words, which *Folengius* hath in his Commentaries, on the *Psalms*.

*Totius Voluminis Psalmorum, Argumentum CHRISTUS est; qui cum Duas in se habeat Naturas, modò hanc, modò illam, idcirco frequenter per Psalmos ferè omnes interfuit, ut Doctiores habeant undè suam Defleant Ignorantiam, et Rudiores unde ex Revelatà per Christum sapientià gaudeant.*⁴²¹

Q. What is that *Præservation of Bones*, which the Psalmist enumerates among the Kindnesses of God, unto Godly Men? v. 20.

A. I'll give you, a Jewish Curiosity upon it; not Recommending it unto you, as being *Right*, but Entertaining you with it as being *Strange*.

You may know my opinion, That for the *Resurrection-Body*, which wee Beleeve & Expect, there will bee some certain Particles, of our *Old Body*, employ'd, as a *Keel*, for the *New One* to bee so built upon, that with all the Alterations which may render it fitt for the *Kingdome* of God, it may yett bee called, *The Same*, that it was.

Now the Jewes proceed unto so much unaccountable Particularity, as to tell us, *In Spinà Dorsi aliquod Ossiculum esse, quod nunquam pereat: Ex isto Ossiculo*

⁴¹⁹ See Hammond, *Paraphrase*, in *Works*, vol. 4, bk. 1, p. 104.

⁴²⁰ The question here occurs as a "hope" of the reader's understanding in *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 78.

⁴²¹ These words appear as a headnote to the commentary of Joannes Baptista Folengius, aka. Jean Baptiste Folengio, aka. Giovanni Battista Folengo (1490–1559), *In Psalterium Davidis Israelitarum Regis & Vatis Divinissimi* (1543). Folengius was a Benedictine monk whose works were banned by the Catholic church, possibly because Folengius sought a reunion of Catholic and Protestant sects (*BU*). See *Psalterium*, pp. xiii–xiv. Folengo glosses, "Christ is the subject of the whole book of Psalms; since he has two natures in himself, in this way, in that way, therefore he is frequently in almost all the Psalms, so that more learned men have a place from which they may decry their own ignorance, and more ignorant men a place from which they may rejoice in the wisdom revealed by Christ."

post Interitum omnium Aliarum partium Hominem Instauratum, Restitutumque iri, in Resurrectione. You have an Account hereof, in *Menasseh Ben-Israel*: de R. M. 2.15, 1 and the Name of this *Bone*, if you would know it, is / לוז / *Luz*. Now, our *Menasseh* will perswade us, that the Psalmist refers to this very *Bone*, in these Words, which wee may thus render: *The Lord keepeth all his Bones, ONE of them is not consumed.* I would not have you lett your Curiositie range now too farr, in this Matter, but rather apply this Promise to our Lord Jesus Christ: and for the *Resurrection*, content yourself with what our mentioned *Menasseh* said elsewhere in the Treatise mentioned, *Virtus Dei Infinita est, ac proindè aequè expeditè ac facilè, in Nihilum atque in aliquid agere potest. Natura vero finita est, ideòque ex Nihilo quicquam efficere non potest.*⁴²²

⁴²² This is from the work of Menasseh ben Israel (1604–1657), a famous rabbi and scholar of the period. Among his many Christian correspondents were Gerhard Voss, Hugo Grotius, and Pierre-Daniel Huet (*JE*). Most famous among Christians for *Conciliator*, a harmony of the Old Testament, ben Israel also published *De Resurrectione Mortuorum* (1636), from which this note is drawn (lib. 2, cap. 15 p. 202, and cap. 1, p. 145). This text was held by Harvard. Menasseh believed that “In the spine of the back, there is a small bone which never perishes. From this bone, after the death of all other parts, a man will be renewed and restored in the resurrection.” Although Mather doubts this conclusion, he does agree that “the power of God is unlimited, and therefore He can render into nothing and into something with equal speed and ease. Nature, however, is finite, and therefore cannot make anything from nothing.”

Q. Instruct us, how to use the Thirty fifth Psalm, in the most Allowable and Profitable Manner; even the very Words of it? v. 1.

A. *Arnobius* putteth this Instruction into the Mouth of the Psalmist for us;

Cave ne ad homines adversantes tibi putes ista competere, sed Fide fixus pro inimicis tuis ora, sicut jussum est, et hanc orationem Psalmi præsentis, non contrà Carnem et Sanguinem, sed contra Spiritus aeris huius, qui quotidie nocent, quotidie bella committunt.

Briefly; make this, and other such Psalms, a Prayer against your *Spiritual Enemies*.⁴²³

Q. On that, *Take hold of the Shield & Buckler, & stand up for my Help?* v. 2.

A. Good Men, assaulted, or endanger'd by Enemies, at first will desire no more, than to be *Defended* from them. They are not for *Offending* them. They attempt, they desire no Hurt unto them. Anon, if there be no other way, they are content the Holy One take the *Spear* also.⁴²⁴

Q. It is a *Curse* which the Psalmist prophetically denounces on his Enemies, *Lett them bee Turned back*. What Fulfilment had it? v. 4.

A. A Remarkable Fulfilment, in what befel the Wretches, that came to apprehend our Lord Jesus Christ. Wee read, Joh. 18.6. *As soon as Hee said, I am Hee, they went backward*. The Septuagint here, uses the same Word that is there.

The Psalm, as one observes, does consist of Wishes, to see the Kingdome of Antichrist, wholly destroy'd.⁴²⁵

Q. When the Psalmist prayes, *Lett his Nett catch himself*; was there any special Expression of his Adversaries, whereto hee may have an Allusion in this prayer? v. 8.

A. Our Friend, R. *Obadiah* thinks, That it is allusive to that Passage, in 2 Sam. 17.13. *If hee bee gotten into a City, then shall all Israel bring Ropes to that City, and wee will draw it into the River*.⁴²⁶

⁴²³ Arnobius, *Commentarii in Psalmos* [PL 53.371]; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 81: "Beware lest you think these things appropriate for you to do to your enemies; instead, steadfast in faith, pray for your enemies, just as it has been decreed, and utter this prayer of the present Psalm not against flesh and blood, but against the spirits of the air which everyday bring on wars."

⁴²⁴ This note seems to rely on Clutterbuck, *A Brief Explanation*, p. 27, and Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 1, p. 133; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 82.

⁴²⁵ Allix, *The Book of Psalms*, bk. 1, p. 50; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 82.

⁴²⁶ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 1, p. 99.

Q. The Meaning of that; *My Prayer returned into my own Bosom?* v. 13.

A. Dr. *Patrick* offers it in this Paraphrase. "In such an affectionate Manner I poured out my Soul to God, in their behalf, in my most secret Retirements, that I wish myself no better than I desired God to do for them."⁴²⁷

[*1898.*]

Q. What singular Mystery, may bee couched in that Expression, *My prayer Returned into my own Bosom?* v. 13.

A. Memorable are the Words, which the ancient *Gloss* hath upon the Text now before us.

*Hoc est, Non alium orabam, quàm illum qui mihi personaliter junctus est, dicit Christus secundum quod Homo, secundum quod orat; sed Oratio convertitur in sinum, id est, ad Verbum, in quo erat pater. Sinus enim est Secretum, in quo orare iubemur, ubi oravit Susanna. Secretum vero Christi est Divinitas, ad quam orat Humanitas. Christus Enim, Secundum quod Verbum est, non orat; sed exaudit, et cum Patre subvenit. Oratio igitur mea in sinu meo convertitur, id est, in me ipso Homo interpellat Divinitatem.*⁴²⁸

Q. *The Objects.* Who? v. 15.

A. The Greek, and the Vulgar Latin, render it; *The Scourges.* *Ainsworth* supposes, it alludes to the *Scourge* of the Tongue [Job. 5.21.] *Hammond* supposes, it means those who are worthy of the *Scourge*: for which Cause, the *Chaldee* & *Arabic* read it, *The Wicked.*⁴²⁹

It is here said, *The Objects gathered themselves together against me, and I knew not.* It is Dr. *Patrick's* Paraphrase upon it; "The Scum of the People, who were so vile, that I did not so much as know there were such Men in the world, mett together & reviled me."⁴³⁰

⁴²⁷ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 1, p. 136; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 82.

⁴²⁸ Martin, *Pugio Fidei*, pars. 3, dist. 3, cap. 3, p. 660. Martin does not identify the origin of the gloss. It is, however, from the *Commentaria in Psalmos* of Peter Lombard (c. 1100–60). See [PL 191.352]. See also Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 82. Lombard's Christological remark is, "It is this: I was praying to no other than Him who was personally connected to me, says Christ according as he is a man and He prays; but his prayer returned into His own bosom, that is, to the Word, where the Father was. For the bosom is the private place in which we are ordered to pray, where Susanna prayed. Indeed, Christ's divinity is the private place (or mystery) to which His humanity prays. For Christ, according as he is the Word, does not pray, but He hears prayer, and with the Father, He comes to our aid. Therefore my prayer is returned into my own bosom, that is, in myself [sc. in Christ] man makes intercession unto the divinity." The allusion to Susannah is to the apocryphal addition to the Book of Daniel. Susannah, falsely accused of immodesty "in her heart" still trusts in God (1:35).

⁴²⁹ Ainsworth, *Annotations*, p. 56. Hammond, *Paraphrase*, in *Works*, vol. 4, bk. 1, p. 108. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 82.

⁴³⁰ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 1, p. 136. The principal issue in these notes derives from the root verb נָכַח [nākā] "to strike" (*TWOT* 1364), which in the adjectival form in this verse becomes "the afflicted (or smitten) ones," נָכִיחַ. In the Septuagint, the form is "mastix," literally

1860.

Q. The Psalmist complains of *Hypocritical Mockers in Feasts*: What Sort of Wretches does hee mean? v. 16.

A. The Hebrew word, / מַעֲכִילִים / for a *Feast*, is, *A Cake*: And the Phrase here used is, *Mockers of a Cake*, or, *for a Cake*. *Sycophants*, are intended, who flatter at the Table, for a Belly full of Meat.⁴³¹

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Q. But may not the Psalmist refer unto a yett more special Matter, when hee mentions, *Mockers of a Cake*?

A. When the Business of *Urijah* took Air, the Enemies of *David* used a World of Liberty, to Improve and Burlesque the Story of that Horrid Business; their Talk about it all the Kingdome over, sett it off unto the Worst Advantage.

Now one of the Circumstances in that Matter, was This; In 2 Sam. 11.8. *When Urijah departed out of the Kings House, there follow'd him a Mess of Meat from the King*. It is the Opinion of R. *Obadiah*, That the *Mockers of a Cake* here, did at the Table, particularly employ their Squibs upon the *Mess of Meat* sent thus by *David* unto *Urijah*.⁴³²

Q. The Meaning of that; *They opened their Mouth wide against me, and said, Aha, Aha, our Eye hath seen it?* v. 21.

A. Take Dr. *Patricks* paraphrase. "They are not content to do it secretly, but now they bawl against me, with open Mouth, and boldly accuse me as a Traitor, rejoicing at any Colour they can meet withal for their Calumnies; and saying, so, so, we have found him out; His Treasonable Practices are discovered; we ourselves are Ey-witnesses of it."⁴³³

"those who can be whipped without consequence." The irony, then, as Hammond notes, is that the Psalmist is persecuted by those who are themselves the lowest order of society.

⁴³¹ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 1, p. 98. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 82.

⁴³² Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 1, p. 98. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 82.

⁴³³ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 1, p. 137. In *Psalterium*, Mather only includes the words, "we have now found him out" (bk. 1, p. 82).

Q. Who is the *Wicked* Man that the Psalmist ha's his Eye upon? v. 1.

A. *Saul*, doubtless. Yett he names him not, because he would præserve all the Reverence that might be for him.⁴³⁴

Q. How, the *Righteousness* of GOD, Like *Mountains*? v. 6.

A. The Justice of GOD in the Administration of His Providence, is as unmoveable as the *Mountains*.⁴³⁵

Q. What is it for Men to *putt their Trust under the Shadow of the Wings of the Lord*? v. 7.

A. Unto the Sense of this Passage more commonly received, and what you have in the common Expositions, I add a Devout Passage of *Arnobius: Filii hominum qui in peccato Adæ desperantes extiterant, in protectione Alarum eius sperant, id est in Expansione Manuum in Cruce fixarum*. The Extended Arms of our Lord, on His Cross, afford us the *Shadow of His Wings*.⁴³⁶

Q. The Intent of, *They shall be abundantly satisfied with the fatness of thy House, & thou shalt make them Drink of the River of thy Pleasures*? v. 8.

A. Take Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase. "They shall have abundant satisfaction in thy Love to them, and at length bring thee the *Sacrifice* of Thanksgiving, for thy merciful Præservaⁿ of them, & feast with thee in thy House: where thou shalt pour into them the sweetest Joyes, and give them an Earnest of the greatest Plenty of all Divine Blessings, that shall continually flow in upon them."⁴³⁷

Q. How is it said, *THERE are the Workers of Iniquity fallen*? v. 12.

A. *Munsters* Gloss upon it, is; *Impii in eo Loco in quo iniquè egerunt*.

Or, *There*; That is, Taken in that Action of coming against Him, who said, *Lett not the Foot of Pride come against me*.⁴³⁸

⁴³⁴ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 1, p. 104. This reading is from the Syriac version, also available to Mather in Walton's Polyglot Bible. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 84.

⁴³⁵ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 1, p. 102. The remark belongs to Rabbi Aben Ezra (Abraham ibn Ezra).

⁴³⁶ Arnobius, *Commentarii in Psalmos* [PL 53.373]. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 84: "The sons of men, having despaired in the sin of Adam, hope in the protection of His wings, that is in the spreading out of his hands fixed on the cross."

⁴³⁷ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 1, pp. 142–43. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 84.

⁴³⁸ Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3725). Mather threads together the remarks of Munster and Vatablus contained in Pearson's *Critici Sacri*. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 84: "The impious are in that place in which they have acted iniquitously."

Q. The Intention of the Psalm?

A. The Son of *Syrach* seems to have summed it up, in those few Words; Eccles. 1.23. *A patient Man will bear for a long Time, and afterward Joy shall spring up unto him. For the Fear of the Lord is Wisdome; and Faith & Meekness are His Delight.*⁴³⁹

Indeed, the Psalm, as one observes, containeth necessary Instructions for the Faithful under the Power of *Antichrist*, who holds *Prosperity* to be a Mark of the Church. It expresses the Ruine of both Head and Body of that Church; and the Sweet Prosperity of the Faithful after the Wicked One shall be destroy'd. Our SAVIOUR applies the Psalm, to an happy Condition of the Church upon Earth, Matth. V.5. Compare, Isa. XI.4.⁴⁴⁰

Q. A Remark on that, *Frett not thyself, because of Evil-doers?* v. 1.

A. *Aristotle*, one of the High-priests of Nature, in his *Ethicks*, one of the best Peeeces of pagan Morality that are extant, does for a *Virtue*, or for something that is near akin to it, commend, a *Nemesis*, or Grief and Indignation at the Prosperity of unworthy Men. But behold, how expressly this *Virtue* is condemned in the Word of God. Compare, Prov. XXIV.19. Thus also, εὐτραπεία, is a *Virtue* with *Aristotle*; But a *Vice* with *Paul*. Eph. V.4. An *Aristotelean* *Virtue* is, Μεγαλοψυχία, *Magnanimity*, which he defines, *A Mans Judging himself worthy of Great Things, when he is so*. But consider, Luk. XVII.10. And how Great a Figure does, *Lowliness of Mind*, make amongst *Christian* *Vertues*! *Aristotle* would have his *Magnanimous* Man υπεροπτην και καταφρονητικον. *A Despiser of Others*; he thinks all that savours of *Humility* unworthy of him. Whereas, a Wiser than he, ha's told us better; Prov. XVI.19. *Aristotle* allows him, in Case of Contumely, to speak Evil of his Adversaries. But our Saviour teaches otherwise. Matth. V.44.⁴⁴¹

[*2H0-2]

Q. That Clause, *Verily thou shalt bee Fed*; How may it bee carried? v. 3.

⁴³⁹ This quotation out of Eccles. 1:23,27 is copied from Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 1, p. 145. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 89.

⁴⁴⁰ Allix, *The Book of Psalms*, bk. 1, p. 54. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 89.

⁴⁴¹ Arrowsmith, *Armilla Catechetica* (aph. 2, exer. 2, pp. 82–3). εὐτραπεία (eutrapelia) is translated as “jesting” in Eph. 5:4. A more helpful modern English translation of μεγαλοψυχία might be “magnificence,” but even that is not quite useful in conveying the idea of one who “looks down from on high.” The idea is ultimately of one whose capacity is greater than others, whose soul is, in all ways, larger than other people’s. Mather may have in mind Aristotle’s *Ethica Eudemia* (Bekker page 1232a, lines 38, 39). See also Mather’s *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 89. In *Psalterium Americanum*, Aristotle, rather than being an apostle of “nature” is a disciple of “Satan.”

A. Our Metrical, *New English Version* carries it so, *Faith shall bee thy Food*.⁴⁴²
 But I find some Jewish Expositors, render it unto this Purpose, *Feed in Truth, or, Feed with Truth*. And R. *David Kimchi* thus glosses it; *pasce alios ubicunque Habitas, instructione in viis Domini, eos instruendo, sicut Abraham*.⁴⁴³

[*2H1.*]

Q. Why is the *Righteousness* of the good Man, said here to bee *brought forth as the Light, & as the Noon-day*? v. 6.

A. Commend mee to R. *David Kimchis* Gloss upon it; It is, q.d. All Men shall plainly *See* and *Own*, that thou art a *Righteous* Person. *Omnes via tuae Justitiam, pro certo agnoscent*.⁴⁴⁴

[*2H2.*]

Q. Who are meant by, *The Poor & Needy*? v. 14.

A. 'Tis an Observation of R. *Solomon*; *Pauper et Egenus, in Psalmis, semper de Israele dicuntur*.⁴⁴⁵

[*2H3.*]

Q. What *Further* Sense, besides the most *Obvious*, may bee given to that Passage, *A Little that a Righteous Man hath, is better than the Treasures of many Wicked*? v. 16.

A. R. *Solomon* thus reads it, *Meliores sunt pauci Justi, quàm magna Multitudo Impiorum*. A Few *Righteous* Men, are of more Account than Many *Wicked* Ones.

⁴⁴² Mather does not refer to the famous first edition of the Bay Psalm Book, *The Whole Booke of Psalms* (1640), but to a revision prepared primarily by Henry Dunster (1609–58) while he was President of Harvard, and assisted by Richard Lyon, who added to Dunster's revision of the Psalms other "spiritual" songs in the Bible: The Song of Deborah and Barak, The Song of Solomon, The Songs in Isaiah, The Lamentations of Jeremiah, The Prayer of Jonah, A Prayer of Habakkuk, The Song of Mary, The Song of Zacharias, and Songs from Revelation. In subsequent editions, several more songs were included. This work went through a total of 27 editions in England, Scotland, and America, and was far more familiar to congregations during the late 17th and early 18th centuries than was the *Whole Booke of Psalms*, published only once more, in 1647. Cotton Mather assisted in the preparation of the 1698/1699 edition of Dunster's work by appending a new version of the 26th chapter of Isaiah, which was retained in all of the later Boston editions (Eames 12–14). This was also the first edition to include musical notations to be used in the singing of the Psalms, which may have been added by Increase Mather (Krummel 281). Both of these elements were retained through subsequent American printings, and I have used this edition for reference here. See *The Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs, of the Old and New Testament: Faithfully Translated into English Meeter*, p. 96.

⁴⁴³ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 1, p. 105. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 89: "Feed others wheresoever you live by providing them with instruction in the ways of the Lord, just as Abraham did."

⁴⁴⁴ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 1, p. 105. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 89: "All men shall assuredly recognize the justice of your way."

⁴⁴⁵ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 1, p. 106. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 89: "In the Psalms, the poor and needy are always said of Israel."

And, I think, hee instances, in *Abraham*, with his little Army, overcoming the *Four Kings*, and all their *Numerous Forces*.⁴⁴⁶

Q. How is it said, *The Lord knowes the Dayes of the Upright?* v. 18.

A. There is *no Day* passes, wherein He takes not a Care of them, and does not exercise a most gracious Providence over them.⁴⁴⁷

Q. We read, *The Steps of a good Man are ordered by the Lord, and he delighteth in His Way*. The Word [*Good*] is a Word which our Translators have seen Good to insert? v. 23.

A. Dr. *Jermyn*, on Prov. 20.24 observes, That there is no Need of it; For when God graciously *orders the Steps of a Man*, He adds this favour, that the Man *delights in his Way*.

Or you may take it thus. *The Steps of a Man* will be well-ordered by the Lord, if he be one who *delights in the Way* of God.⁴⁴⁸

Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase is this. "Lett a Man but take Care, that his Wayes be pleasing to the Lord, by doing what He approves; and He will prosper him in all his Undertakings, & so guide his Counsels & Actions, that he shall meet with Good Success."⁴⁴⁹

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Q. In what Sense take you those Words of *David*, *I have not seen the Righteous Forsaken, nor his Seed Begging Bread?* Whenas, wee often see Godly Persons reduced unto *Poverty*, yea, and unto *Beggary?* And, I remember; an Ingenious Person reports, that going once to confound a *Poor Beggar*; by mentioning this Text unto her, shee reply'd, *Yet, Sir, you know David once Begged his Bread himself?* v. 25.

A. I choose to read that Passage thus; *I have not seen the Righteous, nor his Seed forsaken*, tho I have seen them *Begging their Bread*. I confess, It ha's rarely, if ever, been known, That a *Godly Person* was a *common Beggar*. Nevertheless, the Phrase here in the original, for, *Begging of Bread*, notes all *Asking* for it, either of God or Man. Wherefore I take the Meaning of the Place to bee, *That the Righteous or their Seed, Begging their Bread*, shall not bee *forsaken*, but have their *Prayers*

⁴⁴⁶ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 1, p. 106. For the story of Abraham and the four kings, see Gen. 14. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 89. Mather provides the translation of Solomon's gloss.

⁴⁴⁷ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 1, p. 149.

⁴⁴⁸ Jermin, *Paraphrasticall Meditations*, ch. 20, p. 452.

⁴⁴⁹ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 1, p. 150.

heard by the God of Heaven; and have their *Souls* also comforted and supported by the Lord. Compare Isa. 41.17.⁴⁵⁰

Q. We read of, *The Wicked Flourishing like a Green Bay-Tree*. Is that, for certain, the *Tree*, here alluded unto? v. 35.

A. The Sacred, as well as Humane Writers, draw frequent Illustrations, from the *vegetable World*. Who would expect to find *Aarons* Mitre in a Plant? Yett *Josephus* has taken Pains to find it in the *Hyoscyamus*, or, Hen-bane. The Scripture makes frequent Comparisons to *Plants*.⁴⁵¹

And here, The Wicked in their Flourishing State, are compared unto a *Bay-tree*: which (as tis noted by Sir *Thomas Brown*) sufficiently answering the Sense of the Text, why should we exclude that noble Plant from the honour of having its Name in the Scripture?⁴⁵²

Indeed, the LXX and the Vulgar, do render it, *The Cedar*. *Tremelius* mentions, neither *Bay* nor *Cedar*; but, *Tam quam Arbor indigena Virens*; which seems to have been follow'd by the last *Low-Dutch Translation*.⁴⁵³

But *Aynsworth* renders it, *Like a green self-growing Laurel*. The High Dutch, of *Luthers* Bible, retains the word *Laurel*; and so does the Old *Saxon* Translation; and so the *French*, and *Spanish*, and the *Italian* of *Diodati*.⁴⁵⁴

⁴⁵⁰ I have not been able to identify the “ingenious person” of Mather’s question, but the interpretation in the answer appears largely to depend upon *A Continuation of Morning-Exercise Questions and Cases of Conscience* (London, 1683), serm. 17, p. 484, one of the popular devotional works of Samuel Annesley (c. 1620–96). The Mathers owned two of Annesley’s texts (listed among the Mather Family Library) and the Harvard Library held two others of his *Morning Exercises*. In his *Diary* (1:289, 416) Mather reports using this text twice as the foundation of sermons when “*Fear of Want*” might have proved a temptation to his congregants. A particularly devout clergyman, Annesley was said to have read 20 chapters in the Bible every day from the time he was six, although Anglicans, among them Anthony Wood, frequently accused him of being “dull, yet industrious.” Annesley, in fact, may have been an autodidact, and his severer critics accused him of social climbing, even of changing his name in order to claim a relationship with Arthur Annesley, first earl of Anglesey, a charge which was patently untrue. Ordained a Presbyterian, he was active in Puritan affairs during the Civil War, rising to the position of chaplain to the earl of Warwick and later lecturer at St. Paul’s, though he claimed after the Restoration to have detested the execution of Charles I. Nonetheless, he lost his benefice and moved toward greater nonconformity thereafter. It was during this time that he preached the sermons for which he became best known, the “morning exercises” at Cripplagate, which were published and republished after his silencing in 1662. He continued to preach and keep private meetings at his house in spite of the ban, and and was convicted and fined several times. His younger daughter, Susanna, married the Reverend Samuel Wesley and was mother to the founders of Wesleyanism (*DNB*). See also Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 89, and *BA* (1:948).

⁴⁵¹ See Josephus, *Antiquities*, 3.7.6.

⁴⁵² The bay-tree was named *Laurus Nobilis* for its associations with Apollo and Daphne and the laurel wreaths used to crown victors; thus Mather’s reference here to that “noble” plant.

⁴⁵³ See Tremellius and Junius, *Testamenti Veteris, Biblia Sacra*, bk. 3, p. 129b: “Like a green native tree.”

⁴⁵⁴ See Ainsworth, *Annotations*, p. 58.

When either *Cedar* or *Laurel* may stand in the Translation, if the preceding Word be, [*Exalted*] it seems more applicable to the *Cedar*; but if the preceding Word, be, [*Flourishing*] it seems more agreeable to the *Laurel*; which in its Prosperity, abounds with pleasant Flowers.

Wee see *wicked Men* pretending to *Laurels*. *Princes* as well as *Poets* are Pretenders to *Laurels*. But behold here, what becomes of all their *Laurels*? And how much inferiour are they to the *Crown that fadeth not away*!⁴⁵⁵

| [105r]
Q. A Further Gloss, on, *The Wicked like a green Bay-tree; yett I sought him, but he could not be found?* v. 35, 36.

A. Dr. *Arrowsmiths* Words have such a Pungency in them, that they are worth reciting.

“*Like a green Bay-tree*; A Tree that retains its Virility and Freshness, even in Winter, when Fruit-bearing Trees have cast their Leaves. Lett such an one be *sought* in his *Counting-house*, which was wont to be the Temple, wherein he worshipped his God *Mammon*: He *is not there*. At the *Court*, where he was so Magnified, & almost Adored: He *is not found* in the Lodgings there. He that would *find* him, must seek him in *Hell*; For, *There he is*!”⁴⁵⁶

Give me leave to add.

Consider how notable, our SAVIOUR in His *Beatitudes* ha’s diverse Passages of the XXXVII Psalm in His *Eye*; and you will unavoidably consider the different Condition of *This World*, and of the *World to come*, as exhibited in the Psalm. Fly to the promised *New Heavens* and *New Earth*, and you have a golden Key to the Promises, which the *Psalm* is enriched withal.

The *Wicked* here *like the green Bay-tree*, is *Antichrist*, with the Church of *Rome*. The Day is at hand, when this *Bay-tree* shall be utterly extinguished, & no where found in the World. It is a *Tree* now as the Text may be rendred, *growing in his own Soyl*; and in the Earth forsaken of GOD. But in that Land, which will be the Soyl of the Second *Adam*, there will be no Place for it.⁴⁵⁷

Q. Something that may Illustrate some of the Elegancies, in that Passage: *Mark the perfect Man, & behold the upright; for the End of that Man is Peace?* v. 37.

A. Honest Mr. *Edward West*, ha’s a few Strokes on this Passage, in a Treatise called, *His Legacy*, which I chuse to give you in his own Words.

⁴⁵⁵ Among the works of Thomas Browne (1605–82), to which Mather had access, was an edition of his *Certain Miscellany Tracts* (1683). This note comes from Browne’s first tract, “Observations on Several Plants Mention’d in Scripture,” pp. 67–8. The concluding portion of this note occurs in paraphrase in *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 89.

⁴⁵⁶ Arrowsmith, *Armillæ Catechetica*, aphorism 6, exer. 4, p. 468.

⁴⁵⁷ In the latter portion of this annotation, Mather appears to combine the interpretations of Allix’s *Book of Psalms*, bk. 1, p. 54, and Hammond, *Paraphrase*, in *Works*, vol. 4, bk. 1, pp. 113, 115.

"I am not at all startled at the Variety of Translations; tho' the *Syriack*, *Septuagint*, & Vulgar *Latin*, be on the dissenting Part; but confidently rest in our present *English* Version, as of a more literal Resolution, clearer Sense, and better Consonance to other Scriptures, both in this Psalm, & Elsewhere. [See v. 11 and, Rom. 2.10.]

[106v] "We must take heed, that we state not *Perfection* here, as an Impossible, or common Thing. If we place it in a Degree that none do or can attain; in whom shall we observe it? If in such a Degree, whereto every One attains, wherein is it observable? He supposes *some* such, that he bids us *look* on them; *Few* such, that he fears we may *look off* them. *Mark*; Ay, where is he? *Behold*; you must look *for* him, before you can look *on* him; and *look* a good while too, ere you can discern any thing Remarkable in him. They are, especially in these times, almost as Invisible as the *Rosicrucians*, if it be not as Ridiculous to speak of them. *Solomon* upon accurate Search of both Sexes, scarce finds one, that he dares speak a good Word for; and *that* he strait recants, knowing not who to pitch upon, save *Adam* in his Innocence [Eccl. 7.27, 28, 29.] And his Father *David's* Expressions in the Text, are very far from Confidence; *Mark the perfect Man*: He corrects himself straight; I mean the *Upright*. And of these, he speaks in the Singular; He does not intimate *Men*; nor name *Man*. *Mark the Perfect*: There the Original Ends." | "And when he mentions *Man* in the latter Clause, he forbears the Particle; that should have related it to, *perfect*. *The End of Man is Peace*; as if he questioned, to ascribe *Uprightness* to *Man*, or to allow *Manhood*, where he saw not *Uprightness*; As if no Man was Holy; or there was no *Man*, but the Holy Man.

"Those are undervalued by all the Sons of Men. What does our Psalmist mean, to bid us *Look* on those Men? Ha's he a Mind to turn our Stomachs? We expected he should have shown us his *Court*, & he brings us to an *Hospital*! We thought to have been pointed unto some brave *Prince*; he shows us a poor *Saint*. Well, Syrs, be not so soon offended: It was the most glorious Sight in all *David's* Kingdome. He tells us of other Sights; but with little Satisfaction. [See v. 35, 36.] The *Wicked*, how great soever, he could look thro' them, & see Rags, & Dirt, & Ruine, under the silken Veil that covered them; He makes them to be meer Vanity; They would not endure the View; *He passed away*, & *Lo, he was not*; *I sought him, but he could not be found*. Good Men are the only Men of Remark. They are Subjects for God and Angels, to contemplate with Delight. When Satan told God, he had been wandering to and fro on the Earth, God strait interrupts him; *Hast thou considered my Servant Job*? Intimating, that he was the Mirrour of the visible Creation; and that he had seen *nothing*, if he had not seen *him*."⁴⁵⁸

⁴⁵⁸ Edward West (1633/4–75), *Mr. Edward West's Legacy* (1679), pp. 15–18, 47–9. There is very little information available on West. He matriculated through Christ Church in 1652, received his BA in 1655 and his MA in 1657. He was rector of Wittenham Abbots in Berkshire from 1658 until being ejected for nonconformity in 1662 (AO).

Q. Does not the Psalm, express the Condition of the *Synagogue*, as now groaning under the Persecution of *Antichrist*? v. 1.

A. Doubtless.

Compare, v. 16 with Deut. XXXII.26, 27. And v. 18 with Zeph. III.19.⁴⁵⁹

Q. The Disease whereof the Psalmist complaineth; What and whence was it? v. 1.

A. R. *Obadiah* tells us, That their wise Men have informed us, the Psalmist laboured under a *Leprosy*, for six Months together; and that in all this Time, *Divinà presentia erat ab eo ablata*.⁴⁶⁰

If now you'l consult our Illustrations of the 53^d Chapter of *Isaiah*, and the 88th *Psalm*, you'l see a Notable Type of Our Lord Jesus Christ, in this Matter.

But some chuse, to take this Description of the Case, as if it were introduced with some such Terms as these, — *My State is become like that of one, who* —,⁴⁶¹

|

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Q. What were the *Snares* they laid for him? v. 12.

A. *Munsters* Gloss upon it is, *Verba ad Desperationem inducentia*.⁴⁶²

Q. How was the Psalmist, *As a Man in whose Mouth are no Reproofs*? v. 14.

A. It is q.d. As if I were not able to confute them.⁴⁶³

Q. On that, *I will be sorry for my sin*? v. 18.

A. It may be rendered, *I will be afraid of my Sin*, solicitous about what it may bring upon me.⁴⁶⁴

⁴⁵⁹ Allix, *The Book of Psalms*, bk. 1, p. 57. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 92.

⁴⁶⁰ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 1, p. 110. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 92: "The divine presence was withdrawn from him."

⁴⁶¹ The "some" are Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd* (bk. 1, p. 155) and Viccars, *Decapla* (lib. 1, p. 111). Both of these commentators attribute their interpretation to Theodoret, although Patrick remarks that Theodoret identifies this Psalm as a general lament for the many tragedies that marred David's reign: "the Murder of his son, *Amnon*, the Rebellion of *Absalom*, the Falseness of *Ahitophel*, the abusive Reproaches of *Shimei*, and all the other Afflictions mentioned in his History, which were sent by God upon him for the cure of his sins" (Patrick, p. 155).

⁴⁶² Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3: 3732). Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 92: "words inducing [him] to desperation."

⁴⁶³ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 1, p. 159.

⁴⁶⁴ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 1, p. 159.

Q. What may be the more hidden Scope of the Psalm? v. 1.

A. It expresses the low Condition of [^{**}]⁴⁶⁵ *Israel* under the Reign of *Antichrist*; and the Temptation it suffers, of apprehending an utter Dereliction of GOD. Yett, the Redeemer is hoped for.⁴⁶⁶

Q. What was the Time of *Davids* keeping his *Mouth with a Bridle, while the Wicked was before him?* v. 1.

A. *Grotius* chooses to render it, *Dum Seditio obversabatur mihi*; applying it unto the Sedition of *Absalom*. And the Word which wee translate *Wicked*, it is very certain, carries *Inquietude* in the signification of it. Think further of this, and it may suggest to you some notable Admonitions.⁴⁶⁷

The Intent of the Psalmist seems to be; He was resolved that no Intemperate Speeches, against the Providence of God, no, nor so much as against his most Unrighteous & Barbarous Adversaries, should proceed out of his Mouth. He was so afraid of breaking out into Impatient Language, against his Unjust Accusers, that he would not so much as vindicate himself, or clear his own Innocence. Now, tho' he *Said* nothing, yett he could not but have many sad *Thoughts* of the Injuries he suffered. And musing long on them, & on the Impunity of those who committed them, at last his Grief grew so great, that it could no longer be pent up; like Fire, it broke out into Expressions of this Importance;

“*Lord*, I don't murmur at my Sufferings. But, that I may be able to bear them still patiently, make me sensible, I humbly beseech thee, how short this frail Life is, & how soon it will have an End; that duly considering this, I may be the less concerned about the Miseries I endure; which will end together with it.

“And it is strange, I should forgett it, seeing it is so apparent, thou hast circumscribed my Dayes within a very narrow Compass.”

To this Purpose *Patricks* Paraphrase.⁴⁶⁸

Q. How does Man *walk in a vain Shew?* v. 6.

A. He promises himself mighty Matters; but ha's no more than the *Image* and *Shadow* of them in his Brain; for on a sudden, he himself vanishes, & is gone.

Thus Dr. *Patrick* paraphrases.⁴⁶⁹

⁴⁶⁵ [^{*}the *Synagogue*^{*}]

⁴⁶⁶ Allix, *The Book of Psalms*, bk. 1, p. 59. In his *Psalterium* (bk. 1, p. 94), Mather retains his original wording of “the *Synagogue*.”

⁴⁶⁷ Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3737), and Grotius, *Opera Omnia* (1:229): “while I was beset with sedition.”

⁴⁶⁸ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 1, pp. 161–62.

⁴⁶⁹ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 1, p. 163. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 94.

Q. How and why, is every Man, at his Best Estate, altogether Vanity? v. 6.

A. I'll express the Matter in the Words of one Mr. Cross who in a little Book about *Justification*, so writes.

"There is a Reason given, why Man, in his best Estate; that is, in the Purity of his Nature, in the unfaded & unstained Flower of all his Senses, & spiritual Faculties, is but Vanity; because every Man walks in a vain Show. So wee translate it; but the Original, is the same Word, which in the first of *Genesis*, is used for the Image of God. Man is Vanity, because at best, but an Image."⁴⁷⁰

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The Comparison of Man unto a *Shadow*, deserves to be further prosecuted. It is most certain that *Piety* is the most valuable of all our *Hermeneutic Instruments*. Yea, that without an Impression of *Piety* upon them, all our *Erudition*, and so every *Illustration* that is attempted by us, will be but *superficial*. We find such a Writer as our excellent Dr. *Arndt*, from the Tendencies of *Piety* in his holy Mind, ever now and then enriching | us with an Illustration worth more than an Ingott of Gold. What pious Heart can be untouch'd in Reading his Hints upon *Man* compared unto, A *Shadow*! A Shadow is a *lifeless Image* of the Thing whereon it ha's a *Dependence*; It ha's no Life, nor Force, nor Substance of its own; It is a Nothing. *Man* ha's in himself, no Life, no Force, no Substance, nor any Faculty of his own; He depends entirely on GOD, as the *Shadow* does on the *Body* it belongs unto. Any further, he is a lifeless, & a strengthless Thing; a very Nothing; and he ha's nothing, in which he may glory, as having any *Propriety* in it.

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Elsewhere my Doctor breaks out into these Words. "O how noble a Step would it be towards the Attainment of true & substantial *Wisdom*, were Man but sensible of his own NOTHINGNESS! Man is as great a *Nothing*, as a *Shadow* itself. As a *Shadow* is without Substance, without Life, and without Motion of itself, and evanishes at the Departure of the Sun, so is the Condition of Man, whenever the Lord withdraws the Light of Life from him. And it is worthy of Observation, That the *nigher the Sun is, the lesser are the Shadows* observed to be; and on the Contrary, *The farther the Sun removes from us, the larger do the Shadows appear*. The same happens to Man. The more of GOD, and of His Gifts, is present with a pious Man, the less he esteems himself; the less he boasteth of himself, and of what he calleth HIS. As on the Contrary; The farther a Man is removed from GOD, the more he swells also with an high Conceit of himself, the more he is puffed up with his Accomplishments & Abili-

⁴⁷⁰ Walter Cross (n.d.), *An Exposition of the Second Verse of the Fourth Chapter of the Epistle to the Romans* (1694), p. 59. See also *BA* (1:699–711).

⁴⁷¹ Five lines are heavily crossed through. The handwriting is obviously not Mather's. The initials at the bottom of this entry appear to be "A. H."

ties; the more he extends the Bounds of Pride and Haughtiness, and the less he knows how to keep within his Compass. And, as the *Shadows* are the greatest, at the Setting of the *Sun*; yett even then just ready to vanish & to disappear; their *Greatness* being but a Fore-runner of their Approaching End: So is it with the *Shadows* of this World, & the whole Train of vain Poms and Pleasures, which commonly then post away on the sudden, when we are most confident of them, & most exalted by them: It being generally, a certain Sign of Imminent Destruction and Ruine, when a Person comes to be noted for his Relying too much upon the shadowy Appearances of perishing Grandeur. As the *Shadows* vanish upon the Withdrawing of the Sun; so, when empty Man becomes great in his own Eyes, the Divine *Sun* settis upon him unawares; and he returns to *Nothing*, even then when he thought to be *Something*.”

Finally, The *Shadow* entirely *moves* with the Motion of that on which it ha's its Dependence: Thus Man is destitute of *Motion*; & it is God alone who putts *Life* and *Motion* into him.⁴⁷²

Q. In what Respect saies *David*, *I am a Stranger with Thee*? v. 12.

A. Some have made this Reflection upon it, That God and Hee, were both *Strangers* here. A very Sad, because, on many Accounts, a very True, Reflection!⁴⁷³

But, why may hee not have a particular Eye to the *Messiah*, in this Passage? *Hee* was a *Stranger* in this World.⁴⁷⁴

⁴⁷² Johann Arndt (1555–1621) was among the best known of the early Pietists. His two-volume *De Vero Christianismo* (1708) was owned both by Harvard and by the Mathers; however, in this note Mather depends upon the English translation prepared by Anthony William Boehm, Mather's Pietist correspondent in England and the avenue by which he was introduced to the German Pietists at Halle. This edition of Arndt's work was published as *Of True Christianity* (1712–14). The remark is at vol. 1, bk. 2, pt. 1, ch. 10, pp. 514–15.

⁴⁷³ Allix, *The Book of Psalms*, bk. 1, p. 60. The Pietist reflection is Mather's.

⁴⁷⁴ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 1, p. 111. Both opinions are reproduced in *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 94.

Q. Who is it, that was *brought up out of the Horrible Pitt?* v. 2.

A. The whole *Psalter*, yea, the whole *Bible*, is a Book of the MESSIAH. To how many Thousands of Excellent, New and Rare Thoughts, would this one Consideration carry you!

As for the *Psalm* now before us, the Apostle *Paul*, to the *Hebrewes*, hath directed us to Apply it, unto our Lord Jesus Christ. Behold then, our Lord Jesus Christ *Rising out of His Grave*, when *brought up out of the Horrible Pitt!*

How agreeably does Hee then say, *Hee sett my Feet upon a Rock!* The *Sepulchre* of our Lord was *hewed out of a Rock*; and a *great Stone* was Rolled unto the Door of the Sepulchre. For Him to *sett His Feet upon the Rock*, was, to Triumph over the *Grave*: This Hee did in His Resurrection.

Our Lord Jesus Christ therefore first of all, is, *that mighty Man, who Respects not the Proud, nor such as Turn aside unto Lies.*⁴⁷⁶

|

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Q. Some Remarks on the *New Song?* v. 3.

A. From the Flights of the *Christian Asceticks*, We might bring in some of the most Noble and Sublime Thoughts that ever were, formed, into the *Treasury of Illustrations*, which we are now præparing, on the *Book*, and for the *Church*, of our God.

This Morning I am entertained with a *Meditation*, which I will transcribe, from the private Papers, of one whom I would be less a Stranger to.

“When my Redeemer was, in His *Resurrection from the Dead*, brought up out of the *Horrible Pitt*, and had His *Feet sett upon the Rock*, which had been a *Sepulchre* unto Him, Triumphing over it, He said concerning His FATHER, *He ha’s putt a New Song in my Mouth, even Praise to OUR GOD*. What were the *New Songs* now in the Mouth of our *victorious REDEEMER*? The *Songs* of His *Victory* over the *Powers of Darkness*; The *Songs* of the *Expiation* made by Him for the Sins of His People; The *Songs* of His Admission to *Fulness of Joy in the Presence* of His FATHER, and *Pleasures at His Right Hand forevermore*. These *New Songs* contain the most Illustrious Matters of *Praise* to the glorious GOD. Yea, *Praise* to OUR GOD. When we affectuously consider | the Matter of these *New Songs*, and

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⁴⁷⁵ See Appendix B.

⁴⁷⁶ The substance of this entry is apparently from Allix’s *Book of Psalms* (bk. 1, p. 60) although the exclamatory statements belong to Mather. See also *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 96.

praise the glorious GOD with truly Affected Souls, for the Matter celebrated in them; Our SAVIOUR now tells us, That HIS GOD is OUR GOD, and HIS FATHER is OUR FATHER. [Compare the Words of the *Risen* JESUS; Joh. XX.17.] So then, with an Heart ravished at what I find in the *New Songs* of my *Risen* SAVIOUR, I offer *Praise* to the glorious GOD, on the Account of the Things done for Him & by Him. This is a marvellous *Token for Good* unto me, That *His* GOD is *My* GOD; and that I shall partake with Him in the *Songs* of His *Glory*.⁴⁷⁷

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Q. On that, *They cannot be reckoned up in order unto thee?* v. 5.

A. *Munster*, according to the Hebrew reads it, *Nemo est qui ea ordinet ad Te*. He takes it, as a Censure upon Men, on their Ingratitude unto God for His Benefits; *Pauci sunt qui ea ordinant ad tuam gloriam, sed plurimi abutuntur in Luxum et Vanam Gloriam*. They be not *ordered* by Men as they should be, and *subordinated* unto the Glory of God.⁴⁷⁹

Q. How comes this passage, *Mine Ears hast thou opened*, to bee rendred in the New Testament, *A Body hast thou prepared for mee?* v. 6.

A. Turn to the Text in the New Testament, where you find it thus rendred, [Heb. 10.5] and you shall see something said upon.

Here I will content myself with saying such Things as these.

The *Service* which our Lord Jesus Christ was to Do for His Eternal Father, could not bee done without a *Body*. When tis said, *Mine Ears hast thou opened*, or, Bored, it was, as much as to saying, *Thou hast made mee thy Servant*. Now the Holy Spirit proceeds but according to His own Infinite Wisdome, in thus rendring it, *A Body hast thou prepared [for] mee*.

The Servant, was to have that Part of his Body, his *Ear*, Fastned for a Time unto the Door-post. Thus, our Lord Jesus Christ, in the Service Hee was to Do for God, must bee Nailed unto the *Cross*. Remember, by the way, *That* was a Type of *This*. Well, our Lord must have a *Body*, for such a Service. This is necessarily implied in it.

Nay, the Words themselves, are not so different, as they seem to bee. The Hebrew Word, / כרה / signifies, *Apparare*, as well as *Perforare*, not only to *Open*, but also to *Prepare*: and it is well rendred by καταρτιζεσθαι. Moreover, as the

⁴⁷⁷ I have not been able to place this person Mather would have been “Less a Stranger to.” It might have been a member of his family, perhaps Increase, but the seeming intimacy of the wording might also be merely rhetorical.

⁴⁷⁸ Regular pagination resumes.

⁴⁷⁹ Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3738). Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 97. Münster’s reading is that “there is no one who sets them in order to you. Few are they who order these things for your glory, but most misuse them in extravagance and vainglory.”

Ear, the Organ of Obedience, may bee synedochically putt for the *Body*, so, tis not unlikely that, the Hebrew Word, *Ozen*, may signify a *Body*, as well as an *Ear*. Why may it not bee rendred Σωμα, as well as Νους, which wee know that elsewhere it is? [Job. 33.16.] Furthermore, As the *Opening* or *Boring*, of the *Ear*, notes a voluntary Subjection, and is the Mark & Proof of a *willing Servant*; so, the Word Σωμα is the Name of a *Slave* [Rev. 18.13.] Thus these two Phrases agree admirably in this one Sense, *Thou hast made mee obedient*.⁴⁸⁰

Q. Pray, proceed a little further in the Illustration?

A. That Expression, that signifies, *Thou hast made me a Servant*, might very well be rendred *Thou hast prepared a Body for me*. For the Greek Word, Σωμα, which we render, *A Body*, is among the *Jewish* (I say, the *Jewish*) Writers, used for to signify, *A Servant*. Thus Tobit. 10.10. *Raguel* gave, half his Goods, Σωματα, i. e. *Servants*, and Cattel and Money. And 2. Macc. 8.11. *Nicanor* proclaimed a Sale, Ιουδαιικων σωματων, of the *captive Jewes*; and he promised Ninety σωματα, or *Servants*, for *One Talent*. *Josephus* mentions an Edict of *Ptolomæus Philadelphus*, in favour of the *Jewes*, where he mentions the σωματα αιχμάλωτα, or *captive Servants*, taken from *Judea*, in his *Fathers Time*, & declares what should be given by way of Ransome, υπερ εκαστου σωματος, for every *Servant*.⁴⁸¹

Q. That Passage, *In the Volumn of thy Book tis written of mee?* v. 7.

⁴⁸⁰ Edwards, *A Discourse*, vol. 3, ch. 12, pp. 506–08. קָרָה (karah) is the word translated in the King James version as “opened” but it more literally means “to dig.” Consequently, the image may be one in which divine knowledge is poured into David, as water into a hole. Κατηρτίσω μοι (katêrtisō moi) are the last words of the verse associated with this Psalm in Christian thought (Heb. 10:5), where the writer of the Epistle has Christ say, “A body hast thou prepared me.” “Ozen” (or: ‘ozen) is a transliteration of the Hebrew in the Psalm, אוֹזן, “Ear.” Finally, “Σωμα” (“body”) transliterates to “soma”; in Job 33:16, the word used is Νουν (from Νους or “nous”), more frequently translated as “mind.” Much of this note and a small portion of the succeeding are in *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 97.

⁴⁸¹ This entry is extracted from the 2nd edition of Richard Kidder’s *Demonstration of the Messias* (1726), pt. 2, ch. 4, p. 91, held by Harvard Library during Mather’s lifetime. Perhaps the most remarkable alteration between *Psalterium* and *Biblia Americana* occurs here. In *Psalterium* at this point Mather includes the observation that “In *Jerom’s* Days, there was not this reading in the LXX. The Primitive Christians altered the LXX in several Places, which the New-Testament cites out of the Old, and put in the Words of the New-Testament, which were not there before” (bk. 1, p. 97). This recognition, that the early church inserted language into the Septuagint not contained in Jewish manuscripts in order to validate the identity of Jesus as the messiah, recognizes the historical nature of scriptural composition in such a way as to belie the notion of Mather as a rigidly doctrinaire thinker. The inclusion of this observation in *Psalterium* reveals that Mather continued to revise his works as he prepared them for the press, and emphasizes his continued interrogation of received interpretations.

A. You know, how some Read it, *In the* [Head, or] *Beginning of thy Book*; and think, the Prophecy of our Lord Jesus Christ, in the Third of *Genesis* referr'd unto. Nor do I incline to another Perswasion.⁴⁸²

But *Grotius* observes, That the Hebrewes wrote their *Contracts, Agreements,* and *Indentures,* in *Rolls*; and that the Meaning of this Passage is, There was a *Contract* between the Lord & the Psalmist, *Ut ipse quidem Deo Serviat, Deus autem ipsum tueatur.*⁴⁸³

[114v]

Q. Is there any Sense, wherein these Words may be applied unto the Psalmist himself? v. 7.

A. Take Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase. "Therefore, when I thought what thou mightest justly expect from me, after this great Deliverance, immediately I said, (as if I had heard thee calling upon me, to do thee some extraordinary Service,) *Behold, I come to make an Offering of myself to thee*; [As the Lord Christ will do, even of His very Blood.] *For so the Book of the Law requires*, [wherein this Sacrifice of Christ, is more plainly described.]"⁴⁸⁴

Some think, the Meaning of the *Book* here may be found in Deut. XVII.⁴⁸⁵

Q. *Such as love thy Salvation.* Who are they? v. 16.

A. q.d. "Those who depend on thee alone, & seek for Safety by no other Means but those which thou allowest; and such as Expect and Delight to see thee appear for the Deliverance of thy People."

So *Patrick* paraphrases.⁴⁸⁶

But, *Christian*, The *Love* of thy SAVIOUR is also supposed here.⁴⁸⁷

⁴⁸² See the commentaries of Münster, Vatablus, and Clarius in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3738–40). Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 97.

⁴⁸³ Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3741), and Grotius, *Opera Omnia* (1:230). Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 97: "so that he himself would serve God, and God would look after him."

⁴⁸⁴ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 1, p. 167.

⁴⁸⁵ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 1, p. 117. Mather refers to the gloss of Rabbi Obadiah Gaon.

⁴⁸⁶ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 1, pp. 169–170.

⁴⁸⁷ Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 97.

Q. The Scope? v. 1.

A. May we not here see the Condition of the *Synagogue*, forsaken of all Humane Help? Yett hoping for a Restoration?

Tis in view of this, that GOD is blessed, by the Name of, *The GOD of Israel*. An Appellation that relates to the Recalling of all the Tribes.

The Doubled, *Amen*, leads us to a *Second* Restoration.⁴⁸⁸

Q. The Emphasis of that Expression; *Blessed is he that considers the Poor?* v. 1.

A. *Pagnine*, and the Vulgar Latin reads it, *Blessed is he who understandeth the Poor*. Whereupon *Aquinas* notes, That it is not said, *Qui Subvenit*, but, *Qui Intelligit*. He adds, *Et ideò ille est misericors, qui non solum Petentibus Subvenit, sed etiam Indigenti Subvenit, antequam petatur*.⁴⁸⁹

The merciful Man will search into the wants of the Poor; that he may *understand* what they are, and upon understanding them Releeve them, even before they themselves Reveal them; As *Leo* speaks, *ut hoc ipso Magis gaudeant, quum et Paupertati eorum consultum fuerit, et Pudori*.⁴⁹⁰

Q. On that, *The Lord will make his Bed?* v. 3.

A. The Original is, The Lord will *Turn his Bed*. The Sense that *Munster* therefore bespeaks for it, is; The Lord will *change* a *Sick-bed* for him; and give him *Health* instead of *Sickness*.⁴⁹¹

⁴⁸⁸ Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 1, p. 62. This and the succeeding Psalms are among the few points in the *Biblia Americana* when Mather does not allegorize Allix's text. Here and there, he retains the notion that the 12 tribes will be recalled to Israel at the end of days. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 99.

⁴⁸⁹ Pagnine is Santi Pagnini (1470–1541), a Dominican and one of the preeminent Hebraists of the medieval period (*ODCC*). His *Veteris et Novi Testamenti nova translatio*, commissioned by Leo I, was well respected by both Jews and Christians, Catholic and later Protestants, for its fidelity to the original languages. Pagnine's version was one of those used by Miles Coverdale (1487/8–1569) for his "Great Bible" and by Andrew Willet (1562–1621) in his "Hexapla," his sixfold commentaries on select books of the Old Testament. At this point in his commentary on the Psalms in his *Expositiones in Psalmos Davidis*, Aquinas actually ends "... priusquam petatur." In the previous sentence, he does conclude, "unde subvenit desiderio antequam petatur" (vol. 18, p. 480). Aquinas's remark is "that it is not said, 'he who comes to the aid of' but 'he who understands,' and therefore that man is merciful who not only assists those seeking help, but also assists the poor man before he asks."

⁴⁹⁰ This is a paraphrase of one of the *Sermones in Praecipuis* of Leo I. See Sermon 9.3 [PL 54.162]. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 99. Leo holds that the merciful will search into the wants of the poor "so that they may rejoice in this great thing itself, since both their poverty and their modesty have been held in regard."

⁴⁹¹ Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3741). Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 100.

Q. What was the mystical Sense, to which the Ancients applied the Psalm now before us? v. 9.

A. They suppose, as *Arnobius* does, our Interiour assaulted by the Flesh, and the Powers of darkness.

When they say, *When shall his Name perish?* *Arnobius* will have it mean, the Name of A CHRISTIAN. *Hoc enim Nomen est, quod perire nobis demonia student.*⁴⁹²

The *Soul* of the Christian is betray'd by his *Familiar Friend*; that is, by his Flesh, which ha's *eaten* with him. It plays the *Judas* with him. Nevertheless, he rises from the Deadly Circumstances, which his spiritual Enemies bring upon him. When he is *raised up*, he *Requites* them, he Destroys them.⁴⁹³

Take the very Words of *Arnobius*.

*Non te offendat, diligens Lector, quòd rem mysticam ad moralem traximus causam. Nam sicut Judam ad prodendum Dominum circumdederunt Pharisei, et munera ei offerendo fecerunt eum salutem suam tradere, ità hominem meum Exteriorem qui edit panem meum, Spiritus immundi circumdant et offerunt ei, nunc pecunias per Avaritiam, nunc Luxuriam per Concupiscentiam quibus si acceperit, prodit: Dum prodiderit, agunt cum eo, ut Laqueo suspendat, id est, ut desperet se a Pœnitentiâ Liberari.*⁴⁹⁴

[116v]

|
[*2H5.*]

Q. In what Sense is it said, *Hee hath lift[ed] up the Heel against mee?* v. 9.

A. The Jewish Gloss upon it, is very agreeable: *Ac si eram Semita pede suo trita.*⁴⁹⁵

Q. What Remarkable was there in the Ingratitude, whereof the Psalmist complained. *My own familiar Friend, which did eat of my Bread, hath lift[ed] up his Heel against mee?* v. 9.

A. Suppose *Achitophel* especially intended; and compare Ps. 55.12, 13. No Injuries, no Offences, like those which come from our *Friends*. But among the Ancients, no *Covenant of Friendship* was counted more Inviolably Sacred, than

⁴⁹² "This is indeed the name, because evil spirits are eager for us to perish."

⁴⁹³ Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 100.

⁴⁹⁴ *Arnobius, Commentarii in Psalmos* [PL 53.382–383]: "Let it not offend you, careful reader, that we ascribe a mystical thing to a moral cause. For just as the Pharisees besieged Judas to hand over the Lord, and by offering him gifts made him betray his own welfare, so do filthy spirits surround my outer person, which eats my bread, and now offer it money through avarice and luxury through covetousness; if one accepts these things from them, he commits betrayal. While one has committed betrayal, they then tempt him to hang himself with a noose; that is, he despairs from being freed by repentance." To the suicide of Judas, see Matt. 27:5.

⁴⁹⁵ The gloss is Rabbi David Kimchi's. See *Viccars, Decapla*, lib. 1, p. 119. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 100: "As if I were a path well-trodden by his foot."

that which was began at the *Table*, or confirm'd by it. Ἄλς καὶ τράπεζα, sais *Philo*, *Salt* and the *Table*, are Designed by Mankind for the Two Cheef *Pledges* of their *Friendship*.⁴⁹⁶ And *Strabo* tells us, Φιλικὸν γὰρ πᾶν τοιοῦτον ἀπὸ τῶν ὁμοτραπέζων ἀρξάμενον.⁴⁹⁷ *Friendships* thus commenced, were never to be broken; and hence, the Pagans, at these Feasts, considered *Jupiter Hospitalis*, (whom they also called Φίλιον Δία) as the Præsident, and Spectator of the *Friendship* thus established. So

Καί σ' ἀντιάζω πρὸς τοῦ ἐφεστίου Διὸς
*Quarè te obtestor per Jovem Hospitalem*⁴⁹⁸
 Sophocl.

Whence also, the Violaters of such a *Friendship* were alwayes thought worthy of the extremest Reproches in the World. *Æschines* upbraids *Demosthenes* upon this account, That συσιτῶν, καὶ συνθύων, καὶ συσπένδων, *communi cum eo* (cephisodoto *quodam*) *victu, communibus Sacris, communibus Libationibus, quondam usus, in Judicio Reum accusârat*.⁴⁹⁹ So, *Euripides* mentions it as a monstrous Aggravation of a Wrong

Κοινῆς τραπέζης πολλάκις τυχὼν ἐμοὶ
Mensâ receptus sæpè communi mihi.⁵⁰⁰

Thus you see *David's* Indignation Illustrated, by the common Usages of other Nations.⁵⁰¹

496 This is a reference to a work of Philo Judæus (20–50 CE), a Jewish scholar of Alexandria famous for his allegorical interpretations of scripture (*ODP*). The remark appears in his study of the life of Joseph.

497 Strabo, *Geography* (9.3): “For all friendship of this kind is assisted by eating at the same table.”

498 Sophocles, *Ajax* (492): “I command [or beg] you, by the domestic Zeus.”

499 This statement occurs in the oration of Aeschines against Ctesiphon, in which Aeschines accuses the Athenians, and Demosthenes particularly, of unjustly condemning Anaxinus to death: “under whose roof you had been received, at whose table you ate and drank, and poured out your libations; who worked with you, and whom you pronounced your friend and host” (3.224). Aeschines (c. 390–c. 315 BCE) was a Greek orator who argued for accommodation with Phillip II of Macedon (*OCCC*).

500 Euripides (*Hecuba* 793), where the fallen queen of the Trojans accuses Polymestor of killing her son “though he had shared my board and been counted first of all my guest-friends.”

501 Doughty, *Analecta Sacra*, Excursus 140, pp. 372–74. This idea, without the direct references, is included in *Psalterium*, bk. 1, p. 100. Mather includes a further admonition in *Psalterium*: “Communicants at the Table of the Lord, Consider of this.”

Q. The Scope?

A. Behold, the Sorrows of the Synagogue, in her Dispersion!⁵⁰²

Q. The *Soul panting after the Water-Brooks?* v. 1.

A. Mr. *Culverwel* ingeniously applies it unto *Baptism*; after which Even the *Infant-Soul* does *pant*; as having been envenomed by the old Serpent. In this he followes many of the *Fathers*. And *Aquinas* quotes it out of *Jerom*, That these Verses did use to be sung, at the solemn Times, when *Baptism* was administered.⁵⁰³

2116.

Q. For what is the *Thirst* of the Psalmist when hee saies, *My Soul Thirsteth for God, for the living God?* v. 2.

A. They are the Notable Words of *Aben Ezra*, and for a Jew they are indeed Notable Words upon it; *Adventum Messiae exoptat*, Hee longs for the Coming of the *Messiah*, the Redeemer.⁵⁰⁴

Q. That Expression, *My Tears have been my Meat?* v. 3.

A. It means; “I have been so taken up with *Weeping*, that I have had no Time or Heart for *Eating*.”⁵⁰⁵

Q. When was it, that the Psalmist *went with the Multitude unto the House of God*, and *with the Voice of Joy and Praise?* v. 4.

A. Tis probable, He particularly refers to the Time, when he brought the *Ark* to its Dwelling-place, with the Joyful Shout of all the People, who in a pomp-

⁵⁰² Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 2, p. 64. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 102.

⁵⁰³ Nathanael Culverwel (c. 1619–51), *An Elegant and Learned Discourse* (1654), in “The Panting Soul,” p. 77. Culverwel (Culverwell) was admitted to Emmanuel College in 1633 and later became a fellow there. He was associated with the Cambridge Platonists (AC). The *Elegant and Learned Discourse*, his most famous work, was originally delivered as a series of lectures in 1645–46 and constituted an attempt to ameliorate the extreme religious positions of the 17th c., as well as counter the opinion of John Selden (1584–1654), who held that divine law was revealed rather than man-made. Culverwel argued that there was nothing in the mysteries of the gospel that was contrary to reason, and that every dictate of natural law could be determined by reason. Therefore, the necessary laws of a civil society could be determined through rationality alone, albeit that the natural law was itself a mirror of divine mandate (*CHEAL*).

⁵⁰⁴ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 2, p. 122. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 102. Although Mather provides an accurate translation of Ibn Ezra’s gloss, he adds the words “the Redeemer.”

⁵⁰⁵ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras’d*, bk. 2, p. 177. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 102.

ous Manner accompanied him, with their Praises and Thanksgivings, at their Festival-solemnity. See, 1.Chron. XV.25, 28.⁵⁰⁶

[*2220.*]

Q. Saies the Psalmist, *I will Remember thee, from the Land of Jordan, and of the Hermonites, from the Hill Mizaar.* What and where was that *Hill Mizaar*? v. 6.

A. It is generally rendred, *A Little Hill.* To Dr. *Lightfoot*, it seems to bee the Hilly Part of *Zoar*, whither *Lot* would have made his Flight. Gen. 19.20. *O lett mee escape to this City: is it not Mizaar, or, a little one?* The *Hill Mizaar*, then may bee the *Hilly Part* of *Zoar*.

As *Hermonim* was near the Springs of *Jordan*, so the *Hilly Part* of *Zoar* lay hard by the extream Parts of *Jordan*, in *Asphaltites*. And the Psalmist speaking of *the Land of Jordan*, or, the Land on the other side *Jordan*, seems to measure out all *Jordan*, from the Spring to the Mouth of it. Hee bewayls his Condition, that hee was banished to the very utmost Countreyes, both North & South, wash'd by the River *Jordan*.⁵⁰⁷

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[118v]

[*784.*]

Q. What might Occasion that Reflection of the Psalmist upon his own Miseries; *Deep calleth to Deep, at the Noise of thy Water-spouts; all thy Waves & thy Billowes are gone over mee?* v. 7.

A. *David*, was now, in his flight from *Absalom*, come close unto the River *Jordan*; & from this *Land of Jordan* hee remembers the Lord.

Now observing the Waters of *Jordan*, it putts him in Mind of his own Misery; hee observes the Waves of *Jordan* to Roll, one in the Neck of another, and the *Deep* to make a Noise here & there, in its Falls, & Channels. And so, saith hee, *all thy Billowes, & all thy Waves Tumble over mee, one after another.*⁵⁰⁸

One observes; The *Clouds* are poetically called, The *Spouts* of GOD. *The Deep calling to the Deep*, & their Answering one another; is their breaking out the same time, from Above and from Below. The Lords pouring out Rain from the Clouds, (as by *Spouts* from the Top of the House,) makes a great *Noise*; and thus we read about the *Noise of the Water-spouts*. The Water below, hereupon increasing, the Springs & Brooks rise, as it were in Answer to this Voice of the Clouds; by this Means calls upon them, & rouses them up. This is a poetical

⁵⁰⁶ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 2, p. 177. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 102.

⁵⁰⁷ Lightfoot, *A Chorographical Enquiry* (ch. 3, sec. 7) in *Works* (2:501–02). Mather retains only the end of this note in *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 102.

⁵⁰⁸ Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 102.

Expression of Miseries flowing in one upon another; some from GOD, & others from our Neighbours.⁵⁰⁹

Eucherius ha's a very mystical Thought upon *Deep calling to Deep*; The *Old Testament* calls unto the *New*, to explain it; The *New Testament* calls unto the *Old* to confirm it.⁵¹⁰

Q. What was the Meaning of *Dauids Enemies*, in that Exprobration, *Where is thy God?* v. 10.

A. It was a Matter of much Observation unto the Ancient Heathen, That the *Israelites* had no *Statue* or *Image* of God among them, and therefore they could not imagine what God, the *Israelites* worshipped.⁵¹¹

Diodorus Siculus, falsely affirming that *Moses* built the Temple at *Jerusalem*, truly adds, That hee made no *Statue* or *Image* of God. *Strabo* speaking of *Moses*, tells us, Hee taught that the *Egyptians* did not conceive aright of God, while they likened the Deity to *Beasts*, nor the *Lybians*, nor *Græcians*, when they assigned the Shape of *Man* to God; and therefore he erected an Holy House unto the Divine Majesty, without any Figure at all. The *Athenians* hence not knowing who was the God of *Israel*, had their Altars, *To the unknown God*; And *Critias*, in *Lucian*, swears by *Him*. Of this you read enough in *Pausanias*. Thus *Plutarch*, in his Life of *Crassus*, professes his want of knowledge, to discern what *God* it was, that the Jewes did worship. *Socrates* had attained unto some little Knowledge of this great *God*; and he was therefore scoff'd at in the scurrilous Comœdy of *Aristophanes*, entituled, *Νεφέλαι*, or, Clouds; as if he worshipped those Exhalations. When the *Heathen* had searched as far as they could, yett they could give no better account of the God of *Judea*, than *Lucan*,

*Et dedita sacris Incerti Judea Dei.*⁵¹²

Tacitus, tho' he give a very wretched Account of the Religion of that Countrey, yett he does a little better, when hee saies, *Judei mente sola, unumque Numen intelligunt. Prophanos, qui deum imagines, mortalibus materiis, in species Hominum effingunt. Summum illud, et æternum neque imitabile, neque interiturum. Igitur nulla simulacra urbibus suis nedum Templis sunt.*⁵¹³ And thus *Dion Cassius*,

509 Hammond, *Paraphrase*, in *Works*, vol. 4, bk. 2, p. 128.

510 Although I have not been able to identify where Mather read this remark, it can be found, somewhat more generally stated, in the *Spiritual Formulae (Formularum Spiritualis Intelligentiæ)* of St. Eucherius of Lyon (ca. 380 – ca. 449), 1.3 [PL 50.740].

511 Mather retains this general idea in *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 103.

512 Diodorus Siculus (*Library* 34.1), Strabo (*Geography*, 16.2.34–8); Critias swears by the unknown god in the dialogue *Philopatris*, though this work is now generally considered inauthentic (Tooke trans., 2:720); Lucan (*De Bello Civili* 2.593) says, “And Judaea was devoted to the worship of an uncertain god.”

513 Tacitus (*History* 5.5): “The Jews have purely mental conceptions of Deity, as one in essence. They call those profane who make representations of God in human shape out of perishable materials. They believe that Being to be supreme and eternal, neither capable of

mentioning *Pompeyes* War in *Judæa*, saies, They had no Image at all in *Jerusalem*, holding their God to be of an ineffable & invisible Essence. For this Cause, the *Heathen* would profanely Jeer the Jewes, for lifting up their Hands unto the Heavens, as if they Pray'd unto the *Clouds*: The Flouts of *Petronius*, and of *Juvenal*, have often been repeted.⁵¹⁴

Now in those Passages, I suppose, you may have some Key, to the Meaning of *Dauids* Idolatrous Enemies, when they taunted at him in his Afflictions, *Where is thy God?*⁵¹⁵

representation, nor of decay. They therefore do not allow any images to stand in their cities, much less in their temples.”

514 Cassius, *Roman History* (37.17.2); For Petronius’s opinion of Jewish worship, see Josephus, *Antiquities* (8). Juvenal (*Satire* 14) satirizes Jewish converts for worshipping the clouds.

515 This note seems to depend most heavily upon Guilelmus Jameson’s *Spicilegia Antiquitatum Ægypti* (1720), ch. 9, sec. 3, pp. 173–78. Jameson (fl. 1689–1720) was professor of theology at Glasgow. The Mathers owned several of his works, and Harvard held another, but *Spicilegia* is not listed among either’s holdings. See also “Triparadisus,” sec. 3, ch. 3 (*Threefold Paradise* 177) and *BA* (1:1103). Born blind, Jameson nevertheless managed to produce numerous works of great erudition in his defense of orthodox Christianity and the Presbyterian cause. *Spicilegia Antiquitatum Ægypti* was one of many works in the period that sought to harmonize sacred and profane histories (*DNB*).

[**]⁵¹⁶

[*2H7*.]

Q. What may the Psalmist intend in that Prayer, *Send forth thy Light & thy Truth?* v. 3.

A. I cannot say, That wee are bound to Receive the Gloss of the Jewes upon it; The *Midrasch Tillin*, makes the *Light* and the *Truth*, to bee the *Messias*, and *Elias*. And so does R. *Solomon*. But this I can say. I am glad to find a *Christ* here intended, by the Confession of the very Jewes themselves.⁵¹⁷

[120v] | Here seems an Allusion to the Pillar of Cloud & Fire, which led the *Israelites*.⁵¹⁸

Q. The Meaning of that; *Then will I go unto the Altar of God, unto God my exceeding Joy?* v. 4.

A. Take Dr. *Patricks* paraphrase. “Then will I faithfully perform my Promises to thee. And the first thing I do, shall be, to go to thy *Altar* with *Sacrifices of Thanksgiving* to thee, the Author of my Joy and Triumph. Which shall not cease with that public Service, but when I am alone, entertaining myself with my *Harp*, I will praise thy Mercy, & Faithfulness, & Power, O God my Righteous Judge; who graciously protectest the Innocent, & defendest those that cannot Right themselves.”⁵¹⁹

516 [* Q. The Scope?

A. Tis a fervent Prayer of dispersed *Israel*, for a Restoration. Compare Zeph. III.16, 17. *]

517 Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 103.

518 Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 2, p. 124.

519 Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 2, p. 181.

Q. Give mee a *Key* to the *Forty Fourth Psalm*?

A. You have a Notable *Key* to the *Psalm*, in the Title which old *Theodoret* putts upon it; *De Ferino Animo Antiochi*. And an Italian Manuscript, quoted by *Viccars*, ha's the like Title upon it: *De Persecutione sub Antiocho*.

But then Remember, That *Antiochus* was a Type of *Antichrist*. This Thought carried thro' the *Psalm*, will bee the best *Key* that can bee, unto it.⁵²⁰

But then Dr. *Patrick* thinks, that these Inspirations were ceased, in the Dayes of *Antiochus*. He would rather have the *Psalm* calculated for the Dayes of *Hezekiah*, who was a pious Reformer of the Church, and had Restored Religion according to the Law of *Moses*; and yett notwithstanding was Invaded by the King of *Assyria*; who did not meerly make some Inroads upon them, & carry away a great many People, but also took all the Fenced Cities, and came before *Jerusalem* with a great Army. In this Distress, either this good King, or some other Inspired Person, might compose this *Psalm*; wherein he remembers what God had done for their Ancestors, & considering He still was their King, they might have Hoped He would have done the like for Them. Whereas, He delivered them up into their Enemies' Hands; and this, when they were the True Worshippers of God, & for His Sake were slain all the Day Long.⁵²¹

We will add from Dr. *Allix*; Behold, A Prayer for the Synagogue in her Dispersion!⁵²²

Q. Who the *Afflicted*, and who the *Cast-out*? v. 2.

A. The *People Afflicted* may be the *Egyptians*. The *People Cast-out*, may be the *Israelites*, whom God sett at Liberty.⁵²³

Q. What may be the Import of that Expression; *command Deliverances*? v. 4.

A. Bring about the *Deliverances*, by *Commands* and *Orders*, given to thine *Angels*.

⁵²⁰ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 2, p. 127. The remark of Theodoret, quoted by Viccars, is that the *Psalm* is "concerning the bestial mind of Antiochus [Epiphanes]." Similarly, the Italian manuscript has the title, "Concerning the persecution under Antiochus." See also Theodoret, *Interpretatio in Psalmos* [PG 80.1797].

⁵²¹ Mather is abstracting from Patrick's *Psalm Paraphras'd*, bk. 2, pp. 182–83.

⁵²² Allix, *The Book of Psalms*, bk. 2, p. 66. Mather further condenses the note in *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 107.

⁵²³ Patrick, *Psalm Paraphras'd*, bk. 2, p. 184.

This is a very good Hint of *Grotius*, in his, *Quæstiones Hebraicæ. Mandare, est Mandato Procurare. Deus enim per Angelos procurat Salutem suorum*.⁵²⁴

Q. Their Hopes to push down their Enemies? v. 5.

A. According to the Promise; Deut. XXXIII.17.⁵²⁵

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Q. Something Remarkable, upon that Passage; *Thou sellest thy People for nought, & thou dost not increase thy Wealth by their Price?* v. 12.

A. There is indeed something very Remarkable in it.

God often *sold* His People into the Hand of their Enemies, before the Conversion of the *Gentiles*, which brought them who were *no People* to be *His People*. But it was not an *Absolute Sale*; it was only a *Mortgage for Years*; Redeemable after the *Assyrian* had received his Pay. God pass'd not away His *Propriety* in them; He entred a *Proviso* of Recovery, in the Command of *Preserving the Evidences* [Jer. 32.7.]

The *Selling* was all this while *for Nought*; not in respect of Demerit from their Provocations. But God hereby did *not increase His Wealth*, nor add unto the Heap of the *Riches* of that Grace, He had made over by Covenant, unto *Abraham* and his Offspring; or unto His own Great Name, *The King of Saints*.

If God had utterly *sold* away His People, before He had sett up His *Kingdome* among the *Gentiles*, He had *sold them for Nought*; He had lost His *visible Kingdome* in the World. But now, His Final *Selling* of His People, at the *Roman Captivity*, is not *for nought*; it ha's introduced another, & a larger People; the *Riches of the World*, as the Apostle speaks, even the *Riches of the Gentiles*.⁵²⁶

Q. *Thy Wealth.*] is not in the Original? v. 12.

A. Take Dr. *Patrick's* Paraphrase. "Being disowned by thee, they are become so contemptible, that they are sold as the vilest Slaves, who are nothing worth. Thou hast parted with them very easily, and their Lords look upon them as unprofitable Wretches; by whose Sale they do not enrich themselves, but only seek to be rid of an useless Burden."⁵²⁷

⁵²⁴ This is a mistaken attribution on Mather's part. He is referring to the *Quæstiones Hebraicæ*, or, more accurately, *Quæstionum Hebraicarum* (1599), by Johannes Drusius, bk. 1, quest. 28, p. 23. The Harvard Library held this work. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 107. The remark of Drusius is that "to command is to bring about by command. For God brings about the deliverance of his people through the angels."

⁵²⁵ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 2, p. 184.

⁵²⁶ Smith, *Christian Religion's Appeal*, bk. 2, ch. 9, sec. 3, pp. 106–07. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 107.

⁵²⁷ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 2, p. 186.

Q. A *By-word among the Heathen?* v. 14.

A. A Fulfilment of the Threatening. Deut. XXVIII.37.⁵²⁸

Q. How, *sore broken in the Place of Dragons?* v. 19.

A. By, Banishment. So is *Munsters* Gloss upon it; *Agimur in Exilium, ut Habitare cogamur cum Draconibus in Locis horrendis, quæ præ se ferunt umbram Mortis.*⁵²⁹

⁵²⁸ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 2, p. 186. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 107. See Appendix B.

⁵²⁹ Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3750). Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 107: "We are driven into exile so that we may be forced to dwell with dragons in terrible places that bear the shadow of death before them."

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Q. Do the *Jewes* apply the Forty-fifth Psalm, as wee *Christians*? Tit.

A. R. *David Kimchi* makes, *The Loves*, mentioned in the Title, to bee, *The Loves of the Lord unto His Christ*. And besides other Confessions of the *Messiah*, in his Expositions of the Psalm, when hee comes to gloss upon that Passage, *Kings Daughters were among thy Honourable Women*, after horrid carnal Stuff, you'l see added, in *Viccars's Decapla Aliqui exponunt hæc omnia per similitudinem et Regis Filiæ sunt Gentes Terræ, Messia subditæ; Israel est Regina*.

And, *Aben Ezra*, and R. *Obadiah*, and above all, the *Chaldee Paraphrase*, are very full in their Applications of the Psalm, to the *Messiah*. Yea, according to the *Chaldee*, in the Psalm now before us, *Messias* is *God*, and in the Fifty Third of *Isaiah*, *Messiah* is *Man*. Behold, The Faith of us *Christians*!⁵³¹

Q. Why is the Psalm now before us, called, *A Song of Desires*? Tit.

A. R. *David*, on the Psalm, saies, The whole World shall Rejoice at the Coming & the Unction of the *Messiah*, And gives the Reason thereof, in the last Verse; Because the *Gentiles* in all Ages, præceding His Coming, with a longing Expectation waited for it. For this Cause the Psalm is called, *A Song of Desires*.⁵³²

Compare, Hag. 2.7.

To this the Apostle refers, Rom. 8.19. *The earnest Expectation of the Creature*.

The LXX so render the Passage in Jacobs Prophecy; Gen. 49.10. προσδοκία των εθνων *The Expectation of the Gentiles*.⁵³³

⁵³⁰ [* Q. The Scope? Tit.

A. Behold; The Marriage of the Jewish Church, unto the *Messiah*, when she shall be recalled & restored unto the Favour of God.

Compare the III Chapter of *Jeremiah*. Then shall she be followed a Crowd of the Nations. *]

⁵³¹ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 2, pp. 128–30. Mather, *Psalterium* (bk. 2, p. 110): "Some explain all these things through analogy, and the king's daughters are peoples of the earth subject to the Messiah; Israel is the queen." The "Horrid Carnal Stuff" to which Mather refers is Kimchi's belief that the Messiah, like Solomon, would practice polygamy.

⁵³² Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 2, p. 129.

⁵³³ The references to the books of Haggai and Genesis, including the transcription of the Septuagint's rendering of Gen. 49:10, seem to come from the *Vindication of Dr. Hammond's Address* (1649), pp. 37–8. They appear in that work in much the same brief manner that they do here. Interestingly, the *Vindication* had been written in response to arguments that had been made against Hammond's address earlier in that year, *To the Right Honourable Lord Fairfax and His Councell of Warre*, in which Hammond as the King's chaplain had unsuccessfully pled the cause of the Charles I before, among others, his own brother, Thomas Hammond. In that earlier work Hammond argues that the expectation of creation (or, the creature) in Rom. 8:19 must be read as a hope not for political, but for strictly spiritual, liberty (p. 7). On the context

Does not the Term, *A Song of Loves*; plainly allude unto the Name of *Jedidiah*, given to *Solomon*, by *Nathan* the Prophet? 2. Sam. XII.25.⁵³⁴

Q. Unto what alludes that Expression, *The Pen of a Ready Writer*? v. 1.

A. In R. *Obadiah Gaons* Exposition, such a Writer is called, *A Hasty Writer*, or, one *Qui Principia Vocum solum modò transcribit*. q.d. I'll only bestow a Touch or two, in a contracted Manner, on the Beginning of the Matter.⁵³⁵

Q. Why is it said, *In thy Majesty ride prosperously, because of Truth, and Meekness, and Righteousness*? v. 4.

A. The Prospering of the Kingdome, is to be by the Planting of all Vertue, among the Subjects of it.

So the Kingdome of our Saviour prevails, when He goes forth as a Conqueror; not to enslave Mens Persons, or to spoil them of their Goods, but to settle the *True Faith* among them, to make them *Humble*, and *Meek*, & *Just*, & *Charitable*.

For the Furtherance of this glorious Work, the mighty Power of our Lord, instructed Him, to do *miraculous* and amazing Things. Luk. IV.36. & V.26.

And then, as *Munster* adds; *Insedit Apostolis, veluti Equo*.⁵³⁶

Q. How, *Anointed with the Oyl of Gladness above His Fellowes*? v. 8.⁵³⁷

A. Take Dr. *Patrick's* Paraphrase; "God the Father ha's highly exalted thee, O God, above all others whom He calls *His Sons*; and conferred on thee such super-eminent Gifts, as make a *Joy* among thy Subjects far exceeding *that*, by the sound whereof the very Earth was rent, when *Solomon* was anointed King, & præferred above all his Brethren. [1. King. I.39, 40.]"⁵³⁸

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Q. When was there a very Remarkable Season, wherein the *Garments* of our Lord- Messiah smelt of *Myrrhe, Aloes, and Cassia*? v. 8.

of both these pamphlets, see John William Packer's *Transformation of Anglicanism, 1643–60* (pp. 176–78).

⁵³⁴ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 2, p. 189. The entire note is reworded but contained in *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 110.

⁵³⁵ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 2, p. 130. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 110. Rabbi Obadiah's gloss is that a "ready writer" is one "who transcribes only the beginnings of speeches." See Ezra 7:6, by way of comparison.

⁵³⁶ Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3755). Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 110. Münster's allegorical interpretation is that Jesus "settled on the apostles as on a horse."

⁵³⁷ Verse 7 in KJV.

⁵³⁸ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 2, p. 192. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 111.

A. Compare, Joh. 19.39, *They brought a Mixture of Myrrhe & Aloes, about an Hundred Pound Weight; Then they took the Body of Jesus, and wound it in Linen-clothes, with the Spices.*

Compare also, Mark. 16.1. and Luk. 24.1. This Hint may suggest some singular Thoughts to you; concerning our Lord *made glad*, in His not *seeing of Corruption*.⁵³⁹

Indeed, here is an Allusion to King *Solomons* wedding Garments; the Perfumes whereof were nothing so grateful (so Dr. *Patrick* chuses to express it in his Paraphrase,) as the Knowledge of Christ, which shall be spread as a sweet Odor in every Place, when He goes to espouse a Church unto Himself. [2. Cor. II.14, 15, 16.]⁵⁴⁰

Q. That Passage, *Kings Daughters were among thy Honourable Women?* v. 9.

A. R. *Obadiab Gaon*, ha's a very Ingenious Gloss upon, The, *Kings Daughters*; at least, it may do for an Allusive One. They are the, *Opiniones Sapientum Nationum Exterarum*. The *Opinions* of the *wise Gentiles*, are but so many *Confessions* of the True Religion; so many *Attendants* on the Church of God.⁵⁴¹ Thus *Lactantius* admirably. *Quòd si exstitisset aliquis, qui Veritatem dispersam per Singulos, per Sectasque diffusam, colligeret in unum, ac redigeret in Corpus, is profectò non dissentiret à nobis.*⁵⁴²

Q. That Passage, *Instead of thy Father shall be thy Children, whom thou mayst make Princes in all the Earth?* v. 16.

A. *Arnobius* ha's a notable Gloss upon it: *pro duodecim Patriarchis, nati sunt Deo Filii alii duodecim, quos constituit Principes Jesus, super omnem Terram.*⁵⁴³

And thus Dr. *Patrick's* Paraphrase. "Instead of the *Patriarchs*, of our Descent from whom we are apt to boast, shall be the XII *Apostles*, – by whose Means, the

⁵³⁹ The messianic reading of this verse is so common throughout Christian history that it is practicably impossible to identify Mather's immediate source for it. See, for example, Poole, *Synopsis Criticorum* (2:842) and Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3755–58).

⁵⁴⁰ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 2, p. 192. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 111.

⁵⁴¹ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 2, p. 130.

⁵⁴² Mather probably owes the quote to Samuel Clarke (1675–1729). A member of Newton's inner circle as well as a correspondent with Leibniz, Clarke presented the Boyle Lectures in 1704 and 1705. These were collected and frequently reprinted as *A Discourse Concerning the Being and Attributes of God* (DNB). The Harvard Library owned the 5th edition of this work, which I have used here. See *Discourse*, vol. 2, prop. 6, p. 193: "For if there were anyone who collected truth scattered among individuals [and] spread among different schools of thought, and restored it to a whole, that man would not really differ from us." The original statement of Lactantius is *Divinarum Institutionum*, lib. 7 [PL 6.759]. See also Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 111.

⁵⁴³ Arnobius, *Commentarii in Psalmos* [PL 53.389]: "Instead of the 12 patriarchs, twelve other sons were born unto God whom Jesus established as princes over all the earth."

Church shall bring forth Children unto Christ, whom He shall make Kings & Priests unto God, & they shall Reign upon the Earth. [Rev. V.10.]⁵⁴⁴

⁵⁴⁴ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 2, p. 195. Both glosses are contained in *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 111–113.

Q. The Scope? Tit.

A. Behold the Happiness of Restored *Israel*!
Compare the *Ninth* Verse, with, Isa. II.4.⁵⁴⁵

Q. An Emphasis in bringing *in the River, the Streams whereof make glad the City of God?*

A. The Psalmist just before speaks of a very *Troubled Sea*, & of the People of God as being *Fearless* in it. Now Dr. *Patrick* in his Paraphrase, thus carries on the Sense.

“Our Hearts shall be Quiet and Still; like the River that runs thro’ our City, from whence the Inhabitants draw by Trenches, delightful Streams, to water their Gardens.” He adds: “The small Forces that guard this Place, which make no more Noise than those Waters, [Isa. VIII.6, 7.] shall, by the Help of God, who in a special Manner dwelleth here, be too hard for the greatest Armies; which in their Number and their Boasts, imitate the Waves of the raging Sea.”⁵⁴⁶

Q. What Fulfilment had that Passage, *God uttered His Voice, the Earth melted?* v. 6.

A. The Story of the *horrible Tempest*, by which the *Assyrian* Camp, was desolated, will give you a notable Fulfilment of that Passage.

And yett, methinks, I do here see some Reference of the Holy Spirit, unto a further Matter; even unto that Matter which is the meritorious Original of all those Dispensations, wherein *God utters His Voice*, and makes the *Earth to melt*, & shake & sink, in the behalf of His People. Yea, if I do not misremember, some of the Ancients have made the same Reflection.

Turn then, to Math. 27.50, 51. *Jesus cried with a loud Voice, and the Earth did quake, & the Rocks rent*. Behold, *God uttering His Voice*, and the *Earth melting*! I am ready to think, the Evangelist, might have this very Passage of the Psalmist, in his Mind, when hee wrote it!⁵⁴⁷

⁵⁴⁵ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 2, p. 134. This is from the Chaldee Paraphrast.

⁵⁴⁶ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 2, p. 197. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 113.

⁵⁴⁷ See Roberts, *Clavis Bibliorum*, p. 205; Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 2, p. 135; *Bibliorum Sacrorum cum Glossa Ordinaria* (3:753–54); and *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 113.

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Q. On that Passage, *Bee still, & know that I am God*: is there any Remark to be made, a little out of the common Road? v. 11.

A. 'Tis a Stroke, in old *Raymunds Pugio Fidei*, which a little pleased mee; *præcipitur, quòd Homo aliquo Tempore vacet rebus Divinis; juxtà id quod Psalmista dicit*, Psal. 46.11: cessate, et cognoscite quia Ego Sum Deus.

Yea, The *Great Sabbatism* now arrives.⁵⁴⁸

⁵⁴⁸ Martin, *Pugio Fidei*, pars. 3, cap. 11, p. 775. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 113: "It is taught that a man should be free at any time for divine matters; in like manner that which the Psalmist says: stop and understand that I am God."

Q. The Scope? v. 1.

A. Behold, the Triumphs of the *Messiah*, when He ha's established His Kingdome among the Nations.⁵⁴⁹

Q. Why is it said, *The People of the God of Abraham*? v. 9.

A. There is a Noble Emphasis in it. The Time herein referr'd unto, is a Time, when the converted *Gentiles* are to glorify God, & be made Partakers of His Favours. *Abraham* was to be the *Father of many Nations*. The *God of Abraham*, is to be the God of the *Gentiles*, as well as of the *Jews*. The *Blessing of Abraham*, is now to come upon the *Gentiles*.⁵⁵⁰

Q. The Meaning of, *The Princes of the People gathered together*, even *the People of the God of Abraham*; and of, the *Shields of the Earth belonging to God*? v. 9.

A. Take it in Dr. *Patrick's* paraphrase.

"Before the Ark, [*the Throne of His Holiness*,] the Heads of the Tribes, with all the People that worship Him, who promised to give this Countrey unto *Abraham*, are assembled together, without any Fear of Invasion from their foreign Neighbours: For God, (when to attend His Service, they have left their own Houses unguarded) hath undertaken their Protection; (Exod. XXXIV.23, 25.) and He is infinitely superior to all other Gods, who pretend to be the Defenders of the Earth."⁵⁵¹

Q. Why are *Magistrates* called, *The Shields of the Earth*? v. 9.

A. Mr. *Strong* ha's an agreeable Remark upon it. A *Shield* is a venturous Weapon; it receives all the *Darts* that are thrown at it. *Magistrates* must look for *Darts* to be thrown at them, & give a patient & valiant Reception to the *Darts*.⁵⁵²

⁵⁴⁹ Allix, *The Book of Psalms*, bk. 2, p. 71. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 114.

⁵⁵⁰ The immediate source is probably David Dickson, *Explication of the First Fifty Psalms* (p. 304). The "blessing of Abraham ... come upon the Gentiles" is an allusion to Gal. 3:14. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 115.

⁵⁵¹ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 2, p. 202.

⁵⁵² I have not located this statement in the writings of William Strong (d. 1654), a writer much favored both by Harvard Library and the Mathers. However, it does occur in the work of an equally respected author, Edward Reynolds (1599–1676), who in 1636 published a sermon preached before the assizes in February of 1634: *The Shieldes of the Earth* (1636), p. 41. Although Harvard owned the *Works* of Reynolds (1658), and the Mathers held several of his other writings, this work is not listed in either catalogue. Nevertheless, the dependence appears clear both by the title of Reynolds's text and the specific wording in it.

Q. The Occasion of the Psalm?

A. Because the Fourth Verse mentions a Combination of *Kings*, Dr. *Patrick* would have it applied unto that History, 2 Chron. XX, The Coming of *Moab*, and *Ammon*, & those of Mount *Seir*, against *Jehoshaphat*, with an Intention to fall upon *Jerusalem*. After the Victory, they gave solemn Thanks unto God, before they left the Field, in the *Valley of Blessing*; and then returned unto *Jerusalem*, with *Psalteries and Harps and Trumpetts unto the House of the Lord*. At this time, tis probable, they sang this Psalm. It is called, *A Song & Psalm*, as being a Psalm of Triumph, & of great Joy. No body knowes the Composer.⁵⁵³

But, behold, the Ruine of the *Turks*, when they come to assault the *Israelites*, after they return unto their Countrey. It is explained in Ezek. XXXVIII; & XXXIX.⁵⁵⁴

Q. The Elogies of *Jerusalem*, as being, *Beautiful for Scituation, the Joy of the whole Earth*; is there any thing in pagan Antiquity, that speaks the same? v. 2.

A. Yes. *Pliny*, (l.5 c.14) tho' he pompously describes *Alexandria* and *Babylon*, yett he prefers *Jerusalem* above both of them, calling it, *Longè clarissimam Urbium Orientis*. For the sake hereof chiefly it was, that the Jewes themselves, as *Porphyrie* tells us, were styled by *Apollo's Oracle*, Ἀριζήλητοι Ἑβραῖοι, of that Renown, as to be worthy of Emulation above all People.⁵⁵⁵

Q. The *Kings Assembling & Passing by together?* v. 4.

A. As Dr. *Patrick* Paraphrases. "The Kings of several Neighbouring Countreyes, entred into a Confoederacy to cast us out of our Possession; [2. Chron. XX.11.] and made a great Progress in their Design; marching together from beyond the *Dead Sea*, till they came nigh to *Jerusalem*."

"But then, [*as the next verse relates*,] they only had a Sight of it, and that was all; for a sudden Amazement siezed on them, & such a panick Fear, that they

⁵⁵³ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 2, pp. 202–03.

⁵⁵⁴ Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk.2, p. 72. The entire note is in *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 116.

⁵⁵⁵ See *Pliny*, *Natural History* (5.14), where Jerusalem is praised as "by far the most famous city of the east." Porphyry of Tyre (c. 232–c.303) was a student of Plotinus and controversialist opposed to the early Christians. Some of his work is preserved only in the works of Eusebius and Augustine, as is the case here (*ODCC*). These words, attributed to the now lost *Philosophy from Oracles*, are reproduced in the Eusebius' *Preparatio Evangelica* (9.10), in which Eusebius says that even Porphyry bore "witness to the wisdom of the Hebrew race as well of the other nations renowned for intelligence." The Greek passage is from Porphyry's *De philosophia ex oraculis* (p. 141, line 1) and signifies "much to be envied Hebrews." Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 117.

fell into Confusion; and taking one another for Enemies, were destroyed by the Ambush, which one Nation laid for the other.”⁵⁵⁶

Q. The Intent of that Passage; *Thou breakest the Ships of Tarshish with an East-wind?* v. 7.

A. The Psalmist is making of Comparisons for the Terror and Confusion among the Enemies.

First, it surprised them, as anguish does a *Woman in Travail*.

And then, it was like the Consternation which Mariners are in, when a Fleet of Ships richly laden from *Tarshish* is broken in Peeeces by the furious Blasts of the east Wind, one against another.

Whether *Jehoshaphat* improved this Deliverance with a due Thankfulness or no, yett quickly after this, he had a Fleet exactly in this Condition. [2. Chron. XX.37.]⁵⁵⁷

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Q. We read; *According to thy Name, O God, so is thy Praise unto the Ends of the Earth*. What Name? v. 10.

A. It seems more peculiarly to refer unto that Name, *The Lord of Hosts*. For such had He demonstrated Himself, in the late Victories of His People.⁵⁵⁸

Q. *Tell the Towers thereof.*] Why? v. 12.

A. Take Dr. *Patricks* paraphrase.

“Make a solemn Procession. — Tell all the Towers as you go along, and see if there be so much as one wanting, or the least Hurt done unto any of them.”⁵⁵⁹

⁵⁵⁶ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 2, p. 204.

⁵⁵⁷ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 2, p. 204. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 117.

⁵⁵⁸ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 2, p. 205. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 117.

⁵⁵⁹ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 2, p. 206. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 117, where Mather includes only the central portion of Patrick's paraphrase: “See, if there be so much as one wanting.”

Q. A Remark on the Psalm? v. 2.

A. Behold the Folly of them, who think, that a *Resurrection from the Dead*, was not promised nor expected under the *Old Testament*.

Consider, v. 14, 15.

The *First Resurrection* is here plainly pointed at.⁵⁶⁰

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Q. What *Iniquities* may bee meant, by those, which the Psalmist calls, *The Iniquities of his Heels*? v. 5.

A. The *Talmud* in *Libro Chasidim*, Num. 30 ha's a notable Passage.

De Transgressionibus, quæ Leves nobis Videntur, scriptum est, Psal. 49.5, Iniquitas calcanei mei circumdabit me. *Id est, Iniquitates, quas calcat homo Calcaneo in hoc Mundo, circumdabunt eum in Die Judicii.*⁵⁶¹

Tis a Passage worth considering.

Some of the Ancients carried it thus; *Homines Iniqui circumdant Calcaneum meum.*⁵⁶²

But if you consider, the *Messiah* speaking in the Psalm, you'll call to Mind, the ancient Prædiction of His having His *Heel Bruised* for the *Iniquity* of His People; and then you'll have many Evangelical Thoughts, on their own accord, offer themselves unto your Mind immediately. I find some of the Ancients, by the *Heel* here understanding the *Humanity* of our Lord-Messiah.⁵⁶³

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Q. What further considerable *Glosses*, may the Jewish Expositors have upon this Passage?

A. *Aben Ezra*, takes, *The Iniquities of the Heels*, here, to bee the *Iniquities of Ill-gotten Riches*. These are called, *The Iniquities of the Heels*, because, *Peccatum sequitur quasi in Calce, et non videtur.*⁵⁶⁴

⁵⁶⁰ Allix, *The Book of Psalms*, bk. 2, p. 73. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 119.

⁵⁶¹ This quotation from the *Talmud* occurs in the observations of Joseph de Voisin Burdegal to Martin's "Prooemium" (*Pugio Fidei*, p. 169): "Concerning transgressions which seem trivial to us, it is written in Psalm 49, verse 5: 'The iniquity of my heel will surround me.' That is, the iniquities which a man treads under his heel in this world will surround him on the day of judgment."

⁵⁶² "Iniquitous men enclose my heel."

⁵⁶³ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 2, p. 142. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 120.

⁵⁶⁴ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 2, p. 141: "The sin follows as if on the heel, and is not seen."

I will add a good Admonition of *Arnobius* upon it. *Hoc solum timendum est omnibus, ne in fine suo Iniquitate suâ capiantur. In quo enim Opere quis inventus fuerit in Fine, in eo erit usque in Sempiternum.*⁵⁶⁵

Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase upon it, is; “The Iniquity of those that endeavour to supplant me, hath surrounded me on all Sides, & left me no way to escape them.”⁵⁶⁶

Q. Why is it said, *The Redemption of the Soul ceaseth forever?* v. 8.

A. The *Chaldee* understands it, for, The *Vengeance* pursued upon the Soul, when the *Ransome* is paid for it; That now *ceaseth forever*.⁵⁶⁷

Q. We read, *wise Men die, likewise the Fool and the Brutish Person perish?* v. 10.

A. Take Dr. *Patricks* paraphrase. “The *Wisdom* I speak of, promises no Exemption to the best of Men, but they must Dy as well as others. And therefore, those wicked Sotts, whose Life differs little from that of Beasts, may justly expect, not meerly to Dy, but to be Destroy’d, & Cutt off like the Beasts that perish.”⁵⁶⁸

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[*475.*]

Q. What sort of *Thoughts* are those that the Psalmist calls, *Inward Thoughts?* I thought all sort of *Thoughts* had been *Inward!* v. 11.

A. *All Thoughts* are the *Inward Acts* of the Mind. But *Inward Thoughts* are those that arise meerly & solely from the *Inward Principles*, Dispositions, & Inclinations of Men; and that are not suggested or excited by any *Outward Objects*.⁵⁶⁹

[*1577.*]

Q. By what Instances will you Interpret that Passage, *They call their Lands after their own Names?* v. 11.

⁵⁶⁵ Arnobius, *Commentarii in Psalmos* [PL 53.393]: “Everyone must fear this thing only, that at the end of his life he not be taken in the midst of his own iniquity. For in whatever condition one is discovered at the end, in that same condition he will persist for eternity.”

⁵⁶⁶ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 2, p. 208. The entire note is rephrased for inclusion in *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 120.

⁵⁶⁷ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 2, p. 142. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 120.

⁵⁶⁸ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 2, p. 209.

⁵⁶⁹ John Owen, *Φρόνημα του Πνεύματος or the Grace and Duty of Being Spiritually Minded* (1717), ch. 2, p. 16. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 120.

A. The Jewish Rabbins Interpret it, by mentioning of *Alexandria*, of *Antioch*, of *Tiberias*. And you may Interpret it, with Gen. 4.17. *Hee called the Name of the City, after the Name of his Son, Enoch.*⁵⁷⁰

Q. How, *Like the Beasts*? v. 12.

A. They don't always leave their Honour and Riches to their Posterity, but they fall into the Hands of other Men, for whom they never designed them. As the *Beasts*, when they Dy, leave nothing to their young Ones: they have only the wide World before them.⁵⁷¹

Q. What may be intended, in that Clause about Fallen Man, which we render, *He is Like the Beasts that perish*? v. 12.

A. The former Clause of the Verse is to be rendred, *Adam continued not a Night in Excellency*. What became of him? Almost all Interpreters read the next Clause, as we do, in our common Translation: But it is observed by the Incomparable *Alting*, the Younger, That the word / מַשַּׁל / signifies not only *Similitude*, but also, *Dominion*: And that must here be taken in the latter Signification; or else the Præposition כ in / כְּבַהֲמוֹת / would be wholly superfluous; and besides, when the Word / נִמְשַׁל / is employ'd for, *Similitude*, it is used, not with / כ / but with / אֵל / or / ל / . And therefore the Clause is now to be rendred, *He fell under Dominion Like the Beasts that perish*. Whose Dominion? Horrible to be thought on! Whose, but *Satans*, his Horrible Tempters?⁵⁷²

Q. That Passage, *Like Sheep they are laid in the Grave*? v. 14.

A. I will not bring it as the Sense of the Place, but I will bring it as a Thought worthy to be Entertain'd on the Place. Reading a Nameless Sermon about, *The Damnation of Hell*, I find these Words in it.

“The Prophet *David* seems to make an Allusion, like that of the Liver devoured by the Vulture all the Day long, & in the Night Time growing again; when he saies, *They lie in Hell like Sheep. Death gnaweth on them*: signifying, That as the Grass which is eaten by the Cattel, springeth and groweth again; because, the Root thereof, which is the Beginning of Life, still liveth: so the Damned,

570 Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 2, p. 141. The Jewish commentator is Rabbi Solomon. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 120.

571 Clutterbuck, *A Brief Explanation* (p. 41), who owes the reading to Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk.2, p. 210.

572 Jacob Alting addresses the terms as well (although he does not reference this passage); see his *Parallelismi Veticiniorum Veteris Testamenti quæ Citantur in Novo*, in *Opera*, tom. 2, pars. 5, cap. 3, p. 7. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 120. נִמְשַׁל כְּבַהֲמוֹת [nimshal kabbehemot] “he is like the beasts.”

being alwayes fed upon by the Devouring Fire, shall never dy; because their Soul, the principal Fuel of this Fire is immortal.”⁵⁷³

Q. On that passage, *Death shall feed on them?* v. 14.

A. In the Original tis, *Death shall be a Shepherd to them*. It had been said, *Like Sheep they are laid in the Grave*. *Sheep* are putt into a Pasture, to continue in a common Place. And so Men are putt into the State of the Dead. *Death* is as it were the *Shepherd*, that leads Men into this Pasture. Men dy as Ordinarily & as Regularly, as the *Sheep* are led unto their Pasture.⁵⁷⁴

Q. *God will Redeem my Soul*; saith the Psalmist. How? v. 15.

A. The Hebrew Word, *Phada*, To Redeem, is of the same Importance, with the Arabic, *Fada*, To Devote Ones Self to Death. Wherefore, this glorious Truth, is contained in it; That Our Lords *Devoting Himself to Death* for us, is that by which Hee does *Redeem* us.⁵⁷⁵

Q. *He shall go to the Generation of his Fathers*: What *Fathers?* v. 19.

A. Take the Interpretation of *Arnobius*; *Parentes eorum, non quorum Semine sunt propagati; sed quorum sunt Opera Imitati*.⁵⁷⁶

⁵⁷³ From a sermon by N. B. (N. Basely), *A Sermon Shewing the Meanes How We May Escape the Damnation of Hell* (1649), p. 8.

⁵⁷⁴ Clutterbuck, *A Brief Explanation*, p. 41; Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 2, p. 210.

⁵⁷⁵ Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 120.

⁵⁷⁶ Arnobius, *Commentarii in Psalmos* [PL 53.393]. Mather quotes Arnobius paraphrastically: “Parents of those who were not propagated by seed, but who imitated their deeds.”

Q. The Scope? Tit.

A. Behold, The Return of the Jews; and a Correction of their Mistake in placing Religion only in Sacrifices. Behold then, a Condemnation passed on the Followers of Antichrist.⁵⁷⁷

Q. The Psalmist, Speaking about the *Coming* of the Lord, mentions the Name of, GOD, *three times* over. Why? v. 1.

A. Why not, as a Sweet *Indignation* of the *Trinity*?

Doubtless, It will surprise you, to find a *Jew* confessing thus much. And yett in *Midrash Tillim* you'll find such things as these.

Quamobrem memoravit Asaph Nomen Dei Sancti et Benedicti tribus vicibus? [Nempe, in Psal. 50.1. ubi dicitur, *Deus, Deus, Dominus Locutus est.*] *Ut doceret te quòd cum istis tribus Nominibus creavit Deus Sæculum suum, Loco Trium proprietatum, in quibus Creatus est Mundus.* (Prov. 3.19.) *Isto quoque modo dicit ipse, Exod. 20.5. Quoniam ego Dominus Deus Tuus, Deus Zelator. Ecce Tres, Loco Trium quibus Creatus est Mundus. Sic etiam Filii Gad et Reuben dicunt, Jos. 22.22. Deus, Deus, Dominus Deus, Deus, Dominus, ipse scit. Quid viderunt quòd sic memoraverunt duabus vicibus? Dixerunt quidem, Dominus, Deus, Deus, quia his Creatus est Mundus. Et iterum, Deus, Deus, Dominus, quia in his data est Lex.*⁵⁷⁸

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Q. *Zion* here, why is it called, *The Perfection of Beauty*? v. 2.

A. According to the Chaldee, it is not *Zion*, but *God*, that is here called so; Namely, our Lord-Messiah, who is God.⁵⁷⁹

⁵⁷⁷ Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 2, p. 75. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 123.

⁵⁷⁸ Martin, *Pugio Fidei*, pars. 3, dist. 1, cap. 4, p. 494. Mather makes the same assertion, but without the quotation from Martin, in *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 123. "Why did Asaph call the name of the holy and blessed God three times? [To be sure, in Psalm 50.1 where it is said, He spoke 'God, God, Lord.'] In order to teach you that God with these three names created His own age instead of the three properties on which the world was created. (Prov. 3.19) He also spoke himself in just this way in Exod. 20.5: Because I am the Lord your God, God the zealous. Behold the three instead of the three by which the world was created; thus also say the sons of Gad and Reuben, Jos. 22.22. 'God, God, Lord God, God, Lord himself knows.' What did they see that they called twice in this way? They said in fact, Lord, God, God, because by these [names] the world was created. And again, God, God, Lord, because in these the law was granted."

⁵⁷⁹ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 2, p. 146.

Q. What means that Passage, *Hee shall call to the Heavens from above, and to the Earth that Hee may Judge His People?* v. 4.

A. 'Tis unquæstionable, That the *Spirit of Prophecy* does in lively Colours here describe the Second Coming of our Lord Jesus Christ. Yea, and in relation to the *Day of Judgment* the Jewes understand the Call to the *Soul* in *Heaven above*, & the *Body* in the *Earth*, in Order to their *Union* and *Judgment*, as here pointed at.⁵⁸⁰

But was there no *Type* of these Matters, which the Psalmist might more immediately refer unto? *Grotius* thinks, That the Shutting of *Heaven above* & the Parching of the *Earth*, in a terrible *Drought* for the Sins of Men, is in these Terms painted out unto us. And that this Passage may particularly point unto the Story in 2. Sam. 21.1 when a long *Drought* had brought a *Famine* upon *Israel*; and the Children of *Saul* were made a *Sacrifice* unto the Lord. Compare now this Conjecture, with what occurs in the Psalm, about *Sacrifices*, and about such Crimes as concurr'd in *Sauls* Murder of the *Gibeonites*: It will suggest a great Number of peculiar Thoughts unto you.⁵⁸¹

Q. That passage; *Gather my Saints together to me?* v. 5.

A. Take Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase.

"He will send out His Officers, with a peremptory Charge, saying, Bring those Men before me, whom I have obliged above all other People, and separated unto myself, to be an Holy Nation; [Deut. XIV.2.] and who have engaged themselves to me in such a solemn Covenant, confirmed by the Blood of Sacrifices; that they wish they might perish in like Manner, if they did not observe it. [Jer. XXXIV. 18, 19.]"⁵⁸²

Imagine then, that all things being thus prepared, you hear Him calling to you, and saying, Hearken, O my People, –

Q. *Gather.* Who's to *Gather?* v. 5.

A. Behold, The Work of the *good Angels* at the Descent our GOD.
See Matth. XXIV.31.⁵⁸³

Q. On that, *Will I Eat the Flesh of Bulls, or Drink the Blood of Goats?* v. 13.

A. Tho' some of our modern Criticks, who have the *Itch of Disputing* every thing, would have this disputed, yett it is very certain, The Heathens were of the Opinion, *That their Gods were Nourished, as well as therefore Delighted, with the Fumes and Steams of the Sacrifices Offered unto them.* *Justin Martyr*, in his Epistle to *Diognetus* upbraids the Gentiles for their, *αἷματι καὶ κνισσαῖς*, *Blood and Reek-*

⁵⁸⁰ Hammond, *Paraphrase*, in *Works*, vol. 4, bk. 2, p. 150.

⁵⁸¹ Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3775). *Grotius*, *Opera Omnia* (1:231).

⁵⁸² Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 2, p. 214.

⁵⁸³ Hammond, *Paraphrase*, in *Works*, vol. 4, bk. 2, p. 148.

ing Vapours, with which they fed their Gods.⁵⁸⁴ Origen in his Third Book against Celsus, tells us, That by our Saviours coming to destroy Idolatry, the Offerings and the Steams, which | the Gods so much delighted in, were taken away.⁵⁸⁵ And in his Seventh Book, he represents it, as the chief Entertainment of the Gods, that they were, τρεφομενους κνισσαις και αιμασι και ταις απο των θυσιων αναθυμαμεσι, Fed with the Blood of the Sacrifices, & the Fumes that exhaled from them.⁵⁸⁶ Tertullian in his Apologetic, speaks of these, Pabula propria Nidoris et Sanguinis.⁵⁸⁷ Minucius Felix mentions this very Thing of those Deities, Nidore Altarium vel Hostiis pecudum saginati.⁵⁸⁸ Arnobius does insist largely upon it, as a thing very notorious and very scandalous. Numquid fortè Dii coelestes aluntur his Sacris, et ad eorum compaginem retinendam nonnullius Opus refectione Materiae? Et quis ità est hominum, Deus prorsus qui sit, ignorans, ut eos existimet contineri aluius alimonii Genere?⁵⁸⁹ Many more emphatical Passages he has this Way, and concludes anon, Cessat ergò, ut apparet, Sacrorum haec Ratio, neque dici à quopiam potis est eà causà Sacrificia celebrari, quòd alantur his Numina, et eorum sustineantur e pastu.⁵⁹⁰ So he that had himself lately been a Pagan, does now confute the Pagans.

Theodoret quotes Porphyrius for this purpose. He saies, The pagan Dæmons are glad of these Offerings and Steams, by which their Souls and Bodies were fatned & kept in good Plight. Our Theodoret ridicules it, that they who were constantly regaled with Nectar and Ambrosia, should live upon the foetid steams exhaled from the Bodies of Bruits.⁵⁹¹ Maimonides in his More Nevachim, speaks about this Conceit of Idolaters, as a Thing well known in the World.⁵⁹²

⁵⁸⁴ This epistle to the tutor of Marcus Aurelius, once attributed to Justin Martyr, is now usually ascribed to an anonymous Johannine Christian [PG 2.1172].

⁵⁸⁵ Mather includes a truncated version of this entry in *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 123. See Origen's *Against Celsus* (3.29).

⁵⁸⁶ *Against Celsus* (7.5).

⁵⁸⁷ Tertullian, *Apologeticus Adversus Gentes* [PL 1.407]: "the foods of vapor and blood peculiarly fitting their divine nature."

⁵⁸⁸ Marcus Minucius Felix (fl. 160–300?) was one of the first Latin apologists for Christianity (ODCC). This remark is contained in his *Octavius* (27), an imagined dialogue between a Christian and a pagan [PL 3.324]: "By the vapor of the altar or by the sacrifices of cattle are they fattened."

⁵⁸⁹ "Surely the celestial gods are not really nourished by these sacrifices, and need to be supplied with some substance in order to retain their physical integrity? And who among men is so ignorant – God help who is – that he thinks the gods are held together by some sort of sustenance?"

⁵⁹⁰ This is from the work of Arnobius of Sicca, or Arnobius Africanus (d. ca. 330), *Disputationem Adversus Gentes Libri Septem* (7.3) [PL 5.1222]. His conclusion is that "As is evident, therefore, this method of sacrifice does nothing, and no one can say why these sacrifices are practiced other than that the gods may be nourished by them and supported by their food."

⁵⁹¹ This is probably a reference to Theodoret's *Graecarum Affectionum Curatio*. See Niketas Siniosoglou, *Plato and Theodoret* (83–4).

⁵⁹² See Maimonides, *Doctor Perplexorum*, pt. 3, ch. 29, pp. 421–22.

No doubt, the Text now before us, is an Allusion to it. q.d. “Will you use me like a God of the Pagans, who is nourished with the *Sacrifices* that are offered unto him?”⁵⁹³

Q. That Passage, *He that offereth Praise, glorifieth me*? May not the Spirit of Prophecy, have some Eye, to the *Messiah* in it? v. 23.

A. Some have thought so. *Praise* is a Name of the *Messiah*. He is, *The Praise of Israel*. God *Inhabits* Him. He is the Great One of *Judah*; who is to be *Praised*.

The Original runs here, *He that sacrificeth praise*. Our *Messiah* *Glorified* God infinitely, when He presented Himself a *Sacrifice* unto God. We never *Glorify* God so much, as when we fly to, & lean on, that *Sacrifice*.

I find one, who so reads the Text. *One sacrificing Praise, shall Glorify me*.⁵⁹⁴

Dr. Gell reads to this Purpose; *I beseech you, consider this, ye forgetful of God. – He who is offering Praise, shall honour me: and I will cause him to see into the Salvation of God, who is ordering his Way*.⁵⁹⁵

⁵⁹³ This note seems most fully to rely on John Spencer, *De Legibus Hebraeorum*, vol. 1, bk. 2, ch. 3, sec. 1, pp. 603. This work was held by Harvard during Mather's lifetime.

⁵⁹⁴ Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, pp. 123–24.

⁵⁹⁵ Gell, *Essay* (Serm. 15, p. 681).

Q. The Scope?

A. Here behold the Jews confessing their Murder of the *Messias*: [compare, Isa. 1.15,16] And praying for a Returning & Restoring of the Gifts, whereof they have been long deprived; And engaging to publish the Mercy of God among the Nations.

The *Eighteenth Verse* points to a Time, wherein *Jerusalem* lies destroy'd.⁵⁹⁶

Q. What special Thing, may the Psalmist intend, when hee saies, *My Sin is ever before mee?* v. 3.

A. No doubt, the Conviction & Contrition of *Mind*, wherewith hee continually represented his own Sin unto himself.⁵⁹⁷

But I am thinking whether hee may not refer to some Notable *Monument* of his Crime, which the Judgments of God, might cause to bee before his Eyes, as a continual *Monitor* of Repentance. Particularly, when the Psalm was written, was not his *Bastard* ever *before him*.

I Remember, *Theodorus*, would say of the Emperour *Heraclius*, who Incestuously Married *Martina*, his Neece, ὅτι ἁμαρτία αὐτοῦ ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ διὰ παντός, That *His sin was ever before him*. For this *Martina* brought him Two Sons, *Flavius* & *Theodosius*; in whom, as *Nicephorus* relates, ἡ δικὴ ἐθριάμβευε τὸ ἀθέμιτον, *Divine Justice Triumphed on his Wickedness*. One of them, could never stirr his Neck any way; the other of them wanted the Sense of Hearing. Moreover, *Heraclius* himself laboured under such a Distortion, that whenever hee made Water, τὰ οὖρα ἔπεμπεν, *Hee pissed into his own Eyes*; for which Cause, hee was fain to use the Contrivance of a Board, that hee might preserve his *Face* from the Aspersion. So could hee say, *My sin is ever before mee!*

But after all; if *Sin* may bee taken for *Sin-offering*, in this place, Behold, our guilty *David*, having the *Messiah* ever before him: under the Encouragement whereof, hee *Acknowledges his Transgression*, with Hopes of Pardon & Mercy from the Lord!⁵⁹⁸

⁵⁹⁶ Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 2, p. 77. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 127.

⁵⁹⁷ Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 127.

⁵⁹⁸ I have not been able to identify Mather's direct source for this tale, but the original is contained in the brief history of Nicephorus of Constantinople (11, 20, 27 trans. Cyril Mango; see also [PG 100.897–98; 915–16; 921–22]. The Greek quotations appear, respectively, in Nicephorus' *Breviarium historicum de rebus gestis post imperium Mauricii* (e Cod. Vat. gr. 977), p. 23, line 8; p. 14, lines 19–20; and p. 27, line 11. This work was available in a contemporary version as *Breviarium Historicum* (1616).

Q. Of what Signification are those Words of the Psalmist, *Against Thee only have I Sinned?* v. 4.

A. *Whether Kings are Accountable to none but God?* is a Quæstion which I have no Occasion to meddle with. But this I say; 'Tis an *Impertinency* to produce this *Text*, for the Proving of it.

For these Words were unquæstionably uttered, in reference to the *Privacy* of *Davids* Fact which lay *Concealed* from all the World, but God; for *Joab* was then an Accomplice, and the Injured Lady was Recompenced. This is confirmed by the next Words, which are explanatory of these: *And the Evil I have done in thy Sight*. And it is Likely, *David* might now call to Mind the Words of the Prophet, in 2. Sam. 12.12 *Thou didst it secretly*.⁵⁹⁹

This is *Munsters* Gloss upon it. *Peccatum quod commisi, in Occulto feci et nemo novit, nisi tu solus*.⁶⁰⁰

Q. The Intention of this; *That thou mayst be Justified when thou speakest, & clear when thou Judgest?* v. 4.

A. *Munster* would have these Clauses refer not unto those which are the next foregoing, but unto that, *Cleanse me from my Sin*. The Plea, is, That so there may be found a Truth in thy Promises of Mercy and Pardon unto the Repenting Sinner.⁶⁰¹

Q. On that, *Shapen in Iniquity?* v. 5.

A. 'Tis very edifying to find the Jewish Doctor, *Aben Ezra* saying, This is *because of that Inbred Lust or Concupiscence, which is in the Heart of Man*. And the Meaning is, That the *Evil Figment* [Gen. 8.21.] *is planted in Mens Hearts from their Birth*. And on v. 10 *Create in me a clean Heart*, he saies, This ha's reference to that Verse, when the Psalmist owns himself *shapen in Iniquity*. I will add a further Curiosity. The Confession of our *Original Sin* here is introduced with

⁵⁹⁹ This annotation is probably inspired by two tracts of John Milton (1608–74), both of which were owned by the Mathers. Mather is obviously not prepared to take as radical a stance toward monarchical power as was Milton, but the language in their interpretations of this verse, and their shared perception of its misapplication, is very similar. In *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates* (1649), Milton also claims that it is “absurd” to adduce this verse in defense of absolute sovereignty: “David therefore by those words could mean no other, than that the depth of his guiltiness was known to God only, or to so few as had not the will or power to question him” (p. 12). The comparison in *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio* (1652), against Claude Saumaise, who had undertaken to defend the king, is less direct, but more pointed. There, Milton witheringly asks Saumaise how he can dare liken “King David with King Charles; a most religious king and prophet, with a superstitious prince . . . known to have committed all manner of lewdness . . . who publicly at plays would embrace and kiss the ladies lasciviously, and handle virgins’ and matrons’ breasts, not to mention the rest” (cap. 4, p. 86). Both of these texts were resurrected in England to justify the overthrow of James II in 1688.

⁶⁰⁰ Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3775). Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 127: “The sin that I have committed, I did in secret, and no one knows it except you alone.”

⁶⁰¹ Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3775). Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 127.

a Confession of the Divine *Justice*. Our *carnal Mind* is very prone to call in Question the *Justice* of the glorious GOD, more on this than on any Occasion; That the Sin of our *First Father* should be ours, & the Sin of a *vile Nature* be from thence infused into us.⁶⁰²

Q. The more obvious Meaning of that, *Behold, Thou desirest Truth in the Inward Parts?* v. 6.

A. Take Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase.

“I am amazed at my Folly, that I should be so careless; when I was not ignorant, that thou requirest us, not to entertain with the least Kindness, those first Motions which we find in our Thoughts & Desires after any Evil; but uprightly to oppose them; For which End, thou has putt a Principle of better Motions into me, and indued me with Wisdome; which secretly checks and corrects those brutish Inclinations.”⁶⁰³

Add *Munsters* Gloss; *Tu vis habere, ut Interiora nostra sint Justa, Recta, Vera, et Incorrupta; qui tamen mox ab exordio nostro contrahimus Labem Injustitiæ: quid igitur faciemus, nisi ut ad te clamemus, ut quod ex nobis non possumus, nec habemus, tu dones.*⁶⁰⁴

[*1609.*]

Q. What *Inward* and *Hidden* Sense, may there bee, of that Passage, *Behold, Thou desirest the Truth in the Inward Parts, and in the Hidden Part thou shalt make mee to know Wisdome?* v. 6.

A. I often call upon you, to consider the Whole Bible, as, *The Book of the Messiah*. Find a CHRIST every where, and you find, the *Pearl of great Price* in the *Field*.

One Day, singing of the Text now in our Hands it was a Thought which entertained my Mind; Why may not this Text, bee an acknowledgment of the Free, Rich, Infinite Grace, that God show'd unto *David*, with that Emphasis mention'd in the Title of the Psalm, *After hee had gone in unto Bathsheba!* The first Clause may bee rendred, *Thou willest the Truth in the Reins*. And wee know, that, *The Truth*, is the Name of the *Messiah*. It was an Aggravation of the *Sin* committed by *David*, in his Adultery, that the *Messiah* to come, was yett in *his Loins*; and it now Aggravated the *Grace* of God unto him, That *after his Reins*

602 Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 2, p. 149; Hammond, *Paraphrase*, in *Works*, vol. 4, bk. 2, pp. 153–54. The latter “curiositie” occurs to Mather due to Hammond’s complete but concise summary of the long theological debates that have surrounded the Christian doctrine of original sin.

603 Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras’d*, bk. 2, pp. 221–22.

604 Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3775): “You wish to hold that our inward parts are just, right, true, and untainted; we who nevertheless from our beginning incur the blemish of injustice: What shall we do therefore except cry out to you so that you may grant what we do not have nor cannot (have) from ourselves?”

had been so polluted by his criminal Action of *going in unto Bathsheba*, yett the *Messiah* should still bee contained in them. And why may not the next Clause carry on the same Acknowledgment, and Astonishment? *Wisdome*, as wee all know, is the Name of the *Messiah*. That the Lord should accept of *David*, after *his going in unto Bathsheba*, to bee a Progenitor of Him, whose Name, is, *Truth*, and, *Wisdome*; This was a wonderful Thing!⁶⁰⁵

[136v] | But lett us take a Paraphrase, in *Clutterbucks* Collection.

“Thou requirist that we do not entertain with any Kindness, those First Motions in our Thoughts & Desires after Evil, and hast putt a Principle of *Wisdome* that checks those brutish Inclinations.”⁶⁰⁶

Q. The Intention of, *Purge me with Hyssop?* v. 7.

A. q.d. “I am as Impure as a *Leper*, and deserve to be banished from thy Presence, & shutt out from among the People. Far more Impure, by touching *Bathsheba*, than he is that toucheth a Dead Body. Yett I am no so foul, but, if Thou pleasest, Thou canst purify me, & make me as clean & white as Snow. [See, Lev. XIV.6. Num. XIX.17,18.]”

So Dr. *Patrick* paraphrases.⁶⁰⁷

Q. On that, *Cast me not away from thy Presence, & take not thy Holy Spirit from me?* v. 11.

A. Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase. “I deserve, I confess, to be Rejected by Thee, as my Predecessor was; [1. Sam. XV.25, 26.] & to be admitted no more into thy Favour. But, I humbly beseeched Thee, deal not so severely with me; nor deprive me, as Thou didst him, [1. Sam. X.6. with XVI.14.] of the Gift of thy Holy Spirit, wherewith thou hast anointed me.”⁶⁰⁸

Q. On that, *Restore unto me the Joy of thy Salvation, and uphold me with thy Free Spirit?* v. 12.

A. Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase.

“Lett not that evil Spirit, which Troubled my Predecessor, sieze on me; but Restore to me the Joy, which I was wont to have, when I saw myself so much in thy Favour, as to be delivered by thee, out of the Greatest Danger [Psal. XXI.11.] Support me & my Authority, with such a chearful, free, & generous Spirit, as becomes him whom thou hast appointed to be the Governour of thy People.”⁶⁰⁹

⁶⁰⁵ This is apparently Mather’s own gloss. It occurs in abbreviated form in *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 127.

⁶⁰⁶ Clutterbuck, *A Brief Explanation*, p. 43.

⁶⁰⁷ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras’d*, bk. 2, p. 222. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 127.

⁶⁰⁸ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras’d*, bk. 2, p. 223. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 127.

⁶⁰⁹ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras’d*, bk. 2, p. 223.

Q. The Intention on which that Clause comes in; *Then will I teach Transgressors thy wayes?* v. 13.

A. Dr. *Patrick* thus paraphrases it.

“That I may have the Confidence to Admonish those of their Duty, that transgress thy Lawes, (as I will not fail to do,) & they may not take the Boldness to despise my Instructions.”⁶¹⁰

Q. What means the Psalmist when hee saies, *Thou desirest not Sacrifice?* v. 16.

A. The Meaning of it is, That his Crimes were some of those Atrocious Ones, for which no *Sacrifice* was allowed or directed in the Law of *Moses*. The Jewish Commentators themselves, give *This* as the Sense of the Text. Whereas now the Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ, proffers a *Pardon* to the Worst of Sinners, that with *Broken & Contrite Hearts*, Address God in HIM, for that *Pardon*. I take this to bee the Meaning of the Apostles Words, in Act. 13.39. *By Him, all that Beleeve, are Justify'd from all Things, from which yee could not bee Justify'd by the Law of Moses.*⁶¹¹ For some Horrider Sins, the Law of *Moses* appointed no *Expiatory Sacrifice*; as Wilful Murder, and *Blasphemy*, & some other Transgressions mention'd in the Twenty'th Chapter of *Leviticus*. Either the Magistrate, or the Almighty, did without Releef, *cutt off*, the Offenders. Methinks, therefore, I see a plain reference to this *Mosaic State* of Things, in several other Passages of the N. Testament. Surely, T'was not without some Design of Intimating, That the *Gospel-State* is a *Better State*, When our Lord Jesus Christ, saies in Math. 12.31. *All Manner of Sin & Blasphemy shall bee forgiven unto Men.* [i. e. there is Forgiveness to bee had for it, in the Law of *Jesus*, tho' not in that of *Moses*!] And when the Apostle saies, in 1 Tim. 1.13. *I was a Blasphemer; But I obtained Mercy.*⁶¹²

Q. *A Broken and Contrite Heart*; unto what may it allude? v. 17.

A. The Terms are borrowed from the Manner of *Sacrificing*. The *Sacrifices* were first cutt in Pieces; not *mangled*, but *jointed*. That was their *Breaking*. Then they were burnt to Ashes. That was their *Contrition*. This fitly represents, the *Breaking*, and *Contrition* in true Repentance; wherein we must after a sort take Asunder every Faculty of the Soul, & examine the particular Defects; not the greater Defects only, but piercing into the closest Corruptions.

⁶¹⁰ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 2, p. 223.

⁶¹¹ Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 127.

⁶¹² This idea is developed at length in John Owen, *A Continuation of the Exposition of the Epistle of Paul* (1680), ch. 7, p. 159 and ch. 10, pp. 24 and 78. This work was held by Harvard library during Mather's lifetime. The same notion is more briefly epitomized in Owen's *Nature and Causes of Apostasy from the Gospel* (1676). See the 1852 edition of his *Works* (vol. 7, ch. 1, p. 47).

This I find well-discoursed in a Sermon of one *Barksdale*, entituled, *The Sacrifice*.⁶¹³

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Q. What is that *Broken Spirit*, that *Broken and Contrite Heart*, which is the *Sacrifice* that *God will not despise*? v. 17.

A. The special Character, which the Oracles of God putt upon the *Messiah*, coming to bee a *Sacrifice* for Sin, is that of, *The Bruised One*. Yea, the very first Time, that ever the *Messiah* was mentioned in the World, His being *Bruised* was the Main Thing propos'd concerning Him.

And the Sufferings of the *Messiah*, when His *Soul* was made an *Offering for Sin*, are thus described, *It pleased the Lord to Bruise Him*.

Tis very certain, That the *Messiah* was one of a *Broken Spirit, a Broken & Contrite Heart*. Never were such *Heart-breaking* Things undergone, by any Living, as what were felt by our Lord Jesus Christ, in the Day, when all Earth and Hell joined in Afflicting of Him, and His Father also treated Him, as one made a *Curse* for Sin. In His Agonies, Hee cried out, as the Psalms have related it, *My Heart is Broken!* And at last, His very *Spirit* was *Broken* from His *Body*; the *vital Union* was *Broken*.

This *Contrition* of the *Messiah*, was a thing so Prodigious, and so Improbable, that it is very proper, for the *Messiah* Himself, to bee called, *The Broken Heart*; Especially, when His being made a *Sacrifice* is discoursed of.

[138v] This is the *Sacrifice*, whereon the Psalmist here fixes the Ey of his Hope; A *Broken Spirit*, that was e're long to come into the World; Even that of the *Messiah*. All other *Sacrifices*, were insufficient, and insignificant; here is the only *Sacrifice* that God cared for. | And this Observation, will give you a Key to open many Passages of the Scripture; particularly that, in Isa. 66.2. *To this Man will I Look, even to him that is of a poor and contrite Spirit*: Instead of the *Temple*, which you so much value, saies the Lord, this Man shall bee my *Temple*.⁶¹⁵

Q. The Last Words of the Fifty First Psalm; what Remark do the Jewes make upon them? v. 19.

A. Some of them have thought the Two Last Verses of the Psalm, to have been added, by one in the Return from the *Babylonian* Captivity. But others of them, observe, That whereas the Psalmist is a few Verses before praying for the *Spirit*,

⁶¹³ Clement Barksdale (1609–87), *The Sacrifice* (1655), p. 23. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 127.

⁶¹⁴ This page is a small one, inserted as a loose sheet between the preceding leaf and that which considers Psalm 52. At one time, it was attached to page 136v.

⁶¹⁵ The ideas contained in this note are again very common in Christian theology. Mather is probably drawing them here from Thomas Goodwin's *Discourse of Christ the Mediator*, in *Works*, vol. 3, bk. 1, ch. 7, p. 19, and bk. 5, ch. 11, p. 272. The idea is paraphrased in *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 128.

here is in these last Verses, a Demonstration given, that the *Spirit* which hee asked for, was, ere the Psalm was out, bestow'd upon him; And these *Two Verses* have in them a Prophecy of the Destruction of the *Two Temples*, but the Advance of such *Offerings*, as will afterwards bee made, in the Dayes of the *Messiah*.⁶¹⁶

⁶¹⁶ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 2, p. 149. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 128.

Q. Teach us to apply the Psalm now before us?

A. Lett *Arnobius* Teach us.

*Cum fugeris Gladium Principis mundi, et ad Altare convolaveris, et Mundus Panem sanctum assumpseris, non deerit qui te Diaboli impulsione affligat, persequatur et detegat. Et quia hoc ipsum non alius nisi Diabolus operatur, ipsi Diabolo tota Verba huius Psalmi stans in Oratione cantabis.*⁶¹⁷

Here also some see a severe Censure, on the Manners of *Antichrist*, & his Party, & a Prædiction of his Destruction, & the Joy of the Faithful upon it.⁶¹⁸

Q. According to the Tradition of the Jewes, what became of this Horrible *Doeg*? Tit.

A. In the *Midrasch Tillin*, there is a Tradition, that God struck *Doeg* with a *Leprosy*. The Tradition is founded partly in This, That it being here said, *God shall pluck thee out of thy Dwelling Place*, there is the same Phrase used on the Case of a *Leprosy*, in the Fourteenth Chapter of *Leviticus*.⁶¹⁹

Q. The Occasion, and Intention of those Words; *Why dost thou boast thyself in Mischief, O Mighty Man?* v. 1.

A. It seems, the sorry Wretch brag'd of what he had done, as if it had been some Gallant Action, some Famous Atchievement. These Words may be an *Irony*; which Dr. *Patrick* thus paraphrases; "A goodly Feat indeed for a Man to boast of!"⁶²⁰ That he hath killed LXXXV Innocent and Unarmed Priests; together with a Company of Women, Children, & Sucklings [1. Sam. XXII.19.] A mighty Champion thou art; who vapourest, no doubt, that thou wilt do the like Execution upon me. But know, vain Man, that the Goodness of God, whereby I have been hitherto præserv'd; [1. Sam. XXII. 1, 3, 5.] will still defend me; for it is not a thing like our Prince's favour, of short Continuance, but lasts forever."⁶²¹

Q. *Davids* comparing a *Reviling Tongue* to a *Rasour*; what Reflection may one make upon it? v. 2.

⁶¹⁷ Arnobius, *Commentarii in Psalmos* [PL 53.398]: "Even when you have shunned the sword of a worldly prince, and have flown to the altar, and being clean have received the holy bread, there will not be lacking one who strikes you down with the pressure of the devil, who persecutes you and betrays you. And since none other than the devil works this very thing, you, standing in prayer, will sing all the words of this psalm to the devil himself."

⁶¹⁸ Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 2, p. 79. Both remarks are made in *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 129.

⁶¹⁹ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 2, p. 152.

⁶²⁰ Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 129–30.

⁶²¹ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 2, p. 226.

A. The Psalmist here, compares a *Reviling Tongue*, to a *Rasour*; because it will cutt every *little Hair*, the smallest *Peccadillo's*, and Pretences of Offences, cannot escape it.

But a *Rasour* does not *wound* the Person. Hence the Psalmist compares it also unto a *Sword* [Psal. 57.4.]; it cutts deeply into the *Credits* of Men, & into their very *Spirits*.

But a *Sword* will do Mischief only *near at Hand*. Therefore in the Third Place, the Psalmist compares it unto an *Arrow*, [Psal. 64.3.] it hitts at a distance, and will do wrong to those that are a great Way off.⁶²²

When the Tongue of *Doeg* is compared unto a *Rasour*, the Meaning is; q.d. “Thy Tongue was the first Instrument in this Butchery; being sharpened by thy Malice on Purpose, like a *Rasour* newly sett, to cutt the Throats of the Guiltless.”⁶²³

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Q. What was, *The Land of the Living*, out of which, *Doeg* was to bee rooted? v. 5.

A. The *Arabic* Interpreter seems to take it, for, *The Land of Israel*, which was, *Et Situ et Aere ad Vitam sustentandam saluberrima*.⁶²⁴

It is also observable; *Doeg* is threatened in this Verse, to be paid *in the same Coin*, that he had been dealing to the Priests of the Lord.⁶²⁵ God would *utterly destroy* him, and *snatch him away* as hastily as he did the Innocents, whom he had murdered. God would *pluck him away* from the Holy *Tabernacle*, to which he had pretended some Devotion, [1. Sam. XXI.7.] & *root out*, not him only, but all his Family, from the Face of the Earth.⁶²⁶

Q. On what special Accounts, does the Psalmist hope to bee, *A green Olive-Tree in the House of God*? v. 8.

A. *Viccars*, out of R. *Obadia Gaon*, ha's this good Gloss upon it, *In oleum Splendoris, ad Illuminandos alios in Lege*.⁶²⁷

People who lived at a Distance from the Tabernacle & the Temple, built Courts, like those that were there, wherein they offered up their Prayers unto GOD. These were afterwards called, *Proseucha's*; which the Latin Poets mention;

622 This chain of associations derives from *A Practical and Polemical Commentary* (1658), ch. 3, p. 84, by Thomas Hall (1610–65). Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 130.

623 Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 2, p. 227.

624 The land of Israel was “in situation and air wholesome to the sustaining of life.”

625 Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 130.

626 Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 2, p. 153; Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 2, p. 227.

627 Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 2, p. 152: “Into the oil of brilliance for enlightening others in the law.”

And we find our SAVIOUR frequenting of them [Luk. VI.12.] And His Apostle preaching there. [Act. XVI.13, 16.] They differed from *Synagogues*; for they were not covered Houses, but open Courts, as *Epiphanius* tells us; after the Manner of the *Forums* among the Romans. They were mostly built without the Cities, and in *High-places*: And possibly, they may be those which are called *High-places* in the O. T. For they were not condemned except when they came under an Idolatrous or a Schismatical Character. These *Proseucha's* had usually *Groves* about them, or perhaps within them. Doubtless the Sanctuary of the Lord, wherein *Joshua* sett up his Pillar, under the oaken Grove at *Shechem*, was a *Proseucha*.⁶²⁸

Dr. *Prideaux* thinks, There is an Eye to such a *Proseucha*, when the Psalmist speaks of *green Olive-trees in the House of God*.⁶²⁹

⁶²⁸ Lewis, *Origines Hebraeæ*, vol. 1, bk. 3, ch. 9, p. 268.

⁶²⁹ *Prideaux*, *Old and New Testament Connected*, pt. 1, bk. 6, p. 307. Lewis, it should be noted, is largely following *Prideaux* in his examination of the *Proseucha* and their role in Jewish worship. Both the remark of Rabbi *Obadiah* and *Prideaux's* opinion are rephrased and inserted into *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 130.

Q. The Agreement between This, and the XIVth Psalm?

A. Dr. *Patrick* proposes, That the Rebellion of *Absalom* should be the Matter of Complaint in the XIVth Psalm. And that the New Revolt of the *Israelites* under *Sheba*, which was indeed a very dangerous Revolt, should be the Occasion for this New Edition of it, in the LIII. After *Sheba* was beheaded, it is likely his Body was exposed unto the Fowls or the Beasts, insomuch that his Bones were scattered, & all his Adhærents became contemptible. *David* would have this commemorated; & therefore delivered it unto the Master of Musick.

If any be not satisfied with this Account of the Psalm, on the Score of the Word, *Captivity*, in the last Verse, then Dr. *Patrick* proposes, that we consider the Psalm as Review'd by *Asaph* the *Seer*, in the Dayes of *Hezekiah*; when abundance of the People had been indeed carried Captive. Isa. V.13.⁶³⁰

Q. On that, *Have the Workers of Iniquity no Knowledge?* v. 4.

A. The Psalmist in the preceding Verse, complaining (we may suppose) of the *Israelites* making a New Separation, wherein they entirely Revolted, and became like a Dead Carcase under a total Putrefaction; he proceeds now to say, as Dr. *Patrick* paraphrases. "Strange! That they should still be thus senseless! And, after such a Defeat as they have lately received, continue to work Iniquity! Nay, to be cruel, & void of all Pitty and Compassion to my poor People! The Reason is, They have no Religion!"⁶³¹

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Q. Why is it said, *There were they in great Fear, where no Fear was; For God hath scattered the Bones of him that encampeth against thee?* v. 5.

A. Take Dr. *Patrick's* Paraphrase.

"And none more cowardly than such Atheistical Wretches; whose Courage so soon failed them, that a panic Fear seized them, before my Forces could approach them: For they ran away, and dispersed themselves, when I sent but a small Party after them. God, O my Soul, hath broken him in Peeeces, and his Bones ly scattered on the Ground, who thought to oppress thee. Thou hast

⁶³⁰ Mather is abstracting from Patrick's argument on this Psalm. See Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 2, pp. 229–31. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 132. After inserting this reading into *Psalterium*, however, Mather concludes with Allix that "A Prophecy of *Antichrist* here, clears all." This interpretation is conspicuously absent from Mather's annotations in *Biblia Americana*.

⁶³¹ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 2, p. 232.

obtained this Favour of Him, to putt them to Shame: for Hee despised those, who had so little Regard unto His Majesty.”⁶³²

Some find the *Scattering of the Bones*, in the Beheading of *Sheba*: [2. Sam. XX.]⁶³³

⁶³² Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 2, p. 232.

⁶³³ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 2, p. 232. Sheba, a member of the tribe of Benjamin, instigated a fresh revolt against David shortly after his suppression of Absalom's insurrection.

Q. Something observable in the Composition of the Psalm? *Title.*

A. *David* was brought into such a Streight, that if *Saul* had not been diverted, by a sudden Invasion which the *Philistines* made, he could not have escaped him. In this Distress, he made his Address to God by Prayer, in the words of the Three First Verses of the Psalm. But on a sudden (hearing perhaps how *Saul* himself was alarm'd with a News of an Invasion) he breaks out into Admiration of the Divine Goodness. And when the Danger was quite over, he might add the two last Verses, wherein he expresses, with what Joy, he took a View, from the Mountain where he lay hid, of *Saul's* Forces, as they Retreated. This was a thing so memorable, that when he came to the Kingdome, he delivered the Whole, to the Master of Musick in the Tabernacle.⁶³⁴

Behold, A Prayer of the Faithful, under the Persecution of *Antichrist!*⁶³⁵

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⁶³⁴ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 2, p. 233.

⁶³⁵ Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 2, p. 81. The entire note is in *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 133.

Q. The Scope? Tit.

A. See the Groans of the Church, under the Cruelties of *Antichrist*, & his Party.

In the *fifteenth* Verse, is a Prophecy fulfill'd in Rev. XIX, and XX.⁶³⁶

Q. On the Two Terms, *Prayer*, and, *Supplication*? v. 1.

A. *Prayer* may be for *Justice*; and *Supplication* may be for *Mercy*; *Justice*, in respect of his Enemies, and *Mercy*, in respect of GOD.⁶³⁷

Q. The Meaning of that, *They cast Iniquity upon me*? v. 3.

A. Tis, q.d. "They load me with False Accusations, and say, I am unjust, & take no Care of my People."

You have a Key to it; 2. Sam. XV.3, 4.⁶³⁸

Q. If a Devout Mind, were willing to transfer the Psalm now before us into the affayrs of an Holy Life, how may he proceed in it? v. 12.

A. Take an Hint from old *Arnobius*.

*Si Inimicus maledixisset mihi, id est, si ipse Diabolus per se mala Loqueretur adversum me, quia certus sum quod me odiret, absconderem me ab eo. Nunc verò tu unanimis, dux meus, et notus meus, id est, homo meus, exterior homo, utique Corporalis, qui simul mecum dulces communicas cibos in Mensà mysterii, tu contra me agis, tu cum Inimicis meis delectaris, in Consiliis eorum, per te veniunt ad me, veniat mors super eos. Et quia naturà Immortales sunt, descendant in Infernum Viventes; quia nequitia in Hospitiis eorum, in medio eorum, id est, in medio suggestionum eorum.*⁶³⁹

⁶³⁶ Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 2, p. 82. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 136.

⁶³⁷ This distinction is made in *The Christian Warfare Against the Devill World and Flesh*, by John Downname, or Downham (1571–1652), bk. 1, ch. 16, p. 27. Downham published numerous works, several of which are referenced by Mather, but *The Christian Warfare* was his most famous work (*DNB*).

⁶³⁸ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 2, p. 237. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 136.

⁶³⁹ "If an enemy had spoken ill of me, nay, if the very Devil by himself were speaking evil things against me, I would, since I am certain that he hates me, hide myself from him. But now you, of one accord (with me), my guide and my familiar, that is, my person, the outer man, my very flesh, who share sweet foods together with me at the table of divine mystery, you act against me, you are delighted with my enemies, in their designs; through you they come to me. Let death come upon them. And since they are immortal by nature, let them go down alive into Hell, for there is wickedness where they dwell, in their midst, that is, in the midst of their seductions."

In short; According to this Hint of his, a Saint may address the Lord after such a Manner.

“Lord; If *Satan* my *Enemy*, should by himself speak unto me, I should be arm’d and hid, against one, who I know ha’s such an Hatred for me. But | he [146v] employs my *Flesh*, my *Familiar*, my *Acquaintance*, the very *Body*, which ha’s eaten with me at thy Holy Table. The *Divels* do that way fall upon me; Oh: therefore lett *Death* fall upon them. Nay, because they are by Nature *Immortal*, do thou send them down *Quick into Hell*. For there is nothing but *Wickedness*, wherever they come to *dwell*, & in the *midst* of all their *Suggestions*.”⁶⁴⁰

Q. Upon that passage; *Lett them go down Alive into Hell?* v. 15.

A. Gregory M. in his *Pastoralis Cura*, ha’s a nice Thought upon it; The *Living* are they who know what they do, & have some Sense of it; the *Dead* are sensible of nothing. They that *sin against their Knowledge*, are such as may be said to *go down Alive into Hell*. Other Sinners *go Dead* thither. *Mortui in Infernum descenderent, si Mala nesciendo perpetrarent, cum verò sciunt Mala, et tamen faciunt, ad Iniquitatis Infernum viventes miseri sentionesque descendunt.*⁶⁴¹

Q. Of the Wicked, it is said, *Because they have no Changes, therefore they Fear not God?* v. 19.

A. And *Theodoret* carries it so; *Because they fear not God, they have no Changes*: Their Miseries continue upon them, and their Adversity is not *changed* into Prosperity.⁶⁴² *Arnobius* seems to carry it so; *They change not*, they continue what they were, without the *Fear of God*.⁶⁴³

Q. What and Whom Especially, did that Threatening intend, *Bloody & Deceitful Men shall not live out Half their Dayes?* v. 23.

A. It is not here universally Threatned, That no *Bloody & Deceitful Men*, shall come to *old Age*: wee daily see the Contrary.

But the Holy Spirit of God, here particularly foresees, and foretels, the Fate of young *Absalom*, with his Accomplices. And if you would know, whether the Psalmist, had such a Feer of *Absaloms* Fate, awakened in him, from any particular Oracle of Heaven, know, that it is likely, hee wrote this with a particular Eye,

⁶⁴⁰ Arnobius, *Commentarii in Psalmos* [PL 53.401]. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 136.

⁶⁴¹ Gregory, *Regulae Pastoralis*, pt. 3, ch. 31 [PL 77.113]. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 136. “If men committed sins in ignorance, they would descend into hell dead; when, however, they know evils and do them anyway, they go down alive, wretched and aware, to the hell of iniquity.”

⁶⁴² Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 2, p. 158.

⁶⁴³ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 2, p. 158. Arnobius, *Commentarii in Psalmos* [PL 53.401]. Theodoret, *Interpretatio in Psalmos* [PG 80.1277–80]. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, pp. 136–37.

on that Passage in the Fifth Commandment, *Honour thy Father, that thy Dayes may bee long in the Land.*⁶⁴⁴

In the Jewish Account, *Sixty* Years was the Age of Man. Death before That, was look'd upon as untimely. *Not to live out half ones Days*, is in their Style, to dy before *Thirty.*⁶⁴⁵

⁶⁴⁴ Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 137.

⁶⁴⁵ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 2, p. 236; Hammond, *Paraphrase*, in *Works*, vol. 4, bk. 2, p. 164.

Q. The Scope? Tit.

A. Behold still, the Dispositions & the Supplications, of the Church under the Tyranny of *Antichrist*.⁶⁴⁶

Q. What the Intention of, *Jonath-elem-rechokim*? Tit.

A. The Psalmist made no Remonstrances to *Achish*, how Ill he had been used; nor did he beg any Assistences from *Achish* against his Enemies. Not a Word of This. And this may be the Reason of his here comparing himself unto, *The Silent-Dove*. So Interpreters translate, *Jonath-Elem*.⁶⁴⁷

Kimchi thinks, he tho rather compares himself to a *Dove*, because that is counted a *Silly Creature*: [Hos. 7.11.] And at this Time, *David* seem'd no better.⁶⁴⁸

Q. The Emphasis of that Expression, *Man would swallow me up*? v. 1.

A. Take it in Dr. *Patricks* paraphrase.

“*Saul*, forgetting his own Mortality, & how unseemly tis for frail Man to continue his Enmities forever, most eagerly pursues me, with an insatiable Desire to take away my Life.”⁶⁴⁹

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Q. When tis said, *putt thou my Tears into thy Bottel*; What Emphasis is there in the Expression? v. 8.

A. There are many Elegancies in this Verse; besides the Hebrew *Paranomasies* which cannot bee Englished. But among the rest, you may observe, that the Hebrew ha's, *Tear*, in the singular Number. A sweet Intimation, that the faithful People of God, have not so much as one single *Tear*, that shall bee lost.⁶⁵⁰

⁶⁴⁶ Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 2, p. 84. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 138.

⁶⁴⁷ Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 138.

⁶⁴⁸ This note, including the reference to *Kimchi*, is from Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 2, p. 242.

⁶⁴⁹ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 2, p. 243. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 138.

⁶⁵⁰ Thomas Watson (d. 1686), *A Plea for the Godly*, pp. 27–8. The Mathers owned another of Watson's sermons (now bound with 16 other short works), so they plainly knew of this writer, and Cotton could have easily perused or held others of his tracts. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 138.

[*2526.*]

Q. But have you mett with no Passages of Antiquity, to Illustrate the *Bottel*? v. 8.

A. Just now, reading, *A New Description of Paris*, I find among the Curiosities to be seen here in that City, the Mention of *Lacrymatories*, or Vessels wherein the Ancients did use to gather the Tears of those that wept at Funerals, and then place them in the Tombs.

The Relator particularly tells you, of one of the *Libraries* there; “That you may there see several Sorts of *Lacrymatories*, or Viols, in which they used to præserve the *Tears*, of those whom they hired on Purpose to weep at Funerals, with several little Copper Spoons, that they made use of, to gather the Tears up with, from leathern Aprons, which they wore before them at that time, on Purpose for the Tears to fall in.”

Quære, How far the ancient *Lacrymatories* may afford us any *Ink*, to explain *Dauids Bottel*?⁶⁵¹

Q. How is it said, *In God I will praise His Word*? v. 10.

A. *Munsters* Gloss is well enough. I will praise God *for His Word*; *Quo ille me confortavit, et in se sperare fecit.*⁶⁵²

⁶⁵¹ Germain Brice (1652–1727), *A New Description of Paris* (1688), pt. 2, p. 23. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 138.

⁶⁵² Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3787). To be precise, Münster’s gloss on this same phrase (“In God I will praise his word”) relates to verse 4, rather than verse 10. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 138. The Latin is a continuation of the translation begun by Mather: I will praise God for his Word, “by which he strengthens me, and makes me trust in Him.”

Q. *Altaschith?* Tit.

A. The Word of *David* unto them, who would have kill'd *Saul* in the Cave; *Destroy him not*. Tis true, the Three Next Psalms have the same Title. But that may be only to shew, they were to be sung like *This*.⁶⁵³

¶130.

Q. Why does this Prayer Twice occur, *Bee merciful unto mee, O God, bee merciful unto me?* v. 1.

A. The *Midrash Tillin* ha's a Gloss to this Purpose; *Bee merciful* unto mee, in keeping mee from *Sin*, but if I do fall into *Sin*, *Bee merciful* unto mee, in giving mee Repentance.⁶⁵⁴

Q. In what sense does the Psalmist propose to himself, *A Refuge in the Shadow of Gods Wings?* v. 1.

A. It is no Wonder, if the *Compassion* of God unto us, & the *Protection* of God about us, bee resembled unto the *Wings* of a Kind Bird, extending over her young Ones. And our Psalmist, in the Wilderness, had frequent Occasions, from the Sight of the *Fowl* there, to think on the Divine *Compassion* & *Protection*, thus extended over himself. But this is not all.

I suspect, that this Expression, occurring often Elsewhere, as well as here, may be an Allusion to a famous business in the *Tabernacle*; where wee are told, Exod. 25.20. *The Cherubims did stretch for their Wings on high, covering the Mercy-seat with their Wings*. Now you know, that by the *Cherubims* in the *Tabernacle*, were signified, the Holy *Angels* of God, whose Employments & Concernments about His Church, are very Marvellous. Well then; Wee may well Imagine the Psalmist, here and elsewhere, when hee uses this Expression, comforting himself, in the Consideration of the *Angelical* Guard, which God, had given him. Saith hee, The good *Angels* of God, will bee continually looking

⁶⁵³ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 2, pp. 246–47. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 140. Mather again chooses in *Biblia Americana* not to reproduce the eschatological reading available in Allix and Viccars. In *Psalterium*, however, this reading is retained: “We have here the Prayer of the Church under the *Antichristian Persecution*, and the Ruin of *Antichrist* foretold, as a forerunner unto the Establishment of our SAVIOUR's Kingdom, over all the Earth. Agreeably to this Thought the *Midrash Tillin* applies the *Calamities* here spoken of, unto the Condition, wherein the Church must lye, at the time of the *Four Monarchies*.” See Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 2, p. 85 and Viccars, *Decapla in Psalmos*, lib. 2, p. 164.

⁶⁵⁴ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 2, p. 164. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 140.

after mee. If I mistake not, The *Angels* of the Lord, are somewhere called, His *Feathers*.

See Psal. 91. ver. 4 with ver. 11.⁶⁵⁵

[*2131.*]

Q. What are the *Calamities* here spoken of? v. 1.

A. If I mistake not, The *Midrasch Tillin*, very notably expounds them, of the Condition, under which the Church must Ly, all the Time of the *Four Monarchies*.

Indeed, we have here the Prayer of the Church, under the Antichristian Persecution: And the Ruine of Antichrist foretold, as a forerunner unto the Establishment of the Kingdome of our Saviour, over all the Earth.⁶⁵⁶

[*3090.*]

Q. Saies the Psalmist, *I will cry unto God, that performeth for me. Performeth*, what? Our Translation indeed, adds, *All things?* v. 2.

A. We may read it, *Who perfects for me*. And what? But, *the Work* which He hath begun. Compare, Psal. 138.8 and those Words of the Apostle, Phil. 1.6 which probably may allude unto these.⁶⁵⁷

I know not, whether it will give you any Entertainment by the Way, to mention an odd Fancy, of the *Chaldee* Interpreter, who thus renders the Text; *Rogabo coram Deo Excelso et forti, qui destinavit Araneam, ut perficeret propter me Telam, in ore speluncæ. David* was now in a *Cave*; and the *Chaldee* would needs have him enjoy the same Favour, that was granted unto *Felix Nolanus*, who being pursued by a bloody Tyrant, was præservèd in a breach of a Wall, by a *Spider* suddenly making a *Cobweb* over it, which took away from the Pursuers, all Suspicion of his being there.⁶⁵⁸

[150v]

[*2337.*]

Q. *My Heart is præpared, O God, my Heart is præpared*. Why is the Expression doubled? v. 7.

⁶⁵⁵ John Owen, *Salus Electorum, Sanguis Jesu: Or the Death of Death in the Death of Christ* (London, 1648), bk. 4, ch. 3, pp. 215–16. A truncated version of this note occurs in *Psalterium*, bk. 2, pp. 140–41.

⁶⁵⁶ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 2, p. 164; Allix, *The Book of Psalms*, bk. 2, p. 85.

⁶⁵⁷ Ainsworth, *Annotations*, p. 86. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 141.

⁶⁵⁸ Samuel Bochart, *Hieroicoicon*, pars. 2, lib. 4, cap. 23, col. 611. Felix of Nola (d. ca. 250) was reportedly saved by a spider who spun a web over the entrance to a house where he was staying while in flight from the persecution of Emperor Decius. Seeing the web, the soldiers seeking him decided that the house had long been empty (*CE*). Thus, the Chaldee renders the verse: “I will beg before God the Most High and powerful, who has designed the spider, that he build a web for me in the mouth of the cave.”

A. Our Feeble, and Fickle Heart, had need be confirmed, with a Repetition of Resolution. *Once Resolving* is not enough to settle & confirm such an Heart as ours. But one of the Ancients, ha's another Devout Hint upon it. *David* redoubles the Expression, to imply, That he was willing to undergo a very different Condition. If God would have him *High* or *Low*; *Rich* or *Poor*; A *Shepherd* again, or a *Monarch*; his Heart was, *præpared, præpared*.

Paratum cor meum ad Prospera, paratum ad Adversa; paratum ad Sublimia, paratum ad Humilia; paratum ad universa quæ Præceperis. Bern. Ser. 2. de Quadray.⁶⁵⁹

⁶⁵⁹ This is from the 2nd of the Lenten sermons (Quadragesima) of Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153) [PL 183.174]. The Harvard Library held a 1621 edition of the works of Bernard. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 141. “My heart is prepared for prosperity and for adversity; it is prepared for high things and for low; it is prepared for all things that you have anticipated.”

Q. The Scope of the Psalm? Tit.

A. Tis a Reproof of those evil Counsellors, who had condemned *David* against their Conscience, meerly to please the King, & give him a Pretence to destroy him.

He propheties, a signal Vengeance should overtake them, (which he would have Every body observe,) and that so suddenly and dreadfully, that he compares it unto the Mischief done by a *Whirlwind*, when it carries all before it, in a Moment; and particularly, he remembers the *Potts* and the *Caldrons* over the Fire, that should suffer by it; to intimate, as Dr. *Patrick* thinks, that those Men were great Oppressors, & devoured the People. The Prophets often complain, in that very Language. See particularly, Mic. III.2, 3. Where the Senators of *Israel* broke the very Bones of the Poor, and chop'd them in Peeces, as for the *Pott*, and as *Flesh* within the *Caldron*. Dr. *Patrick* thinks, that Place affords the best Explication, that can be given, of the *Ninth* Verse in the Psalm now before us; Where he takes the *Hai*, and *Haron*, to refer to *Thorns*; the Former to mean the *Green*, the Latter to mean the *Dry*.⁶⁶⁰

But then, Behold, the Barbarity and Corruption of the *Antichristian Party*; and their Destruction.

Compare, v. 9, 10. with Isa.LXIII.1, 2, 3, 4, 5.⁶⁶¹

Q. How do they *weigh Violence in the Earth*? v. 2.

A. They observe Measures in their Wickedness, & know how to keep their {Steps}. They consider, how far they may go with Safety in their Wickedness, and where they shall meet with Danger in going any further.⁶⁶²

Q. What of Reality is there in that Matter, whereto the Psalmist alludes, when he speaks of, *The Deaf Adder, that stoppeth her Ear, and will not hearken to the Voice of the Charmer, charming never so wisely*? v. 5, 6.⁶⁶³

A. The Traditions and Flourishes of the Ancients, upon this Text, are too fabulous.

But yett there is in Reality such a thing as the *Incantation of Serpents*. And it is a good Thought of *Austins*, That the Liableness of *Serpents*, rather than of

⁶⁶⁰ The Hebrew here is כִּמּוֹ-חַי כִּמּוֹ-הָרָן [kemo-hay kemo-haran] "whether green or ablaze" (ESV).

⁶⁶¹ Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 2, p. 86.

⁶⁶² Hammond, *Paraphrase*, in *Works*, vol. 4, bk. 2, p. 169.

⁶⁶³ Verses 4 and 5, in actuality.

other Creatures to *Incantation* from Humane Voices and Verses, is an Intimation of our being of old seduced by the Divil in a *Serpent*.

In History we find whole Nations famous for the Enchanting of *Serpents*. Whole Countreys in *America* are known to practise it. And it may be, *Orpheus* had his Fame, for this Art, in more early Antiquity. In his Work (if it be not rather the Work of *Timoclus Syracusanus*, as both *Suidas* and *Bochart* suppose it may) *De Lapidibus*, there is this Passage;

Ποῖζον τε στησαι χαμαι ερχομενοι δρακοντος,

Εισεται, ηδ' οφεων ιον σβεσαι ερπυστηρων.

Stridoremque sistere humi venientis Draconis sciet,

Et Serpentum repentium Venenum (aut [vero] Jaculum) Exstinguere.

The Passage I mention the rather, because the Apostle *Paul*, in Eph. 6.16. plainly alludes unto it.⁶⁶⁴

Numberless are the Passages in Antiquity, relating to this *Incantation*, and *Fascination* upon *Serpents*. T'wil be but an Hardship upon you, to Tire you with the Quotations of those, things which are in *Plato*, and in *Aristotle*, and in *Strabo*, and in *Gellius*, as well as in *Ovid*, about this Matter in general. Nor shall I in descending to Particulars, do any more than single out one or two Passages, instead of many that I have at hand, upon every Head.

Sometimes they *Enchanted* the *Serpents* with the Touch of the Hand. And therefore *Virgil* saies,

*Spargere qui Somnos cantuque Manuque solebat.*⁶⁶⁵

And, *Silius Italicus*,

*Tactuque graves sopire chelydros.*⁶⁶⁶

And, elsewhere, *Tactuque domare venena.*⁶⁶⁷

Sometimes *Talismanical Figures* were used, for the Performing of this *Enchantment*. Saies *Arnobius*, *Adversus ictus noxios et venenatos colubrorum morsus, Remedia sæpè conquirimus, et protegimus nos Laminis, Marsis et Psyllis vendenti-*

⁶⁶⁴ *De Lapidibus* is one of the poems traditionally ascribed to Orpheus. The Greek passage is Ποῖζον τε στησαι χαμαι ερχομενοι δρακοντος, / Εἴσεται, ηδ' οφεων ιον σβεσαι ερπυστήρων appears in *Orphica, Lithica* (lines 48–49) and translates as follows: “He will know how to stop the hiss of the serpent advancing on the ground, and how to counteract the poison (or even the strike) of creeping serpents.” I have not been able to identify Timoclus Syracusanus, but Timaeus of Tauromenium in Sicily (c. 350–260 BCE) is probably intended. Timaeus was an ancient historian and pupil of Isocrates and was reported to have died in Syracuse (OCCC).

⁶⁶⁵ *Aeneid* (7.754). In this passage, Umbro, a servant of King Archippus, “with charm and touch was wont to shed slumber on the viperous brood.”

⁶⁶⁶ *Silius Italicus* (c. 26–c.103) was a Roman consul and epic poet. His only surviving work is the 17 book *Punica* (OCCC). This line is from *Punica* (1.412). Athyr, like Umbro, is said to be able “to charm grave water-snakes to sleep by his touch.”

⁶⁶⁷ *Punica*, 8.500. In this passage, Angitia, a sister of Circe, is credited with having taught the Marsi to “tame vipers by handling them.”

bus.⁶⁶⁸ To pass by, what the Nubian Geographer saies of the *Lignum Serpentis*, we find *Attalus* in *Pliny* affirming that a *Scorpion* will not bite a Man, if he cry, *Duo!*⁶⁶⁹ And *Alcamus*, affirms, that at the Sound of, *Os*, or, *Oso*, a *Serpent* lets a Man alone.⁶⁷⁰

But the main Force of *enchanting* the *Serpents*, alwayes lay in *Verses*; but those *Murmured* or *Whispered*: For which Cause also, *Sorcerers* of Old were called, *Whisperers*. Hereby they called *Serpents* out of their *Holes*. *Aelian* (as well as *Pliny*) tells us, that *Serpents*, *επαοιδαις τισι καταγοητευσαντες*, *Enchanted with Certain Verses*, would be fetched out of their lurking Places.⁶⁷¹ And *Seneca*, in his *Medea*, speaks of it.⁶⁷² *Jerom* therefore saies, *Ille Homo qui Incantat*, *Marsus dicitur, et trahit eos de tenebris ad Lumen*.⁶⁷³ *Scaliger* was himself an *Ey-witness* of it; Saies hee (*In Libros Anim.* l.1.c.28.s.123) *Nos aliquandò vidimus Cantationibus è Cavernis exciri Serpentes*.⁶⁷⁴ For this Cause (as many think), a Magician is called / *חובר* / *Chober*, by the Hebrewes; or, a *Consociator*; that is to say, (as *R. Solomon* ha's it on *Deut.* 18.11.) *Qui consociat Serpentes, aut Scorpiones, aut reliqua animalia, in Locum unum*.⁶⁷⁵

Hereby also they putt *Serpents* to Flight. Hence *Lucan*, *Verbisque fugantibus angues*.⁶⁷⁶ Or at least, they thus *pacified* and *stupified* the *Serpents*. Whence *Tibullus*;

Cantus et iratae detinet anguis iter.⁶⁷⁷

And *Columella*;

sic quondam Magicis sopitum Cantibus anguem.⁶⁷⁸

668 Arnobius, *Disputationes Adversus Gentes* (2.32) [PL 5.860–61]: “Against the noxious strikes and the poisoned bites of snakes/adders, we often look for remedies, and we protect ourselves with plates (of wood or metal) sold by the Marsians and Psylli.”

669 Pliny, *Natural History* (28.5).

670 This is probably a reference to the *Al-Qamus* (The Ocean), the Arabic Dictionary composed by Abu al-Firuzabadi (1326–1414), an Iranian lexicographer whose work served as the basis for later European dictionaries of Arabic (*EB*). “Oso” may simply be a onomatopoeic sound, not intended to have any specific meaning.

671 Aelian, *De Natura Animalium* (6.33) reads with diacritics as follows: *επαοιδαις τισι καταγοητεύσαντες*.

672 In the *Medea* (684), Seneca writes of serpents being charmed by songs.

673 *Breviarum in Psalmos* [PL 26.990]: “That man who enchants is said to be a Marsian, and he draws them out of the shadows toward the light.”

674 Martin Geier’s *Commentarium in Psalmos* (*Opera Omnia* 1:860–61) identifies this passage as deriving from Julius Caesar Scaliger’s translation of and commentary on Aristotle’s *Historia Animalium*, bk. 2, ch. 18, sec. 123, but I have not been able to confirm either his citation or that of Bochart above: “We have sometimes seen serpents called out of their holes by spells.”

675 “He who brings together serpents or scorpions or other animals into one place.”

676 Lucan, *De Bello Civili* (9.914): “and with words putting snakes to flight.”

677 Albius Tibullus (55–19 BCE) was a Latin poet of the early empire of whom not much is known (*ODCW*). This quotation is from his poem to Delia (*Elegy* 8.20): “Spells stop the path of the angry snake.”

678 Lucius Junius Moderatus Columella (fl. 50 CE) is one of the most important writers on

And Seneca; *Sopite primum Cantibus Cerpens meis*.⁶⁷⁹ | Plutarch, and Philostratus, [152v] yea, and Theodoret, have notable Hints to this purpose. Yea, by this Method of Enchanting, they extinguished all the Poison of Serpents. Hence Alcimus, in his Book, *De Peccato Originali*;

*Mox impunè Manu coluber tractatur inermi,
Et Morsus tantum, non virus in angue timetur.*⁶⁸⁰

Petrus Chieza, in Delrio, reports, that the Serpents on all our vast Andian Mountains, are this very way become Innoxious.⁶⁸¹

And the same Way, did they heal those that were already stung with the Poison of Serpents. Strabo finds this usual among the Indians. Thus the Poet, *Et Morsus arte Levabat*.⁶⁸² And Lucan,

– *Pestis nigris inserta Medullis excantata perit* –⁶⁸³
Yea, and they burst the Serpente too. Saies Virgil;
*Frigidus in pratis cantando rumpitur Anguis.*⁶⁸⁴

And Ovid,

Carminè dissiliunt abruptis faucibus, Angues.

And again,

*Vipereas rumpo Verbis et Carminè fauces.*⁶⁸⁵

The Scripture intimates, That some Serpents did not feel the Force of these Charms. [Jer. 8.17. and Eccl. 10.11.] This Deafness to the Force of Charms is in the Text now before us, called, *A Stopping of the Ear* to them. Now, if it should be true (what is commonly said,) That there are several Sorts of Serpents (called therefore by way of Distinction, *The Deaf-Serpents*) as the *Asp*, the *Hydrus*, the *Regulus*, and the *Cerastes*, which the Magicians cannot make such Impression upon, as they can upon the rest, In this Restraint upon the Power of the Divil, there is a glorious Triumph of the Divine Power, declaring, that the *Divil* can go not a Jott further than God shall permitt him; as when *Lice* could not be

agriculture of the early empire (ODCW). This is from the book on gardens in his treatise *De Re Rustica* (10.367): “Thus once was a snake put to sleep by magic chants/incantations.”

679 Seneca, *Medea* (704). At this point in the play, Medea’s nurse invokes the dragon guarding the golden fleece “who through my incantations was first lulled to sleep.”

680 Alcimus Ecdicius Avitus (died c. 518), was a late Latin poet and archbishop of Vienne in Gaul (ODCC). This quotation is from his long poem on original sin, *De Originali Peccato* (2.310–11): “Soon the adder is handled safely by/with bare hand, and its bite only, not the poison in the snake is to be feared.”

681 Pedro Cieza de León (1518–60) was a conquistador and author of an early chronicle of Peru (ODR), but the direct source for this opinion is Martin Delrio’s *Disquisitionum Magicarum Libri Sex*, lib. 2, quest. 13, p. 135.

682 *Aeneid* (7.755): “and healed their bites by his art.”

683 Lucan, *De Bello Civili* (9.930–31). This portion of the poem relates the treatment of snake bite by charms: “Often indeed the bane, after it has lodged in the blackened marrow, is expelled by incantation.”

684 Vergil, *Eclogue* (8.71): “With song, the cold snake in the meadows is burst asunder.”

685 Ovid, *Amores* (2.1.25): “Song bursts the serpent’s jaws apart and robs him of his fangs;” *Metamorphoses* (7.203): “I break the jaws of the serpent with my incantations.”

produced by the Magicians of *Egypt*. However, the *Scriptures* do not speak of any peculiar Sorts of *Serpents*, exempted alwayes from the Influences of *Incantation*. But the Success of Attempts upon the same Sort of *Serpents* at several Times, is various; (as *Bochart* expresses it,) *prout variè Deus Diabolo habenas aut adducit, aut remittit*.⁶⁸⁶

[153r] |⁶⁸⁷

Q. A further Hint upon the Management of *Serpents*? v. 6.

A. The *Sieur Luillier* in his Voyage to the *East Indies*, mentions, what he calls, *An Unaccountable Sight*, common there. That is, that of the *Dancing Snakes*, which the Jugglers carry in *Basketts* on their Shoulders. The *Baskets* being sett on the Ground, a Trumpett is sounded, at which Noise several hideous *Snakes* rouse by Degrees, come out of the *Basketts*, and lying on the Ground, Skip, Dance, and Perform many Motions to the Sound of the Trumpett; and often lay hold of their Masters Arms or Legs, without doing them any other harm, than leaving the Print of their Teeth. They say, they anoint themselves with the Juice of certain Herbs of such Virtue, that the *Snakes* cannot hurt them. When the Company is satisfied with this Diversion, the Owners putt the *Snakes* again into their *Basketts*, where they rowl themselves up, & ly as still as if they were Dead.⁶⁸⁸

[154v] | [blank]

[152v] |⁶⁸⁹

Q. On, The *Snail*? v. 8.

A. A *Snail* appears with a Threatning Look, when it putts forth its *Horns*, but the further it goes, the more it waste[s] & spends itself.⁶⁹⁰

Q. What means that, *Before your Potts can feel the Thorns*? v. 9.

A. Tis likely, that *Asparagus* may bee in those Words of the Psalmist referr'd unto. q.d. That Plant, which hath little Acute Prickles, when the Red Berries Ripen, it cannot bee sooner Boiled, than *the Wicked shall bee consumed by the*

⁶⁸⁶ Bochart, *Hierozaicon*, vol. 2, bk. 3, ch. 6, cols 386–95. Mather includes the main idea and the reference to Bochart in *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 143, but does not include Bochart's own numerous quotations. The final remark of Bochart reads, "just as God in various ways either tightens or slackens the reins on the devil."

⁶⁸⁷ See Appendix B.

⁶⁸⁸ In 1715, William Symson published *A New Voyage to the East-Indies*, to which was appended an account of a similar voyage by "Sieur Luillier." The account of the dancing snakes occurs in both reports, but Mather is clearly relying on Luillier's, at pp. 262–63. Symson's own account is at p. 37.

⁶⁸⁹ 152v continues.

⁶⁹⁰ Clutterbuck, *A Brief Explanation*, p. 48.

Fire of Wrath. Which well agrees with the Latin Proverb, *Citius quàm Asparagi coquantur.*⁶⁹¹

[*2132.*]

Q. Do not the Jewish Expositors, give some very singular Glosses on this Passage? v. 9.

A. I Remember One of them is; *Antequam crescant spinæ parvæ et teneræ in Rhamnum*; That is to say, Before the Children of these Wretches come to bee of Age.⁶⁹²

[*959.*]

Q. What is the Meaning of that Clause, *Hee shall take them away, as with a Whirlwind, both Living, & in His Wrath?* v. 9.

A. The Psalm, entituled, *Al-taschith*, or, *Destroy not*, was penned on the Occasion of *David's* being happily kept from the *Destroying* of *Nabal*. In the Psalm, hee blames the Venom of that wretched Mans *Tongue*, that had Reviled him, and the Deafness of his *Ears*, that would not hearken unto his Messengers, tho' they did their Errand never so wisely. Hee prophesies, that God would suddenly take him away, as with a *Storm*, E're the *Pots* that were sett on the Fire for his Feasts, could feel any Warmness from the *Thorns* putt under them, to boyl them. And this Clause, *Both Living, & in his Wrath*, Dr. *Lightfoot* carries thus, *According as hee was Lively*, or Jovial, *so should the Wrath bee* proportioned unto him, when it came. Hebr. *As hee Lively, so the Wrath*. The Word / חַי / *Chai*, is the very Epithit which *David* gave him, when hee sent his Messengers unto him; *Thus you shall say*, / לַחַי / *lechai*, *To him that is Lively*; that is, to him that ha's his Spirits Raised thro' Prosperitie.⁶⁹³

This Text is as one expresses it, *A Thorny Place to Interpreters.*⁶⁹⁴

Q. A further Illustration, if you please, of that Passage; *He shall take them away, as with a Whirlwind, both Living, & in His Wrath?* v. 9.

A. The Sense may be; That God shall deliver the Godly, from the Hands of their Oppressors, to the Joy of the Godly, while the Wicked shall feel the Wrath of God upon them. *David* Elsewhere complains, *They came against him to Eat*

⁶⁹¹ Clutterbuck, *A Brief Explanation*, p. 49; Hammond, *Paraphrase*, in *Works*, vol. 4, bk. 2, p. 171. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 143: "More quickly than asparagus is cooked." Suetonius (Div. Aug. 87) reports that "celerius quam asparagi cocuntur" was one of the Emperor Augustus's peculiar expressions.

⁶⁹² This is Rabbi Solomon in Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 2, p. 166: "Before small and tender prickles grow into a thorn bush." This particular thorn, the rhamnos or buckthorn, is also known as Christ's thorn because it was popularly believed to have formed the crown of thorns worn by Jesus at the crucifixion.

⁶⁹³ Lightfoot, *Works* (1:58). Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 143.

⁶⁹⁴ Clutterbuck, *A Brief Explanation*, p. 50.

up his *Flesh*. A Lively Expression of their Cruelty. Here they employ *Fire*, to prepare the *Flesh* of the People of God, for their Palate. God interposes with His wonderful Providence. He rescues them, while the *Potts* are yett scarce warmed by the *Fire* under them: God brings them forth *Alive*; and this in His *Wrath* against the Wicked; who *see it and are grieved, gnash their Teeth & melt away*.⁶⁹⁵

Dr. *Patrick* thus paraphrases it.

“O yee unrighteous Judges, who instead of Præserving the People, Devour them, & Eat them up: God will hurry you away suddenly, as in a furious Tempest; which before your Flesh-potts can feel the Thorns, carries them all away; both the *Green* Thorns, & the *Dry*.”⁶⁹⁶

Q. On the *Righteous Washing his Feet in the Blood of the Wicked?* v. 10.

A. *Lyra* carries it so; The Righteous beholding the Vengeance of GOD, executed upon the Ungodly, for their Ungodly Deeds, will dread the like Offences; lest they also tread in the like Steps of Judgment.⁶⁹⁷

⁶⁹⁵ Clutterbuck, *A Brief Explanation*, p. 49; Hammond, *Paraphrase*, in *Works*, vol. 4, bk. 2, p. 171.

⁶⁹⁶ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 2, pp. 253–54.

⁶⁹⁷ *Biblorum Sacrorum cum Glossa Ordinaria* (3:848).

Q. Give us an Hint, that may direct the Application of the Psalm, unto the *Morals* of Christianity? Tit.

A. Take One from old *Arnobius*.

*Quandò Domus Corporis tui, à Principe huius Mundi custodiri præcipitur, ut capiaris, et interficiaris Gladio cujuscunque Peccati, ex totis visceribus exclama, Eripe me.*⁶⁹⁹

But then, Behold, a Prayer against the Enemies of the Church.

By the *City* in the sixth Verse, is not *Rome* to be understood? Compare, Num. XXIV.19.

The Term of, *The God of Israel*, invites one to think, of the [^{**}]⁷⁰⁰ Holy People groaning under the Oppressions of Antichrist.⁷⁰¹

Q. That Supplication, *Thou therefore, O Lord God of Hosts, the God of Israel, Awake to visit all the Nations*: What may bee the Import of it? v. 5.

A. In R. *David Kimchi*, you'll find an Intimation, That the Psalmist beholding the Wickedness of Men, despairs of seeing a good World, until the *Day of Judgment*. Accordingly, This Passage is a Prayer for the *Day of Judgement*, or, the Time of the Kingdome of the Messiah, when there shall bee no such Persecutors as old *Saul* in the world. At the Time, when God shall thus *visit all the Nations*, Hee will eminently exhibit Himself, as, *The God of Israel*.⁷⁰²

Q. How is it said, *They return at Evening*? v. 6.

A. Dr. *Patrick* thus paraphrases it.

"After I had escaped the Fury of *Saul* in the Day, he renews his Attempts in the Evening, and sends armed Men to apprehend me; some of which ly about my House, ready like a growling Dog to sieze upon me; and others, should they miss me there, go round about the City, to way-lay me in every Corner."

Compare, 1 Sam. XIX.10,11.⁷⁰³

⁶⁹⁸ Regular pagination resumes.

⁶⁹⁹ Arnobius, *Commentarii in Psalmos* [PL 53.406]: "When the prince of this world orders your body to be held in custody so that you may be captured and killed by the sword of some sin, shout out with your whole heart: Rescue me!"

⁷⁰⁰ [^{*}*Jewish Nation*]

⁷⁰¹ Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 2, pp. 87–8. The entire note is reworded, but present in *Psalterium*, bk. 2, pp. 145–46.

⁷⁰² Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 2, p. 168. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 146.

⁷⁰³ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 2 p. 256.

The Passage is capable of a mystical & a marvellous Accommodation to something that sometimes occurs in the Lives of Men. Men are guilty of great Crimes in their younger Years. They Reform these Crimes, & Live many years unblemished. But if the Work of *Repentance* in them, have not been a sincere and thorough Work, they *Return in the Evening* to their *old Crimes*. God leaves them to some strange Infatuation; and in their *old Age*, or the *Evening* of their Lives, they fall into their *old Crimes* again, with such Circumstances, as do exceedingly expose them.⁷⁰⁴

[156v]

Q. That Prayer, *Slay them not*; What may bee understood in it? v. 11.

A. It is a notable Stroke, that *Austin* hath upon it; *Orat ut Gens Judæorum maneret, et eâ manente cresceret Multitudo Christianorum*.⁷⁰⁵

It is not so much a *David*, as a persecuted *Jesus*, whose Condition is expressed throughout the Psalm. The Jewish Nation deserved utter Destruction & Extinction, for the Wrongs which they did unto the persecuted *Jesus*. But Hee prays, That the Nation may not bee utterly extinct, for their Wickedness; but wander about in a distress'd, and abject State, not altogether *Forgotten* in the World ...

The Syriac Title of the Psalm is: *Prophetia de Conversione Gentium, et Rejectione Judæorum*.⁷⁰⁶

The Request, *Slay them not*, ha's no Repugnancy to what follows, *consume them, consume them*. The Meaning is, lett them waste away by Degrees.⁷⁰⁷

Q. That Passage, *God ruleth in Jacob, & unto the Ends of the Earth*: how did the Ancients carry it, when a Spirit of mystical Applications was upon them? v. 13.

A. Lett *Arnobius* tell you.

Ibi dominatur Dominus, ubi Fines faciunt, terrena voluptates.⁷⁰⁸

Q. The Business of, *Returning at the Evening*; what Mystery may bee couched in it? v. 14, 15.

A. R. *Obadiah Gaon* thinks, The Mystery of *Gog and Magog*.⁷⁰⁹

Dr. *Patrick* thus paraphrases these two Verses.

⁷⁰⁴ See note on Ps.11:6. The entire note is present in *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 146.

⁷⁰⁵ Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos* [PL 36.706]: "He prays that the nation of the Jews might remain, and that while they abide, the multitude of Christians may increase."

⁷⁰⁶ "A prophecy concerning the conversion of nations and the rejection of the Jews."

⁷⁰⁷ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 2, pp. 169–70. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 146.

⁷⁰⁸ Arnobius, *Commentarii in Psalmos* [PL 53.406]. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 146: "There the Lord rules, where earthly pleasures find their limits."

⁷⁰⁹ Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 147.

“Lett them watch me now, as narrowly as they please, lying near my House, like a growling Dog, ready to sieze upon me; or hunting about the City, every where to apprehend me.

“They shall be punished in their kind, & go up and down the City & Countrey hereafter, upon another Design; wandering like an Hungry Dog from Door to Door, to gett something to eat, and forced to pass whole Nights in Complaints, for Want of Satisfaction.”⁷¹⁰

Q. On that, *Lett them wander?* v. 15.

A. Their *Sin*, in the Sixth Verse, becomes their *Punishment* in the Fifteenth. Before they *Ran* for *Malice*, lett them now *Run* for *Hunger*.⁷¹¹

⁷¹⁰ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 2, p. 169; Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 2, p. 258.

⁷¹¹ Clutterbuck, *A Brief Explanation*, p. 51.

Q. A Key to the Psalm? Tit.

A. While *Saul* was busying himself in Pursuing of *David*, he neglected his foreign Enemies; and the *Philistines* particularly grew so much too hard for him, that at last they overthrew him in a Battel, wherein he, & his Sons were slain. The *Philistines* continued after this to afflict the Countrey very much; taking Advantage from the Division between the Two Kingdomes of *Israel* and *Judah*. When both Kingdomes had a Prospect of being united in *David*, God Himself lifted up an Ensign unto them, and call'd them to resort with one Consent unto him, in assured Hope of a Victory over their Enemies.

Now read, 2 Sam. VIII. and you understand the Psalm.⁷¹²

The Sufferings of the *Jewish Nation*, in their present Exile, are also to be considered.⁷¹³

2137.

Q. What special Matter, beyond the most obvious, may bee intended, in that Expression, *O God, Thou hast cast us off?* v. 1.

A. R. *Solomon* ha's a notable Gloss upon it; *Prævidebat Spiritu, quòd Romani erant Dominaturi.*⁷¹⁴

2138

Q. How did the Lord *make the Earth to tremble?* v. 2.

A. When tis said, *Thou didst make the Earth to Tremble*, it is the Gloss of *Aben-Ezra* upon it, That it was by the Newes of *David's* Death, which was fear'd and spread among the People on the Occasion mentioned in the *Title* of the *Psalm*.⁷¹⁵

But lett us rather take Dr. *Patrick's* Paraphrase.

“There have been dreadful Commotions among ourselves, & miserable Rents & Divisions [2 Sam. II.9, 10, 17. and III.1.], the woful Effects of which remain to this Day, and call for thy Help; who alone canst repair the Breaches our Folly ha's made; & perfect the Union which is begun.”⁷¹⁶

⁷¹² Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 2, p. 160.

⁷¹³ Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 2, p. 89. Mather includes in *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 148 only the references to 2 Samuel, the remark of Allix, and gloss of Rabbi Solomon in the succeeding note. He omits the historical context supplied here from Patrick.

⁷¹⁴ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 2, p. 172: “He foresaw by the Holy Spirit that the Romans would rule.”

⁷¹⁵ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 2, p. 171.

⁷¹⁶ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 2, p. 261. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 148.

Q. What, to *Drink the Wine of Astonishment*? v. 3.

A. It was a Fulfilment of, Deut. XXVIII.28,34.

It was, to be like Men bereft of the Use of Reason, by some Intoxicating Potion, who thereupon madly destroy one another.⁷¹⁷

Q. What was the *Banner* that God *gave to them that feared Him*? v. 4.

A. *David* become their King; to whom they were all to Repair, like Souldiers to their *Ensign*, when tis display'd.⁷¹⁸

Q. How, *Because of Truth*? v. 4.

A. *Munster* glosses well; *ut Promissionibus tuis satisfaceres*.⁷¹⁹

Q. A Paraphrase on what we read, of *Shechem*, & the rest? v. 6, 7, 8.

A. Dr. *Patricks*.

“God, [who promised, 2 Sam. III.18.] hath already putt me in Possession of all the Countrey about *Samaria*, which I will distribute under such Officers, as I think fitt to sett over them.

“*Gilead* also, & *Menasseh*, who were Lately under another King [2 Sam. II.9.], have submitted themselves unto me; & so ha's the Tribe of *Ephraim*, which is a main Support of my Authority. These, & all the rest of the Tribes of *Israel*, are now united unto the Royal Tribe of *Judah*, which, [according to Gen. XLIX.10.] supplies me with wise & able Men, to administer the Lawes & order the Affairs of my Kingdome.

“Which shall now extend itself beyond the Bounds of this Countrey; For I will tread *Moab* under my Feet, & reduce them to the vilest Servitude. I will trample also on the *Edomites*, & make them my Slaves. The *Philistines*, also, whom I have begun to smite, shall add to my Triumphs.”⁷²⁰

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[158v]

Q. What means the Concern of the Psalmist, for *Dividing of Shechem*, and *Meting out the Valley of Succoth*, and having of *Gilead* and *Menasseh*, for His? v. 6, 7.

A. When *David* was made King there was a strong Party in the Nation, who sett themselves against him; These pretending Loyalty to House of *Saul*, were upon all Occasions ready to Raise New Commotions in the Kingdome; Tis

⁷¹⁷ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 2, p. 262. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 148.

⁷¹⁸ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 2, p. 262. Both this and the succeeding note are in *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 148.

⁷¹⁹ Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3797): “that you might fulfill your promises.”

⁷²⁰ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 2, pp. 262–63. Mather chooses to include the entire paraphrase in *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 149.

possible, there may bee some Relation to these Ferments, in those Words, *Thou hast made the Land to Tremble; thou hast broken it; Heal the Breaches thereof, for it shaketh*. However, that the Passage now before us, doth Relate thereunto, will bee Reasonably Conjectured, when wee have observed, That *Shechem, Gilead, and Succoth*, were the Places much adhæred unto the House of *Saul*.⁷²¹

Q. What meant by, *Ephraim is mine Head?* v. 7.

A. My chief Strength in the Time of War.⁷²²

Q. Why, *Judah my Law-Giver?* v. 7.

A. With reference to the Prophecy, of, *The Scepter & Lawgiver, not departing from Judah*; denoting that this was to be the Royal Tribe.⁷²³

Q. In what Sense may it bee said, *Moab is my wash-pot?* v. 8.

A. You know the Sense commonly given. But I find some of the Ancients apply it, unto the Tribute of *Lambs*, which *Moab* was to pay unto the King of *Judah*, (2 King. 3.4.) which were Wash'd and Boil'd in *Potts*: q.d. *Moab* shall keep my *Pott Boiling*.⁷²⁴

Indeed, the Sense most obvious, is, The people of *Moab*, are subject unto me. For, to pour Water out of a Vessel, for the *Washing* of anothers Hands, is the same, as to be a *Servant* unto him. [See, 2 King. III.11.]⁷²⁵

2140.

Q. What means that, *Over Edom I will cast my Shooe?* v. 8.

A. Some say, I will Trample upon *Edom*, or Tread *Edom* under Foot.⁷²⁶

But, methinks the Spanish Version well expresses it; *Tomare possession*, or, *I will Take Possession of Edom*.

[Compare, Ruth. IV.7. and Deut. XXV.7, 9.]⁷²⁷

Plucking off the *Shoe*, was a Ceremony used of old in Contracts, & making over Estates.

Be sure, *Edom* is to be brought under foot.⁷²⁸

⁷²¹ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 2, p. 260; Roberts, *Clavis Bibliorum*, p. 225.

⁷²² Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 2, p. 262. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 149.

⁷²³ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 2, p. 263.

⁷²⁴ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 2, p. 172.

⁷²⁵ Although Hammond does not mention the reference to 2 Kings, this entry seems to derive most clearly from his interpretation of this verse. See Hammond, *Paraphrase*, in *Works*, vol. 4, bk. 2, p. 176. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 149.

⁷²⁶ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 2, p. 263.

⁷²⁷ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 2, p. 172.

⁷²⁸ Hammond, *Paraphrase*, in *Works*, vol. 4, bk. 2, p. 177.

Q. What was the Intent of, *Give us Help from Trouble?* v. 11.

A. Afford us Help against the *Syrians* [2 Sam. VIII.5]; who now distress us.⁷²⁹

⁷²⁹ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 2, p. 263. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 149.

[159r]

Psalm. 61.

Q. The Scope?

A. Behold, The *Jewish Nation* here dispersed unto the *Ends of the Earth*; [******]⁷³⁰
and Happiness of the True *Israel* under the Protection of the Messiah, for *many*
Generations.⁷³¹

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| [blank]

⁷³⁰ The following changes were made. The word, “But” is not cancelled, although the words immediately following, “comforted with the Hope of Restoration,” are. The sense of the manuscript suggests that the first word of the cancelled sentence should also have been erased.

⁷³¹ Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 2, p. 91. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 150.

Q. The Scope?

A. Thus the Church under the Oppression of *Antichrist*, comforts herself with Hopes in the Prophecies of what shall be done unto the Wicked.⁷³²

Q. On that, *I shall not be moved?* v. 6.

A. Behold, How Piety improves in the Exercise of it!

Four Verses ago, it sang *I sha'n't be greatly mov'd*. And now it ha's gott up to this, *I sha'n't be mov'd at all*.⁷³³

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[162v]

Q. Your Explication of that Passage, *God hath spoken Once, Twice have I heard this?* v. 11.

A. *God hath spoken Once*, namely, on Mount *Sinai*, to our Ancestors; *I have heard these Two Things*; *That Power belongeth unto God*, to avenge the Sins of Men against Him; *Also unto thee, O Lord, belongeth Mercy*, for them that keep thy Commandments. These *Two Things* did I hear *God Speak* once, when Hee uttered the Sanctions of the *Second Commandment* on the Burning Mountain. The *Syriac* Interpreter countenances this Illustration.

I might offer you a Devout Gloss upon it, which I have somewhere mett withal. When the Lord *spoke Once*, this pious Man *heard Him Twice*; namely, by an After-Meditation on what had been spoken.⁷³⁴

[*1893.*]

Q. That Passage, *Thou rendrest unto Every Man, according to his Work*, how may it bee exemplified? v. 11.⁷³⁵

A. The Jewes in *Libro Sota*, have some Instances. "Samson *ivit post Oculos suos; sicut dictum est in Jud. 14.3. & 16.1. propter hoc Philistæi eruerunt ipsi Oculos. Absalom quoque superbiuit in Capillis suis; ideòque suspensus fuit in Capillis suis, data fuerunt in eo decem Jacula; sicut dictum est 2. Reg. 18.15 porrò quia fecit Tria furta; furatus est enim cor Patris sui, cor Domus Iudicii, et cor totius Israel; propter hoc fixa sunt in ejus Corde tria Jacula. Hoc Etiam servatur in materiâ Boni. Miriam quippe præstolata est Moysen unâ horâ sicut dictum est, Exod. 2.4 Et propter hoc Expectaverunt Israel in Deserto septem diebus; sicut dictum est, Num. 12.15.*

⁷³² Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 2, p. 92. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 152.

⁷³³ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 2, p. 268. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 152.

⁷³⁴ Hammond, *Paraphrase*, in *Works*, vol. 4, bk. 2, p. 176; Ainsworth, *Annotations*, p. 93; Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 2, p. 177. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 152.

⁷³⁵ Actually verse 12.

*Joseph meruit sepelire Patrem suum; neque fuit inter Fratres ejus major eo; juxtâ illud, Gen. 50.7, 9. Quis nostrum major fuit Joseph, cuius sepulturæ cura, nemini demandata est, nisi Mosi? Moses meruit sepelire ossa Joseph; neque fuit in Israele Major eo; juxta illud, Exod. 13.19. Quis Major fuit Mose, cuius sepulturæ nemo operam dedit, nisi Deus?*⁷³⁶

⁷³⁶ Martin, *Pugio Fidei*, pars. 3, dist. 2, cap. 9, pp. 623–24, 626. Mather is threading together the remarks of Martin and the “Observation” of Joseph de Voisin Burdegal. The “Libro Sota” or “Sotah” is the tractate that takes its name from its primary subject: the “wayward wife” or adultery. More generally, this portion of the Talmud examines rituals that involve a spoken formula: “Samson went wherever his eyes led him, just as it is said in Judg. 14.3 & 16.1. Because of this the Philistines put out his eyes. Also, Absalom took pride in his hair; and therefore he was suspended by his hair [and] ten javelins were cast into him, just as it is said in 2 Kings 18.15. Moreover, because he committed three thefts, for he stole the heart of his father, the heart of the house of good judgment, and the heart of all Israel – because of this, three javelins were driven into his heart. This is preserved in the material of the good one. Miriam stood waiting for Moses for an hour, just as it is said in Exod. 2.4. And because of this the Israelites waited in the desert for seven days, just as it is said in Num. 12.15. Joseph deserved to bury his father, nor was there one greater than he among his brothers, according to Gen. 50.7, 9. Who of us [i.e., the Jews] was greater than Joseph, whose concern for burial [of the dead] was entrusted to no one except Moses? Moses was worthy of burying the bones of Joseph, nor was there one greater than he among the Israelites, according to Exod. 13.19. [And] Who was greater than Moses, whose attention to burial no one but God was granted?”

Q. What *Wilderness*? Tit.

A. Dr. *Patrick* thinks, it was the *Wilderness* which *David* went through when he fled from *Absalom* [2 Sam. XVII.29.] The Reason is, Because he calls himself a *King*; which he would not have done, during the Reign of *Saul*. For that would have rendred him too obnoxious unto the Charge of Treason.

Unless we should say, That he did not publish the Psalm; but reserve it for his own private Use, till he came to the Kingdome; & then deliver it unto the chief Musician, for the Service of the Tabernacle.⁷³⁷

Behold, The Case of the Church under *Antichrist*.

Yea, The Case of the Synagogue, is to be considered. Compare v. 2 with Hos. II.15. and Ezek. XX.35.⁷³⁸

Q. Why does the Psalmist say, *O God, Thou art my God, – my Flesh longeth for thee?* v. 1.

A. It is the *Son of God*, in His *Incarnation*, wherein peculiarly, we enjoy the great God, for *our God*.

When tis said, *my Flesh longeth for thee*, it seems to propound the Coming of God, in *our Flesh*.

David also might long for the *Coming* of God, under a very special Consideration; since it was to be eminently in *His Flesh*, or *Line*, accomplished.

But, methinks, I perceive the Cry of the Saints in *Hades*, wishing for the *Resurrection of the Dead*. The *Souls* do *Thirst* for the Coming of the Lord; their *Flesh* does also *long* for it, in a *Land* which wants the *Dew* of Heaven, whereby the Dead shall be Revived.

Having this *Key* in your Hands now read over the *Psalm*, with most Attentive Meditations.⁷³⁹

Q. A *Dry & Thirsty Land?* v. 1.

A. Namely, That, 2. Sam. XVII.29. *The People is Thirsty in the Wilderness*.

The Psalmist makes the Desert, in which he was now wandring a lively Emblem of his own Condition.⁷⁴⁰

⁷³⁷ Mather is abstracting from Patrick's argument to the Psalm. See Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 2, p. 270.

⁷³⁸ Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk.2, p. 93. The entire note is in *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 154.

⁷³⁹ This note seems to be inspired by Owens, *Grace and Duty of Being Spiritually Minded*, ch. 15, p. 232, although here as elsewhere Mather also appears more willing than many of his contemporaries to interpret the Psalms as prophecies of Jesus. Such exceptional readings are generally also those which he selects for inclusion in *Psalterium*, in this case, bk. 2, p. 154.

⁷⁴⁰ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 2, p. 271. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 154.

[82141.*]

Q. What is that *Loving-kindness of God*, which is *Better than Life*? v. 3.

A. It pleases mee very much, to find the Chaldee intimating, That the *Loving-kindness* here mentioned, is the *Blessedness* which God will vouchsafe unto the Just in the World to come; This is *Better* than any Life in this World.⁷⁴¹

[164v]

Q. What Fine Gloss from Antiquity, can you find for those Words, *I remember thee on my Bed, & meditate on thee, in the Night Watches*? v. 6.

A. It is a very fine one of *Arnobius*.

*Ostendit, per eius Auxilium potuisse se Castimoniam obtinuisse.*⁷⁴²

Upon that Passage, *Those that seek my Soul, to destroy it, shall go into the lower Parts of the Earth; They shall fall by the Sword*. The Father is a little more mystical.

Saies he, *pervenerunt usque ad inferiora Corporis. Invenierunt ibi Gladium Verbi Dei super Femur potentissimum, et ibi traditi sunt in Manus Gladii. Nota ibi, Amator Castitatis, quo Ordine Castitas custoditur.*⁷⁴³

Q. How is it said, *They shall fall a Portion for Foxes*? v. 10.

A. Perishing by the Sword, their Carcases would have no other Sepulchres than the Entrails of the Foxes.

Or, it shall be their Portion to be dealt withal as *Foxes*; Pursued & Destroyed.

Or, they shall be driven forth into such Desolate Places as Foxes use to walk in.⁷⁴⁴

Q. What *Foxes* were they, to whom the Ungodly are said to fall, *A Portion*? v. 10.

A. The Heads of *Jordan*, *Arnon*, & *Jabbok*, are found in a Mountainous Rocky Soyl, affording a great Plenty of *Jackals*; mungril Creatures, deriving of Cruelty from the *Wolves* their Sires, & Craftiness from the *Foxes* their Dams. These *Jackals* are here meant, & not ordinary *Foxes*, which are so dainty-mouthed, that they will not feed on any Carcase, but what they kill themselves: Whereas these *Jackals* which may pass for *Foxes*, because they are so by the surer Side, are so

⁷⁴¹ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 2, p. 179. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 154.

⁷⁴² Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 154: "He shows that through His help he was able to maintain purity."

⁷⁴³ Arnobius, *Commentarii in Psalmos* [PL 53.411]: "They came to the lower parts of the body. They found there upon the thigh the mightiest sword of God's Word, and there they were given over into the hands of the sword. Note there, the lover of purity, by which order chastity is guarded."

⁷⁴⁴ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 2, p. 273; Clutterbuck, *A Brief Explanation*, p. 54; Hammond, *Paraphrase*, in *Works*, vol. 4, bk. 2, p. 181.

Ravenous, that they will not only feed on Carrion above Ground, but also dig Holes in the Earth, & fetch forth the Dead Bodies of Men, if not very deeply Interred.⁷⁴⁵

Q. Who are meant, when it is said, *Every one that sweareth by Him shall Glory?* v. 11.

A. Take Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase.

“All pious Men, who præserv’d their Loyalty, & would by no Means violate their Oath, wherein they stood engag’d unto me; they shall triumph, when my Calumniators [2.Sam. XV.2, 3.] and all perfidious Persons, shall be so silenced, that they shall not have a Word to say for themselves.”⁷⁴⁶

⁷⁴⁵ Hammond, *Paraphrase*, in *Works*, vol. 4, bk. 2, p. 181. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 154.

⁷⁴⁶ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras’d*, p. 273.

Q. The Scope?

A. Can't we see here, the Condition of the *Israelitish Nation*, [******]⁷⁴⁸ punished for the Abuses they offered unto the Son of GOD, and the Remarks made on it, by them that should become the true *Israel* of GOD, among the Nations.⁷⁴⁹

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Q. What was their, *searching out Iniquities?* v. 6.

A. They employ'd all their Faculties in evil Devices, and seeking out Ways to do Mischief.⁷⁵⁰

⁷⁴⁷ See Appendix B.

⁷⁴⁸ [*dispersed under the Tyranny of Antichrist! And the great Conversion of the Nations, which will be after they are Converted & Restored.*]. The best indication of when Mather composed *Psalterium* is in the fact that the eschatology he excises in *Biblia Americana* is retained in *Psalterium Americanum*. The passage erased from *Biblia Americana* here is present in *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 156.

⁷⁴⁹ Allix, *The Book of Psalms*, bk. 2, p. 94.

⁷⁵⁰ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 2, p. 275.

Q. The Occasion of the Psalm? Tit.

A. Dr. *Patrick* finds nothing more probable, than that it relates to the Three Years Famine, after the Rebellion of *Absalom*, which being removed by plentiful Showres, the Psalmist gives public Thanks to God in the Psalm now before us; But first makes Mention of several other great Benefits, with which they were obliged in Common with other Nations.⁷⁵¹

Q. That Passage, *Praise is Silent for Thee*? v. 1.

A. Some thus read it, *Silence to thee, is Praise*. q.d. The Praises of God, are so Inexpressible, that they are best expressed, in *silent* Admiration.⁷⁵²

Q. I Like the Gloss; but then you may give it a further Accommodation?

A. A Learned Friend of mine, Mr. *Nehemiah Hobart*, seeing that Gloss, did suggest unto me, this Further Thought upon it.

“*Silentium tibi laus est. i. e. laudatur Deus Fidelium patientia, qui in ærumnis constituti non obmurmurant. Sed Dei Benignitatem suo Tempore prætolantes, se placide, ut ablactati componunt, Peccata confitentes, ore in pulverem posito, Indignationem Domini ferentes, Hostes armore et precibus prosequentes donec ipsorum misertus causam aget contrâ iniquos. Magnificatur Autor hujus æquanimi-tatis, quæ, cum reliquis id genus dotibus, descendit a Patre Luminum.*”

Indeed, The Great God is never more *praised*, than by the *Silence*, and *Patience* of His People under their Troubles.⁷⁵³

Q. On that, *To thee shall all Flesh come*? v. 2.

A. Tis a Notable Hint of *Munster*. *Agit Psalmus de Regno Christi*.⁷⁵⁴

Others here consider the Miracles to be wrought for *Israel* returned from Exile.⁷⁵⁵

⁷⁵¹ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 2, p. 276. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 158.

⁷⁵² Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 2, p. 277. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 158.

⁷⁵³ See note on Hobart above. Mather does not quote or refer to Hobart in *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 158, but the concluding sentence is reproduced there: “Silence to you is praise. That is, God is praised by the patience of the faithful who, having been set amid hardships, do not murmur against Him. But waiting for God’s benevolence in their own time, they compose themselves calmly, as mature people, confessing their sins, their face[s] laid in the dust, enduring the Lord’s displeasure, pursuing their enemies with love and prayers until He, pitying them, will plead a case against the wicked. Praised be the Author of this equanimity which, with the rest of the gifts of that sort, comes down [to us] from the Father of Lights.”

⁷⁵⁴ Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 158: “The psalm speaks of the reign of Christ.”

⁷⁵⁵ Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3807–08); Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 2, p. 95.

Q. On that, *Iniquities prevail against me; Thou shalt purge away our Transgressions?* v. 3.

A. By *Iniquities* I suppose, *Oppressions* to be intended. *Injustice* and *Injury* may be done us. They who deal *Unrighteously* with us, may gett the upper hand of us. 'Tis usually, to chastise us for some *Transgressions* in our own Hearts and Lives. My Note upon it is; That when *unrighteous* Men so *prevail* against us, as to putt *unrighteous* Things upon us, it will be a Blessed Consequence & Improvement of it, if we come thereby the more to Reform our own *Transgressions*.⁷⁵⁶

Q. The Meaning of, *Blessed the Man whom thou chusest?* v. 4.

A. Take Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase.

“O how happy is the Condition of a *Priest* or *Levite*, whom thou hast chosen to minister before thee; & who ha's the Priviledge to be continually employ'd in thy Service! Tho' we can't all be so Blessed, yett, such is thy Goodness, we enjoy most sweet Refreshments in thy House, when we offer our Prayers and Praises to thee, & taste of the Sacrifices of Thanksgiving, which we there present for the Benefits we have received from thee.”⁷⁵⁷

Q. The, *Terrible Things in Righteousness?* v. 5.

A. It may rather be read, *Wonderful Things*. Consider the Gloss of *Munster* upon it. *Cum Justitia Dei per Christum afferetur Hominibus, quàm terribilia, et stupenda portenta tunc visa fuerint, Scriptura Novi Testamentum abundè explicat.* When the *Righteousness* of God, was by our Saviour brought unto the Children of Men, the *Miracles* which accompanied the Dispensation were very *Wonderful*! But *marvellous* Things yett remain to be done.⁷⁵⁸

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Q. The Meaning of the *Tokens*, at which they *are afraid*, who dwell *in the uttermost Parts of the Earth?* v. 8.

A. Take Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase.

“The most barbarous People, who live in the remotest Corners of the Earth, behold with Wonder and Amazement the Heavenly Bodies, which thou hast appointed for *Signs* and *Tokens*: [Gen. I.14.] By the Rising of the *Sun*, the *Moon* and *Stars*, in the Morning and Evening, Thou fillest them with Joy, as well as Admiration.”⁷⁵⁹

⁷⁵⁶ Mather appears to be largely following here the interpretation of David Kimchi in *Vicars*, *Decapla*, lib. 2, p. 182. Kimchi argues that this Psalm was written during the captivity when the Jews were oppressed for their transgressions, an interpretation generally rejected by English commentators of Mather's age.

⁷⁵⁷ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 2, pp. 277–278. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 158.

⁷⁵⁸ Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3808). Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 158. Mather provides a fair translation of Munster's gloss.

⁷⁵⁹ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 2, pp. 278–79; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 159.

When I wrote a Book, about, *The Gospel of the RAINBOW*, I inserted this Text in the Title-page; Psal. LXV.8, 9. *They who dwell in the uttermost Parts have a Reverence for thy Tokens. Thou visitest the Earth & waterest it.*⁷⁶⁰

Q. The *Outgoings of the Morning, & the Evening?* v. 8.

A. Alsted has a good Gloss. The *Outgoings of the Morning*, refer to *Man*, & the *Cattel*, which then *go out*, unto the Labours of the Day. The *Outgoings of the Evening*, refer to the *Wild-beasts*, which take this time, to *go out* for their Prey.⁷⁶¹

Q. What was the mystical Sense, which the Ancients putt upon the *Sixty fifth* Psalm? v. 9.

A. With *Arnobius*, they considered, the *God of Salvation*, as exhibited, *unto the Ends of the Earth, & unto them that are afar off upon the Sea*, at the first Preaching of the Gospel, after the Ascension of our Saviour.

Then the Apostles appeared as *Mountains*, from whence there was proclaimed the *Gospel, unto every Creature*.

Then they who *dwelt in the uttermost Parts*, were struck with Reverence, at the *Tokens* of the Lord; at the *Miracles* in which, He Heal'd the *Sick*, Help'd the *Blind*, and Rai's'd the *Dead*.

Both the *Morning* and the *Evening*, both the *Eastern* and the *Western* World, felt the Joyful Effects of these things; in Churches every where gathered.

The Lord *visited* the Earth; & *watered* it with His Heavenly Influences.

From *Jordan*, the *River of God*, there issued that which enriched it.

God then *prepared* for His People, the *Food* which *endures to everlasting Life*.⁷⁶²

Yea, to be a little more critical; *The Ridges were Inebriated*; with such a plentiful Effusion of the Spirit, that the Apostles were actually charged with a *liberal Inebriation*.⁷⁶³

Q. On the *Fruitful Fields* in the Psalm? v. 13.

A. I'll enter an eloquent Thought of Dr. *Arrowsmiths*.

760 Mather refers to his *Thoughts for the Day of Rain* (1712). Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 159.

761 Johann Heinrich Alsted (1588–1638) was one of the most famous polymaths of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. He wrote numerous works from logic, to metaphysics, to natural philosophy. He is best known for his compendious *Encyclopedia* (1630), a text that presented, as Perry Miller said, “everything that the mind of European man had yet conceived or discovered. The works of over five hundred authors, from Aristotle to James I, were digested and methodized, including those of Aquinas, Scotus, and medieval theology, as also those of medieval science, such as *De Natura Rerum*” (*The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century* 102–03). I have not been able to locate this reference in the *Encyclopedia*, although I suspect it is present there. It is available in Alsted's *Theologia Naturalis* (1615), pars. 2, cap. 25, p. 489.

762 Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 159.

763 Arnobius, *Commentarii in Psalmos* [PL 53.413–14].

All sorts of *Poems* have their Parallels in our canonical Books; but they are such as carry in Them a Strain of Godliness far beyond any thing that occurs in Humane Poems. There are Επινικια, *Songs of Victory*: but such as exalt the Glory of God more than the Prowess of Man. So Exod. XV. Επικηδια, *Funeral Songs*: but such as have the Death of our Saviour celebrated in them, & the Mercy & Justice of God in that; So, Psal. XXII. Ερωτικα, *Songs of Love*: but such as do sett forth the Love between a glorious Christ & His Church. So, Psal. XLV. and the CANTICLES. There are also, Βουκολικα, *Sacred Pastorals*: but such as magnify no other Shepherd but God alone; so Psal. XXIII. Yea, There are Γεωργικα, *Georgicks* too. But such as ascribe all to him. So Psal. LXV. Lett *Virgil* be asked, *Quid faciat letas Segetes*; he will tell you secondary Causes for Fertility. Ask *David*, and hee in his *Georgicks*, presently falls upon Praising of GOD, as the Author of all Fruitfulness.⁷⁶⁴

Q. On the *Joy* of the *Fruitful Valleys*? v. 13.

A. It is a Note, which encouraged this Work of *Illustrations*, with many others. “Great *Fruitfulness*, will occasion great *Joyfulness*. One who shall be so Happy as to *bring forth much Fruit* for God & His People, & be very serviceable, will have Cause even to *sing for Joy*.”⁷⁶⁵

⁷⁶⁴ Arrowsmith, *Armilla Catechetica*, aph. 2, exer. 4, pp. 97–98; Virgil, *Georgics* (1.1): (Here is) “what makes the crops joyous”

⁷⁶⁵ I have not been able to identify the source of this “note.” Of course, one of the “fruits” of the spirit catalogued by Paul is joy (Gal. 5:22–3). See also Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 159. Mather’s cherished signet ring from the University of Glasgow, of course, bore the imprint of a fruitful tree with Ps. 1:3 (“He shall be like a tree planted by the rivers of water”) written under it and “about it GLASCUA RIGAVIT” (Glasgow watered it). The “Cast of his Eye upon this, constantly provoked him to pray ... O GOD, make me a very fruitful Tree, and help me to bring forth seasonable Fruit continually.” See Samuel Mather’s *The Life of the Very Reverend and Learned, Cotton Mather, D. D. & F. R. S.* (1727), ch. 5, p. 77. It is quite possible that the note comes from one of the years from which Mather’s diaries are missing.

Q. The Scope?

A. Behold, The Praises which the True *Israel* [******]⁷⁶⁶ give unto GOD, after He ha's [******]⁷⁶⁷ {brought} His Church into the Condition it shall see after the Destruction of Antichrist.⁷⁶⁸

Q. How, *make His Praise Glorious*? v. 2.

A. Do it in a most Glorious, & Beautiful Manner.

And then, count it your Principal *Glory*, that you have the Honour to praise Him.⁷⁶⁹

Q. How did *Men Ride over their Heads*? v. 12.

A. *Men* used them as if they had been *Beasts*. *Nobis instar jumentorum abuterentur*, is *Munsters* Gloss upon it. *Passing thro' Fire & thro' Water*, as he glosses it, is; *Venimus in summum Vitæ periculum*.⁷⁷⁰

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Q. The Church promises an Offering of *Rams*, of *Bullocks*, and of *Goats*. What was the mystical Sense, which the Ancients putt upon it? v. 15.

A. Hear *Arnobius*.

Offeram incensum Arietum, Viriliter repugnans Zelo Ovium tuarum, adversus omnem Hæreticum.

Offeram tibi Boves, cum prædico. Hircos, cum Imperium Libidinis subjugo vel jugulo.⁷⁷¹

Q. Who is it that saies, *If I Regard Iniquity in my Heart, the Lord will not Hear mee: But verily God hath heard mee*? v. 18.

⁷⁶⁶ [**itish Nation**]

⁷⁶⁷ [**pardoned their Sins, and Restored Blessings to them, which will cause all other Nations also to magnify Him.**] This sentence is again retained in *Psalterium*, bk.2, p. 162.

⁷⁶⁸ Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 2, pp. 96–7. I have supplied the word “brought” as necessary to the sense of Mather’s annotation.

⁷⁶⁹ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 2, p. 283.

⁷⁷⁰ Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3811). Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 162: Men ride over their heads “that they might use us like beasts of burden.” Passing through fire and water means that “we come into the greatest dangers of life.”

⁷⁷¹ Arnobius, *Commentarii in Psalmos* [PL 53.415]: “I will offer a ram as a sacrifice, manfully fighting back, with the zeal of your sheep [O, Lord], against every heretic. I will offer you bullocks when I prophesy, goats when I subjugate or slay the power of desire.”

A. It is the *Messiah*, that ha's the first & chief Claim unto these Passages. Lett mee recite you the Words of J. *Cappellus*, on this occasion; *Volebant Pharisei à Christo Miracula faciendi potestatem, non peti, nisi scelerato fine. His Meritò regerebatur, si talis esset scopus ea mens, Deus illum non exaudiret.*⁷⁷²

⁷⁷² This remark is taken from the "Observationes" of Jacobus Cap[p]ellus, which follow the notes and commentary of Ludovicus. See Cappel, *Commentarii*, p. 662 and Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 162. Mather provides a translation to Cappellus's opinion in *Psalterium*: "The *Pharisees* laid in Imputation of *Wicked Intentions*, on the Miracles of our SAVIOUR. The Answer of our SAVIOUR is, GOD would never have so own'd Him if He had been one of such *wicked Intentions*."

Q. The Occasion of the Psalm? Tit.

A. You read, that on the Occasion of the bringing of the *Ark*, to the *Tabernacle*, which David had prepared for it; 2. Sam. VI.18. *He blessed the People in the Name of the Lord*. That is, as Dr. *Patrick* ha's well conjectured, He pronounced this Psalm; in which he manifestly imitates that Form of Blessing, which the Priests were appointed to use on solemn Occasions. Num. VI.23, 24, 25.

He prays that God would make them the Subjects and Exemples of such Blessings, as might invite all Nations unto whom the fame thereof should come, to submit themselves unto His Government.

But, Behold here, A Prayer for the Second Coming of the *Messiah*!⁷⁷³

Q. When tis here wished, *Lett thy Way bee known on the Earth*: What is meant by, *Thy Way*? v. 2.

A. *Thy Christ*; whose Name is, *The Way*. This is *Austins* Gloss, as I Remember.

And then, what followes of, *The Earth yeelding her Increase*, if wee take not this *Increase* to bee, *The Messiah*, as *Theodoret* I think did; Lett us consider, whether, it may not intend, That in the Dayes of the *Messiah* the Earth shall *yeeld her Increase*, as in the *Paradisaic State*, without Labour. The Jewes, as you'l find by R. *David*, on the Fourteenth of *Hosæa*, and by R. *Solomon*, on the seventy second *Psalm*, were of this Opinion.⁷⁷⁴

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Q. In the Conclusion of the Psalm here, the Name of GOD, occurs Thrice together: *God; Our own God shall Bless us, God shall Bless us*. May there bee any Mystery in it? v. 6, 7.

A. It hath been long ago thought, by the *learned Orientals*, That the Mystery of the *Trinity*, was indicated in this Repetition. And they have indeed observed, That *Jehovah*, / יהוה / is a Name of *Three Letters*.⁷⁷⁵

R. *Hakkodesh*, explained unto *Antoninus*, the Roman Consul, the Name of *Twelve Letters*, namely, / אב בן ורוח הקדש / *The Father, the Son, & the Holy Spirit*. And the Name of *Forty Two Letters*; which in English is, *The Father is God, the Son is God, the Holy Spirit is God; Three in One, & One in Three*.⁷⁷⁶

⁷⁷³ Mather is abstracting from Patrick's argument. See Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 2, p. 287; Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 2, p. 98.

⁷⁷⁴ See Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 2, p. 188. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 163.

⁷⁷⁵ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 2, p. 188. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 163.

⁷⁷⁶ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 2, p. 188. Rabbi Judah "The Holy" (Ha Kodesh or Ha Qadosh) or Judah the Prince (Ha-Nasi) was the first scholar to redact the Mishnah during the 2nd c. CE.

And *Rambam* in *Moreh Nebochim*, hath Passages that favour this Point of Christianity; For which Cause, the Jewes in *France* condemned his Book to the Fire.⁷⁷⁷

This assertion comes from the Arabic commentary on the Psalms in *Viccars* where *Hakkodesh* is supposed to have told *Atoninus*, the Roman Consul, that the 12 letter name of God, אבנן ורוח חקדש [Av, Ben, vaRuach haQuodesh] results in the familiar Trinitarian formula: “Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.” There are numerous legends relating to Rabbi Judah and his friendship with “Atoninus,” who is usually supposed to be Atoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, or possibly Severus. Frequently in the *Mishnah*, Rabbi Judah does speak with Antoninus. However, *Viccars* identifies this report as coming from the pseudo-cabbalistic text, “Agereth Hasodoth” (*Epistle of Secrets*), a pious forgery of the converted Jew, Paulus de Heredia (c. 1405–86). The “*Iggeret ha Sodoth*” was published in c. 1483 as *Epistola de Secretis ad Haccanam Filium*.

⁷⁷⁷ *Viccars*, *Decapla*, lib. 2, p. 188. See *Maimonides*, *Doctor Perplexorum*, pt. 1, ch. 50, p. 75, where *RAMBAM* says that although God is One, he has many attributes and that this belief is not unlike the doctrine of the Christians who say that He is one and He is three, and that the three are one. In 1233, Jewish leaders in Montpellier in southern France denounced *The Guide for the Perplexed* to Dominicans, and the book was burned. This event, incident, would pave the way for later burnings of the Talmud itself.

Q. The Scope?

A. Lo, The Confession of the *Synagogue*, That the JESUS, who hath been lifted up to Heaven, at His First Coming, is her Saviour; even the Same, who conducted her thro' the Wilderness, and will at last Restore her to her Land, and will destroy her Oppressors, & pour out His Holy Spirit upon her; she foresees the Ruine of *Antichrist*, & her own Return upon it, and the Homage that all Nations then shall pay to the *Messiah*, her King, & her GOD.⁷⁷⁸

Q. That Passage, *Lett God Arise, Lett His Enemies bee Scattered*: unto what are wee to carry the Sense of it? v. 1.

A. Unto the *Resurrection* of our Lord Jesus Christ, from His *Grave*. The Following Passages of the Psalm, will warrant this Application.

In the Dayes of *Athanasius*, the *Divels* in the *Energumens*, discovered usually, a strange Horror at this Verse, as being unable to stand before the Recital of it.⁷⁷⁹

Q. How is it said of God, *That Hee Rideth on the Heavens*? v. 4.

A. R. *David Kimchi* ha's a good Gloss upon it. *Gubernat eos sicut Homo Equum suum Fræno cohibet*.⁷⁸⁰

Q. Why is it added, *A Father of the Fatherless*? v. 5.

A. To intimate, That altho' the Lord be so much above the *Highest Heavens*, yett the poorest & meanest Persons on Earth, need not doubt of His Patronage. They may Repair to His Fatherly Care, and Appeal to Him as their Righteous Judge.⁷⁸¹

Q. The Meaning of, *The Rebellious Dwelling in a Dry Land*? v. 6.

A. He brings (as Dr. *Patrick* paraphrases it,) "Rebellious Oppressors into that Want and Scarcity, whereto they have reduced Others."⁷⁸²

⁷⁷⁸ Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 2, p. 99. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 168.

⁷⁷⁹ Mather probably derives both of these ideas from Robert Gell's *Essay* (Serm. 9, p. 441). A version of the second brief paragraph occurs in *Wonders of the Invisible World*, p. 17. An "energumen" is one possessed. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 168.

⁷⁸⁰ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 2, p. 189. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 168: "He governs them just as a man holds his horse in check with a bridle."

⁷⁸¹ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 2, p. 293. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 168.

⁷⁸² Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 2, p. 293.

Q. What was the *plentiful Rain?* v. 9.

A. Liberal Showres falling in the Dry & Desert Places, thro' which the chosen People of God were Travelling. You may add; The *Manna* rained from Heaven.

Munster glosses it so: *Tu bonis Omnibus studuisti foecundum reddere hunc Agrum, Populum tuum scilicet Israeliticum.*⁷⁸³

[▽173ra] [▽Insert 173ra]⁷⁸⁴

Q. The Import of, *The Lord giving the Word, & a great Company then publishing* of it? v. 11.

A. Take Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase.

“The Lord made them so victorious over all those who opposed them, that they still returned from the Battle with Songs of Triumph in their Mouthes. And a great Army of Women mett them, to join with them in publishing His Praises [Exod. XV.23.]”

We will carry on the Paraphrase to some of the Next Verses.

v. 12. “Saying, The Kings and Captains of those Hosts, who thought to have destroyed us, were putt to Flight [Exod. XVII. Num. XXI.] They fled away in Haste, & left their Spoil behind them; to be divided among us, that were too weak to go into the Field [Num. XXXI.8, 11. Judg. VIII.21, 26.]”

v. 13. “But we welcome home our victorious Countreymen with this Encouragement; Tho’ you have endured great Hardships in *Egypt*, where you looked not like valiant Souldiers, but rather like vile Scullions besmattered among the Kettles and Potts; You shall hereafter appear most beautiful and splendid; and the Wings of your Armies shall shine like those of a Dove, when they glisten as if they were covered with Silver and Gold.”

v. 14. “And their Word was fulfilled, at our Entrance into *Canaan*, when, by scattering all their Kings, the Almighty appeared most illustrious at *Salmon*; & gave us possession of the Countrey on this Side *Jordan*.”

[173rb] v. 15. “As on the other Side of it, He subdued the Countrey of *Og*, the King of *Bashan*; [Num. XXI.33.] which Hill, became the Hill of God; the Hill with so many fertil Risings; the famous Hill of *Bashan*, became part of His Inheritance.”

v. 16. “But do not grow proud of this, yee lofty Mountains; for neither the Heighth of *Salmon*, nor of *Bashan* shall invite Him, there to make His Habitation. *Sion* is the Hill, which He hath chosen to honour with that Favour; Yea, there the Lord hath resolved to fix His Tabernacle, and never (till the *Messiah* come,) to remove to any other.”

⁷⁸³ Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3814). Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 168: “You were eager to make this field abounding in all good things, that is to say, your Israelite people.”

⁷⁸⁴ The next pages are again on a loose leaf, which I have identified as [173rc] and [173rd].

v. 17. “Nor Lett the Heathen bray of the Multitude of their Chariots, wherein consists their Strength; for in *Sion* there are Ten Thousand Times more, Innumerable Hosts of Angels, attending upon the Divine Majesty; who is with them there, as He was upon Mount *Sinai*, which now is in the sanctuary.”

v. 18. “Thou hast declared as much, O God; who are gone up thither, & hast highly exalted thyself by Illustrious Victories; which thro’ their Invisible Ministry, Thou hast given us over our Enemies; [As the *Messiah*, who shall be thy Sanctuary, will do far more magnificently when after the Conquest of Death, He shall Ascend in a bright Chariot, attended with the Heavenly Hosts, into the Highest Heavens, to bee exalted at thy Right Hand;] whom by thy Aid, we have carried away Captive, and their Spoils together with them, to be distributed among thy People; [an Emblem of the Rich Gifts the *Messiah* shall bestow upon us, & distribute among us after His Ascension:] Yea, the Rebellious Opposers of thee, in other Nations shall become Proselytes, to dwell with thee, O Lord God, & worship at thy Sanctuary. [As the Gentile World shall, by that Effusion of Divine Gifts, submitt themselves to the Messiah, the Lord God of all the World.]”⁷⁸⁵

[△End of insert]

[△]

Q. The Intent of that Passage, *Yee have lien among the Potts?* v. 13.

A. I refer you to the various Thoughts of the Learned, on this vexed Passage, in the *Synopsis*.⁷⁸⁶

Yett I will take Leave to mention what I happen[ed] to stumble upon, in the *Flores of Henningius*.⁷⁸⁷

The *Decimation* of mutinous and offending *Legions*, was often practised among the Ancients. It was done by *Lott*.

So *Cicero*. *Stratuerunt ità maiores nostri, ut si à multis esset Flagitium rei Militaris admissum, Sortitione in quosdam animadverteretur, ut metus videlicet ad omnes, Pena ad paucos perveniret*. This he tells us, was called, *Sortiri ad Po-*

⁷⁸⁵ The above passages are very near quotes of Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras’d*, bk. 2, pp. 294–96. Mather further condenses this entry in *Psalterium*, bk. 2, pp. 168–69.

⁷⁸⁶ Poole, *Synopsis Criticorum* (2:986).

⁷⁸⁷ The author and title cited by Mather at this point would seem to point to one of the florilegia published by Petrus Henningius, perhaps the *Flores Flavissae et Elegantiae Poeticae* (1643). Although this and several other collections include entries on sortition, however, none contain all of the references made by Mather. Because Mather’s handwriting is sometimes difficult to decipher, he could also be referring to Niels Hemmingsen, cited elsewhere in the *Psalms* commentary by Mather, but I have also not been able to find this remark in the *Opuscula* of Hemmingsen. Finally, it is possible that this is a rare misattribution on Mather’s part. The entirety of this annotation does occur about Ps. 68:13 in the treatise of Martino Mauritius (Martin Moritz) (1657–92), *Tractatus Philologicus de Sortitione* (1692), cap. 33, pp. 441–42, 445, and 452. Although neither Harvard nor the Mathers owned this text, it is possible that either Mather read it, or that elements of it were copied into a florilegium.

enam.⁷⁸⁸ So Livy, *Cetera Multitudo, sorte Decimus quisque ad Supplicium lecti*.⁷⁸⁹ Sometimes Enemies were also thus animadverted on. *Sylla* took this way, when he took *Athens*.⁷⁹⁰

Henningius thinks, This Custome will Illustrate the Text before us. The LXX read it; *Yee have lain among the Lotts. Genebrard & Others*, are of Opinion; It refers to this bloody Decimation. *Ambrose* reads it; *Si dormiatis inter medias Sortes*. q.d. You have lain continually in as extreme Danger of Death, as poor Souldiers, expecting the *Lott of Decimation* for their Lives; But your Saviour obtains an happy *Lott* for you, you fly away like *Doves*.⁷⁹¹

Q. On that, *Thou hast received Gifts for Men?* v. 18.

A. In Conversation with some Friends, on the Road, returning from the *Ordination* of a Minister; our Discourse on this Text issued in a Thought, which it highly concerns the Evangelical Ministry to be under the Power of.

In the *Gifts* of our Ascended Lord for His Church, He does but *spargere Missilia*, & scatter *Medals*, like Princes at their Coronation, or in their Triumphant Entries. The well-qualified Ministers and Publishers of the Gospel, are the new *Medals* which our Triumphant Saviour does cast about, that His Church may sieze upon them. Yea, but *Medals* have on them the *Image* of the Princes who disperse them. And this is a Consideration which the Ministers & Publishers of the Gospel, ought to be much affected withal; There is nothing of so much Consequence unto them, as to have the *Image* of their Saviour very conspicuous upon them.⁷⁹²

⁷⁸⁸ Cicero, *Pro Cluentio* (46.128): "our ancestors established a rule, that if in military affairs a crime had been committed by a number of soldiers, a few should be punished by lot, ... [so that] fear might have its influence on all." This speech of Cicero was given in defense of Aulus Cluentius Habitus Mino, accused in 66 CE, of having poisoned his stepfather, and more scandalous to the Romans, of having bribed judges in a previous case against his stepfather. Cicero's defense was so skillful that Cluentius was acquitted of all charges, and his accusers were made themselves to appear corrupt.

⁷⁸⁹ Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* (2.59.11): "in addition to these, every tenth man was selected by lot for punishment."

⁷⁹⁰ Sylla is Lucius Cornelius Sylla (or Sulla) (138–78 BCE), the Roman dictator who took both Rome and Athens in military campaigns (*OCCC*). Famous for both his cunning and his courage, he is paired, in Plutarch's *Parallel Lives*, with the Spartan general, Lysander. The story of how he decimated his Athenian captives is contained in Pausanias's *Description of Greece* (1.20.6).

⁷⁹¹ See the commentary of Gilbert Genebrard (1535–97), *Psalmi Davidis*, p. 318. The first edition of this work was published in 1577. I have had access to the 1582 edition. The original of the quotation from Ambrose in Genebrard can be found in *De Tobia* (5.18) [PL 14.765]. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 169. See also Appendix B.

⁷⁹² Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, pp. 169–70.

[▽Insert 173rc]

[▽173rc]

But I will pass to an Observation, which Dr. *Knight* in his, *Defence of, The Divinity of Our Lord JESUS CHRIST* ha's upon the Text before us.

The Words in the Original may be rendered, *Thou hast Taken Gifts among Men*; that is to say, Thou hast made Choice of suitable Persons, & *separated* them from the rest of Mankind, for to serve thee in the sacred Ministry of the Gospel. The Word, which we translate, *Received*, is used sometimes for Sanctifying certain Persons, & *Separating* them to a sacred Office. Thus, [Num. VIII.6. See, III.12. VIII.16, 17, 18] *I have Taken your Brethren the Levites, from among the Children of Israel; to do the Service of the Tabernacle.* And the Persons that are *separated* for such a Service, are called, *A Gift*, both unto GOD, and unto the Priests: It followes, *They are wholly given unto me*; And, *I have given them as a Gift unto Aaron & unto his Sons.* [For Both together, see Num. VIII.19.] Moreover, The Word, *For Men*, does frequently signify, *Among Men*. [Compare, Jer. XLIX.15. Num. VIII.17.] Wherefore the Text before us, may be thus paraphrased. *Thou hast sanctified among Men, & separated from the rest of Mankind, fitt Persons for Gifts to thyself & thy People, for the Work of the Ministry.* Teachers were appointed by GOD our SAVIOUR, for the Instructing & Converting of the World, & Edifying of the Church. To this Purpose, is the Passage quoted by the Apostle [Eph. IV.8.] Here is an Act of Power ascribed unto our Ascended Redeemer, which none but the Almighty GOD could pretend unto; who alone knows the Wants of His Church, & the Means of Preserving it.

But, if we understand the Passage, not of *Men*, but of those *Gifts* with which the Holy SPIRIT of GOD Qualifies Men to serve His Church, & which doubtless are included, and if we still retain the Term, *Received*, here will yett be no Infringement on the *Godhead* of our SAVIOUR. For, first, the Greek word used here by the LXX, ελαβες, is used by [173rd] *John*, for *Discovering*, or *Manifesting*, or *Exerting*. For Instance: Rev. XI.17. *Thou hast Received* [ελαβες] *thy great Power & Reign'd*; That is, Thou hast *Exerted* thy great Power; for the Power of GOD is essential to GOD. Thus, to *Receive the Gifts* of the *Spirit*, is to *Discover* and *Manifest*, and *Exhibit*, the *Spirit*, in the *Gifts* by Him conferred on the Children of Men. Yea, Secondly, The Word in the Hebrew signifies, *Giving*, as well as *Receiving*. So the Apostle reads it; and so the *Chaldee* Paraphrase; and so the *Syriac* Version. And so, [Exod. XXV.2.] what we render, *Bring me an Offering*, is, *Take me an Offering*. They that were to *Give* it, are bidden here to *Take* it. [See also, 1. King. XVII.4.]

I will take Leave to add, If the word, *Received*, must be kept with us, the Original is; *Thou hast received Gifts in Man*; that is to say, In thy *Humane Nature*. This is a glorious Truth of the Gospel, never to be forgotten with us; That our glorious Lord in His *Humane Nature*, or, the *Man JESUS*, is the *First Recipient* of the Holy SPIRIT; and He ha's *Received* the Influences, the Excellencies, & the Endowments of the Holy SPIRIT in a *Measure*, that exceeds *all Measure*; This

He ha's done, that thro' Him, & from Him as our Head, they may be derived in the Appointed *Measure* unto His People. This Contemplation is deep & high, & of great Use in the Christian Life.⁷⁹³

[△] [△End of insert]

[173r] |⁷⁹⁴

Q. What are, *The Issues from Death*, which belong unto the Lord? v. 20.

A. The Original may be rendred, *The Goings forth to Death*. All the several *Wayes of Dying*, which are found by the Children of Men, they *belong unto the Lord*; He Appoints them, He Orders them, there is His *Decree* about them.⁷⁹⁵

The LXX render it; *The Passages of Death*; q.d. The several and secret Avenues, whereby Death invades Mankind; They are in the Hand of God. God is the uncontroleable Disposer of them all.

But after all, I suspect, that the *Goings forth from Death*, at and by the *Resurrection of the Dead*, may here be referr'd unto.⁷⁹⁶

Q. Who might be, the *Head of the Enemies*, & the *Hairy Scalp*? v. 21.

A. There seems to have been a Fierce Captain, whose shaggy Hair made him look very terribly, here especially referr'd unto. Probably, *Hadadezer*; 2. Sam. VIII.3.⁷⁹⁷

[174v] |

Q. How did the Lord, bring again His People, from *Bashan*, & from the *Depths of the Sea*? v. 22.

A. Take Dr. *Patrick's* Paraphrase. "I will Renew the Wonders I wrought in former times, & make my People as victorious over all these mighty Armies, as they were over *Og* the King of *Bashan*, & over *Pharaoh* when they marched thro' the *Red-Sea*."⁷⁹⁸

[By the Way, *Pharaoh* signifies, *A Long-hair'd Man*.]

Q. What of Prophecy may there bee included in what wee read of, *Little Benjamin, with their Ruler, the Princes of Judah*, & the rest? v. 27.

A. Those Words may bee a *Prophecy* of the *Apostles*, but especially of *Paul*, marked out, by the Name of, *Little Benjamin*; for besides, that *Paul* was of that Tribe, & might not bee more clearly described, in a prophetical Book, than by

⁷⁹³ James Knight (1672–1735), a London vicar, published *Eight Sermons ... in Defence of the Divinity of Our Lord Jesus Christ* (1721). Mather is judiciously extracting from serm. 3, pp. 90–5.

⁷⁹⁴ Regular pagination resumes.

⁷⁹⁵ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 2, p. 296.

⁷⁹⁶ Hammond, *Paraphrase*, in *Works*, vol. 4, bk. 2, p. 194. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 169.

⁷⁹⁷ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 2, p. 297. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 170.

⁷⁹⁸ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 2, p. 297.

his Stock; *hee* is mentioned in the *Talmud*, under the Name of *Samuel the Little*; and his Latin Sir Name *Paulus*, hints as much. This was long since observed, by *Jerom* and *Theodoret*.⁷⁹⁹

Wee may add this Remark further upon it, That no Tribe, except *Judah*, more traded in Commanders, than did *Benjamin*; such were *Saul*, *Ishbosheth*, *Mordecai*, *Esther*, *Ehud*, *Abner*, & several others.⁸⁰⁰

[*2141.*]

Q. Why are the Princes of *Judah*, and of *Zebulun*, and of *Naphthali*, here singled out? v. 27.

A. *Austin* gives a good Reason. The *Apostles* of our Lord, were chosen from these Tribes. *Ex his Tribubus Apostoli erant*.⁸⁰¹

[*2143.*]

Q. Can you find in any pagan Writer, a Commentary on those Words of the Psalmist, *Because of thy Temple at Jerusalem, shall Kings bring Presents unto thee?* v. 29.

A. I don't think, that Prophecy ha's yett Received its full Accomplishment. Nevertheless, as far as it ha's been already fulfilled, you shall find a *Roman Orator*, expounding our *Hebrew Prophet*. Hee pleads for *L. Flaccus*, his Client, accused for being the first Man that prohibited the Annual Exportation of Gold, unto *Jerusalem*. Sais hee, *Cum Aurum, Judæorum Nomine, quotannis ex Italia et omnibus Vestris provinciis Hierosolyman exportari soleret Flaccus sanxit Edicto ne ex Asiâ exportari liceret*. Orat. pro *L. Flacco*.⁸⁰²

Q. It is here said, *Rebuke the Beast of Reeds*; (which wee render, *The Company of Spearmen*;) or, *The Beast of Bones*. What *Beast*? v. 30.

A. I find, some of the Ancients expound it concerning, *The Fourth Beast*, in the *Seventh* of *Daniel*. I suspect, there may bee something in it.⁸⁰³

Q. A further Stroke, if you please, upon this *Beast*?

⁷⁹⁹ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 2, p. 194.

⁸⁰⁰ Fuller, *Pisgah-Sight of Palestine*, bk. 2, ch. 12, sec. 3, p. 242.

⁸⁰¹ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 2, p. 194. Viccars paraphrases Augustine's *Enarrationes in Psalmos* [PL 36.835]: "From these tribes were the Apostles."

⁸⁰² Fuller, *Pisgah-Sight of Palestine*, bk. 3, ch. 11, p. 435. Fuller provides the translation of Cicero's oration: "Whereas gold on the behalf of the Jews was wont yearly to be exported to Jerusalem out of Italy, and all your provinces, Flaccus, by proclamation, ordered that it should not be lawful to carry any out of Asia" ("Oratio pro L. Flacco" 67).

⁸⁰³ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 2, p. 194. Viccars does not identify these exponents. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 170.

A. Take the Words of R. Solomo. *Fera Calami est Esau, qui* Psal. 80.14. *conser-tur cum porco Sylva, qui inter Calamos degit.* Its very well.⁸⁰⁴

It was rather, HEE, 2. Sam. VIII.3.⁸⁰⁵

Q. A Remark on that, *Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands?* v. 31.

A. That is to say, *soon* after the Ascension of our SAVIOUR.

It was remarkably Accomplished. *Soon* after the Resurrection of our SAVIOUR, we find an eminent *Ethiopian* converted unto GOD; and he soon spread the Knowledge of our Lord in *Ethiopia*.⁸⁰⁶

Q. It is said, *Ethiopia shall stretch out her Hands unto God.* Some, that nothing may be alledged from hence, in favour of our *Negro's*, do call in the Opinion of a learned Man or two, That the *Scripture-Ethiopia*, is not in *Africa*, but *Arabia?* v. 31.

A. But you find *Lucan*, in his *Pharsalia*, L. 9. bringing in the *Ethiopians*, as Partners with the *Arabians*, and the *Indians*, in the Worship of their God *Amon*, who it seems, had monopolized him to themselves.

*Æthiopum quamvis Populis, Arabumque, beatis
Gentibus, atque Indis unus sit Jupiter Amon.*⁸⁰⁷

And long before him, *Homer* in his First *Iliad*, bespeaks *Jupiter*, and his fellow-Deities, as vouchsafing them their presence at a Banquet; and he confers on them the Title of, Ἀμύμονας Αἰθιοπῆας, *Unblameable Ethiopians*.⁸⁰⁸ To prove, that *these* differed not from *ours*, we find their Complexion *Black*. See Jer. 14.25. *Ovid* also, saies,

*Sanguine tum credunt in Corpora summa vocato
Æthiopum Populos nigrum traxisse colorem.*⁸⁰⁹

Juvenal saies,

*Loripedem rectus derideat, Ethiopem Albus.*⁸¹⁰

⁸⁰⁴ Although this quote is not reproduced in Viccars, the idea is there. See *Decapla*, lib. 2, p. 192: "The beast of reeds is Esau, who is connected with the pig of the forest that lives among the reeds."

⁸⁰⁵ Mather returns here to the reading propounded by Patrick in verse 21.

⁸⁰⁶ Mather refers to the eunuch in Acts (ch. 8), converted by Philip. This is the verse that is also used by Mather when he helps organize the African worshippers in Boston, an event discussed in his *Diary* (1:176). The prophetic reading of this verse was available to Mather in a work of Thomas Jackson held by Harvard, *A Treatise of the Consecration of the Sonne of God* (1638), ch. 37, p. 299.

⁸⁰⁷ Lucan, *De Bello Civili (Pharsalia* 9.517–18): "Though the Ethiopians and Indians and wealthy Arabians have no god but Jupiter Ammon."

⁸⁰⁸ *Iliad* (1.423): Ἀμύμονας Αἰθιοπῆας.

⁸⁰⁹ Ovid, *Metamorphoses* (2.236–37): "It was then, as men think, that the peoples of Aethiopia became black-skinned, since the blood was drawn to the surface of their bodies by the heat."

⁸¹⁰ Juvenal, *Satire* (2.23): "Let the straight-legged man deride the club-footed, the white man the Ethiopian."

It is now evident, They were distinct from the *Arabians*. And *Lucans* Method and Order in Mustering of them, shoves they were seated more Westward! Moreover, in *Ezekiels* Prophecies (Chap. 29 and 30,) You'll find *Ethiopia*, and *Egypt* near Neighbors. To this Purpose, Mr. *Godwyn*, in his, *Negroes and Indians Advocate*.⁸¹¹

What I add, is an Hint of a better Man than *Godwyn*; Tis honest *Munsters*.
Non caret Locus iste, Mysteriis Regni Christi.⁸¹²

Q. On that, *His Strength in the Clouds*? v. 34.

A. Methinks, I see what shall be seen, at the Second Coming of the Lord.

But some content themselves with such a Gloss as this; His Care over *Israel* appears as plainly, as Thunder declares His Strength in the Clouds.⁸¹³

|⁸¹⁴

[175r]

[*4159:8]

Q. Lett us look back upon the Psalm, and see whether, we can't find in it a Remarkable Prophecy of our Apostle *Paul*? v. 27.

A. Indeed, *Cocceius*, after *Tertullian*, and *Ambrose*, and *Jerom*, and *Austin*, thinks that he finds our Apostle, in the Prophecy of the Patriarch, about the Tribe of *Benjamin*; Inasmuch as *Paul*, in the *Morning* of his *Youth*, was as a *Wolf*, *Ravening* upon the Church, but in the *Evening* of his *Old Age*, he brought in unto Christ & His Church, the Spoils taken from the Divil. Or, (which *Cocceius* rather fancies;) In the *Morning* of the *Jewish* Commonwealth, *Saul*, a *Benjamite* prevailed like a *Wolf*, against the Enemies of *Israel*: In the *Evening* of it, another *Saul*, a *Benjamite*, recovered *Spoils* from the Gentiles, for the Kingdome of God.⁸¹⁵

My *Witsius* allows not the Curiositie; but adds, *Nimia subtilitas saepe nocet in Expositione Scripturarum*.⁸¹⁶ The Prophecy notes rather the *martial* Temper of the Tribe in General; as indeed, with the *Poets*, a *Wolf* is a Creature consecrated unto *Mars*. — *Benjamin*, was like a *Wolf*, which having divided the *Spoil* with his Companions in the *Evening*, had enough left also to feed him in the *Morning*. *Statius* tells us,

⁸¹¹ Morgan Godwyn (fl. 1685), *The Negro's and Indians Advocate* (pp. 51–2).

⁸¹² Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3814). Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, pp. 171–72: “That place is not without the mysteries of Christ's kingdom.”

⁸¹³ Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 2, p. 99; Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 2, p. 300.

⁸¹⁴ See Appendix B.

⁸¹⁵ For the lengthy typology of Johannes Cocceius on this Psalm, see *Centum Quinquaginta Psalmi et Extrema Verba Davidis cum Commentario* (1660), pp. 277–88. On this verse in particular, see pp. 287–88.

⁸¹⁶ “Too much precision often harms in the explanation of the scriptures.”

*Procedunt Gemini ceu foedere juncto Hybernâ sub nocte Lupi.*⁸¹⁷

With better Success do *Jerom*, and *Theodoret*, and *Lyra*, and *Pelican*, look for our Apostle, in the Psalm now before us. And the excellent *Alting* ha's carried on the Matter, to yett more of Significancy. The glorious Ascension of our Lord JESUS CHRIST into the Heavens, is in the Psalm described unto us, with the Consequences of it. The *Praises* to be offered on that Occasion, are intimated; and those Tribes of *Israel* are mentioned, from whence the Persons were to arise that were to be most considerable in Praising of the Lord. The first mentioned, is *Little Benjamin*. As *Benjamin* was the youngest Son of *Jacob*, so our *Paul* of this Tribe, was the Last, that was called unto the *Apostleship*. [See what he saies of himself, 1. Cor. 15.8, 9, 10.] And if *Littleness* may lead us to a Thought of *Humility*; it was what rendred our *Paul* illustrious; [Ponder. Eph. 3.8.] Here is the Word /רִדְּם/ added, which is found no where else.⁸¹⁸

It may mean, An *extatic* One; for it may come from /נִרְדָּם/ *Sopore extatico obrui*. It agrees with the History of our *Paul* most admirably. [Consider, Act. 9.3, 12. Act. 22.17. 2. Cor. 12.1.] Or, If it mean A *Ruler* and a *Teacher*; for by {*Theodoret*} tis well rendred, as *Drusius* notes, παιδευτης αυτων, *Præceptor ipsorum*.⁸¹⁹ it still suits our *Paul* well enough. [Consider 1. Cor. 15.15. 2. Cor. 2. 5, 23.]

Then appear, *The Princes of Judah*, and their *Council*.

[176v]

The Word /רִגְמָתָם/ is also *Vox*, απαξ λεγομενη.⁸²⁰ Some think it means, *An Heap of Stones*. A *Stone* is a Phrase for, An *Upholder*, & *Preserver*. So *Joseph* was called, Gen. 49.14. *The Stone of Israel*. An *Heap of Stones*, intends a *Number* of Collegues, in the same Work. Accordingly, the Tribe of *Judah* affords us a *Number* of Apostles; namely, *James* the Less; and *Jude*, the Brother of this *James*; and *James* and *John*, the Sons of *Zebedee*; and *Simon* the *Kananite*. We will say nothing of *Judas* of *Kerioth*.

The *Princes of Zebulon*, were *Peter*, and *Andrew*, and *Philip*, and *Bartholomew*, (who was probably the Same with *Nathanael*).

⁸¹⁷ Publius Papinius Statius (c. 45–c. 96) was a Roman poet and author of, among other works, *Achilleis* (*OCOC*). This quotation is from 1.705–06: “they go forward like two wolves leagued together on a winter’s night.”

⁸¹⁸ See *Alting*, *Opera Omnia*, and vol. 2, pt. 3, pp. 111–12 of his *Commentarius Theorico-Practicus in Loca Quædam Selecta Psalmorum*. At Ps. 68:28 the *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* reads: רָדָם [rodam] “ruling them,” from רָדָה [radah] “have dominion, rule.” *Alting* points to the LXX’s rendering here which is not “ruling them” but ἐν ἐκστάσει [en ekstasei] “in ecstasy.” He then suggests that it may be related to נִרְדָּם [nirdam] “fast asleep.” This is then connected to the Apostle Paul’s conversion experience.

⁸¹⁹ Both terms translate to “their instructor” or “master.” נִרְדָּם [nirdam] “fast asleep;” *sopore extatico obrui*, “buried in ecstatic sleep.”

⁸²⁰ רִגְמָתָם [rigmatam] “noisy crowd;” απαξ λεγομενη [hapax legomenon] “once called.”

The *Princes of Naphthali*, were *Matthew*; and perhaps *Thomas*; tho' of his Tribe we have nothing certain.

Witsius adds, *Neque Existimo interpretationem hanc, si rei Summa spectetur, spernendam esse.*⁸²¹

Q. A Paraphrase on a few contiguous Verses here? v. 24–28.

A. Dr. *Patricks*.

v. 24. “Thy People, O God, have seen to their Joy, and thy Enemies to their Terror, what a solemn Entrance thou madest (by the *Ark* of thy Presence,) with what Pomp, thou, my mighty God, & my King, wast brought into the Sanctuary. [2. Sam. VI.13, 15, 16.]”

v. 25. “Part of the *Levites* went singing before, & the rest with musical Instruments followed after; [1. Chron. XV.16, 28.] and to compleat the Melody, the *Damsels* playing with Timbrels, came between them both.”

v. 26. “And as they went along, they sang this Song; O Bless your good God, in all your Assemblies; Bless the Lord, all yee that are the Offspring of *Israel*.”

v. 27. “Who were universally assembled, to accompany that Pomp, [1. Chron. XIII.5 & XV.3.] for not only the nearest Tribes were there; viz. *Benjamin*, little indeed in Number, [Judg. XXI.6.] but from whom the First King of *Israel* came; and the Princes of the Tribe of *Judah*, the great Support and Prop of the Kingdome; But the Princes also of those which were most Remote, as *Zebulon* and *Naphthali*; came to attend at that Solemnity.”⁸²²

⁸²¹ The entire entry, including the assertions of Cocceius, Drusius, Pelican (Pellican), Alting, Lyra, and the church fathers, is drawn from Hermann Witsius, in his *Meletemata Leidensia*, as part of his “Praelectiones de Vita et Rebus Gestis Pauli Apostoli,” sec. 1, paras. 8–10, pp. 8–11. This section of Witsius’s lecture treats the birth of Paul and his life in Judaism. Mather duplicates much of this entry in *Psalterium*, bk. 2, pp. 170–71. “I do not think that this interpretation, if the whole of the matter is considered, ought to be rejected.”

⁸²² Patrick, *Psalm Paraphras’d*, bk. 2, pp. 297–98.

Q. The Scope?

A. We have here a Prayer of the *Messiah* in His Humiliation. It foretels the Desolation of the Jewish Nation: But a glorious Re-Establishment.⁸²³

Q. How understand you those Words of the Psalmist, *I Restored that which I took not away; O God, thou knowest my Foolishness, and my Guiltiness is not Hid from thee?* v. 4, 5.

A. They are the Words of our Saviour; and I'll give you the Paraphrase of the Ancient *Theodore*t upon them: "It is true, I am under a *Guilt*, and made a *Curse*, but I call thee to Witness, from whose Sight nothing is Hid, that the least of the Sins is not Mine; no, not the least *Foolishness*, of all this *Guiltiness*. *I Restored, that which I took not away*. I never contracted the Debt, which I paid; Others Robbed *Thee* of thy *Glory*, and the *World*, of its *Harmony*, and *Beauty*; but I have *Restored* it all again. Tho' the Sins were Mine by *Imputation*, they were never Mine by *Inherency*."⁸²⁴

Munster observes on this Clause, *Thou knowest my Foolishness*; That some take it so; "Thou knowest I have not been so *Foolish* as my Persecutors assert I have, nor deserved their Persecutions."⁸²⁵

Q. How did the Psalmist become a *Proverb*? v. 11.

A. It seems, it became a Saying, when they would express their utmost Hatred or Contempt of any Man; *I value him no more than I do David*!⁸²⁶

Q. Who were *they that satt in the Gate*? And how was he the *Song of the Drunkard*? v. 12.

A. Take Dr. *Patrick's* Paraphrase. "This is the Language, even of the grave Senators, & Judges of the Land, who ought in reason to have vindicated my Innocence, [Gen. XXIII.10, 18. XXXIV.20. Ruth. IV.1. Prov. XXII.22.] As well as of the Idle and Dissolute Companions, who in their Drunken Meetings, make Abusive Songs & Libels on me."⁸²⁷

⁸²³ Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 2, p. 102. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 176.

⁸²⁴ See Witsius, *De CEconomia Foederum*, bk. 2, ch. 5, para 9, pp. 135–36. Witsius, however, cites Theodorus in *Catena*, not Theodore. Patrick, in his argument preceding his paraphrase of this Psalm, does refer to Theodore, which probably accounts for Mather's use of that name here. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 176.

⁸²⁵ Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3824). Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 176.

⁸²⁶ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 2, p. 304. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 176.

⁸²⁷ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 2, p. 304. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 176.

Q. On that, *Lett their Table be a Snare?* v. 22.

A. I propose, that all over the Psalter, we change the Language of *Imprecation*, into that of *Prædiction*. Here *Their Table shall be* –

They that eat of their Meat shall betray them.

The *Chaldee Paraphrast* explains this Verse, by, *Sacrifices*; particularly *Peace-offerings*: Here called, *Peace*, what we translate, *Welfare*.

Dr. *Hammond* paraphrases it so. “Their Oblations & Prayers shall be so far from pacifying GOD, or being accepted by Him, or bringing them any advantage, that (like the Offerings to False GODS, styled, *The Preparing a Table*. Isa. 65.11) they shall provoke Him, & turn to their Mischief.”⁸²⁸

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Q. The Meaning of, *Add Iniquity to their Iniquity?* v. 27.

A. Take Dr. *Patrick's* Paraphrase; “Lett such obstinate Offenders, be quite deserted by thee; and by thy just Judgment be suffered to go on, to compleat their Iniquity.”⁸²⁹

Q. Who are they that are *not written with the Righteous?* v. 28.

A. They which must enjoy none of the Blessings, *written* in the Promises for the *Righteous*.⁸³⁰

Q. The Enemies and Murderers of our Lord Jesus Christ, have this *Curse* pronounced upon them, *Lett them bee Blotted out of the Book of the Living*. What may bee the special Intention of it? v. 28.

A. The *Jewes* were marvellously exact, about their *genealogical Tables*. To bee *Remembred* in those *Tables*, was counted a Matter of no little Consequence. An *Inheritance* in the Holy Land, was implied in such a Remembrance. The *Younger Brother*, was, under a Penalty, to marry the Widow, of his Issueless *Elder Brother*, that hee might have a *Name* in these Records, among the Heirs of *Canaan*.

They who died without Issue, had their Names Blotted out of the *genealogical Tables*. Hence, *Josephus* reckoning up the Sons of *Judah*, does not mention *Er* and *Onan* at all: but, Ἰουδὰ δὲ παῖδες τρεῖς Σαλᾶς, Φαρὲς, καὶ Ζάρας.⁸³¹

This Observation will notably Illustrate many Passages of the Bible, hitherto not understood.

Thus, those Difficult Words of *Moses*, Exod. 32.32. – *Blott mee, I pray thee, out of thy Book, which thou hast written*.

⁸²⁸ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 2, p. 307; Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 2, p. 199; Hammond, *Paraphrase*, in *Works*, vol. 4, bk. 2, p. 196.

⁸²⁹ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 2, p. 308. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 176.

⁸³⁰ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 2, p. 308. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 176.

⁸³¹ This remark of Josephus is in his *Antiquities* (2.7.4): “Judas had three sons, Zalas, Phares, and Zerah.”

The Cheef, if not the very First, use of Letters was, to keep *Tables of Genealogy* in every Family. When the Family was increased, these *Tables* were Transcribed for the use of New Descendents. In the Transcription, they *Blotted out*, whatever occur'd unnecessary to carry down the History of the Succession. The *Issue-Less* were so; of *Judah's* Five Sons, the Two Eldest were useless, in the *Heraldry*, and *Blotted out*. The Words of *Moses* did refer to these *Tables*. And so do those Words, in Psal. 109.13. *Lett his Posterity bee cutt off, and in the Generation following, lett his Name bee Blotted out.* q.d. When the Next Generation shall come to transcribe the *Tables of Genealogy* for themselves, lett the Names of this Mans Posterity, as Dying without Issue, bee omitted. And this doubtless, is the Sense of that place, Deut. 25.6. *It shall bee, that the First-born, which shee beareth, shall succeed, in the Name of his Brother, which is Dead, that his Name bee not putt out of Israel.* i. e. That in the Register of his Family, his Name still may stand over his Imputative Offspring; which was necessary, because all the Descendents from that *Adoptive Birth*, enjoy'd the Inheritance, only in Right of him, who himself died without any Issue of his own Body: for, if his Name were left out of the *Tables*, the Estate would, upon any Controversy, bee adjudged unto some collateral Pretender, inasmuch as his Imputative Descent, in a Right Line of Adoption, could not bee proved.

Well; Tis here said, *Lett them bee Blotted out of the Book of the Living, & not bee written with the Righteous.* It is the *Book of Genealogies*, that is called, the *Book of the Living*, because in them, their Names *Live*, and they *Live* in their *Posterity*, tho' their *Persons* bee Dead. It is called, a being *Written with the Righteous*, because *Fruitfulness* among the *Jewes* was reckoned, the Reward of *Righteousness*.

In short, The Text before us, being a Denunciation upon the Nation, which were the Murderers of the *Messiah*, tis plainly denounced, That the *Tables of Genealogy* would therefore fail among them. And, when the *Jewes* behold, how remarkably this Prophecy is accomplished, methinks, it should Awaken them!⁸³²

Q. Give us the Jewish Gloss, on that Passage; *This shall please the Lord better than an Ox or Bullock, that ha's Horns & Hoofs?* v. 31.

A. The *Jewes* refer it unto the *First Sacrifice* offered by *Adam*, after his Fall.

R. *Sol. Jarchi* thus glosses it.

Bos hic est, quem obtulit Adam primus, quique creatus fuit integræ Staturæ et Magnitudinis. Et Eodem die, quo nomine suo vocatus est Bos, adduxerunt eum.

⁸³² Mather probably relies for this note on John Selden's *De Successionibus ad Leges Ebraeorum in Bona Defunctorum* (1638). Harvard Library owned an edition of this work from 1636. See *De Successionibus*, cap. 1, pp. 1–10; cap. 4, pp. 35–44; cap. 24, pp. 161–65; and cap. 25, pp. 173–87. See also Josephus, *Antiquities* (1.19.8). A large portion of this comment is included in *Psalterium*, bk. 2, pp. 176–77.

*Ille autem Bos, etsi unius diei fuit, tamen Bos appellatur – similis fuit iuvenco, qui trium est Annorum.*⁸³³

And thus *Onkelos* paraphrases the Text; *Et jucundior erit Oratio mea coram Domino, Bove illo pingui et electo quem obtulit homo primus.*⁸³⁴

Conceive the *Messiah*, who is the *Second Adam*, speaking here, and the Paraphrase is worthy to be considered.⁸³⁵

⁸³³ “This is the ox which Adam first offered and which was created of perfect height and size. And on that same day on which the ox was called by its own name, they led it (to be sacrificed). However, that ox, even though it was only a day old, nevertheless was called an ox – it was similar to a bullock which is three years old.”

⁸³⁴ These statements are reproduced in this order and related to this verse in the *De Historia Sacra Patriarchum*, by Johann Heinrich Heidegger (1633–98), which Mather mined at great length in his commentary on Genesis (*BA* 1:838–1001 etc.). See Heidegger, *De Historia Sacra*, vol. 1, exer. 5, para 16, p. 177. The gloss appears in Heidegger’s “Exercitatio V de Habele et Caino.” “And my prayer will be more pleasing before the Lord because of that select and fat ox that the first man offered.” Onkelos was a 1st c. CE convert to Judaism, and the man to whom authorship of the Babylonian Targum has traditionally been attributed. Mather includes Heidegger’s conclusion, but not his supporting quotations, in *Psalterium*, bk. 2, pp. 176–77.

⁸³⁵ Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 2, p. 102. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 177.

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Psalm. 70.

Q. The Scope?

A. Tis the Prayer of the *Messiah*, in His wonderful Sufferings.

In the fifth Verse, He takes the very Name, that is in Zech. IX.9. assign'd unto Him.

He foretells, the Miseries which the *Jews* would procure to themselves, by the Injuries they offered unto Him.⁸³⁶

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⁸³⁶ Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 2, p. 105. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 177.

Q. The Scope?

A. See the Church (and the oppressed Synagogue too) groaning under the Antichristian Tyranny; & hoping for a Restoration after so many Calamities.⁸³⁸

Q. On that; *Thou hast given Commandment to save me?* v. 3.

A. *Munsters* Gloss is, *Tu Mandabis Angelis tuis de me.*⁸³⁹

Quære, whether such Expressions do not lead us to consider the *Angelical Ministry* in the Case: Commands & Orders given unto the Holy Angels.⁸⁴⁰

Q. What Famous Instance might occur in the Recollection of the Psalmist; when he said, *Thou art my Trust from my Youth?* v. 5.

A. Why not That? 1. Sam. XVII.33, 37.⁸⁴¹

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Q. On that; *I will go in the Strength of the Lord God?* v. 16.

A. A Due Acquaintance with the Christian *Asceticks*, would afford noble Illustrations on very many of the Divine Oracles.

In the private Writings of One whom I knew, I find such a Passage as this; which may be not unprofitably transcribed here.

“On a certain Lords-day, being to preach on Renouncing our own *Righteousness*, and Repairing to & Relying on, the *Righteousness* of a glorious CHRIST, as I was on my knees in my Study, before my going forth to preach, Imploring (as alwayes) the Help of Heaven, I had that Scripture darted into my Mind; Psal. LXXI.16. *I will go in the Strength of the Lord God; I will make Mention of thy Righteousness, even of Thine only.* Hereupon, I thought, that Ministers, when they go to preach on that great Point of the Gospel, *A Sinners being Justified by the Righteousness of the Lord Jesus Christ, even by that only;* they might expect for to go in the *Strength of the Lord God*, & enjoy singular Assistences from on high. I was verily perswaded, I should find it so; and I did this Day find it so; and I have at several other times (in vast Congregations) found it so.”⁸⁴²

⁸³⁷ See Appendix B.

⁸³⁸ Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 2, p. 106. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 180.

⁸³⁹ Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 180. “You will command your angels concerning me.”

⁸⁴⁰ Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3828). See also Poole, *Synopsis Criticorum* (2:1019).

⁸⁴¹ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 2, p. 314. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 180.

⁸⁴² I have not been able to identify the person alluded to in this note, although it is probably Cotton Mather himself. The same idea is encapsulated in one sentence in *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 180.

Q. The Scope?

A. Tis a Prayer for the Coming and Kingdome of our Saviour.
The Jews unanimously understand it of the *Messiah*.⁸⁴³

Q. What shall one think, about the First Words of the Psalm; *Give the King thy Judgments, O God, and thy Righteousness unto the Kings Son?* v. 1.

A. The Psalm is a noble Account of the *Messiah*, & His Kingdome.

Sometimes the Prophets have the *Messiah* so much in their Eye, that they scarce think it necessary to make a Præface, when they speak of Him. Thus the Psalmist here begins on the *Messiah*, without a direct Designation of the Person intended.⁸⁴⁴

Mr. *Whistons* Opinion is, That the *First Verse* of the Psalm, which is a præfatory good Wish or Prayer for the Prosperity of the Psalmist himself, & his Son *Solomon*, to whom the Psalm was Dedicated, is not to be look'd on as a proper *Part* of the Psalm. To make it *such*, does but give a Disturbance unto the Reader. Take it only for a *Præface* or a Dedicatory εὐφημία. So all is easy, & the whole Psalm directly belongs to the *Messiah*.⁸⁴⁵

Q. *As Rain?* v. 6.

A. Rule them in so soft & gentle a Manner, – and with as much Advantage. –
But, *Christian*, In the *Rain coming on the mown Grass*, behold the Spirit of thy REDEEMER coming for the *Resurrection of the Dead*, on whom the mortal Scythe ha's had its Operation.⁸⁴⁶

⁸⁴³ Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 2, p. 108. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 183.

⁸⁴⁴ The idea that this “Psalm for Solomon” is one in which Solomon is seen as a type of the Messiah, is, as numerous commentators of Mather’s day pointed out, an assumed reading of the rabbinic scholars. See Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 2, pp. 205–06; Hammond, *Paraphrase*, in *Works*, vol. 4, bk. 2, p. 202, and Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras’d*, bk. 2, pp. 319–20. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 183.

⁸⁴⁵ William Whiston (1667–1752) was successor to Isaac Newton in the Lucasian Chair of Mathematics. He was also a formidable linguist and classicist, and translated the works of Josephus so ably that his rendering of those works is still employed. Whiston became notorious for his belief that Arianism was the creed of the early Church, but Mather nevertheless respected him for the breadth and depth of his learning. In 1707, Whiston delivered the Boyle lectures; these were subsequently published in 1708 as *The Accomplishment of Scripture Prophecies* and held by Harvard (*DNB*). Like most English Christians, Whiston continued to read Psalm 72 in messianic ways, but he could not bring himself to accept the 1st verse in that manner, due to the traditional Hebrew title of the Psalm as a “Psalm for Solomon.” By reading the first verse as a simple “euphemia,” or prefatory good wish, he was able to retain the Psalm as a messianic prophecy. See *Accomplishment* (Serm. 2, p. 38).

⁸⁴⁶ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras’d*, bk. 2, p. 321; Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 2, p. 108.

Q. A literal Paraphrase on, *The Handful of Corn, upon the Top of the Mountains?* v. 16.

A. Dr. *Patrick's* runs thus. "God shall bless with such plenty, that an Handful of Corn sown in the Earth, even upon the Top of Barren Mountains, shall spring up so thick, with Ears so plump & full, that when they are shaken with the Wind, they shall make a Noise, like the Cedars of *Lebanon*. Nor shall the City be less Fruitful than the Countrey; but become as populous & well-stored with all good Things as the Earth is with Grass, or Flowers in the Spring."⁸⁴⁷

Mr. *William Allein* letts fall an Hint of this Import. As there was an *Handful of Corn* still in the Earth, even in the Worst of Times; thus after the End of these Days, the Fruit thereof shall shake like *Lebanon*; and they of the *Holy City* shall flourish like the Grass of the Field. Compare, Isa. LX.22.⁸⁴⁸

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Q. What may bee understood by, *The Handful of Corn in the Earth, on the Top of the Mountains*, in the Dayes of the Messiah? v. 16.

A. Some have understood it, of the *Eucharist*.

But how do the Jewes understand it?

Hear *David Kimchi*; / בימי המלך / etc. *In Diebus huius Regis, talis erit Benedictio in Mundo, ut seminaturus sit homo pugillum Frumenti, etiam in vertice Montium, unde exoriturae spicae adeo bonae et pingues, ut flante Vento strepitum editurae sint, qualem edunt arbores Libani.*⁸⁴⁹

I remember, Father *Coton*, and others of the R. Catholicks, endeavour to establish their *Transubstantiation*, from a Notion, which they say D. *Kimchi* ha's upon this Text. The Passage which they refer to, is probably that which D. *Kimchi* ha's upon Hos. 14.8 & which may be thus translated; *sunt qui illa Verba / יחיו דגן / exponunt, fore olim, ubi advenerit Redemptor mutationem Naturae in Frumento, (quippe vivificabunt illud instar Vitis.) Neque Opus fore ut serant Frumentum, nisi unâ vice, ut Vitem serimus, et id Genus alia. Et meminerunt magistri nostri beate Recordationis, mutationis Naturae, quae aliquando futura est in Triticum.* These are Curiosities worth præserving.⁸⁵⁰

⁸⁴⁷ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 2, p. 323. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 183.

⁸⁴⁸ William Alleine (1614–77), *Some Discovery of the New Heavens and the New Earth* (1679), p. 273. This work was printed, and continuously paginated with, *The Mystery of the Temple and City*. In his *Discovery*, Alleine proposes 1686 as a possible date of Christ's return.

⁸⁴⁹ "In the days of this king, there will be such blessing in the world that a man will sow a handful of grain, even on the top of the mountains, from which shall spring up fruit so good and fat that, as the wind blows, they will produce a rustling sound of the sort which the trees of Lebanon produce."

⁸⁵⁰ Amama, *Anti-Barbarus Biblicus*, bk. 3, pp. 539–40. Father Coton is Pierre Coton (1564–1626), a Jesuit priest and confessor to Henry IV and Louis XIII (CE). "There are those who expound these words: / יחיו דגן / (they will raise grain) / that there will one day be, when

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Q. How do you take that Passage, *His Name shall bee continued, as long as the Sun?* v. 17.

A. The Hebrewes do call the *Messiah*, by that Name of *Jinnon*, which signifies, *A Sun*: And the Text here, may bee read, *Before the Sun, Jinnon is His Name*. Our Lords being the *Son* of God, by an *Eternal Generation*, even before there was any *Sun* in the Firmament, is hereby intimated: Before any Creature had yett Received a Being, even Then the *Messiah* is the *Son* of God. Compare, Prov. 8.22, 23, 24, 25, 26,–30.

Our Lord is called, *The Brightness of His Fathers Glory*. The *Sun*, and its *Brightness*, are *coætaneous*; Thus God the *Father*, & the *Son*, is *coæternal*. Hee is as *old* as His own *Father*.⁸⁵¹

1930.

Some Read it, *Ante Solem filiabit Nomen eius?*⁸⁵²

Yes; and I pray you, to bestow a very great Attention, upon a wonderful Passage, in the *Midrasch Tillim*, on Psal. 93.2.

Rex Messias ascendit in cogitationem Dei optimi Maximi, ante Creationem Mundi sicut dictum est Psal. 72.17. *Ante Solem Filiabit Nomen eius; Filiabit nomen eius, quia ipse Filiaturus est omnes Dormientes, in pulvere.*

Glorious Things, to proceed from the Pen of a Jew!⁸⁵³

I have read somewhere this Gloss & Thought upon it; “*His Name shall be as a Son, to continue His Fathers Name forever*. Thus, the Ministers of the Word, ought to *raise up the Name of CHRIST upon His Inheritance*, His Church, They ought not to Raise up their own Names.”⁸⁵⁴

the Redeemer has come, a change in the nature of the grain plant: why, they will spring up again after reaping, as vines do after pruning! No one will ever have to plant grain again, except for that one time, just as when we set out grape-cuttings and other such plants! And our teachers of Blessed Memory bear in mind this miracle of nature, which will someday take place in *wheat*.” In essence, the point is that *annual* wheat becoming *perennial*, like the grape-vine, is no more miraculous, and just as plausible, as the elements of Communion becoming – *really* – the Body and Blood of Christ, according to the doctrine of Transubstantion.

⁸⁵¹ “*Ætas*” is “age” in Latin; “*co-ætas*” means “same-aged.”

⁸⁵² Literally: “His name will have children/ will procreate descendants before the sun.” That is, the good memory of his name and his great reputation will endure forever. The Latin Hebraism is a literal translation of the Hebrew idiom.

⁸⁵³ Martin, *Pugio Fidei*, pars. 2, cap. 11, p. 335. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, pp. 183–84. “The King Messiah arose in the understanding of the greatest and utmost God before the creation of the world, just as it is said in Ps.72:17. His name will have children before the sun; His name will have children because he shall procreate as descendants all those sleeping in the dust.” Ps. 72:17: “May his name increase as long as the sun shines” (NAU); “May his fame continue as long as the sun!” (ESV).

⁸⁵⁴ Gell, *Essay* (Serm. 16, p. 731). Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 184.

This Passage, *Nomen eius Filiabitur*, is fulfilled unto our Saviour, in that His *Name* is continued by the Succession of many *Sons*, before the *Sun*. Compare, Heb. II.13.⁸⁵⁵

Upon this, *Filiabitur Nomen eius*, pious Mr. W. Hook ha's a Note of Domestic Piety. As in the Song *Hezekiah*, we read, *The Father to the Children shall make known thy Truth*, so, here, we find the Name of a Glorious CHRIST, *childed* as one may say, *from Generation to Generation*. Care must be taken by Parents, to *Child* the Name of our SAVIOUR, by putting His Name upon their *Children*, in their Baptism, and by Instructing their *Children* in His Religion, & by Informing their *Children* of His Glories.⁸⁵⁶

Q. Is there any special Remark to bee made on the way of expressing that Matter, *The Prayers of David, the Son of Jesse, are ended?* [v. 20.]⁸⁵⁷

A. I'l give you *Austins* Gloss upon it. *Defecerunt Hymni David, non Filii Dei, sed Filii Jesse.*⁸⁵⁸

⁸⁵⁵ Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 2, p. 184. "His name shall have children/ will procreate descendants."

⁸⁵⁶ William Hooke (1600/1601–78), pastor at Taunton, then New Haven, and later chaplain to Oliver Cromwell, was most famous for *New Englands Teares for Old Englands Feares* (1641) (DNB). Although not a prolific writer, he was highly respected as Mather's comment makes plain. One of his works on the Apocalypse (*A Discourse Concerning the Witnesses*) was a part of the Mathers' library. He published several other brief tracts, among them *The Priveledge of the Saints on Earth* (1673), from which this comment is taken, p. 59.

⁸⁵⁷ Mather does not, as he characteristically does, identify the verse here. I have supplied this information.

⁸⁵⁸ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 2, p. 208; Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos* [PL 36.915]. "The hymns of David have ended, not [those] of the Son of God, but [those] of the son of Jesse."

Q. An Illustration on the Temptation which gave Occasion for the LXXIII Psalm? Tit.

A. Dr. *Fryer*, in his, *Present State of Persia*, ha's a Passage about the Temper and Spirit of the People there, that, methinks, notably illustrates what the Psalmist had in his Eye.

His Words are these.

"Since Misfortunes are look'd on, as the most grievous Curses, they all either aim to be, or to be thought, prosperous; whence is not only Indecent, but Unhappy, to walk on Foot, out of Necessity; and he that comes abroad, with the finest Palfry, the richest Accoutrements, the most Followers, with Footmen with Bells at their Wastes, Feathers in their Turbans, embroidered Horse-clothes, delicately wrought Saddles for War, & Housings, golden Bridles, Breast-plates & Cruppers, often besett with precious Stones: He that ha's his golden-headed *Coleon* behind him, magnificently carried, with Change of Vests in rich Port-mantles; He is the *Favourite of Heaven*, and the Darling of Fortune; is courted by all; & esteemed the *chief Care of Providence*. Thus mightily are the gaudy Bubbles of Fortune admired here; on which account, to be most Impious, is most emulated; since to arrive at these Ends, there is no other Method: Goodness is banished, & Virtue must give Place to Vice."⁸⁵⁹

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Q. Who might be the *Asaph*, that composed the Psalm now before us? Tit.

A. If it were *Asaph*, the Singer Famous in the Dayes of *David*, one would think on a Descant of *Apollinarius* here. *The Divine Invention of David failing in the Composing of Songs, Asaph arose and by the Divine Spirit resounded this Hymn.*

But I rather concur with Dr. *Patrick*, That this Work may more probably be ascribed unto another Person of this Name, who is called, *Asaph the Seer*, & lived in the Dayes of *Hezekiah*; [2. Chron. XXIX.30.] and, who probably was the Father of the eminent Person, that was then the *Recorder*.

It is likely that some of the Psalms assign'd unto *Asaph*, may be thought rather to belong unto another *Asaph*, in After-times. But this may seem the most likely *Asaph* to be entituled unto the present Composures.

When he saw, the miserable Havock, that Strangers made among them, in the Dayes of *Ahaz*; or perhaps those that were made, when *Sennacherib* invaded

859 Fryer, *A New Account of East-India and Persia*, letter 5, ch. 14, p. 397.

them, notwithstanding *Hezekiah's* Reformation; he might have such Thoughts as these.

Or, to speak yett more probably; The common Occurrences, which provoked *David* to write the XXXVII Psalm, caused *Asaph*, to write That which is now before us.⁸⁶⁰

Add this, we have here, a Reflection of the Faithful, on the Prosperity enjoy'd by the Followers & Abettors of *Antichrist*. And their Comfort in expecting his Destruction.⁸⁶¹

Q. How is it said, *No Bands in their Death?* v. 4.

A. They are not in any Danger (so great is their Power,) to be *bound* over by Humane Justice, for their Crimes, how great soever they committ; nor are they afflicted with sore Diseases, & brought unto their Graves, with Pains & Torments. After a long Life, in Firm & Vigorous Health, they depart easily out of the World.⁸⁶²

Munsters Gloss is, They have no Anxiety about their Widows & Orphans. They leave them enough to live.⁸⁶³

Q. Of wicked People in *Prosperity* we read, Their *Eyes stand out with Fatness?* v. 7.

A. Is here no Intimation of their being *short-sighted People?*⁸⁶⁴

Q. How does their *Tongue walk thro' the Earth?* v. 9.

A. They Abuse and Calumniate, whom they please upon Earth.⁸⁶⁵

Q. How is it said, *His People return hither, & Waters of a full Cup, are wrung out unto them?* v. 10.

A. Take Dr. *Patrick's* Paraphrase. "And yett, as bad as they are, there is none of them, but hath his Followers and Admirers; whom he first Invites, and then Retains, like Beasts, by filling their Bellies; which abundantly contents them; tho' others be squeezed & oppressed, to give them this poor Satisfaction."⁸⁶⁶

⁸⁶⁰ Mather is abstracting from Patrick's argument. See Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 3, pp. 331–32. Apollinarius, or Apollinaris (c. 310–c. 390), was bishop of Laodicea, and collaborated with his father in reproducing the Old Testament in the form of Homeric poetry at a time when Julian the Apostate had forbidden Christian teaching (*ODCC*).

⁸⁶¹ Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 3, p. 111. Both selections are carried over into *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 187.

⁸⁶² Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 3, p. 333.

⁸⁶³ Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3835). The entire entry is duplicated in *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 187.

⁸⁶⁴ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 3, p. 334. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 187.

⁸⁶⁵ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 3, p. 334.

⁸⁶⁶ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 3, p. 334.

So Munster. *Apud quos versantur impii eisdem si studiis addicunt, & bene habent qui eos sectantur.*⁸⁶⁷

Q. What means the Psalmist, when he saies, *I am chastened Every Morning?* v. 14.

A. Hebr. *My Chastisement was in the Mornings.* The Meaning is, I was dealt withal as Malefactor. Malefactors {were} punished in the *Mornings*. In the *Mornings* was Justice executed. Compare, Psal. 101.8.⁸⁶⁸

Q. How might the Psalmist by *going into the Sanctuary*, come to *understand the End of prosperous Wickedness?* v. 17.

A. He heard the XCII Psalm, sung in the *Sanctuary*.⁸⁶⁹

[▽187ra] [▽Insert 187ra]⁸⁷⁰

Q. Some Illustration of that Passage; *As a Dream when one Awaketh, so, O Lord, when thou Awakest, thou wilt despise their Image.* v. 20.

A. The Case now considered, is the grand Case, that ha's Distress'd and Perplex'd so many good Men in the World; that is, The *Prosperity of the Wicked*; and The *Adversity of the Godly*. Against the Temptations, which arise from so unaccountable a Spectacle, we have no Releef, but what is brought unto us from *the Sanctuary*. The Prophets of God, inspired by Influences from *the Sanctuary*, or the *Holy Place* of the Heavenly World, have told us, That Men shall be *Raised from the Dead*, & shall see a *Day of Judgment* which will bring all to Rights, and unfold the Mysteries, which now puzzle us, in the Conduct of Providence. This *Resurrection of the Dead*, with the following *Day of Judgment* is here Intimated. That which may the more embolden us to look after the Intimations of it here, is the Gloss of the Chaldee Paraphrase upon the Text; *In Die Judicii Magni, cum fuerint suscitati de Sepulchris suis.*⁸⁷¹

At that Day, first, the *Prosperity of the Wicked* shall appear to have been a [187rb] *Dream*; It shall be found so, at their *Awaking*. The *Awaking* of the Dead, is the Scriptural Term for the *Resurrection*.

Should the following Word, / בְּעִיר / be rendred, *In the City*, as tis by very many and ancient Interpreters, it would suit our Purpose admirably. The Transactions of the *Last Judgment*, will be very much carried on in the *Heavenly*

⁸⁶⁷ Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3835): "And the wicked have relations with them (i. e., the good), if they (the good) consent to the same pursuits, and they (the wicked) have a good grip on those who follow them."

⁸⁶⁸ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 3, p. 211. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 188.

⁸⁶⁹ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 3, p. 212. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 188.

⁸⁷⁰ See Appendix B.

⁸⁷¹ "On the day of great judgment, when they have been raised from their tombs."

City. But render it, if you please, *In Suscitando*; the Plain English of it, is, *At thy Raising them*, or *At their Rising*; – Well, what shall be done then?

Thou wilt cast Contempt on their Image. The key to this passage is, in Dan. 12.2. *The many that sleep in the Dust of the Earth, shall Awake; – Some to Shame and everlasting Contempt.* Lett the Word, *Image*, signify either the *Prosperity* of the Wicked; (for which see, Psal. 39.7.) or their *Corruption*; (for which see, Gen. 5.3.) or, their *Spirit*, or their *Body*; or, their pompous *Fashion* (φαντασμα), of Living in this World; (see 1. Cor. 7.31.) Still t'wil be true; God will then cast *Contempt* upon it; & show that it was alwayes *Contemptible*. A, *Le Grand*, shall then be treated as a *Contemptible* Wretch. By *Image* I would understand, whatever they now value themselves upon. And lett it be remembred, That the Word here also carries, *Punishment*, in the Signification of it.⁸⁷²

[△Insert ends]

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[187r]

Q. *I was as a Beast before thee*, saies the Psalmist. Why, *As a Beast*? v. 22.

A. A *Beast* regards nothing but what is present. This was the very Spirit of the *Envy* at the *Prosperity of the Wicked*, under which the Psalmist, for a while had laboured.⁸⁷³

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[188v]

Q. What might be the Meaning of the Tempted Psalmist; *I was wounded in my Reins*? v. 21.

A. The Gloss of old *Arnobius* upon it, was; *Renes mei resoluti sunt; id est, ad Castitatis libertatem à mali Exempli vinculo resoluti.*⁸⁷⁴

[*1502.*]

Q. What Remark is to bee made on the Words in that Passage, *Whom have I in Heaven, but Thee? and there is none upon the Earth, that I Desire besides thee*? v. 25.

A. It is a Devout Strain, which Mr. *Herle* hath upon it;

⁸⁷² Poole, *Synopsis Criticorum* (2:1041). Φαντασμα (phantasma) is translated as pomp in Acts 25:23, to which Poole refers. כְּעֵיר, or “when thou (O Lord) awakest” is translated as “in the city” by the Septuagint based, as Ainsworth notes (*Annotations*, p. 111), on some ambiguity in the root word (עיר). In this case, the verse would read, “As a dream, when one awakens, so, O Lord, *in the city* you will despise their image.” Mather would have recognized this as a contestable reading, but as Ainsworth remarks it nevertheless neatly aligns with Eccles. 8:10 where the wicked are “forgotten in the city.” Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 188.

⁸⁷³ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 3, p. 337. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 188.

⁸⁷⁴ Arnobius, *Commentarii in Psalmos* [PL 53.428]. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 188: “My reins [kidneys, or loins] gave out; that is, I was released from the custody of bad examples, to the liberty of chastity.”

It seems *Heaven* is the Place of *Having*; *Earth*, but of *Desiring*.⁸⁷⁵

[**]

Q. But is it not capable of another Translation, & Exposition?

A. I find in old *Raymunds Pugio Fidei*, this notable Version, conformable to the Hebrew Text:

Quis mihi in Cælo, et Tecum? Non Volui in Terra. q. d. “Quis det mihi, ut Recipias me in Cælum et Tecum? Non enim Volui esse in Terrâ.”

In plain English; *Who will give mee to bee in Heaven, with thee? Upon the Earth, I desire not to bee.*⁸⁷⁶

This is very agreeable to the Context.

But then *Arnobius* makes it the Language of our Saviour.

*In terrâ positus, itâ cælestem Vitam exercui, ut dum in Cælo ascendero, nihil mihi supersit, quod in terrâ positus non impleverim.*⁸⁷⁷

Q. A Remark on the *Perishing* of the Wicked? v. 27.

A. *Homer* makes his GODS liable to *Perishing*. By which he does not mean *Mortal*, but *Miserable*. His Annotators observe, That in the Language of the *Scripture*, *Perdition* or *Destruction*, means horrible *Misery*.

The Letter of *Tiberius* to the Senate begins with the like Language, *Dii me peius perdant quam perire sentio si scio.*⁸⁷⁸

Q. What were the *Works of God*, which the Psalmist putt his Trust in Him, to Declare? v. 28.

⁸⁷⁵ I have not been able to locate this in any of the works of Charles Herle (1598–1659) that are definitively associated with either the Mathers or Harvard. Harvard Library held Herle’s *Wisdom’s Tripos* (1655). The Mathers owned two tracts of Herle’s: *David’s Song of Three Parts* (1643) and *A Payre of Compasses for Church and State* (1642). The quotation, however, does occur in a funeral sermon printed by Samuel Slater, *The Souls Return to its God, in Life, and at Death* (1690). This work is unpaginated, but Slater attributes the observation there to Joseph Symonds. Herle was a staunch and well-respected Puritan clergyman and member of the Westminster Assembly. Samuel Slater (1629?–1704), another fierce dissenter, was ejected from his living after the Restoration (*DNB*). Joseph Symonds (d. 1652) was assistant to Thomas Gataker and rector of St. Martins before fleeing to Holland, where he settled in Rotterdam (Brook 3:39–40). See also Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 189.

⁸⁷⁶ Martin, *Pugio Fidei*, pars. 3, cap. 20, p. 891.

⁸⁷⁷ Arnobius, *Commentarii in Psalmos* [PL 53.428]. The entry in its entirety is in *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 189: “Having been placed on earth, I have thus cultivated a heavenly life so that, when I ascend into heaven, nothing may survive me which I, placed on the earth, have not fulfilled.”

⁸⁷⁸ This remark, including the quotation from Tiberius (“If I know, may the gods subject me to a worse perdition than what I feel that I am suffering”), is in Alexander Pope’s *Iliad* (5:479–80), observation 39, p. 40, where Dione relates how Mars, imprisoned by Otus and Ephialtes, “perhaps had perish’d, had not Hermes’ care / restored the groaning god to upper air” (vol. 2, p. 18).

A. Take Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase. “I hope, He will be so gracious unto me, that I shall have abundant Cause to publish & proclaim unto all others, the Works of His Providence; in præserv[ing] the Good, and in throwing the Wicked down, at last, unto the Ground.”⁸⁷⁹

⁸⁷⁹ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, p. 338. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 189.

Q. The *Time*, and *Occasion* of the Psalm? Tit.

A. Some have thought, the Psalm referr'd unto the Dayes of *Antiochus Epiphanes*. But as Dr. *Patrick* observes, This is altogether Improbable. There is, among other things, a Note of *Theodore*t that renders it so. We read nothing in any History, of his Burning the Temple, or of his laying the City waste; Both of which, are by *Asaph* here sorrowfully bewayled.

However, tis from thence plain, that this could not be the *Asaph* of *Dauids* Time; unless we should look on the Psalm, as a Prophecy.

Nor could it be the *Asaph* that was the *Seer* in *Hezekiahs* Time; who saw no such Desolation made by *Sennacherib*.

It is most probable, The Writer of the Psalm, had the Desolation which he writes of, before his Eyes. It seems therefore to be an *Asaph*, who lived in the Time of the Captivity, & perhaps near the Conclusion of it. He complains, there was no Prophet now, to tell them, how long the Captivity should last; so that it seems *Jeremiah* was gone. And yett, he speaks of himself, as one dwelling still in the Land of *Israel*; he points to Mount *Zion*, as a Place near unto him. He seems then to have been a pious Man, perhaps of the Posterity of *Asaph*, who was permitted there to remain by the *Chaldeans*.⁸⁸⁰

Dr. *Patrick* proceeds to this Determination. "If it were fitt to suppose him, to have written this Psalm, very young, & to have lived to a great Age, when I have no proof of either; I should guess him to be *Asaph*, the Keeper of the Kings Forest, in the Dayes of *Nehemiah*; who desired *Artaxerxes* to write to him, to furnish him with Timber out of *Lebanon*, for the Rebuilding some of those Places, which the Psalmist here complains were Destroyed; Among which, the Porch of the Sanctuary remained unbuilt, even unto those Times."⁸⁸¹

Be sure, The Spirit of Prophecy here very livelily represents the State of the [**]⁸⁸² Holy People under the *Romish* Persecution.⁸⁸³

Q. The Meaning of, *lift up thy Feet unto the perpetual Desolations?* v. 3.

A. Take Dr. *Patrick's* Paraphrase. "*Make Haste*, to come & visit the Ruines of our Countrey, & City; which have lasted exceeding long, & will never be repaired without thy powerful Help."⁸⁸⁴

⁸⁸⁰ Mather is abstracting from Patrick's argument. See Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, p. 339.

⁸⁸¹ Taken from Patrick's argument. See Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, p. 340.

⁸⁸² [*Jewish Nation in their Dispersion*]

⁸⁸³ Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 3, p. 113. The annotation is further digested for *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 192.

⁸⁸⁴ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, p. 341. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 192.

Q. On the Man *lifting up Axes upon the Thick Trees?* v. 5.

A. Dr. *Patrick's* Paraphrase runs thus. "Every one of them laid about him, and bestirred himself with all his Might, as if he hoped to gett Renown by the Mischief he did; which was committed with no more Remorse, than if they had been lopping off Boughs in the Thickets of a Forest, where they may be spared." v. 6. "Just so, methinks I see, (as if it were now a doing) how they hacked and hewed with Axes, and knocked down with Hammers, the curious carved Work of the Temple: whose Elegance would have moved any but Barbarians, to have præserv'd it, with as great a Zeal, as they employ'd to beat it in Pieces."⁸⁸⁵

Q. What is there Notable, in that Expression, *God worketh Salvation in the Midst of the Earth?* v. 12.

A. There is in it, a *Geographical Curiositie*. The Land of *Judæa*, was in the very *Middle* of the then Inhabited *Earth*. And indeed, the Spott of Earth so scituated, was the Stage, whereon the Price of our eternal *Salvation* was effected. But, by that Lands being in such a Climate, the Jewish Traditions and Usages, came to bee the more easily propagated, as they were unto the other Nations. Thus, you know, tis also said, in Ezek. 5.5. *I have sett it in the Midst of the Nations*.⁸⁸⁶

Q. Please, to carry this Point, if you can, a little further? v. 12.

A. To pass by, what *Casaubon* saies, [Exercit. 16. Sect. 83.] *Inspice Spheram, et Rationem ini VII istorum Climates, quæ | sola norant veteres, Videbis non inepte, et si pingui Minerva, Jerusalem olim Creditam esse multis quasi Umbilicum Terræ Habitabilis*. [Compare Ezek. 38.12.]⁸⁸⁷ I will rather quote you the Words of an abler Mathematician. Tis *Villalpandus*, who saies, [tom. 3.p. 14.] *Quòd si id Experimento fortasse quispiam cognoscere cupiat, terrestrem globum adeat, circinique pedem alterum Hierosolymis figat, alterum in ultimos, usque Africa fines protendat et circumagat. Sic enim fiet, ut Circulum describat, qui omnes olim cogniti Orbis terminos comprehendat. Atque hæc fortassè causa est, cur Deus Sionem elegerit, ex quâ Legem suam toto Terrarum Orbe diffunderet; nimirum, ut è mediâ* [190v]

⁸⁸⁵ See Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, pp. 341–42.

⁸⁸⁶ See note below.

⁸⁸⁷ Mather refers to *De Rebus Sacris et Ecclesiasticis, Exercitationes XVI ad Cardinalis Baronii* (1613), by Isaac Casaubon (1559–1614). My reference is to the 1663 Geneva edition of this work: *De Rebus Sacris*, exerc. 16, sect 83, p. 552. Casaubon was a highly esteemed philologist, and this remark is loosely copied from his work aimed at controverting the annals of Cardinal Cesare Baronio (1538–1607) (*OER*). Casaubon, a careful scholar who commented upon and prepared editions of several classical texts, was also the first to show that the vocabulary of the Hermetic texts could not date from the time of Moses and that they instead must have been written during the 1st or 2nd c. CE: "Consider the globe, and make calculation of those seven climes, which alone the old ones had known; you will see that Jerusalem was once believed by many – not absurdly and as if without learning – to be the navel, so to speak, of the habitable earth."

*mundi Regione, ceterae aequâ ratione distantes, Dei Verbum facilius et commodius cognoscerent. De Sion, inquit vates, exhibit Lex, et Verbum Domini de Jerusalem.*⁸⁸⁸

Kimchi ha's many Passages of this Importance; Especially, on Ezek. 38.12. *Vocatur terra Israel Umbilicus Terræ, quia est in Medio Mundi, sicut Umbilicus est in Medio Corporis.*⁸⁸⁹

But now, several of the Ancients carried this Matter a little further.

God working Salvation in the Midst of the Earth, is by Eucherius, in his *Questiones Veteris Testamenti*, thus glossed upon: *In Judeâ Christus per Crucem liberavit Mundum, quam alibi Umbilicum terræ descendam putant. Vel, In Medio Terræ, id est, In Utero Virginali.*⁸⁹⁰

And Austin, [de Civ. Dei, c.4.] ha's this Gloss upon, *God working Salvation in the Midst of the Earth*; saies he, It was, *Quum verbum caro factum est, et terreno habitavit in Corpore*: When the Word was made *Flesh*, and Dwelt in a *Body of Earth*.

I'll need add no more upon it, but a Distich of Bede.

Est Locus ex omni Medium quem credimus Orbi;

*Golgotha Judei patrio cognomine dicunt.*⁸⁹¹

⁸⁸⁸ This observation is drawn from the magisterial commentary of Juan Bautista Villalpando (1552–1608) on Ezekiel: *In Ezechielem Explanationes et Apparatus Urbis* (vol. 3, pt. 1, bk. 1, ch. 4, p. 14). Although it was as much a product of imagination as of scholarship, Villalpandus' text exercised a major influence over later exegetes' notions of Jerusalem and its environs, as well as on the theory and practice of European architecture during the seventeenth century. Isaac Newton was only one of many figures in the following century who was attracted to Villalpandus' detailed renderings of the Temple and the city of Jerusalem. The commentary was, in fact, a continuation of a work begun by a predecessor, Jerome Prado (d. 1595). The first volume of this 3-volume text, which considers the initial 26 chapters of Ezekiel, was written by Prado, while Villalpandus himself completed the commentary over the remaining chapters of Ezekiel in volume 2 and presented his ideas of the city and the Temple in volume 3. "If by some demonstration one should perhaps wish to examine this, let him consult a globe of the earth, and fix one foot of a compass at Jerusalem, extend the other even unto the farthest ends of Africa, and turn it about. For in this way he will trace a circle that encompasses all the limits of the once known world. And this perhaps is the reason why God chose Sion out of which He poured forth his Law on the whole world; doubtless so that, from the middle region of the earth, other regions equidistant might more easily and conveniently come to know the Word of God. From Sion, the prophet says, will go forth the Law, and the Word of God from Jerusalem."

⁸⁸⁹ "The land of Israel is called the navel of the earth because it is in the middle of the world, just as the navel is in the middle of the body."

⁸⁹⁰ "Christ freed the world through the cross in Judea, which elsewhere they regard as the navel of the earth. Or perhaps, the middle of the earth, that is in, the womb of the Virgin."

⁸⁹¹ These paragraphs beginning with the quotation from Kimchi are selected from Amama, *Anti-Barbarus Biblicus*, bk. 3, pp. 509–11. Eucherius of Lyon (c. 380–c. 449), a distinguished bishop, was famous for his ascetic lifestyle and numerous writings that defended allegorical interpretations of scripture. The remark of Augustine is contained in his *City of God*, as Amama and Mather note. Among the many works penned by the Venerable Bede (672/673–735), one was a brief text on *De Locis Sanctis* (The Holy Places). This couplet occurs at the end of chapter 2, and Bede attributes it to Victorinus Pictaviensis (Victorinus of Petau, d. 304): "In the earth's center, 'tis believed the place / By Jews called Golgotha, we seek to trace" (Giles, 411).

I will only add an observable Passage, from one *John Smith*, in his *Christian Religions Appeal*. “God planting His Word in *Judea*, the Center of the Habitable Earth, left all Men without Excuse, who by natural Sentiments, finding a Dearth at home, did not travel thither to buy Corn. And it is not to be wondred at, that Inquisitive Men, did come out of all Nations, to hang on the Skirts of the Jewes.”⁸⁹²

Q. That Passage, *Thou brakest the Heads of Leviathan in Peeeces, & gavest him to be Meat unto the People inhabiting the Wilderness*: What elegant Allusion may there be in it? v. 14.

A. *Pharaohs* Death, affording a Satisfaction to *Israel* in the Wilderness, is the thing here intended. But it is with a notable Allusion to a thing frequently happening in those Parts of the World. Yea, Their Carcases fed the Wildbeasts of the Wilderness.

There was bordering upon the *Red Sea*, a Sort of People, called *Ichthyophagi*.⁸⁹³ We find the Name of that People to be /יִיִּם/ *Sijm*, the very Name that is used here. *Aben-Ezra* brings R. *Moses's* Authority for it, *Omnem Piscem vasti Corporis in Mari natantem vocari Leviathan*.⁸⁹⁴ And the Ancient Writers, accordingly tell us, That the *Ichthyophagi* lived not only on lesser Fishes, but upon *Whales* too, when they could catch them, which they sometimes did. You find this Reported in *Agatharchides*, and in *Diodorus*, and others. ἐκ τῶν ἐκριπτομένων εἰς τὴν χέρσον κητῶν ἀποζῶσι. *E Balenis in terram ejectis victum sibi comparant*.⁸⁹⁵

Of this People, we read, *Psal. 72.9. The Ichthyophagi shall bow before Him*. The Empire of *Solomon* extended so far. But applying that Prophecy to our Saviour, we must understand, *Extrema Terrarum et Oceani*.⁸⁹⁶

By the Way, I cannot forbear inserting, a wonderful Passage, about the *Ichthyophagi*, which you shall find in *Diodorus*. He saies, (l.3. p. 122.) *Among the Ichthyophagi, neighbouring to the Red-Sea, there is an Ancient Tradition, which*

On Eucherius and Victorinus, see *ODCC*. Since the last line might also be translated as “the Jews call it Golgotha from *the name of the father*” (*Judaei patrio*), Amama might be thinking of the patristic tradition of Origen, Basil, and others, which reported that Jews had held that the skull of Adam, having been carried by Noah and passed to his son Shem and thence to Melchisedek, was finally deposited at the place called Golgotha, the place of the skull. This tradition is preserved in iconography in the skull and bones placed at the foot of the crucifix (*CE*).

⁸⁹² Smith, *Christian Religion's Appeal*, bk. 1, ch. 6, sec. 1, p. 37. The sum and substance of this and the preceding annotation are contained in *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 192.

⁸⁹³ “Fish-eaters.”

⁸⁹⁴ “Every fish of enormous size swimming in the sea is called Leviathan.”

⁸⁹⁵ Agatharchides was a Greek historian and geographer of the 2nd c. BCE. Material from his work *On the Erythraean Sea* is quoted by numerous classical historians, including Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Pliny, and Aelian. Agatharchides (*De mari Erythraeo [excerpta]* sec. 48, lines 2–3). See Diodorus, *Library* (17.105.5): “They feed upon the flesh of whales cast up onto the shore.”

⁸⁹⁶ “The ends of the lands and the ocean.”

they have received from their Ancestors, that once there was a prodigious Recess of the Sea; all Places in the Bay of it, being left Dry & the Sea retiring to the opposite Side, the Bottom appeared & the Colour of it was Green; but with a prodigious Tide and Force it quickly returned into the State wherein it was before.⁸⁹⁷

This was doubtless a Remembrance of the Miracle, of *Israels* passing the Red-Sea, when, according to *Sedulius*,

*Pervia divisi patuerunt cerula Ponti In geminum revoluta Latus, nudataque cognatis spoliatur Aquis.*⁸⁹⁸

These Barbarous People convey'd the Remembrance of it, unto their Posterity.⁸⁹⁹

That Passage, *Thou breakest the Heads of the Dragons in the Waters*, the Ancients carried mystically, and with *Arnobius* made this Gloss upon it; *confregisti Capita Demonum in Baptismate.*⁹⁰⁰

[191r]

|
Q. A little more particular Gloss on this *Leviathan*? v. 14.

A. Take Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase.

“*Pharaoh*, that fierce Tyrant, as terrible as the vastest Whales, Thou didst utterly destroy there; with all his stern Captains and Commanders: whom the Sea spewed up, [Exod. XIX.30.] to find their Tombs in the Bellies of the Wild-beasts and Birds; which people the Neighbouring Wilderness.”⁹⁰¹

Q. The *Cleaving* the *Fountain*, & the Drying up the *mighty Rivers*? v.15.

A. The Former, when the Water gushed out of the Rock. [Exod. XVII.6. Num. XX.9.] The Latter, when the People passed thro’ *Jordan*, tho’ it was a Time, when it overflowed its Banks, as if many Rivers had been joined in One, & the Waters ran with a mighty Violence. [Josh. III.15, 17.]

The *Cleaving* here, seems an Allusion to the hatching of Birds, which is done by the young Ones cleaving or breaking the Shell with their Bills.⁹⁰²

⁸⁹⁷ Diodorus, *Library* (3.40.9).

⁸⁹⁸ Coelius Sedulius was a Christian poet of the 5th century whose principal work was a poem in 5 books entitled *Carmen Paschale* (ODCC). The first book of this work is devoted to the Old Testament; the remaining 4 books treat the New. See *Carmen Paschale* (1.136–37) [PL 19.567]: “The cerulean waters of the parted sea opened a road; / They rolled back into a twin flank, and the naked earth / Was stripped of its usual waters” (trans. Patrick McBrine).

⁸⁹⁹ Bochart, *Geographia Sacra*, pt. 1, bk. 4, ch. 29, pp. 318–20.

⁹⁰⁰ Arnobius, *Commentarii in Psalmos* [PL 53.431]. The opinion of Arnobius is reproduced without attribution in *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 192: “You have broken the heads of the demons in baptism.”

⁹⁰¹ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras’d*, bk. 3, pp. 343–44. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 192. This reference to Exod 19:30 is incorrect, though Mather faithfully transcribes Patrick. The correct reference is Exod 14:30.

⁹⁰² Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras’d*, bk. 3, p. 344; Clutterbuck, *A Brief Explanation*, p. 66.

Q. What is it, that is here called, *The Light*? v. 16.

A. It seems to be, *The Moon*.⁹⁰³

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Q. What *Respect unto the Covenant*, with Regard unto the *Dark Places of the Earth*? v. 20.

A. Take Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase.

“Tho’ we are unworthy to be Regarded by thee, yett have Regard unto thy own Promises; wherein thou hast engaged thyself unto our Fathers, to give to them and their Posterity, the Land of *Canaan*; which is so far from being now inhabited by thy People, that every blind Corner of it, is a Den of Thieves and Murderers; who have filled it with Rapine and Cruelty.”⁹⁰⁴

⁹⁰³ Clutterbuck, *A Brief Explanation*, p. 66.

⁹⁰⁴ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphas'd*, p. 345.

Q. The Scope?

A. Behold, the Expectation, which the Church ha's, for the future Kingdome of the *Messiah*.

In the 8th Verse of the Psalm, we have the *Cup*, so remarkable in the Prophecies. Isa. LI.21, 22. Rev. XVI.19.

And in the 5th Verse, the Fate of the *little Horn*. Dan. VII.11.⁹⁰⁵

Q. What is the Import of that Passage, *That thy Name is Near, thy Wondrous Works declare?* v. 1.

A. The Arrival of *David* unto the Kingdome, was the particular Dispensation of Providence, intended, when tis said, *Thy Name is Near*. And perhaps, it may bee a sufficient reason why this *Revolution* should bee mention'd, as having the *Name* of God in it; Because, the *Power*, the *Wisdom*, the *Goodness*, & the *Truth* of God, in fulfilling His Promise, which Attributes of God, are God Himself, were very *Near* unto a marvellous Discovery; when this *Revolution* was *Near*.

But when tis said, *Thy Name is Near*, why may wee not bee a little more particular? It was the *Kingdome of David*, which now was *Near*: In this there was Figured the *Kingdome* of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the *Name* of God. Yea, The Name of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is God, is *David*; the *David*, or, the *lovely* One. Well, *David*, Hee that carried the Name of the *Messiah* in Him, was now *Near*, *Near* at hand was the Time of His taking the *Kingdome*.

And what were the *wondrous Works*, which *Declared* it? Shall wee say, The *Miracles* done for and by *David*, when hee slew the *Bear*, & the *Lion*, & the *Giant*? These were Shadowes & Pledges, of what our *David* was to do for His People. Or, shall wee say, The marvellous Præservations of *David* hitherto? Or, the Convulsions, which were now upon the Nation, with the Removal of *Dauids* Enemies, first *Saul*, then *Abner*, & then *Ishbosheth*? Any or All of these.⁹⁰⁶

But then, Dr. *Patrick* much rather chuses to look on the Psalm, as composed by *Asaph* the *Seer*, [mentioned, 2. Chron. XXIX.30.] after the great Deliverance, which by the strange Destruction of *Sennacheribs* Army, God gave to *Hezekiah*, and His People. For *Hezekiahs* use, the Psalm was composed.⁹⁰⁷

⁹⁰⁵ Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 3, p. 115. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 194.

⁹⁰⁶ In this portion of this note Mather appears to draw on the work of George Abbot (1604–49), *Brief Notes upon the Whole Book of Psalms* (1651), p. 320. This work was in the Harvard Library. Abbott, who apparently attended neither Cambridge nor Oxford, was a protégé of the eminent Richard Vines (1599/1600–56) and subsequent member of Parliament. He wrote well-received paraphrases on both Job and the Psalms (*DNB*).

⁹⁰⁷ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 3, p. 346.

And accordingly, the next Verse; *When I shall receive the Congregation, I will judge uprightly*; he thus paraphrases. “I will not content myself with these verbal Praises alone; but as soon as I shall meet with a fitt Opportunity and we can have our solemn Assemblies again, (which by this Invasion have been interrupted, 2. Chron. XXXII.1.), I will perfect the Reformation, which I have begun, and see that æqual Justice be done to all my People; as well as that they be præserted in thy true Religion.”⁹⁰⁸

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Q. The Psalmist saies, *Promotion comes neither from the East, nor from the West, nor yett from the South*; What then? From the *North* is any thing to bee expected? v. 7.⁹⁰⁹

A. One that ha’s endeavoured in a little Book, to spiritualize the Affayrs of Navigation, ha’s advised us to consider our Maker, as the *North-point*: and hee brings this Text, for the Confirmation of his Advice.⁹¹⁰ But whatever of Allusion, or Devotion, that Contemplation might afford, in my Opinion, this Text is of no Service to accommodate it. For the Word here translated, *South*, in the Hebrew signifies, *The Desert*; and such a Course list bounded *Palæstine*, both on the *South*, & on the *North*; so that in effect, Præferment Blowes from no Point of the Compass. True, (saies the witty *Fuller*) Every Man is, *Fortunæ suæ Faber*, the *Smith* to beat out his own Fortunes; but God first gives him Coals, Iron and Anvil, before hee can sett up his Trade.⁹¹¹

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Q. But may not this Passage bee served with a further Illustration? v. 7.

A. Yes. The *Oriental*s were generally given to *Astrology*. These Took *Promotion* to come from the *Stars*: Especially from the *Sun*, the cheef Object of their Worship. The Psalmist saies, No. *Promotion* comes not, either from the Planets *Rising* or *Setting*, or Exalted in the *Mid-heaven*; that’s the Meaning of the Words, *From the East, nor from the West, nor from the South*.

From the *North* of the *Zodiac*, they never thought it to come. And some think, thats the Reason, Why that Part of Heaven is not mentioned.

⁹⁰⁸ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras’d*, bk. 3, p. 348. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 194.

⁹⁰⁹ Verse 6 in the KJV.

⁹¹⁰ Mather alludes to the popular devotional work of John Flavel or Flavell (bap. 1630–91), *Navigation Spiritualized* (1671). The Harvard Library held the 2nd edition of Flavel’s two-volume *Works*, where this text is reprinted with the original pagination. See *Navigation Spiritualized*, ch. 23 (*Works* 2:23). In his works that sought to “spiritualize” ordinary experiences, Flavel can be seen as anticipating Jonathan Edwards and the rhetoric of the Great Awakening. The *DNB* notes that Flavel was very highly regarded by both Increase and Cotton Mather.

⁹¹¹ The Latin quote, which also appears in Flavel, where it is “a maxim [that] came from hell” (p. 23), is originally due to Sallust’s *Letter to Caesar* (1.1.2). The immediate source is Thomas Fuller *The Holy State and Profane State*, bk. 4, ch. 1, maxim 1, p. 237.

But the Psalmist, for another Cause, might say nothing of the *North*. For, as hee saith elsewhere, *On the North Side of Jerusalem, was Mount Sion, the City of the great King*. Here was the special Presence of that great King, from whom came all *Promotion*.⁹¹²

Q. On the *Cup*? v. 8.

A. From this Eastern Way of Speaking, *Homer* in his Twenty fourth *Iliad*, ha's that Notion;

*Two Urns by Joves high Throne have ever stood,
The Source of Evil One, and One of Good.
From thence the Cup of Mortal Man he fills,
Blessings to these, to those distributes Ills.
To most he mingles both; The Wretch decreed
To taste the Bad, unmix'd, is curst indeed.*

Plato accused *Homer* of Impiety, to say, That *GOD* gives Evil. But the Annotators upon *Homer*, justify him, from what the Psalmist speaks, in the Text now before us.⁹¹³

Q. The *Red Wine, full of Mixture*? v. 8.

A. The Punishments inflicted by God, are often like an Intoxicating *Wine*, full of *stupifying Ingredients*, which loosens the very Joints, and takes away from a Man all Strength to Resist.⁹¹⁴

Q. The Psalm concludes with Assurances *That the Horns of the Wicked shall bee cutt off*. What may bee meant, by, *The Horns of the Wicked*? v. 10.

A. The *Midrasch Tillin*, ha's a notable Gloss; That by the *Horns of the Wicked*, are meant the *Ten Horns* of the Fourth Monarchy, in the Visions of *Daniel*.⁹¹⁵

⁹¹² Although Mather generally avoids turning to the work of his contemporary, Matthew Henry, because he did not wish to duplicate the recent work of Henry's own commentary, this paragraph appears to be one place in which he did so. The idea is not so developed in Henry, but it is present (3:300) where Henry annotates this Psalm. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 3, pp. 194–95.

⁹¹³ This is from Alexander Pope's translation of the *Iliad* (24.663–68), vol. 6, p. 81. The observation is also Pope's, vol. 6, obs. 31, p. 78.

⁹¹⁴ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphrasid*, bk. 3, p. 349. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 195.

⁹¹⁵ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 3, p. 220. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 195.

Q. The Time, and Occasion of the Psalm. Tit.

A. *Asaph* the *Seer*, [mention'd 2. Chron. XXIX.30.] not only made the LXXV Psalm, for the Use of the King, but added this also for the Use of all pious Persons. And the Deliverance from *Sennacheribs* Army was the Occasion.

Some of the *Greeks* were aware of this. *Theodoret* assures us, he found in some Copies, this Inscription, which still continues; *An Ode against the Assyrians*. And *Apollinarius* follows it.

By *Salem* here, is meant *Jerusalem*. It was usual with the Hebrews, to cutt off the former Name of a Place; As, instead of *Abel-Sittim*, to say only *Sittim*; *Nimrim* for *Beth-Nimrim*; *Lechi* for *Ramath-Lechi*; *Sheba* for *Beer-Sheba*; and many more, like these. See *Bochart*, in his *Phaleg* l.II.c.24 and *Hierozoic*. l.II.c.25.⁹¹⁶

Dr. *Allix* here finds a Song of Triumph on the Victory of the *Messiah* over *Gog & Magog*. Compare the Third Verse, with Ezek. XXXVIII. and XXXIX.

The *Vintage* in the last Verse, leads one to Isa. LXIII. and Rev. XIX.⁹¹⁷

Q. That Passage, *Thou art more glorious excellent, than the Mountains of Prey*; How do you consider it? v. 4.

A. I suppose, the Psalm to bee occasioned by the Destruction of *Sennacheribs* Army, & the Deliverance of *Jerusalem* from that Army. It is true, that all the great Adversaries of the Church, the *Robbers*, or *Wild-beasts*, of the *Mountains* may here bee considered, as less considerable than the Churchs Great Friend, the God of Heaven: Yea, the *Lamb* on Mount *Sion* outlives them all. But I will read the Text so, *Thou art most glorious and excellent from* [or on] *the Mountains of Prey*.

The Assyrians had been on the *Mountains* about poor *Jerusalem*, committing of cruel *Depredations* upon the People of God; yea, but the Almighty God appeared wonderfully to extinguish them upon those *Mountains*: and when Hee came from thus conquering of the Ravenous Enemies, Hee appeared indeed most *glorious & excellent*: the Circumstances that rendred the exploit *Illustrious*, are in the Psalm afterwards declared.⁹¹⁸

⁹¹⁶ Patrick, in *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 3, p. 350, refers to Bochart's *Geographia Sacra* and *Hierozoicon*, as well as to Theodoret on the Psalms. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 196.

⁹¹⁷ Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 3, pp. 116–17.

⁹¹⁸ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 3, pp. 350–351. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 197.

Q. *The Stout-hearted are spoiled, they have slept their Sleep, & none of the Men of might have found their Hands.* How? v. 5.

A. A Man in a sound *Sleep*, endeavours to Rise, to Run, to Defend himself, in the working of his Fancy: but can find neither Legs, nor Hands.

Virgil, speaking of a Person otherwise Magnanimous & Invincible, feigns him, in his Encounter with *Aeneas*, to bee suddenly bereft of his wonted Power, by the Gods, in favour to the said pious *Aeneas*; and hee ha's this very similitude;

*Ac velut in Somnis Oculos ubi languida pressit
Nocte quies nequiquam avidos extendere cursus,
Velle Videmur, et in Mediis conatibus aegri
Succidimus; non Lingua valet, non Corpore nota
Sufficiunt Vires, nec Vox, nec Verba sequuntur:
Sic Turno (quacumque Viam Virtute petivit)
Successum Dea dira Negat.*⁹¹⁹

Our old English Annotations do tell us, *No Man can wish for a better Comment upon these words of the Psalmist.*

Indeed, the *Assyrians* Lay down to Sleep, & never Awaked. [2. King. XIX.35.]⁹²⁰

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Q. How is it said, *He shall cutt off the Spirit of Princes?* v. 12.

A. In the Beginning of the Psalm, we find it said, *His Dwelling-place is in Zion; There He brake the Arrowes of the Bowe.* How, *There?* It was in the Temple. The Overthrow of *Sennacherib* was from the Prayer of *Hezekiah* in the Temple. *Hezekiah* went into the Temple, and began his Prayer thus: *O thou God of Israel, who dwellest between the Cherubims.* There God presently gave the Sentence, and Order, for this wonderful Thing to be done; *To cutt off the Spirit of Princes;* or, Leaders; namely, those in *Sennacherib's* Army. He took away their Lives at once, and as easily, as a Gardener prunes the Leaves and Branches of his *Vine*, or gathers the Bunches of the Grapes, when fully Ripe. The Event, shall be as good an Expositor, as our *Goodwin* himself; we read, 2. Chron. 32.21. *The Lord sent an*

⁹¹⁹ The "Old English Annotations," in which the quotation from the *Aeneid* (12.908–14) is reproduced are those collected by John Downname and published as *Annotations upon All the Books of the Old and New Testament* (n.p.). The Harvard Library held the unpaginated third edition of this work, published in 1657, but Downname's name does not appear on the cover. The *Catalogus Librorum* of Harvard during Mather's lifetime lists this work simply as *Annotations (English) on the Bible*. Fairclough's prose translation of this passage reads, "And as in dreams of night, when languorous sleep has weighed down our eyes, we seem to strive vainly to press on our eager course, and in mid effort sink helpless: our tongue lacks power, our wonted strength fails our limbs, nor voice nor words ensue: so to Turnus, howsoe'er by valour he sought to win his way, the dread goddess denies fulfillment."

⁹²⁰ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 3, p. 352. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 197.

Angel, which cutt off all the mighty Men of Valour, and the Leaders, and Captains in the Camp of the King of Assyria.

Read on, and in the Fate of *Sennacherib*, you will see a *Terrible Thing* done to the *Kings of the Earth*.⁹²¹

⁹²¹ This remark is from the Goodwin's *Discourse of Christ the Mediator*, in his posthumously published *Works*, vol. 3, bk. 6, ch. 4, p. 395. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 197.

Q. The Scope?

A. See we not here the [**]⁹²² Israel of GOD, under Antichrist, in a Meditation on their Desolate Condition. [**]⁹²³; And yett comforting themselves with Reflecting on His ancient Miracles & Promises?⁹²⁴

Q. *My Sore ran.* What *Sore*? v. 2.

A. It may be read, *My Hand was stretched out.* q.d. In the Night, when others bury their Troubles, I keep *stretching out my Hand* unto God for Help.⁹²⁵

Q. The Meaning of, *I Remembred God, and was Troubled*? v. 3.

A. Take Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase. "I Remembred indeed, how kind God had been unto us, in former Times; but this only gave me the greater Trouble, when I compared it with our present Miseries."⁹²⁶

Q. How, *Commune with his own Heart*? v. 6.

A. He conversed with himself, in the Form of a *Dialogue*.
The *Dialogue* follows.

At the eleventh Verse, comes the second Part of the *Dialogue*, and a Change of Resolution.⁹²⁷

Q. The Meaning of, *I said, This is my Infirmary*? v. 10.

A. Q.D. "My Complaint was, and I said within myself, This is the thing that sorely Afflicts me; To see such Alterations in the Proceedings of the most High, that the same Hand which formerly protected us, now severely scourges us."

My Infirmary or, *my Dejection*; the Point which my Affliction turns upon.⁹²⁸

⁹²² [*Jewish Nation*]

⁹²³ [*as Rejected of God*]

⁹²⁴ Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 3, p. 118. The original quotation of Allix is reproduced, absent Mather's excisions in *Biblia Americana* in *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 199.

⁹²⁵ Clutterbuck, *A Brief Explanation*, p. 69.

⁹²⁶ See Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 3, p. 355. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 199.

⁹²⁷ Hammond, *Paraphrase and Annotation*, in *Works*, vol. 4, bk. 3, p. 218.

⁹²⁸ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 3, p. 356; Hammond, *Paraphrase and Annotation*, in *Works*, vol. 4, bk. 3, p. 219; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 199.

Q. On that, *Thy Way is in the Sanctuary?* v. 13.

A. *Munsters* Reading is, *In Sancto*. And he so glosses it. *Conatus tui, Studia tua, et Instituta tua Sanctissima sunt.*

The whole *Way of God*, ha's a most unspotted *Sanctity* ever shining in it.⁹²⁹

Q. How far did the *Thunder*, which accompanied the Promulgation of the Law on Mount *Sinai*, cause the *Earth to tremble?* v. 18.

A. Compare, Josh. II.10, 11.⁹³⁰

Q. The Emphasis and Improvement of that Passage, *Thou leddest thy People like a Flock, by the Hand of Moses & Aaron?* v. 20.

A. Take Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase.

“Thou feddest them, till they came to *Canaan*; And thither the same Power can, and the same Goodness will, I hope, Restore us; tho' now we seem neglected by thee, as our Fathers were, for a time, in the Land of *Egypt*.”⁹³¹

⁹²⁹ Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3847). Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 199: “In a holy place, your efforts, your studies, your practices, are most holy.”

⁹³⁰ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 3, p. 358. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 199.

⁹³¹ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, p. 358.

Q. The Scope?

A. The Psalm foretells the Rejection of the Ten Tribes, for Crimes committed since their Separation; with a Promise of conserving the Tribe of *Judah*, and the House of *David*, from which the *Messias* was to be born, who is to re-establish *Zion*, & bring the People into Subjection to Himself.⁹³²

Q. What and when was the Disaster of the, *Ephraimites Turning back in the Day of Battel*, Whereof the Psalmist maketh Mention? v. 9.

A. There are some, who think that this Passage refers unto the miserable & lamentable Overthrow, which the *Israelites* received, when the *Philistines* took from them the *Ark of God*. As the *Ark*, so the *Fight*, was then in the Territory of the *Ephraimites*; and probably, there was a great Proportion of *Ephraimites* then in the *Israelitish* Army.

But the Psalmist here promises to *utter dark Sayings of Old*; I therefore suspect a more ancient History here pointed at; it seems to have been a thing that happened before ever *Israel* came out of *Egypt*.

Look into 1. Chron. 7.21. adding some of the Jewish Traditions & Commentaries thereupon; & you will soon come to understand the Story.

The *Philistines* had made some Inroads & Assaults from the Northward, on the Skirts of *Goshen*, where the *Israelites* had a Residence. The *Israelites*, & especially the Active Tribe of the *Ephraimites*, were willing to Revenge these Injuries upon their wicked Neighbours: they præsumed themselves Powerful & Numerous enough to encounter the *Canaanites* in their own Countrey, & they formed a brisk *Expedition*, but came off unhappy Losers in it; the Jewish Rabbins tell us, They lost no Less than Eight Thousand Men.

There were diverse Reasons of the Miscarriage, which attended this Expedition of the *Ephraimites*. The Time was not yett come for the *Israelites* to bee delivered, or the *Canaanites* to bee destroyed; here was *more Haste* than *good Speed* in the Attempt. Nor were they enough concerned for the *Council* of God, & the *Presence* of God, in the Undertaking: *Plunder* | was the chief Thing that they propounded. But the chief Ground of their Miscarriage is here Intimated; *They kept not the Covenant of God*. How so?

First, They did not *keep* in their *Minds* the *Covenant* which God had made with them. God had engaged, that *Hee* would certainly bring them out of *Egypt*, just four hundred & thirty Years, after *Abrahams* being by Famine driven

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⁹³² Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 3, p. 119. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 208.

thereunto; but they could not stay; they must *Anticipate*, and so *Præcipitate* their own Concerns.

And, secondly, They did not *keep* in their *Lives*, the *Covenant* which they had made with God. They so fell in, with the Manners & Customes of *Egypt*, as that there was little Difference between Them, & the pagan World.

On this Occasion, lett mee Illustrate many Scriptures, by setting before you, the True, but Sad, State of *Israel* in *Egypt*.

[Consider Josh. 24.14. Ezek. 20.18. Lev. 24.10. Exod. 12.38. and many other Places.]

After the Death of the Twelve Patriarchs, the *Israelites*, by Degrees, fell into all Manner of Abominations. They committed Innumerable *Idolatries*; they did forgett & forego *Circumcision*, the *Covenant of their God*; this was, *The Reproach of Egypt*: [Josh. 5.9.] And they joined in Marriage with the *Egyptians*. Walking after this wretched Manner, the Lord cast them into a Furnace of Affliction; and now, as it was in *Abrahams* Vision, [Gen. 15.12.] When the Sun of Religion was gone down among them, an *Horror of Darkness* in Impietie & Calamitie came upon them.⁹³³

Q. Remarks on the *Field of Zoan*? v. 12.

A. *Zoan*, a very ancient City. See Num. XIII.22.

It was the Royal City, to the most ancient *Pharaohs* of *Egypt*. And for this Cause the Miracles wrought by *Moses* before *Pharaoh*, are found in the *Field of Zoan*. Probably, it continued thus until the Days of the Prophet *Isaiah*, For, Isa. XIX.11. we find *Zoan* the Place where *Pharaoh* held his Councils of State.

There are Intimations in Ezek. XXX.13. as if it might in the Days of *Ezekiel*, be in a Declining State, & the Royal Seat might be transferred unto *Noph*.

Zoan was called by the Greeks, *Tanis*. And the LXX render it accordingly. Indeed in other Words, the Hebrew / ז / is turned into T. *Tzor* is with the Greeks τυρός, and with the Latins, *Tyrus*.

Tanis we find not far for the Mediterranean Sea; and near the Second Mouth of the *Nile*. The First Mouth reckoning from the East, was called, *Pelusiacum Ostium*, from the adjacent City of *Pelusium*. The Second, or the next Westward, was called, *Ostium Taniticum*.

Zoan signifies, *Translatum*, or *Disruptum*. Our *Jameson* thinks, it might be either swallowed up with an Earthquake, or washed away by the River, and so translated unto another Bank for a safer Scituation.⁹³⁴

⁹³³ Mather capitalizes and expands on Hammond's commentary in *Paraphrase* (*Works*, vol. 4, bk. 3, pp. 224–26). The “some” offering a different historical interpretation is Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 3, p. 362. The annotation is further condensed in *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 208.

⁹³⁴ See *Spicilegia*, cap. 1, sec. 7, p. 16, and cap. 7, sec. 1, p. 138. See also Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 208.

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Q. *Angels Food?* v. 25.

A. Præpared by *Angels*.

But R. *Solomon* reads it, *Cibum Membrorum*; Intimating that it had this Property in it; *Totum in Substantiam conversum, nulla reliquit Excrementa*.⁹³⁵

Why may we not be content with the Gloss of *Suidas*? ἄρτος Ἀγγέλων· ὡς ὑπ' Ἀγγέλων χορηγούμενος· *Quoniam ab Angelis Subministratus*.⁹³⁶

Q. How is it said, *They were not estranged from their Lust?* v. 30.

A. Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase is: "They were not hindred from Eating as much as they pleased; nor was this Diet become at all nauseous unto them."⁹³⁷

Q. How is it said, *They beleaved not His wondrous Works?* v. 32.

A. As Dr. *Patrick* paraphrases. "They were not moved by any of His wonderful Works, to Beleeve, that He was able to bring them into the Land of Promise."

See Num. XIV.2, 3, 4.⁹³⁸

Q. What were the *Evil Angels*, that were sent among the *Egyptians?* v. 49.

A. Look into the Hebrew Original, and you'l see the Construction to be such, that it should be read, *Angels of Evils*: which differ as much from *Evil Angels*, as μάντις κακός, and μάντις κακῶν.⁹³⁹ Whereupon saith *Amama*, in his *Antibarbarus Biblicus*, *Hic Locus hilum non juvat illos, qui Deum in infligendis his plagis, Malorum Angelorum Operâ usum esse pertendunt*.⁹⁴⁰

But, we are well assured, That the *Evil Angels* are employ'd as Executioners of the Divine Wrath, upon the World.

I call to Mind, That the Apostle uses the very Words, that are here used by the Psalmist, when he mentions the Judgments of God upon wicked Men: Rom. II.8, 9. *Indignation, Wrath, Tribulation*.⁹⁴¹

⁹³⁵ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 3, p. 231: The "cibum membrorum" (food for the limbs or parts) has this property, that "the whole was converted into substance; it left behind no excrement."

⁹³⁶ Mather, or an intermediate source I have not located, appears to paraphrase the Latin translation of Hermann Witsius in *De Oeconomia Foederum* at this point. Witsius includes the quotation of *Suidas* (*Suda*), but Witsius translates the Greek as "quia ab Angelis suppeditatus" (*De Oeconomia*, 1685, bk. 4, cap. 10, sec. 28, p. 569). See also Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 208. The Greek of *Suidas* glosses the "bread of angels" (ἄρτος ἀγγέλων) as the "administration of angels" (ὡς ὑπ' ἀγγέλων χορηγούμενος), in *Suda*, *Lexicon* (alphab. letter **mu** entry 130 line 2). The Latin is a fair paraphrase of *Suidas'* gloss: angelic food is that which is "given by the angels."

⁹³⁷ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphrasid*, bk. 3, p. 366. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 209.

⁹³⁸ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphrasid*, bk. 3, p. 366. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 209.

⁹³⁹ The distinction is between the adjective *kakos* in nominative singular "evil prophet" (μάντις κακός,) and the genitive plural "prophet of evils" (μάντις κακῶν).

⁹⁴⁰ "This place does not at all please those who persist in saying that God made use of the work of evil angels in inflicting these plagues."

⁹⁴¹ Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 209.

Quære | whether his Intention be not to give some Intimation, That God [202v] will putt those Miserables over into the hands of the *Evil Angels*. Oh! The *Indignation*, the *Wrath*, the *Tribulation*, and the *Anguish*, that must be the Consequence of their falling into such horrible hands!⁹⁴²

Q. A *Deceitful Bow*; What? v. 57.

A. They would not be directed by the Will of GOD; but were like an *Ill-made Bow*, that never tends the Arrow to the Mark.⁹⁴³

Q. Why is the *Tabernacle* of *Shiloh*, here called, *The Tent which the Lord placed among Men*? v. 60.

A. Methinks, It should bee Read, *The Tent which Hee had Fixed in Adam*.

Wee read concerning the City *Adam*, That the Waters of *Jordan* affording a Passage to *Israel*, [Josh. 3.16. And lett it so bee Read] *The Waters Rose up upon an Heap afar off in Adam*.

Adam was the Centre, where the Waters were parted; Here was the *Station* of the Ark, now ready to enter *Jordan*.⁹⁴⁴

R. *Jochanan* in the Talmuds tells us, *Adam is a City, and Zaretan is a City, and they are distant from one another, Twelve Miles*. From *Adam* to *Zaretan* were the Waters Dried up; From *Zaretan* and upwards they stood on an Heap. *Adam* was in *Perea*, over against *Jericho*: *Zaretan* was in the Land of *Menasseh*, on this Side *Jordan*; [call'd *Zarthanah*, 1. King. 4.12.] and near *Bethshean*, which was the farthest Bounds of the Land of *Menasseh* Northward.

The Words in *Joshua*, *Far off from Adam, which is beside Zaretan*, are so to bee understood, as not so much to denote the Nearness of *Adam* and *Zaretan*, as to intimate, that the Heaping up of the Waters was by *Zaretan*. They are to bee rendred in this Sense. *And the Waters that came down from above, Stood together; they Rose up into one Heap, in a very long Distance from the City Adam*, namely, to that *which is by Zaretan*.

Adam and *Zaretan*, on this, and the other Side, were both something Removed from *Jordan*: but they are named in that Story, because there the Discourse is, of the Time, when *Jordan* contained not itself within its own Channel, but had overflowed its Banks.⁹⁴⁵

Q. Why, *their Widows make no Lamentation*? v. 64.

A. Being oppressed with Grief, they did not survive long enough, to make any Funeral for them.⁹⁴⁶

⁹⁴² Amama, *Anti-Barbarus Biblicus*, bk. 3, p. 512.

⁹⁴³ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 3, p. 372.

⁹⁴⁴ Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 209.

⁹⁴⁵ Lightfoot, *Chorographical Century*, ch. 92 (*Works* 2:82).

⁹⁴⁶ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 3, p. 373.

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Q. It is here said, *He chose David, – He took him from following the Ewes great with Young, – He brought him to feed His People.* What special Emphasis in the Expression? v. 70, 71.

A. The Throne of *David* was the most excellent in the World. It was a Dominion over the only People of God in the World. All other Kingdoms, were but *Mountains of Prey*, as the Psalmist speaks; or, over Wild-beasts, in Comparison.

Before this Elevation, David was but a *Shepherd*; Nay, not so much as that; He but a *Shepherds Boy*. God took him, *from after the Ewes.* The *Shepherds* in *Judæa* did use to go before the Sheep. [See Joh. 10.3. and, Psal. 80.1.] *David* was the younger Brother, that as the Servant, *follow'd the Sheep*; His elder Brethren were the *Shepherds*. God Raised him from this Condition to be ποιμένα λαων *To go in & out before His People.* [2. Sam. 7.8.]⁹⁴⁷

⁹⁴⁷ Thomas Goodwin, *An Exposition of the First and Second Chapters of the Epistle to the Ephesians*, Sermon 14 (*Works* 1:179). Α ποιμένα λαων is a common Homeric epithet for a leader as a “shepherd of the people.”

Q. The Scope?

A. Dr. *Alix* observes; The Psalm contains a Prophecy of the Destruction of *Jerusalem* by the *Romans*; and of the Reproach, whereto the *Jews* would be exposed, in their Dispersion. It contains a fervent Prayer that GOD would recompense on the Idolatrous Nations, their Cruelty towards the *Jews*; with a Promise to celebrate the Praises of GOD, after [**]⁹⁴⁸ the Destruction of Anti-christ.⁹⁴⁹

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⁹⁴⁸ [*their Deliverance, and*]

⁹⁴⁹ Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 3, pp. 124–25. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 211.

Q. The Time, and Occasion of the Psalm? Tit.

A. Dr. *Patrick* judges, it was penned in the Time of *Hezekiah*; who wrote a circular Letter, unto the Tribes, especially *Ephraim* and *Menasseh*, who were escaped out of the Hand of the *Assyrian*, that they would come to the House of the Lord at *Jerusalem*, and keep the Passover there. After this, the Land was invaded by *Sennacherib*, and sorely distressed; which was doubtless a grievous Discouragement unto those who had joined in the Reformation. This might move *Asaph*, most earnestly to beseech of GOD, that He would stir up Himself, before *Ephraim* and *Menasseh*, as well as *Benjamin*, (who was so link'd to *Judah*, that Part of *Jerusalem*, & of the Temple, stood in that Tribe,) & lett them see by a Remarkable Deliverance that their Zeal for the Purity of their Religion, was acceptable to Him.

These Three Tribes may be here joined, rather than any other, for another Reason; Because, they were the Tribes, who when they were in the Wilderness, alwayes marched behind the Tabernacle, when it moved; & had that part, where the *Propitiatory* was, and from whence God sent His Oracles, alwayes before them.

There is this, to render it probable, that the Psalm was not penned in the Time of the Captivity; For then, there was no *Ark*, nor did God sitt then between the *Cherubims*. But the Greek expressly calls it, *A Psalm concerning the Assyrian*. And *Hezekiah* applies himself to God under his Distress from the *Assyrian*, in the very Language of the Psalm now before us. 2. King. XIX.15, 16. Isa. XXXVII.16, 17.⁹⁵⁰

Q. That Passage of, *leading Joseph like a Flock*? v. 1.

A. Take Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase.

“O Thou, who art the Ruler & Protector of thy People *Israel*; who didst long ago give a famous Instance of thy Power, in præserving *Joseph*, when he fell, like an Innocent Lamb, among a Company of Wolves. [Gen. XXXVII.18.] and conducting him to the highest Præferment; Reject not our humble Petitions.”⁹⁵¹

Remember, *Ephraim* & *Benjamin* & *Menasseh*, follow'd the *Ark*, & brought up the Rear in the Camp of *Israel*.⁹⁵²

⁹⁵⁰ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 3, pp. 380–82. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 213.

⁹⁵¹ Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 214.

⁹⁵² Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 3, pp. 381–82.

Q. The Meaning of, *Thou feedest them with the Bread of Tears?* v. 5.

A. Take Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase. “Thou hast turned our Joyful Feasts into Fasting and Weeping; and our Plenty, into Scarcity of all things, but only of Tears.”⁹⁵³

Q. Have the Jewes any Remarkable Gloss, on that Passage, *Thou givest them Tears to Drink in great Measure?* v. 5.

A. Yes. In the Original tis, *In Triplici Mensura*; or, *In a Treble Measure*. And in the *Talmud*, you find R. *Samlai* thus expounding it.

God will make our Captivity under *Edom*, (that is, *Rome*,) a Cup *Three Times* as large, as that in *Egypt*, and that in *Babylon*. There will go to it, Three Times Four Hundred Years; answering to that in *Egypt*: And, Three Times Seventy Years; answering to that in *Babylon*: At least One Thousand, Four Hundred, & Ten Years, must therein bee worn away.

This Notion may bee worthy of your Attention!⁹⁵⁴

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Q. That Passage, *In Triplici*, or, *on a Treble Account*, may deserve a little further Consideration?

A. R. *David Kimchi*, observes, That the Captivity in *Babylon*, was just a *Third Part* so long as the Captivity in *Egypt*. *Seventy Years* are the Third Part of *Two Hundred and Ten*. Thus the Lord now gave His People, *Tears* to drink in a *Third Measure*.

R. *Solomon* quotes the same Observation, from R. *Moses*. And hee adds, That *Esau*, by *Thrice* pouring out his Tears, obtain'd at Length, a Promise of some Dominion over his Brother. And in the *Roman* Captivity, here bewayled, the People of God, were Drinking those Tears, and Mourning under the Dominion of *Edom*.⁹⁵⁵

Q. How, *A Strife to our Neighbours?* v. 6.

A. Our Neighbours, the *Edomites* & others, either pick Quarrels with us, or strive among themselves, who shall make the greatest Booty of us.

Thus *Patrick* paraphrases.⁹⁵⁶

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⁹⁵³ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 3, p. 383.

⁹⁵⁴ Martin, *Pugio Fidei*, pars. 2, cap. 2, p. 266. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 214.

⁹⁵⁵ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 3, pp. 236–37. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 214.

⁹⁵⁶ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, p. 383. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 214.

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Q. We read of, *The Vineyard, and the Branch*. In, *The Branch*, what may be the special Allusion? v. 15.

A. The Hebrew Word, / כִּנָּה / *Channa*, whereof there are many Versions, remote one from another, *Bochart* expounds out of the *Egyptian* Tongue, to be the *Hedera* χενόσιρις, or, *The Plant of Osiris*, mentioned by *Plutarch* in his *Isis*. It had been a little before said, That the *Vine* was brought out of *Egypt*, and it is highly agreeable to use an *Egyptian* Word on this Occasion. *Cannah*; or, *The Plant*, which we render, *The Branch*, is an *Egyptian* Word.⁹⁵⁷

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[*1744*]

Q. Whom does the Psalmist intend by, *The Man of thy Right Hand, the Son of Man whom thou hast made strong for thyself*? v. 17.

A. Even the *Targum* of *Jonathan the Jew*, will confess, That it is the King *Messiah*.

Behold here, the Two Natures of the *Messiah* intimated. Hee is the *Man of Gods Right Hand*, in regard of His *Divinity*; and thus even *R. Joden*, will own, That according to Ps. 110.1. The *Messiah* must sitt at the *Right Hand of God*. Hee is the *Son of Adam*, in regard of His *Humanity*.

In our Context here, wee read of a *Vine*. This Invites us to look for some Interest of the *Messiah*, in the Matter: According to that Passage in the *Talmud*, *Qui videt in Somnis Vitem optimam, videbit Messiam, de quo scriptum est*, Gen. 49.11. ligans ad Vitem.⁹⁵⁸

The Destruction of the *Jewes*, by the *Roman* Power is the Desolation of the *Vine*, which the Spirit of Prophecy here ultimately refers unto. *R. Solomon* saies well, *Innuir Captivitatem Romæ*.⁹⁵⁹ The *Boar out of the Wood*, that Rabbi calls *Esau*, that is to say, *The Romans*; And hee saies, Tis the Fourth *Beast* in Dan. 7.19. – which is the *Roman* Empire. And it is Remarkable, That the Destruction

⁹⁵⁷ *Bochart, Geographia Sacra*, pars. 1, lib. 1, cap. 15, pp. 66–7. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 214. The word translated as “vineyard” in this verse is more generally a plant that is staked or set (כִּנָּה). *Bochart* suggests that the word derives from the ivy (hedera) of *Osiris* (χενόσιρις). See *Plutarch De Iside et Osiride* (37.360): ἔτι τε τὸν κιττὸν Ἑλληνές τε καθιεροῦσι τῷ Διονύσῳ καὶ παρ’ Αἰγυπτίοις λέγεται ‘χενόσιρις’ ὀνομάζεσθαι, σημαίνοντος τοῦ ὀνόματος, ὡς φασι, φυτὸν Ὀσίριδος. “Moreover, the ivy, which the Greeks use to consecrate to Bacchus, is called by the Egyptians *chenosiris*, which word (as they tell us) signifies in their language *Osiris’s tree*.” The translation provided is from William Goodwin’s edition of *Plutarch’s Morals* (1874), vol. 4, p. 97.

⁹⁵⁸ “The man who has a dream about the best grape-vine will see the Messiah, of whom it is written (Gen. 49:11): ‘Tying [his donkey] to a vine’.” The reference is to Israel’s blessing on Judah: “He will tether his donkey to a vine, his vine to the choicest branch; he will wash his garments in wine, his robes in the blood of grapes.” Evidently, the dreamer is tethered to the Messiah, and blessed thereby, just as a donkey is tied to a vine.

⁹⁵⁹ “It suggests the captivity of Rome.”

of the *Jewes* began, with the setting up of a *Boar*, on the Gates of the Temple. God then said unto them, *Now the Boar out of the Wood is coming upon you.*⁹⁶⁰

Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase is; “Be the mighty Helper of our Sovereign, who is dearly Beloved by thee; Of that excellent Prince, whom thou hast endued with Zeal and courageous Resolution, for thy Service, & for our Defence & Preservation.”⁹⁶¹

⁹⁶⁰ Martin, *Pugio Fidei*, pars. 3, dist. 1, cap. 10, p. 542 and p. 539. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 214.

⁹⁶¹ Patrick, *Psalm's Paraphras'd*, bk. 3, p. 386.

Q. The Occasion of the Psalm?

A. The First Day of the Seventh Month, was above other Dayes, *A Day of Blowing Trumpetts*; [Num. XXIX.1.] And a *Memorial* thereof. [Lev. XXIII.24] It being the first *New Moon* of the Year, the *Trumpetts* were blown longer this Day than any other. God intended (as *Maimonides* conjectures) to awaken them, to præpare themselves, by strict Enquiry into their Lives, and by Hearty Repentance, for the great *Day of Atonement*, which was the *Tenth* Day of this Month. And from the *Fourth Verse*, it appears, that the Psalm now before us, was composed for this Occasion.⁹⁶²

But, of what was this *Blowing of Trumpetts*, a *Memorial*? The Hebrews are at such a Loss about it, that for the Reason of this *Blowing with Rams-horns*, they go as far back, as the Deliverance of *Isaac*, & the Offering of a *Ram* in his Room. Dr. *Patrick* proposes a much more fair Account of it. The Psalm now before us, intimates, that it related unto something, which ensued upon their happy Deliverance out of *Egypt*. This, tho' it begun on the First Day of the First Month, according to their New Computation, yett they had not a compleat Body of Laws delivered unto them by *Moses*, until the *First Day* of the *Seventh Month*. *Moses* indeed received several Laws in the *Third Month*; [Exod. XIX] On the *Third Day* whereof, God Himself appeared on the Top of Mount *Sinai*, with the Sound of a *Trumpet* exceeding loud & long, (to which this *Feast* might have Respect,) and spake the *Ten Commandments*; After which *Moses* gave them a
 [210v] Body of civil Laws. But they did not know the Manner | of the Divine Service, for which they came out of *Egypt* into the Wilderness, till *Moses* had been *Twice Forty Dayes*, one after another, in the Mount; and likewise (as the *Jews* understand those passages in the IX of *Deuteronomy* relating to this Matter) had Forty Dayes more bewayled their Sin, in making the Golden Calf. Which *Six score Dayes*, if we add to the Time that ran between their coming out of *Egypt*, and the giving of the Law on Mount *Sinai*, and to the *Six Dayes*, which passed before *Moses* was called up into the Cloud, it will fall out exactly to be, *The First Day of the Seventh Month*, when he began to give Orders for the Building of the Tabernacle, and making all things belonging to the House of God, according to the Direction he had received in the Mount. It is very sure, this was the præcise Time of their Setting up the Altar, and beginning to offer Burnt- offerings, after the Return from the Captivity of *Babylon*, before the Foundation of the Temple was Laid. [Ezr. III.1, 6.] Compare, Neh. VIII.1, 8, 9, 10.

⁹⁶² Maimonides, *Doctor Perplexorum*, pt. 3, ch. 43, pp. 471–72.

That the People might be mindful of the Divine Benefits, which they commemorated in this Month, more than in any other, *Asaph* (in the Dayes of *David*, it is Likely,) composed this Psalm, to be sung, in the Beginning of the Month, at the *Feast of Trumpetts*. He introduces God Himself, (before whom they were summoned by these *Trumpetts*, to appear,) instructing them in the End of the Solemnity, & complaining of their Forgetfulness of His Benefits.⁹⁶³

Dr. *Alix* observes, The Hymn, is to shew the Jews, that the Miseries which have happened unto them, were from their Disobedience to the Laws of GOD, & their Abandonment unto Idolatry.⁹⁶⁴

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Q. The Law, of *Blowing the Trumpett?* v. 3, 4.

A. See Num. X.8. and Lev. XXIII.24.⁹⁶⁵

Q. Saies the *Israelite*, *I heard a Language that I understood not*. What Language? v. 5.

A. Why not, That of *Egypt*. But I am surprised at a Gloss in *Aben-Ezra* upon it; which hereby understands, *Vocem Mosis, qui erat incircumciscus Labiis, Et habuit Aharon Interpretem*.⁹⁶⁶

I would rather fall in with Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase, which applies it unto the Voice of God on Mount *Sinai*:

“We heard to our astonishment, (for we were never before acquainted with it) the Voice of God.”⁹⁶⁷

Q. In what sense, their *Hands delivered from the Potts?* v. 6.

A. Delivered from the Dirty and Sordid Employments, wherein the *Egyptians* made them to Labour.⁹⁶⁸

Q. *I answered thee in the secret Place of Thunder*. Where and How? v. 7.

A. I refer you to the common Glosses on the Place; & only add a notable Passage, fetch'd out of the *Arabian* Interpreter. *Preces in abscondito sunt ut Tonitru in Dei auribus, et remunerabit eas in propatulo*. Secret Prayers, are like sounding Thunders in the Ears of God.⁹⁶⁹ | The Thing most evidently referr'd unto, is this.

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⁹⁶³ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 3, pp. 387–89. Mather greatly condenses this note for *Psalterium*, bk. 3, pp. 216–17.

⁹⁶⁴ Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 3, pp. 127–28.

⁹⁶⁵ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 3, p. 389–90.

⁹⁶⁶ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 3, p. 239: “The voice of Moses, who was uncircumcised with respect to his lips, and had Aaron as his interpreter.”

⁹⁶⁷ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 3, p. 390. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 217.

⁹⁶⁸ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 3, p. 391. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 217.

⁹⁶⁹ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 3, p. 241. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 217. Mather provides a

The People cried unto God, in their Distress at the Red-Sea; and God confounded the *Egyptians*, with Lightning and Thunder out of the Cloudy Pillar.

See Exod. XIV.10, 13. Psal. LXXVIII.18.⁹⁷⁰

partial translation: "Prayers in a secret place are as thunder in the ears of God, and he will answer [repay] them in an open space."

⁹⁷⁰ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphrased*, bk. 3, p. 391. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 217.

Q. The Occasion of the Psalm?

A. Tho' there had been a notable Reformation made by *Jehoshaphat* of the Corruption which had gott into the Courts of Judicature; yett it appears by the, frequent Complaints of *Isaiah*, they were in *Hezekiahs* Time Relapsed into a general Depravation.

The *Judges* are called, *Princes*, in respect of their Superiority over the People; But *Elohim* in respect of the Fountain of their Power, which was from the Most High; and with His Name they are therefore Honoured. A Name so frequent for those of the Supreme Court, that some not unreasonably understand that Passage of the *Vine* [Judg. IX.13.] *Cheering the Heart of God and Man*, as intimating, That *Wine* alike cheers both Princes and People, Judges and Clients, the meaner Persons, [Here called, *Adam*, v. 6, 7] as well as the Greatest, [called, *Elohim*].⁹⁷¹

Asaph, who lived in the Dayes of *Hezekiah*, [2. Chron. XXIX.30.] admonishes these, to be more careful of their Duty, & Remember that God would Judge them.⁹⁷²

Dr. *Alix* notes; It appears by the last Verse of the Psalm, that it relates to the Time of the Divine Vengeance on the Antichristian Powers. It contains an Exhortation to those unjust Powers, to follow Righteousness; and foretells their total Destruction when the Messiah shall come to establish His Empire.⁹⁷³

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Q. It is here spoken about the *Magistrates of Israel*, *I have said, yee are Gods; but yee shall Dy like Men?* v. 6, 7.

A. It is an elegant Passage, which the Lord *Bacon* ha's in one of his Essayes.

"All Precepts concerning *Kings* and *Magistrates*, are, in effect, comprehended in these two *Remembrances*; *Remember that you are Gods*; and, *Remember that you are Men*. The one Bridles their *Will*, the other, their *Power*."

But then, lett us add a later Observation of *Reizius*, upon it. The *Judges of Israel*, were called, *Gods*; because they *Judged* from *God*, and for *God*; & were the Vice-Gerents of *God* and maintained the Kingdome of *God*, over His People; and had the Power of *Life* and *Death* in their Hands, to enforce the Observation of His *Lawes* upon them. [Compare, 1. Cor. 8.5.] But there are none to enforce the *Lawes* peculiar to *Christianity*, in such a way upon us; and we have no *Magistrates* that fully answer the Character worn by those of *Israel*, but our Lord

⁹⁷¹ Goodwin, *Moses & Aaron*, bk. 5, ch. 1. pp. 389–90.

⁹⁷² Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 3, pp. 393–95. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 217.

⁹⁷³ Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 3, p. 129. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 217.

JESUS CHRIST ha's taken the Government of the Church, more immediately into His Hands: *Kings* and *Magistrates* under the *New Testament*, cannot without a presumptuous Injury to our Lord JESUS CHRIST, be called, *Gods. Nutrices Ecclesiae*, thinks *Reizius*, is the Highest Title they may now pretend unto.

The thing is worthy to be considered on.⁹⁷⁴

Q. The Emphasis of that Clause, *Yee shall Die Like Men*. Why *Like Men* rather than other Creatures? v. 7.

A. I have read this Passage in a Sermon preached by a famous Bishop of *London*.

"I will not give that eminent & conspicuous Reason, that when *Beasts* die, by reason that their Souls arise from the Matter of their Flesh, they Die, and Die thoroughly. So it is not with *Man*; but first he dieth, and endeth not there; but *After Death, Judgment*. I should rather say, that *Beasts*, for the more Part, live out their Time Determinate by *Nature*, till *Nature* be annihilated, unless Violence & Casualty *come between*. The *Elephant* liveth longer than the *Hart*, the *Hart* than the *Lion*, the *Lion* than the *Horse*, the *Horse* than the *Dog*. All to their Full Age, unless they be forced out of Life. But *Man* dieth in his Infancy; and oftner in this than any other Age; no sooner salutes the Light of Heaven, but he bids farewell to it."⁹⁷⁵

974 Bacon's opinion can be found in slightly different form in his essay "On Empire," in *Essays* (1669), p. 86. An edition of this work was held by Harvard. Mather, however, is directly quoting one of the sermons of his trusted John Edwards on this scriptural passage. See *Sermons on Special Occasions and Subjects* (London, 1698), serm. 2, p. 58. Reitz's remark appears in a footnote to his edition of Godwin's *Moses et Aaron*, lib. 6, cap. 1, p. 390. Sentences from this note are extracted for *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 217.

975 John King (d. 1621), Bishop of London and Chaplain to James I, preached a sermon on 11 April 1619 which was published as *A Sermon of Publicke Thanksgiving* (1619) (*DNB*). See *Sermon*, pp. 16–17. The Mathers owned a copy of this work. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 217.

Q. The Occasion of the Psalm?

A. It can be found no where so well, as in the Combination against the Church, made in the Dayes of *Jehoshaphat*. 2 Chron. XX. The Children of *Lot*, that is, the *Moabites* and *Ammonites*, (whose Controversy, see Judg. XI.) seem to be the Principal in this Confœderacy, as they were in that Invasion.

The Author of the Psalm then, should be Either *Jehaziel*, one of *Asaphs* Posterity on whom, we read, the Spirit of the Lord fell on this Occasion; or some other in those Dayes, whose proper Name was *Asaph*.

Indeed, some take in all the Attempts made on the People of God, since that in the Dayes of *Jehoshaphat*, by several Nations; the Last of which was the *Assyrian*, who came to do that which the rest had not been able to do. Then the Author will easily be found; Even that *Asaph*, who lived in the Dayes of *Hezekiah*.⁹⁷⁶

Dr. *Alix*, here sees a Prayer against the *Antichristians* and the *Mahometans*, who have sought the Ruine of the [****]⁹⁷⁷ *Holy People* & the Conquest of their Countrey. Compare the last Verse, with Zech. XIV.19. which is to be after the Destruction of the *Idumæans* & of the *Ishmaelites*, which are the Two Parties aforesaid.⁹⁷⁸

Q. Who are the *Hidden Ones*, which the Enemy consulted to Destroy? v. 3.

A. Not only the People, whom God had hitherto protected, as His *Jewels*; but also the *Temple*, & *Secret Place* of it; which He chose for His *Dwelling Place*.⁹⁷⁹

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Q. How, *made like a Wheel*? v. 13.

A. Whirl'd away like Chaff before the Wind, as the *Wheel* deals with the Corn. Or, putt to Flight, and made to run as fast as a *Wheel* down an Hill.⁹⁸⁰

⁹⁷⁶ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 3, pp. 397–98.

⁹⁷⁷ [**Jewish Nation**]

⁹⁷⁸ Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 3, p. 130. The entire note is included in *Psalterium*, bk. 3, pp. 220–21.

⁹⁷⁹ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 3, p. 399. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 221.

⁹⁸⁰ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 3, p. 401.

Q. Oftner perhaps, in the *Eighty Fourth Psalm*, than in any Paragraph of the Bible, is the True God called, *The Lord of Hosts*. It being a Name so often ascribed unto God, I would a little Inquire into the Reason of the Name? v. 1.

A. It is not mainly for His undeniable Empire, over all Creatures; which are called [Gen. 2.1] *The Hosts of Heaven & Earth*; but it is chiefly, for the Office which Hee bore of a General & a Commander to the *Armies of Israel*, that the Great God, was called, *The Lord of Hosts*.

Almighty God, singled out a *peculiar People*, from the rest of Mankind, among and over whom, Hee established a *peculiar Theocracie*.

Until they Rejected Him, Hee after a singular Manner, approved Himself the *King* of that People, by Directing and Protecting and Rewarding of them, with most visible Demonstrations of His Royal Care about them; and they chose Him to bee their (*Elohim*, or) Emperour.

All their *Judges*, were by Him Elected & Inspired; who therefore laid aside all Ensigns of *Majesty*, as belonging unto Him, for whom, they confessed, they Acted but as *Deputies*.

While they were in the *Wilderness*, they were distributed into Four *Hosts*, and after they came out of the *Wilderness*, the Form of *Hosts*, was that which they were often still putt into. [Consider, Exod. 12.41.]

Now, t'was in acknowledgment of the Conduct, which the Lord gave unto His People, in their Military Circumstances, especially, while they were sojourning in the *Wilderness*, {where}they chose {Him} for their [**illeg.*] *King*, that Hee was called, *The Lord of Hosts*.

Hence, the *Israelites*, adored, *The King of Glory, who was Mighty in Battel*, as, *The Lord of Hosts*: [Psal. 24.7, 8, 9.] Marching, by the Symbol of the *Ark*, in the Head of their Armies. [Compare, 2. Sam. 6.2.]

To this Purpose, consider with Attention, that Place, in *Zech.* 14.16, 17. Indeed, there is no Prophet, that uses, the Name, *The Lord of Hosts*, with such Frequency, as the Prophet *Zachary*. And the reason of it is, because the Prophet both *Lived* in a Time, and *Refers* to a Time, when the People of God were in a Condition, like *That*, wherein they came out of *Egypt*; a Condition of Captivitie. Now the Armies of *Israel*, being to encounter with Horrible Difficulties, in their Deliverance from their Enemies, the Prophet reminds their Faith, of what the Lord was unto their Fathers, in the *Wilderness*: even, *The Lord of Hosts*.

You'll notably Illustrate some Scores of Texts, with curious Thoughts, if you carry this Notion with you.⁹⁸¹

981 This appears like an entry that might derive from Hermann Witsius, Thomas Goodwin,

Our *Alix* here sees, a strong Desire for the *Jewish Nation* to see themselves re-established after their long Dispersion, & assemble together for the Worship of GOD. The Psalmist therefore entreats that GOD would look on His Anointed, by whom this Work is to be accomplished.⁹⁸²

Q. The Time & Occasion of the Psalm? v. 1.

A. Dr. *Patrick* is much of the opinion, That the Psalm was composed by some pious *Levite*, in the Countrey, when *Sennacheribs* Army had block'd up the Way to *Jerusalem*, and hindred them from Waiting on the Service of God at the Temple; where he judged, the lowest Ministry, even that of a Porter, to be far more honourable, than the highest *Præferment* among Pagan Nations. After their Freedom was Restored, by the Destruction of *Sennacheribs* Army, it is probable, the Author delivered it, to the Master of Musick in the Temple.⁹⁸³

Q. A Remark on this Title, *O Lord of Hosts*? v. 1.

A. A Servant of God, and a Preacher of the Gospel, was on some Occasion in some Anxiety, about the Condition of his Auditory; when it was grown so numerous, that a good Number of them were to swarm into a New Meeting-house. At this Time singing the Psalm now before us, this Thought struck into his Mind with a Mighty Efficacy. “The Assemblies of *Zion*, are in a singular Manner, *The Hosts of the Lord*. Our enthroned Saviour delights to be acknowledged as, *The Lord of these Hosts*. My Auditory then will be entirely ordered by the Providence of this glorious Lord: It will be greater or smaller, just what He shall order it. With what Satisfaction, with what Resignation, may I leave all unto the Disposal of His Providence!”

It came to pass, most uncaccountably, That after the Swarm, his Hive was in a Manner as full as it was before!⁹⁸⁴

or John Spencer, but I have not been able to identify these exact references in any of these possible sources. All of these remarks are commonplace observations of biblical commentary during the seventeenth century.

⁹⁸² Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 3, p. 131. Allix’s conclusion is contained in *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 223.

⁹⁸³ Not verse 1. Taken from Patrick’s argument. See Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras’d*, bk. 3, p. 403. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 223.

⁹⁸⁴ Most likely, Mather refers to himself. His apprehension over the “swarming brethren” who established the New North Church is detailed in his diary for 1713 (2:181–211). However, if this quotation is extracted from his personal journal, which seems probable, it has not been preserved. The period when this consolation would have been granted – sometime during 1714 when the new congregation was formally gathered – is missing from Mather’s diaries. What is certain is that this period of Mather’s life was one of terrible anxieties. During 1713 and 1714, he faced not only the troubling illness of his father, but the early rebellions of his son, Increase, the death of several children and of his second wife, Elizabeth during a measles epidemic, and attacks from numerous enemies. See also Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 223, where the anecdote is moralized into an injunction: “O Minister of the Gospel, Comfort thy self in this; Thou shalt have such *Assemblies* to Preach unto, as the *Lord of Hosts* will order for thee.”

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Q. Our Translation carries it, as if the Psalmist envied the *Sparrow*, and the *Swallow*, their Liberty to Nest, on, or at least near, the *Altars* of God. Whereas, wee are sure, the *Tabernacle*, was no Nesting-place for *Birds*. How then will you take the Words? v. 3.

A. I conceive, there is a passionate & a rapturous *Aposiopesis* in those Words. Take them thus, *The Sparrow hath found an House, and the Swallow a Nest for herself; where shee may Lay her Young*; But [as for mee, the House, the Nest, the Delightful Place which I choose for myself; my Cry is,] *Thine Altars, O Lord of Hosts, my King & my God*. The Psalmist, would with an abrupt outcry signify, That hee long'd as much for the *Altars* of God, as the *Sparrow* for her *House*, the *Swallow* for her *Nest*.⁹⁸⁵

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Q. But might there not bee a Time, when the *Sparrow* and the *Swallow* had a *Nest* on the *Altars*? v. 3.

A. R. *Solomon* thinks the Psalm now before us, to bee written upon the Captivity of *Israel* in *Babylon*. And the *Temple* being then destroy'd, the *Birds* then had their *Nests*, where once the *Temple* stood. A Thing, which might well bee proposed, as a Matter of Lamentation!⁹⁸⁶

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Q. Well, but must the / דרור / *Deror* here needs be a *Swallow*? v. 3.

A. *Bochart* shewes and proves, that this Name, (which originally signifies, a *Bird of Liberty*;) does most properly intend, the *Ring-Dove*; (or, the *Turtle*;) which takes more *Liberty* than the *House-Dove*, to range about.⁹⁸⁷

Q. The *Man in whose Heart are the Ways*? v. 5.

A. Take Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase.

“And happy is that Man (how mean soever his outward Condition be) who relying upon thy Divine Protection [Exod. XXXIV.24] goes up Three Times a Year to the solemn Feast at *Jerusalem*; or, when he is debarr'd of that Liberty as I now am, is one of those Devout Persons, whose Hearts are more in the High Ways that lead thither, than at their own Home.”

v. 6. “Who travelling thro’ the Troublesome Valley of *Bacha*, where there is no Water, pass it as cheerfully, as if it abounded with pleasant Springs; and,

⁹⁸⁵ This entry constitutes a rare disagreement with Patrick, who in *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 3, p. 404, imagines birds nesting in the rafters of the Temple. Mather is here instead following the interpretation of Clarius, offered in *Critici Sacri* (3:474–75). Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 223.

⁹⁸⁶ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 3, p. 246. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 223.

⁹⁸⁷ Bochart, *Hierozaicon*, pars. 2, lib. 1, cap. 8, col. 51. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 223.

depending on God as the Fountain of what they want, receive from him the Blessing of plentiful & seasonable Showres, to Refresh them in their Journey.”⁹⁸⁸

Some take it so. They trench'd & drain'd the Valley of *Bacha*, or the most wett, watry, weeping Valleys, to make the Way passable. The Water now gaining a Regular Course becomes a passable Stream, even when the Rain fill'd the Pools.⁹⁸⁹

Q. What remarkable Translation, can you find for that Passage, *The Rain filleth the Pools*? v. 6.

A. There are many Hebrew *Words*, used in many Famous *Texts*, of so various a Signification, that, tho' no Point of Religion bee thereby endangered, yett *Senses* little akin, to one another may bee thereto accomodated.

Tis possible, that the Holy Spirit of God, using these *Words*, in *Texts* where they may bee used without any Danger to Religion, would have His People in these Dayes of the *Gospel*, to take them in such a *Sense*, as may bee most agreeable to the Exercise of their Graces in these Dayes.

Thus here; *The Rain fills the Pools*, it may bee read, *The Teacher is filled* [or, covered] *with Blessings*.⁹⁹⁰

Q. A Remark on those Terms, *The HOUSE of GOD*, and, The TENTS of *Wickedness*? v. 10.

A. Our Mr. *John Davenport*, in a Treatise entituled, *The Saints' Anchor Hold*, ha's this Remark:

The Place where the Church assembled for the Worship of GOD, was a *Tent*, or *Tabernacle*. And yett it is called, *An House*, a fixed Mansion. Wicked Men have their *Houses*; built as they think, on firm Foundations. And yett, they here have the Denomination of *Tabernacles*. There is no Stability in this World. It is to be found only in the Church, & Worship, & Covenant of GOD.⁹⁹¹

Q. On that, *A Day better than a Thousand*? v. 10.

A. Behold, Nature itself making a Discovery & a Confession, somewhat akin to this. We find an Heathen Orator thus expressing himself in his Addresses to Philosophy; [Lib. Tusc. Quæst. l. 5] *O Vitæ philosophia Dux! Est unus Dies benè, et ex Præceptis tuis actus, peccanti Immortalitati anteponeendus*.⁹⁹²

⁹⁸⁸ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 3, p. 404. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 3, pp. 223–24.

⁹⁸⁹ Hammond, *Paraphrase*, in *Works*, vol. 4, bk. 3, p. 240.

⁹⁹⁰ Hammond, *Paraphrase*, in *Works*, vol. 4, bk. 3, p. 242. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 224.

⁹⁹¹ Mather refers to *The Saints Anchor-Hold* (1661), p. 189, by John Davenport (1597–1670), co-founder of the New Haven Colony.

⁹⁹² I have not been able to determine the exact origin of this annotation, but it is something of a commonplace of the period and also occurs in Benjamin Franklin's *Autobiography* as part of his program of self-improvement, where it is likewise attributed to Cicero. It is easily identi-

Q. On what accounts is it said, *A Day in thy Courts is better than a Thousand?* v. 10.

A. There is an *Idea* of the *Heavenly World*, which if it were duely taken in, it would lead us unto Divine and Glorious Thoughts on many Passages in the Sacred Oracles, which are now more cloudily apprehended.

In the *Heavenly World*, there is a *Temple*, wherein the Worship of God is admirably carried on. Tho' the *Matter* of it, be not like any thing here below, yett it is *Material*. The *Israelitish Tabernacle*, and the larger Edition of it, the *Temple*, had its *Pattern* taken from the Visions, which first *Moses*, and then *David*, had of that *Heavenly Exhibition*. It was further exhibited unto *John* in his wonderful Visions. The *Third Heaven* is the *Holy of Holies*, in that Holy *Temple* of the Heavens; where the Majesty of God, is peculiarly exhibited in the *Light*, which is inaccessible.

I make no doubt, That many Passages in the *Psalms*, have an Eye ultimately unto that glorious *Temple* in the Heavens, the Seat of Blessedness, where God is forever glorified by those whom He receives into those *everlasting Habitations*.⁹⁹³

To countenance this, we will here transcribe the Words of *Arnobius*.

*Respicit in faciem Christi Sui, et Hominem viderit sedentem ad Dextram suam, per quem, melior Dies una, quia aeterna erit, et Noctem non Habebit, in Letitia erit credentium; melior erit haec Dies una in Regno eius, super millia annorum, quae sunt in terra consumpta.*⁹⁹⁴

The *Courts of the Lord*, are in the *Paradise* of our *Intermedial State*.⁹⁹⁵

able in two works that Mather might have seen. The most likely is the unpaginated preface to the 1665 *Gothicum Glossarium* of Franciscus Junius. It also occurs, with a clearer citation of Cicero in the *Tusculan Disputations* (5.2), in the 1716 *Lexicon Philosophicum*, ch. 1, p. 10. It can be rendered, "Oh, Philosophy, guide of life! One day well spent, and in accordance with your precepts, is preferable to an eternity of error."

⁹⁹³ This is a theological commonplace of the time. One likely source for this note is Thomas Manton's *A Practical Exposition of the Lord's Prayer* (1684), p. 121, although there is no record of this work in the *Catalogus Librorum*, or in the listings of the Mather library. See also Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 224.

⁹⁹⁴ "He looks into the face of his Christ and he will see a person sitting at His right hand through whom there will be one better day, one because it will be eternal and have no night in the joy of believers, this one day will be better in His Kingdom than a thousand years spent on the earth."

⁹⁹⁵ Arnobius, *Commentarii in Psalmos* [PL 53.447]. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 224.

Q. The Scope?

A. The *Prophetic Spirit*, here prays for the *Israelites*, under the Marks of the Divine Anger, in their Dispersion, & comforts them with a Meditation on the Promises which GOD ha's made by all the Prophets, [**]⁹⁹⁶ of what He will do, for those whom He will reckon His *Israel*, under the Reign of His *Messiah*.⁹⁹⁷

Q. *Lett them not Turn again unto Folly*: What is here intended by *Folly*? v. 8.

A. Sin; particularly, the Sin of *Idolatry*; which the Scripture often and justly describes as the most egregious *Folly*.

And it is Remarkable, That after the Time, when wee may suppose the Writing of the Psalm now before us, the Jewish Nation, did never any more fall into *Idolatry*.⁹⁹⁸

Q. Unto what may the Psalmist refer, in those Words, *His Salvation is Nigh them that Fear Him*? v. 9.

A. Compare, Mal. 4.2.

The Psalm seems to bee composed, upon the Return from the *Babylonish* Captivity; and the Psalmist, from the Inspirations of the Almighty, herein forms an Expectation, That the Coming of the *Messiah*, must now bee at hand.

Remember, that the *Messiah*, is every where, all over this Holy Song, spoken of; and then you have a *Key* to lett you into the View of Glorious Mysteries.

When tis here said, v. 12 *The Lord shall give the Good Thing*, or, *the Good One*; can you think that any other than the *Messiah* is intended? Well, and the *Messiah* is after the like sort, throughout this whole Composure, pointed at.

Yea, The Words particularly now before us, run so in the Original, that they may, without any Manner of Difficulty bee translated, *His JESUS is Nigh them that Fear Him*. [Hebr. יְהוֹשֻׁעַ.]⁹⁹⁹

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Q. What may be especially intended by, *Glory dwelling in the Land*? v. 9.

⁹⁹⁶ [*to be Reconciled unto them, & bring them again into their own Land, & bless them under the Reign of the *Messiah* abundantly & wonderfully*]

⁹⁹⁷ Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 3, p. 133, in Mather's *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 226.

⁹⁹⁸ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 3, p. 408. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 226.

⁹⁹⁹ Except for the reference to Malachi, this is a common interpretation and can be found in numerous sources available to Mather. One of the clearest formulations is in Roberts, *Clavis Bibliorum*, p. 267. The end of this note is reproduced in *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 226.

A. *Munsters* Gloss gives an excellent Answer. By *Glory* is meant, *Præsentia Divinæ Majestatis incarnatæ*.¹⁰⁰⁰

Q. What may bee the Intention of that passage, *Truth shall spring out of the Earth?* v. 11.

A. I'll offer you a Notable, and (considering from whom it comes) a Marvelous Exposition, of it.

R. *Moses Haddarsan*, an Infidel Jew, ha's this Remark. R. *Joden* here notes, That it is not said, *Truth shall bee engendred*, but, *Truth shall spring forth*; To signify, That the *Messiah*, whose Name is, *The Truth*, shall not bee Begotten, as other Men are, with a carnal Copulation of Sexes.

Yea, R. *Haccadosch* proves by the *Cabala*, out of many Places of Scripture, not only that the Mother of the *Messiah* must bee a Virgin, but also that her Name shall bee *Mary*.

And the same R. *Haccadosch*, proves in like Manner, That the Name of the *Messiah*, at His Coming shall bee *Jesus*; and hee adds this Reason, That as the Name of him, who first brought the Jewes out of the Land of *Bondage*, into the Land of *Promise*, was *Jesus*, the same should bee the Name of Him, who a second Time Delivers them.¹⁰⁰¹

Q. The Meaning of, *Righteousness shall go before Him, and shall sett us in the way of His Steps?* v. 13.

A. *Us*, is not in the Original.

Dr. *Patrick's* Paraphrase runs thus.

"He will govern us, with great Justice and Mercy; having His Faithful Promises alwayes before His Eyes; From that Rule He will never swerve; but stedfastly proceed by it as the constant Method He will hold, in His Divine Administrations."¹⁰⁰²

Munster ha's a Notable Gloss upon it. *Justus quique studebit ambulare ante Deum, et ponere gressus suos in Via Mandatorum Dei*.¹⁰⁰³

¹⁰⁰⁰ Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3867). Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 226: "the presence of the divine majesty made flesh."

¹⁰⁰¹ This note is contained in *God's Arrow against Atheists* (1673), ch. 2, sec. 5, p. 62, by Henry Smith (c. 1560–91). Originally published in 1593, *God's Arrow* was reissued many times during the seventeenth century. The 1673 edition was reprinted in Smith's collected *Sermons* (1675), a work owned by the Mathers. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 226. Smith, called "the silver-tongued Smith" by his contemporaries, was an early compatriot of Robert Browne. Smith would later reject Browne's separatism, though he remained a fervent evangelical. The edition of his sermons owned by the Mathers was prepared by Thomas Fuller (*DNB*).

¹⁰⁰² Patrick, *Psalms Paraphrased*, bk. 3, p. 409.

¹⁰⁰³ Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3867). Both Patrick's paraphrase and Munster's gloss are in *Psalterium*, bk. 3, pp. 226–27. "Every just man will be eager to walk before God and to place his steps in the way of God's commandments."

One so glosses. Our Duty is to walk obediently before Him; and then He will follow in performing His Part of the Covenant of Mercy; bringing us to all that is desireable or valuable for us.¹⁰⁰⁴

1004 Hammond, *Paraphrase*, in *Works*, vol. 4, bk. 3, p. 246.

Q. The Scope?

A. The *Prophetic Spirit* here makes a Prayer for the [¹⁰⁰⁵ *Holy People*, oppress'd by the *King of Pride*, who is described in the XI Chapter of *Daniel*.

Tis engaged, that when the Mercies asked & hoped for, are granted, what is done shall be celebrated before all the Nations.

The *Signs* that are to precede their Deliverance, are in the last Verse, petition'd for.¹⁰⁰⁶

Q. Why does the Psalmist here call himself, *The Son of thy Handmaid*? v. 16.

A. The *Messiah*, being born of a *Mother*, without an Humane *Father*, *This* was a proper Style for his Character.

But R. *David Kimchi*, thinks, that the *Handmaid* here more especially referred unto, was, *Ruth* the *Moabitess*.

If so, in this Language of the *Messiah*, there may bee a powerful Memorial for the Vocation of the *Gentiles*. Pursue this Thought at Liesure.¹⁰⁰⁷

Q. This Expression would invite one to make a further Observation? v. 16.

A. Mr. *Whiston* ha's made it; and it is a curious One.

In the prophetic Writings, the *Messiah* is forever introduced speaking of *His Mother* alone; without the least Intimation of His *Father*. An occult Intimation, That He was to have a proper *Mother*, but no proper *Father* in this World; & by Consequence, He was to be no other, than the *Son* of a *Pure Virgin*.

Instances are many; Psal. XXII.9, 10. And, XXXV.14. And, LXIX.8. And, LXXI.6. And, LXXXVI.16. And, CXVI.16. And, CXXXI.2. And, CXXXIX.13. And, Isa. XLIX.1.¹⁰⁰⁸

¹⁰⁰⁵ [**Jewish Nation**]

¹⁰⁰⁶ Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 3, p. 134. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 229.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 3, pp. 250–51. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 229.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Whiston, *Accomplishment of Scripture Prophecies*, serm. 3, pp. 91–2. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 229.

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Q. Why is *Egypt* several times in the Bible called by the Name of *Rahab*? v. 4.

A. Interpreters invent many Reasons. But *Bochart* shewes, that all proceeds, from their Ignorance of the *Egyptian* Tongue. He shewes, that the Hebrew *Raab*, is the same with the Egyptian *Rib*, and *Riph*; which is the very Name of that Famous *Three-square* Part of, *Egypt*, formed by the several Mouths of *Nilus*, which is called, The Δ *Delta* of *Egypt*. *Rib* signifies, *A Pear*; and from that Form of a *Pear*, this most notable part of *Egypt*, was called, *Rib*, (and *Raab*) and so all *Egypt* came to have the Name.¹⁰¹⁰

Q. On that, *I will make Mention of Rahab*? v. 4.

A. *Munsters* Gloss is a good One; *Agnoscam inter Populum meum, et hos qui extremi fuere hostes eiusdem Populi mei*.¹⁰¹¹

[*915.*]

Q. It is said, *Behold Philistia, & Tyre, with Ethiopia: This Man was Born there*. But it followes, *And of Zion it shall bee said, This & That Man was Born in her*. What the Meaning, & what the Reason, of this Different Expression? v. 4, 5.

A. Of *Rahab*, *Babylon*, *Philistia*, *Tyre*, & *Ethiopia*, it was said, *Behold!* (as being almost a Wonder!) That *This Man*, i. e. some one single Man of Eminency, a *Rara Avis in Terris*, was *Born* there. But of *Zion*, it might bee said מַן וְאִישׁ Man and Man, *This and That Man*, i. e. very many eminent Men; *Multi Pietate, Doctrina, Ingenio, Rerum Bellicarum Gloriâ, aliquibusque Virtutibus Insignes*, were *Born* in her. That little Spot of Ground, where God planted His Church,

1009 [*Q. The Scope?

A. Behold, How the *Israelites* are one day to be acknowledged among the Nations, & separated from among them; tho' there shall then be many Proselytes.

Compare, Isa. XIX.18.*] This excised note is retained in *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 230.

1010 Bochart, *Geographia Sacra*, vol. 1, bk. 4, ch. 24, p. 294. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 230.

1011 Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3869). Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 230: "I will acknowledge [Rahab] among my people, and those who were the utmost enemies of my same people." "Rahab" here is a reference to Egypt, cf. Job 9:13.

afforded More Excellent Men for Holiness, & Other Noble Accomplishments, for their Proportion, than all the Whole World besides.¹⁰¹²

Q. A Further Touch if you please, upon this Text; *I will make Mention of Rahab, & Babylon.* – *behold Philistia*, etc. v. 5.

A. Proselytes from them all, came to worship at *Jerusalem*. And now, some think the Meaning to be, The Lord will write this and that Man, tho' born in *Egypt*, or born in *Babel*, or among the *Philistines*, or in *Tyre*, or in *Ethiopia*, to have been born in *Salem*, in regard of Regeneration; or to be a Member of the True Church.¹⁰¹³

Q. A further Gloss? v. 4, 5.

A. In the New Version of the Psalms, by *Brady* and *Tate*, the last Verses of the Psalm now before us, are thus paraphrased.

“I'll mention *Rahab* with one Praise,
 In *Babylons* Applauses join,
 The Fame of *Æthiopia* raise,
 With that of *Tyre* & *Palæstine*.
 And grant, that some among them born
 Their Age & Countrey did adorn.

But still of *Zion* I'll averr,
 That many such from her proceed:
 Th' Almighty shall establish her;
 His gen'ral List, will show when read,
 That such a Person there was born,
 And such did such an Age adorn.

Hee'l *Sion* find with Numbers fill'd,
 Of such as merit High Renown;
 For Hand and Voice Musicians skill'd,
 And (her transcending Fame to Crown)

¹⁰¹² Mather seems to have copied from, or inserted this note into, his own *Magnalia Christi Americana*, in his biography of Thomas Shepard, bk. 4, pt. 2, ch. 6, p. 189. The Latin is translatable as a statement about how Zion gave birth to “Many men, remarkable for piety, learning, genius, the glory of war, and other signal virtues.” The annotation itself, and particularly the Latin phrase, seems to have been inspired by Patrick's *Psalms Paraphras'd* on these two verses. Patrick's paraphrase reads in part, “a great many Worthies, and far more eminent, both in Learning and in Arms, but especially in Piety, were born in her” (bk. 3, p. 416). Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 230.

¹⁰¹³ Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 3, p. 135. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 230.

Of such she shall Successions bring,
Like Waters from a living Spring.”¹⁰¹⁴

There are some, & particularly Sir *John Denham*, who would Lead us to consider the *Messiah* as here pointed at. *This & That Man*, they read, *That Man of Men*. Of the other places, tis only said, / מן / *This*, or, *Such an One*, was *born* there. But of *Zion*, it shall be said, *A MAN, Even a MAN, is born in her*.¹⁰¹⁵

Q. What may bee the Meaning of that passage, *All my Springs are in thee?* v. 7.

A. R. *David Kimchi* so reads it; *My Eyes are upon thee*.

And so does the *Spanish* Translation; *Mis Oios*, meaning the *Eyes* of a watchful Providence.

But R. *Solomon*, keeping to the Term of, *Springs*, understands, The *Fathers* of whom the *Messiah* was to come.¹⁰¹⁶

Compare, Psal. 68.26.

Some gloss it so. Whole *Fountains* of Excellent Persons will be found here; a constant Succession of them, as of Water from *Springs* when other places yield but their Single *Drops*.¹⁰¹⁷

Q. The *Singers & Players* there? v. 7.

A. *Munsters* Gloss is Well Enough.

Quicquid usquam inveniri potest Laudis et Præconii, erit in Zion, ad extollendam Dei Bonitatem, qui Filium suum pro totius Mundi salute tradidit; meræque scaturigines sanctarum Meditationum, Cogitationum, et Locutionum divinarum erunt in ea.¹⁰¹⁸

|¹⁰¹⁹

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1014 Nahum Tate (1652–1715) and Nicholas Brady (1659–1726), two Irish clergymen, published *A New Version of the Psalms* (1696), with other editions in 1698 and 1700. Some of their versions are still in use in churches today. Tate was named poet laureate in 1692 (*DNB*). See *New Version*, pp. 178–79.

1015 John Denham (1614/1615–69) wrote *A Version of the Psalms* that was not published until 1714. In his version, verse 6 (“The LORD shall count, when he writeth up the people, [that] this [man] was born there”) reads, “Under his Hand it rests decreed, / That MAN of men shou’d thence proceed” (bk. 3, p. 125). The additional gloss appears to belong to Mather himself. Denham was a Royalist and agent for the Stuart court in exile (*DNB*).

1016 Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 3, pp. 252–54. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 3, pp. 230–31.

1017 Hammond, *Paraphrase*, in *Works*, vol. 4, bk. 3, pp. 243, 248. The pagination is irregular at this point in the edition of Hammond’s *Works*.

1018 Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3870). Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 231. “Whatever [of] praise and commendation can be found anywhere, will be in Zion to extol the goodness of God who handed over his own Son for the welfare of the whole world; and in it [Zion] will be pure springs of holy meditations, thoughts, and divine utterances.”

1019 Mather indicates the chapter number on this scrap page, which is glued to the verso of the foregoing page. This is probably a very late entry.

Psal. LXXXVII.

Q. The obscure Passages of the Psalm, are capable of yett a little Further Elucidation? v. 7.

A. Sir *Richard Blackmores* new Version of the *Psalms*, ha's a few Lines here, which carry some Illustration in the them.

- v. 4. Of *Rahab, Babel*, I will say
To them, who me JEHOVAH know,
Of *Tyrus, Cush, Philistia*, they
Birth to this Holy City owe.
- v. 5. And this of *Zion* shall be said,
That Multitudes are in her born;
And He, the Lord Most High, her Head
Shall her establish & adorn.
- v. 6. When of His Saints, God shall demand
The Number writt, and count His Fold,
The People of each distant Land,
Shall as her Natives be enroll'd.
- v. 7. There to proclaim thy Praise, shall be
Singers, as well as those that play
On tuneful Instruments; In thee
Are all my Springs, that Joy convey.¹⁰²⁰

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Q. The Time and Occasion of the Psalm? Tit.

A. Dr. *Patricks* Conjecture is this. And I very much subscribe unto it.

It is probable, when *Jechoniah*, otherwise called, *Jehoiachim*, (or after him *Zedekiah*) was taken and carried Captive to *Babylon*, with abundance of Nobility, and principal Commanders and Artizans, this our *Heman* was among them. And probably he was cast into a Dark Prison, or otherwise as miserably treated, as if he had been in a Dungeon; which private Calamity of his own, he here bewayls; as *Ethan* in the next Psalm does the Publick. Many Passages here used, may be applied unto the Death and Burial of our Saviour; which the Prophet *Isaiah* compares unto a *Prison*.

It is probable that *Heman*, and *Ethan*, were descended, from those two of that Name, who were descended from *Zerah*, one of the Sons of *Judah*: [1. Chron. II.6.] and had the Names of their Noble Ancestors given them to perpetuate the Memory of those, who were so famous for Wisdome. [1 King. IV.31.]

The Desperate Case of Rejected *Israel*, is here also lively Described unto us.¹⁰²¹

[*1881.*]

Q. That Passage, *My Soul is full of Troubles, my Life drawes nigh unto the Grave*; What is there notable in it? v. 3.

A. It Notably expresses a *Prognostic*, and an *Harbinger* of *Death*, commonly observed in the Experience of Godly Men. A Little before their *Death*, when their *Life drawes nigh unto the Grave*, usually their *Soul* is more *full of Troubles*, than ever in their *Life* before, by Reason of *Troublesome* Accidents befalling them, in their Persons & in their Families.¹⁰²²

Q. Unto what refer you that Pourtraiture of Misery, expressed by *Heman*, *Free among the Dead, Like the Slain that ly in the Grave*? v. 5.

A. Several of the Psalms, are but propheticall Exhibitions of the *Prayers and Supplications*, which our Dying Lord *offered up, with strong Crying & Tears, to Him that was able to save Him from Death*. Among those, the Psalm now before

¹⁰²¹ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 3, pp. 416–17; Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 3, p. 136; Only Patrick's conclusion is carried over into *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 233.

¹⁰²² This very general, pious statement might have inspired Mather while he was reading Samuel Annesley's *Supplement to the Morning-Exercise at Cripple-Gate* (1674), serm. 31, pp. 887–93. The Harvard Library held a slightly later edition of this work. This is also the doctrinal point of Mather's own sermon on this verse, *Death Approaching* (1714). See pp. 4, 16. See also Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 233.

us, contains the terrible Groans of the Lord Jesus Christ, in the Agonies of Death, upon the *Cross*: the Psalm is called a *Maschil*, for the *Instructions* therein given about the *Cross* of the *Messiah*.

It ha's been deny'd by some *Enemies to the Cross of Christ*, that there is any sensible Prædiction of His *Cross*, in all the Old Testament. But, if wee confine our Enquiries to the Book of *Psalms* alone, wee shall often enough see a *Crucify'd* Christ, *evidently sett forth before us*.

What say you, to Psal. 22.16. *They pierced my Hands & my Feet?* And if the most undoubted Resolution of the Word כָּאֲרִי [which wee have given upon the Place] bee still doubted, wee will add, upon that Clause, *The Assembly of the Wicked have Enclosed mee*, consult the *Lexicons*, and you'l find in the Word הִקְפּוּנִי the whole signification, of *Nudandum, cadendum, et crucifigendum me tradiderunt*.¹⁰²³

Pass on, to the Sixty Ninth Psalm; wherein the *Ignominy* attending the *Death* of our Lord, is every where Described and Complained: which agrees to nothing so much as *Crucifixion*. But consider particularly, v. 25, 26. *Lett their Habitation bee Desolate, & Lett none dwell in their Tents; for they persecute Him whom thou hast smitten, and they talk to the Grief of Him whom thou hast wounded; [or, Dolorem perforati tui narrant]*.¹⁰²⁴ Lett Isa. 53.4. inform you, who was, *The Smitten of God*. And now you behold here given, the Reason why such a Desolation is come upon the Jewish Temple, City, and Countrey. Our Lord was, a חָלָל, a *Wounded One* among them; but so *Wounded*, according to the true Emphasis of the Word, as one *perforated* with Instruments of Death; indeed there cannot bee found a Word more commodious to denote a *Crucifixion*. It is true, the Word is in the plural Number here; but the Mystery of our Lords being *Wounded* not only with Hurts enough to kill *Many*, but also as a *Surety* representing of *Many*, is but the more admirably therein pointed at. Besides, you have חָלָלִים for חָלָל in the Description of the *Eagle*, Job. 39.30. which, by the way, compare with Math. 24.28. and wonder! | This Fate of our Lord, the Jewes made the Matter of their Talk, their Sport, their Boast; they told the Story, and made themselves merry with it.

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But I'l stay no longer, from the Text, which is now before us.

First then, you here see our Lord, *Free among the Dead*. This חֲפֵשִׁי or, *Free*, cannot so well bee understood, about the State of *Death*, wherein Men are *Free* from all the Encumbrances of *Life*. Our Lord was not yett in that State: and being so made *Free*, is fitt for a Consolation rather than a Lamentation; *Libertas Mortuorum*, is the Cheef of the comfortable Arguments handled by *Seneca*, when hee paints out the Blessedness of the Departed. It is true, a living Man, forsaken by all his Friends, may bee called, *Free*; and this was no little Misery

¹⁰²³ "They handed me over to be stripped, scourged, and crucified."

¹⁰²⁴ Mather provides a translation before the Latin citation.

attending of our Dying Lord. But I rather apprehend our Lord, as here uttering the Extremity and Epitome of His, whole Misery. The Term חפשי notes, *A Separation from all Mankind*: which most eminently befel our Lord, when Hee was hanged upon the *Cross* between Heaven and Earth; deny'd a Commerce with all Men, even by such as had before had the greatest Commerce with Him; treated as the περικάθαρμα and περιψημα,¹⁰²⁵ of the whole World; and exposed as *Free*, so that it was *Free* unto every one, to do what they would unto Him. The Word חפשי as I am told by *Vitringa*, who teaches mee these things implies, a State, *In quo quis summè miser, ab aliis derelinquitur, spernitur, vitatur*.¹⁰²⁶ A *Leper* was indeed such a *Free-man*. Thus the House of *Uzziah* shutt up for the Leprosy, was called 2 King. 15.5. בית חפשות *Domus Libertatis*.¹⁰²⁷ Accordingly, our Lord upon the *Cross*, compares Himself, in Isa. 53.4 with נגוע *A Stricken Man*, that is, with a *Leprosy*. Not only because a *Crucify'd* Man was considered as one marked by God, with an Extraordinary Token of His Vengeance, but because every one abandoned such a Man. Moreover, *Cocceius* tells us, that חפש is of the same Import with דרור a, Phrase used, *pro Publicatione Personæ*, the *Exposing* of a Person to all Manner of Injury, Violence, & Contumely. Which leads us yett unto the *Cross* of our Lord Jesus Christ, whereon Hee was what the Apostle *Peter* calls, ἔκδοτος, [Act. 2.23.] *Exposed* unto all the Wrongs Imaginable; even, as other *Crucify'd* Persons, use to have their Carcasses left exposed unto all the Birds and Beasts of Prey.¹⁰²⁸

Our Lord thus exposed, counts Himself, *Among the Dead*. Why? But because Hee was *Next* unto the State of Death. But more than so; The *Cross* was of Old esteemed the *Grave* of the *Crucified*: The Romans ordinarily left them on the *Cross*, to bee there Corrupted, or Devoured. Wherefore, according to the Ancient Usage, our Dying Lord, on the *Cross*, was already, *Among the Dead*, & like the *Slain*, [Hebr. The Pierced] *that lie in the Grave*. Indeed, the Hebrewes have not a more significant Word, than חללים for, *The Crucified*; thus our Lord here was, *Instar Crucifixorum, qui Vivi in Sepulchrum quasi descenderunt*.¹⁰²⁹

1025 These Greek words are, of course, scriptural and have, as *Vitringa* suggests, similar meanings. They are found together in 1 Cor. 4:13, where περικάθαρμα is translated as “filth” and περιψημα is translated as “offscouring” or “dregs.”

1026 “In which someone wretched to the highest degree is forsaken, scorned, avoided by others.”

1027 “The house of liberty.”

1028 In the KJV of Acts 2:23, the word ἔκδοτος [ekdotos] “delivered (over).”

1029 This annotation is extracted from the *Observationum Sacrarum* of Campegius *Vitringa* (1659–1722), bk. 2, ch. 9, pp. 392–99. As Ernestine Van der Wall points out, *Vitringa*, who studied under Hermann Witsius and was a disciple of Johannes Cocceius, attempted to forge a middle way between the preterist readings of prophecy of Hugo Grotius and the “prophetic theology” of Cocceius (202–03). Mather held a similar view: while he did not wish to dispense with typological hermeneutics, he admired the scholarship of exegetes such as Grotius, and so, like *Vitringa*, Mather endeavored syncretically to combine textually critical and prophetic readings of scripture. Much of this note also finds its way into *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 234. The

Q. How, *Prevent thee?* v. 13.

A. q.d. I will present my Prayer before the Morning Light.¹⁰³⁰

concluding note is that the crucified Christ was “among the dead” because “the image of those crucified are as if they have descended living into the grave.”

1030 Clutterbuck, *A Brief Explanation*, p. 81.

Q. The Scope?

A. Behold, The Prophetic Spirit, propounding the Grounds of Hope, [**]¹⁰³¹ for the true *Israel* of GOD; Even, the sure promises made unto *David*, concerning the glorious Kingdome of the *Messiah*. The Throne of *David*, which ha's been for many Ages overthrown, shall be exalted, at the Second Coming of the *Messiah*, as *James* in the fifteenth Chapter of the *Acts*, proves from the Prophecies of *Amos*. And this is here asked for.¹⁰³²

Q. *I have said.* Who? v. 2.

A. It belongs unto GOD; Not unto the Psalmist.

In the Psalm there is a Permutation of Persons. GOD speaks in the first Part; the Psalmist in the latter. As in this Verse, *Thy Faithfulness* – are the Words of the Psalmist speaking unto GOD. In the third & fourth Verse, the Words are again spoken by GOD; but in the fifth Verse, the Words are by way of Answer, spoken by the Psalmist.¹⁰³³

Q. Who is meant by that *Seed of David*, which God promises to *establish forever*? v. 4.

A. The Promise is too great, for to have its Completion, in *Solomon*, and the other Kings of *Judah*, that succeeded him. And it is very discernible, That the Psalmist, throughout the Psalm, ha's made a Distinction, between, *The Seed of David*, and, *The Sons of David*. By the *Seed of David*, is meant, the *Messias*; and unto Him refers præcisely, all that is here said of that *Seed*. But by the *Sons of David*, are meant the other Descendants from him. Hence the Promises of the *Seed*, are *Absolute*; but of the *Sons*, they are *Conditional*. Compare, v. 29 with v. 30, 31, 32. And compare v. 30, 31, 32 with v. 36.¹⁰³⁴

[*1570*]

Q. What is the Intent of that Passage, *The Heavens do praise thy Wonders, O Lord*? v. 5.

A. By the *Heavens* are meant, the *Angels*. [Compare Job. 15.15. with 4.18. See also Psal. 50.4, 6.]

¹⁰³¹ [*which the Jewish Nation have in their Dispersion*]

¹⁰³² Allix, *The Book of Psalms*, bk. 3, p. 138. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 3, pp. 239–40.

¹⁰³³ Clutterbuck, *A Brief Explanation*, p. 81; Hammond, *Paraphrase*, in *Works*, vol. 4, bk. 3, p. 254.

¹⁰³⁴ This idea is contained in the first appendix to Whiston's *Accomplishment of Scripture Prophecies*, pp. 259–60. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 240.

And, what wee Translate, *Thy Wonders*, the Hebrew Original hath in the singular Number, *Thy Wonder*. It means that eminent, *Wonder*, who is the summ & chief of all *Wonders*, the *Messiah*. [Compare Isa. 9.6.]¹⁰³⁵

Q. That Passage, *God is greatly to bee Feared, in the Assembly of the Saints*: May it bee Illustrated, with another Version? v. 7.

A. I can bring very good Authority, from some of the Jewish Rabbins for it, if it should bee rendred, *God is Bruised in* [,or, A Bruised God is in] *the great Mystery of the Holy Ones*.

R. D. *Kimchi*, in his Book of *Roots*, will satisfy you, that / אל נערץ / may very well bee rendred, *Deus Contritus*. And R. *Solomon*, will give you this Gloss, on the rest, *In Mysterio magno Angelorum*. Compare, Isa. 53.4: and Compare 1 Tim. 3.16. And consider with Wonder!¹⁰³⁶

Q. The Meaning of, *Thy Faithfulness round about thee*? v. 8.

A. Dr. *Patrick* ha's this Paraphrase. "Thy *Faithfulness* is as ready to fulfil thy Promises, as the *Angels* are to execute thy Commands."¹⁰³⁷

Q. The *North* and the *South*, created by God; *Tabor* and *Hermon* rejoicing in thy Name? v. 12.

A. Take Dr. *Patrick's* Paraphrase. "Whether we cast our Eyes to the Southern, or Northern Parts of the Earth; To the West towards *Tabor*, or Eastwards towards *Hermon*, they all acknowledge thee their Creator, & Rejoice in thy Bountifull Providence, which enriches them with all things needfull for them."¹⁰³⁸

So *Munster*. *Versus Montem Hermon, hic est, ad Orientem; sive ad Montem Thabor, hic est, ad Occidentem*.¹⁰³⁹

Q. How, *Hand*, and, *Right Hand*? v. 13.

A. The *Hand* of God notes the Divine Energy. The *Right Hand* His Energy for good. It is proposed, That the Enemies be *Destroy'd*, by the *Hand*, and *Themselves Delivered*, by the *Right Hand*.¹⁰⁴⁰

¹⁰³⁵ Goodwin, *Of the Objects and Acts of Justifying Faith*, in *Works*, vol. 4, pt. 1, bk. 1, ch. 9, pp. 49–50. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 240.

¹⁰³⁶ Martin, *Pugio Fidei*, pars. 3, dist. 3, cap. 3, p. 676. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 240. Rabbi Kimchi, according to Martin, suggests that the "God, greatly to be feared" might also be rendered as "Deus Contritus" or "the bruised God." Rabbi Solomon reads "the assembly of the saints" as "in mysterio magno Angelorum," or "in the great mystery of the angels."

¹⁰³⁷ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 3, p. 424.

¹⁰³⁸ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 3, p. 425. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 240.

¹⁰³⁹ Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3874). "Toward Mount Hermon, that is, toward the East, or toward Mount Tabor, that is, toward the West."

¹⁰⁴⁰ Clutterbuck, *A Brief Explanation*, p. 82.

Q. The *Joyful Sound*. What? v. 15.

A. The *Trumpett* that call'd the People to attend upon the Service of God. [Num. X.10.]¹⁰⁴¹

Q. God *speaking in Vision* to the *Holy One*? v. 19.

A. It may nextly refer, to the Revelation which God gave in a *Vision* unto the Holy *Samuel*; [1. Sam. XVI.] concerning the Deliverer which He would raise up for His People. That Chapter well considered, will prove a Notable Key to this whole Context.¹⁰⁴²

Q. His *Hand on the Sea*, and His *Right Hand in the Rivers*? v. 25.

A. On the one hand, he was to conquer the *Philistines*, and those that lived on the Coast of the Sea. [2. Sam. VIII.1.] And on the other hand, the *Syrians*, as far as *Tigris* and *Euphrates*.¹⁰⁴³

[**]

Q. It is here said, that according to the *Covenant* of God, *the Seed of David shall bee established forever, as the Moon, and as a faithful Witness in Heaven*. What is that *Faithful Witness in Heaven*? v. 37.

A. The *Rainbow*.

And the Mention of that one Word, presently leads you, to a thousand curious Thoughts upon, many Scriptures, wherein you find, the *Rainbow* mentioned, with Relation to the *Kingdome* of our Lord Jesus Christ.¹⁰⁴⁴

In pointing to the *Moon*; tis declared, that after all the Changes and Eclipses the Kingdome should suffer, it should shine again, & stand as fast as That, or any of the Heavenly Bodies.¹⁰⁴⁵

Q. The Psalmist saies, *O Lord, thine Enemies have Reproched the Footsteps of thine Anointed*. What unsuspected and unobserved Meaning may there ly in that passage? v. 51.

A. It was objected unto the Jewes, *Messiam suum esse Tardigradum*, that their long-look'd for *Messias* was long in Coming. Now some interpret this Place to that Sense. The Word for *Footsteps* here, in the LXX is Ἀντάλλαγμα, which *Heinsius* renders, *Tarditatem*.¹⁰⁴⁶

¹⁰⁴¹ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 3, p. 426. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 240.

¹⁰⁴² Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 3, p. 427. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 240.

¹⁰⁴³ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 3, p. 428. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 240.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Goodwin, *Of the Objects and Acts of Justifying Faith*, in *Works*, vol. 4, pt. 1, bk. 1, ch. 6, p. 32. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 3, p. 240.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 3, p. 430.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Sixtinus Amama in *Critici Sacri* (1698), 3:500. However, Mather may have drawn on another, as yet unidentified, source. Daniel Heinsius (1580–1655) is known mostly as a poet,

But, I find our Dr. *Patrick* ha's these Thoughts upon it.

The *Babylonians*, in the Destruction come on *Judæa*, had some Occasion to say, That notwithstanding all the Promises of God, which His People boasted of, there was now a Period putt unto *David's* Family and Kingdome.¹⁰⁴⁷

The Word here, which we render, *Footsteps*, most properly signifies, the *Heel* of a Mans Foot; and it is translated from thence, to signify the *End* of any thing. [See Psal. CXIX.33.] The Enemy now boasted, that they saw the Kingdome of *David* on its last Legs. They *reproachfully* insulted over it, as being just come to an *End*. The Truth is, it never was Restored unto that Family, until the Coming of *Christ*, the Great Son of *David*. Unto the *Messiah*, sundry Passages of the Psalm, are applied by the Jews themselves; in both the *Beresiths*, & in other Books; and *Aben Ezra* and R. *Solomon* consent unto it.¹⁰⁴⁸

though he was also a secretary at the Synod of Dort (1618–19) and his interests turned increasingly to theology as he aged (*ODR*). Ἀντάλλαγμα [antallagma] “that which is given in exchange, an equivalent.” *Tarditatem* (*tarditas*) “slowness of movement.” אָקֶב [aqev] “heel, footprints.”

¹⁰⁴⁷ See Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 3, pp. 422, 433.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Hammond, *Paraphrase*, in *Works*, vol. 4, bk. 3, p. 256. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 3, pp. 240–41.

Q. The Scope?

A. *David Kimchi* takes the Psalm to be made by the *Prophetic Spirit*, with an Eye to the last & long Dispersion, under which the Jewish Nation is now languishing. But will the Holy One, give that People *as long a Time* under His *Blessing*, as they have had under His *Anger*? Be sure, the *Raised Saints*, who are the True *Israel* of God, shall find it so.¹⁰⁴⁹

Q. Wee will be sometimes content with a little Flourish, instead of an Illustration; provided it be from some or other of the Ancients. Give us one upon the Title of the Psalm here before us; *A Prayer of Moses*? Tit.

A. One of the Ancients ha's this Note upon it; The Name of *Moses*, is in the Signification of it, *One drawn from under the Water*. Such an One in some Sort, is every *Baptized* Person. And so, saies hee, *This is a Prayer especially cutt out for all Baptised Persons*.¹⁰⁵⁰

Q. That Expression, *Thou hast been our Dwelling-place*? v. 1.

A. *Munster* thinks, That *Moses* now ha's an Eye upon the *Tabernacle* in the Wilderness. q.d. *Tu ipse es verum Tabernaculum, & fuisti antequam orbis ipse conderetur*.¹⁰⁵¹

Q. On that, *Formed the Earth*? v. 2.

A. Or, *The Earth was in Travail*.

The *Earth* is here poetically represented as, *Bringing forth the Mountains*.¹⁰⁵²

Q. On that, *Return, ye Children of Men*? v. 3.

A. 'Tis a Prophecy of the *Resurrection*. The *Alcoran* shall serve us on this Occasion. In the *Alcoran*, That Phrase, *Making all Men to Return*, means, Raising them from the Dead.¹⁰⁵³

¹⁰⁴⁹ Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 4, p. 142. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 4, p. 243.

¹⁰⁵⁰ *Biblorum Sacrorum cum Glossa Ordinaria* (3:1135–36). Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 4, p. 243.

¹⁰⁵¹ Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3879). “You yourself are the true Tabernacle, and you existed before the world itself was founded.” Mather does not complete the gloss of Münster, which concludes, “... ad quem tuto confugiamus” (“to whom we flee for safety”). Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 4, p. 243.

¹⁰⁵² Hammond, *Paraphrase*, in *Works*, vol. 4, bk. 4, p. 259.

¹⁰⁵³ This phrase, “making all men to return,” occurs in the context of a discussion of Islamic views of the resurrection in *Of the Mahometan Religion* (1712), bk. 1, sect. 1, p. 22, by Adriaan Reland or Reeland (1676–1718). I have not been able to determine where Mather might have

Q. We find, *A Thousand Years*, here compared unto, *A Watch in the Night*? v. 4.
A. And when I read *Arnobius* upon it, observing, That a *Watch* is the *Fourth Part* of the *Night*, it presently led me, to think, how upon the Passing of *Four Thousand Years*, then arose the *Sun of Righteousness* upon the World; By whom is to be accomplished that *Resurrection of the Dead*, which is here waited and groaned for; When He who *turned Man to Destruction*, shall say, *Return yee Children of Men*.¹⁰⁵⁴

Q. How, *As a Sleep*? v. 5.

A. In a *Sleep* there is no Observation of the *Time* at all; No body observes how that *Time* goes.

And, how many *Dreams*?

It may be read, *As a Dream*. To this must be annexed the following Word, *In the Morning*. q.d. They vanish like a *Dream* when we Awake.¹⁰⁵⁵

[*1644*]

Q. The Psalmist saies, *Thou hast sett our Iniquities before thee, our Secret in the Light of thy Countenance*. What may bee meant by, *our Secret*, here? v. 8.

A. *Chemnitius*, in his, *Examen Concilii Tridentini*, by, *our Secret*, understands *Original Sin*; whereof, tho the *Fruits*, are Evident and Notorious, the *Root* is yett *Secret*.¹⁰⁵⁶

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Q. It is here said, *Wee spend our Dayes, as a Tale that is told*? v. 9.

A. I find, some of the Ancients render it, *like a Spider*. And I think, tis *Theodorets* Gloss upon it, *Ut Aranearum tela, Humana Vita convellitur*.¹⁰⁵⁷

Possibly the LXX, for / כְּמוֹ / might read, / כְּטוֹ / and this might occasion that Reading.¹⁰⁵⁸

read this work, but if he is drawing from Reland's work directly, he displays again the breadth of his reading since Reland's work amounts to what Mather would have seen as an apology for Islam (*ADB*).

¹⁰⁵⁴ Arnobius, *Commentarii in Psalmos* [PL 53.455]. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 4, p. 243.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 4, p. 436.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Martin Chemnitz (1522–86) was a second generation Lutheran theologian and prolific author. Mather here refers to Chemnitz's *Examen Concilii Tridentini*, pars. 1, loc. 3, sect. 2, p. 129, a famous work on the Council of Trent, originally published between 1565–73 (*OER*). I have had access to a later edition, published in Frankfurt am Main in 1707. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 4, p. 243.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 4, p. 244. I have not been able to locate this remark in Theodorets, but see [PG 80.1603–04]. Mather's immediate source for this opinion, however, is Viccars *Decapla*: "As the web of spiders, human life is torn to pieces."

¹⁰⁵⁸ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 4, p. 265; Hammond, *Paraphrase*, in *Works*, vol. 4, bk. 4, p. 260. כְּמוֹ [kemo] "like, as." The intended second Hebrew word is: טָוַח [tavach] "spin." Here the LXX has: τὰ ἔτη ἡμῶν ὡς ἀράχνην ἐμελέτων; "our years have spun out their tale as a spider."

Laelius Mancinus ha's an unhappy Passage, which I hope will not carry the Fate of our Illustrations in it.

*Dum Scribo, præ oculis Araneola est, quæ totam se eviscerat, neque aliud meditatur, quam telam illam suam, unde Muscas capiat. Adest ancilla, quæ scopis subito et telam et Muscam, et Doctum animal in humum detrahit, coneritque pede. Aptè MOSES Anni nostri sicut Aranea Meditabuntur, h.e. reputabuntur, et inter meditandum satagendumque abrumpentur. Muscas aucupamur cuncti: sic Ego, qui texo Libros: sic Alii: scopas quotidie cernimus nec credimus.*¹⁰⁵⁹

Q. To what may that Passage be Allusive; *It is soon cutt off, & we flie away?* v. 10.

A. Dr. *Goodwin* putt me in Mind of it. It alludes to the Condition of a Bird, which ha's been hatching its full time. When the Time for it arrives, the Shell breaks & it *flies* [*a*]way. Death is the breaking of the *Shell*. This Thought is capable of being prosecuted with much of Elegancy & Efficacy.¹⁰⁶⁰

Q. On the *Fourscore Years?* v. 10.

A. One observes upon it; we should not reckon upon more Days, than what we have. *Moses* was just now turned upon *Fourscore*. And seeing the People threatened with Destruction in the Wilderness, he reckons as if *his Dayes* were also at an End: Tho' GOD lengthened them out unto Forty Years More.¹⁰⁶¹

Q. That Passage, *According to thy Fear, so is thy Wrath:* How to bee understood? v. 11.

A. I leave you to the common Annotations, for the various Understanding of it; and here, I only ask you, what you think of R. *Arama's* Gloss upon it; *Si quis te Timeat, ira tua ab illo discedit.*

Who knows? Is as much as to say, *Who considers?*¹⁰⁶²

¹⁰⁵⁹ Laelius Mancinus (Lelio Mancini Poliziano) was an obscure mid-17th-c. author of three works: *Sacri Juris Controversi* (Pisa, 1630), *Disquisitionum Genialium et Anniversariarum Juris Disputationum Centuriæ 3* (Padua, 1640) and *De Triplicis Juris Collatione et Consensu* (Padua, 1648). "As I write, there is a small spider before my eyes that is spinning madly [literally, 'that is disemboweling itself entirely'], and it considers nothing other than its own web, from which it may seize flies. A maidservant is at hand, who suddenly with a broom sweeps both web and fly and the skilled animal onto the ground, and crushes them with her foot. Rightly Moses says, our years will be considered, i. e. will be reckoned, as a spider's web, and amidst the thinking and the doing they will be torn apart. We all lie in wait for flies: so I who weave books, so others – every day we see the broom but do not take it into account."

¹⁰⁶⁰ Thomas Goodwin, *A Discourse of the Blessed State of the Saints in Glory*, in *Works*, vol. 5, pt. 3, ch. 4, p. 20. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 4, p. 244.

¹⁰⁶¹ Hammond, *Paraphrase*, in *Works*, vol. 4, bk. 4, p. 260.

¹⁰⁶² Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 4, p. 264. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 4, p. 244. "If anyone should fear You, Your anger with him departs."

Q. Tell us, once for all, in what Sense, *Anger* and *Wrath* is to be ascribed unto the Blessed God? v. 11.

A. Take it in the elegant Words, of that pious Divine, & Christian Poet, *Nazianzen*.

Ἀντιστροφὴν νόει, καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἔχεις.
Ἐπεὶ γὰρ αὐτοὶ πλήσσομεν χολούμενοι,
Χολᾶν τὸ πλήσσον τοὺς κακοὺς ἐγράψαμεν.

Fac conversionem, et rem omnem habebis.
Quia enim ipsi plectimus irati, irasci
*scripsimus Numen, quod plectit impios.*¹⁰⁶³

[*2159.*]

Q. Is there any *little* Jewish Curiosity, on that, *So Teach us to Number our Dayes*? v. 12.

A. Tis but a *little* One; yett you shall have it. R. *Solomon* observes, That the Letters of the Hebrew Word, / שֶׁבַע / *so*, considered as Numerals, make, *Seventy*. And *Seventy* Years, is the very Summ in the Context here assign'd for the *Number of our Dayes*.¹⁰⁶⁴

But I can show you Passages in the Bible, where the Hebrew, / שֶׁבַע /, which we translate, *SO*, is translated, *Right*, and, *Well*. [See Num. XXVII.7. and 2. King. VII.9.]¹⁰⁶⁵

Q. The Meaning of the Petition that concludes the Psalm; *The Beauty of the Lord our God be upon us, and establish thou the Work of our Hands*? v. 17.

A. Take Dr. *Patrick's* Paraphrase.

“Lett them inherit by the special Favour of the Lord our God, that lovely and pleasant Land [Gen. XLIX.15. Deut. VIII.7, 8.] which He hath promised to give us; and, for that End, direct & prosper our Arms; that what we shall attempt in vain, if we be left unto ourselves, may successfully be achieved by thy Assistance, [Deut. VIII.17, 18. & XXXI.6, 7, 8.] O prosper Thou our Undertaking, and make our Arms victorious.”¹⁰⁶⁶

¹⁰⁶³ This ultimate reference is to the *Carmina Moralia* (1.386–88) of Gregory of Nazianzus [PG 37.840, lines 1–3]. The proximate reference is to Bochart's *Hieroicoicon*, in the chapter that treats the lion, pars 1, lib. 3, cap. 5, col. 768. “Convert, and you will have everything. For since we ourselves, when angry, punish others, we have written that the Divine Will, who punishes the impious, grows angry.”

¹⁰⁶⁴ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 4, p. 265. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 4, p. 244.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Poole, *Synopsis Criticorum* (2:1149).

¹⁰⁶⁶ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 4, p. 439. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 4, p. 244.

Q. The Time, & Occasion of the Psalm? Tit.

A. It seems to have been in a Time of great Pestilence.

Dr. *Patrick* thinks none so likely as that which was towards the End of *Dauids* Reign.

But the Psalm looks, as if it were composed rather by some such Person, as *Gad*, than *David*; because there is in it no more Confession of Sin.

It will hardly appear calculated, for the Hand & Age of *Moses*; (as many of the Hebrews fancy it was;) for there was no *long Life* to be promised unto the *Israelites* on any Terms.¹⁰⁶⁷

But, as Dr. *Allix* observes, The *Divel* himself owned that the Psalm relates to the *Messias*. And from v. 11 the Jews fetch their Maxim, *That the Messiah shall be greater than any of the Ministring Angels*.

The last Verse refers plainly to the *Resurrection*.¹⁰⁶⁸

Q. That Passage, *Hee that dwelleth in the secret Place of the most High, shall abide under the Shadow of the Almighty*: How may one understand it? v. 1.

A. Give mee leave, to transcribe you a notable Passage, out of *Galatinus* l.3. *de Arc. Cath. ver. c.15* for the Illustration of This.

*De Messiâ sic Psal. 91 scribitur; Habitans in Velamento Altissimus, in umbrâ Saddai morabitur, vel hospitabitur. Quæ quidem Verba, itâ aptissimè exponi possunt: Habitans erit in Velamento, id est, in sacratissimo Corpore suo, Altissimus, h.e. Dei Filius: In Umbrâ, id est, in Beatissima atque purissima virginis utero, שריון / Saddai, id est, ille qui solus pro Humano genere satisfacere sufficit, hospitabitur, id est, novem tantum mensibus commorabitur.*¹⁰⁶⁹

And now it followes, *I will say of this Lord, Hee is my Refuge*.

The very worst that can bee said of this Gloss, I find said by *Glassius*, in his *Onomatologia Messie Prophetica*. Saies hee, *Quæ expositio à scopo quidem (ut*

¹⁰⁶⁷ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 4, p. 440.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 4, p. 144. As usual, both Patrick and Allix's opinions are included in *Psalterium*, bk. 4, p. 246.

¹⁰⁶⁹ "Concerning the Messiah it is thus written in Psalm 91: The Most High, dwelling in concealment, shall abide or lodge as a guest, in the shadow of the Almighty. Indeed, these words can most aptly be explained thus: He will be "dwelling in concealment," that is, in His most hallowed body; "The Most High," i.e., the Son of God; "in the shadow," that is, in the womb of the most blessed and spotless Virgin; "the Almighty," that is, He who alone suffices to give satisfaction on behalf of the human race; "shall lodge as a guest," that is, will stay for nine months only."

*apparet) psalmographi, uti et à communi Interpretum Expositione at non à fidei Analogià discedit.*¹⁰⁷⁰

Q. What may [we] understand by the *Feathers* of the Glorious God? v. 4.

A. Lett the Eleventh Verse answer it. But the excellent *Jeremiah Dyke*, ha's a pious Thought upon it. The *Promises* of GOD for our Safety well applied by Faith, may be called, The *Feathers* of the Lord. It is hinted in the following Words, *His Truth shall be thy Shield*. The Truth of the *Promises*, trusted in, will be our Safeguard.¹⁰⁷¹

Q. The *Destruction* that *wasteth at Noon-day*? v. 6.

A. Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase is, "The malignant Fevers, which rage in the hottest Season of the Year."

One observes, That the Prayer of *Solomon* at the Dedication of the Temple, [1. King. VIII.31.] is a full Comment on the Psalm now before us.¹⁰⁷²

Q. Tis said, *A Thousand shall fall at thy Side, and Ten Thousand at thy Right Hand*: Which Side? v. 7.

A. In the *Talmuds*, when the *Side* is mention'd without any Addition, it still means, *The Left Side*.¹⁰⁷³

Thus, Deut. 6.8. *Thou shalt bind them for a Sign upon thine Hand*. R. *Jonathan* paraphrases it, *Upon thy Left Hand*. *Drusius* observes, That the Rabbins, take the *Hand* simply mentioned, still for the *Left Hand*.

Thus, Gen. 6.16. The *Window* in the *Side* of the *Ark*, was, on the *Left Side*.¹⁰⁷⁴

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¹⁰⁷⁰ This entire note, including the reference to Galatinus, is from Salomon Glassius, *Onomatologia Messie Prophetica*, classis 1, sect. 5, p. 12. Petrus Galatinus is Pietro Colonna Galatino (1460–1540), an Italian friar and orientalist, author of *De arcanis catholicae veritatis* (1518) (CE). The end of the note reads, "In fact, this explanation (as is evident) departs from the intention of the psalmist inasmuch as it departs from the common explanation of interpreters but not from an analogy [of faith]."

¹⁰⁷¹ Jeremiah Dyke (bapt. 1584–1639), *The Righteous Mans Tower* (1641), p. 66. The Mathers owned this and several of his devotional works.

¹⁰⁷² Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 4, p. 442. Hammond, *Paraphrase*, in *Works*, vol. 4, bk. 4, p. 264. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 4, p. 246.

¹⁰⁷³ Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 4, p. 246.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Although Mather does not seem to be making these connections through any of his usual sources, the idea that an aposiopesis is involved in this image is a common one, and it may be that Mather is simply recalling several authorities. Besides the Talmud, Mather might be remembering how Simon Patrick supplies the "left side" for this passage in *Psalms* in his commentary on Numb. 9. See Patrick's *Commentary upon the Fourth Book of Moses* (p. 147). *Drusius* remarks upon the rabbinic paraphrase of Deut. 6:8, in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (1:1182).

Q. The Emphasis of the Expression, *They shall bear thee up in their Hands?* v. 12.

A. 'Tis an allusion to the Care that a *Nurse* ha's of her Child. Oh! Gracious and Wondrous!¹⁰⁷⁵

Q. 'Tis said (in our Translation,) *Thou shalt Tread upon the Lion, & the Adder,* (or, Asp,) *the young Lion, & the Dragon shalt thou Trample under feet.* Should it be translated so? v. 13.

A. If we should admitt none but *Serpents* into the whole Speech of the Psalmist, there will be the better Cohærence in the Speech. The Mixing of *Lions* with *Serpents*, does not seem so very agreeable; nor does any Man propose to tread upon *Lions* as upon *Serpents*.¹⁰⁷⁶

Wherefore the learned *Bochart* ha's demonstrated, That the Names of / שחל / *Sachal*, and / כפיר / *Chephir* do pertain to *Serpents*, as well as *Lions*. The Names of *Lions* have been common also unto other Creatures, very different from them. There is a Sort of *Lobster*, which *Diphilus*, and *Pliny*, and *Ælian* have called, λεοντα θαλαττιον, *The Sea-lion*. There is a Sort of *Lizard*, which we all call, *The Chamæleon*, and that is much as to say, *The Earth-lion*. And there is the Serpent *Cenchris*, which ha's been called by *Nicander*, λεων αιολος, *The speckled Lion*.¹⁰⁷⁷

Accordingly, the first Clause of [the] verse now before us, is by the LXX so rendred; επ' ασπιδα και βασιλισκον επιβηση. So the *vulgar Latin*; so *Jerom*; so the *Syriac*, the *Arabic*, & the *Æthiopic*. Thus *Apollinaris*;

Ασπιδα θαρσαλεως επιβηση, και βασιλισκον.¹⁰⁷⁸

Bochart particularly determines the *Sachal* here, to be the sort of Serpent that is by way of Eminency called, *The Black Serpent*. *Chephir*, is commonly rendred, *The Dragon*, by the LXX.¹⁰⁷⁹

¹⁰⁷⁵ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 4, p. 442. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 4, p. 246.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 4, p. 246.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Diphilus of Siphnos (fl. 3rd c. BCE) was a Greek physician frequently quoted by Athenaeus, from whom this name for the lobster is drawn. See *Deipnosophists* (3.106). See also Pliny, *Natural History* (32.53); Aelian, *On Animals* (14.9); and Nicander, *Theriaca* (463). In this case, Mather's deliberately omitted Greek diacritics are here restored in the text.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Apollinaris the Younger of Laodicea (d. 390) collaborated with his father in reproducing the Old and New Testaments in the form of Homeric and Pindaric poetry. He is best known, however, for his opposition to Arianism's espousal of the idea that Christ was of the same substance with God, although some of his doctrines, especially the belief that Christ had no human soul, were later condemned by the Council of Constantinople in 381. See *Interpretatio in Psaltem* [PG 33.1449]. Both the portion of this verse from the Septuagint and from Apollinaris may be translated in essentially the same way: "you will walk [courageously (θαρσαλέως)] upon the asp (ἀσπιδα) and the basilisk (βασιλισκον)." This translation of ἀσπιδα or asp for שחל (shachal, or lion) and βασιλισκον or basilisk (or serpent) for כפיר (kēphiy, or young lion) is now generally discredited.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Bochart, *Hierozaicon*, vol. 2, bk. 3, ch. 3, cols. 375–78. The KJV renders this verse: "Thou shalt tread upon the lion (שחל) and adder (פתן): the young lion (כפיר) and the dragon

Q. *Because he hath sett his Love on me?*] v. 14.

A. These are the Words of the glorious God, unto His Holy Angels, when He gives them their Commission to look after His Faithful Servant.¹⁰⁸⁰

(תנין) shalt thou trample under feet.” The dragon at the end of the verse (tanniyn) is elsewhere translated as “serpent” (Exod. 7:9) or “whale” (Gen. 1:21).

1080 Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 4, p. 444. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 4, p. 246.

Q. Help us to a good Key for the *Ninety-second* Psalm? Tit.

A. The *Title* gives us one.

And the old Jewish Rabbins, have a notable Passage;

*Quòd hic Psalmus pertineat ad Futurum Tempus; Sæculum quo totum Sabbathum est et quies, nempe / ימי המשיח / Dies Christi.*¹⁰⁸¹

The Truth is, we have here, as Dr. *Alix* observes, a Prophecy of the Happiness of [*]¹⁰⁸² *Israel* in the *great Sabbath*, whereof the Apostle speaks to the *Hebrews*. GOD promises here, to give them the *Messiah* for their King after the Destruction of the Antichristian Powers.

Compare v. 14 with Isa. LXV.20.¹⁰⁸³

Q. The Writer of the Psalm? Tit.

A. The Jewish Whim of its being written by *Adam*, is enough confuted by the *Instruments of Musick*, mentioned in it; which came not in play, till the Dayes of *Jubal*; and were not employ'd in Divine Worship, till the Dayes of *David*.

Indeed, we may look on *David*, as most probable to be the Author of the Psalm. *A Psalm for the Sabbath*; after God had given him such *Rest round about from all his Enemies*, that he concluded, he should be able to subdue those who should hereafter venture to oppose him.¹⁰⁸⁴

Q. On Glorifying the *Benignity* of GOD in the *Morning*, & His *Faithfulness* in the *Night*? v. 2.

A. If the Application of it, be extended unto a Condition of *Prosperity* & of *Adversity*, the Terms will be found very agreeable.¹⁰⁸⁵

1081 This quotation occurs in Hermann Witsius's *Miscellaneorum Sacrorum libri IV* (1692–1700). Although this text is not listed in either the *Catalogus Librorum* of Harvard or the Mather family libraries, that Mather is relying heavily on this and another of Witsius' works in this portion of the *Biblia* is demonstrated by subsequent lengthy annotations (see Ps. 99, below). Witsius does identify his own source as Johannes Cocceius's annotations on the Psalms, but I have not been able to locate this volume for a closer examination. Cocceius, through Witsius, also refers simply to the "old rabbis" ("rabbini veteres"). I have had access to the 1736 edition of the *Miscellaneorum Sacrorum*, tom. 1, lib. 2, diss. 6, sec. 19, p. 499: "Because this Psalm pertains to the future time in which the whole age is the Sabbath and a period of rest, certainly the days of Christ."

1082 [*the Jews*]

1083 Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 4, p. 145. Both Witsius's and Allix's ideas are in *Psalterium*, bk. 4, p. 248.

1084 Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 4, pp. 444–45.

1085 Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 4, pp. 446.

Q. Upon the, *Instrument of Ten Strings?* v. 3.

A. Why may we not now then insert an Illustration, to serve the Intentions of *mystical, practical, vital Theology?* A Bellarmine shall be our Author for it, if here we say, *Decachordo est Decalogus*. GOD is praised on an *Instrument of Ten Strings*, in the good Works of Obedience to the *Ten Commandments*.¹⁰⁸⁶

Q. The Intent of those Two Clauses; *When the Wicked spring as the Grass, & when all the Workers of Iniquity do flourish?* v. 7.

A. Dr. Patrick thus paraphrases it.

“When the lowliest Men grow Rich, High, and Powerful; and their Interest is such, that by their Means, all the Workers of Iniquity, & few other Men are promoted; The Reason is, because nothing in this World, is of any great Value, nor of any long Continuance; but after they have flourished a while in empty Glory, they shall be cutt down like Grass, &c, which is more, never rise up again.”¹⁰⁸⁷

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Q. A Gloss upon, *Flourishing as the Palm-tree?* v. 12.

A. Hugo Victorinus ha's this Gloss upon it; *Justi Conversatio tanquam Palma, plus Finiendo peragit, quam Inchoando proponit*; He performs in the End, more than he promis'd in the Beginning; as the *Palm* ha's a small *Root*, but the *Top* is very great and large.¹⁰⁸⁸

¹⁰⁸⁶ The Catholic Cardinal and leader of the Counter-Reformation, Robert Bellarmine (1542–1621), was the author of a commentary on the Psalms, *Explanatio in Psalmos* (1611), which was held by Harvard during Mather's lifetime. I have employed a 1612 edition published in Leiden. See pp. 694 and 163. As Bellarmine remarks, this idea extends at least as far back as Augustine's *Enarrationes in Psalmos*: “Decachordum Psalterium significat decem praecepta Legis” [PL 37.1174].

¹⁰⁸⁷ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, p. 447.

¹⁰⁸⁸ The quotation and the attribution is from Diego (or Didacus) de Baeza (1582–1647). De Baeza was a Jesuit priest whose work, *Commentaria Moralia in Evangelicam Historiam* (1631), was held by Harvard during Mather's lifetime. See *Commentaria*, tom. 1, lib. 4, cap. 5, sec. 30, p. 747. Hugo Victorinus is Hugh of St. Victor (d. 1141). The statement is from the *Miscellanea* of Victorinus, although it is now considered uncertain whether or not Hugh of St. Victor actually wrote this work. See lib. 3, Tit. 95 [PL 177.688]. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 4, p. 248. “The conversation of a just man is like a palm tree: he accomplishes in coming to an end more than he proposes in beginning.”

Q. Some Remark on the XCIII Psalm?

A. There is no Title in the Hebrew, to tell us, who was the Author of the Psalm. Nor was there any in the *Hexaplus* of *Origen*, or in *Eusebius*; as tis confessed by *Theodoret*; who sett [or] found in the Greek Copy which he used, the Psalm called, *An Ode of David, in Praise of God*. Unto which hath been since added, *In the Day before the Sabbath, when the Earth began to be inhabited*. This, as Dr. *Patrick* observes, is thought by *Musculus*, to be not rashly done by the Greeks; but he suspects they were moved unto it, from knowing, that the Jews used this Psalm on that Day.

The Words of the *Talmud*, in the Title *Kidishim*, confirm that Suspicion. They are these, as *De Dieu* has recited them. *The Canticles which the Levites sung in the Sanctuary, were as follow. On the First Day of the Week, the XXIV. On the Second, the XLVIII. On the Third, the LXXXII. On the Fourth, the XCIV. On the Fifth, the LXXXI. On the Sixth, the XCIII. And on the Seventh, the XCII.*

It seems to have been composed, when some of those potent Enemies began to take Heart again, & threaten to disturb *David's* Tranquillity; which, in the foregoing Psalm, he had said, he was confident, they should never be able to overthrow.

Tho', as Dr. *Patrick* notes, in a more sublime Sense, it ought to be applied unto the Stability of the Kingdome of our Saviour. Several of the Jews themselves, do acknowledge this to be prophesied, in this, and in all the Psalms that follow, to the *Hundredth*.¹⁰⁸⁹

Dr. *Alix* observes, The Psalm is an Hymn, wherein the Reign of the *Messiah*, as being the True JEHOVAH is described; after the Destruction of the *Beast*, which *sitts upon the great Waters*.

In the last Verse, the Restoration of *Jews*, is mentioned, as an Act established by many *Witnesses*.¹⁰⁹⁰

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Q. What may bee the special Import of that Passage, *Holiness becomes thy House forever?* v. 5.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Taken from Patrick's argument. See Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 4, p. 449. Musculus comments on the occasion of Ps. 93 in *Sancrosanctum Davidis Psalterium Commentarii*, p. 750. The work of De Dieu referred to is *Animadversiones in Veteris Testamenti*. He remarks on the Psalms sung by the Levites on the days of the week in his notes on Ezra (Esdras), cap. 3, p. 228. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 4, pp. 249–50.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 4, pp. 146–147.

A. R. *David Kimchi*, notes that all the Psalms hereabouts, as far as the Hundred & First, belong to the Dayes of the *Messiah*.

In those Dayes, *The Holiness of Gods House will bee Desireable*. So *Kimchi* renders this Passage; and expounds it, from Isa. 2.2. That all People will then *Desire* to go unto the *Holy House* of God; Yea, and all in that *House* will *Desire* to bee *Holy*; and more than so, All will *Desire* to bee *Holy* like that *House*.

Then will the *Testimonies* of God bee found *certain*; All that God hath prædicted & promised concerning His *House*, will bee accomplished.¹⁰⁹¹

1091 Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 4, p. 272. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 4, p. 250.

Q. The Scope?

A. Tis a Prayer both for the [*] ¹⁰⁹² Holy People oppressed by the Antichristian Party; whose *Titles* in the Prophecies, & their *Throne*, & the *Punishment* decreed for them, are found most expressly in the Psalm now before us. ¹⁰⁹³

Q. On that, *He that formed the Eye, shall He not see?* v. 9.

A. The *Eye* of *Animals*, and especially of *Man*, is a Peece of such astonishing Workmanship, that it is impossible for any but a most Bruited Wretch, to behold it, without an Acknowledgment of a Glorious & Infinite GOD.

My Reader, peruse with Astonishment, Mr. *Derhams* Discourse of the *Eye*, in his *Physico-Theology*. Peruse Dr. *Briggs* his *Ophthalmographia*; who saies, *Inter precipuas Corporis Animati partes, quæ magni conditoris nostri Sapientiam ostendunt, nulla sane reperitur, quæ majori pompâ Elucet quam ipse Oculus, aut quæ elegantiori formâ concinnatur.* ¹⁰⁹⁴ Peruse *Sturmius's* Academical Exercitation, *De Visu Organo*; who saies, *Nobis fuit persuasissimum, Atheismum, quem vocant, speculativum. h.e. obfirmatum de Deitate in universo, habere Locum aut inveniri non posse in eo homine, qui oculi Fabricam attento animo inspexerit.* ¹⁰⁹⁵

Q. The Intent of that Passage: *He that chastises the Heathen, shall not He correct?* v. 10.

A. Take Dr. *Patrick's* Paraphrase.

“He that taught all Nations His Will, shall not He correct them when they Transgress it? To what Purpose did He make Man to *know the Difference*

¹⁰⁹² [*Christian Church, & the Synagogue; equally*]

¹⁰⁹³ Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 4, p. 147. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 4, pp. 252–53.

¹⁰⁹⁴ “Among the particular parts of the living body which display the wisdom of our great Creator, surely none is found which shines forth with greater pomp than the eye itself, or which is produced in a more elegant form.”

¹⁰⁹⁵ *Physico-Theology* (1713), bk. 4, ch. 2, p. 88, 111, by William Derham (1657–1735), a clergyman, natural philosopher, and fellow member of the Royal Society, who wrote three influential works of teleology: *Physico-Theology* (1713), *Astro-Theology* (1714), and *Christo-Theology* (1730). Nearly a century later, the English naturalist William Paley would depend upon all these works in his own defense of natural theology. Derham was an astute observer and has been credited with the first reasonable estimate of the speed of sound, as well as a recognition of natural variation within species (*DNB*). Derham cites *Ophthalmographia* (1676), by William Briggs (c. 1650–1704) and *De Visionis Organo et Ratione Genuia*, by Johann Christoph Sturm (1635–1703) in. See also *Psalterium*, bk. 4, p. 253. “We are most sure that so-called “speculative Atheism,” that is, the hardened disbelief in the God-head’s role in (creating) the universe, can have no place in, nor can be found in the bosom of, that man who has regarded the manufacture of the *eye* with an attentive mind.”

between Good & Evil, but that he should observe it; & expect, if he did not, to suffer for it.”

[240v] *Kimchi* thinks it refers to, *Ultiones Dei insigniores*, the signal Judgments of God sometimes | executed among the Nations; As, the fate of *Sodom*, & other such things.¹⁰⁹⁶

¹⁰⁹⁶ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 4, p. 454; Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 4, p. 274; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 4, p. 253. Mather provides the translation.

Q. The Scope?

A. Our Apostle, Heb. IV.1. shows us, That the Psalm is an Exhortation unto the *Israelites*, to præpare for the Receiving of the *Messiah*; who is to bring their Nation into the Happiness of the great *Sabbatism*, whereof the Generation in the Wilderness, were deprived for their Unbeleef. In the Ninth Verse, tis plain, the *Messiah* speaks. *He* then, and, *The Word*, are the Same.¹⁰⁹⁷

Q. What are the *Deep Places of the Earth*, which are *in the Hand of God*? v. 4.

A. I find them understood, of the *Deep Mines of Silver and Gold*, that are in the Bowels of the Earth. And, as *Chrysologus* observes; *Quæ in Manu Dei sunt, sinè Deo nequeunt obtineri.*¹⁰⁹⁸

On the *Deep Places*, & the *Hills*, Dr. *Patrick* thus paraphrases.

“All those Treasures are in His Possession, which ly in the deepest & most secret Parts of the Earth; whither none of our Monarchs can extend their Power: And the loftiest Hills, which none but the Clouds can touch, are Part of His Dominion.”¹⁰⁹⁹

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Q. The Intent of that Clause, *And saw my Work*? v. 9.

A. Read it, *Though they saw my Work.*

Thus Dr. *Patrick* paraphrases. “When they doubted of my Power, & demanded New Proofs of my Presence among them, [Exod. XVII.7.] *though* they had seen my wonderful Works in their late Deliverance at the *Red-sea*, and in making the Bitter Waters Sweet, & sending them Bread from Heaven. [Exod. XIV. XV. XVI.]”¹¹⁰⁰

¹⁰⁹⁷ Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 4, p. 149. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 4, p. 254.

¹⁰⁹⁸ St. Peter Chrysologus (c. 400–c. 450) was declared a doctor of the church in 1729 by Pope Benedict XIII (*ODCC*). Famous for his homiletic preaching, this statement comes from his sermon 46 on Psalm 94 (Psalm 95 in most English editions of the Bible). See [PL 52.329]. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 4, p. 254. “What things are in the hand of God, are unable to be obtained without God.”

¹⁰⁹⁹ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 4, pp. 458–59.

¹¹⁰⁰ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 4, p. 460. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 4, p. 255.

Q. The Scope?

A. Behold the Praises of GOD, that are to be sung by the [**]¹¹⁰¹ *Israel* of GOD, at the Second Coming of the Messiah. [**]¹¹⁰²

Q. A *New Song*? v. 1.

A. Several of the Jewish Writers themselves, acknowledge that it belongs to the Times of the *Messiah*. Accordingly (as Dr. *Patrick* observes,) we not only may, but ought to have Him in our Minds, when we *sing unto the Lord a New Song*, (for His *New Grace*, that is, in sending Him, to give Salvation unto all Nations,) and, *The Lord reigneth*.¹¹⁰³

Q. Why must *all the Trees of the Wood Rejoice at the Coming of the Lord*? v. 12.

A. *Theodore*t offers you a *Reason*, but not without some *Fancy*, for it: *Quia ex ipsis erat salutare Lignum*.¹¹⁰⁴

I will rather observe to you, That the Creation, and the *Trees* particularly, are called upon, to *Rejoice at the Coming of the Lord*, because the *Earth* is to be Restored unto a *Paradisian State*, at the Coming of the Lord.

But here, by the *Heavens*, which are called upon to *Rejoice*, there are those who understand, the *Angels*.

By the *Earth*, all Mankind, which are dispersed on the *Earth*.

By the *Sea*, the Mariners and Passengers in *Ships*, and the Inhabitants of the *Islands*.

By the *Fields*, the Husbandmen & Shepherds, who dwell in the *Fields*.

By the *Trees of the Wood*, the Woodmen, and Foresters, who are with Joy to see the happy Day approaching, when all the Idols that are worshipped there, shall be thrown down, together with their Groves.¹¹⁰⁵

1101 [*Jewish Nation*]

1102 [*They invite all Nations, that survive the Judgment on the Antichristian Powers to acknowledge Him for their GOD, and reject the Idolatries they have hitherto practised.*]. Allix, *The Book of Psalms*, bk. 4, p. 150. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 4, p. 256.

1103 Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 4, p. 461. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 4, p. 256.

1104 Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 4, p. 279. "Because from them was salutary wood." The pun is the play on the word, "salutare," which literally means "greet," but here is used in the adjectival form as "beneficial." Thus, the "trees of the wood" in verse 12 rejoice or salute the coming of the Lord because they are to be the instrument of salvation.

1105 Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 4, p. 464. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 4, pp. 256–57.

Q. The Time & Occasion of the Psalm? Tit.

A. The *Eighth Verse* makes it Manifest, that the Psalm ha's Respect unto some Conquests lately made over the Heathen; probably those which *David* won over diverse Nations; not long after he had brought the Ark to *Zion*, & delivered the foregoing Hymn to be sung, in hope of the great Things which would ensue. In subduing of these, tis likely that God fought for His People, with some such Tempest, as we read of 2. Sam. V.20, 21, 24.¹¹⁰⁶

Q. What *Victory*? v. 1.

A. The Resurrection of our Lord Redeemer.¹¹⁰⁷

Q. Can you give us *Key* that may be of general Use to us, in Interpreting the Sacred Oracles? v. 1.

A. It is a good Thought of Monsr. *Mestrezat*, and it may be of great Use unto us, in Reading of the Scriptures.

All passages of the Scriptures, that speak of, *The Kingdome of Grace*, to be exercised over the World, and of the Redemption and Restoration of the *Church*, are to be understood of the *Messiah*, or, *God-Mediator*.

Ex. Gr. Psal. 97.1. *The Lord reigns, lett the Earth rejoice, lett the Multitude of Isles be glad thereof*. It is evident, that the *Reign* of the *Messiah* is there meant; Because the Prophet, when he had said, *The Lord Reigns*, he adds, *lett the Earth rejoice, lett the Multitude of Isles be glad*. For the *Isles*, according to the Style of the Scriptures, are the Countreyes of the *Gentiles*. Now since the *Gentiles* are exhorted to Rejoice on the account of this *Reign*, it must be a *Reign of Grace*, which is favourable and saving to them. Therefore it followes, that in the *Psalm*, the LORD who *Reigns*, is the *Messiah*; and our Apostle *Paul* might very well apply it unto Him.¹¹⁰⁸

¹¹⁰⁶ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 4, p. 465. By accepting this reading, Mather, through Patrick, is refusing the Jewish tradition that Moses was the author of this Psalm. They reach this decision because to make Moses the author means doing a kind of textual violence to the Psalm, and ignoring the emphasis on God reigning as a King over Israel – a metaphor that to Mather and Patrick and many other commentators seemed manifestly inappropriate to the age of the Exodus and the wilderness wanderings. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 4, p. 258.

¹¹⁰⁷ Clutterbuck, *A Brief Explanation*, p. 91.

¹¹⁰⁸ Jean Mestrezat (1592–1657) was a reformed French pastor and author of numerous works on the apostolic writings (*SH*). This reference derives from his 5-volume commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews, traditionally assigned to Paul. See *Exposition de L'epistre Hebreux en Sermons Prononcés à Cherenton Divisee en V. Parties*, Sermon. 5 (1:179–80). The *Catalogus Librorum* lists two other works of Mestrezat but not this one; however, the reference clearly comes

Q. Who is it, that is called, *The Lord of the whole Earth?* v. 5.

A. The *Messiah*.

The Name / יְהוָה / *Adonai*, here used, belongs unto *Him*.

Consider Gen. 18.3, 27. which *Hilary*, and, *Nazianzen*, and, *Eusebius*, and *Theodoret*, and indeed, all that have understood themselves, have understood of the *Messiah*.

The *Dominion* of the *Messiah*, is by this Name Intended, & Expressed. But, if you further weigh, the Root of the Name, יְהוָה, a *Basis*, you will see a further Glory of the *Messiah* herein acknowledged. The *Foundation*, of all that the Divine Majesty hath purposed, is in Him.¹¹⁰⁹

And now, on this Occasion, tho' *Masius* were a Papist, I will transcribe some of his memorable Words, on the Seventh Chapter of *Joshua*; words full of *Illustration*.

Solent duo ista Nomina, Jehova Adonai, sæpius in vehementioribus Precationibus, conjungi à Viris sanctis in Sacrà Historiâ; quod ita factum, quomodo Deum patrem Ecclesia omnia orat per Filium. Adonai enim Dominationem intuetur, (sicut Jehova Dei Essentiam,) et planè Filio congruit, eumque nobis repræsentat, per quem Deus Pater, ut fecit Mundum, sic Mundum moderatur. Sic cabaliste Diviniores Hebræorum Philosophi, tradunt, illud Nomen Adonai, esse tanquam Clavem, quâ patefit aditus ad Deum Jehovah, h.e. ad Deum, in suâ Essentia veluti latentem: esse Thesaurum, in quo ea, quæ ab Jehovah nobis impartiuntur, omnia scilicet, recondita. Esse insuper Economum illum magnum, qui res omnes dispensat, nutrit, vegetat, per Jehovah. Denique Neminem ad Jehovah penetrare posse, nisi per Adonai Neque enim ullam | aut Viam, aut Rationem, ad illum, perveniendi aliam esse prorsus, atque ideò Ecclesiam preces suas sic auspicari, Adonai, Domine, Labia mea aperiatis, et os meum annuntiabit Laudem tuam. Hæc, et similia alia Scripta extant, in eo Libro, cui Titulum illi fecere, Portam Lucis, et Libro quem vocant, Nomen Explicatum.

Thus *Masius*, who yett elsewhere grants the Name *Jehovah*, to belong unto the *Messiah* too.¹¹¹⁰

from Mestrezar's sermons on Hebrews. Mather might have gotten this reference indirectly, but I have not been able to make a closer identification. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 4, p. 258.

1109 These paragraphs seem to rely most directly on Martin, *Pugio Fidei*, pars. 3, dist. 3, cap. 2, p. 649.

1110 Andreas Masius, or Maes (1514–73) was a Catholic priest and an early European student of Syriac. Besides his work on a Syrian grammar, he published a translation, annotation, and commentary on the book of Joshua, from which Mather is here loosely copying (Saebo, ed., 3:815). See Masius' *Commentariorum in Josuam*, in *Josue Imperatoris* (1574), cap. 7, p. 124. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 4, pp. 258–59. "Those two names, Jehovah Adonai, are usually joined together by holy men in the sacred history, quite often in the more ardent prayers; this was done there just as the Church asks God the Father for all things through the Son. For Adonai may be considered the dominion [of God], just as Jehovah [is] the essence of God, and [Adonai] plainly corresponds to the Son and represents Him to us; and God the Father, as He made the world, so directs the world through Him. Thus the more inspired cabalist philosophers of the

Q. How did the *Heavens declare His Righteousness?* v. 6.

A. By a dreadful Tempest, (excited & managed by His Angelical Ministers,) He declared His just Severity against His Enemies.¹¹¹¹

The Psalm, as Dr. *Alix* observes, is of the same Design, with the Foregoing. It insults the New Idolaters, the Antichristian Ones, with the Coming of the *Messiah*, who is to condemn them. It represents the Joy which His Coming, will give unto the People of GOD. [**]¹¹¹²

Q. The Intention of that Passage: *Yee that love the Lord, hate Evil?* v. 10.

A. It is well expressed in Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase.

“But do not content yourselves meerly with this Passion of Joy; If you truly Love the Lord, Hate every thing, which you know is displeasing to Him. So shall you have the Lord of all things, for your continual Keeper.”¹¹¹³

Q. How do you understand that Passage, *Light is sown for the Righteous?* v. 11.

A. Hear a Jewish Rabbi upon it. *Dixit R. Abba; Hoc est Lumen Messiae.* And of the *Messiah*, does that Rabbi, understand that Passage; Dan. 2.22. *The Light dwelleth with Him.* And that in Psal. 36.10. *In thy Light, wee shall see Light.*¹¹¹⁴

We will add, *Munsters* Gloss. *Lux Fidei, Lux Veritatis, Felicitatis, et Materia perpetuae Lætitiæ seminata est per Orbem; unde Justi quique gaudent & letantur.*¹¹¹⁵

Hebrews teach that the name ‘Adonai’ is as a key by which entrance to the God Jehovah is laid open, i.e., to God in his essence as if [He were] hidden; that it is a treasure house in which those things which are imparted by Jehovah to us have been stored for each. Moreover, [they teach] that [Adonai] is that great overseer who regulates, nourishes, quickens all things through Jehovah; and finally that no one can enter unto Jehovah except through Adonai, that indeed there is no other way or method of reaching Him, and therefore the Church begins her prayers in this way, ‘Adonai, Lord, open my lips and my mouth will proclaim your glory.’ These and other similar writings appear in that book to which those men have given the title ‘The Gate of Light,’ and in the book which they call ‘The Name Unfolded [Explained].’ The ‘Portae Lucis’ is a cabalistic work of Joseph Gikatilla (1248–c. 1305) (Sha’are Orah) that was freely translated by Paolo Riccio as *De Porta Lucis R. Josephi Gecatilia* (1516). The ‘Name Explained’ or ‘Nomen Explicatum’ refers to the Shem ha-Mephorash (שם המפורש), the cabalistic 72 letter name for God. The Hebrew words can be translated as the ‘explicit’ or ‘interpreted name’ of the unpronounceable tetragrammaton. It derives from the three verses in Exod. 14:19–21, each of which is composed of 72 letters. When these are written bidirectionally and grouped in columns of threes, the names of the 72 angels or intelligences of God are formed (*JE*).

1111 Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras’d*, bk. 4, p. 467. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 4, p. 259.

1112 [*and unto the Jews in particular*] Allix, *The Book of Psalms*, bk. 4, pp. 151–152. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 4, p. 258.

1113 Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras’d*, bk.4, p. 468.

1114 Martin, *Pugio Fidei*, pars. 2, cap. 11, p. 416. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 4, p. 259: “R. Abba said, ‘This is the light of the Messiah’.”

1115 Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3894). “The light of faith, the light of truth, the light happiness, and the source of perpetual joy has been begotten throughout the world; so the just rejoice and are glad.”

Q. The Scope?

A. A New Song. To be sung at the Second Coming of the *Messiah*.

Compare the first Verse of the Psalm, with Isa. XII. 5. – which, by the Way, invincibly shews, That the *Messiah* is GOD.

It foretells [******]¹¹¹⁶ great Things to be done for the true *Israel* of GOD, and exhorts all Nations to acknowledge the Messiah as GOD.

The Judgments on the Antichristian Powers, must be, before the [******]¹¹¹⁷ great Things to be done for the True *Israel*, and the Kingdom of the *Messiah* perfectly appearing & erected among the Nations.¹¹¹⁸

In the *New Earth* under the *New Heavens*, these things will be accomplished.

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¹¹¹⁶ [*the Recalling of the Jews,*]

¹¹¹⁷ [*Happiness of the Jews, & the Conversion of the other Nations.*]

¹¹¹⁸ Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 4, p. 153. The gloss following reveals the change in Mather's thinking on this matter. As is usual with his reading of Allix, what Mather excises from *Biblia Americana* remains in *Psalterium*. See Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 4, p. 260.

[**]¹¹¹⁹

Q. The Intention of that Passage; *He sitteth between the Cherubims, lett the Earth be moved?* v. 1

A. Take Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase.

“Tho’ the whole Earth, should be in an Uproar, we are safe and secure; for the Lord is attended with Innumerable Heavenly Ministers, who are a Guard to His Faithful Worshippers.”

The Psalm is indeed calculated for the Coming & Kingdome of the *Messiah*; when His Throne shall be in *Zion*; & the Jews have New Tokens of His Presence among them.¹¹²⁰

Q. With what Reference or Allusion, are those two things joined, *The Lord Reigneth*, and, *Hee sitteth between the Cherubim?* v. 1.

A. You shall give mee Leave, on this Occasion to entertain you, with some *Curiosities*, that will Illustrate a Thousand other Texts, as well as that which now is offered mee.

You know that the great God of Heaven, chose in a most peculiar & sensible Manner, to exhibit Himself, as the *King* of His People *Israel*.

That Hee might putt on the Character of a *political King*, Hee conformed the *Tabernacle*, which Hee erected among them, unto the Circumstances of a *Royal Palace*; albeit, this Consideration of the *Tabernacle*, must not bee understood, as at all exclusive, of its being a most comprehensive Shadow and Figure, of a thousand *Gospel-mysteries*. The Name of / מִקְדָּשׁ / for a *Tabernacle*, signifies, a *Palace*; Whereas there would have been several apter Names for it, if this had not been used, for the Sake of this very Intimation. Hence also, *The Palace of the King*, is by the Greeks called [Psal. 45.16.] ναὸς βασιλέως, *The Temple of the King*.¹¹²¹

The *Tabernacle* was therefore sett off with many pompous and splendid *Ornaments*, that so it might Resemble a *Palace* of the Orient, whereof *Pinæda* will more fully inform you.

The *Vessels* of the *Tabernacle*, the *Table*, the *Candlestick*, the *Cups*, the *Tongs*, the continual *Fire*, on the Altar, & the rest, were, as *Abarbanel* speaks, *Tanquam*

¹¹¹⁹ [*Q. The Scope?

A. R. *David Kimchi* takes the Psalm, to be made for *Israel*, under this last Dispersion. Will GOD bestow His Blessing on the Jews as long a Time as He has made them feel His Anger?]. *Viccars*, *Decapla*, lib. 4, p. 282.

¹¹²⁰ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 4, p. 473; Allix, *The Book of Psalms*, bk. 4, p. 154; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 4, p. 261.

¹¹²¹ This is Ps. 45:15 in the KJV.

res ad Ministerium Regis Mundi aptæ; partly to begett in the Minds of the People, the Notion of the Palace of the *great King*.¹¹²²

The *Priests* and *Levites*, about the *Tabernacle*, were not unlike to the Courtiers, attending of a *Palace*. They were therefore styled / כהנים / which *Moses* also, tho' no *Priest*, is here in our Context reckoned among. That Name, signifies, as *Junius* takes it, *Ministrum in Ministerio Honorabili*. The Sons of *David* therefore had it. [2. Sam. 9.9. and 2. Sam. 8.18. Tis expounded in 1. Chron. 18.17.] And the *Priests* were so styled, because they were, as it were, the chief *Ministers of State*, unto God, their *King*.¹¹²³

In the *Tabernacle*, the *Meat* and the *Drink*, were ordered, agreeably to the State of a *Palace*, & of a Regal Family; whereto, you may add, the eateable [***torn*] [Ponder, Mal. 1.12.] And, *Salt* was therefore in all *Sacrifices*, called for; because, as *Nachmanides* expresses it, *Non esset è Dignitate cibi Dei, ut insipidus esset, sine sale*.¹¹²⁴ Hence likewise, Tho' upon the Table of *Shew-bread* in the Sanctuary, the Scripture only mentions *Twelve Loaves*; yett *Villalpandus* & others, infer from the *Vessels* there placed, that there must have been *Salt* also; and *Philo*, speaking of the *Table*, saith, ἐφ' ἧς ἄρτοι καὶ ἀλες, *Bread and Salt were upon it*.¹¹²⁵

Moreover, Almighty God, had a *Throne* in this *Palace*; and this was amidst the *Cherubim* of the *Mercy-seat*, whereof the *Ark* was the *Footstool*. This Form of things, was contrived, for *this*, political, among *other* more evangelical, Purposes; even to Mind the Nation, that Hee who manifested His very special *Presence* & *Glory* in this Place, would bee acknowledged as the *King* of this Nation.

Here you have explained, the Words of the Text now before us. The *Throne* shaped, *between the Cherubim*, in the *Tabernacle* was to bee considered, as an Admonition, *That the Lord was the King of that People*; and that the People were on all Occasions to consult Him, & obey Him as their *King*.

Thus, in Psal. 47.8. *God sits upon the Throne of His Holiness*; that is, the Throne, which Hee had in the *Holy of Holies*. Thus, in Heb. 8.1. *A Priest sett on the Right Hand of the Throne of the Majesty in the Heavens*; points at *Aarons*

1122 Isaac ben Judah Abrabanel (1437–1508) was a prolific Portugese Jewish philosopher and commentator. This statetement occurs in his exegesis on Exod. 25: “as things fit for the service of the King of the world.”

1123 See Tremellius and Junius, *Testamentis Veteris, Biblia Sacra*, lib. 3, p. 145a. The idea that a priest (כהן, pl. כהנים) is identical with a prince or a ruler is an old one, extending at least to the Chaldee interpreters. This rendering is now, however, considered questionable. Junius’s remark is that a priest as well as a prince is “a minister in honorable service.”

1124 “Without salt, it would not be according to the dignity of God’s food, since it would be tasteless.”

1125 See Villalpandus, *In Ezechielem Explanationes*, vol. 2, pt. 2, bk. 4, ch. 57, p. 351. Villalpandus makes this argument based upon the word “dishes” (*mortariola* in the Vulgate) in Numb. 4:7. Nachmanides, or Rabbi Moses ben Nahman Girondi (1194–1270), was a leading medieval Jewish scholar and cabbalist (*ODWR*). See also Philo, *Life of Moses*, 22.

coming to stand before, what the Hebrewes called / כִּסֵּא כְבוֹד / *The Throne of Glory*, in the most *Holy Place*.

The *Oracles* uttered from hence, carried on the Similitude of a *Palace* to yett a further Exactness.

Finally, most worthy to bee transcribed, are the Words of Rabbi *Shem Tob*, on this Occasion.

Deus, cui Laus, Talem sibi Domum condi Iussit, qualis, esse, solet Domus Regia. Which Comparison, hee largely prosecutes; and concludes, *Atque hæc omnia, eò spectabant, ut intelligeret Vulgus, Regem, nempè Dominum exercituum, inter nos versatum esse.*¹¹²⁶

Nevertheless, the *King of Heaven*, would not all this while have the People forgett, that Hee was indeed, an *Heavenly King*. The *Sacrifices* required in all the *Tabernacle*, and the *Cherubim*, answering the *Angels*, and a thousand more things appointed in the *Tabernacle*, were sufficient Assurances, that it was a *Cæsterial Monarch*, with whom they were here concerned: A *King* to bee worshipped, with greater & safer Devotions, than the *Egyptians*, among whom the *Israelites* had sojourned, paid unto their Princes.

| But the Lord would also sustain the Capacity, of a *Military King*, or the *Lord of Hosts*, unto His *Israel*. [250v]

And therefore the *Tabernacle* had also the Shape, yea, and the Name, of, A *Pavilion*; it was the cheef Tent, even the Lord-generals Tent, whereto the whole Camp of *Israel*, were to have regard. Hence, in the pacific Times of *Solomon*, the *Tabernacle*, that great Monument and Instrument of the Holy Wars of the Lord, was laid by, forever.

Some think, that by Isa. 40.2. *Thy Warfare is accomplished*; is meant, the Ministry of the *Levitical Priesthood*.

Israel, you remember, was disposed *camp-wise*, when the *Tabernacle* was first in use among them.

And the Forms of the *Cherubims*, therein, answered unto the *Banners* of the Four Squadrons in that Camp. The four-fold Face of the *Cherubims* in *Ezekiels* Vision, took in the Four Ancient Banners; whereof, *Judah* bore a *Lion*; *Ephraim*, an *Ox*; *Reuben*, a *Man*; and *Dan*, an *Eagle*. [Tho' the Tradition of those Banners, I confess, is quæstionable.]¹¹²⁷

¹¹²⁶ This quotation is from *Guide for the Perplexed* (3.45). "God – praise be to him – commanded that such a house be built as a palace usually is. ... And they observed all these things so that people might understand that the King, indeed the Lord of the Armies, lived among us."

¹¹²⁷ This entire entry is extracted from Witsius, *Miscellaneorum Sacrorum*, tom. 1, lib. 2, diss. 1, pp. 329–32.

Q. How does the *Strength of the King, love Judgment?* v. 4.

A. GOD is not a King that uses His *Power* to Oppress, but to Releeve, His People.¹¹²⁸

Q. That Passage, *worship at His Footstool*. What may be the Meaning of it? v. 5.

A. An *Incurvation* in the *Adoration* is here called for. But what was the *Footstool* of the Lord? We read, Isa. 66.1 *The Earth is my Footstool*. Accordingly *Cocceius* tells us; *posset existimari hoc ita dictum: Adorate Deum demississima Oratione*.¹¹²⁹

But the Jewish Rabbins inform us, That the *Footstool* of the Lord, is to be look'd for, in the *Sanctuary*. [See Isa. 60.13.] And yett we are not gott near enough. In the *Sanctuary* we find the *Ark*, which was more peculiarly the *Footstool* of the Lord. [See 1. Chron. 25.2.] The *Throne* where the Majesty of God is most gloriously exhibited, is in *Heaven*. But where He granted an Exhibition of His more *special Presence* on *Earth*, we may suppose His *Footstool*. This was at the *Ark*; and the Hovering of the *Cherubims* over it, gave yett a more notable Repräsentation of a *Footstool*, in the *Ark* itself.

In their *Adorations*, wherever they were, they were to *Bowe* themselves very profoundly towards this *Footstool* of GOD.

This *Incurvation* was a Token of *Humiliation*. T'was the Offering of ones own Self as a *Footstool*. [See Isa. 51.23.] The Princes of the East, had Women, whom they called *Climaces*, by stepping on whose Backs they mounted their *Horses*.¹¹³⁰

The *Sanctuary* was a Figure of *Heaven*. Because *Heaven* was not so accessible in the Days of the Old Testament; [See Heb. 9.8.] Therefore they must have their Eye towards the *Sanctuary*, in their Expectation of Help from Heaven.

But the *Ark* was a Figure of our Lord JESUS CHRIST. [See Col. 2.9. and, Isa. 8.14. and Rom. 3.25.] They were to have an Eye towards the *Messiah*, as the true *Ark* of God, and as the Mediator, and Intercessor with God; *Qui, quum Sanctus sit, non admittit ad sui Familiare commercium Peccatores nisi interventu magni illius Mediatoris*.¹¹³¹

Austin and *Ambrose*, could not reconcile, the vulgar Latin, *Adorate Scabellum eius*; [on which the Roman Church builds the Lawfullness of worshipping Images:] with that Command, *Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve*; But by expounding it of the *Flesh of Christ*; which is the *Footstool*, they say, which the Psalmist exhorts all Men to worship. So far were

¹¹²⁸ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 4, p. 473.

¹¹²⁹ "This passage could be regarded in this way: Adore God with the humblest prayer."

¹¹³⁰ On this idea, see Gousset, *Commentarii Linguae Ebraice*, p. 847. In Latin, a "climax" is a ladder.

¹¹³¹ "Who, since He was holy, did not admit sinners to intimate dealings with Himself except by the intervention of that great Mediator."

those Holy Men from allowing Adoration, to any thing, that is not God, or hath not a personal Union with Him.¹¹³²

Q. We read of, *Moses and Aaron AMONG His Priests, & Samuel AMONG them that call upon His Name*. Is there any special Importance, in the Word, AMONG? v. 6.

A. It is noted by *Drusius*, That this Particle thus used, intimates, one very *eminent* and *eximious* among those that are spoken of.¹¹³³

Thus, Psal. 54.4. *The Lord is AMONG them that uphold my Soul*; that is to say, *primus ac precipuus sustentantium animam meam*.

Thus, Amos 1.1 *Who was AMONG the Herdsmen of Tekoa*. The Gloss of *Camius* upon it, is; *Qui erat magnus inter Pastores*.¹¹³⁴

Q. The Meaning of that Passage; *Thou wast a God that forgavest them, tho' thou tookest Vengeance on their Inventions?* v. 8.

A. Take Dr. *Patrick's* Paraphrase.

“When they pray'd unto thee, thou fulfilledst their Petitions; passing by, for their Sakes, the Sins of those who had highly offended thee; but taking a most severe Vengeance on all those, who contemned their Authority, and were contriving how to depose them. [Num. XII.2, 9, 10. XVI.3, 31, 32. 1.Sam. VIII.7, 8, 9.]”¹¹³⁵

¹¹³² Hermann Witsius, *Exercitationes Sacrae in Symbolum* (1712), exer. 4, pp. 45–6. Ambrose's comment on this phrase is in *De Abraham* [PL 14:498b]; Augustine's remark is in the *Enarrationes in Psalmos* [PL 37.1264]. The conclusions of this note, greatly condensed, appear in *Psalterium*, bk. 4, p. 262. The “vulgar Latin” is an imperative to “Worship His footstool.”

¹¹³³ Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 4, p. 262.

¹¹³⁴ Drusius, “Quæstionum Ebraicarum” (lib. 2, quest. 51), in *Tractatum Biblicorum* (1:1530). *Camius* is Rabbi David Kimchi.

¹¹³⁵ Patrick, *Psalm's Paraphras'd*, bk. 4, pp. 474–75. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 4, p. 262.

Q. What Improvement was there of Old made of the *Hundredth* Psalm?

A. The Jews have a Report, (as the *Chaldee Paraphrase*, and others of their Authors, tell us,) That the Psalm was peculiarly appointed to be sung, when their *Sacrifices of Thanksgiving* were offered; The *Sacrifices* mentioned, Lev. VII.12, 13.

The Companies of them who *gave Thanks* unto God, are called by such a Name Neh. XII.31, 38. which makes it probable, that the *Levites* did sing this Psalm on that Occasion.

The *Greeks* think, it was made by *David*; who invites all the World, to join with the *Israelites*, in the Service of Him, who was beyond all Expression gracious to *them*.

Indeed, we have here an Exhortation of the [*]¹¹³⁶ Redeemed *Israel*, unto all People, that they should acknowledge their Saviour, as their God, & their Creator; considering how faithful He hath been in His Promises, & what great Wonders He hath performed for the Sake of His People.¹¹³⁷

Q. That Expression, *It is He that ha's made us, & not we ourselves?* v. 3.

A. Dr. *Patrick* inclines to think, the Word / עשה / *made*, may be used here, as it is, 1. Sam. XII.6. for, *Advancing, Praeferring, Raising*, them; & *Making* them to be, what they then were; a famous People, in a good Land. This may seem to agree best with the following Words; *And not we ourselves*. For to deny that we created ourselves, may seem needless; but that it is not to be ascribed unto our Witt, or Contrivance, or Industry, that we are *Raised* unto an happy Condition, this is a proper Expression of Humility. He putt this therefore into His Paraphrase. "His we are, and by His Power and Goodness, not our own, we are become so great and mighty a Nation."¹¹³⁸

Q. That Clause, *The Lord is good?* v. 5.

A. It seems the Response from the whole *Chorus* of Priests, at the Instant of their firing the Sacrifice; The *Præcentor* having begun the rest. So Dr. *Hammond*.¹¹³⁹

¹¹³⁶ [* Returned Jews,*]

¹¹³⁷ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 4, pp. 475–76; Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 4, p. 155; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 4, p. 263.

¹¹³⁸ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 4, p. 477. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 4, p. 263.

¹¹³⁹ Hammond, *Paraphrase*, in *Works*, vol. 4, bk. 4, p. 282; Clutterbuck, *A Brief Explanation*, p. 94.

Q. The Time & Occasion of the Psalm? Tit.

A. *David*, on the Death of *Saul*, was immediately promoted unto the Kingdome. However he had not yett the entire Kingdome. In the Meantime, he resolved with himself, how well he would govern, when God should make him King over all *Israel*, as He had done over *Judah*.

But indeed, we have here the Character of those who are to be admitted among the Subjects of the Messiah, in His glorious Reign. And the Manner in which He will cutt off those, who pretending to acknowledge His Laws, have overthrown all Righteousness in the World.¹¹⁴⁰

Q. On that Clause, *I will sing of Mercy and Judgment?* v. 1.

A. *Austin* makes a Remark on the Order of the Words; first *Mercy*, then *Judgment*. Saies he; *Si per Tempora distinguamus hæc duo, fortè inueniemus, modò esse Tempus Misericordiæ, Futurum autem Judicii.*¹¹⁴¹

Take *Munsters* Gloss with it. *Pietate movetur animus ad succurrendum proximo; Judicio verò cuncta aguntur æquo libramine.*¹¹⁴²

In these two things does consist really, *Tota Vitæ Integritas*; especially, The Integrity of an *Officer*.¹¹⁴³

Q. That Clause, *O when wilt thou come unto me?* What Gloss ha's Antiquity upon it? v. 2.

A. The Saint becomes a great *Alms-giver*! He will understand when a *Christ* comes to him, in the Person of a Distressed *Brother*.

So *Arnobius*; *Intelligam quandò venies ad me; ut si Hospitem te videro, suscipiam, si esurientem, reficiam.*¹¹⁴⁴

¹¹⁴⁰ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 4, p. 478; Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 4, p. 155; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 4, p. 264.

¹¹⁴¹ Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos* [PL 37.1282]. "If we distinguish these two things with a view to times, by chance we discover by this manner that there is a time of mercy, but the time of judgment is to come."

¹¹⁴² Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3898). Mather again does not complete Munster's sentence, which concludes, "... et in his duobus constat tota vitæ integritas, præsertim illius qui est in officio aliquo." "In mercy [or piety] the mind is moved to help his neighbor; in judgment, however, all things are done with a just balance, and in these two stands the whole integrity of life, especially of him who is in some office."

¹¹⁴³ The remark of Augustine and the concluding sentence of this annotation are in *Psalterium*, bk. 4, p. 264. "Tota Vitæ Integritas," of course, is "the whole integrity of life."

¹¹⁴⁴ Arnobius, *Commentarii in Psalmos* [PL 53.468–69]. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 4, p. 265. "I will understand when You come to me; if I see You as a stranger, I will receive You; if hungry, I will refresh You."

[254v]

Q. On that, *I will early destroy?* v. 8.

A. Before others are corrupted with them.

Tis *Munsters* Gloss; *Maturè curabo exterminare impios, priusquam malitia eorum in alios serpat.*¹¹⁴⁵

Q. Give us a moral Gloss, upon that *I will early destroy all the Wicked of the Land; that I may cutt of all wicked Doers from the City of the Lord?* v. 8.

A. I will give you One from *Athanasius*.

As the *Morning* is the *Beginning* of the *Day*, so the *Beginning* of our *Sin* is, ὑποβολή τοῦ ἐχθροῦ. *The Fraudulent Suggestion of our Enemy, the Divel.* To *Destroy the Wicked in the Morning*, is to Observe, and to Defeat the Divel, in the *Beginning* of his Temptations. The *Soul* of Man, is the *City of the Lord*. We should *Betimes* destroy the Designs of the *Wicked* therein, by an *early* Mortification bestow'd upon them.¹¹⁴⁶

I don't look upon this Gloss of *Athanasius* to be the Sense of the Text. Howsoever [it] is a good Note, and may have a very good Use [made] of it.

I look upon it, as better than that of his, upon Psal. 104. 21, 22. *The Young Lions Roar after their Prey, – the Sun riseth – and they lay them down in their Dens.* The *Young Lions* he makes to be the Prophets of the Old Testament. The *Roaring* of those Prophets, he makes to be their loud Prædictions of the Incarnation of the Son of God. The *Rising of the Sun*, which laies them all silent, he makes to be the Coming of our Saviour.

But if I don't so much like This, I do much more like his Exposition of that in Psal. 149.5. *Lett the Saints sing aloud upon their Beds:* He propounds the Fulfilment of it, μετὰ θάνατον, *In the Heavenly World.* The *Beds*, he makes to be, αἱ μοναὶ τῶν ἁγίων, ἅρ εὐρίσκουσι μετὰ θάνατον, καὶ ἀγάλλονται ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν οὐρανῶν. *The Mansions of the Saints, which they shall find after Death, in the Kingdome of Heaven.* Suppose the *New Heavens*, of the *New Jerusalem*.¹¹⁴⁷

¹¹⁴⁵ Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3898). Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 4, p. 264. "I will take care to destroy the wicked early, before their malice spreads to others."

¹¹⁴⁶ Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 4, p. 264.

¹¹⁴⁷ Mather provides fair translations of these passages, but I have not been able to locate his direct source for this entry, which occurs in the *Quaestiones in Scripturam Sacram* of Athanasius [PG 28.862–63], a work now considered spurious. Harvard did own a 2-vol. edition of Athanasius's works published in Paris in 1627, which Mather might have turned to in this instance, but I have not been able to find a copy of this work in order to verify this supposition. See also, by way of comparison, Athanasius, *Interpretatio in Psalmos* [PG 27.1077–78; 1093–94; 1337–38].

Q. What shall wee think of the *Hundred and Second* Psalm?

A. 'Tis with much probability guess'd by learned Men, that the Writer of the Psalm, was *Daniel*, the Prophet, whom the Angels of God visited with wondrous Intimations, of his being, *A Man greatly Beloved*. When this excellent Man, understood, by studious Computations, & exact Calculations, that there was a mighty Deliverance of the Church, from the *Babylonian* Captivity, at the very Door, hee gave himself up, to more than ordinary Devotions, in Prayer, with Fasting, that hee might bee more Acquainted with, & more Præpared for, the Approaching Revolution. The Passages at the *Entrance* of the Psalm now before us [Behold, a *Key* for them!] will very sensibly describe those Mortifications, wherewith hee afflicted his own Devout Soul, when sometimes hee spent *Three Sevens* of Dayes, one after another; in secret Prayer, with Fasting before the Lord.¹¹⁴⁸

But, methinks, the Spirit of Prophecy, here expresses Prayers and Groans for the Jewish Nation in their Dispersion, & in the Approach of their Deliverance.¹¹⁴⁹

Q. How is it said, *My Dayes are consumed Like Smoke?* v. 3.

A. Dr. *Patrick* ha's a fitt Paraphrase. "My Dayes are spent as dismally, as if I liv'd and breath'd in Smoke."¹¹⁵⁰

Q. And how, *Burnt up as an Hearth?* v. 3.

A. Read it rather, *As Dry Wood*; which is most applicable to the Matter in hand.¹¹⁵¹

Q. When the Psalmist saies, *I am like the Pelican of the Wilderness*, what Bird is meant, by that word, which we translate *The Pelican?* v. 7.

A. That which we translate, *The Owl*, is to be rendred, *The Bittern*, as you may see, in our Illustration upon the Eleventh Chapter of *Leviticus*.

And now, the / קאֶת / *Kaath*, which we translate *The Pelican*, the learned *Bochart*, is very willing the Translation should stand.

¹¹⁴⁸ The primary "learned men" seem to be Roberts, *Clavis Bibliorum* (p. 295), and John Foord (d. 1627), *Expositio Libri Psalmorum* (p. 331). Mather owned Foord's *Expositio*, and he will return to it at the end of his commentary on the Psalms.

¹¹⁴⁹ Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 4, p. 156. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 4, p. 268.

¹¹⁵⁰ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 4, p. 482. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 4, p. 268.

¹¹⁵¹ Clutterbuck, *Brief Explanation*, p. 95.

But whereas, it is, *by reason of the Voice of his Groaning*, that the Psalmist here compares himself unto these *Birds*, and we cannot find any Voice in the *Pelican* affording a Resemblance for that *Groaning*, our *Bochart* inclines to think, that the *Ardea Stellaris* may come in for a Claim to this Name. *Homer* finds a *Clangor* in the Voice of that Bird;¹¹⁵² *Pliny* speaks of its *Vociferate*.¹¹⁵³ Tis the *Butaur*, whereof the Poet,

*Inque paludiferis buteo bubit aquis.*¹¹⁵⁴

Vincentius tells us, *Vocem horrificam edit.*¹¹⁵⁵ *Albertus* tells us, *Horribilem Sonum tanquam cornu, edit, – vox in ipso rumpatur ad Modum tonitru.*¹¹⁵⁶ *Bel-lonius* tells us, *Nullus bos possit tam contenta voce mugire; et vicina loca ita personant ut ad dimidiam leucam audiat.*¹¹⁵⁷ *Gesner* has more to this purpose.¹¹⁵⁸ The [256v] | *Italians* call it therefore, *Trombono*, because it makes a Noise Like a *Trumpett*. *Beza*, tho' he had no *Expositor* going before him, to lead him unto it, yett admirably well hitt upon this *Bird*, in his Version of the Text before us.

Je suis au Butor semblable

*Du Desert inhabitable.*¹¹⁵⁹

Q. On that, *They are sworn against me?* v. 8.

A. It may be rendred, *They swear on me*, or, *By me*. This, *Jurant per me*, is by *Munster* so glossed; *Gentes imprecabantur illis quibus malè volebant, infelicitatem Jehudeorum*.

¹¹⁵² The cry of the heron or common bittern is presented as an auspicious omen to *Odysseus* (*Iliad* 10.275).

¹¹⁵³ *Natural History* (10.79.164).

¹¹⁵⁴ This is from a Latin poem called "Philomela," which was often printed in editions of *Ovid*, although it was already recognized in the 16th c. as a spurious work. See *Ovid, Poetae Sulmonensis Opera Quae Vocantur Amatoria*, p. 517. "And the bittern cries in the marshy waters."

¹¹⁵⁵ *Vincent of Beauvais* (c. 1190–1264) was a Dominican friar and author of *Speculi Maioris* (the "Great Mirrors"), the main encyclopedic work of the middle ages. This quotation is contained in the second part of this three part work, the *Speculum Doctrinale*, bk. 16, ch. 151, p. 278. The bittern "emits a frightful call."

¹¹⁵⁶ This quotation is extracted from *Albert the Great's* treatise *On Animals* (*De Animalibus*), bk. 23, ch. 19, p. 446. "It emits a terrifying sound like a horn – [so that] its call is uttered within itself like thunder."

¹¹⁵⁷ This is probably a reference to *Pierre Belon* (see notes on *Job*). *Bochart* cites *De Avibus*, bk. 4, ch. 4, though I have not been able to locate a work of this title by *Belon*. "No bull could bellow with so intent a voice; and nearby places resound in such a way that it [the bittern] is heard half a league away."

¹¹⁵⁸ *Bochart* is alluding to *Conrad Gesner's Historiae Animalium*. Much of his chapter on this passage in *Psalms* is drawn from *Gesner's* chapter on the lesser Ibis, lib. 3, pp. 209–12.

¹¹⁵⁹ *Bochart, Hierozoicon*, vol. 2, bk. 2, ch. 24, cols. 292–96. *Theodore Beza* (1519–1605) continued the version of the *Psalms* begun by *Clement Marot* and added to it between 1551 and 1562 (*ODCC*). See *Les Pseaumes de David*, p. 401. See also *Mather, Psalterium*, bk. 4, p. 268, where *Mather* simply notes that "*Bochart* will maintain my Version for the Names of the Birds." The version of *Beza* reads, "I am like the bittern, inhabiting the wilderness."

When they bestow'd a *Curse* on any one, they wish'd him, *As miserable as a Jew*.¹¹⁶⁰

Q. The Meaning of, *Thou hast lifted me up, & cast me down?* v. 10.

A. Take Dr. *Patrick's* Paraphrase.

"Thou hast lifted me up in glorious Hopes; [Ezra. I.5. II.68. III.10.] Thou hast then dasht them all in Pieces, [Ezra. IV.4, 24.] and thereby given me the sorer Fall."¹¹⁶¹

Q. How may that be mystically carried, *Thy Servants take Pleasure in her Stones, and favour the Dust thereof?* v. 14.

A. *Arnobius* takes the *Stones* of *Zion*, to be the *Books of Scripture*, which exhibit unto us especially the *chief Corner-stone*. The *Dust*, he takes to be the *Bodies* of the Servants of God, which have undergone great Sufferings for Him; & which are greatly honoured among His People.

Dr. *Patrick* thus paraphrases it.

"Her scattered *Stones* are far more dear to thy pious Worshippers, than the goodliest Palaces in *Babylon*; and therefore they can't look upon her Dust and Rubbish, without the most sensible Grief and Commiseration."¹¹⁶²

Q. That Passage; *He weakened my Strength, in the Midst of the Way?* v. 23

A. Dr. *Patrick* thus paraphrases it. "I had hopes to have lived to see this Blessed Time; & thought I had been in the way to it. [Ezra. III.8.] But He hath stopt our vigorous Beginnings, [Ezra. IV.4.] and thereby so sorely afflicted me, that I feel I am like to fall short of my Expectations."

'Tis thought by some, That it refers to the Afflictions which the *Jews* mett withal *in the Midst* of their Building.¹¹⁶³

¹¹⁶⁰ Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3890). Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 4, p. 268. "Jurant per me," or "They swear by me," is glossed by Münster as "The nations called down the misfortunes of the Jews upon those whom they wished ill."

¹¹⁶¹ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphrased*, 483. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 4, p. 268.

¹¹⁶² Arnobius, *Commentarii in Psalmos* [PL 53.471]; Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 4, p. 484; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 4, p. 268.

¹¹⁶³ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 4, p. 486; Hammond, *Paraphrase*, in *Works*, vol. 4, bk. 4, pp. 285–86; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 4, p. 268.

[**] ¹¹⁶⁴

Q. How often does the Psalmist call upon himself, *To Bless the Lord?* v. 1, 2.

A. The Jewes have an Observation, and you find it particularly in the *Midrasch Tillin*; That hee does it *Five Times* over. And this, they say, answers, not only to the *Five Volumns* of the Law, but also to the *Five Ages*, thro' which a Man is to pass: *First*, His Condition in his Mothers Womb; *Secondly*, His Condition at his Mothers Breast; *Thirdly*, His Condition while passing thro' the Changes of this World; *Fourthly*, His Condition in Presence of God after Death; *Fifthly*, His Condition after the Resurrection, in the World to Come. ¹¹⁶⁵

Q. How is that Passage to be understood, *Thy Youth is Renewed Like the Eagles?* Do the *Eagles Renew their Youth?* v. 5.

A. *Bochart* proves from the grammatical Construction, that it should be Read, *Thou shalt Renew thy Youth, Like the Eagles*. Now upon the *Ανακαινωσις*, and, *Ανανεωσις*, or the *Renovation of Youth in Eagles*, the Ancients have entertained us, with so many Fables, that it is but Loss of Time to Recite them. The Jewish *Rabbis* tell us, of the *Eagles* flying up to the Element of *Fire*, and then lighting down into the *Sea*, and upon that action growing young again, with a Coat of New Feathers upon him, and this once in *Ten Years*, till he be an Hundred Years Old; and then Dying in his last Repetition of that Action. The Christian *Fathers* are up with the Story; but they make the *Eagle* to be not thus *Renewed*, until he be *Five-Hundred Years* Old. Whereas after all, the *Eagle* does *Renew his Youth* no otherwise than that sometimes he does cast his *Feathers*, and *New Ones* come in the Room thereof.

I will offer you a particular Thought. In the Context before us, there seem celebrated, the Blessings of the *Resurrection from the Dead*: That Clause, *Who Redeems thy Life from Destruction*, extremely countenances this Conjecture. Well; 'Tis one of the Promises concerning the Blessings of the *Resurrection*; Isa. 40.31 *They shall mount up with Wings as Eagles*: which the Jewes admirably interpret of, the *Resurrection-Bodies*. In the Text then before us, what if we should suppose Two Clauses, (according unto the short Hebrew Way of expressing Things,) crowded into One?

First, *Thou shalt Renew thy Youth*, which we shall in the best sense Imaginable, at the *Resurrection*; and then, *Thou shalt be like the Eagles*. The marvellous

¹¹⁶⁴ [*Q. The Scope?

A. Behold, the Jewish Nation Returned and Received into the Favour of GOD, & exhorting all Creatures, to celebrate the Miracles of His Power, & of His Goodness.*]

¹¹⁶⁵ *Viccars, Decapla*, lib. 4, p. 292.

Flight & Strength of the *Resurrection-Bodies* is excellently sett forth by that Comparison.¹¹⁶⁶

Q. *His Mercy TOWARD them that fear Him?* v. 11.¹¹⁶⁷

A. It should be rendred, *Above*. His Mercy is as much *Above* the Proportion of their Services, as *Heaven* is *Above* the Earth: Nay, Infinitely more. There is no Proportion between them.¹¹⁶⁸

Q. It is said, *The Lord knowes our Frame*. What is meant, by that *Frame*? v. 14.

A. The Jewish Rabbis, understand it, of that / יצר הרע / *Figmentum Malum*, or, *Evil Frame*, which wee call, *Original Sin*: Even that whereof wee read, in Gen. 8.21. *The Imagination of the Heart of Man, Evil from his Youth*.

And it is very entertaining, to Read the Notable Passages, which occur in the Writings of the Jewes, concerning this, *Evil Frame*. They cry out, *Wo to that Loaf, whose very Maker shall proclame it Evil!* They tell us, That the Name of this Mischief, is, *Inquinamentum Serpentis Antiqui*, / זוהמת נחש הקדמוני / And, *The Foreskin of the Heart*.¹¹⁶⁹ And that it is, *The Enemy*, whereof wee often Read in the Sacred Oracles: and, [Psal. 37.32.] *The Wicked which watcheth the Righteous, and seeketh to slay him*; and, [Prov. 29.21.] *The Servant, which if delicately brought up, will at last | become the Heir of All*: And, *The Stranger*; [intended in 2. Sam. 12.4.] And, *The Heart of Stone*: whereto they apply that in Jer. 23.29. *Is not my Word an Hammer that Breaks the Rock to Peeces*. They tell us, that the *Good Frame*, or Principle, in Men, is, *The Poor and Wise Child*, [Eccl. 4.13.] *Poor*, because it ha's few to obey it; *Wise*, because it enters not into any till they bee Thirteen Years of Age: but, the *Evil Frame*, is the *Old and Foolish King*; a *King*, because all are the Subjects of it; an *Old King*, because tis in us from our Infancy; a *Foolish King*, because it leads us out of the Right Way. They tell us, on Psal. 16.3. *The Saints in the Earth*, (so they read it,) that none are *Saints*, till by *Death*, they are laid in the *Earth*, because of this *Evil Frame* cleaving unto them. And they have one fine Stroke more upon it; In *Bereschit Rabba*, on Gen. 4.7. *Dixit R. Abba; et de illo dicit scriptura*, Job. 21. 33. post se trahit omnes Homines, et antè se absque Numero. *Est autem hoc simile Latroni Solitario, qui sedebat in quodam Bivio, et dicebat omni transeunti, Da mihi quod est super te. Cumque transiret prudens quidam, et videret ipsum non habere gladium, neque in quo foret spes, cepit conterere eum. Sic quam Plures Generationes perdidit Figmentum Malum? Et quam multos Robustos et Fortes dejecit? Generationem Diluvii; Generationes Dispersionis; Samsonem quoque, Davidem, & Salomonem. Cumque* [258v]

¹¹⁶⁶ Bochart, *Hieroicoicon*, vol. 2, bk. 2, ch. 1, col. 166. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 4, p. 272.

¹¹⁶⁷ See Appendix B.

¹¹⁶⁸ Hammond, *Paraphrase*, in *Works*, vol. 4, bk. 4, p. 289.

¹¹⁶⁹ "Inquinamentum Serpentis Antiqui" is "the filth of the ancient serpent."

*venerit Messias Filius David, incipiet conterere ipsum, sicut dicitur, Psal. 89.24. Et conteram à Facie ipsius, omnes Inimicos Eius.*¹¹⁷⁰

Q. *His Righteousness:*] What may be sometimes meant by, *Righteousness*? v. 17.

A. Lett not the Gloss be so received, as to prejudice the Consideration of the *Righteousness* of God, illustriously display'd in showing Favour to us, on the Account of the *Righteousness* of our Saviour.

But yett, it may be allowed and observed, That *Righteousness* is a term sometimes used for *Benignity*.

Thus the LXX often render it, ἐλεημοσυνη.¹¹⁷¹

Thus, Hos. 10.12. *Sow to yourselves in Righteousness*; tis by *Drusius* rendred; *Copiosè, Largiter.*¹¹⁷²

Thus; Joel. 2.23. *A Rain of Righteousness*; that is, a Bountiful Rain.

And thus; Mal. 4.7. *The Sun of Righteousness*. The Same *Drusius* will have it be, *Sol qui benignè impertit Lumen et Calorem suum.*¹¹⁷³

Q. *Hearkening* —? v. 20.

A. Or, *As soon as they hear*. Tis the Character of the Angelical Obedience; *As soon* as the *Angels* have the Will of GOD reveled unto them, the[y] Readily & Presently Obey it.¹¹⁷⁴

1170 Martin, *Pugio Fidei*, pars. 3, dist. 2, cap. 6, pp. 585–89. The beginning of this note occurs in *Psalterium*, bk. 4, p. 272. “R. Abba said: Concerning that [evil frame], Scripture says in Job 21.33: it draws all men after itself and before itself without number. But it is similar to a solitary brigand who was sitting at a certain crossroads and saying to each passerby, ‘Give me what you have on you.’ And when a clever man passed by and saw that he [the brigand] did not have a sword and that there need be no apprehension regarding him, he began to trample him underfoot. How many generations has the Evil Frame thus ruined? And how many strong and brave men has it brought low? The generation of the Flood, the generations of the Dispersion, Samson as well, David and Solomon. And when the Messiah, the Son of David, shall come, he will begin to trample it, as it is said in Ps. 89.24: And I shall trample all His enemies before His face.”

1171 Ελεημοσυνη means “alms” or “charity.”

1172 Abundantly, generously.

1173 Drusius, “Quæstionum Ebraicarum” (lib. 2, quest. 6), in *Tractatum Biblicorum* (l:1529). Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 4, p. 273. “The sun that generously imparts its light and warmth.”

1174 Hammond, *Paraphrase*, in *Works*, vol. 4, bk. 4, p. 290.

Q. The Time & Occasion of the Psalm? Tit.

A. Dr. *Patrick* looks on it, as a probable Opinion, That when *David* thought of building an House for the Divine Service, and God sent *Nathan* to forbid him, [2. Sam. VII.5.] he fell not long after, into a Contemplation of the Majesty of God; who having Built this great World, as His Temple, needed none of his erecting; tho' He would be pleased to accept One for the Burning of Sacrifice before Him. [2. Chron. II.6.] To strengthen this Conjecture, it may be observed, That the Psalm does begin with such an Admiration of God, & His most excellent Perfection, as we meet withal in the Prayer of *David*; immediately after God had certified His Love unto him, tho' He would not permitt his Building of an House for Him. There he saies, 2. Sam. VII.22. *Thou art great, O Lord, for there is none like unto thee.* Here he saies, *O Lord my God, Thou art very great;* and he proceeds to demonstrate it.¹¹⁷⁵

Dr. *Alix* observes; The Psalm contains a Commendation of the Works, both of Creation and Providence; and passes on to the Destruction of the Wicked, which have corrupted the Use of the Creatures. This chiefly relates to the Kingdome of the *Messiah*; who is to execute the *Curse* expressed in the last Verse of the Psalm.¹¹⁷⁶

Q. What may bee intended in that Passage; *Who stretchest out the Heavens, like a Curtain?* v. 2.

A. The least *Pupils* in *Astronomy*, cannot now, without some Diversion, Reflect upon the *Astronomy* of the *Ancients*, when wee Read them Declaiming, against the *Spherical Figure* of the Heavens. The many Passages to this purpose, in *Justin Martyr*, and *Ambrose*, and *Theodoret*, and *Theophylact*, and the Great *Augustin* himself, I will not Recite, lest wee should, before wee are aware, play too much with the *Beards* of our *Fathers*. Nor would wee lay aside, our Value for good old *Chrysostoms* Theology, because wee find him, in a Confident & a Triumphant Manner, Braving the World, with such a Disgression, as, ποῦ εἰσιν οἱ σφαίροειδῆ οὐρανὸν εἶναι ἀποφαινόμενοι; *Where are those Men, who Imagine that the Heavens have a Spherical Form?* Since the Scripture saies, *God stretched forth the Heavens as a Curtain;* and, *Hee spread them as a Tent to dwell in;* which are not *Spherical*.¹¹⁷⁷ Wee will not call them *Fools*, for those Harangues; but leave it

¹¹⁷⁵ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 4, pp. 493–94. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 4, p. 272.

¹¹⁷⁶ Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 4, pp. 160–61. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 4, p. 272.

¹¹⁷⁷ This paragraph seems to be a conflation of two portions of Chrysostom's writing. See his *Homily* 28 on the epistle to the Romans [PG 60.651] and *Homily* 14 on the letter to the Hebrews [PG 63.329–30].

unto one of themselves, even *Jerom*, to pass his plain Censure upon them; *Est in Ecclesiâ stultiloquium, si quis Coelum putet Fornicis Modo curvatum* Esaiæ, *quem non Intelligit, Sermone Deceptus*.¹¹⁷⁸ The *Divines* of the later Ages, are (tho', to our Surprise, the voluminous *Tostatus* were not!) better *Astronomers*, than those of the Former.¹¹⁷⁹

But tho' wee think, the *Figure* of the *Heavens*, is no way affected, in the Comparison, of, being *Stretched out Like a Curtain*, yett, why may not some such *Curiosity* as this, beyond the common Sense, bee intended in it? *A Curtain*; some render the Word, *A Skin*; whereby, it may be signified, That the *Heavens* are, as an *open Book*, which was anciently made of the *Skins* of *Beasts*, that by the Knowledge of them, wee may bee taught the Knowledge of God.¹¹⁸⁰

Q. The *Emphasis* of that; *Who lays the Beams of His Chambers in the Waters*; and what followes? v. 3.

A. Take Dr. *Patrick's* Paraphrase.

"The Floor of whose Chambers, the Lord hath laid in the upper Region of the Air: O how highly it is advanced above the Top of the stateliest Piles, that are raised by earthly Monarchs; whose pompous Chariots (whereof they boast) fall infinitely short of those glorious Clouds, wherein He makes Himself present unto us; As their Swiftest Horses are slow-paced, in Comparison with the Quick Motion, more speedy than the Wind, wherewith He visits every Part of His Dominion."

v. 4. "Into which He sends His Angels, (And what King is there, that hath such noble Ministers!) sometimes in vehement Winds, & sometimes in Lightning & Thunder; whereby they execute His Royal Pleasure."¹¹⁸¹

[260v]

Q. That Passage, *He sendeth Springs into the Valleyes, which run among the Hills?* v. 10.

A. I Willingly and Thankfully accept an Hint of a good Thought, that may add any thing to our Treasure of *Illustrations*, from any sort of Author; & grate-

¹¹⁷⁸ See Jerome's commentary on Ephesians, chapter 5 [PL 26.519], where he criticizes the "foolish person who, deceived by the word of Isaiah (whom he has not understood), imagines the sky to be a curved vault."

¹¹⁷⁹ This paragraph occurs in Mather's own brief biography of Samuel Danforth (*Magnalia Christi Americana*, bk. 4, pt. 2, ch. 3, pp. 155–56), where Mather praises Danforth mostly as an astronomer. Tostatus is Alonso Tostado (c. 1400–55), a Spanish exegete and bishop of Avila who was famed for the breadth and depth of his knowledge (*CE*).

¹¹⁸⁰ This paragraph is from "The Existence of God," in the *Works* (1684), vol. 1, pt. 2, p. 15, by Stephen Charnock (1628–80) (*AC*). This edition was held by Harvard Library (Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 4, p. 277).

¹¹⁸¹ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 4, p. 495. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 4, p. 277.

fully preserve his Name in our Pages, whatever *Sect* the Author may be of, tis no Matter. And I will now say, Nor whatever *Sex*.

A pious Gentlewoman, Mrs. *Elizabeth Walker*, ha's her *Life*, written by her Husband. The Gentleman transcribes an Illustration of hers upon this Passage: which I think it worth my while here to Transcribe over again.

"This Scripture hath a large Extent; it hath a Double Blessing in it; Temporal and Spiritual Enjoyments; The one may be Extracted from the other; it affords the *Upper*, by the *Nether* Springs. The *Valleyes* and *Hills*, represent Two Sorts of Men. The Fruitful *Valleyes* are the Character of Good Men; The Barren *Hills* are the Character of Bad Men. Both Temporal and Spiritual Blessings, are given, at least tendered, to both Good and Bad; but they are differently received. —".

— And so she proceeds.

I will take this Occasion, to offer you mine Opinion. Lett the *Allegorizing* & *Spiritualizing* Strain be limited by the Rules of Discretion and Sobriety. And then, to be led by such Scriptures as these, unto the Contemplation of what occurs in the *Kingdome of God*, may be a thing very agreeable to the Intention of the Spirit of God, in writing of them.

Thus in Reading, Psal. 65.13. *The Valleyes are covered over with Corn; they shout for Joy, they also sing*: I do not think, I did amiss, to note, That great *Fruitfulness* will afford Occasion for great *Joyfulness*. One who shall be so happy as to bring forth much Fruit, for God, & His People, & be very serviceable, [And in a low *Valley of Humility* too,] will have Cause, even to *sing for Joy*.¹¹⁸²

Q. On the, *wild Asses quenching their Thirst?* v. 11.

A. It is remarkable, That tho' the *Asses* are very stupid Creatures, yett in the Remote & Sandy Desarts, they are by the Divine Providence taught the Way to the Waters; And there's no such Way for the Thirsty Traveller, as to observe the Herds of them descending to the Streams.¹¹⁸³

Q. A Remark on that; *Grass for the Beasts?* v. 14.

A. It is observed, by Dr. *Nieuwentyt*, That sad Experience ha's taught us, in Barren Years, that no Body can live off[f] *Grass*. But then, by being eaten of Beasts, it is changed into their own Substance, & becomes useful not only for Food, but even for Dainties too. My *Religious Philosopher* observes, That we may look upon *Oxen*, and *Sheep*, and all other Creatures that are taken by Men for

¹¹⁸² Anthony Walker (d. 1692) wrote a memorial of the life of his wife, Mrs. Elizabeth Walker (1623–90), first published in 1690, as *The Holy Life of Mrs. Elizabeth Walker (DNB)*. This biography was reissued in 1694, after Anthony's death, with an expanded title of *The Vertuous Wife: Or, the Holy Life of Mrs. Elizabeth Walker*. See sec. 14, p. 85.

¹¹⁸³ Hammond, *Paraphrase*, in *Works*, vol. 4, bk. 4, p. 295.

Food, as being so many living & walking *Kitchens*; in which the *Grass* otherwise unprofitable, becomes a good, wholesome, and palatable Food.

The Doctor looks on it, with a Just Admiration; That *Grass* grows almost every where, without any Trouble, even in the most solitary Wildernesses, where it feeds the *Deer*, and other *Grass-eaters*. Whereas, to produce Corn, & humane Food from the Earth, there is required so much ploughing, harrowing, sowing, weeding, mowing, and so much other painful Toiling.

He sees the Accomplishment, of the ancient Threatning; Gen. III.17, 18, 19.

What Pains does it require to clear the Ground of *Thorns* & *Thistles*, that it may be fitted for the Support of Mankind!¹¹⁸⁴

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Q. Wine that makes glad the Heart of Man? v. 15.

A. So, *Anacreon* putts upon Wine, the term of λυσίφρων.¹¹⁸⁵ *Bacchus* is in the Epigram called, λυσίμεριμνος.¹¹⁸⁶ *Horace* thus expresses it, *Sollicitis animis onus eximit*.¹¹⁸⁷

[*2163:*)

Q. Why is it said of *Oyl*, It makes the Face of Man to shine? v. 15.

A. The *Eating* of it, and the *Ointing* with it, you know, produces this Effect. But besides this, hear *David Kimchi*; *Indicat Noctis Lampades, que illuminant Facies Hominum*.¹¹⁸⁸

Q. We read, *As for the Stork, the Fir-trees are her House*. According to common Observation, they rather build on Chimneys, & on the Tops of High Houses? v. 17.¹¹⁸⁹

A. If we lett the common Translation of, *The Fir-trees*, remain undisturbed, it is commonly observed of the *Black Stork*; and according to the Description of *Ornithologus* in *Aldrovandus*, such *Storks* are found in many Places, and they

1184 The anti-Spinozist work of Bernard Nieuwentyt, *The Right Use of the Contemplation of the World (Het Regt Gebruik der Weerelt Beschouwingen)*, was translated and published in London in a three volume edition in 1718–19, as *The Religious Philosopher*, which was among Harvard's holdings. See *Religious Philosopher*, contempl. 20, sec. 3 (2:546–47).

1185 The idea that wine gives “release from care” is in *Ode* 48.5 of *Anacreon* (b. c. 575–570 BCE), a Greek lyric poet celebrated for his drinking songs (*OCCC*).

1186 A common epithet for *Bacchus* or *Dionysus* is he who “drives care away.”

1187 See *Horace's Epistulae* (1.5.18), where he says that wine “relieves the burden of our souls.” All of the references are contained in Gell, *Essay*, serm. 2, p. 53.

1188 *Viccars, Decapla*, lib. 4, p. 195. *Mather, Psalterium*, bk. 4, p. 277. “It indicates the night lamps which illuminate the faces of men.”

1189 The annotation is from Browne, *Certain Miscellany Tracts*, tract 1, pp. 48–9.

do, *In Arboribus nidulari, præsertim in Abietibus*; make their *Nests*, especially on *Fir-trees*.¹¹⁹⁰

Nor is it wholly disagreeable to the practice of the common *White Stork*; which, according to *Varro*, *Nidulantur in Agris*. *Aldrovandus* concedes, That sometimes they build in *Trees*; and *Belonius* asserts, That Men dress Nests on High Trees in marish Regions, for *Storks* to take up their Dwelling in them.¹¹⁹¹

And where else could they Build, before Men præpared political Habitations for them, & by Conveniencies there invited them to leave their natural Places of Nidulation.

Q. *The Sun Riseth*, and then the Wild-beasts *Lay themselves down in their Dens*? v. 22.

A. Behold a rare Stroke in the *Midrasch Tillin*; a rare Stroke from Infidel Jewes! The *Sun*, is the *Messiah*. Yea, they proceed further, to find in *Hell*, the *Dens* of the *Wild-beasts*.¹¹⁹²

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[262v]

Q. On that, *How Manifold are thy Works*? v. 24.

A. Writer, and Reader, Both of you be astonished!

Besides the vast Myriads, & Millions of Creatures in the *spiritual World*, the Number of the corporeal Creatures is astonishing. The Number of the *Fixed Stars*, is to us incomprehensible. The Telescope ha's brought thousands to Light, more than we see with the Naked Eye. The *Milky Way* is found now to be nothing but Swarms of them. And it is now suspected, that every such *Star*, is a sort of *Sun*, with a *Chorus* of *Planets* about it. How vast the Magnitude of the *Stars*, and their *planetary Satellites*, & *how Manifold the Works of God* in each of them!

Come down to our Globe, and passing by the *Meteors* in our Descent, the *Fossils* cannot be numbred.

Of *Beasts* we know *one hundred & fifty* Sorts; including the *Serpents*. Of *Birds* we know about *Five Hundred*. The *Fishes* make as many; excluding the *Shel-fish*. If you take them in, they make more than six times as many. It is probable, at least a Third Part as many *Birds*, and half as many *Fishes*, are yett undiscovered. The exanquious *Insects*, both *Terrestrial* and *Aquatic*, afford, by the excellent *Rays* Computation, little short of *Twenty Thousand*. The Number of *Plants*, in the *Pinax* of *Bauhinus*, is about *Six Thousand*. But our Industrious

¹¹⁹⁰ Ulisse Aldrovandi (1522–1605) was an Italian naturalist and prolific author who established one of the first botanical gardens in Europe (*ODR*). Thomas Browne here refers to his 3-vol. *Ornithologiae hoc est De Avibus Historiae* (1599–1603). This entry is in the third volume in the chapter related to the black stork. See *Ornithologiae tomus tertius, ac postremus*, lib. 20, cap. 2, p. 310.

¹¹⁹¹ Varro, *De re Rustica*, 3.5.6. For Belon, see above.

¹¹⁹² Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 4, p. 296. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 4, p. 277.

Ray, with good Reason concludes, there are in the World more than Triple that Number.

But then, what prodigious Numbers of Individuals in the several *Species*! Of this we have an amazing Instance, in the Animalcules discovered by Mr. *Leuenhoek*, which have been confirmed by Dr. *Hook*. To his Friends, whose Testimonials he desired, he showed no less than 10000, yea, 30000, yea, 45000, living Creatures, in a Quantity of Water, no bigger than a Grain of Millet. And yett his Request unto them was, that they would only justify Half the Number, of what they really saw. He affirms 8280000 of these living Creatures, to be seen in a Drop of Water. And he asserts, that, if a Grain of Sand were broken into 8000000 of equal Parts, one of these would not exceed the Bigness of one of those Creatures. Dr. *Hook* afterwards discovered, not only these Animalcules, but others that were much smaller than these; whereof *Millions of Millions* in one Drop of Water. The Acclamations of *Pliny*, on the *Insects* which were visible to the Naked Eye, were very pathetic. *Rerum Natura; nusquam magis quam in Minimis tota est!*

But what shall *We* now say? Swallowed up with Admiration, at the View of His *manifold Works*, we must cry out, *Oh! The Power, Oh! The Wisdome, Oh! the Majesty of our Glorious GOD!*¹¹⁹³

Q. What is there observable in that Passage; *The Lord shall Rejoice in His Works?* v. 31.

A. The Psalm having spoken of the Lords *Feeding every Creature*, and of other Works wherein His Goodness & Bounty is Illustrious, this is the Conclusion; *The Lord Rejoiceth in His Works*. An Intimation, that He does all this Good unto His Creatures, with Delight; He Rejoices in it; It q.d. does Him good, to see His Creatures Happy.¹¹⁹⁴

Q. Our *Meditation on GOD, sweet:* unto whom? v. 34.

A. Not only to him that meditates. But it may be rendred, *sweet to Him*; It is Acceptable to GOD Himself.¹¹⁹⁵

¹¹⁹³ This note is composed of several pages of the much reprinted text of naturalist John Ray (1627–1705) (*ODS*), *The Wisdom of God Manifested in the Works of Creation*. The Harvard Library held the 1709 edition of this work, which I have used here. See pt. 1, pp 18, 22, 24–5, and 194–96. Ray, of course, references the microscopic findings of Antonie van Leeuwenhoek (1632–1723) (*ODS*), as well as the now lesser known botanical encyclopedia of Gasphard Bauhin (1560–1624), the *Pinax Theatri Botanici* (*ODR*). The quotation of Pliny is from the *Natural History* (11.1): “Nature is nowhere to be seen with greater perfection than in the smallest of its works.” Mather inserts much of the same note into *Psalterium*, bk. 4, pp. 277–78.

¹¹⁹⁴ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 4, p. 500. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 4, p. 278.

¹¹⁹⁵ Hammond, *Paraphrase, in Works*, vol. 4, bk. 4, p. 296.

Q. Some Remark, I pray you, upon that great Word, HALLELUIAH? v. 35.

A. The Jewes have a Remark, That *Hallelujahs*, are not used until, *the Sinners bee consumed out of the Earth, & the Wicked bee no more.*

Compare the Repetition of *Hallelujah*, in the *Apocalypse*, with this Observation.

Hallelujah is a Note calculated, for the Time of the *great Revolution*, when the Kingdome of the *Messiah* shall arrive.

Under the Kingdome of *Antichrist*, there ha's been a Mock-usage of *Allelujahs*; but it is ridiculous to read, the foolish & monstrous *Etymologies* of that Word, assigned by the most celebrated Writers among the Romanists.

Consider, whether I have not now help'd you, to a Notable *Key*, for the Opening of the *Halleluiatic* Psalms.¹¹⁹⁶

¹¹⁹⁶ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 4, 296; Ainsworth, *Annotations*, p. 150; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 4, p. 278. Mather demonstrates here not only his deep knowledge of Rabbinic and Christian commentary, but his casual comfort with Christian Scripture. The KJV translates the conclusion of Ps. 104:35 as, "Praise ye the LORD." This of course, is what Hallelujah means. The imperative "Praise the LORD" occurs only in Psalms in the Old Testament. The transliterated Hebrew word itself, Hallelujah, or Alleluia, occurs in the New Testament only in Revelation. The singularities, given the Rabbinic reading, would not have been mere coincidence to Mather.

Q. The Scope?

A. A Meditation præpared by the *Prophetic Spirit*, for the [******]¹¹⁹⁷ True *Israel*; to raise their Expectation of such Things to be done for them, as were done for the Deliverance out of *Egypt*. Compare Mic. VII.15.¹¹⁹⁸

Q. How, *Glory in His Holy Name*? v. 3.

A. Reckon it your *Glory*, to be the Servants of such an Holy Lord.¹¹⁹⁹

1724.

Q. How may those Words bee taken; *O yee Seed of Abraham, His Servant, yee Children of Jacob, His Chosen; Hee is the Lord our God*? v. 7.

A. It is the Command given just before; *Seek the Lord, and His Strength, and His Face*: Now, the *Strength of God*, and, the *Face of God*, are the Names of the *Messiah*.¹²⁰⁰

Well, so consult some Ancient Jewish Commentaries, and you'll bee ready to Beleeve, that the Text now before us, is to run thus; *The Seed of Abraham, His Servant, & of the Children of Jacob, even His Chosen* among them, (that is to say, the Tribe of *Judah*,) *Hee is the Lord our God*. Behold, a glorious Prophecy, with the Divine Character, of the *Messiah*.

Thus wee read, in Mal. 2.15 of a *Godly Seed*; in the Original tis, *The Seed who is God*. And the Old *Rabbins* understand it, of the *Messiah*.¹²⁰¹

Q. Give us the Sense of Antiquity, upon, *The Word commanded for a Thousand Generations*? v. 8.

A. *Arnobius* will endeavour to find the *Thousand Generations*, in so many Distinct Nations and Languages, found among the Sons of *Noah*; the *Seventy Two*, in the Process of Time growing into a *Thousand*.¹²⁰²

Q. Some Thoughts one may have, upon that Passage, *Hee hath Remembred His Covenant forever, the Word Hee commanded to a Thousand Generations*? v. 8.

¹¹⁹⁷ [*Jewish Nation*]

¹¹⁹⁸ Allix, *The Book of Psalms*, bk. 4, p. 163. The original quotation from Allix occurs in *Psalterium*, bk. 4, p. 283.

¹¹⁹⁹ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 4, p. 503.

¹²⁰⁰ Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 4, p. 283, where the reference is to verse 4.

¹²⁰¹ Martin, *Pugio Fidei*, pars. 2, cap. 9, pp. 378–79. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 4, p. 283, where it occurs in reference to verse 6.

¹²⁰² Arnobius, *Commentarii in Psalmos* [PL 53.480–481]. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 4, p. 283.

A. My Thoughts at present bee such as These.

First; The great Article of the *New Covenant* is, That the Lord Jehovah will bee a *God* unto His People. See Gen. 17.7. and Jer. 32.38.

Secondly, In that Article, tis implied, That the Lord Jehovah, will in His *Messiah* give Himself to bee sensibly enjoy'd by them.

Consider, Lev. 26.12.

Thirdly; Hence the New Covenant will not bee fulfilled, in the full sense of it, until the *Davidical* Kingdome of the *Messiah*, or, the Time, when Hee shall sitt upon the *Throne of His Glory* among His People.

Consider, Psal. 89.34.

Fourthly; Nor indeed, until the *Resurrection from the Dead*.

Consider, Matth. 22.31, 32.

Briefly, consider Heb. 2.16. and Rev. 21.3. and you will see, That the *Lords being our God*, is to bee accomplished, in our Admission into that Heavenly *City of God*, where the *Messiah* will walk among us.

Well, Fifthly; There is a *Generation*, or, a Period of Time, wherein this *Covenant* of God, will bee *Remembred* and Performed. But what will bee the special Character of that Period? Of that, methinks, wee are advised in the Text now before us.

The World, where wee sojourn, will not endure a *Thousand Generations*. But, if you take a *Generation*, in the Signification of the Law, for *Seven Years*, then a *Thousand Generations*, are *Seven Thousand Years*. And indeed, this is the Duration, allow'd for the World, which Duration the *Seven Dayes* of the Creation Typified.

But in the Text now before us, the Word is not of the plural Number; it notes one special *Generation*, or, (if you will) *Revolution*. And as for the Character of a *Thousand* here putt upon it, I find one to render it, *The First Age* (which *Bildad* sends *Job* to, enquire after;) namely, That of the Patriarchs to whom the Lord gave the *Covenant*. Yea, R. *David Kimchi* renders it, *Ad Ducem in Generatione*, and expounds it of *Abraham*. But, if wee still keep, to our Translation, of, a *Thousand*, why may it not signify, *The millennial Generation*, or, the Period of Time, that shall have the Sabbatical Character of a *Thousand Years* upon it?¹²⁰³

Moses, you know, sang, in Psal. 90.3, 4. *Thou Turnest Man to Destruction, and saist, Return yee Children of Men*. This is a Prophecy of the *Resurrection*. It followes, *A Thousand Years in thy Sight, are as Yesterday when it is past*. There shall then bee a Period of a *Thousand Years*, wherein the Lord will bee a *God* unto His People, by Residing among them, in the *City of God*, come down from Heaven hither: A thing of as much Certainty, as if it were already *Past*.¹²⁰⁴

¹²⁰³ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 4, p. 299. "To the leader in the generation."

¹²⁰⁴ I have not been able to identify a source that contains these exact cross-references, but one possible inspiration is Martin Geier's commentary on the Psalms, which was held by

Q. What *Kings*? v. 14, 15.

A. See Gen. XII.16. and Gen. XX.3.¹²⁰⁵

It is a little Pleasure to read *Eusebius* in his *Demonstratio Evangelica* thus answering the Cavils of the Pagans about the *Novelty* of *Christianity*, That the Ancient *Patriarchs* were the *Christians* of the Old World, *Who had the same Faith, Religion, & Worship with us*; yea, and he adds, the *same Name* too. For which Purpose he brings this Text. *Touch not, των χριστων μου, My Christs*, or, *My Christians*.¹²⁰⁶

Q. How is it said of *Joseph*, *The Word of the Lord Tried him*? v. 19.

A. *Tried*:] the Hebrew Word may be rendred, *cleared*, or, *purged*. It was evident, that God would not in that Manner Inspire one, guilty of the Crimes, whereof *Joseph* was Accused.¹²⁰⁷

Q. How was *Joseph*, To *bind his Princes at his Pleasure*? v. 22.

A. R. *Solomon* renders it, *Alligare in Animam Suam*, and expounds it, from the *Knitting* of the Soul of *Jonathan* to *David*. q. d. *Diligebant illum omnes principes*.¹²⁰⁸

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|
†*1078.*‡

Q. Why is the Plague of *Darkness*, mentioned by the Psalmist, as the *First*, that came upon the *Egyptians*; whenas it was the *Ninth*? v. 28.

A. The *First*, because it was the *Worst*.

As the Men of *Sodom*, & the *Jewes* at the Death of our Lord, & the People of the *old World*, were struck with *Darkness*, before they went into utter *Darkness*, thus t'was with the *Egyptians*. And it was the Terriblest of all the *Plagues*, that had yett come upon them! For this litt upon every Individual Person among them all; and it was accompanied with horrible Terrors to their Consciences, by the Apparitions of *Divels* and *Spectres* unto them, in this *Darkness*. They were thus in *Hell upon Earth*: and hence *Pharaoh* was more moved by this, than by all the former Judgments of God upon him. Tis remarkable therefore, that in Psal. 78.49. the Plague of *Darkness* is not mentioned by *Name*; only in the *Place*

Harvard Library. See *Opera Omnia* (1:1607–10). The entire note occurs in *Psalterium*, bk. 4, pp. 283–84.

¹²⁰⁵ Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 4, p. 284.

¹²⁰⁶ *Demonstratio Evangelica* (4.15).

¹²⁰⁷ Hammond, *Paraphrase*, in *Works*, vol. 4, bk. 4, p. 301. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 4, p. 284.

¹²⁰⁸ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 4, p. 300. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 4, p. 284. Rabbi Solomon's gloss is that *Joseph* was able "to bind his own soul" and so "all the princes loved him."

where it should have been mentioned, wee have this Quintessence of it, *Hee sent Evil Angels among them.*¹²⁰⁹

[*1079:8]

Q. What is the Design of that Clause, added unto the Plague of *Darkness* upon *Egypt*, *They Rebelled not against His Word?* v. 28.

A. Dr. *Lightfoot* understands it of *Israels* taking this Time, to perform that Part of Obedience, their *Circumcision*.

They had become like the *Egyptians* in *Uncircumcision*, as well as in *Idolatry*. For when *Joshua* circumcised the next Generation, at their Entrance into *Canaan*, hee said, Josh. 5.9. *I have Rolled away from you the Reproach of Egypt*; namely, the Reproachful *Uncircumcision*, wherein they had been like to the *Egyptians*. But when God ordained the *Passover*, Hee required *Circumcision*; for no uncircumcised Person might eat thereof. The *Israelites* now were generally uncircumcised; except some few that were Constant unto the *Covenant of God*. And that there was a *general Circumcision* in *Egypt*, is inferred, from a Passage, in Gods Command unto *Joshua*, To circumcise the People a *second Time*. Now that must bee in *Egypt*, or not at all: for in the Wilderness, there was no *Circumcision* at all.

Behold, the wonderful Providence of God! While *Israel* satt sore of *Circumcision*, God closeth up *Egypt*, in Three Dayes Darkness and Horror; that they might have no Advantage against His obedient People.¹²¹⁰

Q. That famous Passage, *He opened the Rock, & the Waters gushed out*; How was it misreported, & vilely travestied, by the Pagans in After-generations? v. 41.

A. *Tertullian* in his *Apologetic*, is putt upon taking some Notice of a Ridiculous Calumny upon the Christians, That the *Head of an Ass* was *their God*. He saies, The Original of this Calumny, probably was a Tradition, That the *Jewes* being Banished out of *Egypt*, & in great Want of Water in the Desarts of *Arabia*, putt themselves under the Conduct of some *Wild Asses* they mett by Chance, concluding that, they were going to drink after Pasture; & being in the very Article of Necessity thus luckily revived, out of Gratitude unto their Benefactors, they consecrated an Head, resembling that of the Beasts, who had befriended them in their Extremity.

Tertullian saies, *Cornelius Tacitus hanc suspicionem inseruit*. This is indeed confidently Reported, not only by *Tacitus*, but by *Plutarch* too [Sympos. l.4.q.5], And by *Appio* the *Alexandrian* many Years before.¹²¹¹

¹²⁰⁹ This note appears to be inspired by John Lightfoot's "A Sermon Preached at Hertford Assize" in *Works* (2:1084).

¹²¹⁰ Lightfoot, *Handful of Gleanings*, sec. 16 (*Works* 1:707). Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 4, p. 284.

¹²¹¹ "Cornelius Tacitus introduced this suspicion."

One *Reeves* informs me, That this monstrous Fable ha's been as confidently taken up, and as Villianously and as Blasphemously Improved by some of the modern Atheists, to discredit the Miracle of *Moses* in making the Waters flow out of the Rock. To solve this glorious Work, with a mighty Air of Assurance they say, that *Moses* did all this, by the Help of a *Wild Ass*, which he made to follow him, by the Sagacity of which Thirsty Ass, he discovered a Secret Spring in the Rock.

Abominable Bruits! *Tertullian* goes on in his pungent Way to insult his Pagans; "As for the *Asses Head*, I cannot but admire, that you should insist upon it against Christians, you who cannot deny, but that you pay Divine Honours to all the Beasts of Burden, to *Asses Heads* & *Bodies* both, together with their Goddess *Epona*."

So may we tell those Absurd and Senseless *Atheists*; Wretches, No *Asses* in an *Arabian* Desert, can have such *Stupid Heads* as yours.¹²¹²

¹²¹² Mather here relies on the translation of *Tertullian's Apologetic*, ch. 16 (1:234–35), by William Reeves (1667–1726) (*DNB*). *Tertullian* refers to Tacitus's *Histories* (5.1) and Plutarch's *Symposiacs* (4.5). Appio is the figure Josephus responds to in his polemic *Against Apion* (2.1.7), where Josephus derides the opinion of Apion that the Jews placed the head of an ass in their Holy of Holies. "Epona," according to Reeves, was "the goddess of stables" (p. 235).

Q. The Time & Occasion of the Psalm? Tit.

A. Most Interpreters, imagine it made in the Time of the *Babylonian* Captivity: because of that Expression & Petition in the last Verse but one, *gather us from among the Heathen*.

But Dr. *Patrick* rather imagines, that this Petition refers to those, who in the Dayes of *Saul*, or before, were taken Prisoners by the *Philistines*, & other Nations. It may be *David* therefore, who prays that God would Restore these to their own Land again; that they might worship Him in that Place, which He had præpared for the Ark of His Presence.¹²¹³

Dr. *Alix* here finds the Prophetic Spirit, præparing an humble Confession, for the Jews to make, of the Sins of their Fathers, & Petition that GOD would gather them from among the Nations.¹²¹⁴

Q. The Emphasis of, *Doing Righteousness at all times?* v. 3.

A. Dr. *Patrick's* Paraphrase gives a good Hint, in this Parenthesis.

“(Not only when they have newly received His Benefits, but throughout the whole Course of their Lives.)”¹²¹⁵

Q. How was it, that they *Then sang His Praise?* v. 12.

A. They Then sang the Song in the *Fifteenth Chapter* of *Exodus*.¹²¹⁶

Q. What the Meaning of, *Leanness sent into the Soul?* v. 15.

A. *Munster* observes, Tis a Phrase for *Death*.¹²¹⁷

Q. It is here said, *The Earth opened, and swallowed up Dathan, and covered the Company of Abiram*. Why no Mention made of *Corah?* v. 17.

A. The Psalm was to bee sung, by the Sons of *Corah*. And R. *Solomon* observes, *Honorat Filios Coræ, et non meminit Patris eorum*.¹²¹⁸

¹²¹³ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 4, p. 513.

¹²¹⁴ Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 4, p. 166. The entire note, in a different order, is reproduced in *Psalterium*, bk. 4, pp. 289–90. There, the sentence from Allix precedes the remark of Patrick, suggesting that Mather's primary interest in 1718 remained Allix's belief that the Jews returning to their homeland would herald the return of Christ.

¹²¹⁵ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 4, p. 514.

¹²¹⁶ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 4, p. 516.

¹²¹⁷ Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3912–13). Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 4, p. 290.

¹²¹⁸ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 4, 305. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 4, p. 290. “It honors the sons of Corah, and is not mindful of their father.”

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[^a409:^a]

Q. What is implied by that Expression, *Then stood up Phinehas*? v. 30.

A. To *stand in Prayer*, was a *Posture* so usual among the Jewes, that it became a *Phrase*, for *Prayer*. I'l give you their own Words, upon it; *Scribitur, surrexit Abraham, Manè ad Locum, quò steterat* [Gen. 19.27.] *stare autem, nihil aliud significat, quam orare.* q.d. *Et Stetit Phinehas, Et Judicavit.* [Ps. 106.30.] Mass. Brachos fol.20. col. 2.¹²¹⁹

Compare Luc. 18.2. and Math. 6.5.

I may on this Occasion add, That it was their constant Custome, in Prayer, to *Look Downward*; aiming thereby both to Express *Humility* and Hinder *Distraction*. This Rite, they thought so necessary to *Prayer*, that *Absque, eâ si esset, Precationem dicerent Cassam Nucem, et Campanam Pistillo destitutam.*¹²²⁰ To pass by, the many Rabbinical Intimations about this Matter, I'l only quote you the Words of R. *Moses Mikkotzi: Ait R. Jesse: Qui stat in Oratione, demittet Oculos suos deorsum, ut qui intuetur Terram: Cor autem ejus conversum sit sursum, tanquam consisteret in Coelo:* q. d. Attollamus Corda nostra, cum Manibus ad Deum in Coelo. [Thren. 3.41.]¹²²¹

¹²¹⁹ Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 4, p. 290. "It is written: Abraham stood up in the morning at the place where he had stood [Gen. 19.27]. 'To stand,' however, signifies nothing else than 'to pray.' As if one were to say, 'and Phinehas stood, and he judged [in prayer].'" The reference to "Mass Brachos" is to the Masorah Berachoth (on Benedictions) 6b: "R. Helbo, in the name of R. Huna, says: Whosoever has a fixed place for his prayer has the God of Abraham as his helper. And when he dies, people will say of him: Where is the pious man, where is the humble man, one of the disciples of our father Abraham! — How do we know that our father Abraham had a fixed place [for his prayer]? For it is written: And Abraham got up early in the morning to the place where he had stood. And 'standing' means nothing else but prayer. For it is said: Then stood up Phinehas and prayed."

¹²²⁰ "Without it, they would say a prayer as if it were an empty nutshell or a bell deprived of its clapper."

¹²²¹ I have not been able to identify where Mather might have read this work of Johannes Saubert the Younger (1638–88), a Lutheran theologian and orientalist (*BBK*), but the order and exactness of the quotations and references suggests that Mather is copying here from Saubert's *Palæstra Theologico-Philologica*, prop. 5, cap. 3, pp. 106–07. "R. Jesse says, He who stands in prayer will let his eyes drop down as one who contemplates the earth; his heart, however, should be turned upwards as if it rested in the sky: as if one should say, Let us lift up our hearts along with our hands to God in heaven."

[**]¹²²²

Q. May not one make upon certain Passages in the *Psalm* now before us, a *sorrowful Observation* about a *sinful Disposition*, generally prevailing in the Children of Men?

A. Yes. We have it several times over; *They cry unto the Lord in their Trouble*. But we do not find it said so much as once, upon their Deliverances, *Then they praised the Lord for His Goodness*. No; That Matter alwayes comes in, with an, *Oh! that Men would praise the Lord for His Goodness*. Tis to be *Desired* that they *would*; hardly *supposed*, that they *will*.¹²²³

Q. What mystical Interpretation did Christian Antiquity putt upon the, *Gates of Brass & Bars of Iron?* v. 16.

A. Ill Habits of Sin. So *Arnobius*. *Portæ aræ, sunt Consuetudines vitiosæ, quæ sic claudunt nos, ut propemodum etiam arbitrium nostræ Libertatis includant.*¹²²⁴

Q. Can you give mee any Remarkable Gloss on that Passage, *Hee sent His Word, and Healed them, and Delivered them from their Destructions?* v. 20.

A. Find, if you can, any where, for your Life, so Remarkable a Passage, as that which *Galatinus* recites, from the Commentaries of *R. Isaac Arama*, on the Book of *Genesis*. I'll choose to Translate 'em.

"*R. Samuel Levita*, saies, The *Word of God* is His *Messenger*; of whom tis written, *Truly my Word is like Fire*. And this is that which is said, *Thy Word shall Come, & wee will Honour thee*. For certain, when that *Word of God*, which is His *Messenger*, Comes, wee shall *Honour* Him.

"*R. Saul* said, Did not the *Prophets* come, and did not wee slay them, and shed their Blood? How shall wee now *Receive His Word*? Or, why shall wee *Beleeve* Him?

"*R. Samuel* answered, Because, *Hee shall Heal them, and shall Deliver them from their Destructions*. Because of these *Miracles*, wee shall *Beleeve* Him, and *Honour* Him.

¹²²² [*Q. The Scope?

A. Tis an Hymn for the Jewish Nation gathered from its Dispersion and confessing the Miracles which the Messiah performs for their Deliverance.*] The excised note is retained in *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 295.

¹²²³ Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 295.

¹²²⁴ *Arnobius, Commentarii in Psalmos* [PL 53.489]. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 295. "The gates of brass are bad habits which so hem us in that they almost confine even the exercise of our freedom."

[268v] “Hee then said, why did not hee say, *Hee shall send His Word, and Heal Us; but, Hee shall Heal Them?*” | “Hee answered, This is (as I think) because hee speaks of but a *Part*, and not of *All*.

“Hee said, Indeed you speak the Truth; For *His Word* comes to Heal *All* universally, not only *Some*, and a *Part*; but hee is not Received, except by certain Particular Persons, who seem to other Persons of a *Dull Witt*, even *Fishermen*, and Persons whose Business lies upon the *Waters*. And this is what is here said, *They that go to Sea in Ships, & do business in great Waters, They see the Works of the Lord*. These truly, if you rightly consider them, do not seem likely Persons to entertain any *Intellectual Matters*, for the Rudeness of their Senses. Yett these, I say, Receive the Truth of the Prophecy, & the Vision, for, *They Beleeve His Word*.”¹²²⁵

Ponder this Admirable Passage of a *Jew*, with a Just Admiration, and lett it Confirm you in being a *Christian*.¹²²⁶

Q. According to the mystical Interpretation, of Christian Antiquity, who are they that *go to Sea in Ships, & do business in the great Waters?* v. 23.

A. *Arnobius* will tell you, They that lead an Holy Conversation in the World, and by their Instruction and Exemple endeavour to bring many People unto Piety.¹²²⁷

Q. Perhaps the Pen of a *Traveller*, may do well to Illustrate that Paragraph of the Psalm, which describes the Fate of the *Mariner?* v. 32.

A. None (that I have yett seen) more agreeably, than Mr. *Francis Leguat*, an Ingenious & Religious French Gentleman, who in his Voyage to the *East-Indies*, thus relates a Storm which befell them, after they had left the Cape of *Good Hope*.

“The Wind became impetuous, in a very little Time, and the Sea foaming & lifting up its *Waves*, formed Mountains that seemed higher than our Masts: The *Air* appear'd to be all on *Fire*: Lightnings struck us almost blind; and the Waves rolled dreadfully in upon us: All things were in Confusion, & horrible Disorder! Our Tackling broke; our Chests, our Arms, our Beds, the Mariners & Passengers, were tumbled *pel-mell* from one side to t'other. The Heavens

¹²²⁵ This paragraph, in slightly altered form, which still references Galatinus, appears in *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 295.

¹²²⁶ Pietro Galatino or Petrus Galatinus (1460–1540) was an early Renaissance Hebraist who, writing in the vein of Ramon Martin, attempted to prove through the Rabbis that the Hebrew authorities had foretold the advent of Christ. His chief work was *De Arcanis Catholicae Veritatis* (1518), which in addition to drawing from Martin's reading of the Rabbis also depended upon the cabbalistic writings (*CE*). Rabbi Isaac ben Moses Arama (1420–94) was the author of a lengthy philosophical work on the Pentateuch entitled “The Offering of Isaac” (*Akedat Yizḥāq*) (*ODWR*). The entire annotation is derived from Witsius' *Miscellaneorum Sacrorum*, tom. 2, exer. 3, p. 72.

¹²²⁷ Arnobius, *Commentarii in Psalmos* [PL 53.490]. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 295.

which appear'd at first to us, to be all on fire, were now hid from our Eyes by black Clouds, from whose profound Depths issued such Torrents of Water, as threatened to overwhelm those that handled the Ropes with present Destruction. Our Deck was always a Foot Deep in Water; for the Sea threw it in faster than it could run out. The same Wind increased still to a certain Point, after which, all the others blew successively; and sometimes mingled together with æqual Fury, to make Sport with our poor Vessel; which this Minute, they tossed up to the Skies, and anon sunk down to the Earth. During the Ten Hours, that this Tempest lasted, all the Winds conspired to make an entire *Tour* of the Compass; and, it being impossible to handle the Ropes and Sails, to work the Ship regularly, we were all that while obliged to abandon ourselves to the Fury of the Waves. At last, the Storm decreas'd by little & little; we recovered Hope in the Midst of Despair; & heartily congratulated one another on our common Deliverance: Each of us feeling a secret Joy, which none can be sensible of, that ha's not escap'd the like Danger, & been delivered out of so great & so just a Fright. We therefore returned Thanks to Him, who had præserv'd us in the Midst of it, thro' His infinite Mercy.

"When we were a little come to ourselves we look'd upon those dreadful Billowes, which threatened still to swallow us up, as if they only play'd with us; and concluded, that the Tempest in which we had been, could be nothing less than an *Hurricane*. We found a true and lively Description of it, in the CVII Psalm; which we read with great Pleasure and Admiration; as we did also the XXIX.

"Lett who will boast of the famous *Ideas* of *Virgil*, on the same Subject; what he saies, does not come up to the *Sublime* of these Two Psalms. And indeed, all the Places admired by the Pedants, in the *Greek* and *Latin* Poets, are but Trifles, in Comparison with the Magnificent & Inimitable Canticles of *David*."¹²²⁸

Q. Upon that, *He turns a fruitful Land into barrenness, for the Wickedness of them that dwell therein?* v. 34.

A. Honest Mr. *Terry*, in his Travels, makes a Remark upon it, as *Coryat* had also done before him.

Such a *Fruitful Land*, was that of *Canaan*, & so like the *Garden of God*, that a Spott of Ground, which was not above an hundred & sixty Miles in Length, from *Dan*, to *Beersheba*, and not above sixty Miles in Breadth, from *Joppa* to *Jordan*, was able to feed a People in *David's* Time, which had *thirteen hundred thousand Fighting Men* among them. Whereas the Blessing of God, is now so far

1228 Francis Leguat (1638–1735), *A New Voyage to the East-Indies*, pp. 31–3.

withdrawn from it, that the Land will not nourish & sustain, One Hundredth Part of such a Number as once lived upon it.¹²²⁹

Q. How is it said, *Whoso will observe those things, even they shall understand the loving Kindness of the Lord?* v. 43.

A. Dr. *Patrick* thus paraphrases it. “Whosoever will be truly wise, ought to mark & ponder such Passages as these, in the Divine Government; that they may make others, who are less considerate, understand how very kind & gracious the Lord is, to those, who study to please Him, and obtain His Favour, by Dutiful Obedience, and Humble Submission unto Him.”¹²³⁰

¹²²⁹ Terry, *A Voyage to East-India*, p. 66. Coryat is Thomas Coryate (1577?–1617), another traveler to the east and Terry’s informant in this instance (*ODR*). Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 295.

¹²³⁰ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras’d*, bk. 5, pp. 533–34. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 295.

Q. The Scope?

A. The Prophetic Spirit here teaches the [******]¹²³¹ Holy People, to sigh after the glorious Reign of the Messiah: when they shall Repossess their Countrey, & see the Destruction of their Enemies; especially of *Edom*, or the *Roman Empire*.¹²³²

Q. On that, *I will awake early?* v. 2.

A. Some have noted an Emphasis in the Original; which is to be translated Word for Word, *Experge faciam Auroram*. As if the Psalmist had said, “The Morning ha’s never took me napping, but I rather wakened *That*.”¹²³³

Q. How, *Above the Heavens?* v. 4.

A. Some take it, *From Above*. The Mercy is continued *from Above*, unto the Lowest & Meanest of us upon the Earth.¹²³⁴

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Q. That Passage, *Moab is my Wash-pot, over Edom will I cast my Shooe*: A little further Gloss, if you please, upon it? v. 9.

A. *Aben-Ezra’s* Gloss upon it, is, *Quâ Terram meam Irrigabo; Non lædam, sed Benefaciam Terræ per Manus Moab*.

R. *Solomons* Gloss upon it, is, *Moab habet Ollam, et ut Servus Aquas in Manus meas et Pedes effundit*. Hee compares, 2. King. 3.11, *Elisha poured Water on the Hands of Elijah*.

And then hee proceeds;

*Mittam ad Edom Calceum meum. Ut præparet Corrigiam Calcei mei, sicut mos servi est, qui Calceos Domini sui gestat, solvit dissolvitque Corrigiam.*¹²³⁵

¹²³¹ [***Jewish Nation***]

¹²³² Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 5, p. 173. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 297.

¹²³³ This reading (I will make the dawn to wake) occurs in the commentary of Johannes Piscator on Ps. 57:8, where the exact same wording is used by the Psalmist (*Commentariorum in Omnes Libros Veteris Testamenti*, 3:197). Junius and Tremellius proffer an identical reading, and all three are cited in Poole, *Synopsis Criticorum* (2:918). See also Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 297.

¹²³⁴ Hammond, *Paraphrase*, in *Works*, vol. 4, bk. 5, p. 315.

¹²³⁵ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 5, p. 312. Mather characteristically does not transcribe Viccars’s Latin text in his *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 297. Aben-Ezra’s gloss is that the verse means, “There I will water my land; I will not do harm but good to the land of Moab through my hands.” Rabbi Solomon reads the verse as intending, “Moab has a [wash] pot, and as a servant, pours water onto my hands and feet . . . I will cast my shoe over Edom. In order to ready the lace of my shoe, as is the custom of a servant who bears the shoes of his master, he loosens and unties the laces.”

1323

Q. What Remarkable, of this Terrible Psalm, the *Hundred & Ninth*?

A. Tho' the evangelical Spirit, allow us not the use of those *Diræ*, against our Persecutors, yett the primitive Churches fetch'd hence their Expressions, at the Deposition of unworthy *Bishops*; & with an Ey to *Judas*, they call'd it, *Psalmum Iscariotiam*.

Faber tells horrible Stories, of *magical Uses*, that some have made of this Psalm; I don't care to recite them.¹²³⁶

Dr. *Alix* observes here, the Curse of the *Messiah* on the Synagogue, whose Bloody Designs *Judas* executed; the fearful Effects whereof, the Jews are now feeling in their Dispersion.¹²³⁷

Q. That Passage; *Hold not thy Peace, O God of my Praise?* v. 1.

A. *Arnobius* thus translates it, thus expounds it. *Deus, Laudem meam ne taceris. Quasi qui dicat, Homines Vituperationes in me excitant falsas.*¹²³⁸

Dr. *Patrick* in his Paraphrase, unites these Two Senses;

"As thou hast given me hitherto, continual Cause to praise thee, so, I hope, thou wilt still vindicate my Honour."¹²³⁹

[**]

Q. Instance a few of the *Glosses*, which the primitive Christian Writers, have upon the *Curses*, in this wonderful Psalm? v. 11.

¹²³⁶ This is a reference to *Quincuplex Psalterium* (Paris, 1509; second edition, 1513), by Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples, or Jacob Faber Stapulensis (1460?–1536), pp. 161–62. Like John Folengius (see note to Ps.34), Faber was often persecuted by Roman Catholics for his heterodox ideas, especially his championing of the idea of justification by faith alone, and he was therefore viewed with sympathy by Protestants. Calvin is believed to have visited him, and Luther owned a copy of the *Quincuplex Psalterium* (OER). This text provides five different translations of the Psalms: the "old" Latin (Vetus), Roman (Vulgate), Hebrew, French, and conciliatory (harmonized) versions. Harvard Library also owned a copy of this work, although the *Catalogus Librorum* lists a date of publication (1524), which does not correspond to any known edition. As Faber's comments on Ps. 109 (and his other writings) make clear, he possessed a lifelong interest in the practice of magic. See Arjo Vanderjagt's "Ad fontes! The Early Humanist Concern for the Hebraica Veritas," in *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament* (3:154–90). See also Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, pp. 300–01.

¹²³⁷ Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 5, p. 174. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 300.

¹²³⁸ Arnobius, *Commentarii in Psalmos* [PL 53.495]. "Be not silent, O God of my praise! As if he says, 'Men are stirring up false accusations against me.'"

¹²³⁹ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 5, p. 539. Both comments are included in *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 301.

A. When tis said, *Lett the Extortioner catch all that hee ha's*; the Ancients thus expound it; *Lett the Romans, with their Demands of Tribute, prey upon them.* The Paraphrase of some upon it, is; His Creditors pretending to a Judgment shall sieze on all his Estate.¹²⁴⁰

When tis said, *Lett the Iniquity of his Fathers bee Remembred before the Lord*; the Ancients expound it from, Math. 23.35. *upon you shall come all the Righteous Blood shed upon the Earth.*¹²⁴¹

|

[272v]

[*103.*]

Q. How understand you that Passage, *Lett a Curse come like Oyl, into his Bones?* v. 18.

A. The *Curse*, or the *Wrath* of God, so entring into the Soul of *Judas*, as to fill him with intolerable Anguish gives an Exposition of this Passage!

There are spirituous *Oyls*, which do soak into the very Bones of the Bodies, that are therewithal anointed; and allay the Pain, & repair the Strength of those Parts, whereto grosser Medicines could not arrive. But the *Curse*, that is, the *Wrath* of God, penetrating with a terrible Violence into the Spirits of Sinners, even as *Quicksilver* will pierce into the Nervous Parts, with insufferable Torments, this is that HELL, which is here denounced.

The Apostle hath Elsewhere, an Allusion, correspondent unto this of the Psalmist; when hee saies, in 2. Cor. 2.16. The Word of God, *is a Savour of Death unto Death*, in the Hearts of Unbelievers. As venomous and sulphurous *Vapours* in the Caverns of the Earth, strike up such *Scents* as do sometimes kill the Diggers there, by Extinguishing of their Spirits; even such Exhalations of *Hell*, are drawn forth, by the Preaching of the Word, in the Consciences of the Wicked, which indeed, give them the very *Scents* of Hell itself. They are [*unto Death*] of the same kind, with what are in the bowels of the *Mine* itself, and an Intimation, a Prælibation of all the rest. These præcursery *Odours of Death*, are in the excited Horrors, and Furies, and Outrages, of an ungodly Soul; the very Evaporations of the burning Lake, and the Smoke of the Infernal *Etna*, or *Vesuvius*.¹²⁴²

But lett us make a Transition to a little Philosophy on this Occasion. That Illustrious and Incomparable Dutchman, Dr. *Nieuwentyt*, in his *Contemplations*, does justly Admire, the precise Knowledge of *Nature*, which the Holy Spirit, who indicted our *Scripture* ha's discovered, in a vast Variety of Instances.

One of the Instances, is what we have now before us. Cheirurgical Experiments have taught us, That there is nothing more pernicious to a Naked

¹²⁴⁰ Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 301.

¹²⁴¹ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 5, p. 315.

¹²⁴² Goodwin, *Of An Unregenerate Man's Guiltiness Before God*, in *Works*, vol. 3, bk. 13, ch. 5, pp. 568–69.

Bone, than to putt *Oil* upon it; which will cause a miserable Corruption there. The most skilful Cheirurgeons, do in their Treatises carefully warn against it. *Hildanus* directs; *Ab omnibus oleaginis, in denudatis Ossibus, in quacunque Corporis Parte, planè ut abstineat Chirurgus necesse est.* And *Parè*, warns against the *Corrupting* of the *Bones*, by the *Improper Applications* of *Oils* unto them.

Saies our Dutch Philosopher; “Any one who reads this Text, and who ha’s ever seen this *Canes Ossium*, or Corruption of the *Bones*, in any considerable Degree in a living Person, produced by any *liquid* or *oleaginous Matters*, must needs confess, That the Wrath and Curse of GOD cannot be described by more lively Comparisons, since *Water* and *Oil*, that are mentioned in this Text, are both of them to the *Bones*, the most pernicious Things imaginable.”

Quære, Whether the *Water in the Bowels* here, may not have some Allusion to the *Water of Jealousy*?¹²⁴³

Q. It is here said, *The Lord shall stand at the Right Hand of the Poor, to save him from those that condemn his Soul?* Why, *stand at the Right Hand?* v. 31.

A. There was an Officer in the *Hebrew Courts*, whom they called, / בעל ריב / *Baal Rib*, or, *The Pleader*. He stood on the *Right Hand* of the Party cited unto the Court, whether he pleaded for him, or against him. When tis here said, *The Lord shall stand at the Right Hand of the Poor*, the Meaning is, *The Lord shall plead his Cause*. [Compare *Zach. 3.1.*] We have an Allusion to this *Baal-Rib*, or *Pleader*, when tis said, 1. Joh. 2.1. *If any Man sin, we have an Advocate*.¹²⁴⁴

¹²⁴³ Nieuwentyt, *Religious Philosopher*, vol. 1, cont. 11, sec. 12, pp. 208–09. Wilhelm Fabricius Hildanus, or Wilhelm Fabry (1560–1634), was a significant figure in the history of surgery and the author of a score of medical texts (*DB*). Ambroise Parè (c. 1510–90), an equally influential figure in the surgical medicine, pioneered the development of prosthetics (*ODR*). Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 301. The caution of Fabry is that “from all oily substances in whatsoever part of the body, it is necessary that the surgeon refrain.”

¹²⁴⁴ Goodwin, *Moses and Aaron* (1641), bk. 5, ch. 3, p. 187. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 301. There appear to be two small hearts drawn beside this entry. They are placed vertically. The first is drawn beside the line that begins “*The Lord shall stand at the Right Hand*” and the second is drawn beside the end of the entry and the quotation from 1 John 2:1.

Q. Can any but the *Messiah* be intended in the Psalm now before us? v. 1.

A. There was an Attempt of a Gentleman beyond-sea, one Monsieur *Mason*, to find an *Historical Sense* for the Psalm. It must be composed it seems, while *David* was King only in *Hebron*. The Oracle of the *Urim* then promised unto him an Enlargement of his Dignity. To commemorate this Promise *David* composes a *Psalm*, wherein several Actors are introduced. First one *Actor* addressing the Auditory, pronounces the *First Words* of the Psalm; *The Lord* saying to *David*, *sitt thou at my Right Hand*. Another Actor layes hold on the Words, and addresses to *David*, a Paraphrase on the glorious Promise that had been given him. Then the whole Choir unites in the Acclamations to the New King with which the Three Last Verses conclude the Psalm.

A Synod of the *French Churches*, at *Breda*, in the Year, 1713, severely condemned this Exposition, as very *Impious*, and pass'd a Just Sentence on, *une hardiesse si criminelle, qui tend à sapper les fondemens de la Religion Chretienne*; as being *tout à fait contraire à la Revelation et aux declarations expresses de J. Christ et de ses Apotres*. A Synod of *Dutch Churches* concurred unto the Censure. And the learned Monsieur *Martin* wrote a whole Book to confute this evil Essay; which is entituled *Le Vrai Sens du Pseaume 110*.¹²⁴⁵

Q. For our Christian Application of the CX Psalm, have we any Jewish Concessions? v. 1.

A. Many.

They quote the Saying of R. *Acha ben Chaninah*; *Futurum est ut Deus S. B. faciat Regem Messiam sedere ad Dexteram Suam*.

Midras Tillim, quotes the First Verse in the Psalm, as belonging to the *Messiah*.

R. *Jodan* in the Name of R. *Chirah*, said, *Futurum est ut Deus S. B. sedere faciat Regem Messiam, ad Dexteram Suam*. And they quote this Text for it.¹²⁴⁶

R. *Obadiah* saies, *Hunc Psalmum Composuit Psaltes de Messiâ*. And his Gloss upon, *Sitt at my Right Hand*, is, *Non Revelaberis Adhuc, sed sedebris ad*

¹²⁴⁵ Mason is John Masson; Martin is David Martin (1639–1721), who wrote *Le Vrai Sens du Pseaume CX*, in answer to Masson. The quotation above, which is part of the censure against Masson, is in Martin, pt. 1, ch. 3, pp. 19–20. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 303. Masson's historical reading is judged "so criminal an audacity which tends to undermine the foundations of the Christian religion" as being "completely contrary to Revelation and to the express statements of Jesus Christ and His apostles."

¹²⁴⁶ "It will be that the holy and blessed God makes the Messiah king to sit at his right hand."

Dexteram meam, et Angeli Ministratorii ad Sinistram meam. Where tis to be noted, He places the *Messiah*, above the *Angels*.¹²⁴⁷

R. *Aram[a]*, quoted by *Munster*, ha's a Remark on the Nativity of the *Messiah*, prædicted long before He was born, and on that Clause, *Ab Utero, ab Aurorà tibi est Ros Nativitatis tuæ*, he ha's this Gloss; *Antequam Veniat Uterus eius, quæ te pariat, predicta est Nativitas tua*.¹²⁴⁸

Q. *The Session of Our Lord, at the Right Hand of God the Father*, What is the True Design and Meaning of it? v. 1.

A. Commentators that have gone to Illustrate this Matter, from the vulgar Usage of giving the *Right Hand* unto those whom wee would Honour, have much missed the Matter.

You must know, that, *Sitting*, when spoken of a *King*, as tis in this Phrase, intends *Reigning*.¹²⁴⁹ And the *Right Hand* both in Scripture, and in Custome, is that which holds the *Scepter*. In *Sitting* then at the *Right Hand* of a *King*, the *Scepter* comes, as Divided, between both Persons. A Communication of Kingdome, of Power, of Command, is the true signification of *Sitting* at the *Right Hand* of a *King*, which ha's the *Scepter* in it. A Share in Empire was granted unto *Bathshæba* when shee satt at the Right Hand of *Solomon*; and unto *Esther* when shee touched the Scepter of *Ahashuerus*.

When it was petitioned for the Sons of *Zebedee*, Math. 20.20. That they might *sitt one at the Right Hand, the other at the Left Hand* of our Lord, in His Kingdome, a Part in His *Government*, was therein demanded; On the *Right Hand*, was the nearest Place unto the Scepter, on the *Left* was the next unto that. Except you'l say, That in this Passage there might bee an Allusion to the Manner of *Session*, in the Great *Synedrion* among the Jewes. The Members of that venerable Assembly satt *semicircularly*; in the Middle satt the [נשיא] *Prince*; on his Right Hand sat the [אב בית דין] *Father of the House of Judgment*; on his Left Hand sat the [חכם] *Wise Man*. The *Prince* was to take the Counsils of these Two; & the rest of the Assembly paid great Respects unto their Authority. Tho' indeed *Maimonides* intimates this further unto us, That the *Pater Domus Judicii*, sat near at the *Right Hand* of the *Princeps*; but the *Sapiens*, hee satt further off,

¹²⁴⁷ "The Psalmist composed this Psalm about the Messiah"; his gloss upon 'sit at my right hand' is "you will not yet be revealed, but you will sit at my right hand and ministering angels at my left."

¹²⁴⁸ All of these rabbinic interpretations are offered by Christopher Cartwright in his *Melificium Hebraicum* (lib. 1, cap. 5), a dissertation included in one of the supplementary volumes to Pearson's *Critici Sacri*. See *Tractatum Biblicorum* (2:755–56). See also Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 303. "From the womb, from the dawn, you have the dew of your birth," is glossed as "before the womb of her who bears you shall come, your birth was foretold."

¹²⁴⁹ This sentence stands alone in *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 303. In *Psalterium*, Mather adds this gloss: "Here is an *Association* in Government. The Sceptre comes between them. *Vitringa* writes finely on it."

at the *Left Hand* of the *Princeps*, having the rest of the grave Personages with him, on that Side, altogether. Notable *Illustrations* of the *Invisible World*, will an Attentive Consideration find in these things.

Yea, but in Psal. 16.8. and here Psal. 110.5. you find *God the Father*, at the *Right Hand* of our Lord; What will you say to that? I say, All comes to the same Account; When there are none but *Kings* in the Case, that *Manner of Session*, implies but, *Association in Government*; the *Scepter* is between them.

Consider, at Liesure, Deut. 33.2. |

[274v]

But what will you say, concerning the Station, of the *Judged*, before the Tribunal of our Lord, in Math. 25.32. the *Sheep at the Right Hand*, the *Goats at the Left*? It is as a *Judge*, rather than a *King*, that our Lord, is now considered; the *Faithful* being to bee *Judged*, are to *Stand*, before they *Sitt*; altho' they also afterwards participate in the Rule of our Lord. Before the Tribunals among the Ancients, the *Absolved* went unto the *Right Hand*, the *Condemned* unto the *Left*. You read, In *Codice Sanhedrin*, such things as these, *Duo Judicum Scribæ, stabant coram illis alter à Dextrâ, alter à Sinistrâ qui conscribebat sententias Absolventium & Condemnantium.*¹²⁵⁰ It was a most Aged Usage, for the *Rei*, to *Stand* before the Tribunal at the *Left Hand*, and the κατήγορος, the *Accusator*, and, *Adversarius*, at his *Right Hand*, ad διαβάλλειν, *calumniandum, hoc est, ἵνα agendum partes Adversarii coram Judice.*¹²⁵¹ Hence, in that memorable Prayer of our Lord against the Impænitent Jewes, Psal. 109.6, 7. *Lett the Accuser stand at his Right Hand; and, when hee shall bee Judged, lett him bee condemned.*

Compare Zech. 3.1.¹²⁵²

1939.

Q. That obscure Passage, *From the Womb of the Morning, thou hast the Dew of thy Youth?* v. 3.

A. The *Nativity* of the *Messiah*, is here declared. It runs thus, *Ex Utero, Ex Aurorâ, tibi Ros Nativitas tua.* Or, *Thy Nativity from the Womb, is as the Dew from the Morning.* And the *Jerusalem-Talmud* saies, the Explication of it, is to bee fetch'd from Mic. 5.7. *As the Dew from the Lord, that tarrieth not for Man, nor waiteth for the Sons of Men.* R. Salomon Jarchi's Gloss upon it, is, *Quasi Ros a Domino, qui nunquam per Hominem demittitur.*¹²⁵³

1250 "Two scribes of the judges were standing before them, the one to the right, the other to the left, who were writing down the sentences of the absolved and the condemned."

1251 "To calumniate, that is, to take the part of the adversaries before the judge."

1252 This entry is extracted from Campegius Vitringa's *Observationum Sacrarum* (lib. 2, cap. 4, pp. 304–09).

1253 Martin, *Pugio Fidei*, p. 155. This quotation is in the observations of Joseph de Voisin Burdegal to Martini's "Prooemium." Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 303. "As the dew from the Lord that is never scattered by man."

2262.

Q. But if you please, a little further Illustration?

A. If the *Nativity* of the *Messiah*, do not here appear so plainly intimated, what think you, of His *Resurrection*; which indeed was also His *Nativity*. Tis here said, *Thine is the Dew of thy Youth*. The *Dew* of our Lord, is that quickening *Power* of His, by which Hee *Raises the Dead*. Compare, Isa. 26.19. when tis said, *The Dew of thy Youth is thine*; tis q.d. It is thy own *Power & Vertue*, that *Raises thee from the Dead*. Accordingly, unto the *Resurrection* of our Lord, apply those Words, *From the Womb of the Morning*. The *Resurrection* of our Lord, was in a *Morning* on all accounts.¹²⁵⁴

Arama ha's this Note upon it, *Non invenimus hominem, etiam Prophetam, cuius Prophetata sit nativitas ante nativitatem Patris et Matris suae, nisi Meschiam justitiam nostram. Ideo praesignavit; A Vulva ex Aurora tibi Ros nativitatis tuae. Hoc est; Antequam crearetur Vulva genetricis tuae, Prophetata fuit nativitas tua.*¹²⁵⁵

[▽174va] [▽Insert 274va]¹²⁵⁶

2312

Q. As many good Glosses, as you please, upon, *The Day of Power*, and, *The willing People*? v. 3.

A. A particular Day in the Time of the *Messias*, is called, *The Day of Power*. And this *Day of Power*, must, it seems, bee celebrated as, *A Sabbath*. Upon it, the People shall bee, / עם נרבות / *Populus Devotionum*, a People wholly *Devoted* unto the Lord. The Place of the *Devotion* is to bee, in, *The Beauties of Holiness*; which is the Name of the *Sanctuary*. And this *Day of Devotions* must bee the *Resurrection-day*; and consequently the *first Day* of the Week. Why it should bee called, *The Day of Power*. Consider, Rom. 1.4.¹²⁵⁷

This Passage, *Thou hast the Dew of thy Youth*, is by the LXX rendred, *I have begotten Thee*.¹²⁵⁸

Take Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase on the whole Verse.

“In the Day, when thy Forces [2. Tim. II.3.] compleatly armed with a Divine Power, [Act. IV.33.] shall march forth to subdue the World, unto thy Obedience; they that are fitt for thy Kingdome, [Luk. IX.62. Act. XIII.48.] shall

¹²⁵⁴ Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, pp. 303–04.

¹²⁵⁵ *Critici Sacri* (3:3923). “We have not found a man, even a prophet, whose birth was foretold before the birth of his father and mother, except the Messiah, our righteousness. Therefore He has marked beforehand: From the womb of the morning the dew of thy birth is thine. That is, before the womb of your mother was created, your birth was foretold.”

¹²⁵⁶ See Appendix B.

¹²⁵⁷ This reading is provided in John Lightfoot's *Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae in Acta Apostolorum* and relates to Acts 2:41 (“they that gladly received” the word of the apostles). See *Works* (2:647).

¹²⁵⁸ Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 304.

cheerfully submitt themselves, and present Thee, with Free-Will-Offerings, in token of their absolute Subjection to thee: [Act. II.45. IV.34.] And great shall be the Number of chosen Men, [1. Joh. II.13.] who, glad to see the Night of Ignorance gone, shall, at thy First Appearance, by the cælestial Blessing fall unto thee, as thick as the morning Dew."¹²⁵⁹

|

[174vb]

Q. What may be the *Beauties of Holiness*, here spoken of? v. 3.

A. Tis very sure, That the *Beauties* of the *Holy Jesus*, invite & allure His People, to become a *willing People*; *willing* to become *His People*.

But, may not the *Beauties of Holiness*, here be the *Beautiful Garments*, which *adorn* the *willing People*? It may be an allusion, to Exod. 28.2. *Thou shalt make Holy Garments for Aaron, for Glory, & for Beauty*. When a People become an *Holy People*, they are advanced unto the Dignity of an *Holy Priesthood*. Indeed, we have but one *Priest*, who offers up a *propitiatory Sacrifice*. Our glorious CHRIST ha's done it *once for all*. But He admitts His People, to an admirable *Fellowship* with Him in all His Offices. Every *Saint* becomes a *Priest*, who offers up unto God, *eucharistical Sacrifices*, which are *Acceptable by Jesus Christ*. Consider, 1. Pet. 2.9. and, Rev. 7.9. and, Rev. 5.8. It had just been said, That the People were a *People of Free-Will-Offerings*. How agreeably are the *priestly Garments of Holiness*, now assign'd unto them!¹²⁶⁰

[△End of insert]

[△]

Q. What may bee the Intent of that Passage; *Hee shall Judge among the Nations, Hee shall fill the Places with Dead Bodies*? v. 6.

A. As I was just now singing this Passage in the Church, this Notion of it, offered itself unto my Thoughts. In the Original, tis only said, *Hee shall fill the [Dead] Bodies*. Thought I, Then why may not this bee a Prophecy of the *Resurrection*? When our Lord Jesus Christ, comes to *Judge among the Nations*, there will bee a *Resurrection of the Dead*. This *Resurrection*, shall bee accomplished by His *Filling* the *Bodies* of His People. And accordingly, when there is an Account given of the *Resurrection*, tis in these Terms; Eph. 1.23. with. 2.1. *Hee Fills all in all; And you who were Dead in Trespasses & Sins*.¹²⁶¹

Q. That Passage; *He shall wound the Head over many Countreyes*? v. 6.

A. It evidently refers, to what was foretold, in the *Protevangelium*; The *Bruising of the Head of the Serpent*. When *Antichrist* is destroy'd, the *Head over many*

¹²⁵⁹ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 5, pp. 547–48. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 304.

¹²⁶⁰ This entry seems to rely most fully on Matthew Poole's unpaginated *English Annotations*. See also Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, pp. 304–05.

¹²⁶¹ As suggested, this appears to be Mather's own gloss.

Countreyes will be wounded. Yea, the ancient Promise, of *Bruising the Head of the Serpent*, will then have an eminent Accomplishment.

Thus *Gesner. Inprimis David respicit ad Promissionem primis Parentibus in Paradiso factam.*¹²⁶²

Q. On our Lords *lifting up the Head?* v. 7.

A. I find some understand it of His *lifting up our Head*; and His becoming the Object for us to *lift up our Head* with *Prayers* and *Hopes* unto; & the Encouragement we have to *lift up our Head*, from what He ha's passed thorough.¹²⁶³

Q. What may bee our Lords *Drinking of the Brook in the Way?* v. 7.

A. *Grotius* reckons it an Allusion to the Alacrity of a mighty Conqueror, who, when Hee pursues his Enemies, will not stop and stay to seek ceremonious Refreshments for himself, but is content with *Water* hastily snatch'd up out of the *Brook*. Thus our Lord, lost no Time, in His Expedition to destroy the Works of the Divil.¹²⁶⁴

The whole Psalm is an Illustrious Prophecy, about the Ascent of the *Messiah* into Heaven, the Extent of His *Empire* the Glory of His *Priesthood*, [*]¹²⁶⁵ & His Destroying of Antichrist, when He comes to Judge the Earth.¹²⁶⁶

¹²⁶² Salomon Gesner, *Commentationes in Psalmos Davidis in Academia Wittenbergensi Publica Praelectae*, p. 747. Gesner (1559–1605) was an arch-conservative Lutheran theologian, who throughout his life combated what he saw as developing tendencies toward Calvinism among Lutheran thinkers. Heinrich Moller was one of his disputants (*ADB*). Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 305. “David especially looks back on the promise made to the first parents in paradise.”

¹²⁶³ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 5, pp. 548–49.

¹²⁶⁴ Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3927). Grotius, *Opera Omnia* (1:241).

¹²⁶⁵ [*His Recalling the Jews,*]

¹²⁶⁶ Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 5, pp. 176–77.

Q. The Writer of the Psalm?

A. Dr. *Patricks* Conjecture is good. It is likely, that *David*, who composed those *larger Forms of Commemoration*, Psalm CV, and, CVI. made this, for a *compendious Remembrance* of what is there more largely delivered. The Psalm does consist of as many short Metres, as there are Letters in the Hebrew Alphabet. The *Hallelujah*, that stands before the Beginning, is directed unto the *Singers*. That the Psalmist might not exceed the Number of the *Ten Commandments* (as the Reason is given by some for it,) in the *Verses* of the Psalm, the Metres of the two last are very short; and they have each of them *Three* apeece; whereas the others have but *Two*.¹²⁶⁷

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Q. *The Upright*; Who? v. 1.

A. It is an Appellative of *Israel*. As in the N.T. Christians are called, *The Saints*.¹²⁶⁹

Q. How did God *make His wonderful Works to be Remembred*? v. 4.

A. He Instituted *solemn Times* for the *Commemoration* of His *wonderful Works*.¹²⁷⁰

Q. When did He *give them their Meat as a Prey*? v. 5.

A. Partly in the Spoil of the *Egyptians*; [Exod. XII.] partly in the *Manna* of the Wilderness. [Exod. XVI.]¹²⁷¹

Q. The Intention of bringing in that Clause; *The Works of His Hands are Verity & Judgment*? v.7.

A. Dr. *Patrick* ha's well hinted it, in his Paraphrase.

“In which, He did them no Wrong; but was exactly Just in fulfilling His Promise to us, & in executing His Judgments on those wicked Wretches: [Deut. IX.5. Gen. XV.16.] For all His Orders of either kind, are in Pursuance of most Righteous Decrees.”¹²⁷²

¹²⁶⁷ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 5, p. 550. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 307.

¹²⁶⁸ [* Dr. *Alix* here sees, the Gratitude of the Jews, when they see themselves Re-established in their Countrey by a vast Number of Miracles, and the Destruction of the *Turks* who have possessed it.*] The excised note remains in *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 307.

¹²⁶⁹ Hammond, *Paraphrase*, in *Works*, vol. 4, bk. 5, p. 324.

¹²⁷⁰ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 5, p. 551. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 307.

¹²⁷¹ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 5, p. 551. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 307.

¹²⁷² Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 5, p. 551.

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Q. What is there in that Passage, *All His Commands are Sure?* v. 7.

A. Read it, *All His Visits are Faithful.*

The Word, for, *His Commands*, is, / פְּקֻדָּוֵי / *His Visits.*

There had been several *Visits* made from the *Invisible World*, unto the Patriarchs, wherein they had Received Advice, concerning the *Messiah*, and our Salvation by Him. Now, saies the Psalmist, All those *Visits* are *Faithful*; Wee have not been Deceived by those *Visits*; they have not been the *Visits* of a lying Spirit.¹²⁷³

Q. A Paraphrase on that Verse; *He sent Redemption unto His People.* v. 9.

A. Dr. *Patricks*. "It was in Conformity to these, that He at first sent *Moses* and *Aaron*, to bring our Fathers out of *Egypt*; [Exod. VI.6.] and then exercised His supreme Authority over them, in giving them a *Law*, which He tied them by a *Covenant* perpetually to observe. [Exod. IX.4, 5. XXIV.8.] Appearing in such Majesty to them, [Exod. XX.18. XXIV.10, 11.] as might possess them with an awful Regard to Him, & make them forever dread, by any Profaneness, to offend Him, who infinitely excells all other Beings."¹²⁷⁴

Q. What may be implied in that Passage; *His Praise endures forever?* v. 10.

A. Why may there not be implied in it, a sweet Encouragement, unto the *Praise of God*? An Intimation, That if the *Praise of God*, be our main Business, our chief Delight; if we love to be at this Work; the Work will *endure forever*. We shall never be taken off. Our Employment with Satisfaction in that Work, as long as we live, will be upon us a Token for Good, that we shall be employ'd at that Work, in another World, and World without End. Yea, and in this World, if our Hearts be in this Work, we shall never want Occasions. The Work will *endure forever*, by a continual Renewal of Occasions for it.¹²⁷⁵

¹²⁷³ Hammond, *Paraphrase*, in *Works*, vol. 4, bk. 5, p. 325. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 307.

¹²⁷⁴ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 5, p. 552.

¹²⁷⁵ Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 307.

Q. The Scope?

A. The Faithful here acknowledge, that Charity towards the Members of their Saviour, shall have a great Reward; and that those who have used Cruelty shall be Punished for it, & Rejected from His Kingdome.

Tis in the Kingdome of the *Messiah*, that the last Verses will be accomplished.¹²⁷⁶

Q. A Remark on that Clause, *He delighteth greatly in His Commandments?* v. 1.

A. *Maimonides* quotes it, as a Remark of R. *Elieser*; *Dictum est, In Mandatis eius, non autem, In præmio Mandatorum eius.* The *Midras Tillim* ha's the same Remark upon it; and adds: *Quarè, autem Beatus est? Quia fecit Mandata non coactè, sed cum Gaudio; et in Mandatis eius delectatur valdè.* They bring the Alacrity of *Abraham's* Obedience for an Exemple. Tis, *Obedience*, rather than the *Recompence* of Obedience, that is the *Delight* of the Godly Man.¹²⁷⁷

Q. Unto what may allude that Passage of the Psalmist, *Unto the Upright there ariseth Light in Darkness?* v. 4.

A. If you'll observe the Picture of a *Righteous Man*, drawn in the Psalm now before us, you'll see the Circumstances of *Abraham* very particularly & remarkably exhibited in this Picture: It seems, in a Manner, all fetch'd from the History of *Abraham*. Now in the History of *Abraham*, you have a memorable Passage, of, *Light arising in Darkness*; Gen. 15.17. *When the Sun went down, & it was Dark, behold, a Smoking Furnace, & a Burning Lamp.* The comfortable Support & Rescue, which God gives unto His People, in their *Darkest* Hours of Affliction, seems to bee promised, with an Allusion to that appearance.¹²⁷⁸

Q. I Agree to it, That for the Picture of a *Righteous Man*, in the Psalm now before us, the principal Colours are fetch'd, as you say, from the Story of *Abraham*. The Intimation hereof, setts mee a Thinking, whether the *Seed* of the *Righteous Man*, to which it is here promised, *That it shall bee mighty upon Earth*, bee not in the first Place to bee interpreted of our Lord JESUS CHRIST, the *Seed* promised

¹²⁷⁶ Allix, *The Book of Psalms*, bk. 5, pp. 178–79. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, pp. 308–09.

¹²⁷⁷ Christopher Cartwright, *Mellificium Hebraicum*, lib. 1, cap. 4 in *Tractatum Biblicorum* (2:747). Rabbi Eliezer's remark is "it was said, 'in His commandments,' but not, 'in the reward of His commandments.'" The Midrash asks, "But why is He happy? Because He made the commandments not in a forced manner, but with joy; and He delights greatly in His commandments."

¹²⁷⁸ Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 309.

unto *Abraham*. And then, *Quære*, whether that *Seed*, the Lord JESUS CHRIST, bee not the *Light*, (you know, tis His Name!) which is to *arise unto the Upright*, when a Time of more than ordinary *Darkness*, ha's just præceded the *Dawn* of that *Sun of Righteousness* upon the World? And, whereas tis added, *Hee is Gracious, Merciful, & Righteous*, I enquire, whether that *Light*, bee not *Hee* that is intended, in this Description, & whether this bee not proposed as the Character of the *Messiah*?

A. I am content. Without Prejudice to any other Claim, it may be considered.¹²⁷⁹

Q. But a further Illustration on the, *Light arising to the upright Man in Darkness*? v. 4.

A. I am ravished with Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase.

“Or if any Affliction come, it will be so far from making him unhappy; that, besides the Divine Comforts imparted to him for his Support, it will make the *Vertue* of upright Men the more *Illustrious*; while One Exercises Meekness and Sweetness to those that provoke him; Another Forgives Offences, & Pities the Instruments of his Trouble; and a Third Exercises the greater Justice or Mercy; and will not be Tempted to do any Dishonest or Cruel Thing for his own Deliverance.”¹²⁸⁰

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Q. What may be one thing intended, in, *He shall not be afraid of Evil Tidings*? v. 7.

A. Dr. *Patrick*, doubtless having in his Eye, the Sense that some Jewish Interpreters putt upon, the *Evil Hearing*, which we translate, *Evil Tidings*; ha's this Paraphrase.¹²⁸¹

“He is not affrighted & discomposed at the False Reports that are raised of him.”¹²⁸²

Q. How would you paraphrase, *until he see his Desire upon his Enemies*? v. 8.

A. *His Desire* is not in the Original. I have elsewhere spoken to it, and proposed such a Paraphrase and Intention as may most suit the *Goodness* of the *Christian Temper*.¹²⁸³

1279 Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 309.

1280 Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 5, pp. 553–54; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 309.

1281 Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 309.

1282 Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 5, p. 554.

1283 Hammond, *Paraphrase*, in *Works*, vol. 4, bk. 5, p. 327. Hammond references his own annotations on Ps. 44, and it is likely Mather's comment on that chapter to which he is also referring. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, pp. 309–10.

I will here only offer Dr. *Patrick's* Paraphrase. "He expects the Time, when he shall be able securely to look upon all his Enemies."¹²⁸⁴

Q. Why is *Charity* here called *Righteousness*? v. 9.

A. Gregory M. in his *Pastoralis Cura*, makes a Remark upon it; *Cum largitatem impensam Pauperibus præmisset non hanc vocare Misericordiam, sed Justitiam maluit quia quod à Communi Domino tribuitur, justum profecto est, ut qui accipiunt, eo communiter utantur.*¹²⁸⁵

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Q. What is intended in that Privilege of the Righteous, *His Horn shall bee exalted*? v. 9.

A. What is commonly supposed. But besides & beyond the common Interpretation of these Words, what if one thing therein intended should bee this? That as the *Praises* of God, were sounded by His People, in *Cornets* of old, so there were *exalted Horns*, or *exalted Notes*, which Hee would have their *Praises* to bee *Raised* with. So wee read in 1. Chron. 25.5. concerning, *Words to lift up the Horn*. Wee may now in *our* Dayes thus Accommodate this Observation. The *Praises* of God, are to *Sound High*, in our Devotions. When wee praise God, for being *excellently good* unto ourselves, wee do well: but wee are to *Raise* our *Praises* unto an *Higher Pitch* than so; they are to expatiate upon all those things, wherein our God has exhibited Himself, as *excellently great*, throughout the World. Such *Abstracted Praises* are agreeable to the Inclinations of every Godly Man; hee argues at that rate, *great is the Lord*, & therefore, *greatly to bee praised.*¹²⁸⁶

Q. Of the Wicked we read, *They shall gnash their Teeth and melt away*? v. 10.

A. Their *Envy* shall bring first an *Ague*, and then a *Consumption* upon them.¹²⁸⁷

Q. What is the *Desire of the Wicked*, that shall *perish*? v. 10.

A. Why not, their Covetousness, and their earnest Pursuit of Wealth, which will all come to nought?¹²⁸⁸

¹²⁸⁴ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, p. 554. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 310.

¹²⁸⁵ Gregory, *Regulae Pastoralis*, pt. 3, ch. 21 [PL 77.87]. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 310. "For when he had sent out a bounty [that was] dispensed to the poor, he preferred to call this not charity but justice because that which is distributed by the lord of all is truly just, inasmuch as what they receive they use in common to that purpose."

¹²⁸⁶ This note appears inspired by Matthew Poole's English *Annotations* on 1 Chron. 25.5. See also *Synopsis Criticorum* (1:789), and Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 310.

¹²⁸⁷ Hammond, *Paraphrase*, in *Works*, vol. 4, bk. 5, p. 327. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 310.

¹²⁸⁸ Hammond, *Paraphrase*, in *Works*, vol. 4, bk. 5, p. 327.

Q. Who, I pray, may bee the Subject of our *Hundred & Thirteenth* Psalm?

A. Our worthy Dr. *Goodwin*, mentioning the Thoughts of some, that a certain Text, was to bee Interpreted concerning the Lord JESUS CHRIST, adds, *I would there were a Thousand more of them; for the more such Lines of Prophecy about our Jesus meet in any one Center, the more ascertained wee are, that Hee is that Messiah, that was then to come, and the Scriptures are discovered thereby to bee the more Myste-rious, and Himself Illustrious. It is evident, that Matthew while hee saies, That Hee was spoken of, by the Prophets, not Prophet, had more in his Eye than one, and Propheties perhaps more than of one Sort: And so there will bee a πληρωθη, as Brugensis observes.*¹²⁸⁹

And now say I; Why may not our Lord JESUS CHRIST, bee ultimately intended, as the Subject of the Psalm now before us.

When you Read, *That from the Rising of the Sun, to the going down of the Same, the Lords Name is to bee praised;* and, *That the Lord is High, above all Nations, and His Glory above the Heavens;* and, *who is like unto the Lord, who dwelleth on High; & stoops to Behold the Things in Heaven, & in the Earth;* carry in your Mind, the Glory of our Lord JESUS CHRIST.¹²⁹⁰ When you Read of, *The Poor raised out of the Dust, & the Needy lifted out of the Dunghil,* think on the profound & wondrous *Humiliation* of our Lord JESUS CHRIST, & His following *Exaltation*.¹²⁹¹ When you Read of Him, *sett with Princes,* consider our Lord JESUS CHRIST, sitting on His Throne, surrounded with His Holy Angels.¹²⁹²

Lastly, when you Read of a *Barren Woman*, becoming a *Joyful Mother*, I know not why you may not Think on the Virgin *Mary*; the stupendous Work

¹²⁸⁹ See Goodwin's *Discourse of Christ the Mediator* (vol. 3, bk. 4, ch. 7, p. 158), wherein Goodwin considers the Old Testament prophecies that the messiah would be a Nazirite (Isa. 11:1; Jer. 23:5, and Zech. 3:8). Brugensis is Franciscus Lucas Brugensis, or Luc de Bruges (1552–1619), a Jesuit commentator whose select annotations on scripture are included in the *Tractatum Biblicorum* of the *Critici Sacri* and inserted into Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (CBL). See Poole (4:68). As it is used in Matt. 2:23 (the text to which Goodwin alludes in the quote above), πληρωθη (plerothe) "fulfilled."

¹²⁹⁰ Mather continues his selections from Goodwin's *Of the Knowledg [sic] of God the Father and his Son Jesus Christ* (*Works*, vol. 1, bk. 1, ch. 7, p. 47) and *Of the Creatures and the Condition of their State by Creation* (vol. 1, bk. 1, ch. 3, p. 11).

¹²⁹¹ Thomas Goodwin, *A Discourse of Gospel Holiness*, in *Works*, vol. 5, pt. 2, bk. 3, ch. 3, p. 95.

¹²⁹² In this instance, Mather outstrips Goodwin in his specific exposition of this chapter, although the idea and the words are easily found in Goodwin's "Exposition of the 1st and 2nd Chapters of the Epistle to the Ephesians," in *Works*, vol. 1, pt. 1, sermon 31, p. 410.

of God, in the Virgin *Mary*. And yett you may retain your Liberty, to expound it, as I remember, the *Chaldee* does, concerning the Church of *Israel*.¹²⁹³

Note, This Psalm, with the *Five Next*, that follow, the Jews call by the Name of *Hallel*. This *Great Hallel*, they recited, as at their *New Moons* and other *Feasts*, so at their Table in the *Paschal Night*, after they had eaten the Lamb; concluding it with, *Hallelujah*.¹²⁹⁴

[**]¹²⁹⁵

Compare the last Verse, with Isa. LIV.1, 2.¹²⁹⁶

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Q. On that, *Who humbleth Himself, to behold the Things that are done in Heaven, & in the Earth?* v. 6.

A. It is proposed, whether it may not be rendred so, *To Behold him who humbles himself in Heaven & in the Earth*.¹²⁹⁷

That which led me to this Proposal, was a Passage of Dr. *Gerhard*, who in his *Meditationes Sacrae*, offers the Text with such a Translation of it: *Dominus in altis habitat, et Humilia respicit in Coelo et in Terra*.¹²⁹⁸

Q. What think the *Jewes*, of that Passage; *Hee Raiseth the Poor out of the Dust?* v. 7.

A. R. *Arama*, quoted by R. *David*, will tell you, *Indicat Mortuorum Resurrectionem*.¹²⁹⁹

2171.

Q. Who are the *Princes*, among whom tis here said, the *Poor* is placed? v. 8.

A. R. *Obadia Gaon*, renders it, The *Liberal Ones*; / נְרִיבִים / hee finds in Isa. 32. of that Signification.¹³⁰⁰

1293 Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 5, p. 323.

1294 Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 5, p. 555. The note to this point is reproduced in *Psalterium*, bk. 5, pp. 311–12.

1295 [*Dr. *Alix* here sees the Praises of Restored *Israel*, for their Deliverance. The five last Verses of the Psalm, do magnificently describe, the Second Coming of the *Messias*; at which they shall be restored unto a glorious Condition.*]

1296 Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 5, p. 180. Mather retains the selection and places it at the head of illustrations of this Psalm in *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 311.

1297 Hammond, *Paraphrase*, in *Works*, vol. 4, bk. 5, p. 328.

1298 Gerhard, *Meditationes Sacrae*, med. 34, p. 234. “The Lord dwells on high and beholds humble things in heaven and on earth.”

1299 Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 5, p. 322. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 312. “It indicates the resurrection of the dead.”

1300 Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 5, p. 323. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 312.

2172.

Q. Give mee a further Key to the whole Psalm?

A. Tis well observed, both by the *Italian* and the *Spanish* Version, That the Psalm is an *Abbreviation* of the Song of *Hannah*. *Pareçe ser una abbreviaçon*; saies the *Spanish*.¹³⁰¹

¹³⁰¹ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 5, p. 323. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 312. "It seems to be an abbreviation."

Q. The Scope?

A. By The Meditation on the Miracles in the Coming out of *Egypt*, wherein the Order of Nature was changed, the *Prophetic Spirit* here lifts up the Minds of His People, to what the *Messiah* will do for them, when He appears for their Deliverance.

Compare Mic. VII.¹³⁰³

Q. How was, *Judah his Sanctuary*? v. 2.

A. Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase is well enough.

“There was a most glorious Appearance of GOD, among them; by that *Bright Cloud*, the Token of His Presence; which then had no other peculiar Place for its *Sanctuary*, but stood over the whole Camp of *Israel*, [Exod. XIII.21. Num. XIV.14.] which He then took for His peculiar Kingdome.”¹³⁰⁴

|
Q. Will not the second Verse, lead you to the View of a peculiar Beauty in the *Psalm*?

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A. There is one that is very poetical. The Poet seems to conceal the Presence of God, in the Beginning of it; and rather lets a *possessive Pronoun* go without a *Substantive*, than he will mention a Divinity there. *Judah was His Sanctuary, & Israel His Kingdome*. The Reason is now obvious, & the Conduct highly elegant. For, if God had appeared before, there could be no Wonder, why the *Mountains & Hills, & Seas*, should be in such a Commotion. That this Convulsion of Nature may be brought in with a due Surprise, His Name is not mentioned until afterward; and then with an agreeable Turn of Thought, GOD is introduced at once, in His glorious Majesty.¹³⁰⁵

¹³⁰² See Appendix B.

¹³⁰³ Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 5, p. 181. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 312.

¹³⁰⁴ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 5, p. 558. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 312.

¹³⁰⁵ See *Synopsis Criticorum* (2:1265–66). The concluding sentence is the only part of this note that is retained in *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 312.

Q. The Time & Occasion of the Psalm?

A. Dr. *Patrick* offers his Conjecture; That when *Jehoshaphat* saw that vast Army [2. Chron. XX.2.] composed of several Nations, coming against him, and after his Prayer to God for Deliverance, was by a Prophet encouraged to hope for it, & had by the Levites given Him Thanks for this Hope, He, or that Prophet, composed this Hymn, to Quicken and Confirm their Faith in God, unto which you find anon, he exhorts them. It is likely, this was the Hymn, which by common Consent, the Singers were appointed to use, when they went against those Enemies.¹³⁰⁶

Behold, The *Prophetic Spirit* here præparing a Prayer for [*]¹³⁰⁷ the *Holy People* dispersed among the Antichristian Idolaters, That they may be Restored unto [**]¹³⁰⁸ Liberty. With a Curse on the *Idolaters*, the Misery of the [*]¹³⁰⁹ *Holy People* is complained of, as hindring them from glorifying of GOD, as they should, if they were [**]¹³¹⁰ delivered.¹³¹¹

Q. The Intention of, *Not unto us, O Lord?* v. 1.

A. Take it in Dr. *Patrick's* Paraphrase.

“Prosper our Arms, O Lord, and give us the Victory over these Enemies that invade us; not that *we* may grow more famous; (no, we have no Thoughts of the *Glory* that will accrue to ourselves thereby;) but that thy Divine Majesty may be honoured, and thy Goodness & Faithfulness to thy Promises be made the more Illustrious.”¹³¹²

Q. It is here said of *Idols*, *Eyes have they, but they see not*. Exemplify upon it? v. 5.

A. There was the Idol *Baal-Peor*, or *Priapus*. He was worshipped by the *Moabites* and *Midianites*. The Idol *Chemosh* (Jer. 48.7.) is thought, by learned Men, to be the same; and so called, by Way of Contempt, as if one should say, *The Blind God*: According to that Passage Psalm, *They have Eyes & see not*. For / כ / signifies, *Quasi*, and / מוש / signifies, *Palpare*.¹³¹³

¹³⁰⁶ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 5, pp. 559–60. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 315.

¹³⁰⁷ [**Israel**]

¹³⁰⁸ [*their own Land.*]

¹³⁰⁹ [**Israelites**]

¹³¹⁰ [*gathered into one Body.*]

¹³¹¹ Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 5, pp. 181–82. The note in its original form is in *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 315.

¹³¹² Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 5, p. 560. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 315.

¹³¹³ Goodwin, *Moses and Aaron*, bk. 4, ch. 3, p. 154. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 316.

Q. On that Passage, *The Heaven, even the Heavens, are the Lords; but the Earth ha's He given to the Children of Men?* v. 16.

A. The great Calvin observes, the Meaning thereof to be, That the Infinite God is forever satisfied in & from Himself: He needs no earthly thing to augment His Happiness. The Earth, with all the Enjoyments of it, He allows to the poor Children of Men. All He expects from the Earth is a Thankful Acknowledgment from the Releev'd & Oblig'd Children of Men. Calvin saies: *Hoc Prophetæ Consilium est, quod miror tam securè a plerisque Interpretibus negligi.*¹³¹⁴

He goes on, with Complaints, that wicked Men make a *Jocose* and *Profane* Abuse of this Passage; & expound it in their lewd Conversation, as if God had no regard unto any thing on the *Earth*; and as if Men on the Earth, were not under His Government or His Provident. Whereupon, saies he; *cogor hic memorabilem Historiam referre.*¹³¹⁵ He relates, That being at an Inn upon the Road, a wild blade expressed a Derision of his Discourses to the Company, at the Table about the *Heavenly World*. In deriding those Holy Passages, the Wretch used this Text. *The Heaven, even the Heavens are the Lords!* But the Man was presently taken with grievous Torments, in which he kept roaring out, *O God! O God, help me!* Calvin told him, he might see what scoffing at God would bring him to. But another of the Guests, in a more facetious and satyrical Way, insulted him; *What? Have you forgotten your Philosophy? Why don't you lett God Almighty rest quietly in the Heavens, where you have disposed of Him?*

However, when the Wretch was eased, *Quod reliquum fuit Vitæ, in suis impuris Sordibus transegit.*¹³¹⁶

Q. The Intention of that Passage; *The Dead praise not the Lord, neither any that go down into Silence?* v. 17.

A. Take it in Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase.

“And therefore He will not suffer us to be rooted out, as our Enemies design; [2. Chron. XX.11.] for then the Earth would have none in it, to sing His Praises; which the Dead, who dwell in the silent Grave, cannot celebrate.”¹³¹⁷

¹³¹⁴ Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 316. “This is the sense of the prophet, which I am surprised is overlooked so carelessly by the majority of the interpreters.”

¹³¹⁵ “I am compelled here to relate a memorable story.”

¹³¹⁶ Calvin, *Commentarii in Librum Psalmorum Pars Posterior* (Opera 32:190–91). “He spent what remained of his life in filthy clothes.”

¹³¹⁷ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 5, p. 563. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 316.

Q. The Scope?

A. An Hymn of Gratitude unto GOD, from the Redeemed of the True *Israel*. They publish the Greatness of their Deliverance, with Remembrances of the Dreadful Things which they suffered, & the Doubts they had of ever being delivered. They now perform the *Vows* that were upon them.¹³¹⁸

Q. On that, *Return to thy Rest, O my Soul?* v. 7.

A. They who look upon the great GOD, as here proposed for the *Rest of the Soul*, go upon a very glorious Truth; and will have *Austin* with them; *Domine, Fecisti nos ad Te, et irrequietum est Cor nostrum, donec requiescat in Te*.¹³¹⁹ They who judge the serene Frame of a *Soul* Perswaded, Assured, Satisfied, in the *Love of God* unto it, & at *Rest* in a quiet Resignation to His Will, and Expectation of His Favour, to be intended here; do as little miss the Mark; For, *Hæc est Anime suavissima et saluberrima Requies*.¹³²⁰

But besides these things, I consider the Psalmist here as a Type of our Saviour. We have here the Language of our JESUS *Risen from the Dead*. God having *dealt so Bountifully with Him*, as in His Resurrection from the Dead, and He now *Returning to the Heavenly World*, and *Ascending to the Joy sett before Him* there, saies, *Return to thy Rest, O my Soul*.

I will take the Leave to add one thing more. Even the *Distinction of the Verses* in the Books of the *Old Testament*, is not alwayes without a *Mystery*. And sometime, the Number of the Verse, in which a Matter lies, may be somewhat mysterious. We have the *Church of God* speaking, in the Psalm now before us. The *Church* will one Day *Return unto Rest*, and see a *Sabbatic State*, in the *Rest*, which *remains for the People of God*. What is here mention'd in the *seventh Verse* of the Psalm, is reserved for the *seventh Age* of the World.¹³²¹

Q. The Import of that Passage: *I will take the Cup of Salvation*: and the Custom it refers to? v. 13.

A. Take Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase.

¹³¹⁸ Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 5, p. 183. In *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 318, the word “True” is not inserted before “*Israel*.”

¹³¹⁹ *Confessiones* (1.1) [PL 32.661]. “Lord, you make us for Yourself, and our heart is restless, until it rests in You.”

¹³²⁰ Bernard of Clairvaux, *In Festo Omnium Sanctorum* (Serm. 2.6) [PL 183.467]. “This is the sweetest and most wholesome rest for the soul.”

¹³²¹ Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, pp. 318–19.

“All that I can do, will not make Him more Happy: But, as my Duty binds me, I will praise the Lord, and speak good of His Name, and give Him Thanks, in the best and most solemn Manner I am able. I will call all my Friends together, to Rejoice with me, and taking the *Cup*, which we call, *The Cup of Deliverance*, (because, when Blessed and Sett apart, we are wont therewith to Commemorate the Blessings we have received,) I will magnify the Power, Goodness, and Faithfulness of God my Saviour before all the Company; & will drink myself, & then give it unto them, that they may praise His Name together with me.”¹³²²

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Q. How is the *Death of the Saints, precious in the Sight of the Lord?* v. 15.

A. You shall have the Sense of this Passage, in the Words of *Grotius*; *Non facile Deus Impiis concedit, ut Pios occidant: quæ Pretiosa sunt, non facile largimur*. The Lords not easily permitting the *Death* of Godly Men, by the *Hand* of Wicked Men, may bee intended.¹³²³

But you shall now allow mee to carry you up unto a further & an higher Contemplation. The Psalm now before us, from some *Chaldaisms* in it, as well as other *Characters* upon it, seems to have been penned on the Occasion of the Return from the *Chaldean* Captivity, and as a Description of what the Church under went in that Captivitie. This one Consideration will give you, a curious *Key*, to many Passages in the Psalm. Nevertheless, I have yett something more considerable, than all of this to offer you. The Condition of the *Church*, does marvellously *Harmonize* with the Condition of the Churches *Lord*; and the Scriptures that seem to speak sometimes only of *Israel*, are intended and applied, for the Blessed *Messiah* of *Israel*. Thus, that famous Text, *Out of Egypt I have called My Son*.

Well; I beleeve, the Psalm now before us, to bee, as many another *unsuspected Psalm*, I beleeve also to bee, *A Representation of our Lord Jesus Christ*.

The Agonies, and the Sufferings, of our Lord Jesus Christ, are display'd, in the beginning of the Psalm; and the Consequences thereof, in the Conclusion. Behold, another *Key*, to admitt you into Immense Treasures, of Divine, and Sacred, Observation.

What here occurs, before this Text, in that Clause, *I said in my Hast, All Men are Lyars*, is, without any just Pretence expounded, of *Dauids* hasty Reproches, upon the Truth of *Samuels* Prophecies. No, I read it; *I said, In my Fear*, [my Anguish, my Distress] *All Men are Lyars*: There is no Dependance on any Man for Help. A most pious Acknowledgment! [Compare, Psal. 146.3.

¹³²² Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 5, p. 567. The central sentence is revised and inserted in *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 319.

¹³²³ Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3935). Grotius, *Opera Omnia* (1:242). “God does not easily concede to wicked men that they kill the godly. What is precious, we do not easily yield.”

written, perhaps, much about the same Time, with our present Composure.] But the Psalmist goes on; *Twice the LORD*, on whom I had all my Dependence.

What occurs, after this Text, in that Clause, *I am the Son of thy Handmaid*, was doubtless, an Intimation of our Lords not having any earthly *Father*: A *Mother* indeed Hee had, that was an *Handmaid of the Lord*; [compare, Luk. 1.38.] but not a *Father*; Hee could not say, *I am the Son of thy Servant*.

But now, for the Text itself; It may be rendred, *precious in the Sight of the Lord, is the Death which is for the Saints*. The Death of our Lord Jesus Christ, which is the *Price* of Redemption for His Chosen, the Almighty God sett's a great Price upon it. [Compare, Eph. 5.2.]

Tho' the *Death* of our Saviour be *for Sinners*, yea, for the *Chief of Sinners*; yett none partake in the saving Benefits of it, but such as made *willing* to be *Saints*.¹³²⁴ And until Men are actually made *Saints*, they cannot be assured that they have the *Blood* of their Saviour *sprinkled* on them. So tis a *Death FOR the Saints*. An Honourable Judge of *New England*, my valuable Friend, *Samuel Sewal* Esq., was the first who suggested this Gloss unto me.¹³²⁵

Q. *I am the Son of thy Handmaid*.] How did the Ancients mystically understand the *Handmaid*? v. 16.

A. *Arnobius* will tell you. *Ancilla Dei est in Disciplinâ Sanctâ*.¹³²⁶

Q. On that, *Thou hast loosed my Bonds*? v. 16.

A. I have mett with a learned Gentleman, who understands it, of the *Bonds* which hold the unborn Infant in the Womb.

He added, That there is much Harmony between the XXII and CXVI *Psalms*, in representing the Distresses, which our suffering SAVIOUR was carried thorough. In that Psalm, His being *taken out of the Womb*, was a considerable Article. And here answers to it, The *loosing of the Bonds* which enwrapped Him there.¹³²⁷

¹³²⁴ The note to this point is included in *Psalterium*, bk. 5, pp. 319–20. Mather does not attribute the remarks to Sewall in that text.

¹³²⁵ Samuel Sewall (1652–1730), judge at Salem and author of *The Selling of Joseph* (1697) (*OCA*).

¹³²⁶ Arnobius, *Commentarii in Psalmos* [PL 53.503]. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 320. “The handmaid of God is the holy teaching.”

¹³²⁷ Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 320, where the remark is again made without recognition of the “Learned Gentleman” of the *Biblia Americana*.

Q. The Scope?

A. In a few Words, we find prædicted here, the Conversion of all Nations, when GOD shall have accomplished [**]¹³²⁹ What He ha's to do with the *Jews*.

Consider, Deut. XXXII.43.¹³³⁰

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¹³²⁸ See Appendix B.

¹³²⁹ [*His Promise of Recalling the *Israelitish* Nation.*]

¹³³⁰ Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 5, p. 184. Allix's original quotation is retained in *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 320.

Q. A Remark on the Form of the Psalm?

A. It seems to have been pronounced, at first, in some solemn Assembly of all the People, mett together to praise the Lord for His Benefits. And it is the Opinion of Interpreters, That they all had a Part in the Psalm. The greatest Part was uttered by *David*; who begins with Declaring how much he was indebted unto God, & with Desiring all to assist him in His Praises. Then coming, we may suppose, in a solemn Procession, to the Gates of the Tabernacle, he calls upon the *Porters* [v. 19.] to open them unto him; that he might praise God in the Sanctuary. This he does in the very Entrance, [v. 20] and then in the Courts of His House; [v. 21.] After which, all the People shout, and magnify the Divine Goodness; in making Him, who had mett with such Indignities in the late Reign, their King; [v. 22.] And then the Priests come forth, and Bless both the King and the People, in the Name of the Lord; [v. 26.] and exhort them to be Thankful; [v. 27.] And then, *David* seems to take the Words out of their Mouth, & to declare that he will never be unmindful of the Benefits of God; & to desire that all the People also would Remember them.¹³³¹

Yea, But have we not here also, an Hymn of Redeemed *Israel*, in whose Redemption all that *Fear GOD* are comprehended? They celebrate the glorious Things done by the *Messiah* for them, [******]¹³³² at His Coming.¹³³³

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Q. That Passage, *The Stone, which the Builders Refused, is become the Head of the Corner*: Can you find in the Writings of the *Jewes*, to confirm the Interpretation, which the *Christians* give of it? v. 22.

A. In the *Talmuds*, you'll find the *Messiah*, to bee the *Stone, Cutt out of the Mountain*. In *Bereschith Rabba*, are those Words, *postquam Rex Messias vindicaverit se de Esau, ipse fiet Rex Magnus; et hoc est quod scriptum est*, Dan. 2.35. Et Lapis qui percussit Imaginem, factus est mons Magnus, et implevit universam Terram.¹³³⁴

¹³³¹ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 5, p. 571. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 323.

¹³³² [*****when He comes again; and they acknowledge the Sin of their Fathers in Rejecting Him.*****]

¹³³³ Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 5, p. 185. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 324.

¹³³⁴ "After King Messiah avenges himself upon Esau, he will become a great king; and this is what was written in Dan. 2.35: And the stone that struck the image became a great mountain and filled the whole earth." This remark seems in fact to combine two midrashim: Genesis or B'reshith xcvii.909 and Numbers (Bamidbar Rabbah) XIII:14.527.

And that the *Messiah* is the *Stone* foretold in the Psalm now before us, is in Effect confessed, in *Midrasch Schir Haschirim. Hic Dies quem fecit Dominus, exultabimus et lætabimur in Eo.* R. Abbin, dixit: *Non erant scientes, in quo esset gaudendum, utrum in Die, sive in Deo; Donec dixit Salomo, et exposuit, exultabimus, et lætabimur in Te: In Te, id est, in Deo Benedicto; In Te, id est, / בישועתך / In Jesu, vel in Salutari Tuo.*¹³³⁵

And that the *Messiah* shall bee, as tis here foretold, *Refused*, is after a strange Manner owned, in *Bereschith Rabba*, on the Title of the Eighteenth Psalm. *Quando veniet Messias citò, non dicent Canticum, donec fuerit exprobratus, (vel vilificatus) ipse Messias; sicut dictum est in Psal. 89.52. [Quod] Exprobraverunt Talos Messia Tui: Ac donec cadat Coram eo, habens Digtos (vel, Dominus Digtorum,) hoc est, Regnum Nequam Romanum; sicut dictum est, Dan. 2.42. Et Digtum Pedum eius, partim Ferrum, partim Testa.*¹³³⁶

This is a wonderful Passage, and worthy of a deep Attention.

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Perhaps you like those Jewish Strokes; and will call for more of them; I add therefore This Passage, *The Stone which the Builders Refused*, the *Targum* on Psal. 118. reads, *The Builders Rejected the Child*. Perhaps, this Version had some Respect unto the *Arabic* Idiom. Thus also R. *Solomon*. And, v. 27. *Bind the Child, to the Sacrifice of Solemnity with Chains, until yee shall have sacrificed him, & poured out His Blood upon the Horns of the Altar, said Samuel the Prophet.*

From the Pens of Jewes, these Lines are truly marvellous!¹³³⁷

Q. To this Expression, *Bind the Sacrifice with Cords, even to the Horns of the Altar*; it is objected, It is not evident, that the *Victims* ever were *bound unto the Horns* of the *Altar*? v. 27.

¹³³⁵ “This is the day which the Lord has made; let us rejoice and be glad in it [Him]. R. Abbin has said: ‘They did not know in which one there was to be rejoicing, whether in the day or in God, until Solomon spoke and explained, ‘Let us rejoice and be glad in you.’ ‘In you,’ that is, in the blessed God; ‘In you,’ that is, in Jesus, or in your [gift of] salvation.’ Shir ha Shirim Rabbah is the Midrash on the Song of Songs (I:31).

¹³³⁶ “When the Messiah shall come, they will not sing the canticle quickly until the Messiah himself has been reproached (or vilified), just as was said in Ps. 89.51, that they reproached the heels or footsteps of your Messiah, and until the one holding His toes (or, the master of the toes) that is, the worthless kingdom of the Romans, shall fall before Him; as was said in Dan. 2.42: And the toes of his feet [were] some of iron, some of clay.” This again seems to thread together Bereshith Rabbah LXVIII:14.628 and LI:7, and Shir ha Shirim ii:33.

¹³³⁷ The entire note is extracted from Martin, *Pugio Fidei*, pars. 2, cap. 5, pp. 341–42. Large portions of this note are reproduced in *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 324.

A. There are Two Rabbis who so translate the Words, as to mean this: *Bind the Sacrifice with Cords*, until you can bring it unto the *Altar*, to be Immolated there, and to take its Blood, in order to Sprinkle the *Horns of the Altar* therewith.¹³³⁸

But then the Translation which we ascribe to the LXX. so render the Text, *prepare a solemn Day with thick Branches, even to the Horns of the Altar*. The *Vulgate* follows the same; And Mr. *De Sacy* thus expresses it: *Keep that Day with Solemnity, by strowing all Places with Branches, even to the Horns of the Altar*. The Hebrew is capable of this Translation. The Word which we render, *Bind*, may signify, *Prepare*. And that which is translated, *The Beast for Sacrifice*, properly signifies, *The Feast*. It can't be understood but by a Metonymie, for, the *Victim* sacrificed thereon. And it is very certain, the Jews did cutt down great Branches of Trees, the Day of the *Feast of Tabernacles*, and adorned the Temples therewith.¹³³⁹

1338 Hammond (*Paraphrase*, in *Works*, vol. 4, bk. 5, p. 338) notes that the rabbis are Kimchi and Jarchi (RASHI).

1339 Louis-Isaac Lemaistre de Sacy (1613–84) translated the Bible into French with many annotations. This translation was published in full after his death in 32 volumes in 1696. This work is usually called the “Port-Royal Bible,” because of de Sacy’s fidelity to the ideals of the Port-Royal logicians (*OCB*). I have had available to me an edition in 20 octavo volumes published in Cologne in 1714–15. This idea is drawn from his *Seconde Partie des Psaumes de David, Depuis le LXXVI. Jusqu’à la fin* (9:600).

Q. Favour mee, with a probable Conjecture upon the Occasion of Writing the *Hundred & Nineteenth Psalm*? v. 1.

A. It was required of the *King of Israel*, Deut. 17.18. *To write him a Copy of the Law in a Book*. Is it not a *probable Conjecture*, that our *David* was now at that Work? But wee may easily conceive, that while his *Hand* was *Transcribing* of the Divine Oracles, his *Heart* was *Affected* with them. And it may be conceived, That hee still noted the Devout Motions, & Notions, & Salleyes of his Holy *Heart*, as hee went along. These at last, not having a Dependence one upon another, as you will apprehend, from the Way of his Coming at them, hee cast afterwards into the *Alphabetical Order*, wherein we now enjoy them.¹³⁴⁰

Q. The Manner of Composing the *Hundred & Nineteenth Psalm*, a further Conjecture about it? v. 1.

A. It is a noble one of *Theodoret*. It is well known, *David* had great Varieties in his Condition. He fled from his Enemies, & putt them to Flight. Sometimes he was very disconsolate; at other times his Consolations were wonderful. He Ran in the Wayes of God; and he Stumbled; and he Rose again.

All these things, *Theodoret* saies, *David* collected here into one Psalm, “and connected the Prayers he had made unto God, at several times, & on several Occasions, & putt them together in this admirable Meditation, divided into XXII Parts, which propound one & the same Lesson to Men, & teach them how to live vertuously in the worst Condition. A Psalm sufficient to perfect those who study exquisite Vertue; to stir up the Diligence of the Slothful; to comfort those that are sad; to correct the Negligent; & in one Word, to Afford all Manner of Medicines for the Cure of the various Diseases of Mankind.”¹³⁴¹

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Q. Favour us with a KEY to many principal Passages of the *Hundred & Nineteenth Psalm*? v. 1.

A. It is evident from sundry Passages in the Book of *Psalms*, That the Godly Jewes had a Prospect beyond the *Outside* and *Letter* of the *Law*; and that they apprehended, a more *spiritual*, and *mystical*, and *evangelical* Meaning in it, than what the bare *Letter* mentioned. There was a *Kabala* among the true *Israelites*, by

¹³⁴⁰ See *Clavis Bibliorum*, pp. 331–32; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, pp. 342–43.

¹³⁴¹ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 5, p. 579; Theodoret, *Interpetatio in Psalmos* [PG 80.1819–22]; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 343.

which they were instructed in glorious Truths of the *Gospel*, that lay hid under the Shadowes of the *Law*. Thus, (Psal. 25.14.) *The Secret [or, Mystery] of Jehovah, was with them that feared Him.*

Accordingly, in the Hundred and Nineteenth Psalm, we find such *Prayers* as these, *Open mine Eyes that I may behold wondrous things out of thy Law; and, Hide not thy Commandments from me; and, Make me to understand the Way of thy Præcepts, so shall I talk of thy wondrous Works.* Hee likewise Declares, v. 96. *I have seen an End of all Perfections, but thy Commandment is exceeding Broad.* This intimates his Discovering of something in the *Law*, beyond the literal Sense of it, even a vast Mine of *Mystery*, the bottom whereof he could not fully fathom.

Now, what was the *Mystery*, thus in the Psalms referr'd unto? Be not surprized, if I tell you in one Word; It was the CHRISTIAN RELIGION.¹³⁴²

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Q. Who are, *The Undefined in the Way?* v. 1.

A. *Arnobius* will so gloss it; *CHRIST is the Way.*¹³⁴³

The *Prophetic Spirit*, here teaches the Dispersed Jews, how to adhære unto GOD, & confess their past Errors, & carry it well under *[*]*¹³⁴⁴ their Sufferings.¹³⁴⁵

Oh! Were they sensible! But they will not be so. Lett us *Gentiles* then, by being so, become the True *Israel* of GOD.

Q. Tis said, *Blessed art thou, O Lord, Teach mee thy Statutes.* Where lies the Connexion? v. 12.

A. Methinks *Aben-Ezra* hath a good Stroke upon it. The Psalmist employ'd himself in the *Blessing* of God, which is a Thing very *pleasing* to God: Now, saies hee, I desire no Reward of these my Religious Endeavours, but that thou wilt please to *Teach mee thy Statutes.*¹³⁴⁶

Or, *Doce me Statuta Tua ut benedicam Tibi.*¹³⁴⁷

Q. That Passage, *Deal Bountifully with thy Servant;* Is there any deeper Sense, to bee found in it, than what is commonly observed? v. 17.

A. The Gloss of R. *Salomoh* here is, *Retribue Super Servum Tuum, Rem per quam vivam.*¹³⁴⁸ Now the *Messiah* is the Thing, by which wee live. Compare, Lam. 4.20.

¹³⁴² Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 343.

¹³⁴³ Arnobius, *Commentarii in Psalmos* [PL 53.507]. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 343.

¹³⁴⁴ [*the Persecutions they suffer from Antichrist, & his Abettors.*]

¹³⁴⁵ Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 5, p. 187.

¹³⁴⁶ Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 343.

¹³⁴⁷ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 5, p. 340. "Teach me your statutes so that I may praise you."

¹³⁴⁸ "Recompense to your servant the thing by which I may live."

When the Coming of the *Messiah* is promised, the Promise runs in these Terms, Isa. 35.4. *God the Recompence*, (or, God with a Recompence,) *will come and save you*. The *Messiah* is very fitly styled, *The God of Recompence*, Because {He} is to be the {Jewel} of the World. Yea, more than so; Hee is called, *The God who is the Recompence*: Because in the Enjoyment of Him, there is made up the want of every thing else, & amends made, for all our Sorrowes. The *Recompensing Jehovah*, I again tell you, is one special Name of the *Messiah*: and in so telling you, I have given you a *Key* to many Oracles of the Scripture, not enough considered.

Consider particularly, the Promise of the *Messiah* thus given to *Abraham*, Gen. 15.1. *I am thy exceeding great Reward*.

And thus, the Granting and Coming of the *Messiah*, is here petition'd for. Tis petition'd under that Phrase, *Lett the Recompence bee upon thy Servant, and I shall Live*.

Tis the same Word / גמול / here, and in Isa. 35.4.¹³⁴⁹

The Emphasis of the Hebrew Word, for, *Deal Bountifully*, invites us to this Gloss upon it. "Make those *gracious Returns* which thou hast promised, unto those that Resolve and study Obedience to thee."¹³⁵⁰

Q. When the Psalmist saies, *Remove from mee, Reproach and Contempt; for I have kept thy Testimonies*: to what may hee allude? v. 22.

A. When the *Israelites* of old, *kept the Testimonies* of God, in observing of the *Circumcision* which was to *Testify* their Faith in the *Messiah*, tis said, Josh. 5.9. *This Day have I Rolled away the Reproach of Egypt from off you: Wherefore the Name of the Place is called, Gilgal*.

Now, that very Word, is here used by the Psalmist: Which invites you, to enquire a little further into his Intention: but this Hint, may suffice, for the Present.

It is a *Reproach* unto a Man and makes him worthy of *Contempt*, when he neglects the Divine Institutions.¹³⁵¹

Q. On that, *My Soul cleaveth to the Dust*? v. 25.

A. A Godly Man will make this Complaint, under and against his *earthly* Dispositions.

The Psalmist lying prostrate in the *Dust*, when he made his *Humble Supplications*, might thus express himself.¹³⁵²

¹³⁴⁹ Martin, *Pugio Fidei*, pars. 3, dist. 3, cap. 4, pp. 682–83. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, pp. 343–44.

¹³⁵⁰ Hammond, *Paraphrase*, in *Works*, vol. 4, bk. 5, p. 340.

¹³⁵¹ Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 344.

¹³⁵² Hammond, *Paraphrase*, in *Works*, vol. 4, bk. 5, p. 340; Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 5, p. 584.

But *Munsters Gloss* is, *proximus sui Morti, tantis expositus Periculis*. q. d. I am just going into the Grave.¹³⁵³

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Q. Upon that Passage, *I have declared my Wayes, and thou heardest me?* v. 26.

A. Take an Hint of old *Arnobius*.

*Artem Exaudiendi didicisti, Christiane, si exaudiri vis, vias Dei nuncia; Doce Castitatem, Humilitatem, Contemptum Mundi, et quicquid petieris exaudieris.*¹³⁵⁴

Q. *O Lord, putt me not to Shame.*] What *Shame?* v. 31.

A. *Arnobius* will define it. *Naturaliter confusio nascitur, quando quod poscitur denegatur, et ab eo qui prædicat eum, quem Petiturus est, nihil negare poscenti.*¹³⁵⁵

Q. On that, *Thy Servant who is devoted unto thy Fear?* v. 38.

A. Or, *Thy Word, which is to the Fearing of thee*. It is all design'd for to bring us into the Fear of GOD, & the Practice of Piety.¹³⁵⁶

Q. What is it, *To walk at Liberty?* v. 45.

A. Not the *Walk* of the *Libertine*. But, to be free from the Incumbrances, which may hinder our *Walk with God*.¹³⁵⁷

Q. *Remember the Word unto thy Servant.*] What *Word?* v. 49.

A. That *Word*, Gen. 3.15. *Arnobius* thus glosses upon it. *Perierat omne Genus hominum, in Prævaricatione Adæ, et promissum fuerat Verbum Dei venturum in Carne, et per ipsum Genus nostrum recuperaturum in Melius. Clamatur ergo, Memento Verbi tui Servo tuo, id est, Generi Humano.*¹³⁵⁸

1353 Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3940). The note in its entirety is in *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 344. "[He is] very near his own death, having been exposed to such great dangers."

1354 *Arnobius*, *Commentarii in Psalmos* [PL 53.510]; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 344, where Mather provides a paraphrastic translation of *Arnobius'* gloss: "Lo thou *Declare* the *ways* of God, O Christian, in making them *thy own*, and see if He do not hear *thy prayers*." More fully, "You have learned the art of hearing clearly; Christian, if you wish to hear, proclaim the ways of God; teach chastity, humility, contempt for the world, and whatever you ask for, you shall hear."

1355 *Arnobius*, *Commentarii in Psalmos* [PL 53.510]. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, pp. 344–45. "Shame arises naturally when what is requested is denied, and from him who proclaims that the one he intends to ask denies nothing to the petitioner."

1356 Hammond, *Paraphrase*, in *Works*, vol. 4, bk. 5, p. 341.

1357 Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 5, p. 588. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 345.

1358 "The entire race of men had been undone in the transgression of Adam, and had been promised that the Word of God would come in the flesh, and through Him our race would be restored into a better state. Therefore it is proclaimed, 'Remember your word to your servant, that is, to the human race.'"

The evil Spirits, enjoying their Temples, & the Capitols, were the *Proud*, that had this Word {in *Derision*}[***torn*].¹³⁵⁹

Q. A Paraphrase on, *I thought on my Wayes, & turned my Feet unto thy Testimonies?* v. 59.

A. Dr. *Patricks*. “Upon serious Deliberation, what Course of Life it was best to take, I rejected all other, which with specious Shewes of worldly Advantages, would have seduced me; & determined to be guided wholly by thy Testimonies.”¹³⁶⁰

Q. A Paraphrase on, *The Proud have forged a Lye against me?* v. 69.

A. Dr. *Patricks*. “They that disdain to be tied unto the common and plain Rules of Honesty, have taken a great deal of Pains, to invent a Lye against me.”

The Lye referr’d to, is that, 1. Sam. XXIV.9. *The Words of Men saying, Behold, David seeketh thy Hurt.*¹³⁶¹

Q. What might be the more special *Affliction*, which the Servant of GOD says, was *good* for him? v. 71.

A. What if it should be that which he just before mentions? *Lies forged against him*; Defamations. Be sure, There is an *Affliction* in slanderous & calumnious *Defamations*. And, Christian, Thou hast many Ways to make them *good* for thee.¹³⁶²

Q. The Emphasis of that Word, *All are thy Servants?* v. 91.

A. The Gloss of *Arnobius* on this Context, is worth reciting.

*Fundasti terram, et permanet. Et homo propter quem terram fundasti, non permanet. Ecce, et Ordinatione tua perseverant Dies. Et homo, propter quem Dies fecisti, non perseverat. Ideò autem perseverant omnia, quia omnia serviunt tibi. Homo autem non perseverat, quia non, sicut omnia, servit tibi.*¹³⁶³

Q. On that, *An End of all Perfection?* v. 96.

¹³⁵⁹ Arnobius, *Commentarii in Psalmos* [PL 53.512]. *Psalterium* bk. 5, p. 345 permits the completion of the sentence that is missing in *Biblia Americana*.

¹³⁶⁰ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras’d*, bk. 5, p. 591. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 345.

¹³⁶¹ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras’d*, bk. 5, pp. 592–93. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 345.

¹³⁶² Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras’d*, bk. 5, p. 593.

¹³⁶³ Arnobius, *Commentarii in Psalmos* [PL 53.517]. *Psalterium* bk. 5, p. 345 only provides a remark from a “Gloss of Antiquity”: “These things *continue*; But *Man* for whom God made them does not *continue*. Why? They all are *Servants* of God. But *Man* declines the Service of God. *Homo non perseverat quia non, sicut omni, servit tibi.*” In full, “You have founded the earth, and it endures. And man, for whom you founded the earth, does not endure. Behold, even by your arrangement the days *continue*. And man, for whom you made the days, does not *continue*. However, all things *continue* therefore because they all serve you. But man does not *continue* because he does not serve you, as all things do.”

A. The most perfect & glorious Things in this World, come to an *End*.

But, as *Munster* glosses it, The Law of God extends further, even, *in futurum Seculum*.¹³⁶⁴

Some read it, *The Extent of all Perfection*. q.d. “In thy Commandments I have a plentiful Store of Ingredients, to make Applications unto every Malady.”¹³⁶⁵

Q. A Gloss upon that; *Thy Commandment is exceeding Broad?* v. 96.

A. *Arnobius* gives you this; *Latum, quia omnia terrae Spatia occupat*.

There shall a Time come, when all People, over the Face of the whole Earth, shall yeeld Obedience to it.¹³⁶⁶

Q. What *particular Commandments* above the rest, might they be, in the Observation whereof, the wise Man defeated & outwitted his *Enemies?* v. 98.

A. The Commandments which Restrained him from attempting his own Revenge upon them. See 1. Sam. XXIV.17. and, XXVI.21.¹³⁶⁷

Q. How do you *understand* that Passage of the Psalmist, *I have More Understanding than all my Teachers; for thy Testimonies are my Meditation?* v. 99.

A. There is in the / פִּרְקֵי אֲבוֹת / *Capitula Patrum*, a notable Sentence of one *Ben-Zoma*, which gives this Passage, another Translation than wee do.

Filius Zomæ dixit, Quis est Sapiens? R. Qui à quovis Homine discit: Sicut dictum est, Ab omnibus me Docentibus sapientiam didici, quia {Meditatio} mea sunt Testimonia Tua. And, I think: the Text will bear it.¹³⁶⁸

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Q. Why does our Psalmist represent the *Words of God*, as being *sweet unto his Mouth*; and not rather, unto his *Ear*, and his *Heart?* v. 103.

A. This Remark occurs in *Mollerus*. *Mirum Videtur, cur dicat, ori suo.* And *Mollerus* gives a good Account of it; The Prophet now speaks, *Non tantum ut*

¹³⁶⁴ Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3940). Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 345. “Into the age to come.”

¹³⁶⁵ Hammond, *Paraphrase*, in *Works*, vol. 4, bk. 5, p. 345.

¹³⁶⁶ Arnobius, *Commentarii in Psalmos* [PL 53.517]. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 345. “Broad, because it occupies all the spaces of the earth.”

¹³⁶⁷ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras’d*, bk. 5, p. 598. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 345.

¹³⁶⁸ This quotation is from the *Pirke Aboth* or *Pirkei Avot*, a Mishnaic introduction to the study of rabbinic Judaism. The remark is drawn from ch. 4, p. 19 of the edition prepared by Francis Taylor (1590–1656), to which Mather might well have been referring. Ben Zoma is Simeon ben Zoma, a mystic of the 2nd c. CE (*JE*). The translation of the question and answer reads, “Ben Zoma said, who is wise? Response: He that learns from every man, as it is said: ‘from all my teachers have I got understanding, for your testimonies are my meditation.’” See also Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 345, where Mather provides this reading: “*I learn Wisdom from all my Teachers*. The text will bear it. And, *Christian*, it will be thy *Wisdom* to do it.”

Discipulus et Auditor, sed etiam ut Doctor, cui nihil suavius nihil Iucundius sit, quàm de Doctrina caelesti assiduè disserere, et alios secum erudire et confirmare. He speaks as a *Teacher* of others; and there should be nothing so *sweet* unto a Preacher, as to have the *Words of God* passing thro' his *Mouth* unto those that are about him.¹³⁶⁹

Q. *Bee Surety for thy Servant for Good?* v. 122.

A. 'Tis a Note, which I find the Ancients, (and I think, *Austin*) hath upon this Verse; That it is almost the only Verse of the Psalm, where the *Law* of God, in one of the various Terms for it, is not mentioned. Whereupon say they, *ubi Lex deficit, ibi Christus est* κρείττονος διαθήκης ἔγγυος. Now 'Tis Time, for *Christ*, our *Surety* to appear.¹³⁷⁰

Q. Give us a further Translation and Intention of that passage; *It is time for thee, Lord, to work, for they have made void thy Law?* v. 126.

A. *Maimonides* thus translates it, & renders it as the Reason of his own appearing to write as he did. *It is time to work for the Lord, for they have made void thy Law.* His taking it in that Sense, made him write his, *Moreh Nevochim*.¹³⁷¹

David Ganz in his *Chronology*, saies, That *R. Judah Hakkodesh*, observing their *Oral Law*, or Traditional Religion, in danger to be lost, sett it down in Writing, tho' there was a Prohibition against it: For the Rabbi relied on this Passage to bear him out, *It is time to work to the Lord*.¹³⁷²

Q. *The Entrance of the Word giveth Light?* v. 130.

¹³⁶⁹ Heinrich Moller (1530–89) was a professor of Hebrew and theology, and Rector at the University of Wittenberg (ADB). He wrote a three-part commentary on the Psalms, *Enarrationis Psalmorum Davidis*, from which this note is copied, vol. 3, p. 613. The Mathers owned an edition of this work, published in Geneva in 1617. See also Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, pp. 345–46: "It seems wondrous to his own mouth why he speaks." "Not only as a disciple and auditor, but also as a teacher, to whom nothing is sweeter and more pleasant than to discuss continually divine doctrine, and to instruct and encourage others with himself."

¹³⁷⁰ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 5, p. 346; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 346. Viccars attributes the Latin phrase ("where the law falls short, there Christ is") to Augustine, but it does not seem to occur in his works in just this way. The idea is contained, of course, in Romans 5:20, and a similar remark can be found in Augustine's homily on the Gospel of John (3:11–12). κρείττονος διαθήκης ἔγγυος is an elision of Heb. 7:22, in which Jesus is identified as a "guarantee of a better covenant."

¹³⁷¹ This statement occurs in the unpaginated preface to Buxtorf's edition of *Doctor Perplexorum*. See also Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 346.

¹³⁷² This note is from the *Chronologia Sacra-Profana A Mundi Conditu ad Annum M. 5352 vel Christi 1592* (bk. 1, p. 107), by Rabbi David ben Solomon Ganz or Gans. The *Chronologia*, also known as the "Zemah David," collates Jewish (sacred) and general (profane) history in two books. The remark occurs in bk. 1 (sec. : "Chronologia Rerum et Rabbiorum sub Secundo Templo"), p. 107. Ganz refers to the first redaction of the Mishna by Rabbi Judah "The Holy" (Ha-Kodesh) during the 2nd c. CE.

A. Tis R. *Solomons* Curiosity upon it, That The *Word* of God, at the very *Entrance* of it, in the History of the *Creation*, begins with *Light*.

Dr. *Patrick's* Paraphrase upon it, is a good one. "When a Man does but begin to be acquainted with thy Word, he finds his Mind marvellously enlightened, with such clear and useful Knowledge, as directs the most simple People, how to live Happily."¹³⁷³

Q. That Prayer, *Deliver mee from the Oppression of Man*; What may bee the Sense of it? v. 134.

A. The Sense of it is obvious.

But I'll take the Leave, to offer you a Jewish Gloss further upon it.

R. *Arama*, reads it, *The Oppression of Adam*; and by it hee understands, The Sin of *Adam*, the / יצר הרע / *Evil Figment*, or, *Original Sin*.¹³⁷⁴

And whereas you find the Psalmist hereupon mourning, because, *They keep not Gods Law*, hee understands it, because *Adam* and *Eve* kept it not.¹³⁷⁵

Q. Do you observe any singular Elegancy in that Expression, *Rivers of Waters run down mine Eyes, because they keep not thy Law*? v. 136.

A. Yes. And I insist not, on an Enquiry, whether the Psalmist here laments the Sins of his *own Eyes*, not keeping the Law of God, or the Sins of other Men, whom hee saw with his *own Eyes*.

But that Expression, *Thy Law*, you must note, that the Root of the Hebrew Word *Thorah*, for, *Law*, signifies both to *Teach*, and also to *Rain*. [Consider, Deut. 32.2.] When God gives His *Law* to Men, there are *Showres* of *Grace*, from Heaven upon them; When Men don't keep that *Law*, it calls for *Showres* of *Grief*, with all Observers on Earth. Accordingly, in our Psalmist here; wee have *Showres* for *Showres*: When hee sees that God *Rains* His *Lawes* unregarded, hee *Rains* his *Tears* for the Sin of this Disregard.¹³⁷⁶

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¹³⁷³ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 5, p. 344; Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 5, p. 605; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 346.

¹³⁷⁴ Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 346.

¹³⁷⁵ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 5, p. 339.

¹³⁷⁶ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 5, p. 344. This note expounds on the selection of the Midrash Tehillim contained in Viccars. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 346.

Q. Here are fifteen Psalms, called *Songs of Degrees*: in what Sense, and for what Cause, I pray?

A. Many Interpretations of this Title, have been given; but it may bee none of them entitled unto Truth, which are founded in any Condition of things taking no Place till after the Building of the *Temple*. Nor will I recite, the Opinion of R. *Solomon*, that the Psalms were to bee sung, on the Fifteen Steps which ascended from the Court of the *Women*, to the Court of the *Men*, in the *Temple*; nor the Opinion of *Kimchi*, that the Psalms were calculated for to bee sung, in the Ascent of the Jewes from their *Babylonian* Captivity; (tho' their several Mansions in that Ascent, have this Word here used for them, Ezr. 7.9. and in my Opinion, it bids very fair for the Interpretation of the Matter,) nor the Opinion of R. *Saadias*, that the Psalms were to bee sung with an Higher *Note*, or in an Higher *Place*, than ordinary; nor the Opinion of *Aben Ezra*, that there was a Song distinguished by the Initial Name of המעלות according to the Tune whereof the Psalms were to bee sung; nor the Opinion of R. *Obadiah*, that the Psalms are composed for every *Degree* of Persons; nor, in a word, the Opinion of the Generality, that the Psalms are, *of all the most excellent*, and therefore called, *Cantica Graduum*. How then?¹³⁷⁸

I conceive, all of these excellent Psalms, to bee solemnly sung, by the Musicians of *David*, on the Stairs of his Royal Tower, unto the Glory of God, for the forming of that Royal Seat. Wee read, Neh. 3.15. concerning, *The Stairs that go down from the City of David*. And when the Worship of God was Restored in *Jerusalem*, wee find Singers appointed; Where? Neh. 12.37. *They went up, by the Stairs of the City of David*. Lett those Texts, bee the Illustrations of these Titles.¹³⁷⁹

If this Account please you not, What think you, of a Passage now to bee transcribed from Dr. *Lightfoot*?

“The *Degrees* of the Suns Reversing, and the *Fifteen* Years of *Hezekiah's* Life Prolonging, may call to our Mind, the *Fifteen Psalms of Degrees*. There were *Hezekiah's* Songs, *that were sung to the stringed Instruments in the House of the Lord*: Isa. 38.21. Whether these were pick'd out by him, for that Purpose, bee it left to Censure. But, Whoso in Reading these Psalms, shall have his Thoughts, upon the Danger of *Jerusalem* by *Sennacherib*, & her Delivery, & the Sickness

¹³⁷⁷ See Appendix B.

¹³⁷⁸ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 5, pp. 351–52.

¹³⁷⁹ Lightfoot's *Chorographical Century* (ch. 30), in *Works* (2:30). Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, pp. 347–48.

of *Hezekiah*, & his Recovery, shall find, that they fitt those Occasions, in many places, Very Well.”¹³⁸⁰

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Q. Notwithstanding, the, *may bee*, in your former Account, can't you offer mee Some further Account, about the *Songs of Degrees*, which also, *may bee*, worthy of Consideration?

A. A worthy Scotchman, Mr. *Hutcheson*, ha's a Passage, in my Opinion here worthy of Recitation.

“I might add, *saies hee*, one Conjecture more. When I consider, the affinity, that is betwixt the Word, rendred here, *Degrees*, and the Original that signifies, *Burnt-offerings* or *Sacrifices*, I incline to think, that these *Songs* were sung by the *Priests* and *Levites*, about the *Altar*, while they offered their *Burnt-offerings*, or *Sacrifices*.”¹³⁸¹

Arnobius ha's a pretty Similitude at least, for these, *Cantica Ascensionum*. *Veluti si alicui qui in foveam ceciderit ponatur Scala*. By these Prayers and Frames, we are to be fetch'd up, out of *Depths* of Calamities.¹³⁸²

It is a pathetic Passage in the Life of pious Mr. *Thomas Halyburton*. When he lay a dying, he caused them to Read, *The Songs of Degrees*. He said, They were so called, some think, because they were sung on the *Stairs* that led up to the Temple. And, said he, *What Meeter to be read unto a poor Sinner that aims at climbing up the Hill of GOD, where His Temple is!*¹³⁸³

[▽ 297ra] [▽ Insert 297ra]

Q. The Psalms, which are called, *The Songs of Degrees*, a further Disquisition into the Reason, why they are called so?

A. In the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, there is a Letter of a Gentleman, on the Fifteen Psalms, that carry the Title of *Mahaloth*. He declines the *Twelve* Conjectures, enumerated by *Pool*, in his Abridgment of the *Criticks* thereupon. And he particularly labours to confute the Interpreters, who will find *Fifteen* propheticall Periods of the Destiny of the Christian Church, intimated in them.

¹³⁸⁰ Lightfoot's *Harmony of the Old Testament*, in *Works* (1:111).

¹³⁸¹ Hutcheson, *Forty Five Sermons upon the CXXX Psalm*, serm. 1, p. 2.

¹³⁸² Arnobius, *Commentarii in Psalmos* [PL 53.522]: “Songs of Ascents. Just as if a ladder should be placed for someone who fell into a pit.”

¹³⁸³ The diaries and memorials of Thomas Halyburton (1674–1712), a minister and theology professor at St. Andrews, were published after his death, as *Memoirs of the Life of the Reverend Mr Thomas Halyburton* (1714), pt. 4, ch. 6, p. 217. All of Halyburton's principal works were published posthumously, but their literary elegance and devotional value ensured their popularity well into the 19th c. Isaac Watts, John Wesley, and George Whitfield all prepared prefaces for editions of Halyburton's *Memoirs* (DNB).

He observes, That the *Fifteen Psalms*, were composed at different Times, by different Authors, on different Subjects; but they all agree in this, that they are very *short*. In general, they consist of, Complaints against the Enemies of *Israel*; Confidence in the Promises of God; And a great Zeal for the *Temple*, and for *Jerusalem* the Holy City. They were probably collected under the same Title, and applied unto the use of the Piety of the *Israelites*, after they returned from their Captivity, and sett themselves to Rebuilding the Temple, & the Holy City of *Jerusalem*. As they laboured in this Work, the *Levites* restored the ancient Custome; which was, To *Watch* in the Night, and keep Guard, at the Gate of the *Temple*, and on the *Stairs* of it. The *Temple* as every one knowes, was built on the Top of Mount *Moriah*, to which the People ascended on all sides. We read; Luk. 18.10. *Two Men went up to the Temple*. After all these Observations, this Gentleman begins to discover, That our *Fifteen Psalms*, were sett apart, by the Directors of the Ecclesiastical Polity of *Israel*; to be sung on the Top of the Stairs, during the *Night Watch* of the Guard of the Temple. Its known, That the *Levites* were ordered to be, both *Singers*, and *Souldiers*, in their Turns; and nothing hindred their acquitting themselves at the same Time, of this Double Duty. Unto what could they better apply themselves, than this; during their Night-Watches, to celebrate from time to time, the Goodness of God, the Glory of His House, as well as their Dependence on His Promises, against the Impressions they had of their Sufferings, Past, Present, or Future.

It is now time to add; That the *Night Watch* was particularly held on the *Mahaloth*, that is to say, the *Stairs*, of the *Temple*; and the *Psalms* were appointed to be sung by the *Guard*, on the *Stairs*. In the Palace of God, all things were to be regulated in an Exact & Holy Manner; And the sacred Edifice, was now become, a Subject more necessary to be guarded than ever.

On this Occasion, my Author Illustrates a Text in *Malachi*, who was a Witness of the Customes established after the Captivity of *Babylon*. He complains, That the *Levites* had now *Departed from the Way of their Fathers*, & caused many to *Stumble at the Law*. For this he Threatens, Ch. 2.12. *The Lord will cutt off, out of the Tabernacles of Jacob, AS WELL HIM THAT WAKETH, AS HIM THAT ANSWERETH; Yea, and Him that Offereth an Offering unto the Lord of Hosts. By, Him that Offereth*, you may understand the *Priests* of the First Rank; By, *Him that Waketh* & *Him that Answereth*, you may understand, the *Levites* of the meaner Employments; those that mounted the Guard, & stood Centry all the Night. Or, if you carry that Clause of, *Him that offereth*, as far as the Total Extinction of all the *Sacrifices*, it may be well enough. But now, *Him that waketh and Him that answereth*, you will find yett more notably explained in the *last* of our *Fifteen Psalms*. It is a *Dialogue*; where the First that speaks, exhorts his Companions, to sanctify the Hours of the Night, by praising the God, unto whose Service they were Devoted. The Other that gives the Answer, Blesses him that Wakes, by way of an Holy Acknowledgment, for such an Holy Exhortation. *The Lord that*

Made Heaven & Earth, Bless thee out of Zion; saies he. It is also evident, That he who speaks first in the Psalm, speaks to a Number of People Assembled together, in the Discharge of their Duty, to *Serve God by Night*, in the Court that was before the Gate of the Temple: And consequently, that it is a *Levite* purposely ordained, to speak these Words, unto his Companions on the Guard. So then, He who speaks first, and awakes the rest, by his Exhortation, is the Centry that stands without the Court of Guard according to Custome, on a Place at which tis most proper for him to Look Out; & therefore on the Classis next the stairs, to observe all those that might come up.

[297rb] But, why must the Centry *Sing*? Truly, he could do nothing better. Nothing so well suited a *Watchman* in the House of God, as to sing an Holy Song; to give a certain Proof, that he was in his Duty, & that he was neither out of his Post, nor fall'n asleep.

In most of the Towns in *Holland*, they keep in Pay, a Sort of Disturbers of the public Repose, who at all Hours of the Night, run about, with Noisy Instruments, and cry as loud as they can, the Last Hour that struck. There's hardly any Bad Sleeper, either well or sick, but what is disturbed by these obstreperous Watchmen. But the Magistrates, who have ordained them to watch against worse Disorders, overlook *That*, and will have them to cry, & make a great Noise, that it may be known, they are actually discharging what they were ordained for.

Doubtless, There were People of the same Kind, appointed in *Jerusalem* for the same End. The Prophet makes a plain Allusion to them; Psal. 119.148 *Mine Eyes prevent the Night Watches, that I might meditate in thy Word*. M. Diodati's Paraphrase, is, *I waked of myself, before I had Notice by the Guards, who by their Cries, notify the Night-Watches*. To the same Sense *Beza* translated it.

*Sans que le guet de veiller m'admoneste
mes yeux ouverts de veiller ont souci.*¹³⁸⁴

Which may be thus Englished:

*Mine Eyes the Watches of the Night prevent,
For e're they call, to watching I am bent.*

It is easy to conceive, why some of the *Watchmen* of the Guard, were ordered to *answer* him that *Awak'd* them. For, besides that a pious Exhortation ought never to be left unanswered, the *Levites*, when they were upon their common Function in the sacred Guard, thought it as much their Honour, to give a Proof of their being in their Duty, as the Centinel who staid without.

The *Hundred & Thirty Fourth Psalm* will agree well enough to this Practice of the *Levites*, & will explain the Passage in *Malachi*. But you will ask, what is there in the other *Fourteen*, relating to it? It is probable, They were sett apart, to be sung upon the *Stairs* of the *Temple*, by the *Centry* of the sacred Guard.

¹³⁸⁴ See Theodore de Beze's, *Les Pseaumes de David*, p. 519.

Probably, from Time to Time, the *Levite* that was on the Centry, sung one of these *Fourteen* short Psalms; not only to employ and strengthen his own Devotion, but also, to lett it be known, that he was not Asleep. After that, at the *End* of every *Psalm*, he added the *Two First Verses* of the *Hundred & Thirty Fourth*; which occasioned the Answer and Blessing in the Last Verse of the Psalm.¹³⁸⁵
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Q. The Scope of Psal. CXX?

A. The Jews constantly refer all these Fifteen Psalms, to their People, in the Dispersion, wherein they are now languishing.

In the Psalm now before us, we find the *Idumæans*, & the *Arabians*; the *Romans* & the *Mahometans*.¹³⁸⁶

Q. That Enquiry, *What shall be given thee, Thou False Tongue?* v. 3.

A. It may be rendred, *What shall it give thee?* What is gott by him who converses with a Man of a *False Tongue*? Or, what shall it give & gett for the Man himself that uses it?¹³⁸⁷

Q. The Mention of, *The Coals of Juniper*, would invite one, to consider other Scriptures, as well as this, wherein *Juniper* is mentioned? v. 4.

A. It seems, that a *lasting Fire*, as well as a very *sharp* one, is here emphatically pointed at. *Juniper* abounds with a piercing *Oyl*, which makes a very *sharp Fire*; And *Pliny* affirms, That it will also yield a *lasting* one; for the *Coals of Juniper* being raked up, will keep a glowing Fire for the Space of a Year together.¹³⁸⁸

Some wonder, how the *Juniper*, which is ordinarily but a low and shrubby Tree, should afford such a comfortable Shade and Covering to *Elias*. But as there is a lesser, so there is a larger Kind of that Vegetable; and it makes a considerable Tree in the Regions that are proper to it. You find in *Pliny*, that in the Temple of *Diana Saguntina* in *Spain*, the Rafters were made of *Juniper*.

The Complaint of Job was, that he was despised by poor famished Wretches; [Job. 30.3, 4.] who for *Want and Famine were solitary*, & *cutt up Mallowes by the Bushes, and Juniper roots for Meat*. One would at first suspect the Translation; and this, not only from the Greek Text, but also from the Assertion of *Dioscorides*, who affirms, That the *Roots of Juniper* are of a venomous

¹³⁸⁵ This entry, including the references to Diodati (Deodati) and Beza, is translated from Pierre Bayle's, *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres* (Nov. 1705), art. 3, "Lettre de Monsieur *** à l'Auteur de ces Nouvelles, sur les Pseaumes qui portent les Titre de Mahaloth" (pp. 513–38). Large portions of the annotation here are included in *Psalterium*, bk. 5, pp. 348–49.

¹³⁸⁶ Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 5, p. 198. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 349.

¹³⁸⁷ Hammond, *Paraphrase*, in *Works*, vol. 4, bk. 4, p. 357.

¹³⁸⁸ Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 349.

Quality. But *Scaliger* ha's confuted the Assertion of *Dioscorides*, (as tis observed by Sir *Thomas Brown*,) from the Practice of *African* Physicians, who use the Decoction of *Juniper Roots* against the venereal Disease. The Chaldee reads it, *Genista*, or some kind of *Broom*; which will be also an Unusual and Hard Diet, except thereby we understand the *Orobanche*, or Broom Rope, which growes from the Roots of Broom; and which, according to *Dioscorides*, Men used to eat Raw, or Boil'd in the Manner of *Asparagus*. The Expression does highly declare the Poverty and Misery of the Persons, who now mocked him. They were so Contemptible and Necessitous, that they were fain to be content, not only with *mean Diet*, but also with such as was *no Diet* at all; the *Roots of Trees*, and even the Roots of *Juniper*; which none would use for food, but in the extremest Necessity.¹³⁸⁹

Q. *David* saies, *I Dwell in the Tents of Kedar*. Now, I don't Remember that ever hee was in those parts of the World. v. 5.

A. You may have many Occasions to improve & apply this Observation, That the Hebrew Particle **כע** is to bee translated *Like*, as well as, *In*, or, *With*. Hence a Great Interpreter so translates this Text, *I Dwell [AS] the Tents of Kedar*; that is, *Like* the Inhabitants of the stony & sunburnt *Arabia*; unto such Frequent Removes am I exposed. Perhaps hee might also, use their Kind of *Tents* in his Travels.

There are those who think, that the Calumnies of *Doeg* and others, did force *David*, not only to flee his Countrey, but also to go as far as the *Kedarens*, or *Arabians*; whose Company was very Irsome to him. Indeed we do not read in his History, that he was there; but we may well think, he sought for Safety, in more Places than are particularly mentioned. And he might as well be there, as among the *Moabites*, and in the Wilderness of *Paran*; [1. Sam. XXV.1.] which was not far from them.

As for *Mesech*, it may signify, not a *Place*, but the *Length of Time*, which he staid there, before he durst stir from thence; or, which he was forced to spend in Exile; as all the Ancient Interpreters, except one, understand it.

See *Bochart* in his *Phaleg*. l.III.c.12.¹³⁹⁰

Thus Dr. *Patrick* paraphrases. "I groan, not only in a tedious Banishment from my own Countrey, but I am forced to seek for Shelter among the Barbarous *Arabs*."¹³⁹¹

¹³⁸⁹ Browne, *Certain Miscellany Tracts*, tract 1, sec. 37, pp. 58–9.

¹³⁹⁰ In this annotation, Mather relies directly on Edwards's *Discourse*, vol. 2, ch. 4, pp. 115–16, rather than on Bochart. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 349.

¹³⁹¹ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 5, p. 616. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 349.

Q. There is a little Difference between the Title of this, and the other Fourteen Psalms. They are, *Songs of Degrees*; this is; *A Song for Degrees*? Tit.

A. The Mention of this, only serves to furnish me with an Occasion to recommend a Stroke of *Christian Modesty*, which we may often find Occasion to use, when Difficulties in the Sacred Scriptures occur unto us, which we can't presently see through. The learned *Cajetan*, observing the Difference we have now mentioned, saies, *Reservo Spiritui Sancto*. Even so may we say, *I Reserve the Solution of this & the other Doubt, unto the Holy Spirit of God*.¹³⁹²

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Q. How may those Words bee rendred, *Hee that keepeth Israel, shall neither slumber, nor sleep*? v. 4.

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A. There is a Remarkable Story; as I remember, – I have read it –, in the *Historia Judaica*, translated by *Gentius*; to this Purpose.

Among the *Portuguese*, the *Jewes* were extremely *persecuted*, and sometimes, as marvellously and miraculously delivered, from their *Persecutions*. Once particularly, There was a Night wherein the *King* not being able to *Sleep*, took a Walk in a Balcony, where hee espied a Couple of Wretches carrying a *Dead Corpse*, which they cast into a Yard belonging to a certain *Jew*: Hereupon immediately, hee dispatched a Couple of Servants to watch them Home, which was done accordingly: But the Day following, there was a mighty Tumult in the City, the *Jewes* being Accused of the Murder, & the *Mob* from the Circumstances of the Found Carcase, credited the Accusation: The King seeing the poor *Jewes* like to bee sacrificed unto the rage of the Rabble, presently apprehended the

¹³⁹² Thomas Cajetan, or Thommaso de Vio (1469–1534), was a Catholic cardinal and opponent of Luther (*CE*). While the Harvard Library owned one of Cajetan's works, his commentary on Joshua through Esther, Mather is returning in this annotation to Arrowsmith, *Armilla Catechetica* (aphorism 4, exer. 7, p. 257). This same phrase, with exactly the same wording as Arrowsmith's observation, recurs in a text of John Dunton (1659–1733), *Athenian Sport* (1707). Dunton, a staunch Whig who was likely involved in Monmouth's Rebellion, came to New England in 1686. When he returned to London, he established the Athenian Society and began publication of *The Athenian Mercury*, the first successful popular periodical in English (*DNB*). Harvard Library held Dunton's 1692 *Young Student's Library*, and Mather could have easily read others of Dunton's works. *Athenian Sport*, and its unstated dependence on Arrowsmith in this instance, serves to demonstrate how robust the commonplace tradition still was in the 18th century. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 350.

¹³⁹³ [*Q. The Scope?

A. Restored *Israel* will thus comfort herself.
Compare Isa. LX.19. and Rev. XXII.5.*]

Rogues; and sending for some of the Jewish *Rabbis*, hee asked them, How they translated the *fourth Verse of the Hundred & Twenty First Psalm*; whereto they reply'd, *Behold, Hee that keepeth Israel, will neither slumber nor sleep*. No, said the King; the Translation is this; *Behold, Hee [the Lord] will not slumber, nor will Hee suffer to sleep, Him that keepeth Israel*. Hee added, *God, who hath a Care over you, ha's taken away my Sleep, that I might bee an Ey-witness, of that Wickedness which is laid unto your Charge*; and so, hee explained the whole Villainy, to the wonderful Deliverance of the Distressed Jewes, & the Confusion of their Designing Adversaries.¹³⁹⁴

Thus, I have given you a Royal Illustration, of the Text before us, and a notable History into the Bargain.

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Q. Why is it said, *The Lord is thy Shade upon thy Right Hand; The Sun shall not smite thee by Day, nor the Moon by Night?* v. 5, 6.

A. 'Tis said, In Allusion to the Pillar of *Cloud* and *Fire*, which accommodated the Israelites, Travelling thro' the Wilderness.¹³⁹⁵

Q. But how may the *Sun* and *Moon* bee said to *smite* one? v. 6.

A. With pestilential Sicknesses. *Sunt Solis ac Lunæ Tela, Pestis*.

The Psalmist, here, after the Faith of the Second Verse, comes to suppose the Angels uttering to him from the Holy Place, the ensuing Consolations.¹³⁹⁶

Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase on this Verse, is: "Be not troubled, that thou art forced to take up thy Quarters in the Open Field; For the *Sun* shall do thee no Hurt, by its vehement Heat in the Day; nor the *Moon* by its Cold and Moisture in the Night."

See 2. Sam. XVII.1, 6, 22.¹³⁹⁷

¹³⁹⁴ The "Scepter (or Tribe) of Judah" (*Schebet Yehuda*) was a work written in the mid-sixteenth century by the Sephardic Jew, Solomon Ibn Verga. It is a text that is remarkable for its account of Jewish persecution as an effect not of divine disfavor but of social and historical causes (*JE*). It was enormously popular through the 19th century, and went through many translations, among them the Latin one to which Mather refers here by George Gentius. See *Historia Judaica*, pp. 128–30.

¹³⁹⁵ Ainsworth, *Annotations*, p. 171. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 350.

¹³⁹⁶ This note is contained in the *Annotationes in Vetus Testamentum et in Epistolam ad Ephesios. Incerto Autore*, p. 535. This work, first published in 1653 in Cambridge (and in a new edition in Franeker in 1704), was compiled by Anthony Scattergood (1611–87) from a manuscript contained in the library of John Williams (1582–1650), Bishop of Lincoln, Lord Chancellor, and later Archbishop of York (*DNB*). Many of these notes, though apparently not these words, later found their way into the *Synopsis Criticorum* and *Critici Sacri*, to which Scattergood contributed. See also Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 350: "The weapons of the sun and moon are pestilence."

¹³⁹⁷ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 5, p. 618. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 350.

Q. The Occasion of the Psalm?

A. *David* having settled the Ark at *Jerusalem*, & being at this time on some Occasion in the Countrey; heard the good People there speak one to another, as some of them did unto him; of going to worship God, at some of the Three Solemn Feasts. This Devotion of theirs, as it rejoiced his Heart, so probably it moved him, to compose this Psalm, for their use, at such times.

The *Talmuds* tell us, They did use to sing the *First Verse* of the Psalm, as they went out of the Countrey towards *Jerusalem*, carrying their First Fruits to the House of the Lord, as the Law, [Deut. XXVI.2.] directed them. And when they entred within the Gates of the City, they Sang the *Second Verse*. There they were mett by some of the Citizens; who sang the rest of the Psalm together with them, as they went towards the Temple. Of this Custome, see, *Selden, de Synedr.* l. III. c.13.¹³⁹⁸

Q. What *Key* to the Hundred and Twenty Second Psalm, is there to bee found in the Writings of the Ancients? v. 1.

A. I find the Ancients, expounding the Psalm, concerning the State of Things, in the *New Jerusalem*, after the *First Resurrection*.¹³⁹⁹

And I beleeve, This is a Notable *Key*, to the Sense of the Psalm; it admitts one to singular and curious Thoughts upon it.¹⁴⁰⁰

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¹³⁹⁸ This comment, including the reference to Selden, is from Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 5, p. 619. Patrick references John Selden's *De Synedriis* (vol. 3, lib. 3, cap. 13, p. 204). See also *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 352.

¹³⁹⁹ Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 351.

¹⁴⁰⁰ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 5, p. 355.

¹⁴⁰¹ [*As Dr. *Alix* observes, The Psalm is the *Gladness* of Re-established *Israel*. It supposes the Twelve Tribes gathered, *Jerusalem* Rebuilt, the Twelve Seats of the Apostles Laid, & the Reign of the *Messias* Established.*] This note is retained in *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 352.

Q. The Time, and Occasion of the Psalm?

A. Dr. *Patricks* Conjecture, is, That it is a short Prayer made by a pious Person, when the King of *Assyria* [whose Pride is in many Places described; especially in Isa. VIII.7.] sent *Rabshakeh*, and other of his Captains, to besiege *Jerusalem*; where they poured out most Contemptuous, nay, Blasphemous Words, against God and His People [2. King. XVIII, XIX]. It is probable then, it might be composed by *Isaiah*, who was desired by *Hezekiah*, to lift up his Prayer for the Remnant that was left. [2. King. XIX.4. Isa. XXXVII.4.] Accordingly we read, [2 Chron. XXXII.20.] both he & *Hezekiah*, cried unto the Lord. And we may suppose, he *lift up his Eyes* to Heaven, and said these Words.¹⁴⁰³

Dr. *Alix* finds it a Prayer for [**]¹⁴⁰⁴ *Israel*, under the Tyranny of Anti-christ.¹⁴⁰⁵

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¹⁴⁰² This small page is glued to the preceding page.

¹⁴⁰³ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 5, p. 622; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 353.

¹⁴⁰⁴ [*the Jews*]

¹⁴⁰⁵ Allix, *The Book of Psalms*, bk. 5, p. 201; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 353.

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Q. May there bee any special *Mystery* in that passage, *Our Help is in the Name of the Lord, which made Heaven and Earth?* v. 8.

A. The [*]¹⁴⁰⁷ Holy People apprehend, not only the *Cause*, but the very *Time*, of their great *Redemption*, to bee here *mysteriously* Intimated. The Lord permitted *Six Dayes* to roll away, while *Hee made Heaven & Earth*. Even so, they say, That the Lord will not appear for their *Help*, till towards the End of the *Sixth Millenary*; for, a *Thousand Years is with the Lord, as One Day*. Then! Their *Soul will escape as a Bird, out of the Snare of the Fowler*.¹⁴⁰⁸

¹⁴⁰⁶ [*Q. The Scope?

A. The miraculous Conservation of *Israel*, among the Idolaters & Barbarians, who have often sought their entire Destruction, is here celebrated.*]

¹⁴⁰⁷ [*Jewes*]

¹⁴⁰⁸ Martin, *Pugio Fidei*, pars. 2, cap. 2, p. 267; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 354.

Q. The Time & Occasion of the Psalm?

A. Dr. *Patrick* presses, to have it looked on, as a pious Exhortation unto the People, to Trust in God, when *Sennacherib's* Army threatened the Destruction of *Jerusalem*. He thinks, These may be some of the *comfortable Words*, which we read, *Hezekiah* then spake to them; [2. Chron. XXXII.6, 7, 8.] when God chastized them, with that *Rod of His Anger*, [so *Sennacherib* is expressly called; Isa. X.5.] which the Psalmist here foretold, should not long afflict them.¹⁴⁰⁹

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Q. That Clause, *As the Mountains are round about Jerusalem, so the Lord is round about His People*: How runs it in the Original? v. 2.

A. In the Original tis, *The Mountains are round about Jerusalem; And the Lord is round about His People*.

But I may on this occasion, give you an Hint, that may prove of good Consequence to you, in considering very many Texts of Scripture; (many more than can be here enumerated:) That the Particle, / ו / *Vau*, which we render, *And*, is very often to be rendred, *much more*.¹⁴¹¹ And I shall make bold with such a Translation of it, particularly in the Text now before us. The *copulative* Particle, is to be look'd upon as a *comparative*. Thus, Amos. 1.3. – *for three Transgressions, I will punish; much more for the Fourth*.¹⁴¹²

I have seen this Paraphrase; As those *Mountains* keep the City in Safety from the Tempests which it would else ly open to, so does the Protection of GOD surround His Faithful Servants.¹⁴¹³

Q. What is the Meaning of that Passage, *The Rod of the Wicked, shall not Rest on the Lot of the Righteous?* v. 3.

A. Tis an Allusion to the Method used, for the Dividing of *Lands* among the Jewes. A *Rod*, or Staff, was used in *Sortition*; and in the assigning of any *Land*, or Ground, by *Lot*.

The Meaning then, is not, That the *Wicked* shall not *Scourge* the *Righteous*, as, our People, from the Sound of the Word, ignorantly carry it. But that the

¹⁴⁰⁹ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 5, p. 625; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 355.

¹⁴¹⁰ [*Dr. *Alix* here sees a Prophecy of *Israel's* Præservaion, and the Destruction of the Antichristian Powers, which oppress them, & which persecute the Church: And at last, *Israel's* Happiness, after this *Rod*, or Sceptre, of Wickedness is destroy'd.*] See Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 355.

¹⁴¹¹ There is another small heart drawn beside this phrase in the left margin.

¹⁴¹² Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 355.

¹⁴¹³ Hammond, *Paraphrase*, in *Works*, vol. 4, bk. 5, p. 363.

Portion of the *Wicked* shall not bee the *Portion* of the *Righteous*; they shall not, in their future Conditions, bee confounded with one another.¹⁴¹⁴

Our not knowing the *Rites*, *Customes*, & *Manners* of the Ancients, does betray us, into many Mistakes about the Sense of the Scriptures.

Who will understand the Complaint of the Psalmist, in Psal. 119.83. *I am become like a Bottle in the Smoke*: if hee do not know, that the Eastern People, did use to hang up the Skins, of which *Bottles* were made, in the *Smoke* to Dry, and Harden, & Præpare them: which when they were hung up too long, became so shrivelled, as to bee almost unserviceable?¹⁴¹⁵

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¹⁴¹⁴ This gloss occurs in Clutterbuck's *Brief Explanation* of Psalm 16:5 ("Thou holdest my lot"), p. 12. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 355.

¹⁴¹⁵ Clutterbuck, *Brief Explanation*, p. 115.

¹⁴¹⁶ See Appendix B.

Q. The Scope?

A. Behold, The [*]¹⁴¹⁷ Surprize of the Holy People, on what they find our SAVIOUR doing for them, at His Coming in His Kingdome.¹⁴¹⁸

Q. How, *Like them who dream?* v. 1.

A. Some take it so. *Vaticinia de Reditu nostro, quasi vana Somnia duximus neglectus*: q.d. We were in such a *Frame*, and it was at such a *Time*, that we took all the Prophecies about our Deliverance, to have been but so many *Dreams*.¹⁴¹⁹

It is by some read so: *As People recovered unto Health*.¹⁴²⁰

What if *Dreaming* should be interjected concerning the Revelation of the Divine Mind about their Deliverance? [*Old Man shall dream Dreams*. h.e. in Sleep shall have Intimations of the Divine Intention] even such an Assurance will fill *Mouths* with Laughter and excite to Prayer.¹⁴²¹

Q. The Meaning of, *Turn again our Captivity, as the Streams in the South?* v. 4.

A. Dr. *Patrick* thus paraphrases it. “O that the Lord would be pleased to perfect, what He hath begun! And bring back in greater Numbers, the rest of the our Brethren, that still remain in *Babylon*; which would be as welcome to this desolate Countrey, as Streams of Water to the Dry & Thirsty Grounds.”¹⁴²²

Thus *Munster* glosses it, *Non minus erit illud quam si in Deserto squalido et exusto rivos facias currere aquarum*.¹⁴²³

The *South* of the Holy Land, is a most parched Wilderness.¹⁴²⁴

Q. Why does the Husbandman here *weep*, in his *going forth?* v. 6.

A. R. *David Kimchi*, saies, The Husbandman is here supposed, in a Dry Soyl, falling into *Tears*, thro’ Fears, that the Drought will procure the Loss of all the Seed. But God looks on his *Tears*, & with seasonable *Showres* procures him the *Joy of Harvest*.

¹⁴¹⁷ [*Surprise of the *Israelites*, returned & restored by the *Messiah*!*]

¹⁴¹⁸ Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 5, p. 203; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 356.

¹⁴¹⁹ Mather provides the translation of the still unidentified Latin quotation from Patrick’s work. See also Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 356.

¹⁴²⁰ Hammond, *Paraphrase*, in *Works*, vol. 4, bk. 5, p. 364.

¹⁴²¹ This paragraph is written in a different hand.

¹⁴²² Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras’d*, bk. 5, pp. 628–29.

¹⁴²³ Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3959–60): “it will be no less than if you made streams of water run in the squalid, parched desert.”

¹⁴²⁴ Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 357.

And now, lett the *Spanish* Gloss yett more particularly and emphatically tell you, who those *weeping Husbandmen* are. *Los Trabajos & Los Pios, Ministros del Evangelio, no seràn sin Fruto*. The Labours of the Godly Ministers of the Gospel, shall not bee without Fruit.¹⁴²⁵

Dr. *Patrick* thus paraphrases. “Just as we behold the poor Husbandman, going to & fro with a little Seed, which in a scarce Year he throwes with an heavy Heart into the Ground, returning again & again from the Field, with Songs of Joy in his Mouth, when the Harvest comes to Reward his past Labours with a plentiful Crop of Corn.”¹⁴²⁶

¹⁴²⁵ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 5, p. 359. Mather seems to be adding “Los Trabajos,” and may have turned for this entry to the Spanish Bible held by Harvard. See also Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 357: “The labors and the pious ministers of the Gospel will not be without fruit.”

¹⁴²⁶ Patrick, *Psalm Paraphras'd*, bk. 5, p. 629; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 357.

Q. The Writer of the Psalm?

A. It seems to be *Solomon*. The Particle in the Title, which we render, *For*, is in most other Places rendred, *Of*.

He made above Three Thousand Songs. [1. King. IV.32.] Tho' none of them, have been transmitted unto Posterity; but only This, and the next to this; and Psal. CXXXII. and that large Poem, called, *The Song of Songs*.

This Psalm, is a Commentary, upon a pious Maxim of his, often Repeted in his Book of *Proverbs*; That it is in *Vain to attempt any thing, if the Lord do not prosper it*. See Prov. III.6. XVI.3, 9. XX.24. XXI.30, 31.¹⁴²⁷

Some take the Psalm for the Compendium of the Book of *Ecclesiastes*.¹⁴²⁸

But R. *David Kimchi* ha's observed, That the Psalm refers to later Times, than those wherein *Solomon* erected the *Temple*, & enlarged the *City*. He finds here, the Happiness of the [****]¹⁴²⁹ *Holy People*, under a *greater than Solomon*.¹⁴³⁰

Q. How do you Interpret and Illustrate that Clause, *For so Hee giveth His Beloved Sleep?* v. 2.

A. Look into the *Title* of the Psalm, and you'll see, T'was *Of* and *For*, *Solomon*. *Solomon* ha's that said of him, in 2. Sam. 12.24. *The Lord loved him*.

Now, if you would see how every Clause in the Beginning of the Psalm here, does belong unto this, *Beloved of the Lord*, consult, 1. Chron. 22.9, 10. *I will give him Rest from all his Enemies; I will give Peace & Quietness unto Israel in his dayes; Hee shall Build an House for my Name*. Accordingly in the Psalm now before us, Three Benefits are foretold, concerning *Solomon*; His Building of the *Temple*, His Keeping of the *City*, and, His Enjoying of *Rest*, with his People. But a Direction is here given, both, *whence*, and, *when*, these Benefits were to bee expected. q.d. "You must expect these Benefits from the *Lord*, who will not give them unto you, until *Solomon*, his *Beloved One*, shall come so far into the Succession, as that the Things promised concerning *Him*, shall bee accomplished."¹⁴³¹

Arnobius carries these things, to the Coming of our Saviour, and the *Inheritance* which His People shall Receive at the *Resurrection*, after they have *slept* in their *Graves*. *Si tamen Filii Ventris eius fuerint; id est, si in fonte Catholica*

¹⁴²⁷ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 5, pp. 629–30.

¹⁴²⁸ Hammond, *Paraphrase*, in *Works*, vol. 4, bk. 5, p. 365.

¹⁴²⁹ [**Restored Jews**]

¹⁴³⁰ Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 5, p. 204. The entire note is reproduced in *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 358.

¹⁴³¹ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 5, p. 360; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, pp. 358–59.

Fidei fuerint Baptizati. The Gate where they are *not afraid of Speaking with the Enemies*, is, *cum egrediuntur Corpus, in quo Diabolum superarunt.* Compare, Matth. 7.14.¹⁴³²

| I will now annex Dr. *Patrick's* Paraphrase.

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“And as fruitless, unless He favour it, is the Toil and Sollicitude of you the Artificers and Tradesmen of the City; who Rise betime, and Go to Bed late, and fare hardly: when they, whom He loves, (because they own His Providence, & depend upon His Blessing, more than their Diligence,) live securely, and want nothing that is fitt for them; tho’ they have no such strong Guard of Souldiers to Defend them, nor break their Sleep with Labour and Care, to supply their Necessities.”¹⁴³³

Q. On what account may it be said, *Children are the Heritage of the Lord, and the Fruit of the Womb, is His Reward?* v. 3.

A. Old *Eucherius* a little surprizes one, when he says, The Full Accomplishment of *This*, must be expected, after the Resurrection of the Dead, & the Rising from that *Sleep*, which our GOD gives to His *Beloved Ones*. The *Raised* & the *Changed* Saints, will be the *Heritage of the Lord*. And as the Lord Himself, Even the CHRIST, who is the *Fruit of the Womb*, will be the *Reward* of His Holy People, so, His Holy People, Regenerated by Him, shall be to Him the *Reward* of His Bitter Sufferings.¹⁴³⁴

Q. *The Arrows in the Hand of a mighty Man?* v. 4.

A. How pleasant it is, to see *R. Samuel Marochianus* the Jew, apply this to the Apostles of our SAVIOUR!¹⁴³⁵

¹⁴³² Arnobius, *Commentarii in Psalmos* [PL 53.529]; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 359: “If, however, they will have been sons of His womb; that is (to say), if they will have been baptized in the fountain of the Catholic faith,” then they will receive the inheritance of God. The gate where they are not afraid of speaking with enemies is the time “when they depart from the body, in which they have overcome the devil.”

¹⁴³³ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 5, p. 630.

¹⁴³⁴ Eucherius, *Instructionum ad Salonium Libri Duo* (1.58) [PL 50.793–94]. This work of Eucherius treats problematic points of Hebrew scripture, among them the role of polygamy and the putative evidence for the trinity in Jewish scriptures.

¹⁴³⁵ Mather refers to Samuel Marochitanus (Marrochianus or Marrocanus), a Moroccan Jew who reportedly converted to Christianity during the 11th century. His works were popularly adduced to prove that the Jews perversely refused to accept that Jesus was the Messiah, despite the evidences of their own writings. Thomas Calvert (1606–1679) translated some of Samuel’s writings into English as *The Blessed Jew of Marocco* (1648). Almost certainly all of these works, most famously “The Epistle of Samuel of Morocco,” were pseudepigraphic. They begin appearing in manuscript in the 14th century, in the context of the Iberian approach to anti-Jewish polemics founded by Pablo Christiani and Ramon Martini, and are published with the advent of movable type and reappear frequently through the 17th century. See David Berger’s “Mission to the Jews and Jewish-Christian Contacts in the Polemical Literature of the High Middle

Q. *The Gate?* v. 5.

A. Some have given this Gloss.

“They will undauntedly appear for him, if any Accusations be putt in against him before the Judges.”¹⁴³⁶

Ages” (576–591) and Elisheva Carlsbach’s *Divided Souls: Converts from Judaism in Germany, 1500–1700* (49). The “Epistle” may have been inspired by an actual work, the “Ifham al-Yahud” (Confutation of the Jews), written by Samuel Abu Nasr (al-Maghrabi). In this work, Abu Nasr attempts to prove the prophetic character of both Jesus and Mohammed. Although Abu Nasr converted to Islam, which inspired his anti-Jewish tract, there is no evidence that he ever later converted to Christianity (*JE*). See also Mather’s “Triparadisus” (part 3, ch. 3), in *Threefold Paradise* 169–70.

¹⁴³⁶ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras’d*, bk. 5, p. 631.

Q. *Blessed every one that Fears the Lord, & Walks in His Ways.* A Note upon it? v. 1.

A. 'Tis a Nice One of old *Arnobius*. *Non valet si timeas Dominum, quia et Dæmones eum timent. Sed Beatus eris si sic timeas Dominum, ut ambules Viam eius.*¹⁴³⁸

But, behold here, the Happiness of the [**]¹⁴³⁹ *Holy People* at the *Restitution of all things*. Compare, Isa. LXV. & Ezek. XXXVII.¹⁴⁴⁰

Q. *Vine & Olive-plants?* v. 3.

A. Tables without Doors use to be surrounded with such Things; when Entertainments were in Gardens. Compare Est. I.5.¹⁴⁴¹

Homer lights on the very same Comparison. He brings in the Mother saying of her Son,

*Like some fair Olive by my careful hand
He grew, he flourish'd, & adorn'd the Land.*¹⁴⁴²

Q. With the Blessings of a *good Wife and Children*, we have here, *The Good of Jerusalem*, and, *Peace upon Israel*. A Note upon it? v. 5, 6.

A. It is a Note of *Luthers*; *Dominus propter bonos conjuges ac timentes Dei, dabit Pacem politicam*. God bestowes *public Peace*, upon a People, out of Respect unto *well-ordered Families*; partly, that they may sustain themselves with daily *Bread*; but chiefly that they may bestow a good Education upon their Posterity. The Blessings granted unto Kingdomes, and Nations, *contingunt ex Benedictione, quam Dominus largitur Conjugibus, maxime autem piis.*¹⁴⁴³

Luther goes on with observing, That the *First Blessing* of all | is to have the *Fear of God*. The *Next Blessing* is, To have a *Wife and Children*. The *Third* is, To enjoy *public Tranquillity*. [314v]

¹⁴³⁷ See Appendix B.

¹⁴³⁸ *Arnobius, Commentarii in Psalmos* [PL 53.529]. Mather provides a translation of this comment in *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 360: "Walking in the Ways of God, is added unto, His Fear, to distinguish it from the Fear which the *Divels* have, who *Believe* and *Tremble*."

¹⁴³⁹ [*Jewish Nation, when anon Restored unto the Favour of GOD.*]

¹⁴⁴⁰ Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 5, p. 205. Characteristically, in *Psalterium*, Allix's opinion is given precedence. See *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 360.

¹⁴⁴¹ Hammond, *Paraphrase*, in *Works*, vol. 4, bk. 5, p. 367.

¹⁴⁴² The quotation, and the association with this Psalm, are both from Alexander Pope's *Iliad* (18.75–6), vol. 5, p. 32 and in observation 9 on book 18, vol. 5, pp. 24–5.

¹⁴⁴³ The central portion of this paragraph appears in *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 360.

Note, That in the Term, *Vine*, there is a notable Insinuation against the Iniquity of *Adultery*. A *Vine* admitts of no *Inoculation*.¹⁴⁴⁴

¹⁴⁴⁴ This remark is copied and translated from Martin Luther's commentary *In Quindecim Psalmos Graduum Commentarii* contained in *Luther's Werke*, vol. 40, pt. 3 (40/3), pp. 303b–304b. The Latin extracts read, first, “the Lord will bestow public peace for the sake of good spouses who fear God.” The blessings granted unto nations “come to pass from the blessing which the Lord grants to spouses, especially those who are pious.”

Q. The Scope?

A. See the [**]¹⁴⁴⁶ *Holy People*, describing the great Miseries they suffered under Antichrist; and the Ruine of their Oppressors, abandoned unto the *Curse* of God.¹⁴⁴⁷

Q. We read of, *The Grass growing on the House-top, which withers before it be plucked up; where of the Mower filleth not his Hand, nor he that bindeth Sheaves his Bosom*: The Mention of, *Sheaves of Hay*, and *filling the Hand* therewith, may seem strange to us, who use neither *Sheaves* nor *Handfuls*, in that Kind of *Husbandry*? v. 6, 7.

A. Yett, as we are told by Sir *Thomas Brown*, we may find such Expressions, in Authors that have written, *De Re Rusticâ*; concerning the old Way of Husbandry.

Columella, mentioning what Works were not permitted on the Roman *Feriae*, or, Festivals, among others, he sais, upon such a Day, it was not lawful to Carry or Bind up *Hay*. *Nec Foenum Vincire, nec vehere, per Religiones Pontificum licet.*¹⁴⁴⁸

Varro is more particular: *Primum de Pratis herbarum cum Crescere desiit, subsecari falcibus debet, et quoad peracescat furcillis versari, cum peracuit, de his Manipulos fieri et vehi in Villam* (l.1. Cap. 49).¹⁴⁴⁹

And their Course of *Mowing* seems to have been different from ours. They did not cutt down clear at once, but used an After-section; which they peculiarly called, *Sicilitium*; according as the Word is expounded by *Georgius Alexandrinus*, and *Beroaldus*, after *Pliny*. *Sicilire, est Falcibus consecrari quæ foenisecæ præterierunt, aut ea secare quæ foenisecæ præterierunt.*¹⁴⁵⁰

¹⁴⁴⁵ This page is also glued to foregoing folio page, MS 312v.

¹⁴⁴⁶ [*Restored Jews*]

¹⁴⁴⁷ Allix, *The Book of Psalms*, bk. 5, p. 206. The unaltered quotation of Allix is in *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 361.

¹⁴⁴⁸ “By the sanctions of the priest it is permitted neither to bind up the hay nor carry it.”

¹⁴⁴⁹ “First concerning the meadow grasses, when it (the hay) stops growing, it ought to be cut with sickles and turned with pitchforks until it sours [dries]; when it has soured [dried], sheaves should be made from these (grasses) and carried into the farm building.”

¹⁴⁵⁰ Browne, *Certain Miscellany Tracts*, tract. 1, sec. 36, pp. 57–8. *Columella* is Lucius Junius Moderatus *Columella* (1st c. CE), author of *De Re Rustica* (*OCG*), from which Browne quotes (2.21). Marcus Terentius *Varro* (116 BCE–27 BCE) made the observation Browne attributes to him in *Res Rustica*, a work in 3 books (*ODCW*). *Georgius Merula Alexandrinus*, or *Giorgio Merula* (c. 1430–94), and *Philippus Beroaldus*, or *Filippo Beroaldo* (1453–1505), were two Renaissance Italians who edited and annotated numerous classical works, among them texts on the authors above cited. Browne might well have been using one of the editions printed under both their names of *Columella* and *Varro*. The reference to *Pliny* seems to allude to his *Natural History* (18.67). Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 361. “To mow a second time is to pursue

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Q. May not this Passage be Illustrated from the Observations of modern Travellers? v. 6, 7.

A. In *Maundrels Journey*, from *Aleppo* to *Jerusalem*, we have this Passage; About the Countrey-people gathering their *Corn*.

“They pluckt it up by Handfuls from the Roots, leaving the most fruitful Fields naked, as if nothing had ever grown on them. This was their Practice in all Places of the East that I have seen; and the Reason is, that they may lose none of their *Straw*, which is generally very short, & necessary for the Sustenance of their Cattel; No *Hay* being made here. I mention this, because it seems to give Light unto that Expression of the Psalmist; Psal. 129.6. *Which withereth before it is plucked up*, Where there seems to be a manifest Allusion unto this Custom. Our New Translation renders this Place otherwise; but in so doing it differs from most, if not all other Copies; and here we may truly say, *The old is better*. There is indeed mention of a *Mower*, in the next Verse; but then it is such a *Mower* as *fills not his hand*; which confirms rather than weakens, the preceding Interpretation.”¹⁴⁵¹

Q. Why, *the Grass on the House-top*? v. 6.

A. *Arnobius* ha’s a Nice Fancy upon it.

Hoc Loco tectum nominat, quia maxima pars Hæreticorum ad Personas altas vadit. Hæreticks are Aspiring Folks.¹⁴⁵²

with scythes what the mowers have neglected, or to cut those things which the mowers have passed over.”

¹⁴⁵¹ Henry Maundrell (1665–1701) was an Oxford scholar who kept a journal of his trip to Jerusalem undertaken in 1697 in order to observe Easter at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Maundrell died on the return journey, but his account was first published in 1703 and reappeared in several editions throughout the 18th c. (*DNB*). I have used the second, corrected edition, published in 1707. See *Journey*, p. 144. Selections from Maundrell are also in *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 361.

¹⁴⁵² Arnobius, *Commentarii in Psalmos* [PL 53.530]; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 361: “He mentions a roof -top in this place, because the majority of heretics advance toward important personages.”

Q. The Time and Occasion of the Psalm?

A. Dr. *Patrick* thinks, it was when *David* was persecuted by *Saul*, and reduced to so low a Condition, that his Heart began to sink within him. Then t'was that the *Floods of the Ungodly made him afraid*; [Psal. XVIII.4.] that he should one day perish by them. And he complain'd, That he *sunk in the Mire, where there was no standing*. [Psal. LXIX.2, 14, 16.] In this Condition, he implores the Mercy of God with great Earnestness & beseeches him, to pardon his Sins, & the Sins of all the People, which made them deserve the Ill Government of *Saul*, which now brought so much Corruption & Confusion upon them.¹⁴⁵³

Well; But ha's not the *Prophetic Spirit* here provided, a Prayer for Pardon unto abdicated *Israel*, & a Protestation of their Expectation, to be Redeemed by the *Messiah*, who is the True GOD? The *Surrogate Israel*, will find the Answer to it.¹⁴⁵⁴

Q. There seems to bee a special Emphasis on *That; There is Forgiveness with Thee?* v. 4.

A. Hear the Gloss of R. *David Kimchi*; *Dedit Deus potestatem Angelis exequendi beneplacita sua in Terrâ; sed non est in manu illorum Remissio*.

R. *Solomon* hath a Gloss of the like Importance.¹⁴⁵⁵

But give Attention. Lett the Hebrew Word be examined and considered as it is used in some other Places, and it will be found, that it signifies, *Mercy & Pardon* granted upon an Oblation made by the *Priest* for it. Accordingly, the learned *Hemmingius* reads it, *With thee there is a Propitiation*; And he glosses upon it; *per hanc Propitiationem CHRISTUM, intelligit*. This *Propitiation* is with GOD. If our SAVIOUR were no GOD, He could not have made it.¹⁴⁵⁶

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Q. There with God, the Mercy of *Forgiveness*; Why is it said to be, *That thou mayest be Feared?* v. 4.

¹⁴⁵³ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 5, p. 636; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 363.

¹⁴⁵⁴ The idea and phrasing, but not, of course, the "surrogate Israel" come from Allix, *The Book of Psalms*, bk. 5, p. 207. See also Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 363.

¹⁴⁵⁵ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 5, pp. 364–65; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 363. Mather translates in the *Psalterium*: "God has made His Angels his Ministers to dispense his Favour: But the Remission of Sins He reserves to Himself alone."

¹⁴⁵⁶ This phrase does not occur in these exact words in the works of Niels Hemmingsen, but the idea is contained in his commentary on Psalm 25. See his *Enarratio Psalmi Vigesima Quinti*, in his *Opuscula Theologica*, clas. 3, pt. 4, col. 1069.

A. We all know, That by the *Fear of God*, is intended all *Religion*. And the hope of a *Forgiveness*, is the *Foundation* of all the *Religion*, wherein *sinful Man* drawes near to God. There would be no Worship of God in a *sinful World*, if Sin might not be *Forgiven*.

But if we take the *Fear of God*, in the strictest Sense of the Term, there is a Gloss of *Luthers*, worth mentioning.

*Quia omnia colligis in Gratuitam miserationem; et nihil relinquis Meritis et Operibus humanis, ideò timeris. Quòd si non essent omnia posita in Misericordiâ tuâ, et nos nostris viribus possemus Peccata tollere, nemo timeret te, sed totus Mundus superbè te contemneret.*¹⁴⁵⁷

[*16H.*]

Q. What means the Psalmist, when hee saies, *My Soul waits for the Lord, more than they that watch for the Morning, I say, more than they that watch for the Morning?* v. 6.

A. The *Messiah*, is undoubtedly, *The Lord*, here waited for.

In the *Morning*, the *Priests* that waited in the Temple, had their Daily *Sacrifices*. Behold, a plain and a full Intimation, That the faithful People of God, when they brought their *Sacrifices* unto Him, had their Faith waiting for the *Messiah*, who is to bring a *plenteous Redemption* with Him.

And in the Reduplication of this Passage, is there not a Prophecy, That there are *Two Comings* of the *Messiah* to bee *watchfully waited for*?¹⁴⁵⁸

¹⁴⁵⁷ Luther, *In Quindecim Psalmos Graduum Commentarii*, in *Luther's Werke*, vol. 40, pt. 3 (40/3), p. 355b: "With all things collected in free compassion, with nothing of merit left behind by the works of man, you [should] tremble. Because, if everyone is not placed in your mercy, and we are not able to bear the sins of other men, then no one will fear you; all of mankind will arrogantly scorn you."

¹⁴⁵⁸ Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 363.

Q. The Scope?

A. One says, Into this Humility & Mortification ought the *Jewish* Nation to reduce themselves, that so the promised Redemption may arrive unto them. If they do not, lett *us* do it, and *we* shall become the *Holy People*.¹⁴⁶⁰

Q. On that Passage, *Lett Israel hope in the Lord, from henceforth?* v. 3.

A. The *Christian Asceticks* well pursued & observed, would ever now & then afford unto us, a notable Illustration of the Divine Oracles; a notable Discovery of the Intention which the Holy Spirit of God might have in dictating of them.

In the private Memorials of one somewhat acquainted with experimental Piety, I have mett with such a Passage as this. "I have | been of late, much concerned about the good Success of a Matter on which my Studies have been very much engaged. I have addressed Heaven about it with much Importunate *Supplication*, which anon issues in the profoundest *Resignation*. In one of my *Vigils*, I sang the CXXXI *Psalm*, on this Occasion. That Passage exceedingly affected me; *My Soul is even a weaned Child; Lett Israel hope in the Lord from henceforth*. I had been crying to God for the good Success of my Important Affair. In the Midst of my Cries, I was become as a *weaned Child*. I Resigned the whole affair unto the ordering of the Lord, & Resolved that I would be satisfied with whatsoever He shall order. If He will have it miscarry, my *weaned Soul* saies, *I am content!* But it was now powerfully sett home upon my Mind, That I might now *Hope in the Lord FROM HENCEFORTH*, to see a good Issue of the Matter.

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"And in a little while I did so!"¹⁴⁶¹

¹⁴⁵⁹ This page is glued to the preceding page.

¹⁴⁶⁰ Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 5, p. 208; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 364.

¹⁴⁶¹ The central portion of this note (yet without the identification of one "acquainted with Experimental Piety") occurs in *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 364. The anonymous person is Mather himself, and the entry is copied from his diary for April 4th, 1702 (*Diary* 1:425–26).

Q. The Writer & Occasion of the Psalm?

A. It is not unlikely, that *Solomon* wrote the *Psalm*. He concludes his Prayer at the Consecration of the Temple, with Part of it. [Compare, 2. Chron. VI. two last. with Psal. CXXXII.8, 9, 10.] Since he speaks, as if the Priests were just now taking up the *Ark*, to carry it into its Resting Place, & begs that for the Sake of *David* God would now hear the Prayer he makes on this Occasion, the Conjecture is not improbable. Tis Dr. *Patrick's*.¹⁴⁶²

[**]¹⁴⁶³

Q. *David's* Afflictions, to be Remembered? v. 1.

A. Dr. *Patrick* applies unto it the pious Humility of *David*; who chose to endure many *Afflictions*, rather than by unlawful Means to prefer himself to a Kingdome.¹⁴⁶⁴ It followes on Ps. CXXXI.1.¹⁴⁶⁵

Q. Why is the Lord called, *The Mighty One of Jacob*? v. 2, 5. [Compare Gen. 49.24. Isa. 49.26. & 60.16. and Isa. 1.24.]

A. The Hebrew Word, / אֲבִיר / *Voce a Potentiâ ad Potestatem translata*, signifies, *A Lord*. It is here then as much as to say, *The Lord of Israel*. So, *Virgo Potens Nemorum*, in *Statius*; that is to say, *Domina*.¹⁴⁶⁶

And, in *Virgil*, *Dii Maris, et Terræ, Tempestatumque potentes*; that is to say, *Domini*.¹⁴⁶⁷

Q. What special Intention may there bee, in that Passage, *Lo, wee heard of it in Ephratah*? v. 6.

¹⁴⁶² Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 5, p. 640; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 366.

¹⁴⁶³ [*Dr. *Alix* observes, 'That what the *Jews* here most of all dwell upon, is, The Promise of the *Messiah*, who when He comes again, is to bring about their glorious Happiness, & to destroy their Enemies.*] See Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 366.

¹⁴⁶⁴ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, p. 641.

¹⁴⁶⁵ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, p. 638. Both remarks are included in *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 366.

¹⁴⁶⁶ The "mighty one" or / אֲבִיר / ['abiyr] is an epithet applied only to God. Thus, the gloss is that "He [i. e., the Psalmist] says with a powerful voice to the mighty one of Jacob [i. e., God]...." The latter quotation ("virgin ruler of the forest") is from Publius Papinius Statius' *Thebaid* (9.608).

¹⁴⁶⁷ See *Aeneid* (3.528): "Lords of the sea and earth." This remark, also without attribution, occurs in *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 367. The entire note depends on Poole, *Synopsis Criticorum* (2:1347–48). A small heart is drawn beside the quotation from Virgil.

A. A Discourse written in *Barbary*, in the Year, 1610. entitled, *The Messiah already Come*, and Directed unto the Jewes there, ha's this Gloss upon the Text now offered.

"David after much Restless Study, to find out the Mystery of the Place where the *Messiah* should bee Born, (*I will not give sleep to mine Eyes, nor slumber to mine Ey-lids, until I find out a Place for the Lord*). At length, the Mystery being Reveled unto him, hee doth, as it were, point unto the very Place in the Words following, *Lo, wee heard of it, at Ephratah* [which is the same, with *Bethlehem*, Gen. 35.19.]¹⁴⁶⁸ Then hee adds, *Wee will enter into His Tabernacle, & worship before His Footstool*; foreshewing the Divine Worship, afterwards done to *Jesus*, by those *Wise-men*, who came from the East, to *worship* Him in that Place, even in the Cradle, & *before His Footstool*."¹⁴⁶⁹

Take Dr. *Patrick's* Paraphrase upon it.

"And now, behold, the Lord Himself, to our great Joy, ha's told us the very Place, where He will fix His Habitation: [1. Chron. XXI.18, 26.] in the Territory of *Bethlehem Ephratah*, [Gen. XXXV.16, 19.] in the Fields, where the Angel stood, and directed *David* to build an Altar unto the Lord. [1. Chron. XXI.18. XXII.1.]"¹⁴⁷⁰

And now, I hope, we need not complain with *Castellio*, *Huius Loci Sententiam non Intelligo*.¹⁴⁷¹

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Q. Who are, *Priests clothed with Salvation*? v. 16.

A. Such as have nothing but, *Salvation*, and what leads to it, conspicuous upon them. Look on them, and you shall see in them, a most conscientious Care to obtain *Salvation*; A Care worthy of your Imitation. Come to them, and you shall be excited unto the Care of *Salvation*, & be directed how to obtain it.

Munsters Gloss is; *Conspicuos faciam Conversatione et Doctrina, ut nihil nisi sempiternam Salutem præ se ferant*.¹⁴⁷²

¹⁴⁶⁸ Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 367.

¹⁴⁶⁹ Harrison, *Messiah*, pp. 23–24.

¹⁴⁷⁰ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 5, p. 642; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 367.

¹⁴⁷¹ Sebastian Castellio's complaint that "the sentence in this place is not intelligible" is reproduced in Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3970). Castellio (1515–63) was a prominent Calvinist theologian from Savoy, who became rector at the College of Geneva during Calvin's government there. He was famous for his *Dialogi Sacri* (1543) and for his French language version of the Bible. He was brought into conflict with the Geneva church after his publication of a Latin translation of scripture in which he provided an excursus on free-will based on Rom. 9:13, which also propounded freedom of worship (*ODCC*).

¹⁴⁷² Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3969). Münster's note concludes "...: quod etiam est *justitiam esse indutos*." Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 3: "I will make them conspicuous for conversation and doctrine, so that they bear before themselves (wear) nothing by salvation."

Q. *I will make the Horn of David, to bud*, saies the Psalm: And very frequent the mention of, HORNS, in the Old Testament. What have you to Illustrate it? v. 17.

A. The Hebrew, *Keren*, whence the Greek κέρας, the Latin *Cornu*, the German and English *Horn*, signifies, *Might, Strength, Fortitude*; as also, *Joy, Health, Safety, & Prosperitie*. Hence wee read about, *The Horn of Salvation*, and, *Lifting up the Horn*, and, *Cutting off the Horn*.

From the Signification of the Verb, *Karan*, wee may bee confirmed in such a Sense of the Noun, *Keren*. With that Word, it is said, Exod. 34.29. *Moses's Face shone*. The vulgar Latin renders it, *It was Horned*; & they picture *Moses* accordingly. But the *Beams of Light*, which were Darted from his *Face*, were the only *Horns*, here spoken of. Thus, *Horns* are sometimes expounded, by *Light*; [Hab. 3.4, 5.] And you know, the Apostle speaks of, *The Glory of Moses's Countenance*.

From hence, *Horns* came to signify, a *Kingly Power*, a *Royal Empire*, a *Sovereign Dominion*. And indeed, from the Word, *Keren*, probably is derived, κοίρανος, a *Lord*, and *Corona*, a *Crown*. Thus, *Horn*, is frequently apply'd unto *David*, as a *King*, & as the *Lords Anointed*: In the Text now before us particularly.

Behold now, the Original of the propheticall Schemes, wherein *Daniel* and *John*, make *Horns* to signify *Kings*. It is twice expressly said, in the Writings of the Former, [Dan. 7.24. & 8.7.] *The Horns are Kings*.

From this Idiom of Speech, in the Scriptures, the Pagans, did learn to speak in the like Manner. *Horns* [** torn] *Tunc Pauper Cornua sumit*, saith *Horace*.¹⁴⁷³ *Corniger*, was the Epithet of *Jupiter Hammon*. *Macrobius* tells us, this *Hammon* was the *Sun*, whose Rayes are *Cornute*. But other Gods, as *Pan*, and *Bacchus*, were thus also represented. And it was their *Kingly Dignitie*, that was thereby Intimated. A *Ram* and a *Goat*, were Symbols of Regal Strength, in the prophetic Writings; and *Jupiter Hammon*, was worshipped in *Afric*, under the Shape of an Image, which was part *Ram*, and part *Goat*. Thus Monarchs, whom they Deified, were described. And *Alexander M.* was, Δικέραιος, *Bicornis*, among them; the Amplitude of his Empire, taking in, both East and West; and in the Prophecies of *Daniel*, hee is called, *A Notable Horn*, & a *Great One*. Accordingly, in his Pictures & Medals, hee is, κερασφόρος, *Horn'd*; and from him, Successors did stamp their Coins with *Horned Impressions*. Whence, in the Alcoran, *Alexander* has the Name of, *Dulkarnain*, which is æquivalent, unto δικέραιος. As, in *Chaucer*, to be at *Dulkernoon*, was to bee in a Maze, Dilemma'd, with a double *Horn of Argument*.¹⁴⁷⁴

¹⁴⁷³ This phrase, as formed, is not from *Horace*, but *Ovid's Ars Amatoria* (1.239), although there is a similar phrase in *Horace's Ode* (3.21.18). Here, the idea is that even the poor man feels exalted (literally: "the poor man took up horns"). As an idiom the suggestion is that something such as love or wine can impart courage or strength to the unlikely individual.

¹⁴⁷⁴ Edwards alludes to *Macrobius's Saturnalia* (1.21.19). Many of the remarks in this portion of Edwards' *Discourse* can also be found in Thomas Browne's *Pseudodoxia Epidemica*,

It was a Custome among the *Persians*, To wear a *Rams head* of Gold, for a Diadem. And *Attila*, King of the Huns, was pourtray'd with *Horns*. And wee read in *Valerius Maximus*, That when sudden *Horns* were seen to appear on the Head of *Genitius Cippus*, as hee was going out at the Door, the Response was, that hee should bee King, if hee Return'd into the City. [See *Edwards*, on the Authoritie of the Scripture.]¹⁴⁷⁵

originally published in 1646, in the chapter "Of the Pictures of Moses with Hornes" (bk. 5, ch. 9, pp. 286–88).

¹⁴⁷⁵ Edwards, *Discourse*, vol. 1, ch. 7, pp. 243–47. Extracts of Edwards's chapter occur in *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 367.

Q. The Time & Occasion of the Psalm?

A. When there was no other Strife among all the Tribes of *Israel*, but who should be most forward in returning to their Allegiance; and the Children of *Judah* also were inclined, as one Man, to bring back *David* unto his Kingdome, from whence he had been driven by *Absalom*; he fell into a rapturous Admiration of that happy Unity and Agreement; which he commended unto them afterwards in this Psalm, as their best Præservative and Security in future Ages.

Thus Dr. *Patrick*. But then it was aptly applied unto their Condition, at the Return from their *Babylonish* Captivity; when, as *Theodore*t notes, The Tribes which had been divided by the Imprudence of *Rehoboam*, were again united. The *primitive Christians* used the Psalm, to express their Joy, for the Blessed Union of the *Jews & Gentiles*; which had been as distant from one another, as *Hermon* from *Zion*.¹⁴⁷⁶ [**]¹⁴⁷⁷

Q. Why compared unto the *Ointment* that ran down upon the *Beard* of *Aaron*? v. 2.

A. *Aaron*, on the Collar of his Garment, bore the Names of all the Tribes of *Israel*: They were all perfumed.¹⁴⁷⁸

Q. The *Dew of Hermon*? v. 3.

A. *Maundrell*, in his Journey from *Aleppo* to *Jerusalem*; A.D. 1697. ha's this Passage.

"We were sufficiently instructed by Experience, what the Holy *Psalmist* means, by, *The Dew of Hermon*: Our Tents being as wett with it, as if it had Rain'd all Night."¹⁴⁷⁹

¹⁴⁷⁶ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 5, p. 645; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 368.

¹⁴⁷⁷ [*But behold, An Hymn to be sung, when the Tribes of *Israel* should be gathered & restored.*] Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 368.

¹⁴⁷⁸ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 5, p. 646; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 368.

¹⁴⁷⁹ Maundrell, *Journey*, p. 57; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 369.

Behold, the Devotion of the [*]¹⁴⁸⁰ *Holy People*, at the Return of the *Messiah*, and their [*]¹⁴⁸¹ Wishes for the Continuation of their Happiness.¹⁴⁸²

Q. The *Lifting up of Hands in the Sanctuary?* v. 2.

A. The Priests, before their officiating were to *wash*, their *Hands*, which was a Part of their *Sanctifying*. We are accordingly, to *lift up Holy Hands*, with Purity in our Devotions.¹⁴⁸³

1480 [*Jewish Nation*]

1481 [*Prayers*]

1482 Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 5, p. 208. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 369.

1483 Hammond, *Paraphrase*, in *Works*, vol. 4, bk. 5, p. 375.

[**]¹⁴⁸⁴

Q. How, *Lightenings for the Rain?* v. 7.

A. To show that *Rain* is a coming.¹⁴⁸⁵

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|

[*464.*]

Q. Wee have here, a Psalm of *Hallelujahs*, particularly, for the Destruction of, *Sihon King of the Amorites, and Og King of Bashan, and all the Kingdoms of Canaan*. Do you find any Footsteps of such an Hymn, in pagan Antiquitie? v. 1, 3, 11.

A. Yes, very manifest ones.¹⁴⁸⁶

It is a very true Assertion of the *Apocrypha*, [1. Mac. 3.48.] *Ex Libro Legis scrutabantur Gentes similitudines Idolorum suorum*. The Name for *Apollo*, was *Pæan*; and the Hymn, which they sang in Honour of *Apollo* was called, *Pæan*. But as *Plutarch*, among others ha's related, *Solent ii qui Pæanas canunt, exclamare ἐλλεῦ Ἰού Ἰού*. Now, it ha's been demonstrated, that the *Apollo* of the Ancients, was our *Joshua*: and that *Joshua's* Conquest of *Og*, and the *Anakims* in *Canaan*, was *Apollo's* Defeat of *Typhon* or *Python*, & the other Giants that fought against the Gods.¹⁴⁸⁷

Well, *Cadmus*, the *Gibeonite*, with other *Phœnicians*, carrying a Colony into *Græcia*, did use to celebrate the Victories of *Joshua*, in such *Hymns*, as they had learned of their New Masters, in the Land of *Canaan*, from whence they came: and I doubt not, but such Strains as we have in our *Hundred & Thirty-fifth*

¹⁴⁸⁴ [*Q. The Scope?

A. Tis an Hymn of Praise, to be sung by Restored *Israel*; Rehearsing the Ancient Miracles done for their Fathers; and Insulting the False Gods of *Antichrist*; and Exhorting the *Israelites* to Bless GOD, who hath now again chosen *Zion*, to inhabit.

The {*Ideas*} of the Psalm are followed in the XL Chapter of *Isaiah*.*] Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 371.

¹⁴⁸⁵ Clutterbuck, *A Brief Explanation*, p. 128; Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 5, p. 649.

¹⁴⁸⁶ The entire annotation is extracted from the chapter entitled “ΠΑΙΑΠΙ Hymnus Hebraicus” in Edmund Dickinson’s wide-ranging *Delphi Phœnicizantes* (1655), ch. 6, pp. 49–52.

¹⁴⁸⁷ The quotation from 1 Macc. refers to the time when the Jews “laid open their books of the law, in which the Gentiles [would have] searched for the likeness of their idols.” Plutarch’s *Life of Theseus* (22.3) reports that at the vintage festival (Oschophoria), “those present at the pæans sing and shout, “Eleleu! Iou! Iou!” This cry, largely untranslatable, is a combined shout of encouragement (Eleleu) and woe (Iou), which was said to commemorate both the return of Theseus and the death of Dionysos.

Psalm were in those *Hymns*. Now, their ἐλλεεῦ Ἰού Ἰού, was nothing in the World, but the *Hallelujah*, so often repeted, in this very Psalm, cheefly in reference to the Victories of *Joshua*. The Græcian ἐλλεεῦ Ἰού, or Ἰή, agrees with the Hebrew *Hallelujah* well enough, in this; that in a *Pæanism*, it was both προαναφώνησις, i. e. *Exhortatio*; and ἐπωδὸς et ἐφύμνιον, i. e. *Canticum, quod Hymno succinitur*.¹⁴⁸⁸

Wonder not, that *Jah*, can bee no otherwise rendred among the Greeks, than Ιου, or Ιη, or Ια: You know the Clogs of their Pronunciation. And indeed, this was the Meaning of the Assertion among the Ancients, that the sacred Name of God, was Ανεκφώνητον, or unutterable. Not that the *Jewes*, like the *Romans*, concealed the Name of the *God*, who had them in his Tutelage, *ne ab hostibus evocatus aliò commigraret*: But because, *Jah*, or *Jehovah*, could not bee pronounced in the Language of the Græcian Gentiles; for the Want even of all the Consonants in it.¹⁴⁸⁹

Q. The Mention of the Respect paid by the Heathens to their Idols? v. 18.

A. Dr. *Patrick* in his Paraphrase, takes notice of an admirable force in it. “The Honour the Heathens give to their lifeless Images, ought to excite you all, with the greater Devotion to praise the Lord of the World.”¹⁴⁹⁰

¹⁴⁸⁸ Select portions of these two paragraphs occur in *Psalterium*, bk. 5, pp. 371–72. The idea that Cadmus, the mythical Phoenician prince who brought letters to the Greeks, was also a Gibeonite (Hivite) named “Kedem” (from the East) under the service of Joshua is due ultimately to Bochart’s characteristic associative etymology in his *Geographia Sacra*, lib. 1, cap. 19, pp. 486–87. Both ἐπωδὸς and ἐφύμνιον loosely denote refrains to chants or songs, or, as Dickinson puts it in Latin (*Delphi*, p. 50), “a song or hymn to be sung.” More specifically, ἐφύμνιον is the “burthen of the song” (p. 53).

¹⁴⁸⁹ This same point is made (along with the quotation) in the *Magnalia* in “The Bostonian Ebenezer.” The Jews, unlike the Romans and Greeks, were said not to disguise the name of their God, “Lest, beguiled by the prayers and offerings of the enemy, he should take up a residence elsewhere.”

¹⁴⁹⁰ The answer is taken from Patrick’s note following his own paraphrase of v.21. Patrick, *Psalm Paraphras’d*, bk. 5, p. 652; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 372.

Q. Why is the Repetition of, *Gods Mercy enduring forever*, here confined unto the Just Number of *Twenty Six*?

A. The Psalm does begin with the Story of the *Creation*, and conclude with the Conquest of *Sihon*, and *Og*, and the Entrance into *Canaan*: Between which and which, *Twenty Six* Generations had run out.

[Moreover, the Numerals of the Name / יהוה / *Jehovah*, do amount unto just that Number.]

And may not this bee one Reference, in their compassing the Walls of *Jericho* seven Dayes, & seven Times, when they besieged it? Just *seven Generations* had passed, since the Land was promised.

It is to be considered, That when the Clause, *His Mercy endures forever*, still closes every Verse, much of the Consolation intended in it, will be discerned, by considering the Clause to which it is annexed. It being as much as to say, That the *Mercy* of God, will still do for His People, such Things as that which the Clause makes Mention of; or, things of the like Importance with them.¹⁴⁹¹

We may also take Notice of some further Elegancies, in those Analogies, with which the benefits of the Divine *Mercy enduring forever* are proposed.¹⁴⁹²

Some of them are observed by Dr. *Patrick*.

v. 5. “Behold with Admiration & Praise, the Splendor and Order, wherein the Wisdome of God ha’s contrived and settled the *Heavens*; For His Kindness is as large, & as firm, & as durable as *they*.”

v. 6. “And then look down to the *Earth*, & thankfully praise Him, who brought it out of the Waters, & præserves it in its just Extent, from being again overflowed by them; For His Kindness is no less Immovable, and by Length of Time can never be impaired.”

v. 7. “Those great Lights, which never go out, always call upon us, to praise, & give Thanks to Him; who made them to Illuminate the World; and to be the Emblems of His Kindness; which sends its benign Influences continually upon us, unto all Generations.”

v. 9. “By Night, the Moon, and the Stars, lett us see, how much we are bound to Praise and Thank Him, whose Kindness is so constant, that, in the worst Condition, it will never quite forsake us.”¹⁴⁹³

¹⁴⁹¹ Viccars, *Decapla in Psalmos*, lib. 5, pp. 373–74.

¹⁴⁹² Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 375.

¹⁴⁹³ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras’d*, bk. 5, pp. 652–58.

[**]¹⁴⁹⁴ We may behold here also an Hymn, to be sung by [*]¹⁴⁹⁵ the *Holy People* after their Deliverance from all their Enemies.

The *Messiah* appears at His Next Coming, with the Title of *Lord of Lords*, which is in the Third Verse here given to Him. [Rev. XIX.6.]¹⁴⁹⁶

Q. A Remark upon the CXXXVI Psalm?

A. The Ancient People of God, in the Singing of this very Psalm, found a wonderful Acceptance with Him. See, 2. Chron. V.13, 14. and 2. Chron. XX.21, 22. and 2. Chron. VII.3. and Ezr. III.10.

Yea, Tis foretold, That this very Psalm shall be sung in the Dayes of the New Testament. See Jer. XXXIII.11. with v. 15, 16.¹⁴⁹⁷

Q. The Psalmist having distinctly mentioned the Works produced in the *Four First Dayes* of the Creation, immediately passes to the *Plagues* upon *Egypt*? v. 10.

A. The Works produced in the *Two Next* Dayes of the Creation, were employ'd in those *Plagues*.¹⁴⁹⁸

|¹⁴⁹⁹

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Q. Why does the Psalmist particularly mention only *Sihon* and *Og*, among the Kings, whom the *Mercy* of Heaven delivered into the Hands of *Israel*? v. 19, 20.

A. R. *David Kimchi* gives this Reason; Because their Lands were not in the Covenant, which God made with *Abraham*.¹⁵⁰⁰

Q. Besides the commonly received Accounts on which it is said, *His Mercy endureth forever*; is there not one more, to be asked for, wished for? v. 23.

A. I have heard this given, in the Heat of a lively Discourse; “The *Mercy* of God, which ha’s *Remembred* thee in thy *low Estate*, my Friend, lett it *endure forever*, in thy Thankful *Remembrance* of it, & of the Obligations which it ha’s laid upon thee to live unto God. Behold, a Noble Sense, in which it should be said, *His Mercy endureth forever*.”¹⁵⁰¹

1494 [*Dr. *Alix**]

1495 [**Israel**]

1496 Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 5, p. 211; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, pp. 374–75.

1497 This entry seems most fully to rely upon Poole’s English *Annotations* on Jer. 33:11–6.

1498 Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 375.

1499 The second bound fascicle ends here.

1500 Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 5, p. 374; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 375.

1501 In *Diary* (1:251), Mather records this passage as forming the basis of a sermon on a general day of thanksgiving in Nov. of 1697. See also *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 375.

1715

Q. Is there any thing mentioned in the Psalm now before us, besides the Destruction, which the *Babylonians* brought upon *Jerusalem*?

A. I'l recite you a Passage, which the Jewes have, in their Book entituled *Git-tin*.

*Dixit, R. Jehudah, Quid significat quod Scriptum est, Psal. 137.1. Super flumina Babylonis, ibi sedimus, et flevimus dum recordaremur Sion? Docet Deum Benedictum, ostendisse Davidi, Excidium Templi Primi, et Templi Secundi: Excidium quidem primi Templi, vers. 1. Super flumina Babylonis, ibi sedimus et flevimus. Excidium verò Templi Secundi, vers. 7. Recordare Domine Filiorum Edom.*¹⁵⁰²

It is pathetically done of *Arnobius*, to make the *Babylonians* here, a Picture of the *Divels* insulting over *Fallen Man*.

*Aperiamus Oculos Mentis, et videmus nobis Dæmones insultantes post Peccatum, et quasi in his Verbis adhibere; cantate sicut solebatis; Psallite sicut solitum vobis erat.*¹⁵⁰³

We have here the sorrowful State of the Jews, under the first *Babylonian* Captivity, & then under the *Roman* Dominion, which the Prophet calls, *Daughter of Babylon*, because the *Romans* have done to them, as the *Babylonians* did. Several Prophets have agreed with the Psalmist, in calling the *Romans* by the Name of, *Edom*.¹⁵⁰⁴

Q. Why is it said, *By the Rivers of Babylon, we satt down?* v. 1.

A. When they were transported into *Babylon*, they had the Sides of *Euphrates*, & several of its Rivers assigned for their Habitation. See *Ezek. I.1*.

It is a Conjecture of *Chrysostom*, That the Captives were not suffered (at their first coming thither,) to dwell in any of their Towns or Cities; but were dispersed all along several Rivers of the Countrey; where they built Tabernacles

¹⁵⁰² Martin, *Pugio Fidei*, pars. 2, cap. 4, p. 327; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, pp. 376–77: “He said, Rabbi Jehudah, what signifies that which is written: ‘By the waters of Babylon, we sit and weep when we remember Zion, Psal. 137.1?’ He [i. e., Rabbi Jehudah] teaches that the Good Lord showed to David the destruction of the First Temple and the Second Temple: the destruction of the First Temple in verse 1: ‘By the waters of Babylon, we sit and weep,’ and the destruction of the Second Temple in verse 7, ‘Remember, O Lord, the children of Edom.’”

¹⁵⁰³ Arnobius, *Commentarii in Psalmos* [PL 53.541]: “Let us open our minds, and we will see Demons insulting us after sin, and, as it were, repeating these words: Sing like you did (in Babylon)! Make Psalms as was your habit (in the days of exile)!”

¹⁵⁰⁴ Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 5, p. 213; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 376.

or Cottages for themselves; and perhaps were forced to drain those moist Places, to make them wholesome.¹⁵⁰⁵

Q. On the *Babylonians* requiring a *Song*? v. 3.

A. This Morning, a Number of poor *Palatines* coming to my Door, for Alms, their Way of Begging was, to sing a *Psalm* in High-Dutch, which they did so melodiously, that at every Door in my Neighbourhood, the People would require a *Psalm* of them, e're they gave them any thing.

This presently suggested unto me, such a Thought as this: Doubtless I now see, how it was with the poor Jews in *Babylon*. They were *Beggars* there; and when they went about a Begging, the Gentry would not give them a Bitt of Bread, | until they had sung 'em a *Psalm* which these People were very ready at. [330v]

I take notice that the *Babylonians* here say, *sing us the Words of a Song*. They had no Regard unto the *Matter*. The *Tune*, the *Sound*, the *Words*, was all they cared for. A Mark of *Babylonians*! Among *Babylonians*, they regard nothing but *Words*, & *Forms*. All that they mind is a *Lip-labour*; an external Service in Religion.¹⁵⁰⁶

Q. The Meaning of, *If I forgett thee, O Jerusalem*? v. 5.

A. Take Dr. *Patrick's* Paraphrase.

“No, (said I within myself,) if I forgett thy Desolations, O *Jerusalem*, (tho' never so far removed from thee,) so as to gratify their Desires, by profaning thy Musick & thy Songs; then lett my Right Hand be benumbed, or quite lose its Skill of touching the Harp any more.”¹⁵⁰⁷

1505 Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 5 pp. 659–60; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 377.

1506 The concluding paragraph occurs in *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 377.

1507 Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 5, p. 661.

Q. The Scope?

A. An Illustrious Prophecy concerning [*]¹⁵⁰⁸ what shall be done among the *Saved Nations*, at the Coming of the Lord, & in His Kingdome.¹⁵⁰⁹

Q. The Meaning of, *They shall sing in the Wayes of the Lord?* v. 5.

A. It is thus paraphrased by Dr. *Patrick*.

“The wonderful Wayes whereby the Lord brings things about, shall be the Subject of their Songs.”¹⁵¹⁰

Munster applies this, to the *Kings* bordering upon *David*, who had heard of what the Lord had promised, about his Coming to the *Kingdome*. The *Wayes* of God, in accomplishing this, would be the *Songs* of those *Kings*. *Gratias egerunt pro Operibus eius mirabilibus*.¹⁵¹¹

Q. In what Regard is it said, *The Lord knowes the Proud afar off?* v. 6.

A. The Thoughts of the *Proud*, are hid in their Hearts, *afar off*, out of Sight; they have more Witt, than to utter the *proud Thoughts*, that ly covered & swelling in their Minds. But the Lords *knowes* what they are, *afar off*.

However, this is not the Gloss, that I insist upon.

I therefore add, That the *Proud* here, is compared unto a *Leper*; one that ha's little Cause to bee *Proud*! God knowes a *proud* Man, to bee no better than a Filthy *Leper*, upon whom it was enjoined for to stand *Afar Off*: hee might not bee Approach'd unto: nor will the *Spirit* of God Approach *near* to such a Man.

Compare Lev. 13.45, 46.¹⁵¹²

Of old, it was rendred, *Alta à longè cognoscit*. And the Gloss of *Arnobius* upon it was; *Alta de longe cognovit, quando ambulantes nos in Medio tribulationis vivificare dignatus est visitando, et super Iras Inimicorum nostrorum extendit Manus suas, Crucis Patibulum Perferendo, quando salvavit nos dextera eius*.¹⁵¹³

¹⁵⁰⁸ [*the Calling of the *Israelitish Nation*, to the Knowledge of the *Messias*, and the great Conversion of the Heathen Kingdomes to His Religion, after the *Messias* has destroy'd the Enemies of His Kingdome.*]

¹⁵⁰⁹ Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 5, p. 214; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 378.

¹⁵¹⁰ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 5, pp. 663–64; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, pp. 378–379.

¹⁵¹¹ Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3979). Munster remarks that this is the exposition of Rabbi David Kimhi (Kimchi): “They gave thanks for his wondrous works.”

¹⁵¹² Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 379.

¹⁵¹³ Arnobius, *Commentarii in Psalmos* [PL 53.543]; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 379: “His relationship with the proud folk was distant: but when we were walking in the midst of tribulation, God deemed it worthy to grant us life by coming to us in person, and he extended his

The Proud He knowes afar off, is by Dr. *Patrick* thus paraphrased.

“He will not stoop to the loftiest Princes (as they may see in *Saul*,) whom He despises, when they are Forgetful of Him, & Ungrateful to Him, for His Benefits.”¹⁵¹⁴

hand over the wrath of our enemies, by bearing the gibbet of the Cross, when his right hand saved us.”

1514 Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 5, p. 664; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 379.

Q. The Scope?

A. The *Prophetic Spirit* here teaches the Jewish Nation, how little able they are to hide themselves from the Judgments of GOD: And how they are to acknowledge GOD as their Maker & their Saviour, and pray to Him for the Destruction of Antichrist & his Abettors.¹⁵¹⁵

But, alas, They will take no notice of it. It is the *Christian Church*, that is to make use of this Provision. We are now the *Jews*.

Q. The Impossibility of Mens *Hiding* themselves from the *Omnipresent God*, was there any Acknowledgment of it, among the more Illuminated Pagans, resembling that which is made in the Psalm here before us? v. 8, 9.

A. The wisest of the Ancient Pagans, did believe, that the Actions of every Person should be examined after his Death, and an Impartial Sentence be passed upon him.

Wonderful are the Words of *Plato* [De Legib. l.10], *From this Judgment lett no Man hope to be able to escape; For tho' you could descend into the very Depth of the Earth, or fly on high to the Extremities of the Heavens; yett should you never escape the Just Judgment, either before or after Death.* Mr. S. *Clark*, in his *Evidences of Natural and Reveled Religion*, thinks it worth his while, to take Notice, how agreeable these Expressions are, to those of the Psalmist. M. *Dacier* observes, That *Plato* uses almost the very Terms of *David*.¹⁵¹⁶

Q. Upon what the Psalmist sings about the Admirable Structure of an *Humane Body*? v. 14.

A. Accept, Syr, the Commentary of a *Pagan* on the Text of our Psalmist. Read *Galen's* Book, *De Usu Partium*, as a noble Illustration on the Text before us. The Raptures, into which the *Structure of an Humane Body*, throws that ungospelized Physician; and tho' he had made but a little Discovery, in comparison of what our Moderns have made, of the Exquisite, and Amazing Artifice, in our *Structure*! He cannot observe the Parts of our Fingers, and their Motion, without

¹⁵¹⁵ Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 5, p. 215. Again, the succeeding comment shows how Mather no longer agrees entirely with Allix. It is significant, then, that Mather interjects his illustration in *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 382, with the pious desire for the Jews: “[*Oh! would they learn!*]”

¹⁵¹⁶ Samuel Clarke, *Discourse*, p. 154. It is significant that Mather turns to Clarke, because his lectures posit that self-determination, or free will, is a necessary component of religion. André Dacier similarly associates this Psalm with Plato's thought in the “Life of Plato” that precedes the *Works* (1:87). Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 382.

crying out, *Considera hic Mirabilem Creatoris Sapientiam!* His Acknowledgments and Acclamations of this Importance, are too many to be repeted here. Consult the Author himself, and then, Think, Sir, *what Praises do I that am a Christian owe to the Glorious God, upon the View of every thing that belongs unto me!*¹⁵¹⁷

I cannot forebear transcribing a pathological Passage of *Laurence Bellini*, concluding his, *Opusculum de Motu Cordis*. His Rational & Ravishing Words are these.

*Quæ equidem omnia, si à rudi Intelligentia Hominis, tantum consilii, tantum Ratiocinii, tantum peritiæ mille rerum, tantum Scientiarum exigunt, ad hoc, ut inveniantur, seu ad hoc ut percipiantur postquam facta sunt; illum, cujus Opera fabrefacta sunt hæc singula, tam vani erimus, [atque inanes] ut existimemus esse Consilii impotem, Rationis expertem, Imperitum, atque Ignarum omnium rerum? Quantum ad me attinet, nolim esse Rationis compos, si tantum insudandum mihi esset ad consequendam Intelligentiam illarum rerum, quas fabrefaceret, nescio quæ vis, quæ nihil intelligeret eorum quæ fabrefaceret: Mihi etenim viderer esse vile quiddam, atque ridiculum, qui Vellem totam, Ætatem meam, Sanitatem, et quicquid Humanum est deterere, ut Gloriari possem postremo invenisse unum aut alterum, et fortasse me invenisse ex iis innumeris, quæ produxisset, nescio quis ille, qui sine Cura, nihil Cogitans, nihil Cognoscens, non Unam aut alteram rem, neque dubie sed certò produxisset, innumeras innumerabiles rerum, in hoc tam immenso spatio corporum ex quibus totus mundus compingitur. Ah, Deum Immortalem! Video præsens Numen tuum, in hisce tam prodigiosis Generationis Initiis, et in altissima eorum Contemplatione defixus Nescio quo æstro Admirationis conciter et quasi divine furens, cohiberi me minime possum, quin exclamem Magnus Dominus! Magnus Fabricator Hominum Deus! Magnus atque Admirabilis! Conditor rerum Deus, Quam Magnus es!*¹⁵¹⁸

¹⁵¹⁷ The paragraph and the reference to book 3 of Galen's *De Usu Partium* are inspired by Arrowsmith's *Armilla Catechetica* (aph. 3, exer. 2, sec. 5, p. 125); Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 382: "Consider the wondrous judgment of our creator."

¹⁵¹⁸ Laurence (Lorenzo) Bellini (1643–1704) was a Florentine physician and anatomist who wrote several small treatises on the human body, including this one on the movement of the heart (*EB*). It occurs in his *Opuscula Aliquot* (1696), prop. 24, p. 136. See also Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 382. In translation, this passage reads, "What indeed are all things if, from the rude intelligence of Man, they demand [only] so much [of] judgment, reason, experience of a thousand things, knowledge, for this: that they be discovered, or for this: that they be perceived after they have been made? Shall we be so vain and foolish as to think that He, whose works each and every one of these are, is not master of judgment, has no part in reason, is without experience, and lacks knowledge of all things? As far as I am concerned, I would rather not be in possession of reason, if I had to labor so much to pursue an understanding of all things that some force was making, which understood nothing of those things it was making. For I would seem to myself to be a vile thing, and a laughable one, who would wish to waste all my life, health, and whatever is human so that I could boast at last to have discovered one thing or the other, and perhaps [even] to have discovered countless numbers of things in this so immense expanse of bodies from which the whole world is composed, among those unnumbered things which someone – I know not who – had produced, [someone] who had produced carelessly,

Q. What the Psalmist speaks, about the Admirable Structure of his own *Body*, how do you understand it? v. 15, 16.

A. The *Natural Body* of the Psalmist may be partly; but the *Mystical Body* of our Saviour is principally, intended.

The *Substance*, of the Church whereof it was to be *formed*, was under the Eye of God, as proposed in the Decree of *Election*; yett was it, as such, *Imperfect*. It was not Formed or Shaped into the *Members* of the *Mystical Body*; but they were all written, in the *Book of Life*. And in Pursuance of the Purpose of God, there they are, by the Holy Spirit, in the whole Course, and *Continuance* of Time, in their several Generations, fashioned into the Shape designed for them. Thus my Incomparable Owen glosseth it.¹⁵¹⁹

Q. How may wee understand that Clause, *How precious are thy Thoughts unto mee, O God! How great is the Summ of them?* v. 17.

A. The vulgar Latin, and, as I remember, the LXX, read it, *How precious are thy Friends unto mee!* Indeed the Hebrew / רעים / may very well, be so Translated. And this Translation, as it agrees well, with what is just before said, about the *Members* of the Lord Jesus Christ, all which are the *Friends* of God, so it incomparably suits the following Discourse, about the *Enemies* of God, whom Psalmist professes much Hatred of.¹⁵²⁰

Q. What may it be, to *Hate wicked Men with a perfect Hatred?* v. 22.

A. Gregory M. in his *Pastoralis Cura*, ha's a pretty Gloss upon it. It is to *Love* the *Creature*, and *Hate* the *Sinner*. To *Love* what he *is*, & *Hate* what he *does*. *Inimicos Dei perfecto Odio odisse, est et quod facti sunt diligere, et quod faciunt increpare: Mores Pravorum premere et Vitæ prodesse.*¹⁵²¹

He adds an Observation. *Propheta tantus hoc velut in Hostiam Deo obtulit, quod contra se pro Domino Pravorum Inimicitias excitavit.* When it is said, *I Count them my Enemies*, it is q.d. I am as much concerned as if Injuries were done to myself.¹⁵²²

unthinkingly, unknowingly, not one or the other thing, and not doubtfully but surely. Ah, immortal God! I see your divinity manifest in these so marvelous beginnings of creation, and fixed in the deepest contemplation of them, I am aroused but I know not what inspiration of wonder and, as if in a divine trance, I am scarcely able to contain myself from exclaiming, Great Lord! Great God, Maker of Men! Great and Wondrous God, Founder of Things, how great thou art!

1519 John Owen, *Meditations and Discourses of the Glory of Christ* (1696), ch. 10, p. 121. Harvard Library owned this work. See also *Psalterium*, bk. 5, pp. 382–83.

1520 Viccars, *Decapla in Psalmos*, lib. 5, pp. 381, 383. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 383.

1521 “To hate the enemies of God with a perfect hatred, is to love what they are, and hate or rebuke what they do: to love the life and disdain its perverse ways.”

1522 Gregory, *Regulae Pastoralis*, pars. 3, cap. 22 [PL 77.91]; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 383. “So great a prophet offered this as a sacrifice to God that he excited the enmities of the wicked against himself for the Lord.”

Q. On that Passage; *Lead me in the Way Everlasting?* v. 24.

A. It is odd, That *Kimchi*, expounds it as a Periphrasis of, Death. For, *Death* is called, 1. King. II.2. *The Way of all the Earth*. And, Josh. XXIII.14. *The Way of all Flesh*. As if *David* had said, “Lord, If upon search, thou findest, that I walk in any Way of Wickedness, then destroy me, lead me to my Grave, yea, cast me with the Wicked into Hell, into everlasting Condemnation.”¹⁵²³

1523 Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 5, p. 381; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 383.

Q. The Scope?

A. The *Prophetic Spirit* here prepares a Prayer, for them that are suffering under *Antichrist*.

Yea, it looks as if here were some Eye, to what the ancient Prophecies have also spoken about the Destruction of *Gog*.

And indeed, when those Two Enemies are gone, the *Righteous* will dwell with the greatest Praises in the *Presence of GOD*.¹⁵²⁴

Q. Who is the *evil Man*, and the *violent Man*, by the Psalmist here complained of? v. 1.

A. The *Midrasch Tillin*, ha's a strange Passage. It saies, Tis the *Fourth Beast*, in the *Seventh of Daniel*.¹⁵²⁵

Q. *Lett Burning Coals fall upon them, Lett them bee cast into the Fire; into Deep Pitts*. What may bee the Intentions of these Expressions? v. 10.

A. They are most elegantly allusive to the Fate of *Sodom*.

And you are to consider the Fate of *Rome*, as herein also prophesied, by the Spirit of Prophecy.

David, was a Type of our Lord Jesus Christ. And *Antichrist* with his Ad-hærents, are the Antitype of *David's* Enemies.

Read such Psalms as this, with a great Attention, and compare them, with the Books of the *New Testament*, which describe the *Antichrist* unto us. You'l then see, *wondrous Things in the Law*.¹⁵²⁶

Q. On that, *The Upright shall dwell in thy Presence?* v. 13.

A. In reading this Passage, methought, I saw a most charming Harmony between the *Exercises* of Piety, and the *Recompences* of it. How agreeably is Godliness *Rewarded*!

The Final, and Endless, and Complete Blessedness of *Upright Men*, will be, *To dwell in the Presence of God*; even in that *Presence*, in which there is *Fulness of Joy*; And so, *To be forever with the Lord*. Now, what an *Agreement* is there, between the *Uprightness* & the *Blessedness*! *Uprightness* lies in this thing; To be *always in the Presence of God*; Always to act, *as in the Presence of God*:

¹⁵²⁴ Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 5, p. 217; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 385.

¹⁵²⁵ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 5, p. 385; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 385.

¹⁵²⁶ Hammond, *Paraphrase*, in *Works*, vol. 4, bk. 5, p. 386; Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 5, p. 217; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 385.

A Behaviour governed by a Sense of being under the *Eye of God*. An *Upright Man* is, oh, how suitably *Rewarded*, when he is brought at length, to *dwell in the Presence of God!*¹⁵²⁷

¹⁵²⁷ This note is inspired by a sermon of Archbishop John Tillotson (1630–94) on “The Immensity of Divine Nature” (vol. 1, serm. 101, pp. 758–59). The Harvard Library held an edition of Tillotson’s works. See also Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, pp. 385–86.

Q. The Scope?

A. A Prayer provided by the *Prophetic Spirit*, for the People of GOD, scattered by the Power of *Antichrist*.¹⁵²⁸

Q. Some Remarks on the *Occasion* of the Psalm, would give us a Key to the Intention of some of the darkest Passages in it?

A. We read, 1. Sam. 24.2. of *Sauls* taking 3000 *chosen Men out of all Israel*, & going to seek *David & his Men, on the Rocks of the Wild-goats*. *David* in the *Cave* had Opportunity to cutt off the Skirt of *Saul*, and afterwards to demonstrate unto *Saul* his Integrity, in Words that gave him Satisfaction. This was the *Occasion* of the *Psalm*. Accordingly we read, v. 6. *Their Judges* [namely, *Saul*, and his Officers] *were lett down*, [that is, to pursue me & surprize me] *by the Sides of the Rock*, [that is, the *Rocke* of the *Wildgoats*, & the *Sides* of the *Cave* aforesaid,] *And they heard my Words, for they were pleasant*. K. *Saul*, and his Followers, heard the Words of *David's* Apology for himself, which were so Acceptable to *Saul*, that he went home, & gave over disturbing *David* any more. This Hint is given me, by Dr. *Roberts*, in his *Key of the Bible*.¹⁵²⁹

Q. Who the *Evening Sacrifice*? v. 2.

A. There was no Sin-offering brought after That. All was now accepted.¹⁵³⁰

Q. As the *Evening-Sacrifice*? v. 2.

A. *Munster* observes, the Emphasis to ly here; *David* was now in Exile, where he could not attend the *Daily Sacrifices*.¹⁵³¹

Q. That Passage, *Lett the Righteous smite mee, it shall bee a Kindness*. What can you find in it? v. 5.

A. I can find, a CHRIST in it; and so doing, I find in the Field, a *Pearl of great Price*.

I am far from excluding the obvious & common Sense of the Words, or from neglecting to learn the Duty of a *Reproved Christian* in them. Nevertheless, wee have a CHRIST in a *Transcendent Sense* offering Himself unto us, in many Passages of the sacred Oracles, which wee do not at the first View, see *Testifying of Him*.

¹⁵²⁸ Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 5, p. 218; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 387.

¹⁵²⁹ Francis Roberts, *Clavis Bibliorum*, p. 380.

¹⁵³⁰ Hammond, *Paraphrase*, in *Works*, vol. 4, bk. 5, p. 388.

¹⁵³¹ Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3988); Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 387.

In the Psalm now before us, I consider the Spirit of the *Messiah*, using the Pen of one that was a *Type* of Him, to speak wonderful Things concerning the *Antitype*.

Our Lord-Redeemer, here desires, that His *Intercession*, may come in the Room of the *Incense* and the *Mincha*, used under the Law.

And wee have Him here standing as a *Surety* for elect Sinners, with these Concessions;

Lett the Righteous God smite mee with an Hammer, in His Nailing mee to the *Cross*: It will bee in *Mercy* to His Chosen, for whom I am now to bee *smitten*.

Lett Him Reprove mee; still I have the *Oyl of the Head* upon mee; I am His *Messiah*, His *Anointed*, His *Christ*, & His *Priest*.

Whatever is now done to mee, it *shall not break my Head*. It was the ancient Promise, That not *my Head*, but the *Serpents* only shall bee *Broken*.

And, nothing shall hinder my *Intercession*, from its being still continued; notwithstanding all the *Evils* which they that afflict mee inflict upon mee, & under all the *Evils* done or born by my Elect.

| After this, *Their Judges shall bee overthrown by* [as the Syriac renders it,] an [338v] *Hand of Stone*.

The Monarchies of the World, shall bee broken in Peeeces, by the *Stone cutt out, which is not in Hands*.

And this Dispensation, shall bee attended with, yea, effected by, my *Words* being *made sweet unto them*.¹⁵³²

Having, in the brief Hints of this Paraphrase, putt into your Hands, a *Key*, for the whole *Psalm*, you may, by the Help of it, find still more of a precious CHRIST in this Paragraph of Scripture. Try it, use it, & bee Thankful.

Q. That Passage, *Our Bones are scattered at the Graves Mouth*. What special Gloss upon it, have you found in the Jewish Writings? v. 7.

A. *Aben Ezra's* Gloss upon it is, *Robusti Davidis (sicut Ossa sunt Robur Corporis,) Erant à Davide dispersi*.

Take Dr. *Patrick's* Paraphrase on the whole Verse.

“They still persecute me, and the small body of Men that follow me: [1. Sam. XXVI.2. XXVII.1.] whom they have reduced to such Extremities, that like the Earth, when it is plough'd up, we break in Pieces, and are ready to disperse and flee for our Lives, with little hope of Safety.”¹⁵³³

¹⁵³² Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 388.

¹⁵³³ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 5, p. 386; Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 5, p. 677; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 388. “The strength of David (just as the bones are the strength of the body) was dispersed from him.”

Q. The Scope?

A. A Prayer gott ready for the Captives, under the Tyranny of Antichrist.¹⁵³⁴

Q. *I looked on the Right Hand.* What should have been there? v. 4.

A. The *Advocate* usually stood at the *Right Hand*. It means, There was none to Defend or Vindicate me.¹⁵³⁵

Q. On that Word, *Thou art my Portion in the Land of the Living?* v. 5.

A. We will not now insist upon a mystical & spiritual Meaning, for, *The Land of the Living*; Tho' it may be truly said, That until we come to take up with the glorious GOD, as our *Portion*, we are not reckoned among the *Living*: Nor shall we ever enjoy the glorious GOD for our *Portion* in the full Extent of the Promise, till the *Resurrection of the Dead* ha's brought us into the true *Land of the Living*. But we will take notice of a Remark made by some Devout Writers; That PIETY will cause a Man to *live upon GOD*, in the Midst of all the good Things, which this *present Life* can be sweetened withal. By the *Land of the Living*, may be meant, This *present World*. [See Isa. XXXVIII.11. and LIII.8.] Now, our Psalmist Resolves, That GOD shall be His *Portion*, even in *this present World*, and when he should be surrounded with all the Comforts, which the Earth could afford him. It is true, He was now in the *Cave*; but a *Crown* had been promised him; and when he should be enriched with all that a *Crown* could bring unto him, yett still GOD should be his *Portion*.¹⁵³⁶

But one Mr. *Young* so carries it: By the *Land of the Living* is meant *Heaven*. Yett the Psalmist looks not on that *Land*, but on GOD in that *Land*, as his Hope & his Portion. So tis not *Heaven*, but the GOD of *Heaven*, that is the Reward & the Desire of the Saints.¹⁵³⁷

¹⁵³⁴ Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 5, pp. 219–20; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 390.

¹⁵³⁵ Hammond, *Paraphrase*, in *Works*, vol. 4, bk. 5, p. 390.

¹⁵³⁶ The devotional reading of this verse is common among exegetes of the period, and though I have not found it expressed in exactly these words, the substance is easily identified in Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 5, pp. 678–80, and Arndt, *True Christianity*, vol. 1, bk. 2, ch. 15, p. 546, to name only two examples to which Mather would have had access.

¹⁵³⁷ Edward Young (1641/2–1705), *Sermons upon Several Occasions*, vol. 1, serm. 11, p. 399. Young, who at the end of his life was appointed Dean of Salisbury (1702–05), when his sermons were collected and first published in 1703, was also the father of the later poet of the same name. With his preaching that stressed personal redemption, Young exercised a considerable influence over John Wesley (DNB).

Q. What special Emphasis, in those Words, *The Righteous shall compass mee about?* v. 7.

A. Remember, you are here concerned with the *Messiah*.

Now, *Aben Ezra* renders this Passage thus; *Justi coronabunt sese mecum*. That is to say, They shall glory in mee, as having a *Crown of Glory* on their Head.

And thus the *Spanish* Translation, *Commigo se coronaran los Justos*.¹⁵³⁸

¹⁵³⁸ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 5, p. 380; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 390. The remark of both Aben Ezra and the Spanish translation is that “The just are crowned along with Me.”

Q. The Scope?

A. The *Prophetic Spirit* here makes a Prayer for the Church, & for the [******]¹⁵⁴⁰ Holy People, lying in such a State of *Death*, which is described in the Prophecies of *Ezekiel*; and particularly prayes for the Outpouring of the *Spirit*, in such Gifts, as are to be expected at the Second Coming of the *Messiah*.¹⁵⁴¹

Q. The Meaning of being *led into the Land of Uprightness*? v. 10.

A. The True *Land of Rectitude* is in the Heavenly World.

But this is Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase. “I desire the Conduct of thy good Spirit (which is ready to assist those that seek it) as well to lead me in the plain Path of Justice & Piety, as to suggest to me, the Way & Means, of Escaping the Snares of my Enemies; and of Coming into an *honest Countrey*, where I may be free from the Fear of being betray’d to them.”¹⁵⁴²

¹⁵³⁹ This page, now loose, was affixed to the preceding page.

¹⁵⁴⁰ [** Jewish Nation **]

¹⁵⁴¹ Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 5, pp. 220–21; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 391.

¹⁵⁴² Hammond, *Paraphrase*, in *Works*, vol. 4, bk. 5, p. 391; Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras’d*, p. 683; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 391.

Q. What Emphasis do you find in the Doxology of the Psalmist, *Blessed bee the Lord my Rock, who Teaches my Hands to War, & my Fingers to Fight?* v. 1.

A. Tho' I do, with *Hilary*, dislike the LXX's foisting that Clause, *A Psalm against Goliah*, into the Title of the Psalm; yett I suspect, that the Psalmist, now come unto the Throne, might have some Remembrances of, & References to, his old Victory over *Goliah*.

Accordingly, Hee acknowledges God, as his *Rock*; that is, as a better Defence unto him, than the *Rocks* had given to his poor Countreymen, before his Killing the *Tall Pagan*, occasion'd the Routing of the *Philistines*, who drove them thereinto.

Then, his *military* Skill and Strength, whereto hee had now attained, hee makes the Matter of his Thanksgivings, with the Mention of the Subject, wherein t'was placed; namely, His *Hands*, and his *Fingers*. Why so? Because of these Parts, there is a special Use, in all warly Encounters; and there was particularly so, first in *choosing*, & then in *casting*, the *Stone*, which laid the *Philistæan* Champion sprawling on the Ground. Besides, hee may possibly glance at the other Employments, which these Parts had formerly been putt unto; when his *Hands* held the shepherds *Crook*, & his *Fingers* did use to solace him, with soft Notes upon the *Harp*.¹⁵⁴³

Arnobius makes this Passage allude unto *Moses* lifting up his *Hands*, for the Conquest of *Amalek*. And saies, *Docuit Manus nostras in Praelio, non Armis sed Precibus pugnaturas*.¹⁵⁴⁴

Q. Have you not mett with a very singular Illustration on that Passage, *He teaches my Hands to war, & my Fingers to fight?* v. 1.

A. A very singular one! *Singular* for the Expositor who made it; *singular* for the *Time* and *Place* of making it. An Illustration made by a Martyr at the Stake, in the Midst of the Flames. The Holy Martyr *Barlaam*, thrusting his hands into the burning Flames, he sang this Passage; *Blessed be the Lord my Rock, who teaches my Hands to War, and my Fingers to Fight*.¹⁵⁴⁵

¹⁵⁴³ I have not been able to identify where Mather might have read this interpretation assigned to Hilary, although most commentators then and now agree that the superscription of the Septuagint is textually unwarranted.

¹⁵⁴⁴ Arnobius, *Commentarii in Psalmos* [PL 53.557]. The entire note is reproduced in *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 394: "His hand taught us in battle, not to fight with arms but with prayers."

¹⁵⁴⁵ Although both Basil and Chrysostom both praised St. Barlaam's fortitude under torture, Mather probably refers to the commentary of Jesuit Cornelius à Lapide (1567–1637). The Harvard Library held Lapide's works, and this story of Barlaam is sketched out, with the quotation from the Psalms, in Lapide's *Commentarius in Danielelem* (cap. 3, p. 1287). The "singularity" of

Q. The Intention of that Passage here; *Man is like to Vanity?* v. 4.

A. It is thus expressed in Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase. “Man, alas, is but a Breath which presently vanishes; what a Marvel is it then, that I should have Strength to atchieve such things! His Life is exceeding short, & uncertain, & yett such is thy stupendous Goodness, I am not only alive, notwithstanding all the Hazards thro’ which I have run, but in a little time have performed such memorable Acts, that the Fame of them will last forever.”¹⁵⁴⁶

Q. An old mystical Gloss on that; *Bow thy Heavens O Lord, & come down; Touch the Mountains, and they shall smoke?* v. 5.

A. *Arnobius* thus glosses it;

*Cum descenderet Deus in Christo, ut Mundum conciliaret sibi, tetigit Apostolos suos, et Fumum Nubium reddiderunt, quorum tanta fuit imbrium Pluvia, ut in toto Orbe terrarum Venæ fontium replerentur, quibus omne ablueretur facinus, et lavaretur omne Peccatum.*¹⁵⁴⁷

Dr. *Patrick* thus paraphrases. “Lett thy Majesty appear as it hath done formerly, for my Assistance and Defence; [Psal. XVIII.9.] and as soon as the proudest Opposers feel that thou art present, they will vanish away, like Smoke.”¹⁵⁴⁸

Q. What is meant by, *A New Song?* v. 9.

A. Old *Arnobius* will tell you; *A New Life*.

When it follows, *He giveth Salvation to Kings*, our *Arnobius* tells you who are *Kings; Victoribus Vitiorum.*¹⁵⁴⁹

Q. It is here complained of *wicked Men*, from whom one would gladly bee delivered, *Their Right Hand is a Right Hand of Falsehood*. What special Gloss have you seen upon it? v. 11.

A. What think you of R. *Obadia Gaons* Gloss upon it; *Scribere Falsa?*¹⁵⁵⁰

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the expositor which Mather mentions could allude to Lapede’s prayer at the end of his commentary on Daniel, which would have struck a chord for Mather, where Lapede says, “For nearly thirty years I suffer with and for you with gladness the continual martyrdom of religious life, the martyrdom of illness, the martyrdom of study and writing; obtain for me also, I beseech you, to crown all, the fourth martyrdom, of blood. For you I have spent my vital and animal spirits; I will spend my blood too” (p. 1412, trans. John P. van Kasteren).

¹⁵⁴⁶ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras’d*, bk. 5, p. 686; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 394.

¹⁵⁴⁷ Arnobius, *Commentarii in Psalmos* [PL 53.557]: “When God descended in Christ, so that He might unite earth with Him, He touched His apostles, and He gave them the fume of clouds, from which a great rain was poured, so that the underground springs would be filled again in all the earth, which would purify all wrongs and wash away all sins.”

¹⁵⁴⁸ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras’d*, bk. 5, p. 686; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 394.

¹⁵⁴⁹ Arnobius, *Commentarii in Psalmos* [PL 53.557]; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 394.

¹⁵⁵⁰ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 5, p. 393; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 394.

Q. *Their Mouth speaks Vanity.*] What *Vanity*? v. 11.

A. Why not that which followes?

That; Our Sons are [there is no, *may be*, in the Original,] *as Plants grown up in their Youth*: and, we enjoy the other enumerated Articles of Temporal Prosperity. *Happy is that People, that is in such a Case.* Tis a *Vanity*, to think, That *Happiness* does consist in such things as these. No, I will correct that *Vanity*, saies the Psalmist; *Happy is that People, whose God is the Lord.* An *Happiness* not fully to be enjoy'd until we arrive to the *Resurrection-world*.

So some chuse to carry it.¹⁵⁵¹

Q. The Blessings here enumerated by the Psalmist, from whence did hee take his Order and Method for their Enumeration? v. 12.

A. It seems to bee taken from, Deut. 28.4. *Blessed shall bee* [1] *the Fruit of thy Body*, [2.] *the Fruit of thy Ground*, and [3.] *the Fruit of thy Cattel*.

This is R. *David Kimchi*'s Observation.¹⁵⁵²

Q. The Passages of the, *Oxen strong to labour, & no breaking in nor going out?* v. 14.

A. It is thus paraphrased by Dr. *Patrick*.

“Our Cows also, being great with Young, may neither be driven away, by the Irruption of our Enemies, nor cast their Calves at home; but we may be free from this, & all other Causes of crying, or complaining in our Streets.”¹⁵⁵³

Q. The Prosperity here proposed? v. 14.

A. Tis the Consequence of the Destruction to be brought on the Enemies of the Jewish Nation. It refers to what shall arrive at the Second Coming of the *Messiah*. The Jewish Rabbis, particularly *Saadias*, and *Kimchi*, own the Psalm to relate unto the *Messiah*.¹⁵⁵⁴

¹⁵⁵¹ Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 394.

¹⁵⁵² Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 5, p. 392; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 394.

¹⁵⁵³ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 5, p. 688.

¹⁵⁵⁴ Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 5, p. 222; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 394.

Q. Of the Psalm?

A. The Psalm was always esteemed so excellent, that the *Title* of the whole *Book of Psalms*, was taken from this. And it is wholly spent in praising of God with such admirable Devotion, that the Ancient Hebrewes did use to say, (as ha's been by *Schindler* long since observed) *He could not fail to be a Child of the World to come, who would say this Psalm three times every day.* And for that Reason perhaps, (as Dr. *Patrick* notes upon it,) it was composed Alphabetically; that so useful a Psalm might be the more easily learnt, & remembred by every body.¹⁵⁵⁵

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Things to be done and sung in the Kingdome of the *Messiah*, are here celebrated.¹⁵⁵⁷

Q. How, *Abundantly Utter?* v. 7.

A. I have seen this Paraphrase.

"They shall no more cease with their Praises to celebrate the Memory of their Numerous Benefits, than a Spring does to pour out its Waters."¹⁵⁵⁸

Q. You know, that the Hundred & Forty Fifth Psalm, is Alphabetically Composed: Now, after the Thirteenth Verse, which begins with / מ / the Next Verse begins with / ו / and / נ / is altogether omitted. What may bee the Reason of it? v. 14.

A. I'l first of all, inform you, That the Greek Version, hath here a Verse, for, / נ / πιστὸς κύριος ἐν τοῖς λόγοις αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁσιος ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ. Which also occurs in the vulgar Latin; *Fidelis Dominus in omnibus Verbis suis, et Sanctus, in omnibus Operibus suis.* The *Syriac* Translation, and the *Arabic* Translation, have the very Same. And some great Interpreters think, that thro' some Fault of the Scribes, this Verse hath been slipt out of the Hebrew Books,

נאמן יהוה בדבריו וקדש במעלליו

*The Lord is Faithful in His Words, and Holy in His Works.*¹⁵⁵⁹

¹⁵⁵⁵ This is part of Patrick's argument preceding his paraphrase, in *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 5, p. 690. See also Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 397.

¹⁵⁵⁶ [*Dr. *Alix* will have it, An Hymn of the Synagogue, restored unto the Favour of GOD. The Destruction of the Wicked, & the Conversion of the Nations, under the Reign of the *Messiah*, is here celebrated.*] Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 397.

¹⁵⁵⁷ Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 5, p. 223.

¹⁵⁵⁸ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 5, p. 692.

¹⁵⁵⁹ Hammond, *Paraphrase*, in *Works*, vol. 4, bk. 5, p. 397. Mather's concluding words in this note provide a translation of the Greek, Latin, and Hebrew phrases.

But if you are, after all, so satisfied in the Care of the *Masorites*, about this Matter, that a Verse beginning with / 1 / was omitted purposely, by none but the Psalmist himself, I refer you to them, for a mysterious Reason of it.¹⁵⁶⁰

Dr. *Patrick* thus expresses himself on this Occasion. “The Letter *Nun*, which is wanting, v. 13. I suppose, it was lost, when this Psalm came to the hands of the Collector of this Book; and he would not venture to supply it, with one of his own Inventing. The *Greek* indeed, (that is, the present Greek Copies; for *Theodotion*, and *Aquila*, and the ancient LXX had it not,) and *Latin* and *Arabic* (which in Effect are but one & the same,) have another Verse, which we may well think, if ever it were in the *Hebrew*, began with the the Letter *Nun*. But it differs so little from the Seventeenth Verse, (when there is no Repetition, in any other Part of the Psalm,) that it doth not, in my Opinion, look like the true original Verse. And it may be doubted, whether there ever was any such Verse in that Place (where we suppose one wanting;) for the Psalmist might be carried, [see *Psal.* XXV.] by the Strength of the Inspiration which was upon him, out of the Method he had at first proposed to himself.”¹⁵⁶¹

Q. What was the affectionate Gloss of old Christianity, on that, *Thou openest thy Hand, & satisfiest the Desire of every living thing?* v. 16.

A. *Quando aperuisti Manus tuas in Cruce.*¹⁵⁶²

¹⁵⁶⁰ For the idea that this verse is absent from the Hebrew due to a scribal error, see Poole, *Synopsis Criticorum* (2.1:1407–08). For the Masoretic interpretation and further consideration of this issue, see Glass, *Philologiae Sacrae*, bk. 1, ch. 48, where Glass recapitulates the idea that “Vidit David [inquit] in illa [litera 1] ruinam difficilem. ... Cecidit, et non addet surgere filia Israel: propterea transit [ad literam 1] et sulcivit eam Spirit sancto [inquiens] sustentat Dominus omnes” (pp. 120–21).

¹⁵⁶¹ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, pp. 689–90; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, pp. 397–98.

¹⁵⁶² Arnobius, *Commentarii in Psalmos*, [PL 53.560]; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 398: “When you opened your hands on the cross.”

Q. The Scope?

A. Dr. *Alix* here sees, An Hymn of the Jewish Nation, under the Reign of the *Messiah*.¹⁵⁶³

We will rather say, For the *Holy People*, who are the *Surrogate Israel*.¹⁵⁶⁴

Q. Unto what special Occasion might that Passage refer; *Putt not your Trust in Princes, nor in the Son of Man; His Breath goeth forth?* v. 3, 4.

A. The History of the *Psalms*, given us by the Ancients, will explain that Passage, with the Occasion of it.

When *Cyrus* had given the Jewes, Liberty to Return unto Jerusalem, & Rebuild their Temple there, & Restore the Worship of God in it, the *Samaritans*, a mungril Sort of People, so wrought with their Adversaries, that little was done in it, notwithstanding all the favour which that great Monarch had shown them.

Cyrus was no sooner gone, and *Cambyses* placed on his Throne; but all Hope seem'd utterly lost of their proceeding any further in their Desires.

On this Difficult Occasion, to prevent their *Distrust in God*, & such *Fears*, as the Insolence of their Enemies, and their own Feebleness, might raise in them, one of those two great Prophets, *Haggai*, and *Zachariah*, composed the Psalm that is now before us, as the Ancient Versions, in the Title of the Psalm declare; exhorting them, that notwithstanding the Ill Prospect of their Affayrs, they would putt their *Trust in God*.

And what was the Issue of this excellent Advice? In a very few Years, *Cambyses* dyed, and so *Darius* came to the Throne; and then, in spite of all Opposers, the City, Temple, and Worship of God, were gloriously carried on.¹⁵⁶⁵

Q. It is here said of a Prince, *His Breath goeth forth, hee returneth to his Earth*. Is there no special Admonition to great Men intended in that Expression? v. 4.

A. Yes. Even Princes, that are *Gods* on Earth, must Remember, that they are but *Gods of Earth*; Hence the *Earth* is called, *Theirs*, by a special Propriety. *Hee Returns to HIS Earth*; it is not said, They return to *their* Cities, *their* Castles, *their* Kingdomes; those now become *Anothers*; but they return to *Their Earth*; a little of which is now all that they have.¹⁵⁶⁶

¹⁵⁶³ Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 399.

¹⁵⁶⁴ Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 5, p. 225. The gloss at the end of this entry demonstrates Mather's changed opinion of Allix's reading of the Psalms.

¹⁵⁶⁵ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 5, pp. 396–97; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 399.

¹⁵⁶⁶ Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 399.

And God forbid, That their Hearts, being Inordinately Sett upon the *Earth*, should give another Occasion also, for its being thus called, *Their Earth*.

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Q. On that, *His Thoughts perish?* v. 4.

A. The Historian observes, how Particularly & Remarkably this was fulfilled in *Julius Caesar*, after the Wretch had assumed the Imperial Dignity. He thought of Reducing the Numerous Laws of the *Romans*, into a few Volumns comprising the Substance and Reason of all; of Enriching & Adorning the City of *Rome*, as might become the Regent of the World; of Epitomizing the Works of the most learned *Greeks & Romans* for the public Benefit. While he was pursuing these and other vast Designs, Death surprised him, & broke off all his Enterprizes. *Talia agentem atque meditantem Mors prævenit.*¹⁵⁶⁷

Q. *The Lord Opens the Eyes of the Blind; the Lord Raises them that are bowed down.* These two *Works of the Lord*, are together mentioned in *One Verse*: can you now tell mee any Remarkable Exemplification of them? v. 8.

A. Yes. Above a Thousand Years after, were these *Works* notably exemplified; and on *Sabbath-Days* too, which is not without a Mystery, pointing at the *Kingdome* of the Lord, in the *Sabbath* of the World, foretold at the Close of the Psalm here before us.

There were *Seven Sabbaths*, which our Lord signalized, in the Time of His Ministry, by working *Miracles* thereupon. The fifth of them, was, when Hee *Raised up* one that had been *bowed down* for Eighteen Years together. [See Luc. 13.] The sixth of them was, when Hee *opened the Eyes* of one that had been Born *Blind*. [See Joh. 9.]¹⁵⁶⁸

Q. By the last Hint, you invite one to consider whether the *Miracles* to bee done by our Lord Jesus Christ, at His Coming and so the *Characters* of the *Messiah*, are not here prophecied? v. 8.

A. Upon those words in the Psalm, *Dominus solvit compeditos, Dominus Illuminat Cæcos[:]* *Dominus erigit Elisos*.¹⁵⁶⁹ Take the emphatical Remark of *Grotius*. *Mire hæc congruunt in Christi Tempora: nam, compediti dicuntur qui*

¹⁵⁶⁷ Clutterbuck, *A Brief Explanation*, p. 138. Clutterbuck credits “Dr. Bates” with this gloss. This is William Bates (1625–99). The statement occurs in his *The Four Last Things* (1691), p. 21. In his turn, Bates derives his information from Suetonius’ *Lives of the Caesars* (1.44.4). According to the *Catalogus Librorum*, Harvard Library did own a 1723 edition of Bates’s *Works*, so it is possible, but not likely given his frequent recurrence to Clutterbuck, that Mather was drawing directly from that source. Suetonius tells of Julius Caesar’s death: “All these enterprises and plans were cut short by his death.”

¹⁵⁶⁸ Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, pp. 399–400.

¹⁵⁶⁹ “The Lord unbinds the shackled, the Lord gives light to the blind, the Lord raises those who are struck down.”

Morbis tenentur, Luc. 13. 16. *Pro*, Elisos, *in Hebræo, est*, *Curvatos, quales sunt* παραλυτικοί, *item*, ή συγκύπτουσα, Luc. 13.11. *et alii*.¹⁵⁷⁰

Q. What saies the *Midrasch Tillin*, upon, *Solvit Vincitos*? v. 8.

A. A strange Thing for the *Midrasch Tillin*! *In futuro Sæculo permittit Deus usum omnis cibi; etiam Vincitos Mortis ac Sepulchri aperit*.¹⁵⁷¹

¹⁵⁷⁰ Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3999). Grotius, *Opera Omnia* (1:246). In Grotius's own commentary, but not in Pearson, the Greek is translated into Latin: "siderati" and "illa inclinata." See also Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 400. The remark of Grotius is that "There were miracles in the time of Christ: for those held in sickness are called prisoners. In the Hebrew, those who are broken [elisos] are bowed down [curvatos], likewise people who are paralyzed [paralutikoy] are bowed down [sungkuptusa]."

¹⁵⁷¹ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 5, p. 397; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 400. "Solvit vincitos" (Vulgate) signifies "The Lord looses the fettered." The remark of the Midrash is "in the future, God will feed all the hungry; indeed, He will free the prisoners of death and the tomb."

Q. The Scope?

A. *Jerusalem* is here supposed as Re-established, & the Marks of GODS Presence & Blessing fixed in the Midst of it; and the [**]¹⁵⁷² True *Israel* gathered. It is an Hymn of Thanksgiving for this Revolution. The Condition of the *Christians* turned *Heathen* [**]¹⁵⁷³ under the Wrath of the *Messiah*, is bewailed.¹⁵⁷⁴

Q. When God comes to dispense the Blessings of the *New Jerusalem*, tis here said, *Hee tells the Number of the Stars, Hee calls them all by their Names*. What *Stars*? v. 4.

A. Tis a Notable Stroke in R. *David Kimchi*: That the *Stars*, are the *Just*, mentioned in Dan. 12.3. who shall bee employ'd in *Turning many to Righteousness*.¹⁵⁷⁵

Arnobius ha's a Gloss, a little akin to this; *Numerare Multitudinem Stellarum eum credamus in Sanctis, his qui in Tenebris Mundi positi, per Coelum suos dirigunt cursus, dantes Solatium luminosi aspectus sui*.¹⁵⁷⁶

Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase on the Verse is this.

“Whom He knows, how to gather, out of all their Dispersions and to find every one of them, wherever they are, tho' as numerous as the Stars of Heaven, [Gen. XV.5.] which He, as distinctly & exactly understands, (how confusedly soever they seem to us, to be scattered in the Sky,) as we do those things, which we call by their proper Names.”¹⁵⁷⁷

This is *Munsters* Gloss; *Eadem facilitate quâ Stellas in Coelo dispersas numerat, congregare possit dispersos Israelitas*.¹⁵⁷⁸

Q. The Occasion of mentioning, the *Clouds* and *Rains* of Heaven? v. 8.

A. To celebrate the Plenty, which the Goodness of God had now given them. See Hag. II.19.¹⁵⁷⁹

1572 [*Jewish Nation*]

1573 [*at this Time,*]

1574 Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 5, p. 226. The original quotation is unaltered in *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 402.

1575 Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 5, p. 398; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 402.

1576 Arnobius, *Commentarii in Psalmos* [PL 53.561]; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 402: “We trust Him to enumerate the multitude of stars in their sanctioned places, as they align their courses through the night sky, seeming to give comfort with their brightness.”

1577 Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 5, p. 701.

1578 Pearson, *Critici Sacri* (3:3999). Mather's omission at the end of this gloss is significant: Munster's remark concludes that the dispersion of the Israelites was “in captivitate Babylonica.” The gloss reads, “[By] the same facility with which he enumerates the scattered stars in heaven, he is able to gather the dispersed Israelites [from their captivity in Babylon].”

1579 Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 5, p. 702; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 402.

Q. On the *young Ravens* fed by GOD? v. 9.

A. *Eucherius* has a very mystical Interpretation. *Fideles filios significat, de Infidelibus procreatos*. Godly Children of Wicked Parents.¹⁵⁸⁰

Q. The Lords *not delighting in the Strength of the Horse, nor taking Pleasure in the Legs of a Man?* v. 10.

A. Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase. "Lett us not be afraid, tho' we are of little Force, [Neh. IV.3, 4. VII.4.] and have no Armies of *Horse* and *Foot*, to defend us. For the Lord, who fights for us, [Neh. IV.20.] hath no Need of these; & will not take Part with our Enemies, because they are superior to us, in the Strength of their Horses, and the Nimbleness of their Souldiers."¹⁵⁸¹

Q. Why is the Invitation to *praise* God, thus Reduplicated, *Praise the Lord, O Jerusalem, praise thy God, O Zion?* v. 12.

A. You are to consider the *Psalm* now before us, as written upon the Return of the *Jewish Church*, from the *Babylonian Captivity*. This Consideration carried in your Mind, will give you a *Key*, to come at some very entertaining Thoughts, in the Reading of the *Psalm*. Now the Invitation to Praises of God, on this Occasion being Reduplicated, it is not without a *Mystery*, & a *Prophecy*. There are *Two Returns* from Captivity, for which the *Israelitish Nation* will have Cause to *praise* the Lord. They *praised the Lord*, when they were Delivered from the *Babylonian Captivity*; but at the further Deliverance, from the present, the greater, the *Roman Captivity*, [**]¹⁵⁸² the *Saved Nations*, who shall be the True *Israel*, will again sing His *Praises*. Lett mee add, That Name, *Thy God*, more peculiarly carries the *Messiah*, in the Signification of it; For it is *God* as in *Christ* that peculiarly may bee called, *ours*. Now, [**]¹⁵⁸³ GOD in HIM will be most gloriously conspicuous and considered.¹⁵⁸⁴

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Q. The Intention of introducing here, the Circumstances of the *Winter?* v. 15.

A. It is well hinted in Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase. "This we ought to ascribe unto His merciful Providence, who shews us by the Fruitful Seasons He sends, after all things seem to be kill'd by an hard Winter, that He doth not intend by our Affliction to destroy us; and that He can easily bring all our Brethren hither,

¹⁵⁸⁰ Eucherius of Lyon, *Formularum Spiritualis Intelligentiae* (1.6) [PL 50.795].

¹⁵⁸¹ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 5, p. 702; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, pp. 402–03.

¹⁵⁸² [*they shall*]

¹⁵⁸³ [*when the People of the *Jewes* come to their *Second Return* from Captivity, their Acknowledgement of the *Messiah*, will bee the special Character of it.*]

¹⁵⁸⁴ Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 5, p. 226. Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 403.

who remain still in Captivity. For when He would have any Alteration made in the Earth, it is done as speedily, as we can speak.”¹⁵⁸⁵

Q. That Expression of, *Scattering the Hoar-Frost as Ashes*; to what may it be allusive? v. 16.

A. If you will turn to our Illustrations, on Luk. 14.34, 35. you will find a very probable Conjecture, That *Ashes* may be meant, by the *Salt* there mentioned in the Discourse of our Saviour; *Ashes* well imprægnated with the *Salt* of the *Vegetable*, which the *Fire* ha’s incinerated.

We often find it, in Books of Agriculture, a Receipt for the Enriching of *Ground*, that ha’s been Barren or Worn Out. There is a *Salt* in *Plants*, which is their proper *Aliment*, or *Nutriments*; and the more of that *Salt* there is in any thing, the more suitable *Food* there is in it, for the *Body* of Man, and the Better *Dung* it will yeeld, for the Producing of a *Fruitful Soyl*. And that *Salt* remains in the *Ashes* of the *Plants*, after the *Fire* ha’s done its Part upon them.

When we walk abroad into the Countrey, among our *New English Husbandmen*, we shall see them ever now and then, burning little heaps of Rubbish, here and there, on their *New-plough’d Ground*. *Virgil* speaks of such a Practice diverse times in his *Georgicks*. In all Probability, the *Israelitish Husbandmen* did so too. They *scattered Ashes* here and there on their Fields; or perhaps they cast *Ashes* on their *Dunghils*; where being Diluted by the *Rains*, the *Salt*, very deeply Impregnated them, and rendred them fitter to be spread afterwards upon the Earth.

It is likely, That this Expression of *Scattering Hoar-frost, as Ashes*; may be allusive to this Action of the Husbandman.

I must acknowledge myself beholden to one of my own Scholars, for this ingenious Conjecture.¹⁵⁸⁶

We have here, *Snow like Wool*. The Greeks of old called, the *Snow*, ρωδες υδως, *Woolly-water*, or, *Wett-wool*. The Latin *Flaccus*, it signifies, both a *Lock of Wool*, and a *Flake of Snow*. Not only the *Whiteness* and the *Softness* of it, justifies the Comparison; but also, the *Warmness* of it. The *Snow* on the Back of the Ground, is a *woolen Mantle*, by which the *Warmth* of it, is præserv’d. There is a *saline Spirit* in *Snow*, which is Hott; & by Means of it, the *Plants* under the *Snow* are kept from *Freezing*. *Ice* under the *Snow*, is melted and broken sooner than other *Ice*. When the sharp *Air* ha’s begun to Freeze a Mans Limbs, the *Snow* will bring *Heat* into them again. If Persons eat much *Snow*, or Drink *Snow-water*, it will *burn* their *Bowels*. The *Snow* ha’s a *Fructifying Vertue* in it. [see Isa. 55.10.] The Husbandman finds; a *Winter* of seasonable *Snowes*, is usually follow’d with

1585 Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras’d*, bk. 5, p. 703; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 403.

1586 I have not been able to identify this “scholar.”

a *Fruitful Summer*. And by the *Floods* of *Snow-water*, the Earth is often enriched exceedingly.¹⁵⁸⁷

And the *Frost*, *like Ashes*, may be in like Manner serviceable.

Q. The Emphasis of, *He sheweth His Word unto Jacob?* v. 19.

A. Dr. *Patricks* Paraphrase ha's it.

“In such things as these, the whole World see, how powerful and how good He is; But we have more peculiar Reasons to depend upon him for an happy Return of our Nation; whom He doth teach not meerly by the Snow, the Hoar-frost, & the Ice; but by another Sort of *Word*, than that which sends *them* on the Earth; Even by His Ten Commandments delivered from Heaven a most glorious & astonishing Manner, and by Laws of all Sorts, which He hath given us for the Government of our [^{*} *torn*] {Life}.”¹⁵⁸⁸

1587 Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 403.

1588 Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 5, pp. 704–05.

Q. The Scope?

A. The People of the *Messiah* are now gathered unto Him, & all Creatures are exhorted now to praise Him.¹⁵⁸⁹

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Q. On the, [**]¹⁵⁹⁰ Invitation here? v. 11.

A. Pious Mr. *William Hook*, urging those that are of the lowest & meannest Capacity, unto the Praising & Serving of GOD; Argues, What says the Psalmist? *Praise ye the Lord, ye Kings of the Earth*. Yea, they are indeed in the highest Capacity to do it. But it follows; *And all People*. The Truth is, If *Kings* would lead in this Matter, *All People* would have a strong Invitation to follow. Yea, *young* and *old*, and of both Sexes, all must attend their Duty. All have some Capacity to do something this Way; None excepted.¹⁵⁹¹

Q. Why are *old Men* and *Children*, joined in the Invitations to *praise the Lord*? v. 12.

A. R. *David Kimchi* gives a good Reason; Because the *old Men* are to teach the *Children*, which know not how to do it of themselves.¹⁵⁹²

You have *young Men* and *Maidens* added in the Verse. Thus the *Three Ages* are called upon. The Apostle *John* may allude hereto, when hee saies, *I write unto you Fathers, young Men, & Children*. And when the Apostles begun their Speeches, *Men, Brethren, & Fathers*; by *Brethren*, with an Humble Figure, they may mean, *Children*.¹⁵⁹³

Q. An Observation of *Chrysostomes*? v. 14.

A. *Chrysostom* observes, That tho' so many Creatures are called upon, to praise the Lord, yett the *Sinner* is not called upon. The *Dragons*, and the *Cattel*, and the *creeping Things* are called unto it; The *Sinner* is not in the Address call'd upon. It seems the *Sinner* is less Disposed, less Capable, for that Service, than any Creature in the World.¹⁵⁹⁴

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1589 Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 5, p. 227; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 405.

1590 [*Young Men & Maidens, old Men and Children, here called upon? v. 12.*]

1591 Hooke, *Priveledge of the Saints on Earth*, p. 100.

1592 Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 5, p. 401; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 405.

1593 Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, pp. 405–06.

1594 See Chrysostom, *Expositio in Psalmos* [PG 55.492].

1595 See Appendix B.

Q. To propose *ILLUSTRATIONS* is our main Intention. There have been several Versions of the *Psalms*, lately attempted; & some very Noble Ones; Wherein the poetical Flights do sometimes notably Illustrate the Sense of the sacred Poetry. It were to be desired, that these Versions might be consulted upon Occasion; and particularly of the Psalm now before us, two or three may be produced, for Experiment?

A. What can be more admirable than that of *Watt's*, in his *Lyrick Poems*; who notwithstanding the Fetters of the Metre, soars after this Manner, with the Psalm now before us?

The Universal Hallelujah

Praise ye the Lord with joyful Tongue,
 Ye Pow'rs that guard His Throne;
 JESUS the Man shall lead the Song,
 The God inspire the Tune.

Gabriel, and all th' immortal Choir
 That fill the Realms above,
Sing, For He form'd you of His Fire,
 And feeds you with His Love.

Shine to His Praise, Ye chrystal Skies,
 The Floor of His Abode,
 Or vail your little twinkling Eyes
 Before a Brighter God.

Thou Restless Globe of golden Light,
 Whose Beams create our Dayes,
 Join with the silver Queen of Night
 To own your Borrowed Rayes.

Blush, and refund the Honours paid
 To your inferiour Names;
 Tell the Blind World, your Orbs are fed
 By His o'erflowing Flames.

Winds, Ye shall bear His Name aloud
 Thro' the ethereal Blue,
 For when His Chariot is a Cloud
 He makes His Wheels of you.

Thunder and Hail, and Fires and Storms,
 The Troops of His Command,

Appear in all your dreadful Forms,
And speak His awful Hand.

Shout to the Lord, Ye surging Seas,
In your eternal Roar;
Lett Wave to Wave resound His Praise,
And Shore reply to Shore.

While Monsters sporting on the Flood
In scaly Silver shine,
Speak terribly their Maker God,
And lash the foaming Brine.

But gentler things shall tune His Name
To softer Notes than these,
Young Zephyr's breathing o'er the Stream,
Or whispering thro' the Trees.

Wave your Tall Heads, Ye Lofty Pines,
To Him that bid you grow,
Sweet Clusters, Bend the fruitful Vines
On every thankful Bough.

Lett the shrill Birds His Honour raise,
And climb the morning Sky:
While grovelling Beasts attempt His Praise
In hoarser Harmony.

Thus while the meaner Creatures sing,
Yee Mortals, Take the Sound,
Echo the Glories of your King
Thro' all the Nations round.

Th' Eternal Name must fly abroad
From *Britain* to *Japan*;
And the whole Race shall bow to God
That owns the Name of Man.¹⁵⁹⁶

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1596 Isaac Watts, *Hore Lyrica. Poems Chieffly of the Lyric Kind* (1722), bk. 1, pp. 29–31. This edition, the 4th of this text, was held by Harvard Library.

Q. The Scope?

A. The Psalm is fitted unto the Time, when the *Messiah* [******]¹⁵⁹⁷ comes in His Kingdome. We have here, the Joy on the Occasions mentioned in the XXXVIII of *Ezekiel*, and the XIV of *Zechariah*.¹⁵⁹⁸

Q. Who are they, that may be said, To *praise the Lord in the Dance*? v. 3.

A. They who use much *Activity* in the Praising of God; They who are ever in *Motions* that have a Tendency to utter, or produce the Praises of God; They who also *associate with others* in vigorous Essayes, to do those things, wherein God may be glorified. Behold, the *Dance* of the Evangelical Dispensation. The *Choreutic Agitations* of the Body, are things of too much Levity, for so Grave, & Wise, & Holy a Dispensation!¹⁵⁹⁹

Q. On what Account is it said, *He will Beautify the Meek with Salvation*? v. 4.

A. On this Account, among the rest; That at the Time, when the Lord shall bestow *Salvation* upon His People, He will also *Beautify* them. How? He will *Sanctify* them; The *Beauties of Holiness* will be seen upon them. Think of this, O Pretenders to a *Justified State*; and behold, all *Antinomian* Præsumptions fulminated!

But one singular *Beauty* on the *saved* People of God, and indeed one that prepares them for *Salvation*, is, *Meekness*, and *Patience*. Prosecute this, with a thousand Holy Meditations!¹⁶⁰⁰

Q. Why those two things together, *The High-praises of God in their Mouth*, and, *A Two-edged Sword in their Hand*? v. 6.

A. In assured Hope of Victory, as Dr. *Patrick* paraphrases, they shall go to War with Psalms and Hymns in their Mouths, concerning the great Acts of the Lord, which they shall sing with a loud Voice, when they fall upon their Enemies; and præfer to the Two-edged Sword, which they carry in their Hand.

It hath been, and is, the Custome of all Nations, to stir up themselves to Fight, by the Sound of some musical Instrument or other. “The ancient Inhabitants of *Etruria*, (saith *Clemens Alexandrinus*, in his *Pædegog*. L.II.c.4.) used the *Trumpett* for this Purpose; the *Arcadians* the *Whistle*; the *Sicilians* an Instrument

¹⁵⁹⁷ [*reigns over the Jewish Nation restored unto His Covenant.*]

¹⁵⁹⁸ Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 5, pp. 228–29; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 407.

¹⁵⁹⁹ Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 407.

¹⁶⁰⁰ Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 407.

called *Pectros*; the *Cretians* the *Harp*; the *Lacedæmonians* the *Pipe*; the *Thracians* the *Cornet*; the *Egyptians* the *Drum*; the *Arabians* the *Cymbal*.” But it was proper to the *Israelites* to go forth against their Enemies, singing Psalms of Praise to God, who had given great Victories to their Ancestors, and had promised never to forsake their Posterity; while they served Him only, & piously confided in Him.¹⁶⁰¹

Q. Is there not a noble Sense, wherein the People of GOD, may be said, even at this day, & in their most militant, & abased Circumstances, To *bind Kings in Chains, & Nobles in Fetters of Iron*? v. 8.

A. Yes; and a very pious, modest, humble one. Lett us humbly cry to God, & it will be done in the surprizing *Restraints* of His Providence upon them. The Faithful by their Prayers, obtain this of God, That He powerfully Restrains them from the Mischiefs which they may be disposed & designing to do, unto them; as much as if He *bound* them *in Chains & Fetters of Iron*.¹⁶⁰²

Q. To what may refer that Passage, of, *Binding their Kings with Chains, & their Nobles with Fetters of Iron*? v. 8.

A. To the Story of *Adonibesek*; at least allusively. [Judg. 1.7.]¹⁶⁰³

Q. But can't you find a further *Key* to this Passage?

A. Remember, that the State of Things, in the Dayes of the *New Jerusalem*, is in the Psalm referred unto.

Now Turn to Isa. 60.11, 12. and there you shall have a *Key* to this Passage.¹⁶⁰⁴

Q. What is the *Judgment Written*? v. 9.

A. See Deut. VII.24. and XXXII.41, 42, 43.¹⁶⁰⁵

¹⁶⁰¹ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 5, pp. 710–11, 712; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 407.

¹⁶⁰² Hammond, *Paraphrase*, in *Works*, vol. 4, bk. 5, p. 405; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 407.

¹⁶⁰³ Hammond, *Paraphrase*, in *Works*, vol. 4, bk. 5, p. 405.

¹⁶⁰⁴ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 5, p. 403.

¹⁶⁰⁵ Patrick, *Psalms Paraphras'd*, bk. 5, p. 713; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 407.

Q. An Ancient Gloss upon that; *Praise God in His Sanctuary?* v. 1.

A. Of old they read it, *Laudate Deum in Sanctis ejus*. And then they thus glossed it; *Laudamus Dominum in Sanctis suis, quando eorum imitamur Exempla, sequimur monita, Regulam obtinemus*.

The Jews have a Tradition, which we read at large in *Maimonides*; When the People of any Place, brought up their *First-fruits*, to present them unto the Lord, [according to the Law, Deut. XXVI.] with a *Pipe* going before them; as soon as they came to the Mountain of the Temple, every one took his Baskett into his hand, and sung *this whole Psalm*; till they came to the Courts of the House of the Lord; and then the *Levites* mett them, singing the XXX Psalm.

The Psalm relates, to the Reign of the *Messiah*, when *every thing that ha's Breath*, will praise the Lord.¹⁶⁰⁶

Q. Can the several *Instruments* here mentioned, be explained?

A. *Aben Ezra* saies, we have no Way to know what these musical Instruments were, there being many found, in the Countrey of the *Ishmaelites* (or Mahometans,) which are not among the Men of *Edom*; (or Christians:) and others among them, which the wise Men of *Ishmael* never heard of.¹⁶⁰⁷

Q. I pray, give us a Jewish Gloss, upon that Passage; *Lett every thing that hath Breath, praise the Lord?* v. 6.

A. That I will; And a very Devout One too. You have it in the *Bereschith Rabba*, c. 14. *Ad Omnem halitum, quem homo Spirat, necesse est, ut Laudet Creatorem suum Qua ratione?* Quia dicitur, *Omnis Spiritus Laudet Dominum, id est, Omnis Halitus Laudet Dominum*. You see, they carry it, as if every *Breath* of a good Man should *praise the Lord*; there should be a *praise of God* in every *Breath* of such a Man.¹⁶⁰⁸

¹⁶⁰⁶ Arnobius glosses what it means to “praise God in his Sanctuary.” His remark is that “we praise God in our sanctuary, when we imitate His example, we follow His teaching, [and] we maintain His standard.” See Arnobius, *Commentarii in Psalmos* [PL 53.569]; Maimonides, *Doctor Perplexorum*, pt. 3, ch. 39, p. 455; Allix, *Book of Psalms*, bk. 5, pp. 229–30; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 408.

¹⁶⁰⁷ Viccars, *Decapla*, lib. 5, p. 404.

¹⁶⁰⁸ Bereschith (B'reschit) Rabba, see XIV.9. The quotation is directly extracted from Bochart's *Hieroicoicon*, pars. 1, lib. 4, cap. 6, col. 1080. In translation, the gloss reads, “In every breath, which a man is breathing, in what way is it necessary that he praise his creator? To which it is said, let every breathing man praise God, that is, every breath should be a praise to God.”

In the strict Sense of it, this is not attainable indeed by any Man *Breathing* in this evil World. However, to be *Breathing* after as much of this Attainment, as can be come at, well becomes a Christian.¹⁶⁰⁹

Some add this Gloss: Lett the Man be thought unworthy to enjoy the *Breath* of Life, who does not cheerfully exercise himself in this Devotion.

Tis an agreeable Observation of one Mr. *Ligerius*:¹⁶¹⁰ That the Book of *Psalms*, does consist of Three *Jubilees*; They are Three times *Fifty*. But the Last in Each of these *Jubilees*, does terminate still in the Second Coming of our SAVIOUR.

| This being the Last of the *Psalms* in our *Psalter*, we will not part with it, until we have introduced some Remarks upon the *Instruments of Music*, which accompanied the Use of the *Psalms* in the *Temple*: and the *Notes* or *Tunes*, to which the *Psalms* were adapted. [359r]

Monsr. *Jurieu* observes, There are Three Sorts of *Instruments* frequently mentioned in the *Psalms*: The *Cymbals*, the *Psalteries*, and the *Harps*.

The *Cymbals* were Large & Broad Pieces of Brass bent and giving a strong Sound; which were beaten in such a Manner as we now beat our *Drums*; and are known by the Name of *Tymbals* in our Days. Our Apostle *Paul* in a famous Text alludes unto them.

The *Psalteries* were *Violins*, on which they plaid with a Bow; Ten Strings belong'd unto it: and the several Notes were managed with the Bow and the Touch, as tis done on the *Violins* in our Dayes.

The *Harps* had Twelve Notes; and every Note had its own String, which was managed with the Fingers, and could not be altered by the Different Way of Touching.

The *Levites* were the only Persons, who were to play on these Instruments. Indeed we read of *David*, and all the House of *Israel*, playing on Instruments at the Transportation of the *Ark*. But Monsr. *Jurieu* thinks, This might be one of the Irregularities which occasioned the Death of *Uzzah*.¹⁶¹¹ At least, it maybe supposed, that this was not allowed of, except in the Countrey & in private Houses. But in the *Temple* no body durst play on Instruments unless he were a *Levite*, or the Son of a *Levite*. We say, The Son of a *Levite*: because the Rabbis tell us, That such of the *Levites* as were *Singers*, did use to bring their Sons with them, into the Court of the Priests, tho' they were not come to the Full Age required unto the Performance of any Service there on their own behalf. There is another Tradition of the Rabbi's, That it was allowable to make Choice of

1609 Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 410.

1610 Unidentified.

1611 2 Sam. 6:2–11.

Singers from among the People of *Israel*, provided they were by Marriage near akin to the sacerdotal Race.¹⁶¹²

And now, for the Music of the *Temple*, as it was under the Direction of the *sweet Psalmist of Israel*, it was a *Chorus of Parts*. The *Singers* & the *Players* were divided into Three Setts or Quires: one for the *Bass*, another for the *Medius* or Inner Parts, a third for the *Trebles* or *Altus*'s. Mr. *Ford*, in his Preface to his Exposition of the Psalms, ha's well described the Matter.

The Modulation of the Voice only, or on the Instruments only, or both together, [See Psal. LXXI.22. XCVIII.5. XXXIII.2, 3. CXLVII.7. CXLIX.3. LVII.8, 9.] was generally performed in Three Parts, according to the Number of Concords in the *Octave*. For a Tone, or Sound, is either,

1. Low, which is Grave, & is called the *Bass*, or,
2. Middle, which is commonly called the *Medius*, or *Tenor*, or,
3. High, which is called, the *Alt*.

These, with their Octaves, or Variations, comprise the Whole of all Music; and all of them were found in their Worship.

Sheminith; A Noun Adjective Fæminine, signifying an *Eighth*, is used to design the *Eighth Voice*, or *Eighth Tone* in Music; or *Eighth* Modulation of the Voice, which in descending may be called, the *Lowest* Tone. Therefore *Tremelius* and *Junius* tender *Gnal Hasheminith*, [1. Chron. XV.21. Psal. VI.1.] by these Words, *To a grave & low Symphony*; That is, *To a Bass Note & Key*; And because [1. Chron. XV.21.] *Becinoroth*, or, *with Harps*, is added, we may gather thus much, That *Ethan* or *Jeduthun* led upon the *Bass*, or had the Regulation of the *lower Parts*; and that the *Bass* was plaid upon that Instrument. And therefore he was the Master & Moderator of that Part, which we call the *Bass*, or at least of something Analogous to it.

[360v] *Gnalmah*; A Noun signifying the *Age of Virginity*, is used in the plural Number, for a musical Tone or Sound, at the *Heighth* of a *Female Voice*; which is an *Octave* above that of a *Man*. Wherefore, *Gnal Ghalamoth*, [1. Chron. XV.20. Psal. XLVI.5.] with *Psalteries* on *Alamoth*, | *Junius* and *Tremelius* render, *To an Acute Symphony*; or, *To the Alt*. Now, since those Tunes upon *Alamoth*, were plaid upon the *Psalttery*, and since this Part is assigned unto the Sons of *Korah*, it may be concluded, that *Heman* was the Master and Moderator of the *Altus*, or Highest Part.

In fine; *Asaph* then was the Master of the *Medius*, or the Middle Quire. And the Instrument used by them, was that of the *Cymbal*.¹⁶¹³

We have here a general Rule of Judging, to what Part and Keys every Psalm was designed, from the Name of the *Master of Music*; from the *Instrument* on

¹⁶¹² Jurieu, *Critical History*, vol. 1, pt. 2, ch. 9, pp. 434–35; Mather, *Psalterium*, bk. 5, p. 408–09.

¹⁶¹³ See Tremellius and Junius, *Testamenti Veteris, Biblia Sacra*, lib. 2, p. 75a, in their marginalia on 1 Chron. 15:20–1.

which it was to be plaid; or the *Initial Words* of some other well known Divine Song then in use; which the Reader may learn, by observing the Inscriptions of the Psalms, and comparing them with what ha's been declared.¹⁶¹⁴

¹⁶¹⁴ As Mather suggests, the latter portion of this note is a translation of a passage from the unpaginated preface of Johannis Foord's (Ford), *Expositio Libri Psalmorum* (1646), sec. 3.

Appendix A

Ezra 7.22v

104 59 At the end of the entry on Ezra 7:23, Mather excises the following note, which would have appeared as a separate paragraph: “The mention of the Sons of the King, shoves that this agrees to Artaxerxes Mnemon; and not unto Xerxes; nor to Longimanus. Among the Sons of Mnemon, was Ochus, the Husband of Esther.”

Job 5.20v

200 77 Mather excises the following passage that relates to Job 5:16.

Q. *Iniquity stoppeth her Mouth?* v. 16.

A. Mr. *Hutcheson* observes, That it should *open its Mouth*, to take Shame unto itself, and give Praise unto God. His Note upon it is; That when God appears against the Enemies of His People, they may be *Convinced & Confounded*, but they are very rarely *Converted*.¹

Job 22.56v

240 215 Mather removes the following note at the end of his remarks on Job 22:30: “*Grotius*, by the Help of the *Arabick*, renders it, *Every Innocent Man shall deliver himself*.”

Job 37.88v

266 323 Mather deletes this note on Job 37:15:

Q. What is meant by Gods causing the Light of His Cloud to shine? v. 15.

A. The Rain-bow. And thus, in v. 11. A Cloud with a Rain-bow is called, The Bright Cloud.²

¹ Hutcheson, p. 61. It is not clear to me when Mather made this entry or when he deleted it.

² Isham, p. 155. This remark is probably removed because it only reiterates the gloss on verse 11.

Appendix B: Silent MS Deletions and Emendations

136 79 This question and answer are written sidewise to the rest of the page. Three carets (^^^) precede the entry as it is written in the manuscript; their intended location is indicated by three clarets after the foregoing annotation.

209 106 This and the following entry are written sidewise in the left hand margin of the page.

238 204 Mather bound pages 55r and 56v out of place in his manuscript, and marked these with the word “misplaced.” I have moved them to their intended location.

248 247 After this brief entry, Mather inserts the instructions, “[see HHH]”. The cross bar on the “H” symbol extends beyond the verticals. This notation refers to the following entry, which is placed in the manuscript at the top of the right hand column of the same page.

249 253 At this point in the manuscript, Mather inserts his instructions, “[a a a.] See the next Leaf.” and refers the reader to ms. page 71r, which begins, after the chapter heading “[a a a]”. I have moved these pages to their intended location.

294 404 At the end of this paragraph, Mather excises the following sentence: “But the 70 in the last Verse but one, of the Book, {insert} this Chapter.”

323 1 Here Mather reproduces the title “Psalms,” indicating that this headnote applies to the entire book of the Psalms, and in the next line includes the following in brackets: “ [Lett these Four Leaves, accompany the *First* Psalm.]”

394 212 The following two pages (49r–52v) are bound out of place. In the manuscript, they appear after the annotations on Psalm 16. I have moved them to their intended location, and I have retained the numbering of the pages by the place where they were intended to appear in the manuscript. Three drops of

red wax on 48v indicate that these pages were meant for their correct placement, but the order was altered during binding. This misplacement occurred during the second binding process which produced the first fascicle of manuscript volume III.

433 337 This entry actually occurs on page 78v of the manuscript, where it is included with the marks and the comment “[see the next page. ##]”. The note is written sideways as the paper is bound. This is the sole entry on 78v, so that that page is now identified as blank. The marks “##” appear on 77r. I have moved the annotation to its intended location.

471 475 Pagination is irregular due to the sheet (111r–112v) which Mather inserted before 113r, after he had completed his initial commentary on Psalm 40. After the entry on verse 2, Mather includes the editorial marks “[o.o.o.]”. Page 111r includes these marks immediately following the characteristic headnote “Psal. 40. [o.o.o.]”. The annotation on verse 3 is then provided. I have retained the pagination as it occurs in the manuscript, since these pages are bound into fascicle, but I have inserted them in their intended location.

485 528 Mather had written “Deut. XXVIII.14” but he intends Deuteronomy 28.37: “And thou shalt become an astonishment, a proverb, and a byword, among all nations whither the Lord shall lead thee.”

528 687 153r–154v is a loose page at this location in the manuscript. Without renumbering its original location, I have moved it so that the verse it treats is in sequence. Regular pagination resumes with 155r.

544 747 This small page, 165r–166v, now loose, was at one time affixed to the preceding page with red wax.

556 791 Immediately after the commentary on Psalm 68:13, Mather includes the editorial marks “^^^”. He prefixes to his commentary on verse 18 those same carets and begins his commentary on that same manuscript page (173r). He continues these remarks on a loose sheet, which I have identified as 173ra and 173rb. The paraphrases of Patrick on verses 11 through 18 are also on a loose sheet, identified as 173rc and 173rd. 173r continues with the annotation on verse 20.

561 814 Manuscript page 175r–176v is now loose, but was once attached to the preceding verso page with red wax.

569 837 This page is glued to the succeeding page (ms. 183r–184v).

576 870 This page is glued to the edge of the preceding page, and because it intervenes between the annotations on Psalm 73:17 and 22, I have numbered it 187ra and 187rb.

663 1167 I have moved this entry on Psalm 103:11 so that it follows the order of the Psalm. In the manuscript, this brief note follows Mather's annotation on verse 14, below, and before that on verse 17. The comment actually occurs in the manuscript on page 258v, but without any identifying editorial marks.

690 1256 This page is inserted as a loose sheet.

701 1302 This small page is glued to succeeding page with red wax.

707 1328 This small page is affixed to the succeeding with red wax.

719 1377 The entries on Psalm 120 are placed out of sequence in the manuscript. The page numbered as 297ra and 297rb is a loose sheet, that was inserted before the first entry on Psalm 120 (297r). It was once attached to the succeeding page with red wax at the right hand margins of MS page 297.

731 1416 Mather excised the entry on this page [308v] which he inserted at the top of the succeeding page.

737 1437 MS. page 313r–314v was once glued to the preceding page using red wax, but is now loose.

781 1595 MS. page 353r–354v was once affixed to the preceding two pages. MS. page 351r–352v is a small, quarto-sized page.

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